

# **A Form Of Neoliberalism: A CDA Of Political Speeches Of Nawaz Sharif**

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## **Abstract**

The purpose of this research was to use the power of language to investigate the ideologies and visions of political leaders. They used diplomatic language to communicate their views. The current research examines Nawaz Sharif's speech critically. CDA was a type of discourse analysis that was used in social research to represent the speech around complicated sociopolitical topics. Its goal was to explore social inequality as it was expressed and signified, as well as how it was produced and legitimised through discourse. Media, according to CDA analysts, is an important discursive domain. The media's role in shaping public perceptions of political parties was crucial. As a result, the media has risen to a powerful position from which it can establish certain practises and shape public opinion in the political representation process. The speeches of significant leaders of Pakistan's major political parties were chosen to be published in Pakistan's top newspapers. Three newspapers were chosen for representation: The News, Dawn, and The Express Tribune. This study examines news accounts of chosen political speeches given by major Pakistani politicians. The study uses significant elements from established CDA models for data analysis, taking an eclectic approach. The theoretical framework revolves around the concept of discourse's power to shape reality.

The study used thematic analysis and Fairclough's three-dimensional model (1989) as a data analysis tool. The remarks were evaluated on three levels of discourse: textual, discursive, and societal. The speaker used the pronoun "I" to express his authority, and he garnered the audience's support by using the pronoun "we" to win their hearts and reflect this power on the rulers, according to the major results in the case of power within discourse. The speakers used various

language techniques, such as modal verbs, lexicon, transitivity, inter discourse, and so on, to explain the government's oppressive rule in detail.

**Keywords:** Critical discourse analysis, Nawaz sharif speeches, Neoliberalism, Power within discourse, Political discourse.

## 1.1 Introduction

During the 1990s and beyond, the advent of neoliberalism by political leaders of various parties in Pakistan altered the political landscape. Chris Bulcaen and Jan Blommaert (2019). Since the 1990s, neoliberalism has been recognised by Pakistan's political leaders as a significant component of the country's current political leverage and has been used by them to achieve political success. Chris Bulcaen and Jan Blommaert (2019). Neoliberalism emerged in the early 1990s as a paradigm for gaining traction in different political areas of Pakistani society. Neoliberalism was coined by the French economist Charles Gide in 1898, and it was used in the economic sector to describe a number of "market-related" reform programmes. Neoliberalism then evolved into a policy framework for economic reform. Nasir. Dr. Wang Xiaoyang, H.S. Bukhari (2018). The following are the sole goals of this reform:

- To eliminate the regulation of price control.
- Deregulating the capital market.
- Lowering trade barriers.
- Introduction of provocation in the economy.

This laid-out plan establishes a solid foundation for a select group of people to control the economic sector of any given state or country. Ruth Wodak is a writer (2020). Furthermore, because neoliberalism was linked to any nation's or country's economic sector, the Pakistani nation suffered economically. Various funds for their relief, education, and health care were not supplied to them, and they steadily fell behind other countries. T. A. Shiryayeva and colleagues (2020).

## 1.2 The main objectives of this study is to find out:

- a) To linguistically analyze the speeches of Nawaz Sharif: Lexical and syntactic analysis of speeches with regard to development of political ideology.
- b) To evaluate the effect of political speeches with regard to arousing political sympathy.
- c) To unveil the nurturing of neoliberalism through political leverage gained through speeches

## 1.3 Research Questions:

From the above objectives, this study seeks to address the following research questions that were enumerated below:

- 1.1 How linguistically the political speeches of Nawaz Sharif were designed with regard to lexical and syntactic analysis?
- 2.1 How political sympathy was achieved through speeches?
- 3.1 How neoliberalism was nurtured through political mileage attained via speeches?

