

**REPRESENTATION OF LANGUAGE,
IDEOLOGY AND POWER IN
PAKISTANI BUDGET
SPEECHES 2016-
2021**

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**ASIA e UNIVERSITY
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REPRESENTATION OF LANGUAGE,
IDEOLOGY AND POWER IN
PAKISTANI BUDGET
SPEECHES FROM
2016- 2021

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ABSTRACT

Politics is a discipline which involves common man and politician at same level apparently; the language of this field is normally termed political discourse. Generally, all speeches either they are victory, inaugural, parliament, election campaign or budget are included in political discourse; hence, politicians design their speeches considering their objectives important not the needs of their people. They do not present the neutral picture of their plans, goals, intentions and ideologies in speeches rather their words are multi-layered and dubious. Therefore, the present study objectifies to analyse Pakistani budget speeches on three levels e.g. (i) to investigate the textual discourse through the representation of language use, ideology and power in Pakistani budget speeches (ii) to synthesize discourse practices through the representation of language use, ideology and power in Pakistani budget speeches (iii) to develop the social practices through the representation of language use, ideology and power in Pakistani budget speeches from 2016-2021. The present research is a mixed method research for it involves qualitative and quantitative paradigm because the frequencies have been taken through software and the features have been studied through actual instances. The analysis has been conducted through three-dimensional model given by Fairclough (1995). Moreover, to investigate the objectives distinctly, two separate corpora of Pakistani budget speeches have been compiled viz. from 2016 to 2018 one corpus and from 2019 to 2021 the other corpus. The reason behind forming two corpora was that these speeches were delivered by two different political speeches as, speeches from 2016 to 2018 have been declared by Pakistan Muslim League-Noon (PML-N) and from 2019 to 2021 have been presented by Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaaf (PTI). At next step, both the corpora have been tagged through CLAWS tagger C7 to select the certain parts of speech and additionally, a software named Antconc has been used to get the accurate frequencies of certain words and to make the results more impartial. Each objective of has been attained through a detailed manual analysis of each category. Every category has been decisively set on the basis of chosen words from data. The study justifies the objectives very explicitly; in Pakistan, both the parties declare budget on same pattern which indicates that in Pakistani context politicians have their own set objectives which they attain through language use, by practicing power and promote their own ideology. Besides this, it also reveals that although, the speeches have been delivered in different years by different finance ministers but the dilemma is that no change occurred in budget discourse. Conclusively, the study portrays too that both the governments have their own goals which they have surely attained in their tenures. As, the study is pioneer in the domain of budget discourse therefore, the research is significant because it opens brand new ways to analyse budget speeches. Furthermore, a model has been generated to analyse budget discourse based on 3D model that is the most striking feature of this study and this model will be used in future to analyse the said speeches from different perspectives namely: Budget Speeches of all political parties, budget of different countries, choose large size of data, apply other models of CDA, budget of developing and developed countries, phrase and clause formation and different levels of linguistics (see 5.5).

Keywords: Critical discourse analysis, corpus linguistics, three-dimensional model, budget discourse

APPROVAL

This is to certify that this thesis conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in quality and scope, for the fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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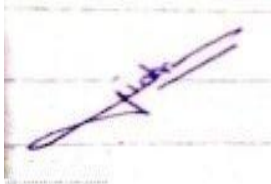
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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the thesis submitted in fulfillment of the PhD degree is my own work and that all contributions from any other persons or sources are properly and duly cited. I further declare that the material has not been submitted either in whole or in part, for a degree at this or any other university. In making this declaration, I understand and acknowledge any breaches in this declaration constitute academic misconduct, which may result in my expulsion from the programme and/or exclusion from the award of the degree.

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Signature of Candidate:

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
3D model	Three-dimensional Model
P	Paragraph
PML(N)	Pakistan Muslim League (Noon)
PTI	Pakistan Tehreek e Insaaf
SP	Speech

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Present study explores the budget speeches to elicit hidden information from the Pakistani budget speeches. Two specialized corpora, Pakistani Budget Speeches (PBS) from 2016- 18 (presented by PML (N)) to 2019-21 (presented by PTI) has been compiled. The corpus driven methodology has been used for the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) of the budget speeches. To conduct the in-depth analysis of said speeches, Fairclough 3D model has been applied. This research aims to find out the differences and similarities between Pakistani budget speeches which were declared by two political parties. This chapter consists of Background of the Study, problem statement, research objectives, research questions, Justifications and significance of the study and summary.

