

An Ideographic Analysis of Inaugural Speeches of Heads of State/Government of Pakistan



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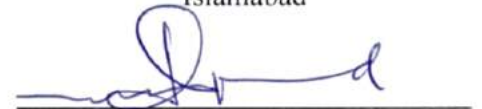
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DECLARATION

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(Muhammad Amjad)

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List of Abbreviations, Symbols & Conventions

Abbreviations: Inaugurals' Audience

Media Team	MT
Nation	N
National Assembly	NA
Press Conference	PC
Select Audience	SA

Abbreviations: Heads of State/Government (Designations)

Acting President	AP
Acting Prime Minister	APM
Caretaker Prime Minister	CPM
Chief Executive	CE
Civil Chief Martial Law Administrator	CCMLA
Commander-in-Chief	C-in-C
Governor General	GG
Martial Law Administrator	MLA
Military Leader	ML
President	P
Prime Minister	PM

Abbreviations: Heads of State/Government (Names)

Arif-ur-Rehman Alvi	AUA
Asif Ali Zardari	AAZ
Benazir Bhutto	BB
Ch. Mohammed Ali	CMA
Chuadhary Shujaat Hussain	CSH
Fazal Elahi Chaudhry	FEC
Ghulam Ishaq Khan	GIK
Ghulam Mustafa Khan Jatoi	GMKJ
Hussain Shaheed Suharwardi	HSS
Ibrahim Ismail Chaundrigar	IIC
Imran Khan	IK
Isakandar Mirza	IM
Khawaja Nazimuddin	KN

Abbreviations: Heads of State/Government (Names) - Continued

Liaqat Ali Khan	LAK
Malik Feroz Khan Noon	MFKN
Malik Ghulam Mohammad	MGM
Malik Meraj Khalid	MMK
Mamnoon Hussain	MH
Mian Mohammed Nawaz Sharif	MMNS
Mir Balakh Sher Mazari	MBSM
Mir Hazar Khan Khoso	MHKK
Mir Zafarullah Khan Jamali	MZKJ
Mohammad Ali Bogra	MAB
Mohammad Ali Jinnah	MAJ
Mohammed Ayub Khan	MAK
Mohammed Rafiq Tarar	MRT
Mohammed Yahya Khan	MYK
Mohammed Zia-ul-Haq	MZUH
Moin Qureshi	MQ
Muhammad Khan Junejo	MKJ
Muhammad Mian Soomro	MMS
Nasir-ul-Mulk	NUM
Noor-ul-Amin	NUA
Parvez Musharraf	PRM
Raja Pervez Ashraf	RPA
Sardar Farooq Ahmed Leghari	SFAL
Shahid Khaqan Abbasi	SKA
Shaukat Aziz	SA
Syed Yousaf Raza Gillani	SYRG
Wasim Sajjad	WS
Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto	ZAB

Abbreviations: Political Parties

Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan	JIP
Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam (Fazl)	JUI-F
Muttahida Qaumi Movement	MQM
Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz)	PML(N)
Pakistan Peoples Party	PPP
Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf	PTI

Abbreviations: Politicians

Bilawal Bhutto Zardari	BBZ
Chaudhary Nisar Ali Khan	CNAK
Haider Abbas Rizvi	HAR
Makhdoom Muhammad Ameen Hussain Faheem	MMAHF
Makhdoom Shah Mahmood Hussain Qureshi	MSMHQ
Maulana Fazal Ur Rehman	MFR
Mian Muhammad Shahbaz Sharif	MMSS
Muhammad Farooq Sattar	MFS
Muhammad Javed Hashmi	MJH

Abbreviations: Miscellaneous

Gross Domestic Product	GDP
National Accountability Bureau	NAB
National Library of Pakistan	NLP
Pakistan Broadcasting Corporation	PBC
Pakistan Television	PTV

Symbols & Conventions

%	indicates per cent
/.../	enclose transliteration
[...]	enclose glosses
<...>	enclose ideographs, e.g. <Pakistan>
f	indicates frequency

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Abstract

The current study aimed at exploring ideographs in the inaugural speeches of Heads of State/Government of Pakistan over a period of more than seventy years, from the country's creation in 1947 to 2018—the time of the latest inaugural speeches in Pakistan's political history. The data was collected from diversified sources, preferably official, to ensure authenticity. In all, 58 speeches were included in the study, which contained a total of 124,363 words, averaging 2,144 words apiece. This qualitative study carried out textual analysis of the speeches using McGee's framework of ideographic criticism and set ideograph as a unit of analysis. This process was conducted in five steps, which included: *identification*, *translation* (in case of Urdu speeches), *categorization*, *contextualization* and *interpretation*, following an iterative process, which involved repeated close readings. In this way, both positive and negative ideographs were identified at a frequency of 10 or above in both English and Urdu speeches, including single words, phrases or multiple-word clusters. As such, 47 positive and 11 negative ideographs were selected and analysed diachronically. This study was a maiden effort of its nature in Pakistan and contributed at four levels: theory, method, genre and context. Making recommendations for future research, the study concluded that ideographs are significant tools in political discourse, which foster persuasiveness and, as such, have the ability to connect people and influence mass consciousness for support to gain/hold power or bring about social change.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

This chapter is structured as follows: First, a brief description of what motivated the researcher to undertake the study is given. Then, background to the study, statement of problem and rationale for selecting and analysing Pakistani inaugural speeches from ideographic perspective are discussed. This is followed by working definitions of the terms *Inaugural Speech* and *Heads of State/Government of Pakistan* for the purpose of the current study. Next, thesis statement, research questions, significance of the study, justification for conducting the current research and delimitations of the study are presented. Finally, chapter-wise outline of the thesis is laid out.

1.1 Motivation for the Study

The basic motivator for this study was a tutor-assessed assignment of the module *Corpora in Applied Linguistics* that the researcher undertook as part of his PhD coursework. Supervised and guided by the module tutor, the researcher selected a topic for a small-scale research and analysed metaphors in 21 official speeches, compiled by Panhwar (2009), which were delivered by Benazir Bhutto (BB), former Prime Minister of Pakistan. The analysis of political speeches developed the researcher's interest in political discourse. While reviewing literature for the assignment, the researcher came across McGee's (1980) seminal article titled *The Ideograph: A Link Between Rhetoric and Ideology*. The researcher found McGee's ideographic perspective appealing and relevant because of the recurrence of ideographs in the speeches and statements of political leaders in Pakistan. More so, the ideographic perspective was considered unique for analysing political speeches in Pakistan, as political discourse has not been previously analysed from ideographic perspective, hence an unrepresented and neglected area of research in Pakistan. Thus, the researcher's interest to explore this under-researched area was triggered, which resulted in the conduct of the current research study.

1.2 Background to the Study

Language is at the heart of politics. Political leaders and Heads of State/Government more often than not fall back on language to shape reality and gain control. One of the major challenges that political leaders and Heads of State/Government usually encounter is to deal with heterogeneous audience with different backgrounds and social classes. This is difficult indeed because human beings think and behave differently in groups than individually. As such, leaders frequently rely on ideographs and make conscious use of such terms to bring diverse audience together and to win their support. Ideographs are representative of a nation's or society's shared ideals, values and beliefs; hence are rhetorically influential and ideologically significant. Therefore, ideographs have general acceptance and function as powerful rhetorical tools to control mass consciousness, secure public support, justify action/policy and shape reality. Particularly, in times of national crises, ideographs serve to forge bonds of unity. Resultantly, understanding ideographs of a society or a nation is essential. In particular, such understanding is all the more significant in case of a nation or society divided along ethnic, linguistic and sectarian lines.

Pakistan is a typical case in point. At the time of independence on 14 August 1947, Pakistan inherited two Wings, that is, East Pakistan and West Pakistan, on the basis of Muslim-Majority Population. However, these Wings were separated by a distance of 1,000 miles and that too of unfriendly Indian Territory. More so, the demographic composition of the two Wings was in sharp contrast. On the one hand, East Pakistan with almost exclusively Bengali population had ethnic and linguistic homogeneity. On the other hand, West Pakistan comprised five major ethnic groups, including Punjabis, Sindhis, Pathans, Baluchis and Muhajirs – refugees from India, and as such had ethnic and linguistic diversity. Thus, a constant struggle for power continued between the two Wings on a range of matters, particularly over the issues of Centralization versus Provincial Autonomy and the choice of national language, that is, should it be Urdu or Bengali or both. Moreover, there was also a lack of harmony within the Western Wing in the initial years as well as over decades. As a result, ethnic rivalries and provincialism were the outcome, which led to political instability

in the country. Consequently, military intervention in politics ensued, giving rise to fraught civil-military relations over decades. In addition, sectarian and inter-faith divide is another divisive factor in the country. Muslim population in Pakistan comprises two main sects: Sunni and Shia, with sub-sects within these two main categories. As a result, sectarian violence and riots resurge in Pakistan from time to time, which intensified particularly from early 1980s. Also, Pakistan has numerous religious minorities, including, Christians, Hindus, Sikhs, Parsis, Buddhists, and Ahmadis (who were declared non-Muslims in 1974). Therefore, the ethnic, linguistic, sectarian and inter-faith divisions create hatred and polarization and thus undermine national integration. Such fissiparous tendencies pose a great challenge to the country's leadership and call for exploring the ideographs which the leaders have used over the course of the country's history to develop a sense of collectivity and commitment among composite audience as well as for justifying their rule, policies and actions. This entails the analysis of speeches/statements of Heads of State/Government.

Pakistan's political dynamics and history make inaugurals a typical case for ideographic analysis. This is so because Heads of State/Government in Pakistan, for the most part, changed in an abrupt and dramatic manner throughout the country's history. As a consequence, not a single Prime Minister in the country's history (1947-2018) has completed five-year term in office. The sudden transitions were chiefly the outcome of three factors, as explained in *Section 1.4 Why Pakistani Inaugurals?* These include: (1) death, assassination or illness of incumbent rulers; (2) premature dismissal, deposition, resignation, disqualification or removal of Heads of Government as well as deposition and resignation of Heads of State (3) frequent military takeovers. Such dramatic situations mainly call for unification of audience through shared ideals and values drawn from the past and to justify rule/actions. Inaugural speeches, as historical repository, have considerable significance in a nation's political life because they not only shape national culture but also define the values that guide a nation's political choices. The key constituents of inaugurals comprise unification of audience, veneration of traditional values, consensus and nation-building (Sigelman, 1996).

Taken collectively, inaugurals show the nation's direction and growth over time since creation (Chung & Park, 2010).

1.3 Statement of Problem

Since coining of the term *ideograph* by McGee in 1980, ideographs have attracted interest of rulers, politicians and scholars alike across the globe. As such, ideographic analysis has become a significant dimension of examining political discourse in foreign contexts, e.g. USA: Scheele (1984), Cloud (1998), Day (2013), and Hodyc (2018); UK: Zamora (2015); Italy: Pietrucci (2012); Cuba: Delgado (1999); South Africa: Thomson (2012); and Macedonia: Ziberi (2012) as explained in *Section 2.2 Method: Analysis of Ideographs in Political Speeches* and *Section 2.3 Genre: Inaugural Speeches* of this thesis. However, such analysis is wanting in Pakistani political discourse—an area that has already received little academic attention so far (Lodhi et al, 2018). Previous research on Pakistani political discourse is mainly cross-sectional, focusing mostly on randomly selected speeches from a single point in the country's political history. Especially, this applies to the inaugural speeches. The available scant research studies on inaugurals (Munir, 2014; Naqvi, 2017; Ahmad, Arshad & Rubab, 2019), as exclusively elaborated in *Section 2.4 Context: Research Studies on Political Speeches in Pakistan* of this thesis, analysed a single speech each and predominantly employed Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). As such, there was a need for a study from ideographic perspective, which should aim to see Pakistani political discourse through a new lens and include the entire range of inaugurals spanning the country's over seven-decade long history, characterised by shifting political and military rules.

It is also worth-highlighting that even outside Pakistan, very few studies (e.g., Dickerson, 2019; Thomson, 2012; Pagliarini, 2011; Coe, 2007) have aimed for analysis of ideographs in inaugural speeches, despite considerable research work (e.g. Chung & Park, 2010; Biria & Mohammadi, 2012; Gruber, 2013) conducted on inaugurals from other perspectives. These micro-level studies have either focused on the analysis of a limited number of ideographs, that is, one, two, or in some cases three, in a small sample of speeches

or the entire breadth of ideographs in a single speech. The current study, therefore, aims to address the shortcomings of the previous research and explore ideographs in inaugural speeches by rulers in Pakistan over a period of more than seventy years, that is, from the country's creation in 1947 to 2018, the time of the last inaugural in the country's history. This maiden effort of its kind in Pakistan analyses these speeches from previously under-researched ideographic perspective, thus adding a new dimension of analysis to the existing body of research on political discourse in Pakistan. Also, unlike previous ideographic research on inaugurals outside the context of Pakistan, this work is a macro-level study both in terms of the number of ideographs identified and the number and range of speeches analysed in the target political discourse.

1.4 Why Pakistani Inaugurals?

As mentioned earlier, Pakistan's political dynamics and history make inaugurals a typical case for ideographic analysis. This is so due to several reasons. First, Pakistan's political make-up is different from most of the countries in the world because the country has both Heads of State and Heads of Government at the same time in place. Since the country's founding on August 14, 1947, the offices of Governor General and Prime Minister were simultaneously maintained. This system continued till the implementation of the 1956 Constitution when the office of Governor General was replaced with President and has since been in place in tandem with Prime Minister. Such parallel political framework aroused controversies surrounding balance of power—initially between Governor General and Prime Minister, and, subsequently, between President and Prime Minister—resulting in political instability. All this happened because Governor Generals and Presidents were vested with immense constitutional powers, inter alia, the dissolution of the country's legislative bodies (Hasanie, 2013; Chak, 2014). At the time of independence, Pakistan did not have its own Constitution to run the affairs of the State. As such, under Section 8 of the Indian Independence Act of 1947, the Government of India Act 1935 was adopted, with certain amendments, as the interim Constitution of the State. The Government of India Act 1935

empowered Governor General in making key appointments and choosing Prime Minister as well as his Cabinet Ministers, besides the discretionary powers to dismiss them at will and to declare emergency in case of internal disturbance. Thus, the powers of Prime Minister were greatly restricted in comparison with the powers of Governor General, although in a parliamentary democracy Head of Government is usually Prime Minister, whereas Governor General as Head of State is rather ceremonial and titular appointment.

Subsequently, political activism of Governor General during the early 1950s in competition with Prime Minister remained one of the key factors resulting in political instability in the country. After the assassination of Prime Minister Liaqat Ali Khan in 1951, then Governor General Khawaja Nazimuddin was convinced to leave the portfolio of Governor General and assume the responsibilities of Prime Minister. Thus, Malik Ghulam Mohammad became the third Governor General of Pakistan in place of Khawaja Nazimuddin. Afterwards, tension between the two developed and Prime Minister Khawaja Nazimuddin could hardly remain in that position for just one and a half years. He was dismissed by Governor General Malik Ghulam Mohammad in April 1953, citing bad governance due to religious violence and food shortage in the country. Then, Mohammad Ali Bogra (1953-55) was appointed as Prime Minister who also considered himself at the mercy of Governor General and wanted more powers. In this regard, he was persuaded and supported by a group of members from East Pakistan (Bengal), Sindh and NWFP (now KP) in the Constituent Assembly to curtail the powers of Governor General. Consequently, some major steps were taken by the Constituent Assembly, most notable among these, was the effort for the passage of the Fifth Amendment Act, 1954 on September 21, 1954 in order to take away the powers of Governor General, particularly those related to dismissal of legislature and instead to make Prime Minister more powerful. Governor General Malik Ghulam Mohammad was displeased with the action of Prime Minister. However, before these amendments were put into effect, Governor General Malik Ghulam Mohammad declared a State of Emergency on October 24, 1954 and dissolved the Constituent Assembly as well as the Central Cabinet. He appointed a *Cabinet of Talents* and somehow managed to convince

Mohammad Ali Bogra to continue as Prime Minister without the Constituent Assembly.

This struggle for power continued even when the title of Head of State was changed from Governor General to President with the passage of 1956 Constitution. However, the powers associated with Office did not alter substantially. Major General Isakandar Mirza, who was Governor General at that time, became the first President of Pakistan on March 23, 1956. His period from 1956-58 also saw constant rift between President and Prime Minister and as such within two and a half years, four Prime Ministers (Ch. Mohammed Ali, Hussain Shaheed Suharwardi, Ibrahim Ismail Chaudrigar and Malik Feroz Khan Noon) departed. Resultantly, the country in 1950s witnessed the abuse of powers by Heads of State (Governor General Malik Ghulam Mohammad and President Isakandar Mirza) by making and breaking Governments. Similar power struggle was also seen in 1980s and 1990s. President General Mohammed Zia-ul-Haq in 1985 introduced Eighth Amendment to the 1973 Constitution, which not only brought about changes to other Articles of the Constitution but also added a significant Article 58(2) (b) to the Constitution, giving discretionary powers to President to dissolve National Assembly. In this way, Prime Minister was made subservient to the President. Later, in tussle for powers disagreement developed between President General Mohammed Zia-ul-Haq and Prime Minister Muhammad Khan Junejo. The President used Article 58(2) (b) and dissolved the Assembly on May 29, 1988. Later in 1990s, Civilian Presidents (Ghulam Ishaq Khan and Sardar Farooq Ahmed Leghari) also invoked Article 58(2) (b) during the tug of war for power struggle between President and Prime Minister. When Prime Ministers tried to repeal Eighth Amendment, this resulted in their ouster. Thus, the governments of Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto and Prime Minister Mian Mohammed Nawaz Sharif were dismissed by President Ghulam Ishaq Khan in 1990 and 1993 respectively. Likewise, the government of Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto in her second term was dismissed by President Sardar Farooq Ahmed Leghari, who belonged to her party as well. As a consequence, Mian Mohammed Nawaz Sharif in his second term as Prime Minister in 1997 also tried to pass Thirteenth Amendment whereby to take away powers of President to dissolve National Assembly/Parliament under Article 58(2) (b). It follows that

the power struggle between Head of State and Head of Government resulted in dissolution of several national legislative assemblies over the course of the country's political history. Be it Prime Minister Khawaja Nazimuddin, Mohammad Ali Bogra, Muhammad Khan Junejo, Benazir Bhutto or Mian Mohammed Nawaz Sharif, almost all Heads of Government were expected to toe Heads of State line, failing which Heads of Government invited the wrath of Heads of State, the more powerful. These ups and downs make political speeches, especially inaugurals, by the new rulers all the more significant discourse to study.

Second, Pakistan has been ruled by both elected and non-elected rulers: Governor Generals (GGs), Prime Ministers (PMs), Presidents (Ps), Military Leaders (MLs), Chief Martial Law Administrators (CMLAs), Civilian Chief Martial Law Administrators (CCMLAs), Caretaker Prime Ministers (CPMs) as well as Acting Presidents (APs). This complex interplay provides a unique diversity in inaugural speeches delivered by these rulers in considerably varied political contexts.

Third, some rulers in Pakistan held different portfolios on different occasions while others remained on the same portfolios twice or thrice. Thus, such rulers delivered two or more inaugurals in different times and capacities. For instance, Khawaja Nazimuddin served as Governor General (1948-51) and Prime Minister (1951-53); Major General Isakandar Mirza was Governor General (1955-56) and President (1956-58); Zulfikar Ali Bhutto remained President as well as the first Civilian Chief Martial Law Administrator (1971-73) and Prime Minister (1973-77); Muhammad Mian Soomro held the offices of Caretaker Prime Minister (November 16, 2007-March 24, 2008) and Acting President (August 18, 2008-September 9, 2008). Likewise, both Zulfikar Ali Bhutto (1973-77) and Benazir Bhutto (1988-90; 1993-96) served as Prime Ministers for two terms; Mian Mohammed Nawaz Sharif (1990-93; 1993-93; 1997-99; 2013-17) held the office of Prime Minister for four terms; Wasim Sajjad served as Acting President twice (July 18, 1993-November 14, 1993 and December 2, 1997-January 1, 1998). The Military Leaders also were no exception who held the office of President during their tenures, in addition to functioning as Chief Martial Law Administrators or Chief Executives. Thus, General Mohammed Ayub Khan (1958-69),

General Mohammed Yahya Khan (1969-71), General Mohammed Zia-ul-Haq (1978-88) and General Parvez Musharraf (2001-07) simultaneously held the Presidency. Except for General Mohammed Yahya Khan (1969-71), the remaining three Chief Martial Law Administrators/Chief Executive extended the terms of their Presidency through holding referendums in their respective tenures, which allowed them to serve as Presidents for the next five years. As such, they delivered inaugurals on multiple occasions, that is, after assuming the offices of Chief Martial Law Administrators/Chief Executives and on becoming Presidents as well as after the referendums.

Fourth, the trend of caretaker governments in Pakistan makes inaugurals significant. Caretaker set-ups are extremely rare (Hart & Uhr, 2011), which also did not exist in the first four decades of Pakistan's history. This trend, however, started in Pakistan in August, 1990 with the nomination of the first caretaker government under Caretaker Prime Minister Ghulam Mustafa Khan Jatoi. Ever since, seven caretaker governments have ruled the country. Of these, four were installed during political turmoil: dissolution of assemblies (thrice) and resignation of Prime Minister (once). The remaining three were formed on completion of five-year parliamentary term by the previous governments. These caretaker governments lasted for short durations of almost two to four months, since Article 242 of the 1973 Constitution, which is invoked for formulation of caretaker governments, does not stipulate any explicit time period for such set-ups (Hasanie, 2013).

Finally, the country's political history has been punctuated by sudden transitions, that is, changes in governments, for the most part, remained abrupt and dramatic. Such transitions happened mainly due to three factors. The first factor was the *death, assassination* or *illness* of incumbent rulers. As a result, abrupt changes in government took place in the initial years of Pakistan when the first Governor General, Mohammad Ali Jinnah, died on September 11, 1948 and the first Prime Minister, Liaqat Ali Khan, was assassinated in Rawalpindi on October 16, 1951. The deaths of the Founding Fathers caused crisis of leadership. The leaders that followed Mohammad Ali Jinnah were no match to his stature. Therefore, they could not promote harmony and unity. Likewise, after Liaqat Ali Khan's demise, local and regional

leaders rose to power, which led to fragmentation in national politics. Moreover, the third Governor General of Pakistan, Malik Ghulam Mohammad, had to be replaced in 1955 owing to physical ailment. Later, President General Mohammed Zia-ul-Haq, the sixth President of Pakistan, died when his official carrier, the C-130 Hercules, exploded in the air shortly after taking off from Bahawalpur on August 17, 1988.

The second factor was the premature *dismissal*, *deposition*, *resignation*, *disqualification* or *removal* of Prime Ministers as well as the *deposition* or *resignation* of Presidents. As such, six Prime Ministers were dismissed by Governor Generals and Presidents, which also started in the early years of Pakistan with Khawaja Nazimuddin (1951-53), the second Prime Minister of Pakistan, was dismissed by the third Governor General, Malik Ghulam Mohammad, on April 17, 1953, as discussed earlier. This trend continued ever since with the dismissal of Mohammad Ali Bogra in 1955; Muhammad Khan Junejo in 1988; Benazir Bhutto in 1990 & 1996 (twice) and Mian Mohammed Nawaz Sharif in 1993. Likewise, three Prime Ministers, Malik Feroz Khan Noon in 1958, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in 1977 and Mian Mohammed Nawaz Sharif in 1999 were deposed by martial law and another six resigned, with some of them even within days and months after assuming office. Chaudhry Mohammed Ali (1955-56) was the first premier who chose to step down. Later, Hussain Shaheed Suharwardi (1956-57), Noor-ul-Amin (December 12-20, 1971), Mian Mohammed Nawaz Sharif (May 26-July 8, 1993), Mir Zafarullah Khan Jamali (2002-04), and Chuadhary Shujaat Hussain (June 30-August 26, 2004) opted to leave the office. Two Prime Ministers, that is, Syed Yousaf Raza Gillani (2008-12) and Mian Mohammed Nawaz Sharif (2013-17) were disqualified by the Supreme Court of Pakistan while the only Prime Minister removed through no-confidence vote was Ibrahim Ismail Chaudhry (October 18-December 16, 1957). In the same manner, Presidents were either prematurely deposed or obliged to resign under compulsion. Even, the very first President of Pakistan, Major General Iskandar Mirza (1956-58), was deposed and replaced by General Mohammed Ayub Khan (1958-69), who also had to resign for growing public pressure on March 25, 1969. General Mohammed Ayub Khan's invitee to taking up the country's reins of power as

President, General Mohammed Yahya Khan (1969-71), also stepped down in December 1971 in the wake of the Indo-Pak War 1971 and the ensuing creation of a new country, Bangladesh, from the seceded East Pakistan. In the *new* Pakistan, after power vested for a couple of years with Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, who, in quick succession, remained the fourth President and the first Civilian Chief Martial Law Administrator and finally the Prime Minister; Fazal Elahi Chaudhry (1973-78) became the President of Pakistan on August 14, 1973. However, with military taking over, he resigned on September 16, 1978, handing the country's affairs to General Mohammed Zia-ul-Haq (1978-88), the Chief Martial Law Administrator, who later assumed the presidency. In the aftermath of President General Mohammed Zia-ul-Haq's sudden death on August 17, 1988, Ghulam Ishaq Khan, the then Chairman Senate, took over initially as the Acting President and later became the seventh elected President of Pakistan in December 1988. He also resigned on July 18, 1993 due to differences with the then Prime Minister, Mian Mohammed Nawaz Sharif. Afterwards, Sardar Farooq Ahmed Leghari was elected as President of Pakistan on November 14, 1993. Yet again, differences between the then Prime Minister, Mian Mohammed Nawaz Sharif, and Sardar Farooq Ahmed Leghari developed, resulting in resignation of the latter on December 2, 1997. The next President, Mohammed Rafiq Tarar (1988-2001) also tendered his resignation, leaving the Presidency to General Pervez Musharraf, who took over as Chief Executive of Pakistan in 1999 and later became President. Even President General Pervez Musharraf had to resign on August 18, 2008 to avoid impeachment.

The third factor was the military takeovers in Pakistan. After the country's existence for hardly over a decade, the first Martial Law was declared. The trend so set continued and the country underwent three more military takeovers within the following four decades. As a consequence, all along its history, the country witnessed shifting Civilian-Military Rule, with Four Periods of Civilian Rule and as many Periods of Military Takeovers or Martial Laws. The First Period of Civilian Rule commenced at the country's Independence in August 1947 and continued until October 1958. It culminated with the imposition of the first Martial Law by President, Isakandar Mirza, on October 7, 1958 under Commander-in-Chief of the Army

General Mohammed Ayub Khan as the Chief Martial Law Administrator. General Mohammed Ayub Khan soon deposed President Isakandar Mirza and also became President. While General Mohammed Ayub Khan ruled Pakistan under Martial Law from October 1958 to June 1962, he subsequently civilianised his military rule through referendum for extending his tenure of Office and non-party based indirect elections by coopting a section of political elite and remained in power until his resignation in 1969. General Mohammed Ayub Khan handed over power to General Mohammed Yahya Khan in March, 1969 who imposed another Martial Law. Later, he stepped down in December 1971 in the wake of the Indo-Pak War and the ensuing secession of East Pakistan. This was the hardest blow to the unity of Pakistan. Thus, the United Pakistan (both East Pakistan and West Pakistan together) saw Civilian Rule for just over a decade (1947-58), followed by two consecutive Military Rules from 1958 to 71.

After the secession of East Pakistan, the Second Period of Civilian Rule occurred from 1971 to 1977 in which Zulfikar Ali Bhutto remained President as well as the first Civilian Chief Martial Law Administrator from 1971 to 73 and Prime Minister from 1973 to 77. This Period ended with a Martial Law imposed in July 1977 by General Mohammed Zia-ul-Haq, who later also became President. He ruled under Martial Law till December 30, 1985 and subsequently civilianized his military rule through referendum for extending his tenure of Office, holding non-party based elections by coopting a section of political elite and restoring the Constitution by introducing Eighth Amendment to retain discretionary powers to dissolve Assembly. He remained in power till August 1988 when he died in a plane crash. The Third Period of Civilian Rule started from December 1988 to October 1999, in which Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto and Prime Minister Mian Mohammed Nawaz Sharif each twice remained in power for short durations one after the other because they were dismissed by Civilian Presidents. As such, this Period also saw four Caretaker Governments. Although a Period of great political instability, it came to an end with a Martial Law by General Pervez Musharraf in October 1999 and later he also became President. He ruled under Martial Law till October–November 2002 when he civilianized his rule almost on the pattern of General

Mohammed Ayub Khan and General Mohammed Zia-ul-Haq by holding a referendum for extending his term in Office, bringing change to the Constitution to strengthen his powers as President, holding General Elections by co-opting a section of political elite and installing Prime Ministers of his own choice. General Parvez Musharraf remained in power as a General till 28 November 2007 when he decided to leave his post of Chief of Army Staff and decided to remain a Civilian President till August 2008 when he resigned to avoid impeachment. The Fourth Period of Civilian Rule began after the General Elections in 2008 and subsequently in 2013 and 2018 respectively. It is pertinent to highlight that the General Elections in 2013 marked a watershed moment in the history of Pakistan since creation in 1947, when for the first time a Civilian Government completed its full five-year term and Transfer of Power switched from one Elected Government to another. Likewise, the General Elections in 2018 also saw yet another Transfer of Power from one Elected Government to another, despite allegations of rigging. Although the two Parliaments completed their terms, their Prime Ministers could not do so because Syed Yousaf Raza Gillani (2008-12) and Mian Mohammed Nawaz Sharif (2013-17) were disqualified by the Supreme Court of Pakistan, as also mentioned earlier. Resultantly, the democratic transition and consolidation since 2013 is generally seen with circumspection. Therefore, it could be argued that the Periods of Civilian Rule in the country were interrupted by Military Takeovers and the trend of imposing Martial Laws so set hardly after a decade following the country's creation continued subsequently, resulting in political instability.