## **Literature Review**

### **2.1 Introduction**

Language is a unique human trait that allows individuals to convey and communicate not only concrete but also abstract concepts. Language has a key role in social and cultural development. It allows people to do things that they wouldn't be able to do otherwise. They construct distinct versions of reality in a socio-cultural context based on the underlying values. Structuralism is a problem. In fact, language is not a neutral means of communication. Because it is only possible to express oneself through various means (Foucault, 1983), different worlds, identities, and relationships are constructed through language. It has an impact because all aspects of social activities revolve around this skill. According to Skutnabb-Kangas (2000), social relations expression, according to Skutnabb-Kangas (2000), is not, and cannot be, by definition, a neutral, objective, disencumbered tool. Even if people who use it don't say so, it is always required and subjective.

#### **2.1.1 Power in Language**

Many theorists have demonstrated the relationship between power and language over time, and the nature of this relationship is multifaceted. On the one hand, language benefits those in positions of power, and on the other hand, it has the ability to undermine those in positions of authority. To put it another way, language has power. Fiske (1994) believes that language helps in the production and assertion of power structures in society, and that it reflects the speaker's or writer's goals. As a result, certain institutions are granted privileges in the formation of our society to disseminate and influence society through language, and it is carefully set that only one-sided flow of language can be maintained in order to avoid the reversal influence of power by means of language. Our political climate and media coverage are both shaped by the same phenomenon. Though it started in the last few decades, the study of language and power has grown into a whole field of study that looks at how language is used to achieve, exercise, and keep power in society.

### **2.2 Discourse**

Discourse is language in action, and to understand it needs a concentration on both language and action (Hanks, 1996). Discourse has a long history of being treated linguistically, either as a

collection of linguistic forms greater than a single phrase (a text) or as a language-in-use, i.e., people's actual linguistic structures—real language (Brown and Yule, 1983; de, Beaugrande and Dressler, 1981). Discourse, according to Jan Blommaert (2005), is a phenomenon that includes all types of significant, meaningful individual behaviour observed in relation to social, cultural, and historical patterns and changes in usage. Blommaert believes that the standard definition of language only covers one component of speech. Discourse is a domain of language use that is organised as a whole by shared assumptions. There may be competing discourses, and discourses will change over time. For example, M. Foucault describes the existence of a discourse of madness that has changed over the centuries. He also implies that there may be parallels between discourses at any time. We find the term "discourse," most commonly used, refers to the nexus between bodies of historically volatile disciplinary knowledge and specific linguistic usages at social-institutional sites (hospitals, prisons, and schools, for example).

### **2.2.3 Discourse and Ideology**

Ideology is created by converting lengthy common-sense assumptions into ideological assumptions, as described by Fairclough (2003). To begin with, ideology is a 20-part system of ideas and beliefs that make up and direct the major power structures of every society. Furthermore, language is the most powerful tool used by ideological forces. Ideology, by legitimization, creates a space for unequal relations and serves organised authority. The power relations are set by language, which is ideological. Another point of view is that a linguistic ideology can be a valid conception of the language, but it can also be a false explanation of the language since it differs in terms of facts. Another perspective on ideologies is that they serve as the foundation for belief systems and establish social representations of specific groups (van Dijk, 2001). In the media perspective, ideology plays a key role because it is a type of reproduction of the dominant classes and ideologies in social contexts. The ideological element of the reconstruction of the media of social reality is an important facet.

### **2.3 Political Discourse**

Politics, like other social activities in a civilised society, is a social activity. It has its own set of rules, and the language used in political debate has its own set of attributes. More attention should be paid to this form of debate as a political ritual. In fact, research into the relationship between language and power began a few decades ago, but the critical approach to studying it is relatively new (Beard, 2001). It's critical to consider how language represents politicians' ideological positions as well as how readers' ideological positions are created and influenced. It is one type of discourse that makes and changes beliefs, opinions, and ideologies, and that is called political speech (Wodak, 2003).

To put it another way, for a political statement to be effective, it must promote a specific ideology among the audience. It implies that the manner in which a speaker talks and conveys anything in a speech has a significant impact on the audience's attitude. At the local, national, and worldwide

levels, certain studies in the field of political discourse focus on the text and speak of professional politicians or political institutions, such as presidents and prime ministers, as well as other members of government, parliament, or political parties (van Dijk, 1997).

