

Democracy in a Debate: Presentations of Self and Others in Pakistani Parliamentary Discourse

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Abstract

The surprising victory of the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N) in the 2013 general election and election of Mr Sharif as Prime Minister changed the power dynamic. In the following year, two of the minority parties held sit-ins. Using ideological square analysis (van Dijk, 2006), this article examines discursive strategies used by the four leading political parties represented in the Pakistani Parliament that characterize both their own activities and those of other parties with regard to the Islamabad sit-ins of 2014. The article presents data from the analysis of fourteen speeches by the four political parties (PML-N, PPP, PTI and MQM). The results indicate that the Pakistani parliamentarians focused more frequently on presenting other parties in a negative light than they did in presenting themselves (the in-group) in a positive light. They presented their own ordinary and routine actions as indicating sincerity and loyalty to the country and its institutions. When other parties were in agreement, they were treated as being part of the in-group, which then characterized the others as enemies of the state and their actions as unconstitutional and inhumane. The results of this study thus reveal a certain fluidity in the application of in-group or out-group status, providing evidence that van Dijk's ideological square analysis can be more nuanced than the model itself seems to suggest (cf. Wirth-Koliba, 2016).

Keywords: Parliamentary speeches, political discourse, Pakistan, ideological square, critical discourse analysis, discursive strategies

1. Introduction

Politics is a struggle of power and dominance between two groups, i.e. in-group (us) and out-group (them); and in every political discourse, this *us vs them* polarization is visible between these two groups (Wirth-Koliba, 2016) and almost all political activities can be divided into an allies group (us) and an opposition group (them) (Chilton 2004, Okulska & Cap 2010). By using *we* by a speaker to refer to himself shows his representation of a group or an organization (de Fina, 1995). The "Us" is the group which is included an in-group and "them" is the group which is excluded. Politicians usually use *we*

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and *us* to highlight the qualities or positive aspects of theirs or their in-groups; whereas, *they* and *them* are used to present the opponents negatively (van Dijk 1993, 1997). The use of *us* and *them* intends to separate one group from the other group (Bramley, 2001). Usually, *we* is also used to represent a team and show shared responsibilities (Beard, 2000). It may also refer to the speaker alone or the speaker and listener/s as well (Karapetjana, 2011). *They* is used to separate oneself from others. Its use may also be intended to show *them* inferior to *us* (Karapetjana, 2011). The use of *they* may not be used to present others negatively or positively but its use may also intend to keep a distance of the speakers from others who are being talked about (Bramley, 2001).

In Pakistan, a few studies have analyzed the political speeches of some of the prominent political leaders to investigate rhetorical devices used by them and reveal linguistic manipulation (Iqbal, 2015). For example, Mehdi's (2012) study deals with the rhetoric used by Pakistani politicians. The research of Naz, Alvi and Baseer (2012) investigates the linguistic spin of the speech of the former PM of Pakistan, Benazir Bhutto, through transitivity analysis. The study of Nasir (2013) reveals that the rhetoric used by Imran Khan. Iqbal (2015) compares pre-election and post-election speeches of Pakistani political leaders. The studies of Nawaz, Naqvi, Hassan, Zafar, Jabeen and Akram (2013); and Anwar, Ullah, Ahmed and Ali (2015) investigate Quaid-e-Azam's address to the first Constituent Assembly of Pakistan. Hussain's (2015) study discusses the mutual relationship of the institutions of bureaucracy and the Parliament. Ali and Kazemian (2015) have studied the speech of Pakistan's first PM, Liaquat Ali Khan. The study of Ghilzai & Ayaz-ud-din (2017) analyzes speech of Imran Khan. Qadeer and Shehzad's (2017) study investigates the speech of Mr Yousaf Raza Gillani, the ex-prime minister of Pakistan. The study of Hassan (2018) deals with the impact of Pakistani news bulletin headlines on the viewers' reaction questionnaires. The Naeem and Rafi's (2019) study investigates General Zia and General Musharaf's speeches regarding Afghanistan. Till present, no study has investigated *us vs them* polarization in the Pakistani political discourse. Furthermore, to our knowledge, ours is

the first study analyzing multiple discourses by parliamentarians of different parties.

The general election of 2013 resulted in a surprising victory for the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N), which won 188 seats in the National Assembly to become the party with the largest representation in Parliament and PML-N's head, Mr Sharif was elected as PM of Pakistan. With Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) emerging as the third-largest parliamentary party in the National Assembly, it claimed that PML-N rigged the election, thereby diminishing PTI's power by depriving it of few seats in the Punjab Province. Demanding the resignation of the PM, in 2014, PTI held a protest and a sit-in in the capital. Pakistan Awami Tehreek (PAT), another political cum religious party, also held it a sit-in in the capital, though with different demands. PAT's claim was to implement Islamic Law through revolution. Both parties held sit-ins in Islamabad (67 days by PAT i.e. August 14, 2014 to October 21, 2014 and 126 days by PTI, i.e. August 14, 2014 to December 17, 2014). During this period, the capital was nearly entirely cut off from the rest of the country, and leaders of the protesting parties made speeches and gave ultimatums to the government for accepting their demands. There were also rumours that non-democratic forces were behind the sit-ins as an attempt to end of democratic rule and return to rule by Martial Law.

Throughout Pakistan's history, whenever Martial Law was imposed, one or another political party had always encouraged and invited the military to take over the government. This time, and for the first time, all political parties were unanimous in opposing any unconstitutional action and wanted to seek a political solution to the crisis. To show unity and solidarity with the government and take pre-emptive measures to cope up with the prevailing crisis, on the suggestions of the Opposition Leader in the National Assembly, a joint session was called on September 2, 2014, which continued until September 19, 2014; and 50 parliamentarians made their speeches. During this political activity, there seemed two visible groups: one group, including some of the opposition parties, was supporting the government and other was supporting PTI, another opposition party.

In this critical situation, opposing parties came together with a united purpose. As a result, their discursive constructions of "ourselves" and "others" reflect their strategic interest in both maintaining an individual

identity separate from that of the others, while simultaneously indicating commonalities in their stated positions. The researchers felt interested in the situation to analyse the speeches in detail. This article focuses on a period in which rival political parties in Pakistan's parliament came together for a united purpose.

2. Methodology

Political actors use language to divide groups based on their identity, interest and ideology. Analysis of the polarization can make underlying ideologies of the political agents explicit. van Dijk (e.g. 1995, 1998, 2004, 2004b & 2006) has worked extensively on political ideologies. His ideological Square Model (e.g., 2006), the model of emphasizing in-group's positive actions and out-group's negative actions and vice versa, is a combination of argumentation, political strategies, rhetorical devices, semantic strategies and stylistic information (Rashidi & Souzandehfar, 2010). He presents twenty-seven categories of ideological discourse alphabetically (ibid, pp.735-739). His Model emphasizes *our good things* and *their bad things* and de-emphasizes *our bad things* and *their good things*. Furthermore, some other number of political tools such as metaphors, passive constructions, implicatures, presuppositions, and antonymous lexical choices may also be used for analysing self-positive presentation and other negative presentation (e.g. Chilton, 2004).

The underlying hypothesis in this article is that this unity would be reflected in the parliamentarians' discourse and, further, to analyse the discourse of allies and rivals, van Dijk's ideological square model (van Dijk, 2006) applicable to "all levels of actions, meaning, and form of text and talk" (p. 734) has been used. According to his model (van Dijk 1998, p. 267), communicative strategies are set in binary opposition:

- a) emphasis of the positive aspects of "us" (i.e., in-group)
- b) minimization of "our" (i.e. out-group) weaknesses
- c) de-emphasis of the opponents' positive points
- d) emphasis of *their* weaknesses

The first two serve to achieve a positive presentation of self, the latter two the negative presentation of others. In this instance, however, confining the analysis to a binary opposition would not capture the nuances of the ideological positions under discussion. Consequently, our approach is to focus on moments in which coalescence and competition emphasize the strategic aspects of communication. In that vein, we focus on the different ways that support for democracy is manifest: first, through the positive expressions of self/in-group; second, through the positive presentation of others when there is political consensus; and third, through the identification of threats by others. In these analyses, it is important to note that consensus on some areas of interest does not imply a melding of the various parties.