The main focus of this research is to extract the textual and to study the use of parts of speech (verbs, nouns, and pronouns) in both the corpora. These parts of speech have been limited to singular and plural nouns, general adjectives, personal pronouns, modal verbs, present and past forms of verb. Study also focuses on intertextuality and discursive practices (used in budget speeches). Corpus driven methodology has been used to examine the corpora. Quantitative analysis has done to measure the frequencies of selected parts of speech through ANTCOnc. The results have interpreted not only on the basis of frequency differences but also on meanings that are conveyed via use of textual analysis, discourse analysis and discursive practices which have been gathered from the mix method approach.

1.0 Background of the Study

Language is taken as a thought and way of expressing the feeling. By using words, the speaker expresses his own idea and thinking. These thoughts actually contain and

shows power; Moreover, they reveal the set/specific purposes in the communication. These are the thoughts which represent certain type of ideologies to practice in the society and power relations as well among various social groups and classes. Language plays an undeniable role in political context and politicians' language. As Chomsky (2004) opined that language is this much powerful as it is used as a tool to shape thoughts and manipulate the realities. Different ways and mediums of communication are used to influence, direct, dominate and inspire others; the use of speech is one of them. To analyse speech and written texts, critical discourse analysis is used to describe the texts, discursive patterns, relationships, and links them in socio-cultural contexts.

In current situation, critical discourse analysis (CDA) is used as a tool to analyse different texts. Critical discourse analysts take overt position, and thus want to comprehend, uncover, and ultimately fight against social inequality. CDA is concerned with studying and analysing written texts and spoken words to reveal the discursive sources of power, dominance, inequality, and bias and how these sources are initiated, maintained, reproduced, and transformed within specific social, economic, political, and historical contexts (Van Dijk, 1988). There are three central principles of CDA defined by Fairclough (2000) —Discourse is shaped and constrained by (a) Social structure (class, status, age, ethnic identity, and gender) (b) Culture (socialization, and member profile (social structure)) (c) Discourse (the words and language (p.3). CDA aims at making the connections obvious among discourse practices, social practices and social structures that might be impervious to the layperson.

According to Jones and Peccei (2004) politics is the name of a struggle which is made for power in order to set certain political, economic and social notions into

practice. For this purpose, language plays a central role for each political act that is prepared, conveyed and practiced by language. Hussari (2007) believes that political language is fundamentally used to generate the harmony on the public and the nation policymakers. Political leaders often have a tendency to control language or genre to achieve the political benefit, sustain power, and avoid responsibility. Such a practice takes place through discourse and verbal demonstration.

Hussein (2021) explains that on 1st July, the budget year in Pakistan takes start. The budget suggestions are made by Finance Ministry and also considered and approved as well by the Cabinet. Keeping into notice the trends of CDA researches, present study aims to analyse Pakistani Budget Speeches (PBS) through critical discourse analysis because in Pakistan this genre has not been studied yet on a broader level. But reality is that this document has very sacred position in Pakistan. That is why, this particular genre has been involved to shed light on the crafty usage of language of finance minister. Pakistani government Budget is an itemized accounting of the payments received by government (taxes and other fees) and the payments made by government (purchases and transfer payments). Common masses every year weaves the dreams for their betterment in the days of budget declaration. Dilemma is that in Pakistan more than half people just take interest in increasing and decreasing charges of household items; they even do not have idea that what new government has brought for them this year and how many promises of last year have been kept. Hence, in Pakistan it is the dire need of the hour to analyse this discourse.

Looking back into the history of budget, some facts have been mentioned in this study: Chattopadhyay (1988) describes that Liaquat Ali Khan as Finance Minister on February 28, 1947 declared budget. This was the first time when an Indian presented the budget of his country and that also proved to be the last budget

of British India. Pakistan's first independent budget was declared on February 28, 1948 by Malik Ghulam Muhammad. In this budget, first five years plan was submitted. Following the tradition even today in Pakistan, the finance minister (of current government) develops a plan but this plan is for one fiscal year and declares the speech in parliament every year.