## **2.4 Media Discourse**

The media language has been an important site for discursive construction via language. A number of academics have examined the issues raised by the media. It is necessary to discuss media conversation in general before analysing its key problems in media discourse. Another source of concern is the terminology utilised in today's media texts. On the one hand, media text is enriched with private conversational idioms, slang, and more sensitive cultural clues in the language, and on the other hand, media discourse serves as an official language to deliver information to the public with legitimate authority. Various studies have found that media discourse is not at all neutral or non-biased, particularly when it comes to the representations it deals with (Fairclough, 1995). Media discourse, on the other hand, portrays its own preconceptions in order to develop a relationship between the subject and its audience (van Dijk, 1997). In general, the overall role of media discourse is to frame the story in such a way that the audience's or readers' emotions are evoked. For example, it has been noticed that the selection of terms, at least in headlines, generally reflects people's thoughts, attitudes, and mindsets toward subjects in the news.

## **4.5 Neoliberalism**

Neoliberalism is a term that is commonly used to describe market-oriented reform strategies such as "removing price controls, deregulating capital markets, lowering trade barriers, and diminishing state power in the economy, particularly through privatisation and austerity." Neoliberalism is a branch of capitalism that gained worldwide popularity immediately after socialism was soundly defeated in the aftermath of the dissolution of the former Soviet Union, often known as the USSR. Some of the most significant changes have occurred in the global political and economic system. The evolution of capitalism, from state capitalism to neoliberalism and finally to gangster capitalism, has been marked by numerous developments. The Pakistani economy is part of an economic system in which a new form of crony capitalism has grown in popularity and relevance much beyond the wildest dreams of supporters of Milton Friedman's neoliberal economic system.

## **4.6 Current state of Neoliberalism:**

Despite Bhutto's growth under difficult conditions, the average rate in the 1970s, 4.8 percent, was higher than in the 1950s. Zia eventually accepted the "Washington Consensus" on privatisation and deregulation, deficit reduction, and trade liberalisation. Under Zia, neoliberal "reforms" began slowly, with rollback measures aimed at restoring the private sector. When Zia died in an aeroplane crash in 1988, the public sector's share of overall industrial investment had dropped from 73 percent to 18 percent. Despite a growth rate of over 6%, exports per capita remained unchanged. The military-appointed interim administration, which is led by former IMF personnel, inked

structural adjustment agreements aimed at decreasing budget deficits and increasing currency reserves. These pacts charted the course for the next ten years. While Asian tigers employed state control to amass capital in order to bring about "the end of the Third World," Pakistan lagged behind. This was due to a failure to deploy resources to amass and compete for a larger portion of the global market, not to external forces, which were real. Instead, the resources earned through its geopolitical situation, a (unpredictable) rentier benefit, were used to pay for the coercion required to keep power. As a result of the army's dominant political role, political parties have been reduced to little more than organised patronage. The political class is more concerned with splitting the spoils than with investing in education, research, health, and welfare. Because of the depth of the ethnic divide and the lack of any national philosophy in Pakistan other than seeing India as its eternal adversary, a strong military is required if the country is to exist as a separate entity. Baloch, Pashtun, and Sindhi nationalists are inspired by the success of Bengali nationalists in breaking away in 1971. It necessitates the myth of India as a constant threat.

#### **4.7 Research Conceptual Framework:**

This study was applying Critical discourse analysis on political speeches through Fairclough model. Ma, J., & Stahl, L. (2020)

##### **4.7.1 Fairclough Model:**

This study was applying critical discourse analysis to political speeches through the Fairclough model. Ma, J., & Stahl, L. (2020)

- Dimension 1
- Dimension 2
- Dimension 3

Categories in the Fairclough model are named as dimensions. Each dimension specifies an analysis at a different level.

##### **i. Dimension 1:**

Dimension 1, considered as the essential and most basic level of discourse analysis of any given event, this category consists of basic text, which further can be in multiple forms, such as:

- Speech
- Writing material
- Images.

