

Proximization: Another Perspective

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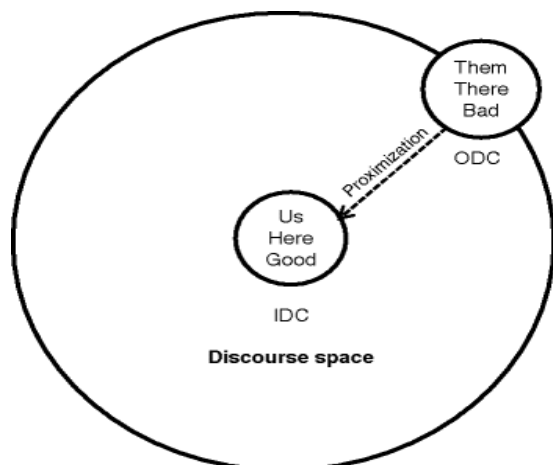
Abstract

The previous studies have applied the proximization model to one sided discourses to show how the out-groups/others (ODCs) have been presented as physical, temporal and ideological threat to the in-groups (IDCs) by the political leaders to legitimize their political actions. The aim of this paper was to see how Pakistani political leaders use the strategy in their parliamentary speeches. The paper investigated three speeches of the Pakistani parliamentarians from 2013-2018 tenure. The results show that proximization can not only be used to present the ODCs as physical, temporal and ideological threat to the IDCs to legitimize and justify the in-group actions but it may also be used as an aggressive strategy to present the ODCs negatively, counter argument and defense strategy to defuse the propaganda of the opponents, to ignite the feeling of the fellows and defend the in-group actions.

Keywords: Proximization, defense, propaganda, parliamentary, threat.

Introduction

Proximization Theory (PT) is relatively a new theory based on Chilton's (2004) concept of Didactic-Space-Theory (DST) (Cap, 2013). According to this theory, the speaker (S) acts as a didactic center (DC) and selects an in-group as insiders of the didactic center (IDCs) of the imaginary discourse space (DS) based on his ideological interests. The speaker (S) takes his anti-ideological group as outsiders of the didactic center (ODCs) and presents it as a physical, temporal or ideological threat or increasingly and negatively consequential to the IDCs and urges his in-group to adopt the preemptive measures to control or neutralize an imminent, future or ideological threat.



Proximization in Discourse Space (DS)

Proximization may be physical, temporal or ideological. However, the degree of presence of these three categories at the same level in a particular event is not necessarily equal (Cap, 2017) and the speaker may involve them as per the demand of the situation or requirement of the legitimization of the preemptive measures. The speaker may use it for obtaining different objectives; however, the principal goal of a proximization is the legitimization of the action and policies to neutralize the growing negative effect of the opponent entities (Cap, 2013b).

Cap's paper (2007) uses Proximization model to analyze legitimization in the political discourses. His application of the model (2006, 2008) to 64 extracts from the US presidential pre and post-war Iraq war addresses proves its practical implication to the political discourses. He has applied this model (2013) to Mr Bush's, the former US president, the speech of on War on Terror to show how Mr Bush presented Saddam Hussain and his weapons of mass destruction (ODCs) as an increasing threat to the world (ODCs) to legitimize his imminent operation against Saddam's government. He has applied the theory to the cancer prevention discourse as well and presented cancer as an enemy (ODC) and an imminent threat to the patient (IDC). He also applied the theory to the discourse of climate change to present the change (ODC) as a growing threat to the world and its inhabitants (IDCs). His application of the theory to modern technology also presents it as a cyber-threat to the world resulting in anxiety and uncertainty. He applies his Proximization model (2014) to the discourse of health, environment and modern technology to highlight their physical and ideological threats to humanity. His application of the theory (2015b) reveals how Polish politicians presented the immigrants (ODCs) as a threat to their country and citizens (IDCs). Cap has applied the model (2015) to Iraq war data to explain complex phenomena of political rhetoric.

Other than Cap, some other discourse analysts have applied Proximization model to political discourses. For example, Halt (2010) uses the model to present asylum-seekers, refugees and foreign terrorist (ODCs) as a spatial and temporal threat to Britain (IDCs). Dunmire (2011) applies Proximization model to Bush's speeches regarding Iraq to see how Bush used the discourse

to legitimate his administration's policy of preemption. Wang's (2019) applies the model to Chinese president Xi Jinping's speech in the UN 70th session of General Assembly shows how the president presented some historical events, common challenges (ODCs) as a temporal and ideological threat to the global community (IDC).