The purposive corpus upon which this study is based is comprised of the fourteen transcribed speeches (Urdu) of the Pakistani parliamentarians of the four leading political parties in the National Assembly during the 2013-2018 tenure. The speeches were delivered in the 3rd joint session of the second year of National Assembly and Senate held on September 2-19, 2014. These parliamentarians are the senior politicians and have been enjoying very key positions in their parties. Based on their key positions in their parties, speeches of these parliamentarians were selected for the analysis. The detail of the parliamentarians is as under:

Table 1: Detail of selected speeches of the Pakistani parliamentarians

Party affiliation	Speech delivered on	Pages	Senator/Member of National Assembly	Province	Name of the speakers
PML-N	Sep. 5, 2014	17-23	MNA	Punjab	Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif (PM of Pakistan)

	Sep. 5, 2014	14-16	Senator	Punjab	Raja Muhammad Zafar ul Haq (Chairman of PML-N and Leader of the House in Senate)
	Sep. 2, 2014	2-17	MNA	Punjab	Ch. Nisar Ali Khan (Interior Federal Minister)
	Sep. 10, 2014	21-36	MNA	Punjab	Khawaja Saad Rafique (Federal Minister of Railways)
PPP	Sep. 2, 2014	18-31	Senator	Punjab	Ch. Atizaz Ahsan (Leader of the Opposition in Senate)
	Sep. 8, 2014	39-61	Senator		Farhat Ullah Babar (Press Secretary of former President and Chairman of PPP)
	Sep. 4, 2014	34-51	Senator	Baluchistan	Mian Raza Rabbani (Chairman of Senate)
	Sep. 5, 2014	95-101	MNA	Sindh	Syed Khursheed Ahmed Shah (Leader of the Opposition in National Assembly)
PTI	Sep. 3, 2014	32-68	MNA	Punjab	Makhdoom Shah Mehmood Qureshi (Vice Chairman of PTI)
	Sep. 2, 2014	63-78	MNA	Punjab	Makhdoom Muhammad Javed Hashmi (President of PTI)
	Sep. 18, 2014	38-40	MNA	KPK	Nasir Khan Khattak (Senior member)
MQM	Sep. 19, 2014	57-67	MNA	Sindh	Dr Muhammad Farooq Sattar (Parliamentary Leader MQM)

Sep. 18, 2014	20-29	MNA	Sindh	Abdul Rashid (Senior member)	Godil
Sep. 8, 2014	16-32	Senator	Sindh	Babar Khan (Senior member)	Ghori

The transcribed speeches were downloaded from the official website of the National Assembly (<http://www.na.gov.pk/en/debates.php>). In the examples below, numbers in parentheses following the English translation of the text extracts show the page number of the transcribed speeches.

3. Analysis

Apparently, Islamabad-protest was a collision between the two forces, i.e., the one that was demanding the PM's resign and the other that was defending or supporting him. The parliamentarians belonging to the selected parties made their speeches during the joint session and attempted to convince their colleagues and the general public by emphasizing their positive actions and out-group's negative actions. As each member of the parties emphasized the importance of democracy, the findings have been grouped into broad categories to highlight the strategies that the parties have used to support democracy and the democratic process: first, through strategies of positive self-presentation (in-group); second, by the positive presentation of others (out-groups) when there is a convergence of position; third, negative in-group presentation; and fourth, through the identification of threats posed by other parties (negative presentation of out-groups). Interestingly, it was observed that the members of the parties not only attempted to present their parties or in-group positively by presenting out-group negatively and vice versa but also presented their in-groups negatively.

3.1 In-group Positive Presentation

Politicians highlight the positive qualities of their in-groups (van Dijk 1993, 1997). They usually do this by either emphasizing the good actions of their in-groups or presenting the out-groups negatively (van Dijk, 2006). The politicians employ lexical choices and other linguistic features to manifest this binary opposition (Shojaei, et al. 2013, p. 859). The results of the study show that Pakistani parliamentarians used various strategies in their speeches for presenting their in-group positively.

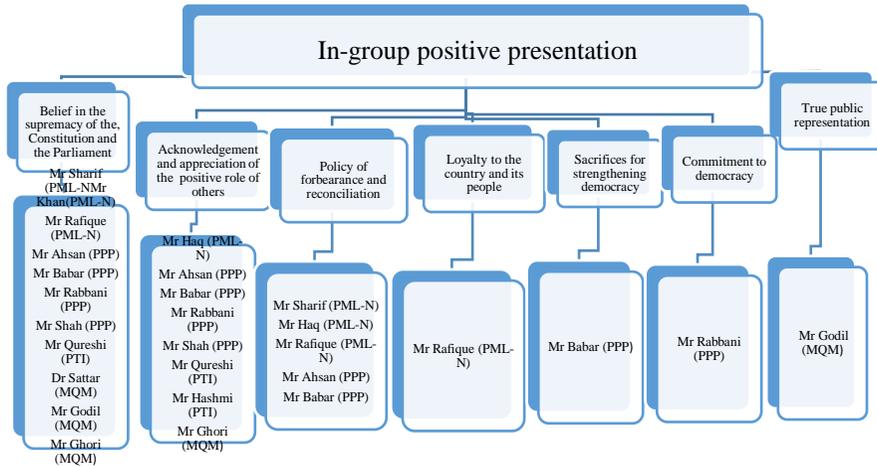


Figure 1: In-group positive presentation through emphasizing in-group positive actions

Figure 1 shows that almost all of the Pakistani parliamentarians belonging to the selected parties emphasized the positive actions of their parties and in-groups to present them positively. They used the rhetoric to show that they believe in democracy and democratic values. They also attempted to present themselves positively by acknowledging and appreciating the positive actions of others.

3.2 Belief in the supremacy of the, Constitution and the Parliament

The figure 1 shows that three of the PML-N parliamentarians, i.e. Mr Sharif, Mr Khan and Mr Rafique presented their party positively and attempted to show that their party believed in the supremacy of parliament and constitution. For example, Mr Sharif, the PML-N leader and ex-PM, highlighting selflessness of the party and its leadership said:

ham ny us ko strongest possible terms main condemn kiya.... ur is kyliye us waqt ki hakoomat sy koi qeemat nahi mangi [we condemned it in the strongest possible terms... and did not demand anything in return from the government of that time] (p. 22)

In the above example, Mr Sharif, attempted to present his party as a truly democratic party which believed in the supremacy of the Parliament and the constitution. In the example, he used *ham* (we) to refer to his party to point out its positive role as an opposition party during the PPP government in 2012. Lines 96-98 (p. 22) of his speech were referred to the positive role of his party during the previous *dharna* (sit-in) of Dr Qadri in 2012 with the intention to overthrow the government of PPP unconstitutionally. In 2012, Dr Qadri held *dharna* in Islamabad against the PPP government. Mr Sharif claimed that his party, being the largest party of opposition, had called a meeting of other political parties to condemn the action of Dr Qadri and show solidarity with the government. Mr Sharif further claimed that his party did not try to destabilize the PPP's government, as it had been a practice in the past because he and his party had considered this act unconstitutional and against the spirit of democracy.

In Pakistan, usually, political parties are accused of being undemocratic, playing in the hands of non-democratic forces or perusing monetary benefits. Similar voices were being heard during the protest as well. The use of the political rhetoric "*strongest possible terms main condemn kiya*" (condemned in the strongest possible terms) and "*qeemat nahi mangi*" (did not ask for a price) by Mr Sharif seems to highlight the positive role of his party which it had played during the tenure of PPP government. Mr Sharif attempted to bear upon his colleagues that the role of *hum*, i.e., his party and leadership, was not for any reward but the sake of democracy.

Similarly, Mr Khan, the PML-N parliamentarian, presented a positive picture of his party and the government. He used *hakoomat* (government) and *ham* (we) to show that his party and the PML-N government believed in the democratic rights of the people. He claimed that, despite receiving news about the negative intentions of the protestors, his government allowed the protestors to come within Islamabad because it considered that

protest was a constitutional right of the people and they should not be deprived of their right. For example, in lines 109-112, he said:

“...hakoomat ka mowa'qifaik tu yeh tha keh jamhoori raye ki aazadi he in ko aagy jaany dain. Prime minister sahib ny baar baar kaha...keh hamain in ky rasty main rukawat nahi daalni चाहये” [the government had the stance that there is freedom of expression allow them to move forward. The Prime Minister has said again and again that we should not put obstacles in their way] (p. 8).