At this level of analysis, the attitude of the subject under analysis was derived from the pronouncing and behavior of words.

ii. **Dimension 2:**

Dimension 2 is considered the second category of the Fairclough model. It is also known as "Discursive Practice." In this Fairclough category, discourse analysis was performed on the production of various types of text, or constitutional text. Core level in this category, analysis takes place at the text level.

iii. **Dimension 3:**

Analysis in this category takes place at a broad level compared to the other two dimensions of the Fairclough model. This analysis also includes the social relationships of the subject. It is also known as Social Practice Analysis

### **3.1 Methodology**

In terms of technique, procedures, and nature, this was qualitative research, and it was also based on the critical discourse analysis model (CDA). There were three main features of definition, interpretation, and evaluation of critical discussion analysis Explanation, as well as other rhetorical strategies, can be used with the help of other resources provided by analysis of critical discourse. The concept of population in terms of data for this study was divided into two categories: original politician speeches and news coverage of those speeches in Pakistani media. In most CDA studies, the data sampling comprises of representative texts that are generally chosen based on the research topics.

One major political party was chosen for this study, and speeches given by their leader was chosen as representatives of the rest of the political personality. Being the head of the Pakistan Muslim League (N) he took oath as the Prime Minister of Pakistan in 2013. In the year 2014, he delivered many speeches and they got the most prominent space in the newspapers.

Therefore, the speeches selected for this analysis were:

- His address to General Assembly, UNO, on 26th of September, 2014
- His address to a public gathering at Hawalian on 29th of November, 2014
- His address to nation on Television on 24th of December, 2014

The selection of newspapers was another key aspect of data selection. Three newspapers were chosen based on their distribution in Pakistan to evaluate their popularity and status. Dawn was the first newspaper chosen for this study because it is Pakistan's most prominent and oldest newspaper. It is considered Pakistan's most important English-language daily news. The second one was The News, and it is the largest English-language newspaper in Pakistan. The third English-language newspaper selected for this study was The Express Tribune.

Data were analysed using Fairclough's 3D model and framework, which included three aspects in a society: text, socio-cultural, and discursive practices. This framework provides the basis for analysing variables like social, cultural, and ideology in Nawaz Sharif's speech. Results Data analysis included the analysis at three levels: textual, discursive, and societal. Textual Analysis In textual analysis, cohesion, modality, vocabulary, transitivity, and pronouns are focused on. In Cohesion in Cohesion, the use of conjunctions and references was analyzed. References include epiphoric, anaphoric, and cataphoric. Epiphoric references were replications of the last part of the phrase, and anaphoric was the repetition of the starting part of the phrase, whereas cataphoric was the word that takes reference from the previous words. A newspaper was chosen as the study's major source of information. After the selection of speeches, the researcher took three major newspapers: Dawn, The News, and The Express Tribune, for sampling.

### **3.2 Data Collection Sources:**

The majority of the data was gathered from mainstream media and social media channels. The speeches and declarations can be found on news networks and social media platforms such as Youtube and Instagram. This was utilized to supplement the data and provide material for analysis.

### **3.3 Instrumentation and data analysis:**

The study uses a critical discourse analysis of famous political leaders' speeches. In the speeches, the famous Fairclough 3D model of CDA was used. Text (lexical and syntactic analysis) was the first level, followed by discursive practise (text producers and text consumers), and finally social practise (development of an ideology). For the analysis at the word and sentence levels, the initial level was removed. It includes the speeches' word choices and statements. The second level would look at the text as a whole in the form of speeches, with one political leader (Nawaz Sharif) as the speech producer and the people as the speech consumers. The third stage involved attempting to analyse how speeches are used to develop political ideologies.

## **4.1 ANALYSIS OF THE SPEECHES OF PAKISTAN MUSLIM LEAGUE (N)**

In 2013, Nawaz Sharif took the oath as Pakistan's Prime Minister. He gave many speeches in 2014, and just three of them are featured in this chapter since they received the most notable coverage in the newspapers. Three newspapers, The News, Dawn, and The Express Tribune, have reported on the situation. Each speaker's speech has been scrutinized. The following are the speeches that have been examined: An Address to the United Nations On September 26, 2014, he delivered a speech at Havelian, and on November 29, 2014, he delivered a speech to the Pakistani nation. The following days' newspapers were published: September 27, 2014, November 30, 2014, and December 25, 2014, respectively. The CDA model presented in this chapter is used to assess these reports.