A review of the studies that have applied Cap's Proximization model reveals that it has been applied to one-sided discourses. Majority of the discourse analysts has used the model to analyze how the out-groups/others (ODCs) have been presented as a threat to the in-groups (IDCs) to legitimize the political actions but no study has attempted to see the discourses of the accused ones. For example, the studies of Bush's speeches about Iraq and Saddam Hussain have analyzed one perspective presented by Bush but no study has found which has analyzed the speeches of Saddam Hussain (as an IDC) in response to Bush's (as ODC) accusation of mass destruction weapons (MDW).

The objective of this study was to see how political leaders, of either side, use the discourse to present the out-groups/others (ODCs) as a threat to their in-groups (IDCs) to legitimize their actions or defend their in-group's actions. In 2014, during PTI (Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf) movement against the PML-N (Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz, the ruling party) government, Pakistani political leaders accused one another and presented them negatively. The study aimed to analyze how Pakistani political leaders employed the discursive practice of presenting one another (ODCs) as a physical, temporal and ideological threat to their in-groups (IDCs) during this critical phase of Pakistani politics.

Background of the study

In August 2014, PTI (Pakistani Tehreek-e-Insaf) announced a movement against the PM, Mr Sharif and his government. It accused the PML-N (Pakistan Muslim League, Nawaz group) government of rigging the election and depriving PTI of 30-35 seats and held dharna (sit-in) in Islamabad. PAT (Pakistan Awami Tehreek) also joined PTI in the sit-in and demanded the PM's resignation. Due to the sit-in, the capital was cut off from the rest of the country and even presidents of two countries postponed their official visits to Pakistan. Each day, since the start of the long marches from Lahore on August 14, 2014, brought the rumours, ambiguous signs and assumptions of a Coup d'état. It was also observed that for the first time in the history of Pakistan almost all ruling and opposition political parties were united against the alleged imminent military intervention. On the requisition of the opposition, three weeks long (from September 2, 2014, to September 19, 2014) joint session of National Assembly and the Senate was called to discuss the issue and adopt a unanimous policy to deal with the situation. The parliamentarians, belonging to the treasury and opposition benches, interpreted and exploited the prevailing political situation in the country according to their political objectives.

Research Methodology

This qualitative study used Cap's Proximization model for analyzing the three parliamentary speeches selected from the third joint parliamentary session of the second parliamentary year of 2013-2018 tenure which was held from September 2, 2014 to September 19, 2014. The speeches from the session were selected because it was the longest session of that parliamentary tenure which was held in an extraordinary political condition of the country, the longest dharna (sit-in) against the government in the capital. One member from each of the three leading political parliamentary parties was selected, i.e., Ch. Nisar Ali Khan from PML-N, Ch. Itizaz Ahsan from PPP and Mr Shah Mehmood Qureshi from PTI. The detail is given in the table.

Demographic details of the speeches

Party affiliation	Speech delivered on	Pages	Senator/Member of National Assembly (MNA)	Name of the speakers
PML-N	Sep. 2, 2014	2-17	MNA	Ch. Nisar Ali Khan (Interior Federal Minister)
PPP	Sep. 2, 2014	18-31	Senator	Ch. Atizaz Ahsan (Leader of the Opposition in Senate)
PTI	Sep. 3, 2014	32-68	MNA	Makhdoom Shah Mehmood Qureshi (Vice Chairman of PTI)

All these were the senior members of their parties and held key positions in their parties. Their transcribed speeches were downloaded from the official website of National Assembly (<http://www.na.gov.pk/en/debates.php>).

Results and Discussion

The selected parliamentarians of the parties included their in-groups in the IDCs and out-groups in the ODCs. They presented the out-groups as a physical, temporal and ideological threat to their in-groups and attempted to defend the decisions of their in-groups. For example, Mr Khan, the parliamentarian of the ruling party, presented Pakistan ky asasy/ riyasti اساسی (assets of Pakistan), mumlikat e Pakistan (state of Pakistan), riyasti 'imartain (public buildings), riyasti idary (public institutions), aiwan/Parliament, hakoomat (government), aiwan wazeer e azam (Prime Minister House), Supreme Court as insiders of the didactic center (IDCs) who were under the direct threat of the action of the two parties (as ODCs). He used words like aik growth (one group), Aazadi march (march for freedom), inqelab march (march for revolution), donow march (both marches), Mustafwi Inqalab waly (those who were bringing Muhammad's SAW revolution), insaf ur jamhooriyat ka na'ra lagany waly (those were raising the slogans of justice and democracy), aik niya nizam lany waly (those were bringing new system), islam ka nam badnam karny waly (those

who were defaming the name of Islam), Mustafwi inwalab ka na'ra lagany waly (those who were raising the slogans of the revolution of Muhammad SAW), lashkari jama'at (militant party) and 'askari group (militant group) for the outsiders of the didactic center (ODCs). He said:

Aik growth jamhooriyat ka sahara likar, rule of law ka sahara likar, aazadi e izhar ka sahara likar is aiwan ky darwazy par pahuncha ur ab har aaini ur har ghair qanooni qdam sy guraizan nahi. Yeh aik lashkar kashi huwi he Pakistan ky asaoun par, riyast asasoun par, idaroun par aaini ur qanooni haddain ha un par (one group, in the name of democracy, in the name of rule of law, in the name of freedom of expression, has reached the threshold of the Parliament and now is not reluctant to take any constitutional or illegal step. It is an invasion against assets of Pakistan, the public institutions and constitutional limitation) (p.3)

The use for the IDCs and ODCs had their significance and were used with the specific objectives. In the above example, Mr Khan included the PTI and PAT's protestors in ODCs and declared their protest an attack on the public institutions, the system and even the state itself (IDCs). He used a word growth (group) for the protestors because he considered them not the people who gathered under some ideological objective rather a timely gathering of different minded persons who had gathered there with the aim to wrap up the democracy in the country. He presented them as hypocritical persons who had a difference between their sayings and actions because they had challenged the rule of law, misused aazadi-e-izhar (the freedom of expression) and reached the doorstep of the Parliament House. 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 ("Pakistan protesters", 2014). Mr Khan used the phrase dhawa (attack) and lashkar kashi (invasion) for the protestors who had entered into the buildings forcefully. He presented them as a physical and ideological threat to the Parliament.

In the following excerpt, Mr Khan exposed the plans of both parties, i.e. PTI and PAT. To him, their sole objective was to overthrow the government unconstitutionally. He said:

..idhar Imran Khan ka Aazadi March shoru ho ga, udhar Dr Tahir-ul-Qadri ka Inqlab March ho ga. Donoun March akathy chaplain gy ur hakoomat ka takhta ult dain gy ur jo is march sy wapis aa jaye usy bhi shaheed kar daina takeh woh 'ibrat ka nishan bany....Agar is j'ali hakoomat ny must'afi hony ka i'lan nah kiya ur apny aap ko qanoon ky sapurd nah kiya, un ka qanoon, gariftari nah di. Un ko gariftari nah di ur national hakoomat ka rasta hamwar nah hony diya tu main time frame ki aakhri had kisi waqt bhi dy sakta houn. Log tumam tar jaghoun par jam'a rahain, nah koi andar aasaky nah koi bahar ja sakay ur jo nikalna chayain un ki lashoun par sy niklain (...on one side, there will be Imran Khan's Aazadi March and on another side, there will be

Dr Tahir-ul-Qadri's Inqilab March. Both marches will start together and overthrow the government. [He repeats Mr Qadri's words] martyr the person who leaves this march so that he may be a lesson [for others] ...if this fake government does not announce to resign and does not hand itself over to law [law of their own], does not surrender itself to them, does not pave the way for the national government, I may announce the last limit of time. O' people remain on your deputed places; nobody should go inside nor go out; and if anybody comes out, he would have to cross their dead bodies) (p.5)

In the above example, he cited the statement of Mr Qadri of martyring the person who returned without achieving the objective so that he might become a lesson for others. Mr Qadri had used verb phrases shaheed karna (martyr) and 'ibrat ka nishan bana (make a sign of lesson). These both phrases might have a very strong impact on the listeners. Mr Qadri had declared this protest a sacred mission and death during the mission a death of a martyr. It meant that he was motivating his workers and followers to get ready to die for their cause and vice versa. Mr Khan referred his statement to highlight the severity of the issue. He also referred the ultimatum given by Mr Qadri to the government for handing it to the law and used verb phrase qanoon ky sapurd kara (surrender to the law) and gariftari dina (surrender). These terms are used for the criminal or rebels who violate the law. The use of the terms shows that Mr Qadri wanted to impose his own law other than the Constitution of the country. Mr Khan also referred to another statement of Mr Qadri of cordoning off the Parliament building and not letting any member enter or leave. He had used the phrase lashoun ar sy niklain (go after killing them) which meant that the members could only leave or enter the House by killing the party workers who had been deputed around the building or vice versa. Through these citations, he pointed out the imminent danger and urged the members for taking some measures against them. He said:

In the following excerpt, Mr Khan even went more severe and declared the protest and sit-in a baghawat (revolt) against hamari riyasti 'imartoun (our state/public buildings), hamary riyasti idaroun (our public institutions) and mumlikat e Pakistan (state of Pakistan). He said:

Yeh nah ihtijaj he nah dharna he, nah siyasi ijtema' he. Yeh Pakistan ky khilaf baghawat hy. Yeh hamri riyasti 'imartoun ky khilaf baghawat he. Yeh hamari riyasti idaroun ky khilaf baghawat he. Yeh mumlikat e Pakistan ky khilaf baghawat he (it is neither a protest nor a political gathering. It is a revolt against Pakistan. It is a revolt against the state buildings. It is a revolt against our state institutes. It is a revolt against the state of Pakistan.) (p.5)

He used personal pronouns hamari/hamary (our) for the institutions and declared their protest a revolt against these institutions and the country itself. Contrary to the claims of PTI and PAT, he did not consider their protest within the constitutional limits rather against the state and its institutions. Here he presented the protestors as an enemy of the state who had revolted against it and hence needed to be handled accordingly. Mr Khan presented the protestors as a physical,

temporal and ideological threat by pointing out the hypocrisy of the protestors and telling the differences between their claims and actions. He referred to the incident of attacking PAT and PTI workers on the Parliament and national television, Pakistan Television's (PTV) buildings. He said:

Yeh Mustafwi Inqalab ka na'ra lagany waly, unhoun ny kal dhawa bola. Yeh aiwan wazeer e azam peh tu dhawa bolna chahty hain. Unhoun ny Parliament par tu dhawa bola. Yeh Supreme Court ky darwazy par pahunchy. Kal woh aik riyasti idary ky ander ghus gaye wahan par aik tarf Tahir ur Qadri zindabad ky na'ry lag rahy thy tu doosri tarf Imran Khan zindabad ky na'ry lag rahy thy....Unhoun ny aksar CCTV kaimry toor diye. Woh Muslim League (N) ky movie kaimry nahi thy. Woh lakhoun rupaye ky thy, sat aath lakh aik ki qimat thi. Yeh insaf ur jamhooriyat ka na'ra lagany waly, aik niya nizam lany waly in ky parwarda woh hian keh aath PTV ky kaimry chori kar liye. Aik ki qimat sath aath lakh rupaye he. Unhoun ny aik intihai mo'aziz kahtoon ky sath, yeh islam ka nam badnam karny waloun ur wahan Mustafwi inwalab ka na'ra lagany waloun ny aik khatoon broadcaster ky sath kiya salook kiya, mujhy aik dignity ijazat nahi daiti. Unhoun ny us ka purse chori kiya, cheena, unhoun ny us ka mobile cheena, baqi jo harkatain ki un ki tafseel main nahi jana chahta, unhoun ny baraish logoun ko jis tarah dandy mary... (These people who raise a slogan of Islamic revolution (for the implementation of the Sunnah of Holy Prophet SAW) attacked yesterday. They intended to attack at the Prime Minister House. They attacked at the Parliament building. They reached the door of Supreme Court. They broke into a state institute yesterday where, on one side, slogans of "long live Tahir ul Qadri" and on other side slogans of "long live Imran Khan" were being raised...They broke most of the CCTC camera. These cameras were not movie cameras of PML-N. They worth millions. Each camera valued seven to eight million. These people who raise the slogan of justice and democracy, claim to bring a new system; and their followers have stolen eight PTV cameras, each worth seven to eight million. How did they, who are defaming the name of Islam and raising the slogan of the Islamic revolution, behave with a respectable woman? My dignity did not allow to explain what they did with the lady broadcaster. They stole her purse, snatched her purse and what they with her, I don't want to go in its detail. The way they treated the old beard man...) (pp.11-12)

In the above example, Mr Khan used the phrase Mustafwi Inqalab ka na'ra lagany waly (people who raise a slogan of Islamic revolution). Dr Qadri is a political cum religious leader of PAT and had claimed that he wanted to implement an Islamic System in the country. The name Mustafa is referred to Holy Prophet (SAW), known for his humanitarianism and mercifulness and his true followers can never be expected to commit an inhuman action. Mr Khan said that those people who claimed to be successors of Prophet (SAW) had stolen the expensive cameras from the PTV building and misbehaved with the lady broadcaster and the beard-men. He used the phrases baraish logoun (people with beard), intihai mo'aziz kahtoon (a very respectable woman)

and lady broadcaster to highlight the negativity the ODCs. Here again, he pointed out the non-Islamic treatment of the protestors. To have a beard is a Sunnah (practice) of Holy Prophet (SAW) and a person with a beard has more respect than other Muslim without a beard. Islam does not allow misbehavior with any human, especially women. He wanted to prove the protestors' hypocrisy through the example that they were not the true followers of Islam and the Holy Prophet (SAW) but were misusing the name of Islam for their personal interests. PTI had claimed that the persons who had entered into the PTV building and stole the expensive cameras were not their workers but of PAT. By referring to the slogans of the protestors, Mr Khan refuted PTI's claims and attempted to show that both parties were equally responsible for the incident. He further said:

Un ky pas kiya he Jinab e Speaker kulhariyan hain, athory hain, cutter hain, ghulailain hain ur wo ghulailin baqaida trained tareeqy sy jis tarh train dahshat gard hoty hain....woh train dahshat gard hain ur aik lashkari jama'at sy aaye hain, aik 'askari group sy aaye hain (Mr Speaker, what do they have? They have axes, hammers, cutters, catapults; and they use catapults in a trained way like trained terrorists...they are trained terrorists and are from a militant party, belong a militant group) (p.12)

In the above excerpt, Mr Khan seems at his extreme in presenting the out-group (ODCs) as a physical threat. He used very harsh words for the protestors and called them trained terrorists who belonged to the terrorist groups. He named the weapons, i.e. axes, hammers, cutters and catapults, with which they were armed to prove that they were not gathered there for mere a protest or demand their democratic rights rather they aimed at something more disastrous. Both of the parties had been claiming that their protest was peaceful. Here, Mr Khan not only refuted their claim but also called them terrorists armed with different kind of weapons who had come from different militant groups. It shows that Mr Khan, being an Interior Minister, believed that these parties were not supported by the public and they had sent for trained terrorists to overthrow the government and implement their own agenda forcefully.

The above excerpts show that Mr Khan declared Imran Khan, Dr Tahir-ul-Qadri and their workers trained terrorists who were armed with different weapons and were physical and temporal to the state and democratic system of the country. They claimed that they did not believe in democracy but wanted to impose their agenda forcefully. He also referred some of the statements of Dr Qadri and incidents of the misbehavior of the workers with the lady broadcaster and beard people to prove his claim. He also found them an ideological threat to the country as they were misusing the name of Islam because their actions contradicted their claims. Mr Khan was the Interior Minister and to maintain law and order in the country was his responsibility. By presenting the protestors as a threat to the state and the system, he urged the parliamentarians to chalk out a policy on how to tackle the situation.

Mr Ahsan, the PPP Senator and leader of the opposition in the Senate, described the temporal and ideological impact of the sit-in on future. He included the PTI, PAT leadership and

protestors in out-group (ODCs), and the state and its institution in in-group (IDCs). He declared the protest a wrong example for the future because if their demands were accepted then any group of a few thousand people would force the government or Parliament for the implementation of their particular ideas. He said:

Agar yeh darust rawayat ban jaye tu kiya mushkil ho gi keh kal koi ur bees tees hazar ka lashkar jo ziyada pur 'azm ho lykar aajaye ur kahy keh jab tak sh'ia ko kafir qara nahi diya jata ham us waqt tak nahi jaain gy, hakoomat ur Parliament shi'a ko kafir qarar dy ya koi ur aajaye ur kahy keh jab tak aap wazeeristan sy foj wapis nahi bulaty ham yahan sy jany waly nahi hain ya kisi maslik waly aajain keh jab tak hamary maslik wali shari'at nafiz nahi ki jati ham jany waly nahi (if it becomes a habit/custom what will be the problem? If someday, someone brings twenty thousand or more determined people and demand to declare the Shi'a (a minority sect in Pakistan) non-Muslims. If [they demand] the government and the Parliament to declare the Shi'as non-Muslims or someone else demands to withdraw the army from Wazeeristan or people of one sect come and demand that they will not disperse until Sharia (Islamic rules) of their sect is not implemented...) (p.27)

In the above excerpt, Mr Ahsan gave two examples to describe the criticality of the situation. In Pakistan, there had been a clash between two religious' sects, i.e. Sunni (a majority religious group) and Shia (a minority group) for their faith and ideological differences. In the result of the clash, many valuable lives had been lost. The other example he gave was of the Park Army which was operating against extremists, i.e., Taliban (most of the Ulamas, i.e., religious scholars of Pakistan consider their views against Islam) in the Northern part of the country who wanted to impose their own Islam. They had killed thousands of innocent people including children and women. Their armed struggle had caused irreparable loss to Pakistan nationally as well as internationally. This operation was considered a survival for the country. He questioned the parliamentarians if it was possible to stop the operation on the demand of a group of a few thousand people. He logically rejected the demand of the protestors and called it unconstitutional. He feared if the protestors succeeded in getting their demands accepted with force, then in future, such other demands might come forth, and presented their demands a temporal as well as an ideological threat to the country.