1.5 Working Definitions

Aristotle classified rhetorical situations into three distinctive categories: *deliberative*, *forensic* and *demonstrative* or *epideictic* (Martin, 2013). According to Aristotle's classification, deliberative speeches are delivered before a legislative assembly to persuade its members in support or opposition to a new policy; forensic speeches are presented in the courtroom either to defend or accuse; and, demonstrative or epideictic speeches either praise or blame and persuade audience to accept the values espoused in the speech. Inaugural speeches come

under Aristotle's demonstrative or epideictic category (Campbell & Jamieson, 1985; Corbett, 1999; Garver, 1994; Steinberg, 1999). Inaugurals provide leaders with the first official opportunity to display their language power. The fundamental themes of hope and despair appear regularly throughout the speeches (Mahoney et al., 1984). 'Inaugurals offer rulers a forum to share their goals, dreams and policy proposals with the nation and urge people for the country's progress and development. The analysis of the inaugurals contributes to understanding political system of a country (Chung & Park, 2010).

Inaugurals form a well-established genre in political discourse and culture of many countries around the world, particularly the USA, where the inaugural genre has a long history of more than two hundred years. The maiden inaugural speech in the country was delivered by George Washington, the first President and the Founding Father of the USA, to a Joint Session of Congress on April 30, 1789. Subsequently, this tradition was upheld by Presidents who followed George Washington. However, the venue of the inaugural has changed over time. Although the Inaugural Speech in USA was originally delivered to a Joint Session of Congress, the Speech was moved in the open air during the reconstruction of the Capitol after the American War of 1812. Ever since, inaugurals are held outside, except in case of inclement weather. With the change in place of the Inaugural, the character of the audience has also changed. While initially inaugural speeches were directed explicitly to members of Congress but later they were telecast to general public worldwide. Gradually, Inaugural Speeches have gained traction in other countries like South Africa, Austria and UK (Gruber, 2013; Shaw, 2017). In these countries, inaugurals have a clear definition. They are delivered live by the Presidents only to a pre-determined audience, that is, the public or the joint parliamentary sessions respectively (Sigelman, 1996). In Pakistani political culture, there is a tradition of speeches by both Heads of State and Heads of Government on assumption of offices. The situation is further complicated due to the political dynamics and history of Pakistan with shifting political and military rules as well as caretaker set-ups and acting presidents, as highlighted above. Hence, the term *inaugural speech* does not lend itself easily to a clear interpretation. Inaugurals in

Pakistan, therefore, have four varied forms based on the nature of audience: *Address to the Nation*, *Address to National Assembly*, *Address to Joint Session of Parliament* and *Interaction with Media*. Elected Heads of Government in Pakistan either address the nation, the National Assembly or both, depending upon the situation; whereas, elected Heads of State either address the nation or the Joint Session of Parliament. On the other hand, Military Leaders usually address the nation while Caretaker Prime Ministers and Acting Presidents prefer to interact with media or sometimes address the nation.

Inaugural speeches to the nation are mostly recorded first and then broadcast/telecast through radio and television. On the other hand, inaugural speeches at National Assembly and Joint Session of Parliament are telecast live. While Radio Pakistan remained the chief medium for the broadcast of inaugurals from 1947, the time of the country's founding, till 1964, when Pakistan first entered the era of Television broadcasting. Since 1964, both Radio and Television remained the mediums of communication for such speeches.

Also, the unique political make-up of Pakistan, with continuation of the colonial office of Governor General in the early years of the country's history—later replaced with the President—along with Prime Minister, and military takeovers on multiple occasions, render it difficult to differentiate between the constitutional *Head of State* and *Head of Government* vis-à-vis the military rulers. Therefore, there is a need to use a single nomenclature in this study that could comprehensively cover the different forms of Pakistani inaugurals and encompass the entire variety of Pakistani rulers. Against this background, it is deemed essential to offer working definitions used in the present study.

1.5.1 Inaugural Speech

Unlike USA where Presidents deliver only one inaugural speech, the situation in Pakistan is quite different, where both Address to Nation or the National Assembly are called inaugural speeches, as explained in Section 1.5 under *Working Definitions*. As such, it becomes difficult to decide what constitutes as inaugural speech in Pakistan and

hence entails a working definition. Therefore, based on the *principle of chronologically first*, that is, whichever speech occurs first in chronological order will be counted as inaugural speech for the present thesis. As a result, inaugural speech for the purposes of this study is defined as:

- (a) The first speech delivered by an elected Prime Minister to the National Assembly or to the nation and by elected President to the Joint Session of Parliament or to the nation.
- (b) The first speech delivered by a Caretaker Prime Minister/Acting President to the nation. However, in case of its non-availability, their first interaction with media.
- (c) The first speech delivered by Chief Martial Law Administrator/Chief Executive of Pakistan to the nation after imposition of Martial Law/military rule.

1.5.2 Heads of State/Government of Pakistan

The term *Heads of State/Government of Pakistan* in this study refers to Governor Generals, Prime Ministers, Presidents, Caretaker Prime Ministers, Acting Presidents, Chief Martial Law Administrators and Chief Executives of Pakistan, who ruled the country from 1947 to 2018.

1.6 Thesis Statement

Heads of State/Government of Pakistan use ideographs as (language tools) to ensure control and legitimize their rule/authority.

1.7 Research Questions

- Q1.** Which ideographs have the Heads of State/Government of Pakistan used in their speeches?
- Q2.** To what extent are the ideographs of the Heads of State/Government of Pakistan specific to civil and military leaders?
- Q3.** What historical and political circumstances (motivated/compelled) Heads of State/Government of Pakistan to use particular ideographs?
- Q4.** How have the ideographs been used in the speeches diachronically?

1.8 Significance of the Study

The study is significant for several reasons. First, it is a maiden effort in Pakistani context to analyse inaugurals, particularly from ideographic perspective. As such, the current research will contribute to enrich inaugural genre through insights from Pakistani context. Second, the study will help raise awareness in understanding how leaders establish relationship with the public through language use for justifying their rule. Third, the study will also sensitise teachers of political discourse, linguists, political analysts, journalists and politicians to the types of ideographs used by Heads of State/Government of Pakistan in their inaugural speeches. Fourth, the study will help identify a systematic repertoire of ideographs which Heads of State/Government of Pakistan draw on while making speeches. Finally, the study will be beneficial in understanding the changing dynamics of Pakistani political thought for a period of over seven decades; thus, it will bring to the fore the rhetorical culture of Pakistan.

1.9 Justification of the Topic

This study will become part of the on-going debate on inaugural genre in political discourse and will introduce a new context of inaugural speeches in Pakistan for further studies to explore these speeches from other perspectives too. As already indicated, there is limited work available on political speeches in Pakistan. The study will identify, in a systematic

manner, the repertoire of ideographs which Heads of State/Government of Pakistan draw on while making speeches. This will contribute to awareness-raising and better understanding of the linguistic choices and strategies used by these leaders for unification of people to gain their support as well as justification of their rule, policies and actions. Therefore, the analysis of inaugural speeches from ideographic perspective will be a valuable addition. It may be useful for better understanding of ideographs by civil-military leadership in Pakistan as well as the changing dynamics of Pakistani political thought and its evolution over a period of more than seven decades.

1.10 Delimitations of the Study

The study is limited to the analysis of inaugural speeches by Heads of State/Government. Therefore, speeches delivered by rulers on other occasions lie outside the scope of the present research. The findings of the study will, therefore, be restricted to inaugurals and, as such, will not be applicable to the entire period of each ruler or to the whole political discourse of Pakistan. Moreover, the study explores and analyses these speeches only from ideographic perspective. These speeches could also be analysed from other perspectives to examine new dimensions and find out useful insights for future research.

1.11 Chapter-Wise Outline

The structure of the thesis is as follows. *Chapter 1, Introduction*, gives a brief description of what motivated the researcher to undertake the study. Then, background to the study, statement of problem and rationale for selecting and analysing Pakistani inaugurals from ideographic perspective are discussed. This is followed by working definitions of the terms *Inaugural Speech* and *Heads of State/Government of Pakistan* for the purpose of the current study. Next, thesis statement, research questions, significance of the study, justification for conducting the current research and delimitations of the study are presented.

Chapter 2, Literature Review, encompasses a comprehensive analysis of relevant literature on the topic and comprises four sections: *theory, method, genre* and *context*. The

first section pertaining to theory discusses theoretical underpinnings of ideographs by linking symbolic and materialist perspectives, followed by definition, categories, structural dimensions, forms, and rhetorical power of ideographs. The second section on method dilates upon application of McGee's (1980) framework and mentions various studies carried out on analysis of ideographs in political speeches in different socio-political and rhetorical contexts around the world. The third section is related to inaugural speeches as a separate genre with some examples of relevant studies on inaugurals in general and those from ideographic perspective in particular. The next section deals with context, which explores research on speeches by Pakistani Heads of State/Government and politicians. Finally, the research gap for the current study is highlighted.

Chapter 3, Methodology, elaborates research design of the study, followed by data collection with a brief description of the need for data collection, population frame and a detailed discussion on how the data was collected from varied sources. Then, the data size and organization is described, tabulating details of the speeches relevant to the study. Also, problems in determining the language of some speeches are highlighted. Subsequently, data analysis involving preparation, identification and manipulation is explained. The chapter concludes with a discussion on other considerations, including recording additional findings and research ethics

Chapter 4, Discussion, is dedicated exclusively for discussion on analysis of Positive and Negative ideographs, selected on the basis of ten or above frequency combined in both English and Urdu speeches. The Chapter is divided into Six Sections, each with a particular thematic domain on the basis of which ideographs have been classified and subsumed under every Section. The Thematic Domains included: Economy-Focused Ideographs, Governance-Focused Ideographs, Nationalism-Focused Ideographs, Politics-Focused Ideographs, Religion and Values-Focused Ideographs and Society-Focused Ideographs. Ideographs under each Section/ Thematic Domain are sequenced alphabetically and first Positive Ideographs are analysed, followed by analysis of Negative Ideographs, where applicable. Analysis of each ideograph is given under a separate heading. Heading for each ideograph is organised by

using its transliteration and gloss which are enclosed within chevrons or angle brackets <--->, slashes /---/ and square brackets [---] respectively. The analysis of each ideograph is based on the study questions supported by frequency tables and statistical figures. Leadership-wise frequency breakdown of each ideograph is tabulated with names of Heads of State/Government in abbreviated form, their category, that is, designations/portfolios, and total number of words in each inaugural. Moreover, those Presidents and Prime Ministers who delivered more than one inaugural speeches are marked as P-I, P-II, P-III or PM-I, PM-II, PM-III and PM-IV respectively.

Chapter 5, Conclusions, concludes by cross referencing and linking research questions and methodological approach, followed by key findings based on the research questions. Subsequently, the study's implications, strengths and limitations are given. Finally, some recommendations are made for future research.

1.12 Conclusion

In a nutshell, the study is a maiden effort in Pakistan to analyse ideographs in the inaugural speeches by Heads of State/Government, using ideographic perspective introduced and applied for the first time to Pakistani political discourse. The study explores the entire range of inaugurals since the country's founding, whereas previous research on inaugural speeches in Pakistan was extremely rare and very limited. The study brings home the significance of language, particularly ideographs, in political discourse in Pakistani context. More so, it tries to identify rhetorical culture (a systematic repertoire of ideographs) of Pakistan and how such ideographs are used by Heads of State/Government for justification of their rule, policies and actions.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter reviews literature relevant to the study and comprises four sections: *theory*, *method*, *genre* and *context*. The first section pertaining to theory discusses theoretical underpinnings of ideographs by linking symbolic and materialist perspectives, followed by definition, categories, structural dimensions, forms, and rhetorical power of ideographs. The second section on method dilates upon application of McGee's (1980) framework and mentions various studies carried out on analysis of ideographs in political speeches in different socio-political and rhetorical contexts around the world. The third section is related to inaugural speeches as a separate genre with some examples of relevant studies on inaugurals in general and those from ideographic perspective in particular. The next section deals with context, which explores research on speeches by Pakistani Heads of State/Government and politicians. Finally, the research gap for the current study is highlighted.

2.1 Theorising Ideograph: Rhetorical Perspective

As a construct of rhetorical theory and criticism (Stassen & Bates, 2010) originated by Michael Calvin McGee in 1980 (Stassen-Ferrara, 2017; Boyd, 2018), *ideograph* gave a new orientation to rhetorical scholarship (McKerrow, 2010). The concept underlying ideographs differs from prior conceptions of *god* and *devil* terms by Weaver (1953), calling attention to social rather than rational or ethical functions of words and becoming more persuasive than other rhetorical tropes because of its socializing force (Connelly, 2010). As such, ideograph creates a sense of collectivity and produces unity of commitment (Woodward, 2003). It gathers in concepts of symbols and ideology (Miller & Fox, 2007) and is rooted both in Burke's symbolic perspective as well as Marxist materialist critique of ideology (Terrell-Curtis, 2012). Thus, ideograph establishes a new way of understanding the two opposing critical perspectives on mass consciousness: symbolic and materialist. These

worldviews pursue different strands. The former contends that language influences public thought or behaviour while the latter underscores the effect of objective realities on public consciousness. The key difference between the two perspectives is that while symbolists overlook non-symbolic environment, materialists neglect the role of language. Resultantly, the two perspectives are viewed as different incompatible alternatives for construction of reality. McGee (1980) asserts that errors arise when these perspectives are conceived as irreconcilable. He attempts to bring these divergent currents of thought together by contending that they should be regarded as “supplemental” rather than “alternatives”. Thus, he proposes the concept of ideograph, a theoretical model that links both language and ideology.

In McGee’s (1980) theoretical model, ideograph is a juncture that combines both the social reality constructed through discourse and the objective reality of human environment. Ideographs demonstrate how political meanings develop at the intersection of ideology and language. This way, ideograph neither denies human capacity to control power through manipulation of symbols nor rules out the influence of power on creating and maintaining political consciousness. For McGee (1980), “ideology in practice is a political language with the capacity to dictate decision and control public belief and behavior” (p.5). However, he elucidates that control does not mean forcing behaviours and beliefs on people. Rather, it is a process of conditioning members of society around socially sanctioned uses and interpretations of ideographs, which are the building blocks of ideology.

Ideographs are representative of mass consciousness because ideology functions on the larger scale of public consciousness rather than simply on the individual level (Gasser, 2016). Thus, ideographs reflect dominant ideologies (Zhang, 2019). Also, they have material effects and their transformation bring about social changes (Miller & Fox, 2007). In this way, ideographs perform three distinct functions and serve as justification for action, a shared symbol for participation and a means of persuasion (Condit & Lucaites, 1993). They also function “as agents of political consciousness...They come to be as a part of the real lives of the people whose motives they articulate” (McGee, 1980, p.7). As a result, “Those who

maintain control over the use and meanings of ideographs gain opportunities to achieve and utilize power” (Kuypers & Althouse, 2009, p. 227).

2.1.1 Defining Ideograph

McGee (1980) defines ideograph as an:

...ordinary language term found in political discourse. It is a high-order abstraction representing collective commitment to a particular but equivocal and ill-defined normative goal. It warrants the use of power, excuses behaviour and belief, which might otherwise be perceived as eccentric or antisocial, and guides behaviour and belief into channels easily recognized by a community as acceptable and laudable. It is culture-bound. (p. 15)

A critical analysis of McGee’s (1980) definition reveals four major characteristics of ideographs. First, as ordinary language terms such as <democracy>, <terrorism>, <dictatorship> and <law and order>, ideographs regularly appear in the discourse of the political elite as well as the ordinary people. Therefore, ideographs have rhetorical impact. In case a particular term is used only in talks of the political elite, it results in lacking persuasive force required for the common people who identify themselves with the culture (Winkler, 2006, p. 12). Such terms can only perform ideological work for the culture when they are readily available to be employed by members of the collective. Ideographs promote acceptance and endorsement of ideological commitments (Stone, 2018). However, they do so in a very subtle manner. Due to their recurrence and common use, ideographs mask their ideological commitments (Edwards, 2015) and appear to be unideological and almost apolitical. Thus, they persuade unconsciously and, hence, effectively, while frequently recurring not only in the documents (texts of speeches, messages, statements) containing words of the nation’s leadership but also in academic treatises (Edwards & Winkler, 1997). More so, they are found in popular history of a culture, including novels, films, plays and even songs. But their true influence manifests in school books, where most people first come into contact with the existence and experience of ideographs as part of community (McGee, 1980). Ideographs are also used in the news, radio programmes and everyday conversation (Lee, 2009). In addition, they are particularly found in the titles of books as well as

national/international treaties and names of political parties/alliances. For instance, <terrorism> has qualified as ideograph in political discourse (Winkler, 2006). The ideograph has been the subject of thousands of addresses by political leaders (Presidents, Prime Ministers, Leaders of the Opposition) as well as scholarly books. Since 9/11, this ideograph has been the repeated subject of print/electronic media, television advertisements, blockbuster movies, political cartoonists as well as of those in the business of selling patriotic memorabilia. Moreover, the impact of <terrorism> on security, unemployment and stock market render this ideograph all the more significant for rank-and-file citizens who will continue to use this term in their political discourse in foreseeable future. Thus, it could be argued that ideographs are ordinary language terms found in both print and electronic media as well as other cultural narratives and texts.

Second, as high-order abstractions, ideographs are fuzzy and ambiguous, defying concrete definitions. They derive force and utility from their fuzziness (DeChaine, 2005), which provides them flexibility in usage in a range of possible meanings (Vrooman, Sia, Czuchry, & Bollinger, 2018). Being general enough, they can mean different things to different people (Atkinson, 2017), thus encompassing an appeal to a broad audience, including different subgroups (Winkler, 2006). Ideographs have the potential to unify diverse audiences by creating shared meaning and understanding of the world. Thus, using abstract words such as <freedom> gives the impression as if everyone understands ideographs the same way. Constructing such a perception of shared meaning is a powerful tool for persuading people to accept particular political positions that they might otherwise reject (Atkinson, 2017). As such, ideographs have high emotional affect but little cognitive meaning unless linked to particular situations (Lee, 2009). Their “vagueness allows for those meanings to be adapted to fit time, circumstance and rhetorical exigency” (Stuckey, 2008, p. 73). Creative rhetors, particularly politicians, capitalize on this ambiguous nature of ideographs for collective commitment of members to the society’s ideals. So, political leaders urge their audience to pursue <justice>, <freedom> and <equality>, representing the goals to be achieved or the path to follow (Edwards & Winkler, 1997).

Third, ideographs justify the exercise of power even for behaviour and belief, otherwise perceived as antisocial or eccentric and taking action or not taking it, for that matter, is justified in the name of ideographs. For instance, actions are justified and taken or not taken in the name of <democracy>, <national security>, <freedom of expression>, <equality> and <terrorism>. In this regard, Winkler (2006) cites the example of <terrorism> and points out that national leaders use this ideograph to justify policies as well as actions, which might otherwise be abhorred or disliked by the public in almost any other context and they would not support such policies/actions from their leadership in ordinary situations. He argues that people only accept such extreme measures with a belief in the existence of a threat to the survival of country, thus compromising, at times, the very foundational values that the nation's leadership espouses to protect. As such, ideographs serve as "end justifies the means" approach (Winkler, 2006, p. 14). He adds that actions taken by the leadership of USA to counter terrorism after 9/11 reveal that people may not have accepted such measures in normal circumstances, which are justified only in the name of <terrorism>. To protect the nation against <terrorism>, US presidents have taken a range of actions, which might otherwise be regarded as eccentric or antisocial in US culture. He cites the examples authorizing military coups, assassinations, mass deportations, skyjacking, sabotage, monitoring of records/data, asset forfeiture, prosecuting suspected terrorists through secret courts on hearsay evidence or holding them in solitary and/or indefinite confinement without a trial for years; reserving the right to imprison people or deporting immigrants on suspicion of terror-financing without a proof of their involvement in such acts; granting jurisdiction to military tribunals over terrorism and exempting their decisions from appellate review; suspending temporarily the freedom to associate; revoking the ability of a suspect to speak in private to an attorney; and, eavesdropping on suspected terrorists in jail. He contends that these and plethora of other actions have been put in place to safeguard American people from the risk of <terrorism>. In so doing, <civil liberties>, which enjoy a sacred status in the US society, were subordinated to <terrorism> and thus lost their exalted position in the US

society as the people felt risk from <terrorism>. Thus, ideographs can be used to justify and defend a variety of different policies and actions across a range of contexts.

Fourth, the meanings of ideographs are culture-bound. Ideographs exist in all societies and as such their use is universal (Lee, 2009). Each culture has a specific repertoire of ideographs and becoming members of a culture entails understanding the ideographs of the society. In this way, ideographs are socially determined (Hackert, 2017) and “each member of the community is socialized and conditioned to the vocabulary of ideographs as a prerequisite for "belonging" to the society” (McGee, 1980, p. 15). Members of a culture are exposed to ideographs through socialization by family, education, politics, economy and religion (Hauser, 2002), who learn a common language of a culture and become a collective entity. Resultantly, their affiliation with such vocabularies provides them not only with group-identity but also with an orientation towards the world. Members of a culture project images of reality through use of such symbols and “these projections are not of realities themselves as factually existing entities but of interpretations of realities” (Hauser, 2002, p. 212). As a result, “A willingness to accept a given interpretation of the term becomes a virtual litmus test for membership within the collective” (Winkler, 2006, p. 14). For instance, no phrase can better explain the cultural-specific nature and meaning of <terrorism> than this: one man’s terrorist is another man’s freedom fighter. Thus, cultural perspectives determine the meaning of ideographs. The tendency to regard own cultural perspective as the only interpretation shows how embedded ideographs are in a culture or society. McGee (1980) puts it in these words,

A degree of tolerance is usual, but people are expected to understand ideographs within a range of usage thought to be acceptable: The society will inflict penalties on those who use ideographs in heretical ways and on those who refuse to respond appropriately to claims on their behaviour warranted through the agency of ideographs (pp. 15-16).

When a claim is warranted by terms such as <constitution>, <law>, <democracy> <liberty>, <tyranny>, it is believed that human beings will react predictably and autonomically. As aptly remarked by Quantz (2016), “The trick of ideographs lies in the fact that readers/audience must dissociate themselves from the ideograph before they can reject

the argument” (p. 32). For example, Ronald Reagan, in his educational policy, relied on the use of <choice> and <excellence>. These ideographs place the opponents of Ronald Reagan in a position of appearing to be against <choice> and <excellence>. Likewise, George W. Bush employed <no child left behind> and <research-based instruction>, which place his opponents in the position of appearing to favour leaving some students behind and opposing research-based instruction. As such, it is difficult for the opponents to dissociate themselves from such compelling ideals as <choice>, <excellence>, <no child left behind> and <research-based instruction>. Therefore, Kent (2013) holds that “The power of ideographs is that they invoke compelling cultural and ideological ideals, capable of shutting down debate and dissension” (p.433). A person appealing to ideographs of <fairness> or <rights> for instance, can often end a disagreement simply by calling attention to those almost sacred concepts (Boyd, 2018). Even a weak argument creates appeal when based on the strength of an ideograph as claimed by Quantz, (2016), “If an author appeals to an ideograph that the reader subscribes to, the reader will often overlook a poor argument since they are already emotionally committed to the ideograph” (p. 33).

Ideographs are taken as fact by their audience because they see the terms as core part of the society to which they belong (Paul, 2012). There will always be disagreement as to the identity, legitimacy, or definition of specific ideographs within a given society, too, so that there is always a certain variability in ideographic usage, which, in turn, is a prerequisite for change. Ideographs are thus by no means static phenomena; their meaning and usage are subject to constant contestation and renegotiation (Hackert, 2017). And even though they may employ formally similar or identical ideographs, different societies will disagree with regard to their meanings. Ideographs such as <liberty> or <equality> thus define a community, that is, the outer parameters of a society because they either do not exist in other societies or do not have precisely the same meanings (Hackert, 2017). However, Parry-Giles (1994) highlights that the archetypal nature of certain ideographs has universal appeal, unaffected by cultural variation. For instance, <peace> functioned as a cross-cultural ideograph, particularly in the wake of World War II and nuclear destruction. Thus, some

ideographs transcend culture, especially in case of foreign policy rhetoric where leaders use ideographs for international appeal. McGee (1980, p.8) calls such cross-cultural ideographs as higher order because they ensure temporary union between nations.

As highlighted in the above discussion, ideographs are ordinary language terms in political discourse. However, ideographs have both political and cultural implications (Vitta, 2007). As such, ideographic analysis has been expanded or extended to culture as well. Sociologists, historians, psychologists and anthropologists also find insights of ideographic analysis as valuable as political scientists. Although permeation of politics into all things cultural cannot be overlooked, other ideographs come to attention through analysis of cultural ideographs that could otherwise have been missed. For instance, the context and implications for the use and analysis of <equality> are both political as well as cultural. Similarly, <marriage> (Stassen & Bates, 2010) and <clash of civilizations> (Cloud, 2004) have also been explored as ideographs.

2.1.2 Categories of Ideographs: Positive and Negative

Ideographs can broadly be divided into two categories: *Positive* and *Negative*. Positive ideographs guide behaviour and belief into channels easily recognised as acceptable and laudable (McGee, 1980). For example, <freedom> and <equality> are positive ideographs justified on their call for socially acceptable behaviour. While McGee (1980) primarily focuses on positive terms (Edwards, 2015), others (Parry-Giles, 1995; Winkler, 2006; Jackson, 2011; Herman, 2016) draw on him and appropriate the term *negative ideographs* to describe words (e.g. <terrorism>, <tyranny>) that are invoked to further the ideological commitments of the public or the nation against its enemies. Nevertheless, McGee (1980, p.15) acknowledges that ideographs “may guide behaviour and belief negatively by branding unacceptable behaviour.” Therefore, negative ideographs also play an important role in fostering collective identity when members of a society define themselves by as much disapproval of the ideas presented through negative ideographs as they do by showing commitment to the ideas encapsulated in the positive ideographs (Winkler, 2006). A glance

over previous research on ideographs also shows that much of research in the past focuses on positive ideographs with very little research work available on negative ideographs (Herman, 2016). Moreover, such scant research on negative ideographs is mainly restricted to limited ideographs such as <terrorism> and <anarchy>.

2.1.3 Structure of Ideograph: Diachronic and Synchronic

Ideographs are not philosophical abstractions but words that exist in real discourse (McGee, 1980). As such, their meanings are determined socially rather than rationally (Hackert, 2012). The meaning-making mechanism of ideographs has two structural dimensions: *diachronic* or *vertical* and *synchronic* or *horizontal*.

Diachronic structure involves reference to history of an ideograph and points to its precedent usages in previous situations. In other words, it relates to concrete history as usages of an ideograph. McGee (1980) points out that “each ideograph, in isolation, has a history, an etymology, such that current meanings of the term are linked to past usages” (p. 16). The historical applications of the ideograph establish category or parameters of its meaning. That is, diachronic dimension helps provide different meanings of a particular ideograph throughout its use in a culture across time and circumstances. For instance, Condit and Lucaites (1993, pp. xvii, xviii, 217) carried out diachronic analysis of <equality> in American culture by describing various usages of the ideograph and charting its changing meaning to present its “*rhetorical history*”. Similarly, Rhidenour (2008) conducted diachronic analysis of <collateral damage> by exploring its usages from World Wars I and II to the firebombing of Tokyo and Vietnam as well as the rise of technology in the Gulf War to the present. Thus, beginning from the current time, <collateral damage> is traced back to its initial use in the past. In so doing, the ideograph’s *patterns of use* throughout discursive history are discovered, which bring to the fore not only the functional meaning of the ideograph but also its rhetorical constraints. As such, rhetors who use ideographs in political or public discourse are restricted to employ such a term in ways more or less in harmony with the rhetorical culture (Condit & Lucaites, 1993). For example, if the ideograph <liberty> is used

diachronically by rhetors to support free market capitalism, future rhetors would find it difficult to use the same ideograph to support government intervention in economic domain because it is not in consonance with the rhetorical culture. As McGee (1980, p. 10) states that “earlier usages become precedent, touchstones for judging the propriety of the ideograph in a current circumstance” and further contends that “the way an ideograph can be meaningful now is controlled in large part by what it meant then” (pp. 10-11). As such, each community records and preserves vertical structuring of ideographs.

On the other hand, synchronic dimension refers to the way ideographs function presently or at the given moment when people actually make use of the terms as rhetorical forces. In other words, it helps explain how ideographs relate to or clash with each other. In synchronic constellation, meanings of ideographs are determined by their relation or tension with other ideograph(s) or ideographic cluster(s). McGee (1980) points out that any given ideograph is “connected to all others as brain cells are linked by synapses, synchronically in one context at one specific moment” (p.16). As such, ideographs often are defined by, and used in conjunction with, other ideographs. For instance, President Nixon made synchronic use of ideographs in Watergate conflict by linking ideograph of <principle of confidentiality> with <rule of law>. Thus, he justified his refusal to give documents to Congress by invoking the ideograph of <principle of confidentiality>. Capitalizing on the abstract nature of the ideograph, Nixon expanded the understanding of <principle of confidentiality> and made it a central term. Similarly, Connelly (2012) carried out a synchronic analysis of two competing ideographs <national security> and <privacy>, which were employed after 9/11 scenario in Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court of Review legal opinion. The ideograph of <national security> was prioritized over <privacy>, thus violating privacy in the name of national security via the strategic use of silence. Pitting ideographs against each other in this manner reflects the force of ideographs, which they can exert. Horizontal structures of ideographs broaden the scope of legitimation. More so, in synchronic confrontations, the ideograph performs two functions: it either reinforces its diachronic precedent or redefines it to warrant social change by employing new meaning or context. However, redefining an ideograph

synchronously entails not only linking the primary ideograph with new ideographs or practical contexts but also maintaining an allegiance to the constraints of rhetorical culture.