In the above example, for presenting the positive picture of his party and the PM, Mr Khan used the political rhetoric *“jamhoori raye ki aazadi”* (freedom of expression) to emphasize that the government had not allowed the protestors to enter in Islamabad under any pressure but for the sake of democracy. His claim that the government had given free hand to the protestors and had not put any obstacles in their way seems an attempt to present a positive picture of his government. He also attempted to present a positive image of the PM by saying that *“prime minister sahib ny baar baar kaha”* (the prime minister has said again and again). The use of the above line seems to emphasize the democratic thinking of the PM that he did not want to take any unconstitutional step or use force against the protestors.

Mr Rafique, another PML-N parliamentarian, included other political parties, supporting the government, in his in- group to present them positively. He attempted to show that the government and all other political parties in the Parliament believed in the democratic system and also wanted Imran Khan to adopt a constitutional way of protest and use the platform of the Parliament for his demands. For example, he said,

“jo aiwan main mojud nahi woh bhi aiwan main aain” [those who are not present in the Parliament should be part of it] and *“ham tu un ko bhi lana chahty hain jo nahi aasaky”* [we also want to bring those in the Parliament who could not come... (p. 33)

The above statement seems an attempt to highlight the sincerity of the parliamentary parties. PAT had boycotted the general election 2013 and PTI parliamentarians had resigned from their assembly memberships. By using the above-mentioned words, Mr Rafique intended to emphasize the belief of the parties in the system and supremacy of the Parliament. His further claim that his government wanted the political parties to use this platform for solving all their political differences also seems to show his government's belief in the supremacy of the Parliament. The examples mentioned above emphasize the democratic attitude of the parliamentary parties that not only wanted PTI to rejoin the Parliament and use it for their demands but also wanted PAT to be part of the Parliament by contesting the election.

The examples from the speeches of the PML-N parliamentarians show that they used the discursive practice of emphasizing their positive actions to present a positive picture of their party and other in-group members. PTI and PAT leaderships had been claiming that the PML-N government was a result of rigged elections. They had also accused the government of violating the constitution and devaluing the Parliament. Mr Sharif, and Mr Rafique portrayed PML-N as a party that believed in the parliamentary system honoured the courts and respected the opposition. They used the self/in-group positive presentation as a convincing strategy to impress upon their colleagues that their government aimed to strengthen democracy in the country. Their claim that despite severe criticism and abusive language used by the PTI leadership, PML-N leadership had not gone for the politics of confrontation rather had adopted the policy of forbearance and reconciliation seems an attempt to convince their colleagues specially and the public generally. Mr Haq's act of acknowledging and appreciating the positive role of opposition parties and Mr Rafique's emphasis on party policy of forbearance and reconciliation also seems an attempt to win the support of their fellows.

During the protest, PPP, being the largest party of the opposition, was supposed to support PTI but it did otherwise. It was obvious if PPP had joined PTI, it would not have been possible for the PML-N government to complete its constitutional tenure. The PTI leadership had criticised PPP for this stance and blamed it as a B team of the PML-N government. Perhaps, to shun this notion, the PPP parliamentarians

highlighted the positive actions of their party and leadership and reemphasized their belief in democracy and the parliamentary system (see figure 1). As a leader of the opposition, Mr Ahsan attempted to show that all opposition parties believed in democracy and the constitution and were against any unconstitutional demands. PPP was the part of Opposition and. Mr Ahsan seemed clarifying the position of his party that his party was merely supporting government for the sake of democracy. The use of the political rhetoric, e.g. “*jamhooriat ur aain ky sath*” (supporting democracy and constitution) seems to show the commitment of PPP and other parties to democracy and the constitution. He further said, “*ham ny aap ka haath thaam rakha he. Opposition ny tham rakha he*” [we are supporting you [the PM]. The Opposition is supporting you] (p. 22). In this example, he used idiomatic phrase “*hath tham rakha*” (“hold the hand”, an Urdu idiomatic phrase used for expressing support). The use of plural pronoun *ham* (we) and political rhetoric seems to show the unity of the opposition parties against the protesting parties and non-democratic forces. The rhetoric of Mr Ahsan also show that the opposition was opposing the demands and protest of PTI and PAT because it considered the demands harmful for democracy and unconstitutional.

Mr Babar, another PPP parliamentarian, presented his party positively by emphasizing its true democratic role as a political party. His claim that PPP had never supported any action which the party considered against the spirit of democracy seems to defend the role of his party during the protest. He referred to the government’s decision of invoking of the army under Article 245 in the capital, Islamabad, to control the protestors which his party considered against the democratic spirit. He further said that his party, being the largest party in the Senate, opposed this action in the Senate and tried to urge other parties to convince the government to withdraw the notification. He said, “*ham ny Senate main is ki shadeed mukhalfat ki*” [we opposed it severely in the Senate] (p. 53). Here, Mr Babar’s use of *ham* (we) seems to show his party’s belief in the true spirit of democracy by presenting the act of invoking army by the government in the capital against the true democratic spirit. He claimed that his party had

tried its best to refrain government from taking such action. The use of the phrase "*shadeed mukhalfat*" (opposed severely) seems an attempt to show the seriousness of his party and its commitment to democracy. His use of the political rhetoric also seems to highlight the belief of PPP of exercising executive power through the Parliament.

Mr Shah, the PPP parliamentarian and Leader of the Opposition in the National Assembly, also presented his as a party as the believer in democracy and democratic rights of the people. Mr Shah's referring to his party's decision of asking the government of calling a joint session of the Parliament to find some political solution through the Parliament on the prevailing political situation in the country also seems to present PPP as a party that believed in the supremacy of the constitution and the Parliament. He said, "*Ham ny kaha keh senate ur qowmi assembly ko akatha bulaain*" [we demanded to call a joint session of senate and national assembly] (p. 96). To emphasize the belief of his party in democracy and constitutional rights of the people, he further said, "*us waqt ham ny kaha PTI ko aany diya jaaye* [at that time, we demanded that PTI should be allowed to enter] (p. 99). Here he intended to highlight the positive role of his party in convincing the government for allowing the PTI protestors to enter in the capital and its belief in the supremacy of the Parliament. Lines 21 (p. 96) and 67 (p. 99) show that Mr Shah intended to present his party's belief in the Parliament, the highest platform to solve political issues. The sentence "*ham ny kaha PTI ko aany diya jaye*" (we demanded that PTI should be allowed to come) seems to impress upon his colleagues about the positive role of his party.

The examples of the political rhetoric taken from the speeches of the PPP parliamentarians' show that they attempted to present their party/in-group positively by emphasizing their positive actions. As said in the previous lines that PPP was a part of the Opposition but it was supporting the government and opposing the PTI demands and its this act was criticized by the PTI leadership. The PPP parliamentarians used the positive presentation as defending and justifying strategy.