In one of his addresses, Imran Khan had condemned the police action against the protestors when they marched towards the Parliament House and pulled down its gate. Claiming the protest, a democratic right, he had given the example of Ten Downing Street. He said:

Mujhy batain keh konci dunnya main, konsy sayyari par woh ten downing street he. woh ten downing street konsi dunya main he, aap jis ky bahar dow teen hazar lath bardar, gholailoun sy musallah, keeloun ur dandoun sy musallah, crain sy ten downing street ky gate ko ukhar dain. Hathoory ur steel cutter sy musallah hain, yeh aowzar nahi

hathyar hain. Konsi dunya main aisi Ten Downing Street hy jis main aisy musallah jathy ko ijazat ho gi... (Will anyone tell me in which world, on which star is Ten Downing Street? Where the Ten Downing Street is where you go with two to three thousand persons armed with poles, catapults, nails and clubs, and uproot the gate of Ten Downing Street. You are armed with hammers and steel cutters. These are not instruments but weapons. Where is such kind of Ten Downing Street where such an armed mob is allowed to go...) (p.28)

Mr Ahsan challenged Imran Khan's claim and said that no government could allow such kind of protest, even the British Government could now allow an armed group of people to protest. Refuting Khan's claim that people protest at Ten Downing Street, Mr Ahsan tried to prove him a liar who was misrepresenting the things. He justified the action of the government taken against the protestors as he considered their protest unconstitutional because no government would allow an attack on its Parliament. He presented Imran Khan's claim as an ideological threat to the democratic system of the country. Mr Ahsan opposed the demands of PTI and PAT on the logical grounds and declared them an ideological threat to the state. Refuting Imran Khan's claim that to protest was the democratic right of the people, Mr Ahsan presented it an ideological threat to the state because no government would allow such gathering of the people with poles, cutters, hammers and catapults to protest and uproot the gate of the Parliament.

Mr Qureshi, the PTI parliamentarian and its vice president, used the discursive practice of proximization to neutralize the expected action from the Parliament and government against them. He presented the counter-arguments for clearing the position of PTI and PAT. He included his party, PTI, PAT, other parliamentary parties and the Parliament in his in-group (IDCs). He urged the members to know the reasons which had brought the protesting parties on that verge. He said:

Aaj ham jis nahj par khary hain, agar ham thandy dil sy mutal'a karain, ham yahan kayoun pahunchy? Yeh nobat kaisy aai? Yeh aik din ki kahani nahi he? Yeh satra din Islamabad ky dharny ka rona nahi he. Jinab e Speaker yeh chowda maheeny ki dastan he, giyara mai ki NA-250 ki sham ko jab Lahore ki defense main dharna huwa ur Karachi main 'awam sarkoun par baith gai. Yeh rona un din sy shuro huwa... Yeh who rona he jab I'tizaz Ahsan sahib apny halqy ka mutali'a karty hain tu un ky jazbat bhi wohi level hoty hain jo Imran Khan ky jazbat hain ur who samajhty hain keh nahi that. Who samajhty hain election main shafafiyat jo ham daikhna, playing fields bhi ROs chahty thy, who shafafiyat hamian dikhai nahi di (Today, we have reached at this stage if we try to study the things which have brought us here? How did this situation arise? This is not a story of a day. This is not a complaint of Islamabad sit-in. Mr Speaker, this story is fourteen months long, when on May 11, the sit-in was held in NA-250 in Defense, Lahore and public sat on roads in Karachi.... This story started when Mr Ahsan visited his constituency and had same feelings what Imran Khan has. He thinks that the transparency which we expected, ROs expected in the election was not there) (p.35)

In the above excerpt, Mr Qureshi included the electoral system, the judicial system and the government in out-group (ODCs) and presented them as a threat to the democratic system. PTI had been accusing PML-N of rigging the election and depriving it of some seats. His claim that they had been struggling for the last fourteen months for their right is basically no confidence in the prevailing political system of the country. He further claimed that rigging in the election 2013 was a core reason behind their protest and their party wanted to depoliticize the public institutions so that they could ensure fair and free elections. Here, he presented the prevailing system as a threat to the ideology of the country, i.e., the Islamic republic of Pakistan. Mr Qureshi also included Mr Ahsan, Opposition Leader in the Senate, in IDCs and presented him a victim of the electoral system. Here, it seems that Mr Qureshi wanted to achieve two objectives; firstly, to neutralize the feelings of opposition and secondly, to ignite the feelings of PPP against the government because it had also been complaining against the rigging in the election but was supporting the government in that critical situation.