Both diachronic and synchronic structures must be understood because ideographs are not merely social categories whose meanings are culturally defined but rather the various meanings of ideographs do ideological work and function as coherent principles of social control, supporting a particular social order (Douglas, 1975, pp. 239, 243). Thus, social control is fundamentally rhetorical. Resultantly, analyzing ideographs both diachronically and synchronically in rhetorical texts is of vital significance (McGee, 1980, p. 12). Scholars/ideographic critics have, therefore, analysed ideographs either from diachronic or synchronic perspectives or both. Most analyses of ideographs focus on the diachronic dimension or the synchronic dimension of a particular ideograph in isolation (Condit & Lucaites, 1993; Charland & Lucaites, 1989). The current study used diachronic perspective for analysis of ideographs in the inaugural speeches.

2.1.4 Forms of Ideographs: Representational and Visual

Over the years, the concept of ideograph has evolved. While initial research on ideographs mostly focused on linguistic terms (words/phrases), scholarship on ideographs has been extended to objects, places and images. Therefore, objects and places also represent ideographs, particularly in public and political debate. Thus, a major shift has been observed from written/verbal rhetoric to visual rhetoric. Thus, visual rhetoric is gaining more and more traction over time, giving rise to *representational* and *visual* forms of ideographs. The two types are elucidated in the succeeding lines.

The *representational* ideographs stem from Burke's (1969) view of synecdoche and McGee's (1980) concept of ideograph (Moore, 1993). According to Burke, synecdoche is a rhetorical trope, which emphasizes part-whole or whole-part relationship of convertibility. To express the relationship between synecdoche and ideograph in other words, synecdoche is a representation or stand in for linguistic ideographs and makes ideographic meaning more concrete or tangible, transforming both object and thought. While reviewing the literature

accessed for the current research, hardly was any study found on the analysis of places as ideographs. Yet, some limited studies on the analysis of objects as ideographs were observed. In this regard, the work of Moore (1993; 1994; 1997) in USA is of particular significance. He analysed <the spotted owl>, <handgun>, and <cigarette> as representational ideographs in social controversies based on contrasting appeals to <life> and <liberty>. In so doing, he mainly examined the role of synecdoche.

For instance, while examining <the spotted owl> as a representational ideograph, Moore (1993) refers to a controversy between the environmentalists and the American timber industry over the old-growth forests in the Pacific Northwest. While the environmentalists regarded the death of <the spotted owl> as a threat to <life>, that is, extinction of the forest, the American timber industry considered <the spotted owl> as a threat to <liberty>, that is, economic freedom, thus constructing divergent synecdochic forms of <the spotted owl>. As a result, the two sides reduced the controversy to a competitive choice between <life> or <liberty>, the one-term ideological commitments in synecdochic constructs, with conflicting social realities about the same object. With the <spotted owl>, both the groups not only revealed environmental and economic interests but also conveyed in concrete terms their views of <life> and <liberty>. Similarly, in the Brady Bill debate in the United States, Moore (1994) examined the representational ideograph of <handgun>. The two competing groups, that is, Handgun Control Inc. and the National Rifle Association constructed opposing synecdochic forms of <handgun>. The former called it as a threat to <life>, while the latter as protector of <liberty>. Thus, the two sides reduced the controversy to a competitive choice between <life> or <liberty>. The National Rifle Association constituted a discourse of power and tried to sustain their social practices, while Handgun Control Inc. attempted to replace such dominant practices. Also, Moore (1997) analysed <cigarette> in the Environmental Tobacco Smoke (ETS) controversy in the United States. The anti-smoking groups and the tobacco industry constructed opposing synecdochic forms of <cigarette>. The former called it as a threat to <life> while the latter as a threat to <liberty>. Thus, the two sides reduced the controversy to a competitive choice between <life> or <liberty>. The tobacco industry

constituted a discourse of power as regards legitimacy of public smoking and tried to sustain the social practices of those under its domination. On the other hand, the anti-smoking groups attempted to abolish and replace such dominant practices. While representing fundamental ideographs such as <life> and <liberty>, discourse can enable continuation or discontinuation of smoking.

A close analysis of these studies reveal that in each case one ideograph, that is, <the spotted owl>, <handgun> and <cigarette> produced two conflicting synecdoches with different ideographic orientations: <life> or <liberty>. The linguistic ideographs <life> and <liberty> are ultimate terms materialized in a culture, whereas ideographs in synecdochic forms, that is, <the spotted owl>, <handgun> and <cigarette> signify an ultimate conflict. The two competing groups in each case transformed the object into a political instrument with different representations by advocating private interests in the name of public concern. The positions for or against an ideology are necessarily partisan. As such, each group perpetuates its own forms and meanings to maintain controversy, thus the conflict becomes irresolvable. Resultantly, enduring social conflicts can be articulated/managed through form (synecdoche) and meaning (ideograph). Social truths created from such bases build on incongruences, which are difficult to overcome because "truth" is already incorporated in the social construction of reality (Peterson, 1991, p. 305).

Another manifestation of ideographs is the *visual* form. It was Janis Edwards and Carol Winkler in 1997 who presented the idea of visual ideographs (Meidani, 2015). Images are vital to the construction of meanings and as such they may be regarded in their own right as ideographs (Cloud, 2004). As part of rhetorical culture, visual images perpetuate ideological commitments, thus reinforcing beliefs and influencing actions. While images may not initially serve as ideographs, their repeated use renders them so to function rhetorically. For instance, the images of 9/11 attacks become ideographic through repeated dissemination, hence warranting action against <terrorism> in pursuit of <freedom> and <liberty>. The visual image thus becomes more of an abstraction.

Similarly, the 1945 photograph of the US flag-raising at Iwo Jima was an illustration of how a visual image can be perceived as “depictive rhetoric that functions ideographically”, a term referred to as a representative form (Edwards & Winkler, 1997, p. 289). The photograph depicts an image of war to some viewers; to others, it has a secondary, symbolic meaning of US <victory>, <democracy>, <military preparedness>, or <freedom>.

Edwards and Winkler (1997) further added that certain pictures or images portray a cultural projection of an ideology that causes a reaction in people and that reaction to the image is based on their personal beliefs, attitudes, and values in society. Furthermore, certain pictures of communal symbols can be interpreted differently by different people based on each person’s cultural specificity and ethnic origin (Osborn, 1986). Visual ideographs, as an example of depictive rhetoric that functions ideographically, can cause a confrontational reaction in people, eliciting arguments in support or in opposition to what it is that the visual ideograph represents (Edwards & Winkler, 1997; Moore, 1997; Osborn, 1986; Palczewski, 2005; Pineda & Sowards, 2007).

2.1.5 Rhetorical Power of Ideographs

Ideographs fundamentally changed the way scholars comprehend persuasion. “Ideographs are more pregnant than arguments” (McGee, 1980, pp. 6-7). As such, a set-series of propositions advanced through argumentation no longer hold the basic unit whereby persuasion occurs. Instead, ideographs function as the central meaning-creating elements of public and political rhetoric. They are one-term summary of ideological orientations and stand as abbreviated propositions. Ideographs dispel the need for arguments because they contain whole arguments within themselves (Haller, 2013). They possess the power to settle arguments almost by themselves (Boyd, 2018). Ideographs cannot be subjected to logical analysis in terms of truth values (Hackert, 2012). They operate much like a frame of naturalization, for they hold themselves above scrutiny and as such encourage logical commitments (Triece, 2001). According to McGee (1980, p. 7), the fundamental logic of ideographs cannot be questioned because they are so ingrained in culture’s psyche that people are conditioned to

accept their validity. Just as people are taught to believe that “186,000 miles per second” is the correct empirical description of speed of light although very few can do mathematics or conduct experiments to prove it. As such, the dogma of self-evidence is a typical strategy used to support ideographic arguments (Jasinski, 1990). Self-evidence is reckoned as a force, which compels every normal mind to yield (Perelman & Olbrechts-Tyteca 1969). Thus, ideographs not only render claims self-evident but also suppress legitimacy and validity dimensions of propositions. Ideographs play an important role because they represent the ideology behind the arguments. In conflict perspective particularly, social groups with conflicting interests rely on ideographs. Sometimes, opposing parties use competing ideographs in social conflicts/issues; at other times, they employ the same ideograph (Mastrangelo, 2017). For instance, the use of opposing ideographs can be observed in the debate over abortion. People who support liberal abortion laws employ positive ideographs of <choice> and <freedom>, while labelling their opponents with the negative ideograph of <discrimination>.

On the other hand, persons favouring stringent laws on abortion adopt the ideograph of <life> to describe the need to protect the foetus. Each of these ideographs inspires different political policies on abortion. The appeal to the ideograph of <choice> demands giving mothers the right to terminate a foetus while the ideograph of <life> demands that the foetus be protected. These ideographs help both sides phrase the debate to favour their positions. On the other hand, social issue debates have also been reliant on the contested nature of the same ideograph (Miller, 2015). For example, the ideograph of <motherhood> was used by both Peace and Preparedness Movements during World War I (Mastrangelo, 2017). Women supporting Peace Movement used essentialist maternal rhetoric. They represented “mother of the nation” view as givers of life, who are essentially peaceful and less prone to war-like behaviours. Women activists supporting Preparedness Movement employed patriotic maternal rhetoric, advancing the notion that women, as mothers, should do whatever possible to support those engaged in the war with a view to protecting and preserving democracy for future generations. Thus, the ideograph <motherhood> during World War I did not clash

against other ideographs, but instead within itself. The idea of support and care was used by both essentialized and patriotic <motherhood> as a core concept of their beliefs. Women, throughout World War I, recreated themselves in the social fabric. First, as essentialized mothers, they supported peace for sons and the nation. And then as patriotic mothers, they supported fighting for their sons and the nation, thus shifting their orientations of <motherhood>. Depending on the needs of their government, <motherhood> was altered and defined in different ways. Hence, <motherhood> ideograph was appropriated and redeployed by Preparedness Movement, which had earlier been the province of Peace Movement.

2.2 Method: Analysis of Ideographs in Political Speeches

A review of literature on analysis of ideographs in political speeches reveals that such research work is non-existent in Pakistan. As such, the researcher explored foreign contexts, where a number of such studies were found with varying differences in terms of genre type, approach, number of speeches selected, focus of analysis and period of time. Much of such research has been conducted on US politicians and Presidents' Campaign Speeches, Presidential Debates, State of the Union Addresses, Addresses to Nation as well as Inaugurals (studies on US inaugurals have been mentioned in the subsequent part of this thesis, that is, *Section 2.3 Genre: Inaugural Speeches*), alongside speeches on special occasions like New Year's Speech, Liberation Day Address, Address to Artists, Address at a Conference, etc. delivered by leaders of other countries such as Italy, Cuba, UK and Macedonia.

Such studies can broadly be grouped into *cross-sectional* and *longitudinal*: the former analysing a single speech at a particular time in a special context; the latter examining a number of speeches spanning over a period of time, that is, one year, three years and, in some cases, even decades. Both the groups, in turn, can further be divided into two sub-groups on the basis of employing *inductive* or *deductive* approach to analysis. In the former approach, the researcher does not have a list of pre-determined ideographs; rather, ideographs are explored in one or more than one speeches. In the latter approach, in contrast, the researcher looks for a pre-determined list of ideographs, one or more than one, either in a single speech

or a number of speeches. Moreover, such studies have selected either a single speech or many speeches by one leader or have chosen one speech each by two leaders for comparison to identify convergence and divergence of ideographs. The focus of analysis is synchronic, diachronic or both. Some relevant research studies are reviewed, as grouped above, in a chronological order in the succeeding parts of this section.

Among the *cross-sectional* studies, some research examined speeches by a single leader through inductive approach. For instance, Scheele (1984) analysed Ronald Reagan's acceptance speech delivered at the Republican National Convention in Detroit on July 17, 1980. The researcher identified ideographs used by Ronald Reagan in his speech. For this purpose, the text was closely examined through repeated readings. The ideographs thus identified were recorded on a tally sheet along with their frequencies. Resultantly, both positive and negative ideographs were observed. The positive ideographs included <neighbourhood>, <work>, <freedom>, <family>, <peace>, <trust>, <country>, <people>, <America>, <economy>, <productivity>, and <American spirit>. On the other hand, negative ideographs were <inflation>, <discrimination>, <unemployment> and <recession>. Similarly, Delgado (1999) analysed ideographs in the speech of Fidel Castro, then Prime Minister of Cuba, which he delivered in June 1961 to the writers and artists of his country during a time of instability, particularly due to tensions between intellectuals and the government. Using ideographic analysis, the study identified <revolution> as a key ideograph in the speech along with its human corollary <revolutionary>. The speech comprised 12349 words, of which <revolution> was used 237 times and <revolutionary> 60 times. Moreover, other ideographs including <freedom>, <justice>, <fairness>, <freedom of expression>, <people> and <rights> were also observed, which clustered around the foundational ideograph <revolution> to redefine it in order to legitimize and justify the new political and social order for Cuba. Thus, Castro relied on the culturally established vocabulary of <revolution> to bring about social change. While rearticulating the ideograph of <revolution>, Castro contended that <revolution> was in the interest of people and would defend creative or artistic freedom. As such, he exhorted writers and artists to support

<revolution> for the sake of Cuba and identified them as <revolutionary>. Resultantly, Castro, under the banner of <revolution>, subsumed his personal interests and creative labours.

In contrast to these studies, others analysed cross-sectional data of speeches by a single leader through *deductive* approach. Such research includes Pietrucci (2012) who conducted rhetorical analysis of the first Liberation Day speech delivered by Italian Prime Minister, Silvio Berlusconi, on April 25, 2009. Using ideographic framework, the study analysed <liberation> and <liberty> ideographs in the speech. While strategically shifting these ideographs, Berlusconi used <liberation> ideograph only once in his speech and replaced it with <liberty> ideograph throughout to persuade diverse and polarized audience, thus shifting ideologically from anti-fascism to anti-totalitarianism. In the same vein, Zamora (2015) carried out analysis of Prime Minister David Cameron's speech on the genesis of <Islamist extremism> and <terrorism> in Europe, which he delivered at Munich Security Conference in February 2011. The study used ideographic framework to diachronically analyse the ideograph of <multiculturalism> and synchronically linked it to ideographs of <terrorism> and <Islamist extremism>. Cameron argued that the erosion of British identity has resulted in <Islamist extremism> and blamed <multiculturalism> for enabling Muslims to lead separate lives and refusing to identify as British.

The next sub-group in cross-sectional studies compared speeches by different leaders, again, using *inductive* and *deductive* approaches. For instance, applying inductive approach, Edmisten (2007) compared the speech of President Harry S Truman, which he delivered before a Joint Session of Congress on March 12, 1947 when America went to war against communism, that is, the Cold War and the speech of President George W. Bush, which he gave on September 20, 2001, when USA declared War on Terror. The study aimed to explore how the two presidents created crises and built foundations for the two wars through employment of culturally resonant language. Drawing inspiration from cultural criticism, the study used a combination of ideographic analysis and symbolic convergence theory to examine ideographs, values, myths and fantasy themes in the speeches. Ideographic analysis

of the speeches revealed that Truman used ideographs of <freedom> and <democracy>, whereas Bush relied on <freedom> and <justice>. In addition, both the presidents also made use of values, myths and fantasy themes for creating crises and cultural consciousness.

Similarly, Day (2013) compared former Governor Mitt Romney's and Ann Romney's speeches (one each) from the Republican National Convention as well as President Obama's and Michelle Obama's speeches (one each) from the Democratic National Convention, alongside three presidential debates between former Governor Romney and President Barack Obama that happened during October 2012. For this purpose, he used ideographic criticism as a primary method, together with narrative paradigm as a supportive tool. The study mainly focused on Presidential Campaign rhetoric of 2012, which for the most part centered round the myth of American Dream. The research explored ideographs in the speeches both diachronically and synchronically to show how the politicians used different ideographs to portray the cultural myth of the American Dream.

Further instances of similar research include a study by Hodyc (2018) who compared analysis of George W. Bush's 2002 and Donald J. Trump's 2018 first-year State of the Union addresses to identify ideographs and find out commonalities and differences of ideographs in the two speeches. To this end, the researcher employed ideographic criticism as a research methodology. In so doing, the researcher identified a number of ideographs in both the speeches along with frequencies and classified them into two main categories, that is, central and supporting ideographs. Central ideographs included <terrorism> and <America>, which were common in both the speeches. While <terrorism> ideograph occurred once in each speech, the frequency of <America> ideograph was much higher, which was used 33 times by Bush and 22 times by Trump. However, a slight variation was observed in supporting ideographs. The central ideographs were synchronically paired with multiple supporting ideographs. Despite similar ideographic usage, Bush and Trump assigned different functions and meanings to the central ideographs. <terrorism> for Bush is an assault on civility and morality that must be eliminated with pro-war legislation but for Trump <terrorism> is inevitability for which the only solution lies in immigration reforms. Likewise, Bush depicts

<America> as a victim that needs freedom from oppression. On the other hand, Trump considers <America> as a land of opportunity only for those who believe in traditional American values and try to uphold them.

In comparison to these, others applied a *deductive* approach to study selected ideographs while comparing speeches delivered by different leaders. For example, Cloud (1998) analysed the ideograph of <family values> in the speeches of both Republicans and Democrats in the Presidential campaign rhetoric of 1992. Using ideographic criticism as a methodological tool, she carried out close reading of the speeches and explored how the ideograph of <family values> was employed by both the parties. She found that politicians synchronically used a cluster of other ideographs including <family>, <responsibility> and <opportunity>, which orbited the main ideograph of <family values>. In so doing, the politicians scapegoated members of marginalized community, that is, black men and poor Americans for social problems in society because of their declining <family values>, thus diverting attention from poverty and racial injustice towards personal responsibility and private life as explanation for the ills of society.

To the second group belongs studies that used *longitudinal* analysis. This group, again, used either *inductive* or *deductive* approach for studying ideographs. Using an inductive approach, Parry-Giles (1995) analysed several speeches of former British Prime Minister Margret Thatcher from 1975-85. Using ideographic framework, the study examined Thatcher's use of <terrorism> ideograph in relation to ideographs of <freedom> and <law and order>, specifically with regard to Northern Ireland conflict. The study revealed that Thatcher constructed <terrorism> as a threat to <freedom> and <democracy>, thus justifying the need for <law and order> and legitimizing restrictions on <freedom of speech> by banning terrorists interviews and their publicity. Similarly, Bajema (2007) examined ideographs in the twelve addresses delivered by President George W. Bush to the nation between September 11, 2000 to May 1, 2003. Using ideographic framework, the study analysed the speeches and identified three dominant ideographs including <justice>, <evil> and <freedom>. Using these ideographs, Bush appealed to diverse audience, thus unifying the

nation against the threat to American way of life. In the like manner, Kuypers and Althouse (2009) analysed twelve speeches by John Pym to Short and the Long Parliaments in UK between 1640 and 1643. Drawing on ideographic analysis, the study examined ideographs in Pym's speeches and revealed that Pym manipulated the ideograph of <law> in relation to ideographs of <religion>, <justice> and <parliamentary privilege>. Thus, he created a new political reality and unified audience, shifting power away from the Crown toward the Houses. Moreover, Ziberi (2012) conducted an ideographic analysis of forty-two speeches delivered by representatives of EU in Macedonia as well as the officials of the Macedonian Government from 2006 to 2009. Applying framework of ideograph, the study explored <multiculturalism> as an ideograph in the speeches alongside other clustering ideographs including <interethnic tolerance>, <interethnic stability>, <interethnic cooperation> and <interethnic dialogue>. The research revealed that both EU and Macedonian leaders used either the main ideograph, that is, <multiculturalism> in their speeches or the clustering ideographs related to the key ideograph of <multiculturalism>. The study highlighted that leaders on both sides attached different meanings to these ideographs in keeping with their diverse cultural values, experiences and perceptions, thus advancing their own interests and motives. Further research in the same vein includes Syrstad (2017), who analysed New Year's speeches delivered by Danish Prime Ministers between 2002-17 to examine how the leaders used language of social identity to unify people around certain important ideographs, representations and stylistic tokens. Using a cross-disciplinary model, the study drew on social identity approach and contemporary rhetorical theory. As such, alongside analyzing self-representations and stylistic tokens, ideographs were identified by using ideographic framework. A close reading of the speeches was carried out and some of the ideographs found in the speeches included: <future>, <freedom>, <winner>, <solidarity>, <trust>, <respect>, <cooperation>, <responsibility> and <safety>.

On the contrary, other longitudinal ideographic research applied a deductive approach. Such studies include Coe (2007), which analysed ideograph of <freedom> in sixty-four State of the Union and eleven Inaugural Addresses delivered by US presidents

from 1933 to 2006, a period spanning more than seven decades. Drawing inspiration from the concept of ideograph, the researcher carried out textual analysis of the speeches, using both qualitative and quantitative techniques. The ideograph <freedom> was determined as the unit of analysis. With the help of computer, the researcher identified the absolute frequency of the ideograph <freedom> in each speech and its normalised frequency per one thousand words. Resultantly, three themes in relation to the ideograph <freedom> emerged that the Presidents focused in the specified speeches. The first theme was providing foundational description of USA's role with regard to <freedom>, that is, presenting USA as a global leader to support and defend the cause of <freedom> at any cost, sacrificing for its own and others' liberty. The second theme was employing <freedom> as a criterion to define friends and foes, that is, considering those supporting <freedom> as friends and those opposing it as enemies. Finally, using <freedom> as a rationale or justification for political decisions. In the same way, Long (2013) conducted an analysis of <terrorism> ideograph in the speeches delivered by President Obama during his first term (2009-13). To this end, the researcher particularly focused on speeches containing specific discussion of <terrorism>. Drawing insights from ideographic criticism, the researcher used textual analysis of over a dozen such speeches and found that President Obama juxtaposed the main ideograph of <terrorism> with other supporting ideographs especially <rule of law> and <democratic values>. In so doing, Obama called for defending <rule of law> and <democratic values> at all costs and thus justified the need for combating <terrorism>. President Obama stressed that the preservation and maintenance of <rule of law> is necessary because it is the foundation on which US <democratic values> are built. Hence, using these ideographs, Obama left little room for disagreement or opposition and gained support for policies on <terrorism>.

2.3 Genre: Inaugural Speeches

Given the significance of Inaugural Speeches, as discussed in *Chapter 1* under *Section 1.2, Background to the Study* and *Section 1.5, Working Definitions*, inaugurals have attracted attention of researchers in different contexts around the globe, particularly USA and have

been analysed, using several different methods: *mixed-method*, *critical discourse analysis* (CDA), *content analysis* and *ideographic analysis*. For instance, using a corpus-based mixed-method approach, Chung and Park (2010) analysed two inaugural addresses of South Korean Presidents Moo-Hyun Roh (2003-08) and Myung-Bak Lee (2008–13). The study used Korean Key Words in Context (KrKwic) and Korean Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count (K-LIWC) for analysing the speeches. The fifteen most frequently appearing words in the speeches of both the Presidents—Roh and Lee—were identified, which demonstrated that the former used more political rhetoric with an emphasis on international situations and peace of the Korean peninsula, while the latter focused on economic rhetoric for construction of an advanced nation. Moreover, President Roh used positive emotions words more frequently than Lee. However, both the presidents employed words like ‘hope’ and ‘future’ to invoke positive feelings. In the same vein, Gruber (2013) analysed four inaugural speeches delivered by three Austrian chancellors to parliamentary sessions from 2000 to 2008. The speeches were examined with regard to their structure and content, using three analytical steps including move analysis, corpus analysis and topical analysis. The move analysis focused on the generic structure of the speeches such as introduction, main body and closing phase to see similarities and differences, while corpus analysis was carried out to examine lexical differences or congruencies. Topical analysis explored topic sequences in the four speeches to see differences and account for the position of a particular topic sequence by either attributing it to the influence of political context or the relative importance assigned to it by the speaker.

Among studies that applied CDA to inaugurals, Mirzaei, Hashemian and Safari (2016) analysed generic structure and rhetorical moves in the inaugural address of Hasan Rouhani, Iran's seventh president, which he delivered on August 4, 2013 before the parliament. The study drew on CDA approach and used Fairclough's three-dimensional framework to explore political, religious, and socio-cultural values underlying the rhetorical moves in the speech. The results indicated that President Rouhani developed his inaugural on a succession of nine generic moves, using a mix of generic and discursal structures to reach

out to Iranian people. In another CDA-based study, Ankrah, Dominic and Opoku (2018) analysed inaugural addresses of President John Agyekum Kuffour (January 7, 2001) and President John Evans Atta Mills (January 7, 2009) of the Fourth Republic of Ghana. The study was qualitative in nature based on Fairclough's framework to identify broad thematic outline in the speeches and explore convergence and divergence in ideological standpoints of the presidents.

One of the earliest studies that applied content analysis to inaugural addresses is Prothro (1956), which analysed first acceptance speeches as well as State of the Union Messages of the US Presidents Herbert Hoover (1929-33), Franklin Delano Roosevelt (1933-45), Harry S. Truman (1945-53) and David Dwight Eisenhower (1953-61) to examine differences in the use of demand symbols, political appeals and international-domestic subject matter in the speeches, particularly in the context of New Deal scenario in the USA. The study hypothesized that the demand symbols and political appeals in the speeches of Presidents Roosevelt and Truman (Democrats) should differ from those of Presidents Hoover and Eisenhower (Republicans) because of the former's association with the New Deal and the latter's leadership of the Conservative Party in the pre- and post-New Deal time frame. For demand symbols, single term or word was determined as a recording unit, whereas for political appeals and international-domestic subject matter, paragraph was set as the recording unit and context. In doing so, a total of 1541 demand symbols were identified by counting the symbols, together with their synonyms. Of these, only ten demand symbols appearing most frequently in the speeches of each president were selected to focus on key emphasis. For political appeals, a total of 814 paragraphs were examined. Of which 648 paragraphs were thematic, whereas the remaining 166 were unclassifiable because either they contained no political appeal or more than one appeals. Six appeals appearing most frequently in the speeches of each president were selected. With regard to international-domestic subject matter, 814 paragraphs of the four presidents were categorized into three types, that is, international, domestic and unclassifiable. President Hoover's international themes were 31, domestic 182 and unclassifiable 25; President Roosevelt's international

subjects constituted 5, domestic 109 and unclassifiable 8; President Truman's international matter comprised 78, domestic 127 and unclassifiable 19; and Eisenhower's international included 85, domestic 108 and unclassifiable 37. The results indicated that demand symbols and political appeals of the two Democrats largely differed from those of Hoover, but Eisenhower, to some extent, endorsed the New Deal appeals and at the same time repeated some demand symbols and appeals of Hoover.

Later, Mahoney, Coogle and Banks (1984) analysed fifty inaugural addresses from 1789 to 1980 of 40 US presidents—Washington to Reagan. Drawing insights from Rokeach's two-value model ("freedom": "equality") linking values and ideology, the study used content analysis method to examine eight values namely "justice", "freedom", "equality" "religion", "economy", "peace", "power" and "morality" in every address to determine the relative emphasis placed on each value by the presidents. To this end, three graduate students with expertise in research methods, particularly content analysis served as judges to identify values in the addresses. A four-point scale was selected as a scoring mechanism to rate each value in the address. A value that remained a central focus of the address and repeatedly emphasized was given a score of 4. On the other hand, values that were declared as important by the president but did not constitute as cardinal themes in the address were allotted a score of 3. A value mentioned without any emphasis was assigned a score of 2, whereas a value not stated at all in the address was scored 1. This way, each address was scored for eight values. Each judge read and scored one-third of the addresses. The analysis revealed that emphasis on a particular value reflected a different ideological orientation and thus lent substantial support to Rokeach's two-factor model of political ideology.

Sigelman (1996) also conducted content analysis of fifty-two inaugural addresses by thirty-six US presidents who ruled America for over two centuries from 1789 to 1993 in order to examine veneration and unification themes in the speeches. For this purpose, the researcher developed two lists. One list contained eighteen unity symbols, that is, "America," "American," "Americans," "citizenry," "citizens," "country," "nation," "national," "our," "a people," "the people," "the public," "together," "union," "United States," "unity," "us," and

"we.". The second list comprised forty-seven traditional values, that is, "democracy," "equality," "justice," "freedom," "liberty," "peace," "patriotism," "progress," "rights," "independence," "courage," "dignity," "duty," "friendship," "faith," "health," "history," "honor," "hope," "humility," "initiative," "inspiration," "integrity," "knowledge," "law," "leadership," "love," "morality," "opportunity," "past," "principle," "productivity," "prosperity," "prudence," "reason," "respect," "responsibility," "safety," "thrift," "trust," "truth," "values," "virtue," "wisdom," "work," "authority," and "charity". The study indicated that for unification of the nation, the presidents heavily relied on such symbolic vocabulary and used approximately forty-six of every 1,000 words in an inaugural speech from the list of eighteen unity symbols. The research also highlighted that an evolutionary trend was observed in terms of steady progression as regards inclusion of more unity symbols in the inaugural speeches, with one more unity symbol as per 1000 words in comparison with the immediately preceding inaugural. Likewise, a high frequency of traditional values was also noted in the inaugurations of modern presidents than the earlier ones.