Conclusively it can be said, that the chief purpose which politicians fulfil by language is to convince their audience which normally they make in election campaign, sessions of Parliament, party movements and budget speech. It has also been claimed by Mullet (2018) that CDA rests on the way of language usage that is purposeful; it is not important whether the discursive choices are conscious or unconscious. Different kinds of analyses are made on different texts as pragmatics,

1.1 Problem Statement

The major problem prevailing in the study is that political speeches do not deliver the complete information in neutral words rather language manipulation is found in them. They organize their speeches in order to give an impression of specific world-view to present and promote their ideology. They utter the words having multiple implied meanings of their discourse. As, in study conducted by Alduhaim (2019) revealed that the significance role linguists and speakers play to influence the audience by combining linguistic and extra-linguistic tools to persuade them with their own goals. Supporting Alduhaim, Armada (2022) disclosed that linguistic choices (made by politicians) are chosen to practice power; the words are used just to pose objectivity otherwise the linguistic choices always have a dual role in conveying of implicit and dominant meaning in speeches designed by politicians. This diplomatic use of language in speeches does not facilitate common man. Hence, resent study enlightens through **text analysis** that how politicians make a tactful use

of simple words in front of public. The users of language tend to construct reality corresponding to their own vested interests, ideological and political functions.

Adding to the CDA concerns, Fairclough 's model emphasizes the power of language; since, it also sheds light on the way the linguists or speakers use different linguistic features to advantage their thinking and to shape the public's opinions. Politicians use the language in such a tricky way which make the audience confused and they easily practice power in society. Common people are only concerned with problems and their solutions when the speech is delivered; they have no idea that what game of words is being played for the next year. Similarly, Harb and Serhan (2020) explored that politicians do not have crystal clear statements rather they have double-egged and ambiguous statements of a political speech. They presented how Trump's outrageous language unveils his ideological hegemony to promote his own thinking. On the same pattern, Tian (2021) analyzed political speeches and concluded that politicians use the language to shorten the distance between people using modality, pronouns and transitivity to fulfil their targets smoothly. Consequently, present study involves the budget discourse of Pakistan to investigate the major concerns of power practiced by politicians while declaring budget through discursive practice.

As per claims of linguists, political speeches present dubious perspectives for a very common issue and give a presentation of hegemonic scenarios. These speeches have normally multi-layered influences which genuinely affect the target audience. As, according to Addae (2022), politicians do not have a visible power but they win power through rhetorical strategies and linguistic techniques to convey ideological concepts, and as a result, they develop a discourse that suited to their own agenda particularly. The choice of devices they opt for was mainly dependent on the

context and social and political aspects. Discourse in relation to ideology and power placing it within a view of power as hegemony, and a view of the evolution of power relations as hegemonic struggle (Fairclough,1992:86). Henceforth, the present study examines how social practice analysis unveil the covert ideologies, power and agendas of political parties in budget speeches through the use of linguistic features in connection with social practice.

1.2 Research Objectives

Present study as following objectives:

1. To investigate the textual discourse through the representation of language use, ideology and power in Pakistani budget speeches from 2016-2021 in Pakistan
2. To synthesize discourse practices through the representation of language use, ideology and power in Pakistani budget speeches from 2016-2021 in Pakistan
3. To develop the social practices through the representation of language use, ideology and power in Pakistani budget speeches from 2016-2021 in Pakistan

1.3 Research Questions

Present research has following research questions:

1. What are the textual discourse analyses through the representation of language use, ideology and power in Pakistani budget speeches from 2016-2021 in Pakistan?
2. What are discourse practices through the representation of language use, ideology and power in Pakistani budget speeches from 2016-2021 in Pakistan?
3. To what extent social practices are focused through the representation of language use, ideology and power in Pakistani budget speeches from 2016-2021 in Pakistan?

1.4 Scope of the Study

On the basis of frequent contribution in critical linguistics, language of politicians is

always taken very seriously to lay-bare the hidden agendas even if they give a public speech, victory speech, parliamentary speech, inaugural speech or a budget speech. Present research has selected budget speeches to reveal the language use of finance minister who is a selected politician of the current government. Therefore, the study aims to disclose the use of language in budget discourse; so that, it be brought into the surface how politicians make a tactful use in budget speeches: those are purely considered an economic document (useful for economists) without taking its importance for common masses into account.

This research is very authenticated because the sample is extremely pure and no manipulation has been involved in terms of gathering data. Due to the restricted time for this research (allotted by the institution) that is two and half years the study has some limitations. Firstly, the size of present research is limited to corpus of 89638 and 33308 words of Pakistani budget speeches of PML (N) and PTI respectively; those are two famous political parties of Pakistan. Secondly, Budget is declared for each fiscal year in Pakistan and every government has tenure of five years. Some governments have same finance minister in their tenure and some change as per need. Hence, present study involves six years budget speeches due to duration of government's tenure because the study sheds light that how much both the governments have similarities and differences in apparently seem an economic document (budget). Thirdly, the present study involves a software to collect the frequencies but the instances, those are not clear in tagging, have been discounted to make the results more vivid.