The following were the headlines:



#### 4.1.1 Nawaz Sharif to UN on September 24, 2014

The News	World community bound to resolve Kashmir issue: PM
Dawn	PM reiterates stance on Kashmir in UN speech
Express Tribune	Kashmir cannot be sidelined: PM

All of the reports appear to have emphasised the Kashmir issue in their reports. These reports contain numerous direct quotations, which are used to highlight the topic of Kashmir in particular, as well as other issues in general. This method of displaying the quotes gives the speaker a prominent position and contributes to his powerful image. Metaphors are included in all of the reports in various forms. The News has avoided many of the speech's expressions; the Express Tribune has used many metaphors in its direct quotations in the report; and Dawn has used many of the speech's metaphoric impressions as well as creating some of its own.

#### 4.1.2 Nawaz Sharif at Haveliyan

The News	PM announces further slashing of POL prices
Dawn	People have rejected politics of sit-in: PM
The Express	Sit-ins and road block impeding progress

In terms of syntactic analysis, none of the three reports employ modals or nominalization as discursive strategies; however, The News and Dawn employ passive voice structures, but only in key phrases, or passive sentences are identical to those provided by the speaker. There is only one passive sentence in the Express Tribune, and it is about sit-ins. All of them used clauses with elaboration and extension, but The News repeated the terms "sit-ins," "motorway," and "prices," while The Express Tribune repeated the terms "PTI" and "sit-ins," and Dawn did not use any of them.

#### 4.1.3 Nawaz Sharif to Nation on 24th of December

The News	Special courts led by military officers to be set up: PM
Dawn	Military courts to try terror suspects
The Express	Tribune Fight against terrorism

In terms of syntactic analysis, none of the three publications used modals or nominalization as approaches for discursivity. The Express Tribune and Dawn, on the other hand, have employed passive voice to obscure the agency, but only in the essential words. The News, The Express Tribune, and Dawn all utilised clauses with elaboration and extension, although The News repeated the terms "activity," "constitution," and "legislation," while The Express Tribune repeated the terms "attacks," "terrorists," and "military," but Dawn did not.

However, The News has used politically contentious vocabulary in its usage of vocabulary, and lexical phrases used or referring to the speaker have positive connotations, such as "emotional tone," "long meeting," "giving an ultimatum to the terrorists," "iron hand," and "strong hand." "Days are numbered," "activity," "action, action, action, action, action, action, action, action Dawn, on the other hand, has used three phrases: "special military personnel," "special military personnel," and "special military personnel." "Hardened terrorists," "radicalization," and "courts." The Express Tribune has used denotation but despite this, a substantial number of connotations were used to indicate the speaker's overall tone.

## **5.1 Conclusion**

Neoliberalism is a branch of capitalism that gained widespread popularity soon after socialism was decisively defeated in the aftereffects of the disintegration of the former Soviet Union, also known as the USSR. Pakistan is part of an economic system in which a new form of crony capitalism has grown in popularity and relevance much beyond the wildest dreams of proponents of Milton Friedman's neoliberal economic system. The headlines of the reports have a lot of discursivity, and it's interesting to note that the headlines don't seem to represent the entire content of the report. It means that all the newspapers took the news in accordance with their own interests. Starting with Bretton Woods, the economic system has evolved through many stages, with the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund controlling nearly everything in terms of the international regulatory framework that determines the exchange rate. The dollar had replaced gold and bronze as the reserve currency, with a green-backed foreign currency taking its place. Neoliberalism was applied to the economy and was a key component of a number of "market-related" reform policies. Neoliberalism later developed into an agenda of economic reform policies, and it began to emerge as a framework for gaining traction in various political aspects of Pakistani society. Neoliberalism has evolved into a policy programme for economic reform with the following objectives: price controls should be abolished, the capital market should be deregulated, trade barriers should be reduced, and economic provocation should be introduced.

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