Similarly, Kinnier, Dannenbaum, Lee, Aasen, and Kernes (2004) content analysed US presidents' inaugural addresses delivered in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries to determine the types of American values most frequently used in the speeches. The study examined differences not only between the values employed in the 19th and 20th centuries speeches but also between the addresses of both the Republicans and Democrats. Using ethnographic content analysis, the researchers read the speeches independently and extracted a list of 14 values with consensus, which included: "liberty" (99%); "belief in God" (97%); "patriotism" (96%); "justice" (94%); "personal responsibility" (94%); "peace" (92%); "prosperity" (87%); "caring for others" (87%); "domestic tranquillity" (83%); "truth/honesty" (72%); "courage" (72%); "equality" (71%); "happiness" (68%); and "lower taxes" (42%). The first six were the most frequently used values while the last three were the least mentioned ones. Moreover, "truth/honesty" emerged as the most important value in 85% of the 19th century addresses but only 43% of the 20th century speeches. On the other hand, "courage" surfaced as a significant value in 86% of the twentieth-century and

56% of the nineteenth-century addresses. Similarly, the mention of “lowering taxes” was 52% during the nineteenth century and 25% in the twentieth century. Also, there was an appreciable difference in the use of “lowering taxes” by Republicans (46%) and Democrats (23%).

Similarly, Obotetukudo (1992) analysed eleven inaugural/ascension speeches of Nigerian Prime Minister, Governor General, Presidents and Military Heads from October 1, 1960 (Nigeria’s Independence Day from British rule) to 1985 to identify verbal symbols in the speeches of Nigerian leaders and examine how they used such symbols to unify diverse audience. Of these eleven speeches, four were inaugural including one by the first and only Prime Minister of Nigeria Alhaji Abubakar Tafawa Balewa delivered on October 01, 1960 and one by the first Governor General and Commander-in-Chief of Nigeria’s Armed Forces, Dr. Nnamdi Benjamin Azikiwe, delivered on November 16, 1960. The remaining two speeches were delivered by President Shehu Shagari during his first and second terms on October 1, 1979 and October 1, 1983 respectively. The rest of the seven were ascension speeches by as many different Military Leaders. Using content and thematic analysis, the study found a range of themes/symbols employed by the leaders. The symbols, which emerged in the speeches of the Prime Minister and Governor General included: “deference/reliance”, “nativizing”, “independence”, “democracy”, “human dignity”, “freedom”, “equality”, “cooperation”, and “change”. On the other hand, the ascension speeches by Military Leaders contained symbols such as “law and order”, “unity”, “transition”, “consolidation”, “accountability”, “responsibility”, “common enemy”, “enemy within”, “rejection of authority”, “progress”, “capitalism”, “development”, “federalism”, “internationalism” and “the people”. However, the President in both his inaugurals repeated some of the symbols used by the Prime Minister, Governor General and ascension leaders in their speeches like “unity”, “change”, “freedom”, “law and order”, “development”, etc. with the exception of “moral crusade”, “realism”, and “mission of Nigeria”.

Furthermore, McDiarmid (1937) analysed inaugural addresses of US Presidents from

1789 to 1937 to examine verbal symbols (words and phrases) with positive emotional value and high frequency of occurrence. In doing so, the study identified different symbols in the speeches and grouped them into four categories, that is, national identity, historical reference, reference to fundamental concepts and fact and expectation. National identity symbols included: “America”, “American”, “United States”, “union”, “my/our country”, “our land”, “our nation”, “our Republic”, “our institutions”, “our system”, “our form of government”, etc. Symbols of historical reference comprised: “our traditions”, “our glorious past”, “our memories”, “our forefathers”, “our founders”, “our heroes”, “our framers”, “our sages”, etc.. Symbols of reference to fundamental concepts encompassed: “God”, “Divine Providence”, “Almighty”, “Constitution”, “Constitutional”, “free”, “freedom”, “liberty”, “liberties”, “independent”, “independence”, “self-government”, “government by the people”, “economy”, etc. and symbols of fact and expectation constituted “virtues” (honesty, intelligence, integrity, etc.) of American people thus presenting them in highly complimentary terms, together with their “happy condition”, “current prosperity”, “bounteous blessings”, “confidence in future”, etc. Thus, the study underscored the fact that inaugural addresses contained the “official vocabulary” of a country.

While much of the research in the past used other analytical techniques, as outlined above, *ideographic analysis* of the inaugural addresses was conducted by limited research. For instance, Pagliarini (2011) analysed the ideograph of <democracy> in fifty-six inaugural addresses delivered by Presidents of USA from George Washington (1789) to Barack Obama (2009) to examine how “democracy” was employed by presidents in inaugural addresses. The researcher hypothesized that the ideograph <democracy> would have occurred frequently in initial inaugural speeches, whereas its frequency would have enhanced in later speeches. More so, the researcher looked for the relationship of <democracy> with other ideographs. In so doing, the researcher scanned through each inaugural address for the ideograph <democracy>, using basic word search features. The initial search did not support the researcher’s hypothesis and revealed that the incidence of the ideograph <democracy> in the speeches was far less than predicted. As such, the researcher broadened the scan and searched

for both <democracy> and <democratic>. Resultantly, the number of findings enhanced due to incorporation of the second ideograph in the search. Feeling something missing, the researcher analysed the first inaugural address of President George Washington in its entirety. The researcher was attracted by the President's reference to republican model of government. Accordingly, the researcher scanned for ideographs <republic> as well as <republican>, in general sense while not taking into consideration references to political parties, that is, Democratic-Republicans or Democrats/Republicans. The findings revealed that the second set of ideographs <republic>/<republican> outnumbered the first set <democracy>/<democrat/ic> by 99 to 77. The ideographs were calculated in accordance with their usage by members of each political party. Thus, the study provided a useful perspective in determining the changing dynamics of American political thought.

Similarly, Thomson (2012) analysed inaugural address of former South African President Nelson Mandela, which he delivered on May 10, 1994. The study aimed to explore different rhetorical elements, particularly unity appeals in the speech through the concepts of Burke's identification and McGee's (1980) ideograph. Alongside personal pronouns such as <we> and <us>, the researcher identified in the speech a number of ideographs including, <justice>, <people>, <country>, <nobility>, <liberty>, <human dignity>, <peace>, <hope>, <freedom>, <homeland>, <South Africans> and <South Africa> in order to develop a sense of collectivity among diverse audience (black and white people) to unify the nation. Quite recently, Dickerson (2019) analysed Donald J. Trump's inaugural speech delivered on January 20, 2017 from three different perspectives. For this purpose, the researcher used three methodological frameworks: McGee's Ideographic Criticism; Burke's Dramatism/Pentadic Criticism and Edwards' Bully Pulpit. In order to identify and analyse ideographs in the address, Dickerson drew on McGee's ideographic criticism and found, *inter alia*, three key ideographs including, <nationalism>, <America First>, and <Make America Great Again> through close textual analysis. While other ideographs were also found in the speech, they were, however, not mentioned in the study and only the three prominent ideographs were discussed and analysed.

As the above review shows, while mostly inductive in nature, research on the inaugural addresses focuses on analysis of symbols, values, themes and moves in inaugurals. However, very limited research work is available on inaugural speeches from ideographic perspective. Moreover, studies on inaugural speeches in US contexts are, for the most part, *longitudinal* in nature, that is, spanning from one and a half centuries to over two centuries (1789-1937; 1789-1980; 1789-1993; 1789-2009), analysing fifty or more than fifty speeches of different Presidents. On the contrary, in contexts of other countries, such studies are mostly *cross-sectional* in nature, focusing on a single speech or more than one speech of each Head of State/Government.

2.4 Context: Research Studies on Political Speeches in Pakistan

Previous research studies on the analysis of speeches in Pakistan, as reviewed in this section, can be divided into two broad categories: (a) those which analysed speeches by Pakistani Heads of State/Government; (b) those that examined speeches delivered by key politicians from various Pakistani political parties. In both the categories, the text was either monolingual (in Urdu or English) or bilingual (Urdu and English). Such research applied Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), Hallidian Framework, Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA), and Interpretative Qualitative Framework (IQF) as methodological tools.

Among studies that belong to the first category, CDA has been applied as the dominant methodology both in monolingual and bilingual contexts. However, some studies have used a single analytical tool while others a combination of tools. With a single analytical tool, CDA has been used with Fairclough's or Van Dijk's frameworks.

For instance, using Fairclough's framework for analysing speeches delivered in English, Anwar, Razaullah, Ahmad and Ali (2015) studied Mohammad Ali Jinnah's speech, which he delivered before the first Constituent Assembly of Pakistan on August 11, 1947 in order to explore hidden ideological meanings in the text. The study used qualitative content analysis to examine the data. Similarly, Aqeel, Kanwal and Sallehuddin (2015) conducted a critical analysis of former Prime Minister Mian Mohammed Nawaz Sharif's English speech,

which he delivered in the UN General Assembly on September 27, 2013. The study heavily relied on Fairclough's three stages of description, interpretation and explanation to explore linguistic and ideological elements in the speech. Also, Qadeer and Shehzad (2018) analysed an English speech of Syed Yousaf Raza Gillani, former Prime Minister of Pakistan, which he delivered in the National Assembly on May 09, 2011 after US operation in Abbottabad on May 02, 2011. The study was qualitative in nature and used Fairclough's three-dimensional model of CDA to reveal the hidden intentions embedded in the text. In contrast, using Van Dijk's socio-cognitive model, Ali and Kazemian (2015) applied CDA to an English speech titled 'Pakistan and the Modern World', delivered by the first Prime Minister Liaqat Ali Khan at the University of Kansas, USA to acknowledge the award of an honorary degree conferred upon him by the university. The study highlighted specific dimensions of text, meaning, style, genre, coherence and context. Chohan and Anwar (2018) conducted analysis of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's English speech, which he delivered at UN Security Council on September 22, 1965. The study explored the language of the speech to examine how the tension of Pakistan-India 1965 War was highlighted through the power of language. The research was qualitative in nature and used Van Dijk framework of CDA.

In the same vein, CDA has been applied to speeches delivered in Urdu. For instance, Ghilzai, Ayazuddin and Asghar (2017) analysed the first speech of Imran Khan, Chairman Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI), in Parliament, which he delivered on June 19, 2013. Drawing on Fairclough's conceptions, the study used CDA to examine persuasive strategies of the speaker to discover his covert ideology. Moreover, Shah and Noreen (2018) analysed the first public address of Imran Khan, Chairman PTI, which he delivered on July 26, 2018 just after winning 2018 elections. Using Fairclough's model of CDA, the study explored how the speaker controlled people through the employment of persuasive language. In the same vein, Ahmad, Arshad and Rubab (2019) analysed two speeches of Imran Khan, the Prime Minister of Pakistan. The victory speech was delivered on July 26, 2018 and the inaugural speech was addressed to the nation on August 19, 2018. The research drew on Fairclough's three-

dimensional model of CDA to examine persuasive use of language to expose the Government ideologies/agenda.

In CDA-based studies that applied Van Dijk's framework, Memon, Bughio and Gopang (2014) analysed an Urdu speech by Benazir Bhutto, the former Prime Minister of Pakistan, which she delivered just before her assassination on 27 December 2007. The study employed Van Dijk framework of CDA to examine how linguistic elements were used to propagate ideologies. In bilingual context, this framework was applied by Ahmed (2014), which analysed some audio speeches in Urdu by former Prime Minister Mian Mohammed Nawaz Sharif along with their extracts in the English daily *Dawn* to examine how the issue of drone attacks was raised by the Prime Minister and to reveal his underlying motives. The study was qualitative in nature and employed Van Dijk framework of CDA.

While the CDA-based studies discussed above used a single tool (either Fairclough's or Van Dijk's), other similar research combined different analytical tools. CDA has also been applied by studies through a combination of tools. For instance, Khokhar, Bughio and Jhatial (2014) analysed Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's speech, which he delivered in English in UN in 1971. The study aimed to explore the underlying ideologies through examining the discursive and linguistic strategies used by the speaker. The research was qualitative in nature and employed a combination of Fairclough's and Van Dijk's frameworks of CDA. Moreover, Munawar (2016) conducted analysis of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's speech, which he delivered on December 15, 1971 at UN Security Council to explore and discover how ideology and power relationship was advanced through language use. The study was qualitative in nature and employed Systemic Functional Linguistics framework to carry out CDA. Similarly, a combination of techniques for speeches delivered in Urdu, Munir (2014) carried out analysis of the selected speeches of former PM Benazir Bhutto, the first female Head of Government in Pakistan. In this regard, the researcher analysed two Urdu speeches of Benazir Bhutto: the first was her address to the nation on December 2, 1988 after becoming Prime Minister in her initial term; the second one was delivered on the eve of Pakistan's Independence Day on August 14, 1989. Using eclectic approach, the study drew on Halliday's and Fairclough's

frameworks of CDA. Similarly, Khalil, Islam, Chattha and Qazalbash (2017) analysed the speech of Imran Khan, Chairman PTI, which he delivered just before the General Elections-2013 from Shaukat Khanum Hospital, Lahore where he was admitted after his injury. Drawing on Fairclough's three-dimensional approach, coupled with other CDA tools including, word choice, persuasive strategies, repetition, positive self-presentation, negative other-presentation and referential strategies, the study explored various linguistic choices and strategies in the speech to uncover hidden ideologies of the speaker, which he used to persuade people to support him in the elections. Quite recently, Rauf, Sajjad and Malghani (2019) analysed three Urdu speeches of Imran Khan, Chairman PTI, which he delivered on September 28 and October 17 and 24 during PTI Dharna (sit-in) held in 2014 to examine linguistic elements and persuasive strategies. The study used Fairclough's and Van Dijk's frameworks of CDA.

While Hallidial frameworks have been used in combination with other tools in CDA-based studies as exemplified above, they have also been applied as independent methodological tools to monolingual speeches in Pakistan. Among studies that examined English speeches, for instance, Naz, Alvi and Baseer (2012) analysed a speech by Benazir Bhutto, the former Prime Minister of Pakistan, which she delivered at the Middle East Institute Washington, DC on September 25, 2007. The study used Hallidial Transitivity Model to examine how Benazir Bhutto would mobilize public with the power of her linguistic choices. Similarly, Shah and Alyas (2019) analysed an English speech by Imran Khan at Global Peace and Unity Forum to examine his choice of words. The study was quantitative in nature and employed Halliday's framework, particularly his ideational meta-function.

Other methods applied for analysis of speeches delivered by Pakistani Heads of State/Government include Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA), and Interpretative Qualitative Framework (IQF). The former was applied by Umar and Rasul (2017), which analysed five speeches (three in Urdu and two in English) of former Prime Minister Muhammad Nawaz Sharif from 2013-14, a period of two years, to examine the role of metaphors. The speeches

were selected on thematic basis and included Address to Nation, Address to National Assembly, Address on National Day, Address during Election Campaign and UN/US Address. The study was qualitative in nature and used CMA approach by Charteris-Black (2005).

The latter technique was used by Ahmad and Sajjad (2019), which analysed two speeches of the former President Parvez Musharraf, which he delivered at the 58th Session of the UN General Assembly in September, 2003 and the 10th OIC Summit in October, 2003 alongside his article titled *A Plea for Enlightened Moderation* to examine his concept of *enlightened moderation*. Drawing on IQF, the study also investigated eighteen articles on enlightened moderation to find out its varied interpretations in the print media.

Previous research in the second category accessed for this review used either content analysis or CDA techniques. For instance, Iqbal (2015) analysed speeches of Pakistani political leaders from six different parties, that is, Pakistan Muslim League [Nawaz; PML(N)]; Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP); Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI), Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM); Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan (JIP); and Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam (Fazl; JUI-F) to examine rhetorical devices of modality, repetition, positive self-presentation, negative other-presentation, ethnicity as well as figures of speech and to find out linguistic implications of such devices. Fifteen politicians having key positions in these parties were chosen with three each from PML (N), that is, Mian Mohammed Nawaz Sharif; Mian Muhammad Shahbaz Sharif; Chaudhary Nisar Ali Khan; PPP, that is, Asif Ali Zardari; Bilawal Bhutto Zardari; Makhdoom Ameen Faheem (MAF); PTI, that is, Imran Khan; Makhdoom Shah Mehmood Hussain Qureshi; Muhammad Javed Hashmi; and MQM, that is, Altaf Hussain; Muhammad Farooq Sattar; Haider Abbas Rizvi; two from JIP, that is, Syed Munawar Hassan; Liaqat Baloch; and one from JUI-F, that is, Fazal-ur-Rehman. Thus, a total of thirty speeches were selected, including fifteen right before and as many after the General Elections-2013. The study used Qualitative Content Analysis method to investigate the speeches. Linguistic expressions relevant to study were translated from Urdu into English.

In contrast, Naqvi (2017) analysed six speeches, two each, of three PPP leaders namely Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, Benazir Bhutto and her son Bilawal Bhutto Zardari to examine the linguistic strategies of the leaders from the same party, as indeed family and to reveal their ideologies or any change thereof over a span of three generations. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's speeches included address to nation on November 4, 1970 about party policy and address to party workers at Lahore on October 6, 1972. Benazir Bhutto's speeches comprised address to nation on December 2, 1988 after becoming Prime Minister during her first term and her last speech on December 27, 2007 after which she was assassinated. Bilawal Bhutto Zardari's speeches consisted of his address at Bagh-e-Jinnah Karachi on October 18, 2014 when he formally stepped into politics and the second speech was delivered on Diwali celebrations at Naudero House on October 23, 2014. The study used Van Dijk's socio-cognitive discourse approach to CDA. Though minimal, these research studies on analysis of political speeches reflect that political discourse has been of new interest to the researchers for the last few years in Pakistan. Among these, studies on inaugurals of Heads of State/Government are very few and have not gained traction yet.

As shown by the above discussion, previous research in Pakistani context focused predominantly on application of CDA techniques, including Fairclough's and Van Dijk's frameworks as well as Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistic perspective and Charteris-Black's Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA). Such research has been conducted on the speeches of only a few leaders including Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Liaqat Ali Khan, Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, Benazir Bhutto, Mian Mohammed Nawaz Sharif, Parvez Musharraf and Syed Yousaf Raza Gillani. Moreover, speeches by key leaders of some political parties including Pakistan Peoples Party, Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz), Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf, Muttahida Qaumi Movement, Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan and Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam (Fazl) have also been analysed.

All these studies used a limited number of speeches by Heads of State/Government and politicians of Pakistan. While majority of the studies focused on a single speech by a leader or a politician, some analysed two speeches by the same leader. Only one study (Rauf,

Sajjad & Malghani, 2019) examined three speeches and one (Umar & Rasul, 2017) analysed five speeches by the same leader. The speeches selected for these studies were delivered on different occasions and contexts, with some within the country either addressed to the nation, Constituent/National Assembly or on Independence Day and others were delivered outside either at UN General Assembly or in USA.

As such, these studies were *cross-sectional* in nature. Only three studies (Munir, 2014; Naqvi, 2017; Ahmad, Arshad & Rubab, 2019) analysed the first address of Head of Government to the nation. Among these, the first two examined the maiden address of Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto to the nation on December 2, 1988 and the other analysed Prime Minister Imran Khan's first address to the nation on August 19, 2018. As such, only two inaugural speeches have been analysed by the available research. Of these two, only Benazir Bhutto's speech of December 2, 1988 meets the criteria for the definition of inaugural speech given in *Section 1.5.1 Inaugural Speech* of this thesis. This demonstrates that inaugural speeches have been an unexplored domain in Pakistani context.

2.5 Gap for the Present Research

The analysis of above-mentioned research studies reveal that political speeches including inaugurals in Pakistan have not been analysed from ideographic perspective. As such, the present study aims to address this gap, which exists at all levels: theory, method, genre and context.

At theoretical level, the study of ideographs is essential to identify rhetorical culture of a country. While ideographic research has been used for analysis of speeches in limited contexts around the globe, there is a need to explore speeches by Pakistani Heads of State/Government from this perspective, which will add a new dimension to ideographic theory and will further enrich it.

At methodological level, previous research has predominantly used CDA methods on a limited number of speeches, mostly single. Surprisingly, not even a single study on analysis of speeches from ideographic perspective was found in Pakistan. More so, ideographic

framework has been used by only a few studies for analysis of inaugurals outside Pakistan. There is a need to apply ideographic framework to Pakistani political discourse.

While inaugural is a well-established genre, previous research on inaugural speeches in Pakistan is extremely rare and very limited. Therefore, there is a need to explore inaugural speeches particularly in a *longitudinal* manner to explore the entire range of inaugurals since the country's founding.

Pakistani socio-political context has a rich and varied history spanning over seven decades, as outlined in *Section 1.4 Why Pakistani Inaugurals?* of this thesis. The country's context makes the present study unique from all three aspects—theory, method, and genre—highlighted above. To the best of the researcher's knowledge, no previous research has, so far, been carried out to study ideographs (theory), using ideographic framework (method) to explore inaugural speeches (genre) in Pakistan (context).

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

This chapter is organized as follows: First, research design of the study is elaborated, followed by data collection with a brief description of the need for data collection, population frame and a detailed discussion on how the data was collected from varied sources. Then, the data size and organization is described, tabulating details of the speeches relevant to the study. Also, problems in determining the language of some speeches are highlighted. Subsequently, data analysis involving preparation, identification and manipulation is explained. The chapter concludes with a discussion on other considerations, including recording additional findings and research ethics.

3.1 Research Design

Research in applied linguistics, for the most part, is interdisciplinary in nature, which studies language use in a range of social contexts and involves the application of a variety of methods (Croker, 2009; Phakiti, De Costa, Plonsky, & Starfield, 2018). The current study is also no exception, which is qualitative in nature and sits at the intersection of linguistics, rhetorical studies and communication studies. In the light of research design continua mentioned by Perry (2011) and Phakiti, De Costa, Plonsky, and Starfield (2018), as illustrated through a dotted line in Figure 3.1, this study is primary, applied and longitudinal and used qualitative, exploratory and macro-level approach for broad coverage of ideographs in inaugural speeches over the seven-decade long political context of Pakistan. This design best suited the needs of the study for several reasons: First, the conceptual framework of the study was based on constructivist paradigm, which concerned itself with understanding and interpreting meaning-making in the mass consciousness through analysing texts of inaugural speeches by Pakistani Heads of State/Government. Second, the study was longitudinal and extended over a long period of time to develop a deep understanding of the ideographs used in the Pakistani inaugural speeches.

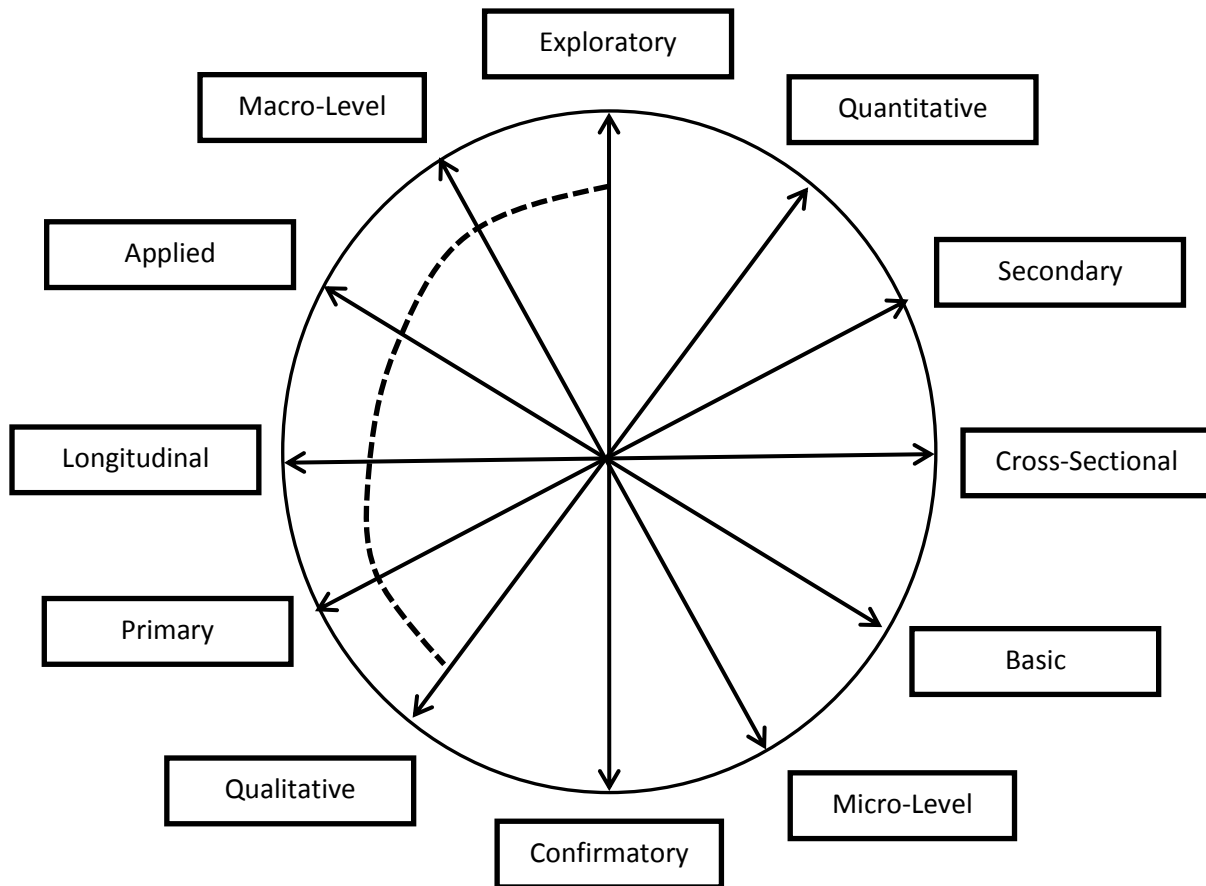


Figure 3.1: Research design continua

Third, the research questions posed by the study in *Section 1.7 Research Questions* of this thesis entailed understanding the subjective meanings of ideographs as used by the Pakistani Heads of State/Government in their inaugural speeches. This, in turn, necessitated the researcher to closely position himself to these rulers and see the Pakistani socio-political context from their angles. Hence, the researcher approached the data from *emic* or ‘insider’ perspective and used the rulers’ “own terms and concepts to describe their worlds when analysing data and presenting findings” (Crocker, 2009, p. 8). Fourth, the study is exploratory and inductive in nature as, to the researcher’s best knowledge, there is no previous study conducted for identification and analysis of ideographs used in the seven-decade long spectrum of Pakistani inaugural speeches. Moreover, the study did not pose any hypothesis for testing through confirmatory approach. Fifth, the study did not primarily aim to generalise its findings to other socio-political contexts but tried to learn about the specific and the distinctive in Pakistani setting as an end in itself. It leaves it up to the readers to decide as to

what extent the findings are relevant to their own contexts. Sixth, the study did not follow a linear or formulaic sequence; rather, it was simultaneous and iterative, calling for constant going back and forth between data collection, analysis and interpretation. Seventh, like any other qualitative study, the researcher was the primary instrument of data collection and analysis in this research.

It was against this backdrop that the study analysed inaugural speeches by Pakistani Heads of State/Government. While the data involved analysis of ideographs in inaugural speeches, the study applied an appropriate rhetorical analytical tool, that is, McGee's (1980) ideographic analysis. Since rhetorical critics have developed a number of perspectives for examining a text (Kenney, 2005), varieties of methodological tools are available for rhetoricians to have recourse to their analytic work (McKinnon, 2014). However, fitness for purpose was the researcher's guiding principle in selection of the method for the current study. Keeping the research questions in view, the researcher carried out textual analysis (Tracy, 2020) of the target speeches based on McGee's ideographic criticism, which well suited the study for reasons, as enumerated in *Section 3.3 Data Analysis* in this thesis, for identification, description, and interpretation of ideographs. For this purpose, data on inaugural speeches by Pakistani Heads of State/Government was collected and analysed, with due consideration of research validity and reliability, as explained in the subsequent sections of this chapter.

3.2 Data Collection

Data collection for the present research was both cumbersome and time-consuming. The entire process took the researcher about one and a half years and involved movement from one place to another to gather the target data. The need for this undertaking was direly felt as data required for the present study was not readily available for two major reasons: the data's historical nature; the definitional specificity of the genre, that is, the inaugural speeches. Adopting a snowball approach, the researcher first resorted to the Internet. However, despite extensive and repeated search online, the researcher could not find any reliable source or

compilation on the target speeches by Heads of State/Government of Pakistan. Although video files of very few inaugural speeches of Heads of State/Government, especially of some military rulers were found online on the YouTube, their verbatim texts were wanting, except for General Mohammed Ayub Khan's speech on October 7, 1958 as Chief Martial Law Administrator and General Parvez Musharraf's inaugural speech after takeover in October 1999. Barring these, there was no clue available online concerning inaugural speeches of Heads of State/Government of Pakistan. In particular, inaugurals of the rulers in the 1950s and 1960s as well as of the caretaker premiers were even all the more difficult to trace online. Interestingly, a range of speeches, other than inaugurals, of Pakistani leaders were available online. Resultantly, there was a need to collect data from other sources as a fresh attempt. This attempt was faced with several practical problems.