1.5 Significance of the Study

Focusing on politics in Pakistan, budget is taken as an economic document which presents figures and subsidies only; people think this text has nothing to do with

language; rather, finance minister has a great care of masses' needs. The present research attempts to prove that although facts and figures are the part of budget discourse but language plays a crucial role to influence the masses and excite their favors for fulfilling government's own targets.

1.5.1 Representation of Masses

As Pakistan is a developing country and does not have the higher literacy rate, it is quite obvious that people also do have exposure of their rights. This research is important for Pakistani common masses as they will have awareness regarding their representation in budget in various sectors about which they are unaware. They also would have the knowledge to examine the utterances of their political leaders who apparently show their sincerity for common man and in actual the story works differently.

1.5.2 Helpful for Economist

Fairclough (1995) argues that language should be analysed as a social practice through the lens of discourse in both speaking and writing. Hence, the study is also important for economists who can build a connection between figures and language. Before this study the economists just had one direction to study the budget and it was related to money but through this study it will be possible for them to work with linguists to bridge the gaps of this discourse. Not only in terms of money circulation, taxation, facts and subsidies rather how sincerely the government fixes any problem for the better of their people.

1.5.3 Supportive for Linguists

It is equally important for linguist/ teachers who can address other areas of discourse in field of critical linguistics. Otherwise up till now whenever the budget comes, it is taken as not the direct area of linguists but the economists. Through this study, a

pathway for the language experts has opened to enter in this paradigm and analyse each element according to the need of the time or choice of the linguists. Additionally, teachers will also be facilitated through this research as they will have another area to be studied from different angles for contributing in critical linguistics.

1.5.4 Politicians' Diction

This research is also providing the platform to politicians to analyze their choice of words before they utter. It is as clear as crystal that through language politicians convince the layman hence, the study is significant for them because if one side the study will help masses to be aware of their representation, then on the other side the study will make the politician attentive too for choosing their words for any particular purpose. In result, they would be more careful about their diction to form their speeches.

1.5.5 Futuristic Viewpoint

The current study is pioneer in the field of political discourse. Due to this factor, critical discourse analysis does not have sufficient number of researches on budget discourse. Thus, it will be more substantial and beneficial in future to conduct further researches following the model that has been developed in this research to analyze budget discourse. Hopefully, the future studies may provide more ease for the researcher of CDA to work in integrated manner with other discipline as well.

1.5.6 Application of Theory

Theory (3D model), opted for current study, is playing multiple roles for present study viz. research takes insight from textual level to analyse the data at surface (word) level, for analysing the discourse discursive level proves fruitful to finalise the result by deeper study, and lastly, analysis of social practices has been carried out through the said theory to check the concerns of government. The study proves that

the theory can be confidently implemented on budget discourse.

1.6 Definition of Concept

The present study has four major concepts namely: language, ideology, power and budget discourse. In fact, the objective of this research is to analyse the connection among these terms and moreover, their impact on common people lives. This all mechanism has been observed through critical discourse analysis. In the following all the concepts has been explained individually.

1.6.1 Language

In the area of applied linguistics, which is normally taken as a paradigm, a method and an analytical technique as well, was originally known as Critical Language Studies (Billig 2003). It is labelled with similar names. The first concept of this study is language through which all the texts are formed to persuade people, capture the attention, attain the objectives and change the mindset as well. For van Dijk (2009) language can be better understand through Critical Discourse Studies, because he suggests that it is a combination of theory, application and analysis. It is a central aim of all the various approaches of language that critical analysis develops awareness; it has concern with the strategies those are used in establishment, maintenance and reproduction of (a)symmetrical relations of power that is practiced by language.

1.6.2 Ideology

On second place, this study has ideology as a main concept among all. According to Perez (2003) recent definitions of ideology are linked and interconnected with the concepts of power relations (among language users) and domination. CDA has a number of different ways to critically analyse the language: as far as values and criteria are concerned its explicit and an unapologetic attitude towards them (van Leeuwen 2006). The analysts focus on those features which contribute to the stuff of