Figure 1 shows that one of the PTI parliamentarian, Mr Qureshi, also used political rhetoric to highlight the positive image of his party by emphasizing its belief in the sanctity of the Parliament and constitution and

acknowledging and appreciating the positive actions of other political parties. For example, he said:

Hamain ihsas he, hamain ihsas he keh hamary saow ikhtelaaaf houn jamhooriyat par aain ur Pakistan ki khushhali par hamara koi ikhtelaf nhi [we realize it, we realize that we may have hundreds of differences but on democracy, constitution and prosperity of Pakistan we have no differences] (p. 59)

In the above example, Mr Qureshi attempted to present his party positively by saying that it believed in democracy and the Parliament and it had no differences with the parties sitting in the Parliament on the sustenance of democracy, constitution and prosperity of Pakistan. He repeated phrase “*hamain ihsas he*” (we realize) twice to emphasize the stance of his party and confirm that their protest was not against the state. He also attempted to show that his party had equal concern for the democratic setup and prosperity of the country. He accepted that their party had a lot of differences with other parties sitting in the Parliament but on strengthening democracy and the constitution, and prosperity of Pakistan, they all were united (p. 59). His claim that their protest was not to weaken the Parliament rather it was to make it more powerful and autonomous also seems to highlight its positive approach of his party. He again said:

“Ham chahty hain keh hamesha kyliye, hamesha kyliye Pakistan main aik elections ka nizam mut’araf karwa diya jaye jo free, fair, reliable elections ko mumkin kar saky” [forever, forever, we want to introduce a completely free, fair and reliable election system in Pakistan] (p. 62)

In the above example, Mr Qureshi rejected the notion that their protest was a revolt against the state, as was alleged by some of the parliamentarians. He intended to present a positive picture of his party by saying that it was struggling for the improvement of the electoral system so that it could be made fair, free and reliable. It has been a practice in Pakistan that losing parties call the elections rigged. They have always doubted the impartiality

of Elections Commission of Pakistan. In the above example, Mr Qureshi used the phrase “*hamesha kyliye*” (forever) twice in the statement to emphasize the positive thinking and commitment of his party to bring an impartial system and empower the Commission so that it could conduct free and fair elections. He claimed their protest was to strengthen the institutions of the country. Mr Qureshi attempted to show that his party believed in the constitution and also claimed that their protest was within its limits set by the constitution. His claim that their aim of coming to Islamabad was not to fight with the Parliament but to dialogue with the government how Parliament can be made powerful seems an attempt to justify their protest and present it positively.

PTI was protesting against the government and its leaders were demanding resignation from the PM, Mr Sharif, but when PTI Vice Chairman, Mr Qureshi, attended the joint session and made a speech, he did not demand the PM's resignation and declared that the Parliament was his political *qibla* (holy Centre; basically *qibla* is a Holy Ka'ba in Makkah towards which Muslims face while offering prayer) and his party had never intended to attack the Parliament. He used the self/in-group presentation as a strategy to justify and defend the act and position of his in-group.

MQM parliamentarian, Dr Sattar, presented his party positively by showing its concerns for the people of different areas of the country. For example, he said:

“Ham Hazara ky logou ko bhi aik intizaami unit dain gy. Ham saraiki ‘ilaqa ky log hain unhian bhi ham dain gy. FATA ky logou ko bhi ham aik sooba bana kar dain gy” [We will give an administrative unit to the people of Hazara. We belong to Saraiki area; we will give them as well. We will also give a separate province to the people of FATA] (p. 66).

MQM had its representation from the urban areas of Sind province. In the above example, Dr Sattar seems to extend the scope of his party by highlighting the issues of the people living in the different areas of the country outside the Sindh. He intended to present his party as a true representative of the common people that believed in the democratic and parliamentary system of the country and wanted the people to be given

their democratic rights. He also announced that his party would set up separate administrative units in North Punjab and Hazara.

The use of the political rhetoric, i.e. *"wahdaniat ko qaim rakna"* (keep it united), *"Pakistan ko mazboot ur mutahkam banana"* (make Pakistan strong), *"aain ki bala dasti ur qanoon ki hukmraani"* (supremacy of the constitution and rule of law) and *"jamhooriat ko 'awam ki dahleez tak ly jana"* (take democracy to the doorsteps of the people) were used to emphasize the positive attitude and thinking of his party, and to show its loyalty to the country. The MQM leader seems intended to extend the scope of his party by representing the areas of Hazara Division and Sraiki belt where people were demanding separate provinces. His claim that after gaining power, MQM would fulfil the demand of the people of FATA by giving them the status of a separate province seems an attempt to extend the canvass of his party and build its positive image. He also seems intended to show solidarity with the people and his party's concerns for the prosperity of the country. The example also shows that he intended to present his party as a representative of the other ethnic groups of the country which are struggling for their political rights. He showed his party's concerns for their rights and promised to address their problems after gaining power.

Mr Godil, another MQM parliamentarian, used political rhetoric to emphasize that his party believed in truly democracy and the Parliament as a representative of the people. He claimed that his party did not demand any donation rather supported its members in elections. He further said that no poor person from other parties could think of contesting the election because he could not afford the expenditures of the elections. By saying that *"party ny aik nizam banaya he keh ghareeboun ky bachoun ko assembly main bhaijo"* [the party has devised a system to send the poor in the assembly] (p. 25), Mr Godil intended to show that his party had taken practical steps to support the deserving candidates from the party funds for contesting the elections. He accused other parties of selling their party tickets at a high price and as a result, the candidates after winning the election involve themselves in the corruption to recover the expenditures. He also claimed

that his party bore all the expenditures during the election and had a proper check and balance on its members. According to him, every member of his party was required to have close contact with the people and he/she was also required to sit at different seven places of his constituency in a week to have interaction with the people, otherwise, the party would demand an explanation, which other parties would not do (p.25). Through these examples, he attempted to present his party as a truly democratic party that had parliamentarians representing the educated middle class. Through this, he also urged other parties to implement democracy in their parties so that the Parliament could represent and defend the interest of people in a true sense.

Mr Ghori, another MQM parliamentarian, also used positive words for his party to show that it was a democratic party and wanted to make the Parliament strong and keep its sanctity. He also intended to show that his party's support for the PM was unconditional and it was just for the sake of democracy and parliamentary system. In the lines 26-29 (p. 16) and 104 (p. 20), he attempted to show that his party believed in the sanctity of the Parliament and was against any action which could put it in danger. He said that his party was against any unconstitutional demand that was the reason that it was not supporting PTI and PAT's demand for the PM's resign. He further clarified that his party did not want the PM to resign through any unconstitutional act because he had been elected by the parliamentarians and only the Parliament had the authority to fire him from the post. He used phrase "*taqaddus ko koi pamal*" (violate the sanctity) to show the importance of the Parliament and its decisions. His words "*poory towr par jamhooriat ky sath hain*" (are completely supporting democracy) seems to emphasize the sincerity and commitment of his party to democracy.

3.3 In-group positive presentation through acknowledging and appreciating the out-group

The Pakistani parliamentarians also seem to present in-group positively by acknowledging and appreciating out-group's positive role. Apparently, they appreciated the role of members of the out-group but the objective of the practice seems an attempt to present their in-group or self positively. For example, Mr Haq, the PML-N's parliamentarian acknowledging the role of opposition in the Parliament said that his party welcomed the

positive criticism of the opposition in the Parliament. He said, "*Ham opposition ky is role ko nah sirf sarahty hain Ham usy mahsoos nahi karty* [we not only appreciate this role of the opposition.... We do not mind it] (p. 14) He further said, "*..... Is ka ham I'tiraf karty hain ur us ki ta'reef karty hain*" [We acknowledge it and appreciate it] (p. 15). He claimed that his party honoured the constructive role of the opposition of pointing out the weaknesses of the government. Mr Haq used the phrases "*ta'reef karna*" (praise/appreciate) and "*I'tiraf karna*" (acknowledge) to emphasize the positive attitude of his party that acknowledged the role of opposition and its criticism as a part of a democratic system.

During the PTI and PAT's protest, PPP, Jama'at e Islami and National Party were supporting the ruling party. In his speech, Mr Qureshi praised the positive efforts of "*Ameer*" (head) Jama'at e Islami, Mr Siraj-ul-Haq, being made for settling the problems. He also appreciated the role of Mir Hasil Khan Bazonjo, a leader of National Party, for taking pains to resolve the issue. He further said that his party not only accepted Mr Bazingo's criticism but valued it as well. Mr Qureshi also acknowledged the role of Benazir Bhutto in his political training (p. 67). Former PM of Pakistan, Benazir Bhutto, had appointed him (Mr Qureshi) as the Provincial President of the largest province, Punjab of her party. He also thanked PPP and the Parliament for nominating him as a candidate of the prime minister-ship in 2008.

3.4 Out-group Negative Presentation

Usually, a negative other/out-group presentation is itself a self/in-group positive presentation (van Dijk, 2006) or vice versa. Politicians emphasize the negative actions of the out-groups to present them negatively and their self/in-groups positively.