In the first place, the researcher did not have any knowledge of the exact places to visit and collect data, spanning a long stretch of over seven decades from 1947-2018. Moreover, the working definition of the inaugurals for the current research also made data collection more specific in terms of looking for only chronologically first speech delivered by each Head of State/Government of Pakistan. So, determining the chronological sequence of the speeches, that is, whether Address to the Nation or the National Assembly happened first was yet another issue since the dates of these speeches were not readily available. What is more, some Heads of State/Government delivered two, three or, at times, four inaugural speeches because they were either elected for the second/third terms or switched their positions from Heads of State to Heads of Government or from Chief Martial Law Administrators to Heads of State, as mentioned in Chapter 1 under 1.4 *Why Pakistani Inaugurals?* Also, ensuring the language in which the speeches were originally delivered was all the more important to find out the actual ideographs used by the Heads of State/Government of Pakistan. For instance, the Urdu ideograph <تبدیلی> by Imran Khan, the incumbent Prime Minister of Pakistan, during his election campaign and its English alternative <change> has an altogether different rhetorical impact in Pakistani culture.

In light of the foregoing, the researcher tried to explore relevant data sources for the current study. This process was carried out in several steps. First, the researcher decided to find a dependable population frame, that is, a list of Heads of State/Government who ruled the country since creation so as to collect data accordingly. Therefore, the researcher looked for some official websites and eventually found the National Assembly of Pakistan's website (<http://www.na.gov.pk/en/index.php>) from where he obtained complete and detailed lists of the Governor Generals, the Presidents and the Prime Ministers of Pakistan, who ruled from the country's founding to date. However, no information was available about military rulers on the website. As a result, the researcher garnered such information from books. The lists were essential to ensure validity and avoid waste of time during data collection.

3.2.1 Data Sources

The second step involved finding different sources. But the question was wherefrom? The researcher wanted to collect both texts of the speeches as well as their audios/videos for two reasons: (a) to avoid reliance on a single source for text authentication; (b) to verify the language, English or Urdu, in which the speeches were originally delivered. Thus, this stage of data collection entailed a multiple-source approach. Such an approach far exceeds in usefulness, particularly in research where data from the past is involved (Yin, 2018). As such, the researcher prepared a list of some possible data collection sources, including National Library of Pakistan, Islamabad; Pakistan Broadcasting Corporation (PBC) Headquarters, Islamabad (Radio Pakistan); and Pakistan Television (PTV) Headquarters, Islamabad. So, the researcher decided to first visit National Library of Pakistan, Islamabad in the hope of finding texts of speeches in the library. The researcher followed *first contact-then-visit* sequence to different places mentioned in the succeeding paragraphs in this Chapter. During the researcher's visit to the Library, he found in its holdings an Urdu compilation titled *Taqareer-e-Sarbarahan-e-Pakistan (Awaleen Khitabat): 1947-97 (Inaugural Speeches by Heads of State/Government of Pakistan: 1947-97)* by Chaudhry (1997) on inaugural speeches by Heads of State/Government of Pakistan. The book was a maiden effort of its kind in

Pakistan, hence worth-appreciating. More so, the availability of a published book on the inaugural speeches in Pakistan attests to the significance of such speeches in the country context. However, after thorough examination of its relevance and utility for the current study, the researcher did not find it a readily available and dependable source of target data for several reasons:

First, the book covered the period from 1947 to 1997 and contained 27 inaugural speeches in all, while the current research needed data on inaugurals for 21 more years till 2018. Second, the book included mostly a single speech and, in some rare cases, two speeches by the Heads of State/Government who had actually delivered three or four inaugurals in different capacities. For example, Khawaja Nazimuddin served both as Governor General (1948-51) and Prime Minister (1951-53). His inaugural speech as Governor General was included in the book but his inaugural as Prime Minister was missing. Similarly, Isakandar Mirza remained Governor General (1955-56) and President (1956-58). His inaugural speech as Governor General was part of the book but his speech as President was not included. Also, the book did not contain inaugurals of Prime Minister Noor-ul-Amin (December 12, 1971) and Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in 1973 and 1977. As such, 12 speeches of the period mentioned, that is, 1947 to 1997 were somehow not part of this compilation. Third, all the speeches in the book were in Urdu language and speeches, originally delivered in English language, were also translated into Urdu. While translation of these texts may be a great service in its own right to Urdu language, a major chunk of speeches – 15 out of 27 – in the book were not available in their original language. It was, therefore, difficult to determine from such speeches the actual ideographs used by the Heads of State/Government of Pakistan. Fourth, some speeches in the book were excerpted and others were not the verbatim texts of the contents delivered by Heads of State/Government. The latter were rather interspersed with reporting verbs, which gave a semblance of newspaper report rather than a speech. For example, texts of Isakandar Mirza's speech as Governor General (1955-56), Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's speech as President and the first Civilian Chief Martial Law Administrator (1971-73) and Fazal Elahi Chaudhry's speech as President

(1973-78) were excerpted while texts of all Caretaker Prime Ministers except Moin Qureshi were based on newspaper reports. Fifth, some speeches in the book did not match the guiding principle of the present research for inaugurals, that is, *chronologically first*. For instance, Benazir Bhutto's address to the nation on October 20, 1993 in her second term (1993-96) was included in the book but, arguably, she delivered her inaugural speech in the National Assembly on October 19, 1993 first and addressed the nation on the following day. Likewise, Mian Mohammed Nawaz Sharif's address to the nation on February 23, 1997 in his second term (1997-99) was included in the book, whereas he delivered his inaugural speech in the National Assembly on February 17, 1997 and addressed the nation later. Thus, the book also appears to have faced the enigmatic challenge of the term *inaugural* in Pakistani context because the underlying concept of the genre did not lend itself easily to a single definition. As such, the book could not offer any working definition of the *inaugurals* in Pakistan nor mentioned any predefined criteria for selection of the speeches. It is worth noting that of the four varied forms of inaugurals in Pakistan, as discussed in *Section 1.5.1 Inaugural Speech* of this thesis, the book contained three types only, namely 'Address to the Nation', 'Address to the National Assembly', and 'Interaction with Media', that is, Press Conferences.

However, it did not include any 'Address to the Joint Session of Parliament' by the Presidents. Sixth, the book seems to have relied on a single source for data collection, that is, the newspapers only, as reflected through acknowledgements and citations appended at the end of each text. Out of a total of 27 speeches in the book, 26 speeches were taken from the country's eight different Urdu dailies, including 17 speeches (62.96%) from *Nawa-i-Waqt*; three (11.11%) from the *Jang*; one each (3.70%) from *Afaq*, *Hurriyat*, *Kohistan*, *Mashriq*, *Musawaat*; and, one in translation from the English daily *The Pakistan Times*. Only the inaugural speech of Mohammad Ali Jinnah was taken from a book titled *Speeches and Statements of the Quaid-E-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah*. The speech was originally delivered in English but its translation was included in the book. This forewarned the researcher that the data was both scattered and not readily available in desired form at one place only.

Nevertheless, the book was useful for the researcher, particularly in providing clues about names of different newspapers along with many of the speeches' delivery and publication dates. The book was also useful in raising the researcher's awareness of new resources for data collection. Thus, the list of possible data collection sources prepared earlier was improved with new additions, for instance, *National Archives of Pakistan*. More importantly, three speeches in the book met the criteria, as set for the current study, and thus were very handy. However, despite this, these speeches were also cross-checked subsequently with data from the same or other sources. These speeches included the inaugurals of General Mohammed Zia-ul-Haq; President Ghulam Ishaq Khan; and Prime Minister Muhammad Khan Junejo. It is worth mentioning that during data collection, the researcher could not find any other such compilation on inaugurals of Pakistani Heads of State/Government. Subsequent visits to the National Library of Pakistan were also fruitful in getting some relevant data from the library's archives of different English and Urdu newspapers as well as some past issues of an Urdu magazine titled *Pak Jamhuriat* published by Directorate of Electronic Media & Publications (DEMP), Ministry of Information, Broadcasting and National Heritage, Islamabad. These issues of *Pak Jamhuriat* were very helpful for the current study not only in provisioning of some relevant data but also in sensitizing the researcher to a very important source, that is, DEMP.

The researcher visited DEMP to look for more issues of *Pak Jamhuriat*. During the visit, the researcher came to know that DEMP publishes books and single-speech pamphlets on the speeches/statements of Heads of State/Government of Pakistan, besides issuing some magazines, such as *Pak Jamhuriat*, *Mah-e-Nau* (both in Urdu) and *Pakistan Pictorial* (in English). From time to time, copies of such books, pamphlets and magazines were previously also sent to libraries of the country's leading universities and renowned organizations, including National Assembly of Pakistan. Thus, the researcher visited DEMP's library and explored its archives.

The task of finding copies of the books, pamphlets and magazines in the archives of DEMP's library was far from easy: it was both tedious and time-consuming. On some

occasions, even it would take the researcher a whole working day (9:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m.) in finding only a single speech or none at all. Resultantly, he had to visit the library again and again. Nonetheless, he managed to collect some of the target data from the books, pamphlets and *Pak Jamhuriat*. The researcher also visited different universities, as listed alphabetically in Table 3.1 at *Appendix A* to this study, to collect speeches from copies of some of the DEMP's publications in the libraries of these institutions. In so doing, he first accessed online catalogues of the universities, to find out such books, followed by visits to the universities.

But most fruitful of the researcher's visits was the one to the Library of National Assembly. Here the researcher found copies of a number of DEMP's publications (books, pamphlets, magazines) on the target data, even some new and those not available in the DEMP's library. Of particular utility were the official booklets on the National Assembly Debates because they recorded the entire proceedings of the National Assembly in the original language used during the sessions. Such record had been maintained since 1947 to date. These Debates were useful not only in finding the inaugural speeches delivered by Heads of Governments in the National Assembly but also in determining the actual language of such speeches. To search out relevant speeches in these records, the researcher carried out a number of visits to the library—again a laborious and time-consuming task. However, after a few visits, the researcher was informed by the library staff that all the Debates were recently uploaded and could be accessed online by visiting <http://www.na.gov.pk>→Legislative Business→NA Debates. National Assembly Debates were then accessed online and some relevant data retrieved. The researcher then looked for speeches of the rulers who had ruled the country in its formative years. Therefore, he decided to visit National Archives of Pakistan. As per the Archives' policy, a researcher cannot consult more than three newspapers a day. As such, the researcher had to visit the archives many times. During the process, the researcher found speeches of the first seven Primes Ministers and three Governor Generals who ruled after Mohammad Ali Jinnah. The researcher also visited Press Information Department (PID) under Ministry of Information,

Broadcasting and National Heritage, Islamabad and collected some data from this repository too.

After collecting written texts of the speeches, there was a need to cross-check the contents/transcriptions and verify the original language of the speeches from audios and videos. For this purpose, the researcher undertook several concurrent visits to Pakistan Television (PTV) and Radio Pakistan (RaP) headquarters located in Islamabad. During his visits to PTV, the researcher looked for data in PTV's Reference Cell or the data archive as well as Video Tape Recorders (VTR) Library. It was revealed that data on inaugural speeches was available since 1988 and even a number of speeches from 1988 onwards were not found in the video files that were collected from PTV. In RaP headquarters in Islamabad, the researcher visited Central Productions and looked for the target data. With valuable assistance of the staff, the researcher spent three consecutive working days in search of the data in the Library Digital Archives. During the process, the researcher personally went through all catalogues containing ruler-wise records of speeches, starting from 1947 to 2018. Although all available records were well-maintained, it was revealed that some records of requisite data—the inaugural speeches of rulers, especially from the first decade of the country's history—were not available. For such speeches, the researcher visited RaP stations in Peshawar, Karachi and Lahore—the three oldest stations of Pakistan established in 1935, 1948 and 1937 respectively. The researcher was informed that all archival records had been shifted to RaP headquarters in Islamabad and these stations were not in possession of such data. A significant aspect of the visit to RaP Karachi was the information about *Aahang* (then fortnightly, now monthly) magazine published in Urdu by RaP. Some old issues of the magazine from 1950s were still preserved wherein the researcher found texts of the inaugural speeches by Prime Ministers Hussain Shaheed Suharwardi (1956-57) and Ibrahim Ismail Chaudrigar (October 18-December 16, 1957). Here the researcher also came to know that RaP headquarters in Islamabad held the entire archival record of the magazine. Thus, he again visited RaP headquarters in Islamabad where copies of *Aahang* were available since

1948, with some record missing in-between, however. He went through each issue of the magazine page by page and found some relevant data.

Thus, while visiting all the afore-mentioned places, the researcher realised that the task was far from easy because the data was scattered and diversified; it was neither available at a single location nor in a single format, that is, text, audio, video. The researcher made every possible endeavour to collect data from official sources to ensure its authenticity. In so doing, videos and audios along with texts of speeches published officially or obtained from official sources were explored to the extent possible. In this regard, data received from DEMP, the NA website along with RaP and PTV headquarters was subsumed under this category. In case of non-availability of data from such sources, reliance was placed on non-official sources, that is, newspapers.

3.2.2 Data Size and Organisation

The data thus collected was organised chronologically in accordance with the working definition of inaugurals given in *Section 1.5.1 Inaugural Speech* of this thesis. In all, 58 speeches of Heads of State/Government from 1947-2018 were collected from different sources for examination. These speeches contained a total of 124,363 words, averaging 2,144 words apiece. The shortest speeches were of the last Caretaker Prime Minister Nasir-ul-Mulk (133 words), and President General Mohammad Ayub Khan's first speech as President (135 words), while the longest speeches were of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto as Prime Minister in the second term (8,547 words) and his speech as President and Civilian Chief Martial Law Administrator (7,301 words). Moreover, three Heads of State/Government, including Mohammed Ayub Khan, Parvez Musharraf and Mian Mohammed Nawaz Sharif delivered four inaugural speeches each, whereas Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto and Mohammed Zia-ul-Haq gave three inaugurals in different capacities. Moreover, Khawaja Nazimuddin, Isakandar Mirza, Ghulam Ishaq Khan and Benazir Bhutto delivered two inaugurals each. Also, two Heads of State including Wasim Sajjad (December 2, 1997 – January 1, 1998) and Muhammad Mian Soomro (August 18 – September 9, 2008) did not deliver inaugural speeches, as indicated at

S No 13 and 18 of Table 3.4 at *Appendix A*. They both were Chairmen Senate and became Acting Presidents as per Article 41(5) of the 1973 Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, under which a new president was to be elected within 30 days. As such, Wasim Sajjad remained President for 31 days with the departure of President Sardar Farooq Ahmed Leghari who resigned when Mian Mohammed Nawaz Sharif was the Prime Minister. During this period, Wasim Sajjad did not address the nation or hold a Press Conference possibly because there was no such requirement as per circumstances. Likewise, with the resignation of President Parvez Musharraf to avoid impeachment movement, Muhammad Mian Soomro became Acting President for 23 days. At that time Syed Yousaf Raza Gillani was the Prime Minister of Pakistan. As such, the situation did not entail any speech or Press Conference. Tables 3.2 to 3.5 at *Appendix A* to this study show details of speeches selected for this study.

3.2.3 Problems in Determining the Language of Speeches

As discussed earlier in *Section 3.2. Data Collection* of this thesis, determining the language of speeches was very essential to ensure the actual ideographs used by the Heads of State/Government of Pakistan. The researcher made all possible efforts to ascertain the speeches' original language. In this regard, audios/videos of speeches collected from RaP and PTV, together with speeches retrieved from NA Debates were very helpful. However, the problem arose in case of speeches gathered from newspapers whose record was neither available in RaP and PTV nor in NA Debates. A similar problem was faced for speeches published in the official magazines *Aahang* and *Pak Jamhuriat* of RaP and DEMP respectively as no information about their original language was mentioned in the books and pamphlets published by DEMP. Resultantly, the researcher had to rely only on the English daily *Dawn* because he noticed a pattern in the newspaper, that is, while collecting data, the researcher found that in case of speeches delivered in Urdu, no newspaper except *Dawn* specifically mentioned the words, "The following is the English translation of the talk, which was broadcast in Urdu" or "...in an Urdu broadcast...." as exemplified by the text within rectangles in Figures 3.2 and 3.3 (scanned from *Dawn*, 1948 and *Dawn*, 1951 respectively).

Thus, the researcher came to know through *Dawn*, for instance, that Khawaja Nazimuddin, the second Governor General, and subsequently the second Prime Minister, delivered his inaugural speeches in Urdu. Similarly, Prime Minister Noor-ul-Amin delivered his inaugural speech in Bengali language, as indicated by words "...broadcast in Bengali..." in Figure 3.4 (scanned from *Dawn*, 1971). On the other hand, *Dawn* did not mention any such words for speeches delivered originally in English. For such speeches, the wording, "The following is the text of the broadcast made by...." as exemplified by the text within rectangle in Figures 3.5 (scanned from *Dawn*, 1955). In this manner, the researcher was able to determine the actual language of 13 speeches mentioned in Table 3.6. However, the language of two speeches could not be determined as mentioned against them at S No 24 and 30 of Table 3.3 at *Appendix A* to this study.

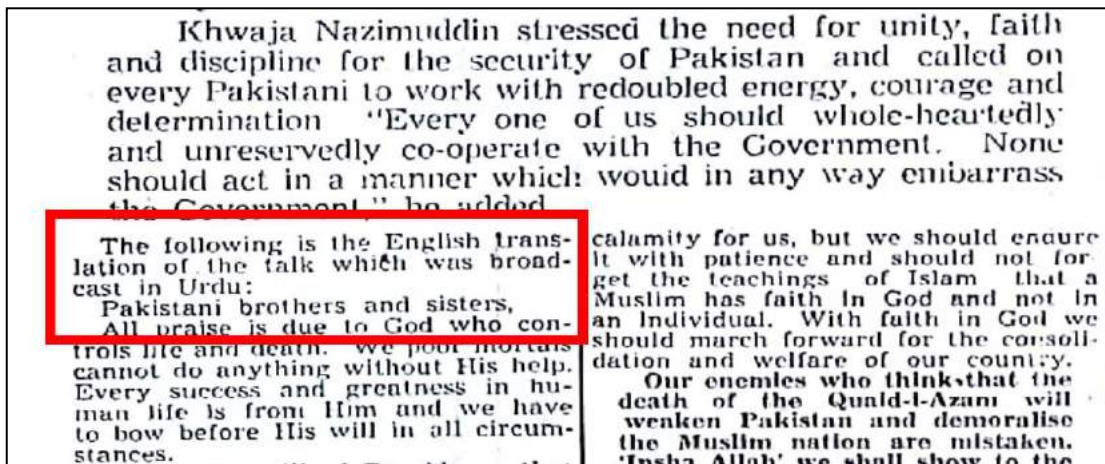


Figure 3.2 Scanned image of Dawn (Karachi) Thursday September 16, 1948

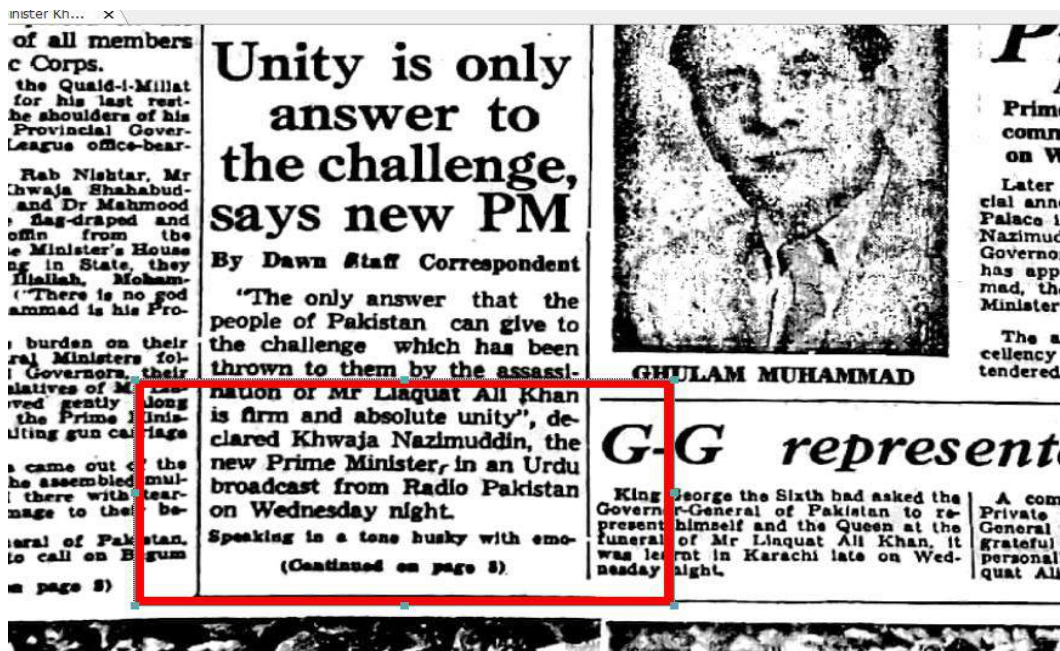


Figure 3.3 Scanned image of Dawn (Karachi) Thursday October 18, 1951

No rest till enemy is crushed. Amin's call

RAWALPINDI, Dec 9: Mr. Nurul Amin, Prime Minister-designate, today made a clarion call to Pakistanis to "march forward along with our brave forces and teach the enemy a lesson to remember for ever."

He said: "The solidarity of our beloved country and the defence of independence is the duty of all of us. Rise above sectarian and parochial considerations and political expediencies to fulfil the great responsibility."

Mr Nurul Amin was making his first broadcast in Bengali from Radio Pakistan after his appointment as Prime Minister-designate.

He condemned wasteful bombing of our civilians by India which has caused widespread catastrophe and has also been impeding the supply of food and relief goods in East Pakistan."

He expressed his confidence that with spirit and determination the enemy will ultimately be annihilated as it has been in the past.

He strongly deplored Indian attack on Pakistan and said that the country has never reconciled to our existence and has consistently been trying to weaken and destroy Pakistan."

Armed Forces, he said that "our lion-hearted soldiers, sailors and airmen are putting up valiant resistance at every front, particularly in East Pakistan."

He strongly deplored Indian attack on Pakistan and said that the country has never reconciled to our existence and has consistently been trying to weaken and destroy Pakistan."

Figure 3.4 Scanned image of Dawn (Karachi) Friday December 10, 1971

12 AUG 55

New Prime Minister's

The following is the text of the broadcast made by Chaudhri Mohammad Ali, the new Prime Minister, immediately after assuming office yesterday.

Never before in my life have I felt more humble and more conscious of my personal limitations than when I learnt that the choice of your representatives in the Constituent Assembly had fallen on me for the high office of Prime Minister of Pakistan.

To be chosen for this office is a great honour at any time. It is suffering and distress in the flood-affected areas. The need for relief is great and not all of it can be met from Government's resources. I have no doubt that the people in West Pakistan will again come forward with help in the same generous measure as they did last year.

I propose to take the earliest opportunity to pay a visit to East Pakistan in order to study the needs of the situation at first hand and help the Provincial Government in organising necessary relief measures.

NATIONAL UNITY

Figure 3.5 Scanned image of Dawn (Karachi) August 12, 1955

S No	Ruler	Name	Date	Audience	Language
1	GG	Khawaja Nazimuddin	Sep 15, 1948	Nation	Urdu
2		Malik Ghulam Muhammad	Oct 19, 1951	Nation	English
3		Maj. General Isakandar Mirza	Oct 6, 1955	Nation	English
4	PM	Liaqat Ali Khan	Aug 15, 1947	Nation	English
5		Khawaja Nazimuddin	Oct 17, 1951	Nation	Urdu
6		Mohammad Ali Bogra	Apr 17, 1953	Nation	English
7		Chaudhry Mohammad Ali	Aug 11, 1955	Nation	English
8		Hussain Shaheed Suharwardi	Sep 12, 1956	Nation	English
9		Ibrahim Ismail Chaudrigar	Oct 18, 1957	Nation	English
10		Malik Feroz Khan Noon	Dec 17, 1957	Nation	English
11		Noor-ul-Amin	Dec 9, 1971	Nation	Bengali
12	P	General Mohammad Ayub Khan	Oct 27, 1958	Nation	English
13		General Mohammad Ayub Khan	Feb 15, 1960	Nation	English

3.3 Data Analysis

Following the general guidelines given by Merriam and Tisdell (2016), analysis was carried out through managing data in three stages: *Data Preparation*, *Data Identification* and *Data Manipulation*, as explained in the succeeding sections. All these stages involved application of word processing and spreadsheet software, such as MS Word and MS Excel. Such word processing programmes sufficiently help novice and experienced researchers carry out data analysis in most of their qualitative studies (Ruona, 2005; Hahn 2008; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016).

3.3.1 Data Preparation

The purpose of this stage was to prepare a clean record of the entire data for subsequent working. It involved typing, transcribing and entering data into an easily retrievable form. The first step involved in data preparation was audio-/video-to-text transcription of the speeches whose verbatim texts were not available in official records or newspapers. At first, the researcher tried to transcribe the speeches using free Google Docs® voice-to-text model engine. However, after some trials, the researcher discarded this plan because accuracy in

results was a major issue due to poor voice quality of old audios and other technical hitches. As such, the researcher decided manual transcription and so transcribed a total of eight speeches obtained in video and audio formats from PTV and RaP respectively, as indicated against each at S No 13, 15 and 19 in Table 3.3 and S No 8, 11, 15, 16 and 17 in Table 3.4 at *Appendix A* to this study. The process of manual transcription entailed keen and repeated listening to audios and watching videos, with multiple stopping, rewinding and replaying. Going continuously back and forth the recordings rendered manual transcription cumbersome and time-consuming. On the average, one-minute audio/video talk took at least five to seven minutes to transcribe it into text. In total, it took almost 11 hours to transcribe 131.76 minutes of audio/video text. The task was carried out speech by speech every day but not en block. Subsequent to manual transcription, the speeches were typed and again compared with audios/videos for accuracy. MS Word package was used for typing speeches both in English and Urdu (based on Unicode System).

Moreover, the texts of speeches found in newspapers and official documents were scanned through freely downloadable CamScanner app supported by a 13-megapixels Samsung (J7 Pro) mobile phone camera. The image files so generated were converted into Portable Document Format using the inbuilt feature of the app. The texts had to be scanned in this way because, being very old documents, they had considerable archival significance, were extremely fragile, and, thus, had to be handled with extreme care. Moreover, there was no flatbed or overhead scanner facility available at any of the places from where much of the data was collected. After completion of scanning, the texts were retyped because the print size from the scanned copies, particularly of newspapers, was not large enough to be read and analysed easily. Thus, the entire data was converted into soft form. The typing/retyping of data also later helped in coding and determining frequency of ideographs in speeches with accuracy and efficiency, which would otherwise have proved to be very cumbersome and time-consuming due to the large size of data comprising 124,363 words.

3.3.2 Data Identification

The next stage was data identification, which involved identifying ideographs and assigning them codes. For this purpose, the study used McGee's (1980) method of ideographic analysis on several counts. One of the reasons for selection of this method was that ideographs were originally designed to aid in analysis of political rhetoric (Paul, 2012, p.145). Secondly, Ideographic Criticism, is a very important perspective (Kuypers, 2009, p.xi), which is constructive and useful for the study or interrogation of ideographs (Muhic & Ziberi, 2016, p. 92-93), particularly in political speeches. More so, the method has the potential effectiveness in other cultural and specialized contexts (Bennett-Carpenter & McCallion, 2012, p. 2). Third, ideographic analysis points to the ideographic nature of the ordinary use of language (Ziberi, 2012, p. 175). Fourth, ideographic criticism has scholarly precedence. While reviewing literature for the present study, the researcher found that Ideographic Criticism had been used for analysis of ideographs in political speeches by a number of research studies (Neville-Shepard & Felix, 2020; Dickerson, 2019; Hodyc, 2018; Muhic & Ziberi, 2016; Long, 2013; Poplak, 2011; Lee, 2009; Delgado, 1999; Scheele, 1984). These studies not only revealed scholars' renewed interest in Ideographic Criticism due to a number of studies conducted quite recently but also demonstrated the utility and relevance of this method despite its emergence almost four decades back in 1980. This resurgence was mainly because "ideographic analysis is heavily empirical, focusing on actual discursive events rather than ideal abstractions" (Johnson, 2007, p.33). "It sees rhetoric as an influential rather than causal force in facilitating or inhibiting social change" (Hasian, 1996, p.8). More so, it helps critics to examine how ideographs as linguistic units construct and reinforce a community's or a society's ideals (Werner, 2012, p. 37). Approaching research from this orientation, the official historical documents represent the collective consciousness of the society and researchers can trace the politico-cultural memory through analysing ideographs (Hasian, 1996).

As identification and analysis of ideographs was qualitative, ideograph was made a unit of analysis. According to Lincoln and Guba (1985), a unit of analysis must meet two

criteria: First, the ability to convey information relevant to the research and its ability to encourage readers to think of more than the specific piece of information. Second, it should be, “the smallest piece of information about something that can stand by itself—that is, it must be interpretable in the absence of any additional information other than a broad understanding of the context in which the inquiry is carried out” (p. 345). Ideographs can stand to these criteria as units of analysis for the present research. Moreover, a number of scholars (McGee, 1980; Hasian, 1996; Condit, 1987) have advanced the notion of the ideograph as a unit of analysis for the study of political rhetoric (Kyle, 2001).

While analysing ideographs in the target speeches in line with the research questions posed by this study, five steps were followed: *identification*, *translation* (of relevant words/extracts in case of Urdu speeches), *categorization*, *contextualization* and *interpretation*. Thus, both positive and negative ideographs in the speeches were identified to isolate ideographs of Pakistani political rhetoric. Also, the analysis of the diachronic structures of ideographs was conducted.

The study followed inductive approach and did not look for predetermined set of ideographs in the speeches. Rather, the speeches were analysed to identify and categorise ideographs and list them accordingly. In so doing, the presence or otherwise of ideographs was explored in the texts stored in MS Word format. To this end, an iterative process was employed, which involved reading and rereading of the speeches. Thus, repeated close readings were carried to identify ideographs. The scan for ideographs included single words and phrases or multiple word clusters.