On June 17, 2014, Punjab police raided at the residence of Dr Qadri, the PAT chief, in Model Town where his party workers had gathered. The police were of the opinion that it went there to clear the road from the barriers and encroachments. They claimed that there were complaints from the local people that barriers and encroachment were problems for them. The PAT workers resisted, and the incident turned into a violent clash which resulted in casualties. On the other hand, PAT claimed that barriers were put there on the orders of Lahore High Court and they had no notice otherwise. As a result of the clash, 14 lives were lost and scores of people were wounded. PAT leadership directly blamed the Punjab Government for this massacre and refused to accept the FIR (First Information Report) lodged by the police. PAT leadership nominated twenty-one persons including the PM of Pakistan, Mian Nawaz Sharif; Chief Minister of Punjab, Mian Shahbaz Sharif; Punjab Law Minister, Rana Sana Ullah, and some high police officials. Failing in getting FIR registered according to their demand, PAT's chief announced a movement to take revenge of the bloodshed.

The following excerpt seems a continuation of the justification for the protest. Referring to the above-mentioned incident, here, Mr Qureshi seems to justify the PAT's protest by presenting the Punjab government and its policies as an ideological threat to the public institutions which were being used politically. Drawing the attention of the Parliament towards the unfortunate incident of Model, he said:

Please before you come to Islamabad understand what happened on 17th of June in Model Town, Lahore understand what Punjab Police and Punjab Government did on the innocent people in Lahore. There were shot down, they were shot at and I saw them in hospitals, not just 14 deaths, 83 close to 90 people bullet wounds on upper portion of the body, bullets wounds. I saw those women; it was horrific Mr Speaker, what I saw. Understand keh jab amwat ho chuki houn, jab Lahore ki sarkoun par khoon beh chukka ho ur jo FIR nah kari jaye tu zihni kaifiyat kiya ho, maqtuleen ur jo mazloomeen

hian un ki gham o ghussy ki kaifiyat kiya ho gi (imagine when there are deaths when blood has been shed on the roads of Lahore and FIR is not being registered, what will be the condition of the anger of the victims and helpless people) (p.49)

Mr Qureshi considered Punjab government responsible for it. He considered that attitude of the Punjab Police and Punjab Government had brought PAT to that stage because FIR (First Information Report) was not registered as PAT wanted. Mr Qureshi painted a very pathetic picture of the victims (IDCs) to present the government cruel and irresponsible. He used phrases like 14 deaths, 90 bullet wounds, amwat (dead bodies), sarkoun par khoon behna (blood shedding on the road) to express the situation which, according to him, forced the PAT workers to come on the roads. He further said:

Likan jinab main ny kiya diakha. Main ny Model Town ky hasar main daikha jo containers ur containers sarf rakhy nahi gaye thy, yahan tu rakhy gaye hain wahan tu lohy ky sath un ko electric polls ky sath weld kiya giya tha, yeh kaifiyat main ny dikhi, hazaroun khawateen thain, khana band kiya giay, jo khana likar aata bahar jata griftar ho jata tha koi cater aata tha us ki van zabt kar li jati thi. Pani khana adwiyat band kar di gai (But sir what did I see? I in Modal Town, in the custody where containers had been placed, here they have been placed. There they were welded with electric poles. I saw this condition: there were women in thousands, food was stopped, and he who brought food was arrested or went out was arrested. If any cater came, his van was taken in custody. The water, food and medicines were blocked) (p.51).

In the above lines, he informed the parliamentarians of his observations during the Model Town incident to justify the PAT's decision to protest. He told them about besiege of the Model Town protestors by the police. To emphasize his previous claim about the helplessness of the PAT workers, he used phrases like hazaroun khawateen thain (there were a thousand women), khana band karna (deprive of the food) and Pani kahan adwiyat band karna (water, food and medicines were not allowed) to express the condition of the workers. His mentioning of the word women seemed winning the sympathies of the members. The water, food and medicines are the basic necessity of human beings and cannot be denied even during the days of the war. He attempted to expose the cruelty of the Punjab Government and the Police which had deprived them of the basic needs.

Mr Qureshi's speech, on one hand, seems an effort of legitimizing the protest of PTI and PAT. He explained some of the reasons which had forced both the parties to come on the road for a protest. In the previous lines, we have seen that PML-N and PPP parliamentarians were bitterer against PAT chief, Dr Qadri that Imran Khan. Here, he seems to advocate PAT case than that of his own before the Parliament and attempted to neutralize the feeling of the members. On the other hand, he attempted to convince the parliamentarians that the PML-N government was a threat to the public institutions because it was abusing its authority.