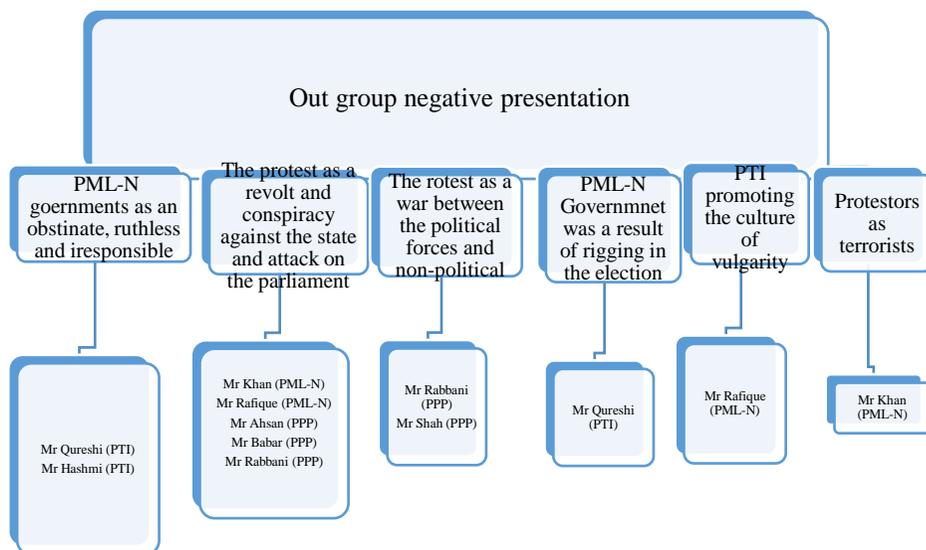


Figure 2: Out-group negative presentation through emphasizing out-group negative actions

The analysis of these speeches of Pakistani parliamentarians (figure 2) shows that the parliamentarians of the three parties, i.e. PML-N, PPP and PTI engaged themselves in practices that presented other parties in a negative light, emphasizing actions of others that they considered negative. For example, Mr Khan called the protest a revolt against the country and an attack on its institutions, referring to the protestors as invaders and trained terrorists who were armed with weapons. He said:

Yeh nah ihtijaj he, nah dharna he, nah siyasi ijta'ma' he, yeh Pakistan ky khilaf baghawat he. Yeh hamary riyasti 'imartoun ky khilaf baghawat he. Yeh hamary riyasti idaroun ky khilaf baghawat he. Yeh mumlikat e khudadad kyn khilaf baghawat he.... Unhoun ny kal dhawa bola....unhoun ny Parliament par dhawa bola...kal woh aik riyasti idary ky andar ghus gaye [This is not a protest, not a sit-in, not a political gathering but a revolt against Pakistan. This is a revolt

against our state buildings. This is a revolt against the public institutes. This is a revolt against the God-gifted state..... They attacked yesterday....they attacked the parliament...they entered into a public institution forcefully] (p. 10).

He further said:

Doosritarf pistols hain.....kulhariyan hain, athory hain, cutters hain, ghulaianain hain ut woh ghulaianlian bary trained tareeqy sy jis tarah trained dahshat hoty hian...woh trained dahsaht gard hain ur woh aik 'askari jama'at sy aaye hain ur aik 'askari group sy aaye hain [another side there are pistols...there are axes, hammers, cutters, catapults they use catapults like trained terrorists...they are trained terrorists. They belong to a militant party, they have come from a militant group] (p. 12).

In the above examples, Mr Khan presented the objective of the protestors negatively and declared that they had not come in the capital for protest but for overthrowing the government forcefully. He used the word *baghawat* (revolt) for the protest and declared it a revolt against the public institutions and even against the state itself. He used this word seven times in his speech which shows the intensity of the situation. On September 1, 2014, PTI and PAT workers entered the premises of the Parliament House and Pakistan Television buildings. They broke the main gate of the Parliament building and entered in its premises. Some other protestors took the control of public television channel, i.e. PTV, broke CCTV cameras and misbehaved with the staff (room ("Pakistan protesters", 2014). Mr Khan characterized this action as an attack on the assets and public institutions. He used words *dhawa* (attack) and *lashkar kasha* (invasion) for the protestors who had entered the buildings *forcefully*. Mr Khan called the protestors invaders and terrorists belonging to a militant group who were armed with pistols, axes, hammers, cutter and catapults and had occupied the state institutions.

Mr Rafique also declared the protest an attack not only on the public institutions but also on the unanimously approved constitution of Pakistan.

He said, “*Yeh 73 ky muttafaqa aain ky upar attack kiya giya he*” [this is an attack on the unanimously passed Constitution of 1973] (September 10, 2014, p. 29). Mr Rafique purposefully used the word *constitution* in his speech. He knew that it was a very sensitive issue and all political parties were unanimous to defend it. He declared the protest an *attack on the constitution* to united the parties against the protesting parties and gain their support. He also used different synonyms, e.g. *hamla, dhawa, charai, attack* and *assault* sixteen times (pp. 25, 28, 29, 34) in his speech for emphasizing the above-mentioned act of the protestors.

In one of his addresses, Imran Khan had used cricketing jargon that “soon umpire will raise his figure”. Mr Rafique interpreted Imran Khan's statement “*umpire ki ungli khari khari ho gi*” [The umpire will raise his finger] (p. 27) as an attempt to seek the help of the army establishment for upsetting the prevailing political system. Almost half of Pakistan life has been under the control of the military or its backed governments (Riaz-ud-Din, 2018). The history of Pakistani politics is also evident that whenever Martial Law was imposed, it was done on the demands of some of the political parties. Mr Rafique took Imran Khan's statement in the same scenario. He reproached him for invoking help from the military establishment. Mr Rafique also declared the protest a conspiracy against the state and its system. Mr Khan called the protest a revolt against the country and conspiracy against the system. He called the protest a revolt against the country and its institutions. He used the word “*baghawat*” (revolt) seven times (pp. 10, 13-14) in his speech. Referring to the attack of the protestors on the PTV building, he intended to show that PTI and PAT protest was an effort to destabilize the country.

Mr Rafique accused PTI of promoting the culture of vulgarity and using an abusive language by one of the PML-N parliamentarians, He considered the participation of young girls with makeup and singing and dancing in the PTI meetings an act of encouraging and promoting vulgarity in the country. He said, “*Aap ny Pakistan main byhayai ky culture ko farough diya he*” [you have promoted the culture of vulgarity in Pakistan] (p. 34). He also accused Imran Khan of using abusive language against parliamentarians. Through the above claims, he seems to present his party respecting the Islamic value whereas PTI was not. Through referring Imran Khan's use of abusive language also seems an attempt to show that PML-N's leadership

was civilized than that of PTI because it was observing patience and not responding in the same language.

Figure 2 shows that the PPP parliamentarian also used this practice in their speeches and presented PTI negatively. For example, Mr Rabbani used the strategy of presenting the out-group negatively though without naming anyone. He declared the protest a war against the country and an attack on the Parliament. For example, he said:

...Agar jamhoori taqtain yeh samjhian keh yeh hamla parliman par pehla ur aakhri hamla that u yeh hamari bhool ho gi. Ham tareekh sy aankhain mor rahye houngy kiyoun keh is jang ka canvas wasee' he [...if democratic forces considered that this attack is a first and last attack on the Parliament, it would be our wrong perception. We will be ignoring our history because the canvas of this war is very vast] (p. 35)

He also said, “...*Yeh jang Pakistan ky baqa ki jang he. Yeh jang Pakistan ky waqfa ki jang he*” [This war is for the survival of Pakistan. This war is for the federation of Pakistan] (P 37). Mr Rabbani called the protest and sit-in an attack on the Constitution of 1973. It was the only constitution made as a result of the joint efforts of political parties. All the parties in the Parliament unanimously considered the constitution a symbol of unity of the country. He presented the voices from the protestors against the constitution an attack on the solidarity of the country. He used the word “*hamla*” (attack) thrice (pp. 35 & 44) in his speech. Mr Rabbani considered the protest of PTI & PAT a war against the state and an attack on the Parliament and the system. He also considered the protest a way of paving the way the Third Party (military establishment) or non-political forces to enter the fray. He also declared the protest an attack on the Parliament. In example (7), Mr Rabbani presented the protest as an attack on the Parliament, seeing the protest as part of an ongoing war between democratic forces, who want to see democracy flourish in the country, and non-democratic forces, who seek an end to democracy in Pakistan. Though Mr Rabbani did not name PTI or PAT directly in his speech, he presented them as a part of the non-

democratic forces who had not let democracy take firm roots in the country. He repeated the word *jang* (war) 17 times (pp. 35, 37, 47 & 51).