Following McGee’s (1980) categorisation and structure of ideographs, the data was coded. According to Merriam and Tisdell (2016, p.199), “Coding is nothing more than assigning some sort of shorthand designation to various aspects of your data so that you can easily retrieve specific pieces of the data.” As such, colour-coding was applied to the ideographs so identified. Colour-coding is a well-established technique for qualitative data analysis (Aubel, 1994; Thyer, 2009; Anderson, 2013; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016), which is relatively easier and better manageable with the help of MS Word and Ms Excel in

comparison to manual coding. It involved changing text (both English and Urdu) colours of positive and negative ideographs to *red* and *green* respectively, as illustrated with the help of Figures 3. 6 and 3.7 below.

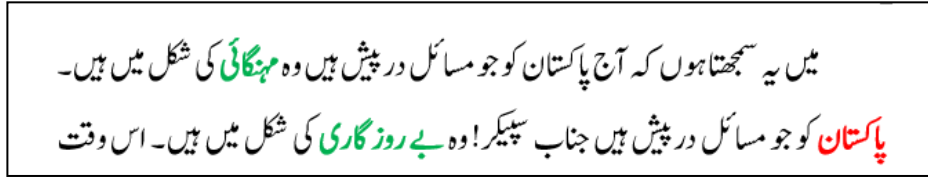


Figure 3.6 Scanned image of colour-coded Urdu text

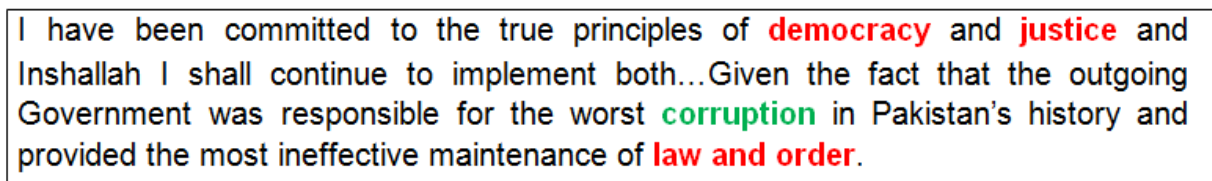


Figure 3.7 Scanned image of colour-coded English text

While identification of ideographs remains the first step in ideographic analysis (Poplak, 2011, p. 64), there is, however, no specific measure or test available for identifying ideographs and the function of ideographs within texts is the only means whereby researchers can identify ideographs (Jasinski 2001, p. 309). As such, the process of identification, for the most part, is subjective in nature (Werner 2012, p. 59). However, McGee (1980) contends that ideographs are not difficult to identify when examined closely. Thus, each speech was read and reread multiple times by the researcher to identify ideographs. Each ideograph that occurred was identified, counting a single ideograph multiple times if the Heads of State/Government used that ideograph many times. Several ideographs were repeated in the speeches. Hence, some sort of quantitative word count was applied to speeches. The ideographs identified thus were entered into spreadsheets for subsequent count and a list of ideographs was prepared.

3.3.3 Data Manipulation

In all, 493 ideographs were identified by the researcher in the Inaugural Speeches. Of these, 163 and 177 were positive ideographs in speeches delivered in English and Urdu respectively, whereas, 67 and 86 were negative ideographs in speeches delivered in English and Urdu respectively. These ideographs were recorded on a spreadsheet in Microsoft Excel and their frequencies were determined. For this purpose, the spreadsheet was divided into four sections: (a) positive ideographs in speeches delivered in English language; (b) negative ideographs in speeches delivered in English; (c) positive ideographs in speeches delivered in Urdu; and (d) negative ideographs in speeches delivered in Urdu. However, analysing 493 ideographs diachronically was, indeed, a huge task and hence practically impossible for the duration of the current study. As such, the researcher only selected and analysed those positive and negative ideographs, which had a frequency of 10 or above in both English and Urdu speeches taken together or in either of the languages. In this connection, head-to-head matching of both positive and negative ideographs in English and Urdu languages was carried out and 96 positive ideographs as well as 34 negative ideographs exactly corresponded with each other in both languages. Then, analysis of only those ideographs, which were selected on the basis of 10 frequency was conducted.

Thus, a total of 58 Ideographs (47 Positive and 11 Negative) were analysed and categorised into six Thematic Domains. The results achieved were interpreted within Pakistan's socio-political context in the light of relevant research evidence. The bilingual nature of the data involved both translation and transliteration. There are typically two approaches for translation as suggested by Merriam & Tisdell (2016): (a) preparing the entire text in the original language and then its verbatim into English for data analysis in English; (b) working with the text, including analysis, in the original language followed by translating relevant findings and supporting evidence into English. The researcher adopted the second approach. In case of Urdu speeches, relevant ideographs were translated into English using, back translation technique. Additionally, while reporting results, English version was preferred for ideographs represented through exact expressions in English and Urdu e.g.

Islam. Also, given the code-mixing language culture of Pakistan, English ideographs code-mixed into Urdu speeches and vice versa were retained.

The translation of ideographs also involved another related challenge, that is, transliteration. Thus, ideographs used in Urdu not only needed translations into English but also transliteration. Urdu follows a Perso-Arabic script of writing and there are various transliteration schemes developed (e.g. McGregor, 1992; Pritchett, 1994) and that of the American Library Association - Library of Congress (ALA-LC), in addition to those which are developed for use in very specialised fields, that is, The Hunterian System or the BGN/PCGN 2007 System, which are used for transliteration of the geographical names. The variety of such schemes testifies not only to the fact that transliteration is an integral part of English-Urdu bilingual studies but also that there is no single transliteration system as such to strictly adhere to. Therefore, the present study used the transliteration system based on International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) system for Urdu as applied and explained in *Oxford Urdu-English Dictionary* (Oxford University Press, 2013). The decision to use IPA-based transliteration for the present study was made for several reasons: First, the system was more elaborate and comprehensive. Second, the companion website of the dictionary (<https://ur.oxforddictionaries.com/>) made it easier to follow the system and overcome font compatibility issues in word processors as all IPA symbols used in the system could easily be retrieved in Unicode format. Finally, and more importantly, given that the researcher is not a native Urdu speaker, the problem of exact pronunciation of the Urdu ideographs and their exact representation through validated symbols could be overcome.

During translation and transliteration, the Urdu script was written in Jameel Noori Nastaleeq font style using MS Word Unicode. Moreover, the ideographs, their transliteration and glosses were enclosed within chevrons or angle brackets <---->, slashes /---/ and square brackets [---] respectively, that is, <پلے> /əvɑ:m/ [people]. Possible effort was made to ensure that the font style, script, and diacritics, if any, are accurate and consistent. While transliteration for most of the ideographs was taken directly from the dictionary's website,

some were transliterated by the researcher following the system as they had no entries in the dictionary.

3.4 Other Considerations

3.4.1 Recording of Additional Findings

After analysis, the results were compiled. In so doing, additional observations or findings were also highlighted alongside findings relevant to the questions framed for this study, for consideration of future research studies on the subject.

3.4.2 Ethical Considerations

The texts belonged to data of public domain, that is, speeches delivered in public. Hence, there was no confidentiality involved. Yet, the data was collected with the consent of the Organisations visited, as they were the custodians of the archival record. For this purpose, prior permission was sought before visiting any institution. All information concerning the data, including collection, organization and preparation, has been recorded with honesty. Although names of the institutions are mentioned, anonymity of individuals (data providers) is maintained. More so, the problems encountered in determining the language of some speeches have also been candidly highlighted.

CHAPTER 4: DISCUSSION

Chapter 4, Discussion, is dedicated exclusively for discussion on analysis of Positive and Negative ideographs, selected on the basis of ten or above frequency combined in both English and Urdu speeches. The Chapter is divided into six Sections, each with a particular thematic domain on the basis of which ideographs have been classified and subsumed under that Section. The Thematic Domains included: Economy-Focused Ideographs, Governance-Focused Ideographs, Nationalism-Focused Ideographs, Politics-Focused Ideographs, Religion and Values-Focused Ideographs, and Society-Focused Ideographs. Ideographs under each Section are sequenced alphabetically and first Positive Ideographs are analysed, followed by analysis of Negative Ideographs, where applicable. Analysis of each ideograph is given under a separate heading. Heading for each ideograph is organised by using its transliteration and gloss which are enclosed within chevrons or angle brackets <---->, slashes /---/ and square brackets [---] respectively. The analysis of each ideograph is based on the study questions supported by frequency tables and statistical figures. Leadership-wise frequency breakdown of each ideograph is tabulated with names of Heads of State/Government in abbreviated form, their category, that is, designations/portfolios, and total number of words in each inaugural. Moreover, those Presidents and Prime Ministers who delivered more than one inaugural speeches are marked as P-I, P-II, P-III or PM-I, PM-II, PM-III and PM-IV respectively.

4.1. SECTION 1: Economy-Focused Idiographs

Section 1 discusses *Economy-Focused Ideographs* which consisted of 07 Positive Ideographs, that is, <agriculture>, <economy>, <employment>, <investment>, <labour>, <prosperity>, <tax>, and 04 Negative Ideographs, that is, <poor>, <poverty>, <unemployment> and <مہنگائی>/mæhŋɑ:i.

4.1.1 <Agriculture>; <زراعت> /zɪrɑ:ʔəʈ/ [agriculture]

According to Pakistan Bureau of Statistics (2020), agriculture is the largest sector of Pakistan's economy, as it contributes about 24 percent of Gross Domestic Product (GDP), provides jobs to half of the country's labour force, feeds rural and urban population and serves as the largest source of foreign exchange earnings. Resultantly, majority of the population relies, directly or indirectly, on agriculture. Therefore, agriculture is considered as the backbone of Pakistan. Given the significance of agriculture in Pakistan, the word agriculture or its Urdu substitute زراعت/zɪrɑ:ʔəʈ/ is a common everyday term and has mass appeal for more than 50% of the country's population associated with agriculture. As such, the term is also used in political discourse in Pakistan. The analysis of the inaugural speeches revealed that <agriculture> or <زراعت>/zɪrɑ:ʔəʈ/ was used as an ideograph, which appeared 23 times (11 in English and 12 in Urdu) in 12 speeches, as detailed in Table 4.1 at *Appendix B* to this study. The ideograph occurred in the speeches of Presidents and Prime Ministers only, with a frequency of (0.025%) and (0.014%) respectively but it was not found in the speeches of Governor Generals and Military Leaders, as shown in Figure 4.1 at *Appendix C* to this study. Thus, the highest percentage of the ideograph was observed in the speeches of Presidents.

The diachronic analysis of the speeches revealed that the ideograph first appeared in inaugurals in 1956, almost a decade after the creation of Pakistan. In the subsequent period, the ideograph did not occur in the speeches for two decades and resurfaced in 1977. Afterwards, the ideograph again did not show up in the speeches for a decade and re-emerged in 1988. Subsequently, it continued to recur, though intermittently in the 1990s. In the last two decades from 2001-18, the ideograph recurred between 2012-18, except for 2008. Thus, the recurrence of the ideograph in the speeches was mainly found in the last three decades from 1988-2018. However, in the first three decades from 1947-77, the occurrence of the ideograph in the speeches was surprisingly low, that is, in 1956 and 1977. The major focus in the first three decades was on two aspects: achievement of self-sufficiency in food

production; securing <agriculture> from the droughts and floods. For instance, President Isakandar Mirza in 1956 said: “Our primary task in the field of agriculture is to achieve permanent self-sufficiency in food...we must aim at securing our agriculture against the recurring ravages of drought and floods”. This emphasis on self-sufficiency in food was the outcome of a severe drought in 1952 in Pakistan, which resulted in low yields and productivity in the early years. As such, Pakistan had to import around a million ton wheat for the first time to meet severe food shortage. Moreover, the floods of 1950 and 1955 were also another phenomenon, which entailed the need for securing agriculture. Similarly, Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in 1977 also focused on agricultural production due to a number of factors which slowed down agricultural growth, such as War with India in 1971, floods and droughts, and 1974-75 Tarbela mishap.

Although the ideograph did not appear after 1956 till 1977, as mentioned earlier, a number of institutional and structural changes were introduced for agricultural development in the meantime after 1956, particularly in the era of President General Mohammed Ayub Khan. Some of these included, the creation of Food and Agriculture Commission in 1959, the signing of the Indus Water Treaty with India in 1960, the launch of Mangla and Tarbela Water Storage Projects, land reforms and above all the introduction of *Green Revolution* by using new technologies, fertilizers and high yielding varieties of seeds (wheat and rice) to modernise agriculture and increase production. All these measures were initiated as justification for promotion of <agriculture>.

From 1988-2018, the ideograph in the speeches appeared in two senses: commitment and justification for policy/programme. Successive governments showed their commitment to promotion, expansion, modernization, and strengthening of agriculture, while considering it backbone of economy and the country, a profitable business and solution to a number of other problems of Pakistan such as poverty elimination. For instance, President Mohammed Rafiq Tarar in 1998 stated:

زراعت ہماری معیشت میں کلیدی حیثیت رکھتی ہے۔ ہمارے کئی ایک مسائل کا حل زراعت کے فروغ۔۔۔ میں مضمر ہے۔

Translation

Agriculture is fundamental to our economy and solution to our numerous problems lies in promotion of agriculture.

Similarly, showing commitment to expansion of <agriculture>, Prime Minister Raja Pervez Ashraf in his speech in 2012 stated:

زراعت جو ملک کی ریڑھ کی ہڈی ہے اس کو انشاء اللہ وسعت دیں گے۔

Translation

We will expand agriculture, which is backbone of the country.

Using the ideograph for justification of Schemes, President Asif Ali Zardari in his speech in 2008 mentioned: “Agriculture needs to be placed at the top of the agenda... for the first time in the history of Pakistan, the government is looking at Crop Insurance Schemes”. Therefore, the ideograph was used for justification of policies, schemes and reforms packages, e.g. Crop Insurance Scheme in 2008, as mentioned above, and provision of land and loan to farmers.

4.1.2 <Economy>; <معیشت>/məʔi:ʃət/ [economy]

In the twentieth century, economy became an everyday term whereas in the twenty-first century it is difficult to ignore the word economy as it has accumulated emotive connotations (Gibson-Graham, 2005). The term is also used in political discourse and appeared as the most memorable word in the phrase “It’s the economy, stupid!”, coined by James Carville for Democratic Party Presidential Campaign in 1992 (Mitchell, 2007, p. 95). The word economy and its Urdu alternative <معیشت>/məʔi:ʃət/ is also an everyday term in Pakistan, which frequently recurs in media, public discourse and speeches/statements of Heads of State/Government as well as politicians. The analysis of the inaugural speeches revealed that <economy> and its Urdu equivalent <معیشت>/məʔi:ʃət/ was used as an ideograph, which appeared 62 times (28 in English and 34 in Urdu) in 19 speeches, as detailed in Table 4.2 at *Appendix B* to this study. The ideograph occurred with varying frequencies in the speeches of Military Leaders (0.062%), Presidents (0.054%) and Prime Ministers (0.048%), but it was not found in the

speeches of Governor Generals, as shown in Figure 4.2 at *Appendix C* to this study. Thus, the highest percentage of the ideograph was observed in the speeches of Military Leaders.

The diachronic analysis of the speeches revealed that the ideograph first appeared in inaugurals in 1956, almost a decade after the creation of Pakistan, and then recurred in 1957. In the subsequent period of over a decade, the ideograph was not found in the speeches but it resurfaced in 1969. And then after falling into disuse for almost a decade, it reemerged in 1978 and then once again did not occur in the speeches for a decade and showed up in 1988. However, after 1988 the ideograph appeared in the speeches till 1999. In the last two decades from 2001-18, the ideograph occurred in the speeches between 2007-08 and 2013-18. Thus, while the occurrence of the ideograph in the speeches from 1956-88 was intermittent, it remained consistent between 1988-99 and even in the last decade from 2013-18. Although the ideograph did not appear in the speeches of President General Mohammed Ayub Khan's inaugurals (1958-65), he mainly focused on <economy> during this period and even by 1961 restored the country's <economy>, that had declined in the mid-1950s due to political chaos in the country.

Diachronically, the ideograph in the speeches occurred in three manifestations: <agricultural economy>, <national economy> and <interest-based economy>. Also, the ideograph in the speeches appeared in two main connotations: *system* and *state/condition*. In its connotation of system, <economy> occurred in two forms: conventional (Western) and Islamic. While throughout the speeches right from 1956 till 2018, the focus remained on conventional form. However, emphasis on Islamic system was noticed on two occasions; first in 1978 and subsequently in 1998 in the speeches by President General Mohammed Zia-ul-Haq and President Mohammed Rafiq Tarar respectively. For instance, President General Mohammed Zia-ul-Haq in 1978 stated:

اسلامی معاشرے کی تشکیل کے لئے ہمیں اپنی --- معیشت --- سے غیر اسلامی اثرات کو زائل کرنا اور انہیں اسلامی تقاضوں کے مطابق ڈھالنا ہے۔

Translation

For the establishment of an Islamic society, we have to...eliminate un-Islamic influences from our economy... and mould it in accordance with Islamic dictates.

This points to the Islamisation of economy in Pakistan by President General Mohammed Zia-ul-Haq, who prohibited interest or *Riba* and introduced state collection of Zakat. Similarly, showing his commitment to the Islamic system, President Mohammed Rafiq Tarar in 1998 said:

گزشتہ پچاس برسوں میں۔۔۔ ہم ایک جامع اسلامی معاشی نظام قائم نہ کر سکے۔۔۔ موجودہ حکومت اسلامی معاشی نظام۔۔۔ کے قیام کے لئے عملی قدم اٹھائے گی۔ بالخصوص سودی معیشت کے خاتمے کے لئے ہنگامی بنیادوں پر منصوبہ بندی ہونی چاہیے۔

Translation

In the last fifty years...we have not been able to establish a comprehensive Islamic economic system...The current government will take practical steps for the establishment of Islamic economic system...In particular, there must be an emergency plan to end interest-based economy.

In its connotation of state/condition, <economy> also appeared in two forms: *weak* and *strong*. In other words, <economy> in the speeches diachronically appeared both in a weak state and a strong state. Thus, throughout the speeches, the bust and boom in <economy> remained visible. In its weak state, <economy> surfaced in the speeches in 1957. For instance, Prime Minister Ibrahim Ismail Chaudrigar in 1957 stated: “Our economy has been subjected to a great stress during the last few years and this has led to inflation”. Similar state continued to recur in the subsequent decades. For example, Prime Minister Mian Mohammed Nawaz Sharif in 1997 stated:

پاکستان پچاس سال قرضے لے لے کے اس حالت میں پہنچ گیا ہے کہ پہلے والے قرضے ادا کرنے کے لئے مزید قرضہ لینا پڑتا ہے۔ ہمارے ملک کی ساری معیشت قرضوں پہ چل رہی ہے۔

Translation

Borrowing debt for the last 50 years, Pakistan has reached the stage where it has to borrow more to repay its earlier debts. The whole economy of our country is running on debt.

As such, the weak state was used as *justification* for actions, programmes and schemes. For instance, setback/damage to <economy> was cited as one of the reasons by President General Mohammed Yahya Khan while justifying his action of imposing martial law in 1969: “the economy...has suffered an unprecedented setback”. Likewise, justifying his economic reforms programme, Prime Minister Moin Qureshi in 1993 said: “My government is taking a number of measures that will have a profound long term impact on the economy”. In the same manner, justifying the effectiveness of National Debt Retirement

Scheme launched by Prime Minister Mian Mohammed Nawaz Sharif in 1997, President Mohammed Rafiq Tarar in 1998 said:

وزیر اعظم کی، قرض اتارو ملک سنوارو، سکیم نے یہ ثابت کر دیا ہے کہ غریب سے غریب پاکستانی بھی تباہ حال معیشت کو دوبارہ اپنے پاؤں پر کھڑا کرنے کے لئے ایثار کا بے پناہ جذبہ رکھتا ہے۔

Translation

The Prime Minister's **retire debt, adorn country** scheme has proved that even the poorest Pakistani has a passion for self-sacrifice to get the debilitated economy back on track.

Similarly, General Parvez Musharraf cited the collapse of <economy> as one of the reasons for necessitating the imposition of martial law in 1999: “The economy too is in a state of collapse”. The weak state of <economy> was generally attributed to previous governments. Prime Minister Moin Qureshi in 1993 said:

The deep malaise from which our ... economy suffers today is not the result of the action of one administration. It is the cumulative consequence of both the action and inaction on the part of the governments over the last two decades.

Likewise, President Asif Ali Zardari in 2008 said: “Government inherited an economy that was driven by pure consumption, and as such was saddled with huge liabilities”. The weak state continued to appear even in the last inaugural speech delivered in September 2018, where the <economy> was depicted as *debilitated* and was considered as the biggest problem as well as challenge to Pakistan. For instance, President Arif-ur-Rehman Alvi in 2018 stated:

پاکستان کا سب سے بڑا مسئلہ مسائل میں گھری ہوئی معیشت ہے۔

Translation

The biggest problem of Pakistan is the debilitated economy.

On the other hand, in its strong state, <economy> appeared in the speeches in 1956 with emphasis on consolidation of economy on the strength of agriculture and industry as key pillars (Isakandar Mirza in 1956). Similar instances continued to recur in the subsequent period, highlighting progress of economy (Prime Minister Hussain Shaheed Suharwardi, 1956;); self-reliance in economy (Benazir Bhutto, 1988); stability of economy (President Ghulam Ishaq Khan, December,1988); strengthening economy (Prime Minister Moin Qureshi, 1993; President Wasim Sajjad,1993); and revival of economy (President General

Parvez Musharraf, 2007). The Heads of State/Government also took credit for making the <economy> strong. For instance, President General Parvez Musharraf in 2007 said: “We had to revive the economy of Pakistan and take it forward from a failed state to a thriving nation, which Alhamdulillah, I am proud of the fact that we did”. Likewise, appreciating his predecessor and party leader, Prime Minister Shahid Khaqan Abbasi in 2017 said:

نواز شریف نے economy کو مضبوط کیا economy کو stabilize کیا۔

Translation

Nawaz Sharif strengthened economy...stabilised economy.

4.1.3 <Employment>; <روزگار>/ro:zga:r/[employment]

Employment is a class-based term, which is essentially a twentieth century notion (Standing, 2002). The provision of employment, for the most part, is seen as the government responsibility (Michalos, 2012). This was particularly witnessed after the Great Depression of 1930s in the USA, which resulted in the passage of Employment Act of 1946 (Ginzberg, 1978). As such, politics has great impact on employment and the term, therefore, appears in political discourse. The word employment and its Urdu alternative روزگار/ro:zga:r/ is also an everyday term in Pakistan, which frequently recurs in the speeches/statements of Heads of State/Government as well as politicians. The analysis of the inaugural speeches revealed that <employment> or <روزگار>/ro:zga:r/ was used as an ideograph, which appeared 16 times (02 in English and 14 in Urdu) in 08 speeches, as detailed in Table 4.3 at *Appendix B* to this study. The ideograph occurred in the speeches of Presidents and Prime Ministers only, with a frequency of (0.017%) and (0.011%) respectively but it was not found in the speeches of Governor Generals and Military Leaders, as shown in Figure 4.3 at *Appendix C* to this study. Thus, the highest percentage of the ideograph was observed in the speeches of Presidents.

The diachronic analysis of the speeches revealed that the ideograph first appeared in inaugurals in 1956, almost a decade after the country’s founding but did not show up subsequently for over three decades and resurfaced only in 1988. However, it did not occur in the speeches for the next eight years despite change of two governments during that

timeframe and reappeared in 1997-98. Once more, it did not occur in the speeches for well over a decade and re-emerged in 2012 and afterwards was found in the speeches till 2018. Thus, the occurrence of the ideograph in the speeches was intermittent and mainly observed after 2012. Diachronically, the ideograph appeared in two senses: *commitment* and *justification* of policies. In the sense of commitment, the ideograph focused on both provision as well as enhancing opportunities of <employment> for people in general and more so for particular areas and segments (often neglected ones), including East Pakistan, educated youth, Baloch youth, women, and labourers to win their sympathies and support. For instance, President Isakandar Mirza in 1956 said: “My Government is ... stepping up the development of East Pakistan...providing new avenues of employment”. Similarly, Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto in 1988 stated:

بے روزگاروں کو روزگار فراہم کریں گے۔۔۔ ہم چاہتے ہیں کہ ہمارے تعلیم یافتہ نوجوانوں کو روزگار فراہم ہو۔

Translation

We will provide employment to the unemployed... We plan to provide employment for our educated youth.

Similarly, Prime Minister Raja Pervez Ashraf in 2012 stated:

بلوچ نوجوانوں کو روزگار کی فراہمی یقینی بنائیں گے۔

Translation

We will ensure provision of employment to the Baloch youth.

In the sense of justification of plans, schemes and programmes, President Isakandar Mirza in 1956 said: “The Development Board will shortly present its first Five-Year Plan, which ... aims at providing increasing opportunities for employment”. Likewise, President Mamnoon Hussain in 2014 stated:

نوجوانوں کے لئے ایسی سہولتیں فراہم کی جا رہی ہیں۔۔۔ جو ان کو روزگار کے مواقع فراہم کرنے۔۔۔ میں معاون ثابت ہوں۔ اس سلسلہ میں وزیراعظم کی Youth Business Loan Scheme، وزیراعظم کی بلاسود قرضہ سکیم، وزیراعظم کا Youth Skill Development Programme اور وزیراعظم کی Youth Training Scheme قابل ذکر ہیں۔

Translation

The youth are being provided such facilities that will be helpful in affording them employment opportunities. In this regard, the Prime Minister's Youth Business Loan Scheme, Interest-Free Loan Scheme, Youth Skill Development Programme and Youth Training Scheme are noteworthy.

4.1.4 <Investment>; <سرمایہ کاری> /sərma:jaka:ri/ [investment]

Investment, both foreign and domestic, is considered a driving force of economy (Berg, Ernst & Auer, 2006). As such, the Heads of State/Governments rely on the power of the word investment and make frequent use of it in their speeches (Lowry, 2011). For instance, President Bill Clinton used the word *investment* about two dozen times in his State of the Union address in 1993. Likewise, President Barack Obama used the word 15 times in his speech after signing the stimulus bill in February 2009 and around two dozen times in his speech on his vision of a new foundation for the economy at Carnegie Mello University in June 2010. Pakistan also focuses on investment for strengthening its economy. Investment is regarded as a success indicator and a harbinger of economic growth, hence has public appeal. As such, the word investment and its Urdu alternative *سرمایہ کاری* /sərma:ja kɑ:ri/ is a common everyday term and is used in political discourse in Pakistan. The analysis of the inaugural speeches revealed that <investment> and its Urdu substitute <سرمایہ کاری> /sərma:ja kɑ:ri/ was used as an ideograph, which appeared 37 times (12 in English and 25 in Urdu) in 11 speeches, as detailed in Table 4.4 at *Appendix B* to this study. The ideograph occurred in the speeches of Presidents and Prime Ministers only, with a frequency of (0.042%) and (0.021%) respectively but it was not found in the speeches of Governor Generals and Military Leaders, as shown in Figure 4.4 at *Appendix C* to this study. Thus, the highest percentage of the ideograph was observed in the speeches of Presidents.

The diachronic analysis of the speeches revealed that the ideograph first appeared in the speeches in 1978 and occurred only in the speeches delivered in the last four decades of the country's history from 1978-2018. However, its frequency in the speeches enhanced in the last three decades from 1988-2018. Resultantly, institutional and policy initiatives for <investment> were noticeable during this period. For instance, Board of Investment (BOI) was established in 1992, for promotion of domestic and foreign investment in the country and the first Investment Policy was framed by BOI in 1997 and the second Investment Policy was formulated in 2013 to make investment climate in the country friendlier and more attractive

(Board of Investment, n.d). Throughout the speeches, the ideograph was mainly used in two senses: *Islamic* and *conventional*, with the former focusing on interest-free investment and the latter on interest-based investment. Prior to 1988, the ideograph was employed in an Islamic sense and was domestic-focused. For instance, President General Mohammed Zia-ul-Haq in 1978 stated:

این آئی ٹی آئندہ حکمت عملی کے طور پر سرمایہ کاری صرف شراکتی سرمائے یعنی ایکوٹی کی بنیاد پر کرے گا اور آئندہ سودی سرمایہ کاری نہیں کرے گا۔

Translation

As its future strategy, National Investment Trust (NIT) will make investment on the basis of equity participation and not on interest.

To avoid interest-based investment in domestic transactions, the National Investment Trust has directed to make investment on equity-basis instead of interest-basis. Later, during President General Mohammed Zia-ul-Haq period other institutions such as Investment Corporation of Pakistan (now defunct) and the House Building Finance Corporation were also asked to operate on equity-basis (Mehmood, 2002). These efforts were directed at domestic level for introduction of interest-free investment on the basis of equity participation. However, after 1988, the ideograph appeared in a conventional sense with a focus on private sector to attract both domestic and foreign investment in the country. Three categories of investors were mentioned in the speeches, including local investors, overseas Pakistanis and investors in general from all over the world. The ideograph was chiefly used in the sense of economic investment, focusing mainly on industrial, manufacturing, infrastructure and social sectors. The ideograph was also used for justification of policies, reforms and packages. For example, highlighting the importance of Investment Policy 1997, President Mohammed Rafiq Tarar in 1998 said:

نئی سرمایہ کاری پالیسی ملک میں بیرونی سرمائے کی آمد اور ٹیکنالوجی کے فروغ کا اہم ذریعہ ثابت ہوگی۔

Translation

The new Investment Policy will turn out to be an important source of attraction for foreign investment and promotion of technology in the country.