Proximization: an aggressiveness strategy

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 analysis of the results shows that the parliamentarians used the discursive practice as an aggressive strategy to prove the others wrong and a threat for the democracy and the Parliament. They used strong and forceful words to make their narrative more effective. The PML-N and PPP parliamentarians used proximization as an aggressive strategy in their speeches to make their narrative effective so that they might gain the support of their colleagues against the protesting parties. They declared PTI and PAT an ideological threat to the state and its institutions. Mr Khan presented the protest an effort to overthrow the government unconstitutionally, wrap up democracy from the country and pave a way for non-democratic forces. He called the protestors, especially PAT leadership hypocrite which was using the name Islam and Holy Prophet Muhammad (SAW) for the sake of their personal objectives. He referred their action of occupying the state buildings, misbehaving with the ladies and old people, stealing the cameras from PTV building, prayer mats and loudspeakers from the mosque to present the protest and their objectives against the ideology of the state and Islam. The parliamentarians of both parties presented the protest a part of the conspiracy against democracy and the Parliament and called it unconstitutional and an attack on the institutions of Pakistan. Dr Qadri had declared that he would not obey the constitution and wanted to impose his own system. He had also declared the protest as a mission for martyrdom and deputed workers, armed with catapults, clubs, etc., to stop the parliamentarians from entering or leaving the Parliament building. Mr Khan declared the PAT workers trained terrorists who had come to the capital to wrap up the whole system. Similarly, Mr Ahsan called the protestors, armed with different weapons, a physical and ideological threat to the system because they wanted to implement their own law by force. The PML-N and PPP parliamentarians used the discursive practice of proximization as an aggressive strategy to present the PTI and PAT's protest and their demands as an ideological, physical and temporal threat to democracy and the state and its institutions.

Proximization: As a Defense Strategy

As discussed in the above section, the PML-N and PPP parliamentarians had declared the protest of PTI and PAT an attack on the public institutions of the state. They also accused the parties of conspiring against the democratic institutions and working for the interest of some non-democratic forces. The PTI parliamentarian adopted a counter-argument strategy to neutralize the effects of the speeches of the PPML-N and PPP parliamentarians. Mr Qureshi claimed that they had been demanding an investigation of the rigging in the general election 2013 for the whole year. They had requested the investigation to verify their claims. They had gone to the courts and Election Commission as well but in vain. In the end, they had left with no choice except for going to the public and exercising their democratic right of protest. Had their demands been accepted, they would not have come at that stage. Mr Qureshi held the PML-N provincial and federal

governments responsible for bringing the political situation at that verge. He attempted to prove that their protest was not against any institution rather for strengthening them. He claimed that they were protesting to depoliticize the institutions by making them autonomous.

The PTI parliamentarian held the PML-N's provincial government for letting PAT come to Islamabad for protest. According to them, the provincial government was involved in the Model town incident and had put hindrances in registering FIR (First Information Report) against the political and police personals nominated by the PAT leadership. By painting a gloomy and pathetic picture of the Model Town where PAT workers were cordoned off by the police, Mr Qureshi presented the government as an ideological threat to the system. He accused the government of depriving the victims of their basic needs like food and medicines. Through the counter-arguments he, on one hand, attempted to neutralize the feeling of the opposition and on the other hand, ignite the feeling of the opposition against the government. He presented the prevailing political system as a threat to the ideology of Pakistan.

Conclusion

The previous studies have applied the proximization model to one-sided political discourses to show how the out-groups/others (ODCs) have been presented as a physical, temporal and ideological threat to the in-groups (IDCs) by the political leaders to legitimize their actions. This paper aimed to apply the model to the discourses of both sides, i.e., the discourse accusing party and the discourse of accused one. The results show that proximization can not only be used to legitimize the actions of the in-groups but it may also be used as an aggressive, counter-argument and defence strategies against each other. Both of the strategies may be used to win the support of the people, ignite their feelings, neutralize or diffuse the propaganda of the out-groups and defend the actions of the in-groups. The results of the studies may be applied to other similar discourses for further verifications.

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The previous studies have applied the proximization model to one sided political discourses to show how the out-groups/others (ODCs) have been presented as physical, temporal and ideological threat to the in-groups (IDCs) by the political leaders to legitimize their actions. The aim of this paper was to apply the model to the discourses of the both sides, i.e., the disourze accusing party and the discourse of accused one. The results show that proximization can not only be used to legitimize the actions of the in-groups but it may also be used as an aggressive, counter argument and defense strategies against each other. Both of the strategies may be used to win the support of the people, ignite their feelings, neutralize or diffuse the propaganda of the out-groups and defend the actions of the in-groups. The results of the studies may be applied to other similar discourses for further verifications.

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