Other than Mr Rabbani, the other PPP parliamentarians, Mr Ahsan and Mr Babar, presented the protest an attack on the Parliament, the constitution and public institutions. Mr Ahsan accused PTI and PAT of paying the way for the *third party*, i.e. military establishment. He also interpreted Mr Khan's statement of raising the *umpire's finger* (pp. 23 & 27) and Dr Qadri's ultimatums and extensions of deadlines as the indications of waiting for some external support, perhaps from the Chief of Army Staff. For example, Mr Ahsan said that they were waiting for "Yes" or "No" that was the reason that they were extending the time of ultimatum (p. 28). Here, he meant yes a green signal from the army chief. Mr Ahsan used words synonyms "*yalgahar*" and "attack" (p. 19), "*lashkari*" (p. 21) twice each in his speech and declared the protest an attack on the Parliament (p. 27). Mr Babar also called the protest a *raid* on the Parliament (p. 56) which was meant to wrap up the prevailing system.

The frequency and intensity of the negative rhetoric used by the PPP parliamentarians against the protestors indicate that they were more severe in emphasizing negative actions of the out-groups than that of the treasury benches. They declared PTI and PAT protest an illegal, unconstitutional and harmful activity for the parliamentary system. Mr Rabbani, Mr Babar and Mr Ahsan called PTI & PAT protest a war against the state and an attack on the parliament and the constitution. Mr Ahsan and Mr Babar declared the protest an illegal and unconstitutional act. Mr Rabbani and Mr Shah declared the protest a revolt against the state. Mr Ahsan also presented the PTI and PAT leaders as liars who were befooling the public and inviting the *third party's* intervene. The PPP parliamentarians seem to agree with the PML-N parliamentarians that PTI & PAT protest was illegal and unconstitutional. Both considered it as an attack on the Parliament and the system and a revolt against the state. They also considered the protest as an effort of paving a way for the *third party* or non-political forces.

The figure also shows that PTI parliamentarians used the practice for a negative portrayal of the PML-N governments. Both Mr Qureshi and Mr Hashmi presented the federal and Punjab governments negatively and held them responsible for the protest. Mr Hashmi attempted to expose the

differences between the ministers as well. Mr Qureshi held the Punjab government directly responsible for the Model Town incident and accused it of killing PAT workers. Mr Qureshi presented the PAT workers as innocent and helpless and the Punjab government as a cruel and inhuman which had deprived the workers even of their basic needs e.g. food and medicines by blocking the entrances to the place where PAT workers had gathered (p. 51). He portrayed the incident of Model Town which resulted in the numerous casualties and injuries pathetically. He said,

they were shot and I saw them in the hospital, not just 14 deaths, 83 close to 90 people, bullets wound on the upper portion of the body....Main ny Model Town ko hasar main daikha ur jo containers sirf containers rakhy nahi gaye thy, yahan tu rakhy gaye hain whan tu lowhy ky sath un ko electric poles ky sath weld kiya giya tha. Yeh kaifiyat main ny daikhy, hazaroun khawaeen thain, khana band kiya giya, Jo khaana likar aata tha bahar jaata tha gariftaar ho jata tha... paani khana adwiyat band kar di gai [... I saw that Model Town was under siege. Here [in Islamabad] containers have been placed but they were welded with electric poles in Model Town. I saw that there were thousands of women, food was blocked. Whosoever came with food or went out was arrested, water, food and medicines were blocked] (pp. 49-51)

Mr Qureshi presented the Punjab government ruthless and cruel which had killed and wounded the innocent people. His use of phrases, e.g. "*khoon ki nadyaan/lahu lahaan/khoon ki holi khailna*" [blood bathing] (pp. 40, 52 & 61), "*khoon kharaaba*" (bloodshed), "*maqtoleen/laashain*" [who were killed/ dead bodies] (pp. 49, 52 & 61) and "*mazlomeen*" [victim of cruelty] (p. 49) was meant to present a negative portrayal of the PML-N government. Mr Qureshi blamed the government for using delaying tactics in registering FIR (First Information Report) according to the application submitted by Dr Qadri. Failing to get their FIR registered, he was forced to protest against the government. His claim that "*kiyounkeh Punjab hakoomat leet o la'l sy kaam ly rahi thi*" [because Punjab government was using delaying tactics] (p. 45) seems to prove the PML-N government guilty and PAT innocent.

Mr Qureshi presented the PAT workers as innocent and helpless but the Punjab government as cruel and inhumane, blocking the entrances to the place where PAT workers had gathered and thus depriving them of even their basic needs like food and medicine. The use of words such as *hasar* (seized), *electric poles ky sath wield kiya hiya* (wielded with electric poles), *pani, khana* and *adwiyat band karna* (banned water, food and medicines) aimed to highlight the cruel attitude of the government. Mr Qureshi also mentioned *hazaroun khawaeen* (thousands of women) to attract the sympathy of his colleagues. He described the situation after the Model Town incidents where causalities and injuries took place. Here he presented the government as ruthless and cruel, accusing it of injuring and even killing innocent people. He repeated words like *Khoon ki nadyaan/ lahu lahaan/ khoon ki holi* [a bloodbath] (40, 52, 61, 62), *Khoon kharaaba* [bloodshed] (40, 47) for the government and *Maqtoleen/ laashain* [who were killed, dead bodies] (49, 52, 62) and *Mazlomeen* [victim of cruelty] (49) for the PAT workers. He blamed the government for using delaying tactics in registering FIR according to the application submitted by Tahir ul Qadri. Failing to get his FIR registered, he was forced to protest against the government and said that *kiyounkeh Punjab hakoomat leet o la'l sy kaam ly rahi thi* [because Punjab Government was using delaying tactics] (45).

Mr Qureshi, on one hand, denied that his party leadership was involved in the attack on the Parliament and PTV buildings. On the other hand, he held the federal government responsible for inciting the people to enter into the Parliament building. He claimed that, due to the firing and teargassing, people had to take refuge somewhere. Therefore, they entered into the premises of the Parliament. He was of the view when police were batting, firing and teargassing them from three sides, and the protestors had no other option except taking refuge in the buildings. His claim that they had come in Islamabad with hope but were welcomed with teargassing and bloodshed was also attempted to present the government negatively. His accusation on Islamabad Police of blood bathing, batting and smearing roads with blood (p. 62) also seems to emphasize the negative attitude of the federal government.

The analysis of the out-group negative presentation in the parliamentary speeches reveals that PML-N and PPP parliamentarians were more severe in their presentation. The rhetoric used by them was very harsh. They used

the negative presentation as aggressiveness and reproaching strategy. They attempted to show that PTI and PAT were against the public institutions and wanted to wrap up the prevailing parliamentary system. They also attempted to impress upon their colleagues that they were playing in the hands of some non-democratic forces. The PTI parliamentarians used this practice to defend PTI and PAT's protest. They presented the PML-N government cruel, ruthless and undemocratic. They attempted to impress upon parliamentarians that their protest was meant to strengthen the public institutions. They held the government responsible for the protest. MQM did not use the practice of out-group negative presentation.

3.5 In-group negative presentation

The result of the speeches reveals a clear deviation from the results of previous studies that politicians emphasize in-group positive actions and out-group negative actions. The parliamentarians of PPP, the largest opposition party, not only presented the protesting parties negatively but also expressed their feelings against the attitude of the PML-N federal and Punjab governments openly. They held them responsible for the prevailing political situation. Similarly, the PTI parliamentarians presented their co-protestors, i.e. PAT, negatively.