In a like manner, President Asif Ali Zardari in 2008 said: “We will rejuvenate our relations with the Arab League, the OIC and the ASEAN to promote... investment”. The

ideograph was also used as a success indicator to praise one's own Government and blame others. For instance, Prime Minister Shahid Khaqan Abbasi in 2017, while defending the ousted Prime Minister Mian Mohammed Nawaz Sharif and criticizing President General Parvez Musharraf's government, stated:

نواز شریف کا قصور یہ ہے کہ 60 ارب ڈالر کی investment اس ملک میں آئی ہے۔ یہاں پر 8 سال مشرف حکومت میں بیٹھا رہا ہے۔۔۔ جب پوری دنیا آپ کو investment دینے کو تیار تھی، یہاں پر کوئی کام نہیں ہوا۔

Translation

Nawaz Sharif's fault is that investment of 60 billion dollars has come to this country.... Musharraf ruled here for eight years, when the whole world was willing for investment in Pakistan but no project was undertaken then.

4.1.5 <Labour>/<Labourers>; <مزدور>/<مزدوروں>/mæzɒːr; mæzɒːrɔ̃/ [labour]

The word *labour* in its sense of working class attracted political and economic interest and as such the word appeared in the names of political parties like Labour Party and social movements such as Labour Movement, Labour Rights, Labour Reforms and even Labour Law. Also, Labour Day is observed all over the world on May 1 every year. Likewise, the word labourer in the connotation of wage workers became a general term in the nineteenth century (Kussmaul, 1981). Both the terms labour and labourer recur in political as well as public discourse. The words labour/labourers and their Urdu equivalents <مزدور>/<مزدوروں> [mæzɒːr/ mæzɒːrɔ̃] are also everyday terms in Pakistan, which frequently recur in media, public discourse and speeches/statements of Heads of State/Government as well as politicians. The word was also part of the famous slogan *Three Signs of Change – Students, Labourers and Farmers* (مزدور اور کسان، طلباء، مزدوروں کے تین نشان) by National Students Federation (NSF), which launched a massive protest movement against President General Mohammed Ayub Khan in 1968. The analysis of the inaugural speeches revealed that <labour>/<labourers> or <مزدور>/<مزدوروں> [mæzɒːr/ mæzɒːrɔ̃] was used as an ideograph, which appeared 31 times (18 in English and 13 in Urdu) in 12 speeches as detailed in Table 4.5 at Appendix B to this study. The ideograph occurred with varying frequencies in the speeches of Presidents (0.029%),

Prime Ministers (0.023%) and Military Leaders (0.021%), but it was not found in the speeches of Governor Generals, as shown in Figure 4.5 at *Appendix C* to this study. Thus, the highest percentage of the ideograph was observed in the speeches of Presidents.

The diachronic analysis of the speeches revealed that the ideograph first appeared in inaugurals in 1956 and subsequently did not show up for over a decade. The ideograph resurfaced in 1969 and was later found in the speeches in the 70s, 80s and 90s till 1997. However, in the last two decades from 2001-18, the ideograph appeared only in 2002 and 2013. Thus, the occurrence of the ideograph in the speeches was intermittent. Diachronically, the ideograph in the speeches appeared in two senses: The Supporting Group and the Supported Group. In the sense of Supporting Group, <labour> served as a distinct social category/segment of society, who were acknowledged for their support to the Heads of State/Government during elections as well as in the movement for restoration of government. For instance, President General Mohammed Zia-ul-Haq in 1984 sated:

مجھے شکریہ ادا کرنا ہے۔ ان مزدوروں۔۔۔ کا جنہوں نے جوق در جوق ریفرنڈم میں حصہ لیا اور اسے ہر لحاظ سے کامیابی سے ہمکنار کیا۔

Translation

I thank the labour who took part in the referendum in large numbers and made it a success in every respect.

Likewise, Prime Minister Mian Mohammed Nawaz Sharif, after restoration of his government by the Supreme Court of Pakistan in 1993, said:

میں شکریہ ادا کروں گا تمام۔۔۔ مزدوروں کا۔۔۔ جنہوں نے اس جہاد میں ہمارا بھرپور ساتھ دیا ہے۔

Translation

I thank...the labour...who supported us in this Jihad.

In the sense of the Supported Group, the Government showed commitment to support the <labour> by ensuring their just and fair treatment, resolving their genuine difficulties and pressing needs, providing them safety from maltreatment and exploitation as well as creating employment and other opportunities for their prosperity. For instance, President Isakandar Mirza in 1956 said: “My Government will adhere to the policy that ... labour must be treated justly and fairly”. President General Mohammed Yahya Khan in 1969 stated: “I am, however, conscious of the genuine difficulties and pressing needs of...the labour...Let me assure you

that my Administration will make every endeavor to resolve these difficulties”. Similarly, Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto in 1988 said:

اب کوئی مزدوروں کا استحصال نہیں کرے گا۔

Translation

From now on, nobody will be able to do labourers' exploitation.

Prime Minister Mian Mohammed Nawaz Sharif in 1997 said:

مزدور کے گھر میں بھی خوشحالی آئے گی۔ مزدور کو۔۔۔ آج کچھ روز گار ملنے کی توقع پیدا ہو رہی ہے۔

Translation

Prosperity will also come to the labour's house. Today, labour will get some employment opportunities.

Also, the <labour> was provided empowerment, status, and respect through representation. For instance, President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in 1971 said: "...Labourers are our masters...We will do everything in our power to put resources of the nation at your disposal, because you are producers of wealth and have nothing to fear". Likewise, President Sardar Farooq Ahmed Leghari in 1994 said:

آئین کا تقاضا ہے کہ مملکت بلدیاتی اداروں۔۔۔ میں۔۔۔ مزدوروں۔۔۔ کو خصوصی نمائندگی دی جائے۔

Translation

The constitution demands that the state to give special representation to the labourers in local bodies.

Also, the ideograph was used for justification of actions. For instance, President Isakandar Mirza in 1956 said: "Government will firmly discourage exploitation of trade unionism for purposes other than welfare of labour". President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in 1971 stated: "I want labour reforms in the first instance". Similarly, Prime Minister, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in 1977 stated: "For labour, we are going to improve wages and the workers' living conditions". Likewise, Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto in 1988 said:

مزدور یونین بھی بحال کر دی گئی ہیں۔ جہاں پر۔۔۔ مزدوروں کی چھانٹی کی گئی ہے سیاسی بنا پر سیاسی انتقام لینے کیلئے۔ ان کے کیسوں پر حکومت نظر ثانی کرے گی اور۔۔۔ سب کو انصاف ملے گا۔

Translation

Labour Unions have been revived. The Government will review those cases in which labourers have been retrenched either on political grounds or political vendetta. And ... justice will be done to all.

4.1.6 <Prosperity>; <خوشحالی> /xʊʃha:li/ [prosperity]

The word *prosperity* carries a feeling of progressiveness and refers mostly to economic success (Alexandrov, 1999). *Prosperity* is also one of three core concepts that has dominated the American thinking for the last one hundred years at different points alongside democracy and security (Hogan, 1999). The word prosperity and its Urdu alternative خوشحالی/xʊʃ ha:li/ is also a common everyday term in Pakistan, which frequently recurs in political discourse. The Heads of State/Government employ the term prosperity and especially its Urdu equivalent خوشحالی/xʊʃ ha:li/ in their speeches/statements. The analysis of the inaugural speeches revealed that <prosperity> and its Urdu equivalent <خوشحالی>/xʊʃ ha:li/was used as an ideograph, which appeared 43 times (11 in English and 32 in Urdu) in 20 speeches, as detailed in Table 4.6 at *Appendix B* to this study. The ideograph occurred with varying frequencies in the speeches of Governor Generals (0.052%), Prime Ministers (0.039%), and Presidents (0.032%), but it was not found in the speeches of Military Leaders, as shown in Figure 4.6. at *Appendix C* to this study. Thus, the highest percentage of the ideograph was observed in the speeches of Governor Generals.

The diachronic analysis of the speeches revealed that the ideograph first appeared in inaugurals in 1947 and recurred in the first decade till 1956. In the subsequent period, the ideograph did not occur in the speeches for eight years and resurfaced first in 1965 and then in 1973 after a gap of seven years. However, the ideograph did not show up in the speeches for almost one and a half decades and reemerged in 1988. Subsequently, it continued to recur in the 1990s. In the last two decades from 2001-18, except for 2004, the ideograph recurred between 2013-18. Thus, the occurrence of the ideograph, albeit with some gaps, was found in the speeches right from the creation of Pakistan in 1947 till the last inaugural in September, 2018. But the recurrence of the ideograph was found in the first decade from 1947-56 and then from 1990-98. Diachronically, the ideograph also occurred in the speeches in the manifestation of <economic prosperity> (Prime Minister Moin Qureshi, 1993). The

ideograph also referred to three types of contexts in the speeches: national, regional and international. The ideograph in the speeches occurred in five senses: commitment, precondition, optimism, appeal and leadership charisma. In the national context, the diachronic analysis revealed two preconditions to <prosperity> or <خوشحالی> /xʊʃha:li/, which included education and economic stability. For instance, President Mohammed Rafiq Tarar in 1998 said:

خوشحالی کا سورج تعلیم کے افق ہی سے طلوع ہوتا ہے۔

Translation

Prosperity comes only from education.

Similarly, President Mamnoon Hussain in 2014 said:

معاشی استحکام کے بغیر۔۔۔ خوشحالی کا کوئی تصور ممکن نہیں ہے۔

Translation

Without economic stability... prosperity is unthinkable.

Moreover, the ideograph in the national context also occurred with two types of entities: geographical areas/locations; particular groups and people or عوام in general as well as the term nation or قوم. As regards geographical areas/locations, the ideograph occurred with two terms, that is, Pakistan and ملک or country, besides referring to the four federating units of the country, including; Punjab, Sindh, Balochistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. For instance, Prime Minister Shaukat Aziz in 2004 stated:

ہمیں پاکستان کو۔۔۔ خوشحالی کی طرف لے کر جانا ہے۔

Translation

We will take Pakistan towards prosperity.

Likewise, President Mamnoon Hussain in 2014 said:

ملک۔۔۔ کی خوشحالی کے خواب کو شرمندہ تعبیر کرنے کے لئے لوڈ شیڈنگ کا خاتمہ ناگزیر ہے۔

Translation

To realize the country's dream of prosperity, ending load-shedding is indispensable.

The ideograph also referred to the four provinces of the country. For instance, President Mohammed Rafiq Tarar in 1998 said:

وفاق پاکستان کی مضبوطی کا تقاضا ہے کہ ملک کی چاروں اکائیوں کی یکساں۔۔۔ خوشحالی کو یقینی بنایا جائے۔

Translation

The strength of the Federation of Pakistan demands ensuring equal ... prosperity of the four federating units of the country.

The second entity included particular groups and people or عوام in general as well as the term قوم or nation. The ideograph occurred with three particular groups including, backward classes, minorities and labourers. For instance, Prime Minister Mian Mohammed Nawaz Sharif in 1997 said:

انشاء اللہ مز دور کے گھر میں بھی خوشحالی آئے گی۔

Translation

Inshallah, prosperity will also come to labourers.

In the sense of unity appeal, Prime Minister Mian Mohammed Nawaz Sharif in 1990 said:

یہ دور عوام کی خوشحالی۔۔۔ کے لئے مل جل کر کام کرنے کا دور ہو گا۔

Translation

This era will be the era of working together for prosperity of people.

Moreover, with the word, nation or قوم, the ideograph appeared in two senses: leadership charisma and commitment. In the sense of leadership charisma, Governor General Malik Ghulam Mohammad, while praising Khawaja Nazimuddin who became Prime Minister after the assassination of Prime Minister Liaqat Ali Khan, in 1951 stated:

The mantle of our departed leader has now fallen on Khwaja Nazimuddin who is a tried and trusted associate of the Quaid-i-Azam. His life and mature experience of public affairs and his high sense of duty will help the Nation to march confidently under his leadership towards greater... prosperity.

In regional context, the ideograph appeared in two senses: *appeal* and *precondition*. In the sense of appeal, Prime Minister Mian Mohammed Nawaz Sharif, while making an appeal to the neighbouring India, in 1997 said:

ہم آپس میں گفت و شنید کے ذریعے، افہام و تفہیم کے ذریعے۔۔۔ اپنے مسائل کو حل کریں اور اس کے بعد پھر ہم خوشحالی کی جانب چل نکلیں۔

Translation

Let us solve our problems... through dialogue and understanding and then move towards prosperity.

In the sense of precondition, President Arif-ur-Rehman Alvi in 2018 stated:

افغانستان میں امن واستحکام پاکستان کی خوشحالی۔۔۔ کے لئے ضروری ہے۔

Translation

Peace and stability in Afghanistan is essential for Pakistan's prosperity.

In international context, the ideograph appeared in two senses: commitment and precondition, which only occurred in the speeches of the Founding Fathers of Pakistan. In the sense of commitment, Governor General Mohammad Ali Jinnah in 1947 said: “We stand by the United Nations Charter and will gladly make our full contribution to the... prosperity of the world”. In the sense of precondition, Prime Minister Liaqat Ali Khan in 1947 said: “We firmly believe that world peace is a condition precedent to the...prosperity of Pakistan”. However, in the subsequent period, the use of the ideograph in international context was not observed in the speeches.

4.1.7 <Tax >; <ٹیکس > /teks/ [tax]

The word *tax* generally refers to the money paid to the government by people and businesses (Gamble, 2009). Usually, the term *tax* tends to elicit negative reactions (Hakansson, 2013), as people are commonly averse to taxes (Ganske, 2008). Although the first known tax system dates back to ancient Egypt around 3000 BC, it was introduced in the sub-continent during the British rule in 1860 (Mishra, 2018). The word *tax* is also an everyday term in Pakistan and frequently recurs in media, public discourse and speeches/statements of Heads of State/Government as well as politicians. The analysis of the inaugural speeches revealed that <tax> or <ٹیکس >/teks/was used as an ideograph, which appeared 27 times (12 in English and 15 in Urdu) in 06 speeches, as detailed in Table 4.7 at *Appendix B* to this study. The ideograph occurred in the speeches of Prime Ministers and Presidents only, with a frequency of (0.039%) and (0.008%) respectively but it was not found in the speeches of Governor Generals and Military Leaders, as shown in Figure 4.7 at *Appendix C* to this study.

The diachronic analysis of the speeches revealed that the ideograph first appeared in inaugurals in 1977, three decades after the creation of Pakistan. However, in the subsequent

period for over a decade, it was not found in the speeches. The ideograph reemerged in 1988 and showed up in the speeches till 1994. Surprisingly, in the last almost two and a half decades from 1994-2018, the ideograph appeared only in 2017. Thus, the occurrence of the ideograph was mainly observed between 1988-1994.

Diachronically, the ideograph in the speeches also had three manifestations: (<agricultural tax>, <wealth tax>, <general sales tax>) and the ideograph in the speeches appeared in two different connotations: as a system and an obligation. The ideograph as a system occurred in the initial decades (1977-1984) and the main focus during this time was on reforms in the tax system. The ideograph in this period occurred in the speeches in four different senses: Need, commitment, justification and achievement. Using the ideograph in the sense of need, President Ghulam Ishaq Khan in December 1988 stated:

ٹیکس کے نظام کو زیادہ موثر بنانے کے لئے خصوصی اقدامات کی ضرورت ہے۔

Translation

To make the tax system more effective...special measures are required.

In the sense of commitment, Prime Minister Moin Qureshi in 1993 stated: “My government is determined to reform the tax administration...We are working with the provincial governments to improve the tax base in large cities”. Likewise, in the sense of justification, Prime Minister Moin Qureshi in 1993 also employed the ideograph to justify his government’s policies/actions. For instance, he stated: “We shall ... take strong punitive action against those who do not pay taxes”. Using the ideograph in the sense of achievement, President Sardar Farooq Ahmed Leghari in 1994 said:

حکومت نے ٹیکسوں کے نظام میں اصلاحات کیں۔ ان اقدامات کے بہتر نتائج برآمد ہوئے اور حکومت غیر ملکی زرمبادلہ کے ذخائر کو 3 بلین امریکن ڈالر کی ریکارڈ سطح تک بڑھانے میں کامیاب ہوئی۔

Translation

The government ... made reforms to the tax system. These measures yielded good results and the government managed to increase its foreign exchange reserves to a record 3 billion US dollars.

The ideograph as an obligation occurred in the last decade in the speech of Prime Minister Shahid Khaqan Abbasi in 2017 and the main emphasis was laid on <tax> as a legal obligation rather than an option.

یہاں ایک رجحان ہے کہ ٹیکس دینا شاید کوئی option ہے۔۔۔ ٹیکس دینا قانونی ذمہ داری ہے۔

Translation

There is a tendency that paying tax is probably an option.... Paying tax is a legal obligation.

4.1.8 <Poor>; <غریب> /ɣəri:b/ [poor]

The word poor generally refers to people who do not have the means of subsistence, including food, shelter and clothing (Batson, 2001) or those who do not have resources to meet their basic needs, including transport, health, education and sanitation (Padro, 2004). Although the word has a long history with spiritual and socio-economic background (Kertson, 2019), it is also used by politicians and Heads of State/Government. In Pakistani context, special emphasis is placed on providing the poor with means of subsistence and basic needs. For instance, the founder of Pakistan Peoples Party, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, used the famous slogan “Roti, Kapra aur Makaan” (food, clothing and shelter) for the poor in 1970s. Successive Heads of State/Governments also used the word in their speeches. As such, poor is a commonly used term in the political discourse of the country and has attained the status of an ideograph. The analysis of the inaugural speeches revealed that the ideograph <poor> and its Urdu alternative <غریب> /ɣəri:b/ appeared 20 times (10 in English and as many in Urdu) in 07 speeches, as detailed in Table 4.8 at *Appendix B* to this study. The ideograph occurred in the speeches of Prime Ministers and Presidents only, with a frequency of (0.034%) and (0.002%) respectively but it was not found in the speeches of Governor Generals and Military Leaders, as shown in Figure 4.8 at *Appendix C* to this study. One of the possible explanations could be that Prime Ministers rely more on people support and as such they employ this ideograph to gain public support for their policies.

The diachronic analysis of the speeches revealed that the ideograph first appeared in inaugurals in 1947. In the subsequent period, the ideograph did not occur in the speeches for over two decades. It resurfaced in 1971 and recurred in 1973. Again, the ideograph did not show up in the speeches for over a decade and reemerged in 1985 and continued to recur in 1990s, first in 1993 and then in 1997. In the last two decades from 2001-18, the ideograph

appeared in the inaugurals in 2002 only. Thus, the occurrence of the ideograph in the speeches was, for the most part, observed between 1985-2002. One of the possible reasons for the high incidence of the ideograph during this period may be that “more than 12 million people were added to the poor in Pakistan between 1993 and 1999” (Asian Development Bank, 2002, p.1). The ideograph in the speeches appeared in four senses: commitment, duty, hope and justification of policies. For instance, Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan, while showing his commitment to end exploitation of the <poor>, in 1947 stated: “What we shall not countenance is the exploitation of the poor”. This also indicates that exploitation of the <poor> was also found before the creation of Pakistan and the same was highlighted by Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan in his first inaugural speech. Likewise, using the ideograph in the sense of duty to improve plight of the <poor>, Prime Minister Muhammad Khan Junejo in 1985 said:

ہمارا یہ فرض ہو گا کہ ہم اپنی طرف سے جتنے بھی وسیلے ہیں ان کو رو بہ عمل لائیں اور کوشش کریں کہ جو غریب ہیں ان کی حالت بہتر کی جائے
تا کہ وہ آرام کی زندگی بسر کر سکیں۔

Translation

It will be our duty to utilize all resources for improving the condition of the poor so that they live a comfortable life.

Similarly, in the sense of hope, Prime Minister Mian Mohammed Nawaz Sharif in 1993 said:

مجھے یقین ہے انشاء اللہ ایک دن آئے گا کہ۔۔۔ پاکستان کا غریب بھی خوشحال ہو گا۔

Translation:

I am sure a day will come when the...poor of Pakistan will be prosperous.

In the like manner, using the ideograph for justification of policies, Prime Minister Moin Qureshi in 1993 stated: “We are taking some measures to provide relief to the poor... The Social Action Programme is aimed at improving better health facilities for the urban poor”. For the first time the term *urban poor* was used by Prime Minister Moin Qureshi to differentiate them from rural poor. In the previous cases, the focus was on the poor in general without any particular reference to urban and rural poor. But in 1993, the caretaker Prime Minister Moin Qureshi used this term for the first time, which brought about a shift in the meaning of the poor from general poor to *urban* and *rural* poor. Thus, <poor> was

categorized with focus on <urban poor> and provision of health facilities for them. Earlier mentions of the poor by the Heads of Government referred to the poor in general.

4.1.9 <Poverty>; <غُرْبَت> /γorbət/ [poverty]

The United Nations in its 17 Global Goals for Sustainable Development set in 2015 by UN General Assembly assigns topmost priority to poverty to eradicate it in all its forms. Poverty exists in both developed and developing countries (Olwan, 2013) and is also one of the biggest challenges facing Pakistan (Ashraf, 2017). Successive governments in Pakistan have declared the country a welfare state (Qureshi, 2001). Article 38 of 1973 Constitution of Pakistan (Government of Pakistan, 2018) also underscores promotion of social and economic well-being of the people and clearly mentions that “the State shall provide basic necessities of life, that is, food, clothing, housing, education and medical relief for all subjects” (Government of Pakistan, 2018). A number of institutions have been established in the country to alleviate poverty. Some significant among these include: Pakistan Bait-ul-Mal (PBM); Pakistan Poverty Alleviation Fund (PPAF); and Benazir Income Support Programme (BISP). As such, poverty is a commonly used term in the political discourse of the country and has attained the status of an ideograph. The analysis of the inaugural speeches revealed that <poverty> and its Urdu alternative <غُرْبَت> /γorbət/ appeared 16 times (05 in English and 11 in Urdu) in 09 speeches, as detailed in Table 4.9 at *Appendix B* to this study. The ideograph occurred in the speeches of Prime Ministers and Presidents only, with a frequency of (0.023%) and (0.005%) respectively but it was not found in the speeches of Governor Generals and Military Leaders, as shown in Figure 4.9 at *Appendix C* to this study.

The diachronic analysis of the speeches revealed that the ideograph first appeared in the inaugurals in 1965 and then recurred in 1977. Again, in the subsequent period, the ideograph did not occur in the speeches for over a decade and resurfaced in 1988. Then, the ideograph continued to recur in the 1990s: first in 1993 and, afterwards, in 1998. In the last two decades, from 2001-18, the ideograph occurred in the inaugurals in 2004 and 2008 only.

Thus, after 1990s and beyond, a rising trend in the use of <poverty> was seen in the inaugurals of both Prime Ministers and Presidents. This is also substantiated by Hussain (2003) who highlighted that a considerable decline in poverty in Pakistan during the 1980s was observed, followed by a slightly rising trend in the early 1990s but a worsening situation in the late 1990s. As a result, the important institutions for poverty alleviation in the country, including PBM, PPAF and BISP were established in 1991, 2000 and 2008 respectively. The ideograph in the speeches appeared in two senses: commitment and justification of policies. Successive governments showed their commitment to end <poverty>. For instance, President Mohammed Ayub Khan in 1965 stated: “We have to liquidate areas of poverty ... and a host of other social problems which we have to conquer”. Similarly, Prime Minister Chuadhary Shujaat Hussain in 2004 declared:

ہمیں --- غربت --- کے خلاف جنگ کرنا ہوگی۔

Translation:

We have to wage a war against... poverty.

Thus, conquering <poverty> and war on <poverty> are the commitments shown by the Heads of State/Government for eradication of <poverty> over the years. On the other hand, the ideograph was also used for justification of policies/programmes. For instance, Prime Minister Moin Qureshi in 1993 said: “My government will present a comprehensive programme on economic and social reforms...Its main purpose is to launch an attack on poverty”. However, despite such commitments and programmes by successive governments, the problem of poverty still remains in Pakistan. The ultimate goal of the war on <poverty> is utopia (Denzler, 2013), which is nothing but an ideal. Still, the people are given a hope to find a meaning in it. While <poverty> has not been defined in the inaugural speeches by any Head of State/Government, it has, however, been categorized into <rural poverty> and <urban poverty>, thus giving different interpretations of <poverty>. For instance, Prime Minister Mian Mohammed Nawaz Sharif in 2013 said:

پاکستان کے چاہے رورل علاقے ہیں یا شہری جو علاقے ہیں۔ کراچی ہے یا ٹوبہ ٹیک سنگھ ہے یا پشاور ہے یا کوئٹہ ہے اور میں یہ سمجھتا ہوں کہ سب جگہوں پہ ایک جیسی غربت جیسی ہے۔ کچھ علاقے ایسے ہیں جو غربت میں بہت آگے نکل چکے ہیں اور بہت ہی پسماندہ ہیں۔

Translation:

I understand there is same kind of poverty in both the rural and urban areas of Pakistan, be it Karachi, Toba Tek Singh, Peshawar or Quetta. However, there are some very backward areas where there is abject poverty.

4.1.10 <Unemployment>; <بے روزگاری/بیر روزگاری> /bero:zga:ri/

Generally, *unemployment* refers to “involuntary idleness” (Denoon, 1995, p. 141) or “non-availability of work despite looking for it” (Sharma, 2004, p. 15). In other words, it refers to the condition of being out of work (Keyssar, 1986). Unemployment is an outstanding problem of modern society and, at times, the overwhelming concern of politics (Burnett, 2002). Pakistan is also facing the problem of unemployment. According to Pakistan Economic Survey 2018-19 (Government of Pakistan, 2019), unemployment rate in Pakistan is 5.79 percent, which is higher than other countries in the region such as India (2.6 %), Bangladesh (4.3 %), and Sri-Lanka (4.4 %) except Iran (12.0 %). As such, the word unemployment and its Urdu alternative <بے روزگاری/بیر روزگاری> /bero:zga:ri/ is commonly found in the public and political discourse. The analysis of the inaugural speeches revealed that <unemployment> and its Urdu equivalent <بے روزگاری/بیر روزگاری> was used as an ideograph, which appeared 13 times (01 in English and 12 in Urdu) in 10 speeches, as detailed in Table 4.10 at *Appendix B* to this study. The ideograph occurred in the speeches of Prime Ministers and Presidents only, with a frequency of (0.012%) and (0.010%) respectively but it was not found in the speeches of Governor Generals and Military Leaders, as shown in Figure 4.10 at *Appendix C* to this study. One of the possible explanations of the use of the ideograph could be to prevent the growing discontent among the unemployed, especially to avoid unrest in the form of demonstrations due to rising unemployment as well as gaining the support of the unemployed.

The diachronic analysis of the speeches showed that the ideograph first appeared in the speeches in 1971 and recurred in 1988 after more than one and a half decades. In the subsequent period the ideograph did not occur in the speeches for almost a decade and reemerged in 1997–98. However, its use has increased in the last two decades (2001-18) and

continued to recur, although intermittently, in the speeches from 2004 to 2018. This also shows that unemployment is on the rise in the country. For instance, Prime Minister Mian Mohammed Nawaz Sharif in 1997 stated:

ہمارے ملک کے اندر بے روزگاری ختم ہونے کی بجائے مزید بڑھ چکی ہے۔

Translation:

In our country, unemployment has further increased instead of decreasing.

Similarly, President Arif-ur-Rehman Alvi in 2018 said:

بے روزگاری عروج پر ہے۔

Translation:

Unemployment is at peak.

The ideograph in the speeches appeared in three senses: problem, commitment and justification of policies. In the sense of problem, Prime Minister Muhammad Mian Soomro in 2007 stated:

بے روزگاری ایک بڑا مسئلہ ہے اس لئے معاشی سرگرمیوں میں کوئی رکاوٹ نہ ڈالی جائے۔

Translation:

Unemployment is a big problem. Therefore, no hurdle be put in way of economic activities.

Likewise, Heads of State/Government showed their commitment to prevent <unemployment> and highlighted its rising trend. For instance, President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in 1971 said: “I will ensure that unemployment does not unnecessarily take place”. Similarly, President Ghulam Ishaq Khan in 1988 said:

بے روزگاری میں روز افزوں اضافے کا تدارک کرنا ہو گا۔

Translation:

The daily increase in unemployment has to be prevented.

In the sense of justification of policy, Prime Minister Moin Qureshi in 1993 stated: “We badly need a social security system in our country through which lower and middle class workers can assure themselves of...unemployment insurance cover”.