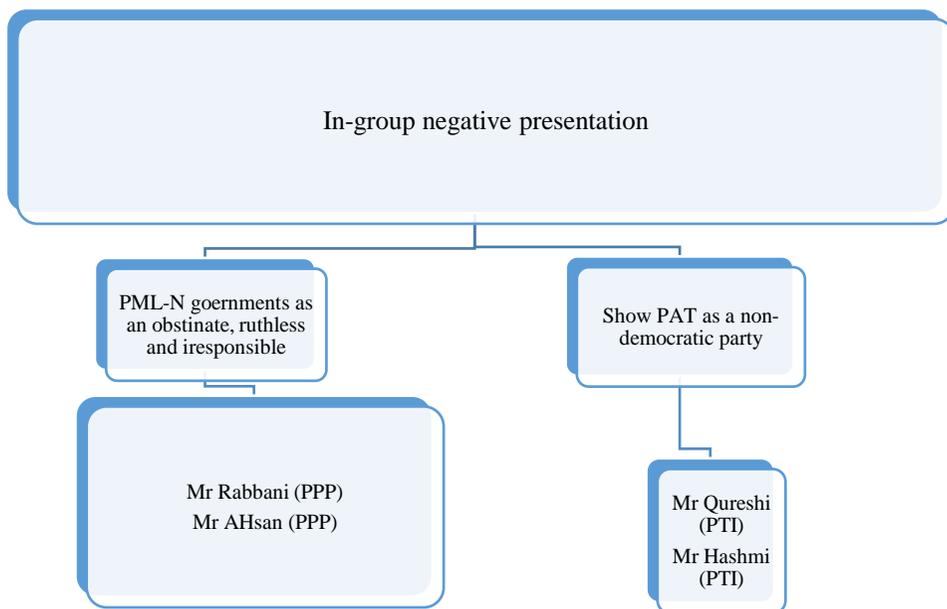


Figure 3: Emphasizing in-group negative actions

Figure 3 shows that the PPP and MQM parliamentarians presented the PML-N government and PTI presented PAT negatively. In the above sections, we have seen that both the PPP and PML-N parliamentarians criticised PTI negatively and presented their protest as war against the state and its institutions. The figure shows that the PPP parliamentarians did not spare PML-N government and held it responsible for the prevailing crisis. For example, Mr Ahsan held the Punjab provincial government responsible for the Model Town incident and said that the brutality of the Punjab government in Model Town resulted in the bloodshed (p. 20). He rejected the PM's claim that the incident was in a response to the resistance shown by the followers of Dr Qadri when police wanted to remove hurdles put on the road. He said that the government went to remove eight small hurdles from Model Town but, due to its negative attitude, it had to put 800 hurdles in the whole Punjab (p. 20). Mr Ahsan also declared that ministers in the cabinet of Mr Sharif egotist. He feared that the success of the government in the crisis would make the ministers more arrogant. Mr Ahsan said that the

PML-N's ministers did not consider themselves answerable to anyone as if the membership of the assembly was their legacy. He feared that after coming out of the crisis successfully, the minister of the PML-N government would become prouder and more arrogant. He used the idiomatic phrase "*ra'oniyaat ur takabbur*" (pride and arrogance) to reflect the attitude of the ministers. He also considered that the reason behind the self-conceited attitude of the ministers was their belief that they would be elected again without any difficulty. Commenting on the attitudes of the ministers, Mr Ahsan (p. 23) said that "*Punjab ky wozara mian jo samajhty hain keh ham ny tu Punjab sy muntakhib ho hi jaana he?*" (Do the Ministers from Punjab think that they are sure to be elected from Punjab?). He believed that this indifferent attitude of the ministers was the reason for the prevailing crisis. Mr Ahsan further felt that PAT and PTI had some genuine issues and had the government brought them into consideration, the current crisis could have been avoided. He complained that the provincial government had treated PPP workers badly (p. 19). He also declared Chief Minister Punjab's claim of being unaware of the Model Town incident as a lame excuse and an act of irresponsibility and negligence from his duties because the clash between the police and PAT workers continued for eight hours and it was being telecasted live on the televisions (p. 20) as well.

Mr Babar, the PPP parliamentarian, believed that the government's incapability of decision making had brought the situation at that stage because either the government had not taken timely decisions or it had violated its own decisions that the protestors should be allowed to protest. He presented the federal government as arrogant for not taking the parliamentarians on board and held it responsible for the current situation. He referred to one of the PM's decisions of Musharraf's trial under Article 6 (p. 51) and claimed that Mr Sharif wanted to take the credit himself that was the reason he had not bothered to take the Parliament in confidence (Mr Musharraf, as army chief, overthrew the PML-N's elected government, suspended the constitution and imposed martial law and emergency in the country in 1999 which later on was declared by the Supreme Court as the abuse of his authority. According to the constitution of Pakistan, this act

comes under the treason and government was required to lodge a case of treason against Mr Musharraf). Mr Babar further said if Mr Sharif had brought the issue before the Parliament, the opposition would have supported him in handling the situation but the arrogance and desire of taking the credit had restrained Mr Sharif from doing so. He also considered that delayed decisions of the government and its arrogance provided an opportunity to PAT and PTI for sit-in (p. 46). Mr Babar's criticism on the negative attitude of some of the ministers on the arrival of Mr Qureshi in the assembly (p. 43) and declaring this attitude an act of obstinacy and proudness (p. 43) is the negative presentation of the PML-N government.

Mr Rabbani, on one side, called the "*dharna*" (sit-in) a conspiracy (p. 36) against democracy and, on another side, claimed that it was the result of the PM and his ministers' indifferent attitude with the parliamentarians who had elected him as their PM. He held the PML-N's federal government responsible for the prevailing situation. He said that PM, Mr Sharif and his ministers did not been taking the Parliament seriously and considering themselves answerable to the Parliament. The use of different phrases, e.g. "*parliman ko isolate karna*" (isolate the Parliament) and "*parliman ko bywug'at karna*" (devalue the Parliament) by Mr Rabbani seem to highlight the negative attitude of the ruling party and its negligence from the responsibilities (p. 36).

Although PTI and PAT had jointly held sit-ins in Islamabad, though apparently with different demands yet both the parties had advanced towards the Parliament jointly. However, Mr Qureshi seems taking separate directions when he tried to present PAT leadership negatively, though indirectly, by holding it responsible for violating the law and occupying the public buildings, i.e. PTV house and Parliament lawn. Without naming PAT or its leadership, Mr Qureshi tried to convince the parliamentarians that PTI and its leadership had tried their best to refrain PAT leadership from proceeding towards the buildings. He tried to impress upon the parliamentarians that attacking the buildings was the plan of PAT only and PTI was not its part. He said that on coming to know about PAT's plan of proceeding towards the buildings and taking hold of them (p. 45), on the orders of Mr Khan, he personally went to PAT leadership and implored him to revise their decision. According to him, PTI considered that by doing that,

they would lose the battle which Mr Qureshi considered they had already won (p. 47).

Mr Hashmi also presented their co-protesting party negatively and tried to describe the difference between the approach/thinking of PTI and PAT. According to him, PTI was a democratic party and believed in the parliamentary system whereas PAT wanted to disrupt the whole system. He said that Dr Qadri just aimed to end the government and threw it away with a crane (p. 69), i.e. with force.

4. Discussion

In-group positive presentation and out-group negative presentation are the fundamental properties of political ideology (van Dijk, 1998, 2006). During political activities, politicians divide themselves into two groups (Wirth-Koliba, 2016) but the results of the study reveal that, unlike most of the political debates/discussions, the Pakistani parliamentarians divided themselves into more than two groups and their affiliation within groups varied from one individual to another as well as from one topic to another topic under discussion. They used the discursive practice of in-group positive presentation to highlight their efforts and sacrifices for the revival and strength of democracy in the country. They presented their in-group positively in two ways. They presented, on one hand, their in-group positively by highlighting their positive actions directly, and on another hand, by presenting the out-group negatively as is argued by the Political Discourse Analysts (also see van Dijk, 1993, 1997; Lauk, 2002). Politicians usually include the groups or members doing the same duty or having the same interest in their in-group. During the protest of PTI and PAT against the PML-N government, especially the PM; PPP, though being a part of the opposition, joined the ruling party and condemned the protest declaring their demands unconstitutional. The PML-N parliamentarians included PPP and other parliamentary parties, except PTI and PAT, in their in-group. They presented their in-group as the followers of democracy and out-group otherwise. Analysis of the speeches reveals that the PPP parliamentarians included PML-N, the ruling party, and PTI, the protesting

party, in their in-group as well as in the out-group; however, they excluded PAT because they considered it a non-democratic party. The PPP parliamentarians presented their party as the followers of democracy which believed in the supremacy of the constitution and the Parliament. They presented their party positively by assuring the government of their support against any unconstitutional demand of PTI and PAT to strengthen democracy and the Parliament. On one hand, they, as an in-group member, they defended PTI's right to protest, and on another hand, opposed its demands. Similarly, they supported PML-N's stance against the protesting parties as well as rebuked its incapability of handling the political issues and inhuman treatment with the PAT workers. In the same way, the PTI parliamentarians, on one hand, included PAT in the in-group while defending its decision of protest and claiming that it was protesting for justice and, on the other hand, they disowned it by declaring it a non-democratic party and holding it responsible for the *attack* on the Parliament and PTV buildings. The parliamentarians used the discursive practice of self/in-group positive and other/out-group negative presentation to achieve their vested objective which may be grouped under the following strategies.

4.1 Positive Presentation as a Persuasive Strategy

The protest of PTI and PAT was against the PML-N government and they wanted the PM resigned. They held the longest sit-in in the history of Pakistan which practically cut the capital from the rest of the country. The joint session was called to adopt some preemptive measures to cope up with the political crisis. The parliamentary proceedings were also being telecasted live. The PML-N parliamentarians attempted to get the support of the parliamentary parties and the general public in the name of democracy and Parliament. They also aimed to unite the parties against the protesting parties. Constitutionally, a PM could be removed by moving No Confidence Movement. There were also some rumours of coup d'etat. The PML-N government needed the help of other parliamentary parties to survive in that situation. Its parliamentarians emphasized their positive actions to convince and persuade their colleagues that their party respected the Parliament and constitution. Persuasive language is used to persuade the audience to agree with certain ideas or thoughts (White, 2018). It is also used to convince others to agree with the facts, share the values, accept the argument, and adopt the way of thinking ("persuasive techniques", 2014),

and same was done by the PML-N parliamentarians. They used the language to highlight some of their actions and instances from the past to impress upon their colleagues that their party had always respected the Parliament and wanted the political issues to be solved by using the same platform.

4.2 Positive Presentation as an Image-building Strategy

MQM was the party which did not anything at stake. The MQM parliamentarians seemed to enjoy their neutral position. They considered the demands of PTI unconstitutional but had sympathy with them. They were supporting the government but had some reservations on some of its decisions. They used the discursive practice of presenting in-group positively as an image-building strategy. As the speakers of a language as a tool for image building and identity (see Caviedes, 2003; Omar, 2007), therefore, instead of discussing the prevailing political situation, the MQM parliamentarians seem propagating the ideology of their party to extend its canvass by showing that their party was the only democratic party which not only protected the rights of the people of Karachi - as it was usually perceived - but also of other people living across the country. They not only raised the problems of the people living in the various areas of the country but also promised to solve them in case of getting power. They seem intended to show that their party was the only democratic party which not only protected the rights of the people of Karachi - as it was usually perceived - but also of other people living across the country.

4.3 Positive Presentation as a Defense Strategy

The protest of PTI and PAT was declared as an attack on the public institutions of the state by the PPP and PML-N parliamentarians. They were also accused of conspiring against the democratic intuitions and working for the interest of some non-democratic forces. The PTI parliamentarians attempted to defend and justify their protest. They emphasized their positive actions to show that their protest was not against any institution rather it was meant to strengthen them. They described the condition which had brought their party on the roads. They also portrayed

the horrific and sympathetic conditions of the PAT workers in Model Town Lahore which had resulted in PAT's sit-in. Through the positive presentation of their in-group, the PTI parliamentarians attempted to defuse the negative propaganda being made against them.

PPP, despite a part of the opposition, was supporting the PML-N government which was criticized by the PTI parliamentarians. The PPP parliamentarians seemed to justify their position by emphasizing their sacrifices for democracy. They attempted to impress upon their colleagues that their party had never compromised on its principles. They also seemed to reconfirm their resolution to support the democracy and the Parliament at any cost.

4.4 Negative Presentation as an Aggressiveness Strategy

Political actors present their out-groups negatively (van Dijk, 1993, 1997, 2006). The Pakistani parliamentarians used this discursive practice to present the out-group and its leadership negatively. They emphasized the out-group negative actions to present it undemocratic, an enemy of the state, cruel and irresponsible. Sometimes aggressiveness in communication helps people to make it more effective and this more effective narrative helps them to get the support of their fellows (Wirth-Koliba 2016). The PML-N and PPP parliamentarians used an aggressive strategy in their speeches to make their narrative effective so that they might gain the support of their colleagues. They presented PTI and PAT as a part of the conspiracy against democracy and the Parliament and called their protest unconstitutional and an attack on the institutions of Pakistan. They portrayed the workers as trained terrorists and enemies of the state. Wirth-Koliba (2016) argues that politicians use the out-group negative strategy to present their opponents insincere and unreliable. The parliamentarians of both PML-N and PPP presented the PTI and PAT leadership immature and insincere to show them unreliable and untrustworthy.

4.5 Negative Presentation as a Reproaching Strategy

Reproaching refers to finding fault with or blaming someone (Wordpandit, n.d.). While presenting the out-group negatively, the PML-N and PPP parliamentarians used the practice to rebuke and reproach PTI and its leadership. They accused PTI of promoting the culture of vulgarity and using an abusive language. They attempted to make their colleagues realize

that PTI and PAT leadership was not well-wishers of Pakistan and its people. The parliamentarians also attempted to prove that the leadership of these parties was immature, insincere and incapable to lead the nation.

5. Conclusion

The aim of this article has been to examine nuances in the ways the four major political parties in Pakistan characterized their actions and ideology as well as those of the other parties during the official discourses of Pakistani parliamentarians made during the third joint session of Parliament (September 2-19, 2014). It was during this period that sit-ins were held in Islamabad to protest the results of the election that took place the preceding May, and it was the first time that no party sought to solve disagreements by calling for Martial Law. Following van Dijk's Ideological Square Model (2006), this study takes a dynamic approach to the analysis of discourse. van Dijk's model predicts that the presentation of self or selves (in-group) will be positive, while the presentation of others (out-group) will be negative. Our analyses demonstrate that the categorization of other parties was not static; that is, when the party positions coalesced, their characterization of themselves and the other party(-ies) were positive. When there was disagreement in perspective, the parliamentarians used language that clearly placed them in the category of "them." In other words, over a series of discourses, there were moments in which the lines between these two categories became blurred, as party interests converged.

More concretely, when considering their own actions, the parliamentarians emphasized their positive qualities and promoted their actions as being good for the nation, each suggesting that their party members are the true followers of democracy. They presented their routine actions as reflections of sincerity and loyalty to the country and its institutions, choosing words demonstrating adherence to a policy of forbearance and reconciliation, again for the sake of democratic structures and goals. They further claimed to have made great sacrifices, having struggled for the restoration of democracy and being against any unconstitutional change.

While the model predicts a separation between “us” and “them”, it makes no prediction, however, regarding the balance between in-group positive and out-group negative presentations. Our analysis demonstrates that the parliamentarians of PML-N, PPP and PTI focused more attention on the negative presentation of other groups than the positive presentation of themselves. Part of the evidence for this finding can be found in the way parties addressed the sit-ins themselves. Sit-ins are normally considered to be a means for peaceful protest; however, the PML-N and PPP parliamentarians declared the protest a “war” and “revolt”. They reinforced the bellicose framing of the protests by referring to the PTI and PAT workers entering the buildings as an “attack” on the public institutions. They categorized the catapults and clubs as “weapons” and the protestors as “trained terrorists”. Similarly, PTI parliamentarians presented the Punjab Government as cruel and inhumane, depriving innocent people of their basic needs.

In summary, the article presents four main findings: a) that the parliamentarians did not always categorically divide themselves into two groups; b) the language of inclusion and exclusion of other parties was based on the specific positions and intent of the parties; c) parliamentarians presented themselves positively at the expense of out-group; and d) other parties (out-groups) were presented both positively and negatively.

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