4.1.11 <مہنگائی>/mæhŋgɑ:i/ [price hike]

Generally, the term <مہنگائی>/mæhŋgɑ:i/ or price hike means unaffordability (BW Online Bureau, 2014). The term <مہنگائی>/mæhŋgɑ:i/ is a common phenomenon in the world economies (Sarkar, Sikdar, Alam & Rahmana, 2009). However, this problem is more serious in developing countries (Vipul, 2009). The word <مہنگائی>/mæhŋgɑ:i/ is commonly used in both public and political discourse in Pakistan, which frequently recurs in the speeches and statements of Heads of State/Government and politicians. This word is mostly used by opposition leaders to mobilize people against the government. However, the analysis of the inaugural speeches revealed that <مہنگائی> /mæhŋgɑ:i/ was used as an ideograph, which appeared 10 times in 08 speeches, as detailed in Table 4.11 at *Appendix B* to this study. The ideograph occurred in the speeches of Prime Ministers and Presidents only, with a frequency of (0.012%) and (0.005%) respectively but it was not found in the speeches of Governor Generals and Military Leaders, as shown in Figure 4.11 at *Appendix C* to this study. One of the possible explanations could be that this is an issue of public interest, particularly the poor people and Prime Ministers showed their commitment to control <مہنگائی> /mæhŋgɑ:i/ in order to provide relief to the poor to gain their support. The diachronic analysis of <مہنگائی> /mæhŋgɑ:i/ revealed that the term first appeared in inaugurals in 1985 and then recurred afterwards with an increasing frequency in the last two decades (2001-18). Although the ideograph <مہنگائی> /mæhŋgɑ:i/ did not occur in the inaugurals of Heads of State /Governments in the first four decades of the country's history, the issue of price rise appeared in inaugural speeches in the first decade of the country's founding. For instance, Prime Minister Ibrahim Ismail Chandrigar in 1957 stated: "The prices of bare necessities of life have gone high". Likewise, Prime Minister Malik Feroz Khan Noon in 1957 "We must concentrate on ... the reduction of the prices of consumer goods". This shows that price rise has been an issue for

decades in Pakistan and it recurred even in the last inaugural in 2018. The ideograph appeared in two senses: problem and duty/commitment. In its initial appearance in the speeches in 1985, <مہنگائی> /məhŋga:i/ was not regarded a serious issue, particularly in comparison with other countries,. For instance, Prime Minister Muhammad Khan Junejo in 1985 stated:

جہاں تک پاکستان کا تعلق ہے، اس میں کوئی شک نہیں کہ یہاں مہنگائی ہے، لیکن اتنی مہنگائی نہیں جتنی کہ آپ دوسرے ممالک میں دیکھتے ہیں۔ لیکن اس کے باوجود ہمارا یہ فرض ہے کہ ہم اس طرف توجہ دیں تاکہ یہ مہنگائی اس سے زیادہ اور آگے نہ بڑھے۔

Translation:

As far as Pakistan is concerned, there is no doubt that price hike exists but it is not so much compared to other countries. However, despite this, it is our duty to pay attention to this problem so that prices do not go up any further.

However, in the subsequent period it was considered a serious problem with a commitment to control it. For example, in 1988 President Ghulam Ishaq Khan stated:

مہنگائی پر قابو پانا ہو گا۔

Translation:

We have to control price hike.

Similarly, Prime Minister Mian Mohammed Nawaz Sharif in 1997 stated:

میں یہ سمجھتا ہوں کہ آج پاکستان کو جو مسائل درپیش ہیں وہ مہنگائی کی شکل میں ہیں۔

Translation:

I believe that today the problems facing Pakistan are in the form of price hike.

4.2 SECTION 2: Governance-Focused Ideographs

Section 2 discusses *Governance-Focused Ideographs*, which comprised 14 Positive Ideographs, that is, <accountability>, <change>, <education>, <health>, <institutions>, <law>, <law and order>, <media>, <press>, <progress>, <reforms>, <security>, <stability>, <system> and 04 Negative Ideographs, that is, <bribery>, <crisis>, <corruption>, and <terrorism>.

4.2.1 <Accountability>; <اعتساب> /ehṭesa:b/[accountability]

The word accountability is an everyday term and its use has increased in the late 20th and early 21st centuries (Cooper & Johnston, 2012). The word is also commonly found in Pakistani political context, media and public discourse. The analysis of the inaugural speeches revealed that <accountability> and its Urdu substitute <اعتساب>/ehṭesa:b/ was used as an ideograph, which appeared 34 times (08 in English and 26 in Urdu) in 10 speeches, as detailed in Table 4.12 at *Appendix B* to this study. The ideograph occurred in the speeches of Prime Ministers and Presidents only, with a frequency of (0.048%) and (0.012%) respectively but it was not found in the speeches of Governor Generals and Military Leaders, as shown in Figure 4.12 at *Appendix C* to this study. Thus, the highest percentage of the ideograph was observed in the speeches of Prime Ministers.

The diachronic analysis of the speeches also revealed that the ideograph first appeared in inaugurals in 1971 and then recurred in 1990, almost after two decades. In the subsequent period it occurred in the speeches till 1997. Again, the ideograph did not show up in the speeches for over a decade and reemerged in 2008. Afterwards, it appeared in the last decade from 2012-18. Thus, the occurrence of the ideograph in the speeches was, for the most part, observed between 1990-97 and 2013-18. The first period (1990-97) was of great political instability in the country, which saw the dismissal of three elected governments on, inter alia, charges of corruption and the consequent focus on <accountability>, mostly by caretaker Prime Ministers/President was the outcome. As such, the ideograph also showed up in the

speeches of caretaker Prime Ministers (Ghulam Mustafa Khan Jatoi, 1990; Malik Meraj Khalid, 1996) and caretaker President (Wasim Sajjad, 1993). Moreover, during this period a number of laws pertaining to <accountability> were passed, which included 1996 Ehtesab Ordinance promulgated by the government of caretaker Prime Minister Malik Meraj Khalid, and subsequently operated under the elected government of Prime Minister Mian Mohammed Nawaz Sharif, who passed the Ehtesab Act, 1997 (Ali, 2018). Resultantly, Ehtesab Cell and later Ehtesab Commission were established. The ideograph appeared 18 times, the highest frequency, in the inaugural speech of Prime Minister Mian Mohammed Nawaz Sharif, which he delivered in 1997. However, the ideograph appeared only once in his subsequent inaugural, delivered in 2013 and it did not appear at all in his prior two inaugurals in 1990 and 1993.

On the other hand, the second period (2013-18) also witnessed renewed focus on <accountability> especially after 2013 elections when Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf demanded investigation of rigging in four constituencies and later the Panama Papers leaks in April 2016, which resulted in the movement for <accountability> in the country and the consequent disqualification of the then Prime Minister Mian Mohammed Nawaz Sharif by the Supreme Court of Pakistan in July 2017. Resultantly, <accountability> remained a buzzword in Pakistan in 2018 (Naqvi & Farooq, 2018). As such, the ideograph occurred five times, the second highest, in the inaugural of Prime Minister Imran Khan in 2018. Although the ideograph did not appear in the inaugurals of General Mohammed Zia-ul-Haq (1977-88) and General Parvez Musharraf (1999-2008), they used this ideograph in their respective tenures. General Mohammed Zia-ul-Haq, after his take-over on July 5, 1977, announced holding of free and fair elections within 90 days, that is, in October 1977 but he postponed the elections by using the slogan of *Pehlay Ehtesab, Phir Intikhab* [*accountability first, then elections*] (Abbas, 2020). Thus, he justified his rule by using <accountability> ideograph, He also used <accountability> as a tool for victimisation of his opponents, that is, the ousted Prime Minister Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto and his other party members (Bahadur, 1998). Likewise, General Parvez Musharraf established National Accountability Bureau (NAB) just a month

after his takeover in 1999 by declaring that <accountability> was the demand of everyone (Markey, 2013). One of his seven-point agenda which he announced on October 17, 1999 included “Ensuring swift and across the board accountability”. However, he later used <accountability> as a tool to tame politicians and garner their support for his government. His National Reconciliation Ordinance (NRO) for withdrawing cases against some politicians was its manifestation. Also, the ideograph in the speeches appeared in two broader connotations: principle and process. <Accountability> as a principle occurred in two senses: ideological – as a golden principle of governance in Islam and secular – as a key pillar of good governance in administration. For instance, using the ideograph in an ideological sense, President Wasim Sajjad in 1993 stated:

حکمرانی کے لئے عوامی تائید۔۔۔ احتساب۔۔۔ کے زریں اسلامی اصول ہمارے عوام کے جمہوری مزاج میں رچے بسے ہوئے ہیں۔

Translation

Public support...accountability...are the key Islamic principles of governance, which are embedded in the democratic nature of our people.

Similarly, employing the ideograph in its secular sense, President Asif Ali Zardari in 2008 said: “Across the board, transparent accountability forms a key pillar of good governance”. Likewise, <accountability> as a process appeared in two forms: targets and agents. Targets included ‘those to be held accountable’ and six specific target categories were highlighted in the speeches. These included own Government, members of Treasury as well as Opposition benches, government officials, the police, administration at lower-level and plunderers/looters of national wealth. For instance, President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in 1971 stated: “We have to make our Government accountable...Without accountability, you can achieve no results”. Similarly, Prime Minister Mian Mohammed Nawaz Sharif in 1997 said:

چاہے وہ ٹریڈری بنجڑ ہیں چاہے وہ اپوزیشن بنجڑ ہیں بلا تمیز و تفریق سب کا احتساب ہونا چاہیے۔۔۔ ہم سرکاری افسروں کا بھی احتساب چاہتے ہیں اور پھر نچلے درجے کے پولیس اور انتظامیہ کا بھی احتساب چاہتے ہیں۔

Translation

Everyone should be held accountable without any discrimination; be they members of Treasury Benches or Opposition Benches...We also want accountability of government officials and accountability of police and administration at lower level.

Also, Prime Minister Imran Khan in 2018 stated:

اس ملک میں سب سے پہلے ہم نے کڑا احتساب کرنا ہے۔ وہ لوگ جن لوگوں نے اس ملک کو لوٹا۔۔۔ ان میں سے ایک بھی آدمی کو نہیں چھوڑوں گا۔

Translation

First of all, we will start strict accountability in the country. Those people who looted this country... will be held accountable.

On the contrary, agents denoted those ‘who hold others accountable’ and three agent categories, including the Opposition, nation, and government emerged in the speeches. The Opposition had the right to hold the government accountable through criticism while the nation held the politicians accountable through elections. For instance, after his victory in February 3, 1997 Elections, Prime Minister Mian Mohammed Nawaz Sharif said:

ہماری اکاؤنٹبلٹی اس ہاؤس میں اپوزیشن کو کرنے کا پورا حق ہے۔۔۔ قوم۔۔۔ نے تین فروری کو صحیح احتساب کیا ہے۔

Translation

The Opposition has the full right to our accountability in this House... The nation ... held true accountability on February 3.

Similarly, the government held plunderers/looters of the Treasury and perpetrators of corruption accountable through strengthening the institutions of <accountability> and introducing new laws. For instance, Prime Minister Ghulam Mustafa Khan Jatoi in 1990 stated: “Accountability... will be initiated. It would be unfair that all of those who have looted and plundered the economy of this nation and the treasury of the Government to go scot-free”. Likewise, Prime Minister Mian Mohammed Nawaz Sharif in 2013 stated:

میری حکومت کسی قسم کی کرپشن برداشت نہیں کرے گی۔ بدعنوانی کا ارتکاب کرنے والوں کو سخت احتساب کا سامنا کرنا ہو گا۔

Translation

My government will not tolerate any kind of corruption. Perpetrators of corruption will face strict accountability.

Also, the ideograph appeared in the speeches in both positive and negative senses. In its positive sense, <accountability> was justified as a *necessity* for four reasons: achieving results and avoiding plights (Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, 1971); demand of the people (Prime Minister Ghulam Mustafa Khan Jatoi, 1990); transparent and good governance (Prime Minister Raja Pervez Ashraf, 2012); and eradication of corruption (Prime Minister Mian Mohammed Nawaz Sharif, 2013). As such, <accountability> was regarded as a priority and a goal (Prime Minister Malik Meraj Khalid, 1996). More so, emphasis on holding

<accountability> at every level was laid. However, in its negative sense, <accountability> was described as “an instrument of political witch-hunting” (President Asif Ali Zardari, 2008) and assurances to avoid misuse of <accountability> appeared in three forms, which include: accountability in accordance with law (Prime Minister Ghulam Mustafa Khan Jatoi, 1990); accountability across the board without any discrimination; and accountability without revenge (Prime Minister Mian Mohammed Nawaz Sharif, 1997).

4.2.2 <Change>; <تبدیلی> /təbdi:li/ [change]

Change is a commonly used everyday term but its employment in political contexts dates back to US Election Campaign in 1864 (Safire, 2008). The word *change* was again used by Barrack Obama in the Democratic Presidential Nomination in 2008 in such a manner that he was credited with giving power to this term (Hua & Hua, 2019). The word *change* and its Urdu substitute تبدیلی/təbdi:li/ is not new to Pakistani context. The word has been employed in varied connotations by successive governments (Malik, 2018). However, the word تبدیلی/təbdi:li/ was reinvigorated by Head of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf Imran Khan (the incumbent Prime Minister of Pakistan) in the country. The term تبدیلی/təbdi:li/ has now become a topic of discussion in social circles. Given the widespread use of the word, it has become a common everyday term and is found in media and public discourse. The term also generally recurs in the statements and speeches of Heads of States/Governments as well as politicians in Pakistan. The analysis of the inaugural speeches revealed that <change> or its Urdu equivalent <تبدیلی>/təbdi:li/ was used as an ideograph, which appeared 41 times (18 in English and 23 in Urdu) in 17 speeches, as detailed in Table 4.13 at *Appendix B* to this study. The ideograph occurred with varying frequency in the speeches of Prime Ministers (0.039%), Presidents (0.030%) and Military Leaders (0.021%) but it was not found in the speeches of Governor Generals, as shown in Figure 4.13 at *Appendix C* to this study. Thus, the highest percentage of the ideograph was observed in the speeches of Prime Ministers.

The diachronic analysis of the speeches revealed that the ideograph first appeared in inaugurals in 1947, right after the creation of Pakistan, and it occurred again in the same decade in 1957-58. However, it did not show up subsequently for over a decade and re-surfaced first in 1971 and then in 1977. Afterwards, it did not occur in the speeches for almost a decade and reappeared in 1988. Then onwards, the ideograph was found in the speeches till 2018, the time of the last inaugural in the country's history. Although the occurrence of the ideograph in the speeches was found right from 1947, its use was mainly observed after 1988. Diachronically, the ideograph <change> or its Urdu substitute <تبدیلی>/ṭabḍī:li/ appeared in the speeches at three levels: *micro*, *meso* and *macro*. At micro level, the ideograph was employed for <change> at individual level, involving both psychological and material <change> in the life of an individual. For instance, underscoring the need for such a <change>, Prime Minister Liaqat Ali Khan in 1947 stated:

The long tradition of alien rule bred a feeling that the Government was somebody else's concern and that it was legitimate to secure for oneself any advantage one could at the expense of the State. There must now be a radical change in that attitude of mind... the sooner this psychological transformation takes place ..., the sooner will profiteering, black marketeering and other anti-social activities disappear from Pakistan.

Likewise, Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in 1977 stated: "If I were asked what has been the most important achievement of the Pakistan Peoples Party, I would say that ... it has been the massive transformation in the thinking of the people, a qualitative change in their outlook". On the other hand, at meso level, the ideograph was used for <change> in a group or society as a whole. The group-level <change> included both youth and women. For instance, talking about his decision of reducing voting age and its resultant effect on youth and the support of women during 2002 Referendum, President General Parvez Musharraf stated: "Since we reduced the age to 18....This has brought about a quantum change... Let me tell you that even in tribal areas ... over hundred women ... voted for me...So there was a change in the women side". Likewise, addressing the West on behalf of developing countries regarding the West's demand for societal <change>, President Parvez Musharraf in his speech in 2007 stated: "Society is a living organism... it takes centuries and decades to move

in a certain direction. This change of direction cannot be suddenly imposed. No society can suddenly shift, change course. It can only be transformed gradually, very carefully”.

Finally, at macro level, the ideograph was used for system-level <change>, which appeared in three manifestations: Holistic, Ruler-based and Partial. Holistic <change> included complete overhauling of the system and referred to overall change in general. For instance, Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto in 1993 said:

عوام تبدیلی کے انتظار میں ہیں۔ اب قوم صرف چہروں کی تبدیلی نہیں چاہتی۔ اب نظام کی تبدیلی ضروری ہے۔ اب انشاء اللہ یہ تبدیلی ضرور آئے گی۔

Translation

People are waiting for change. Now the nation does not just want a change of face. Now the system needs to change. Now, God willing, this change will surely come.

Similarly, Prime Minister Imran Khan in 2018 said:

میں اللہ کا سب سے پہلے شکر ادا کرتا ہوں کہ اس نے مجھے موقع دیا پاکستان میں وہ تبدیلی لانے کا کہ جس تبدیلی کے لئے قوم 70 سال سے انتظار کر رہی تھی۔ انشاء اللہ میں اللہ کے سامنے اپنی قوم سے وعدہ کرتا ہوں کہ جو تبدیلی ہم اب لے کر آئیں گے تو یہ قوم اس تبدیلی کے لئے ترس رہی تھی۔

Translation

First of all, I thank Allah for giving me the opportunity to bring about the change in Pakistan that the nation had been waiting for 70 years. God willing, I promise my nation before Allah that whatever change we will bring now, this nation had been longing for that kind of change.

On the contrary, the Ruler-based <change> referred to *change of face or position*. For instance, on becoming President on October 27, 1958 just 19 days after his takeover as Chief Martial Law Administrator, President General Mohammed Ayub Khan said: “I would like to emphasize that this change would in no way affect my policies”. Likewise, President General Parvez Musharraf, after assuming the office of President in June, 2001 said: “I have been thinking about this change since a number of months...It was essential that I undertake this change...I also pray to Allah that this change augurs well for the future of our beloved nation, Pakistan”. The Partial <change> was mainly reform-based and referred to a particular field, system or type. For instance, Prime Minister Malik Feroz Khan Noon in 1957 stated: “In the field of foreign policy there will be no change”. Similarly, President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in 1971 said: “Fundamentally it is ... the social and economic system that requires change”.

The ideograph also occurred in the sense of justification of policy and actions. For instance, Prime Minister Moin Qureshi in 1993 stated: "...the measure we are adopting to initiate long delayed structural change...we have been postponing structural change". Likewise, Prime Minister Mian Mohammed Nawaz Sharif in 2013 stated:

حقیقی تبدیلی کے لئے بنیادی اقدامات کا آغاز کر دیا گیا ہے۔

Translation

For real change, the basic steps have been taken.

4.2.3 <Education>; <تعلیم>/təʔli:m/[education]

Education is generally regarded as a key determinant of progress and prosperity. As a result, it has attracted the attention of Heads of State/Government in different contexts around the globe and the word frequently recurs in political discourse. For instance, Tony Blair, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, while addressing on the occasion of launching Labour's Education Manifesto at the University of Southampton, said: "Our top priority was, is and always will be education, education, education"(The Guardian, 2001). The word *education* and its Urdu equivalent <تعلیم>/təʔli:m/ is also an everyday term in Pakistan, which frequently recurs in media, public discourse and speeches/statements of Heads of State/Government as well as politicians. The analysis of the inaugural speeches revealed that <education> or its Urdu substitute <تعلیم>/təʔli:m/ was used as an ideograph, which appeared 69 times (17 in English and 52 in Urdu) in 16 speeches, as detailed in Table 4.14 at *Appendix B* to this study. The ideograph occurred with varying frequencies in the speeches of Governor Generals (0.078%), Prime Ministers (0.062%), and Presidents (0.052%) but it was not found in the speeches of Military Leaders, as shown in Figure 4.14 at *Appendix C* to this study. Thus, the highest percentage of the ideograph was observed in the speeches of Governor Generals.

The diachronic analysis of the speeches revealed that the ideograph first appeared in inaugurals in 1948 and then occurred in 1956 and 1957 in the first decade. In the subsequent

period of almost two decades, the ideograph was not found in the speeches. However, it resurfaced in 1977 and recurred in the speeches till 1998. Once more, it did not occur in the speeches for almost two decades and reemerged only in 2017 and 2018. Thus, the ideograph continued to appear intermittently in the speeches from 1948 till the last inaugural in 2018. The presence of the ideograph in the speeches can be divided into three periods: 1948-57; 1977-98 and 2017-18. The emphasis in these periods remained on two dimensions: *access* and *quality*. However, the access dimension was more prominent in the first period (1948-57) as provision of <education> was regarded a problem in the initial years due to lack of resources. For instance, Prime Minister Hussain Shaheed Suharwardi in 1956 said: “We have so much work to do. There is education...and a score of others. It is no use enumerating them. They are there with us and we have to face them”. As such, making <education> accessible to all was considered as a goal. For example, President Isakandar Mirza in 1956 said: “It is our aim to bring education...within the means of all sections of our people”. On the other hand, the quality dimension was more noticeable in the second (1977-98) and third (2017-18) periods. The main emphasis during these periods remained on highlighting the poor quality of education and underscoring the need for improving quality of education. For instance, Prime Minister Muhammad Khan Junejo in 1985 said:

مجھے افسوس کے ساتھ کہنا پڑتا ہے کہ پاکستان میں تعلیم کا معیار کافی گر گیا ہے۔۔۔ تعلیم کا معیار بلند ہونا چاہیے۔

Translation

I am sorry to say that the standard of education in Pakistan has declined greatly... Quality of education should be high.

Similarly, Prime Minister Mian Mohammed Nawaz Sharif in 1997 said:

سٹیڈنڈرڈ آف ایجوکیشن دن بدن خراب سے خراب تر ہوتا جا چکا ہے۔

Translation

Standard of education is getting worse day by day.

Prime Minister Shahid Khaqan Abbasi in 2017 said:

quality of education نے suffer کیا ہے۔۔۔ ملک میں quality education کی ضرورت ہے۔

Translation

Quality of education has suffered... There is a need for quality education in the country.

Emphasis on improving quality was laid because <education> was regarded as a *foundation* for an enlightened society and a *precondition* for progress. For instance, Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto in 1988 said:

تعلیم ایک روشن خیال معاشرے کی بنیاد ہے۔

Translation

Education is the basis of an enlightened society.

Similarly, President Ghulam Ishaq Khan in December 1988 said:

ترقی کے لئے دوسری بنیادی شرط ہے تعلیم۔

Translation

Education is the second basic condition to progress.

The ideograph also appeared in the speeches in ideological orientation and justification of reforms, programmes and actions. In the sense of ideological orientation, focus on spiritual dimension of <education> was laid right from the beginning, as Governor General Khawaja Nazimuddin in 1948 stated:

ہماری آرزو ہے کہ۔۔۔ نظام تعلیم میں ایسی اصلاح کریں۔ جس سے نہ صرف مادی تربیت بلکہ روحانی پرورش بھی ہو سکے۔

Translation

We intend to make such reforms in the education system so as to bring about not only material training but also spiritual upbringing.

However, the ideological orientation became more prominent in 1977 during the rule of General Mohammed Zia-ul-Haq who in 1978 stated:

اسلامی معاشرے کی تشکیل کے لئے ہمیں۔۔۔ نظام تعلیم۔۔۔ سے غیر اسلامی اثرات کو زائل کرنا اور انہیں اسلامی تقاضوں کے مطابق ڈھالنا ہے۔

Translation

For the establishment of an Islamic society, we have to...eliminate un-Islamic influences from our education system... and mould it in accordance with Islamic dictates.

In the sense of justification, President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in 1971 stated: "I am going to bring about many reforms in educational fields". Similarly, Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto in 1988 said:

جتنی جلدی ممکن ہو ہم قومی تعلیمی فنڈ قائم کریں گے۔

Translation

We will establish National Education Fund as soon as possible.

In the same vein, justifying his Social Action Programme, Prime Minister Moin Qureshi in 1993 said: “The Social Action Programme is aimed at improving ... the quality of primary education, increase the proportion of children attending school, create an environment for reducing the dropout rate of girls from schools”.

4.2.4 <Health>; <سحت> /sehhəʃ/ [health]

Since health is the concern of everyone, it is an emotive issue involving life and death, hence deeply political (McClelland, 2008). Interest in the word *health* resurfaced after the Second World War with the establishment of World Health Organization (WHO) and, also around the same time, the renaming of Hygienic Laboratory in the US with the National Institutes of Health (Sharma & Romas, 2008). The term recurs in political as well as public discourse. The word *health* and its Urdu equivalent سحت/sehhəʃ/ is also an everyday term in Pakistan. The word frequently recurs in media, public discourse and speeches/statements of Heads of State/Government as well as politicians. The analysis of the inaugural speeches revealed that <health> or its Urdu alternative <سحت>/sehhəʃ/was used as an ideograph, which appeared 20 times (07 in English and 13 in Urdu) in 10 speeches, as detailed in Table 4.15 at *Appendix B* to this study. The ideograph occurred in the speeches of Presidents and Prime Ministers only, with a frequency of (0.022%) and (0.012%) respectively but it was not found in the speeches of Governor Generals and Military Leaders, as shown in Figure 4.15 at *Appendix C* to this study. Thus, the highest percentage of the ideograph was observed in the speeches of Presidents.

The diachronic analysis of the speeches revealed that the ideograph first appeared in inaugurals in 1956, almost nine years after the creation of Pakistan in 1947. More so, in the first decade, it occurred only in the last two years, that is, 1956 and 1957. In the subsequent period of over three decades, the ideograph was not found. However, it resurfaced in 1988

and was found in the speeches till 1998. Once more, it did not occur in the speeches for almost two decades and reemerged only in 2017 and 2018. Thus, the presence of the ideograph in the speeches can be divided into three periods: 1956-57; 1988-98 and 2017-18. In the first period (1956-57), <health> was presented in three different ways: as a *problem*; a *necessity* and a *facility*. For instance, Prime Minister Hussain Shaheed Suharwardi, while enumerating the problems facing the country, stated in September 1956: “We have so much work to do. There is...health ... It is no use enumerating them. They are there with us and we have to face them”. Moreover, Prime Minister Ibrahim Ismail Chaudrigar in 1957 said: “,... health...are all matters of urgent and vital necessity for our people”. On the other hand, in the second period (1988-98), <health> was presented as a *system*, *field* or *sector* and was used for justification of policies and reforms. For instance, President Sardar Farooq Ahmed Leghari in 1994 stated:

صحت کے شعبے میں حکومت اپنی ترجیحات کی روشنی میں صحت عامہ کا ایک جامع نظام قائم کرنا چاہتی ہے۔

Translation

In the health sector, the government, in the light of its priorities, wants to establish a comprehensive public health system.

Likewise, President Mohammed Rafiq Tarar in 1998 stated:

حکومت نے اصلاحات اور پالیسیوں کو۔۔۔ وضع کیا جو ہر اہم شعبہ زندگی پر محیط ہیں۔ صنعت ہو یا۔۔۔ صحت۔

Translation

The government introduced reforms and policies ... encompassing all important spheres of life. Be it industry... or health.

The third period (2017-18) was a combination of elements from the first and the second periods. As such, both the system and problem dimensions of <health> were highlighted. For instance, Prime Minister Shahid Khaqan Abbasi in 2017 said:

Health میں حکومت نے کام کیا۔ Health Card کا نظام implement کیا جو جنوبی ایشیاء کا سب سے بڑا نظام ہے۔

Translation

The government worked in the Health Sector and implemented Health Card System, which is the largest system in South Asia.

On the other hand, President Arif -ur-Rehman Alvi in 2018 stated:

صحت کے معاملات میں بھی عوام میں بے چینی پائی جاتی ہے۔۔۔۔۔ لیکن آبادی کا دباؤ بہت زیادہ ہے اور وسائل محدود۔

Translation

People have concern about conditions in the health sector... However, pressure of population growth is huge and resources are limited.

4.2.5 <Institution(s)>; <ادارے; اداروں> /ɪdɑ:ri; ɪdɑ:rõ/ [institution(s)]

The word institution is generally regarded as synonymous with the term *organization* (Burki & Perry, 1998) and refers to formal organizations of government and public services (Gottschalk, 2017). The word in its plural form frequently recurs in political discourse, particularly in the developing countries because institutions in such countries are weak or missing (Fritschel, Pandya-Lorch, Yosef & Zselezky, 2014). As a result, focus on building and strengthening institutions is seen in speeches and statements of Heads of State/Government as well as politicians. The word *institutions* and its Urdu equivalent ادارے/اداروں /ɪdɑ:ri; ɪdɑ:rõ/ is also a common everyday term in Pakistan. The word has recently come to prominence in the country, as the significance of strengthening institutions was a recurring theme in the seven-year long election campaign of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf, a political party which is currently in power (Javed, 2018). The word also occurs in the speeches and statements of Heads of State/Government and other politicians in the country. The analysis of the inaugural speeches revealed that <institutions> or its Urdu alternative <ادارے/اداروں> /ɪdɑ:ri; ɪdɑ:rõ/ was used as an ideograph, which appeared 81 times (13 in English and 68 in Urdu) in 22 speeches, as detailed in Table 4.16 at *Appendix B* to this study. The ideograph occurred with varying frequencies in the speeches of Presidents (0.095%), Prime Ministers (0.043%) and Military Leaders (0.021%), but it was not found in the speeches of Governor Generals, as shown in Figure 4.16 at *Appendix C* to this study. Thus, the highest percentage of the ideograph was observed in the speeches of Presidents.

The diachronic analysis of the speeches revealed that the ideograph first appeared in inaugurals in 1965 and subsequently recurred almost throughout the speeches till 2018, the time of the last inaugural in the country's history. The ideograph in the speeches denoted

state-owned institutions, which occurred in three varied forms: سرکاری اداروں/ادارے Government institutions; قومی اداروں/ادارے or national institutions; ریاستی اداروں state institutions. While the first two forms were interchangeably used and usually referred to a wide range of institutions such as Pakistan International Airlines (PIA) , Pakistan Steel, Pakistan Railways, Water and Power Development Authority (WAPDA), state institutions denoted Judiciary, the *Executive* and the *Parliament*. Also, the ideograph appeared in the speeches in both *general* and *particular* sense. In its general sense, the ideograph did not specify any particular type of <institution>; rather, it referred to <institutions> in general and appeared in the speeches in both positive and negative connotations. In its positive connotation, the ideograph focused on the importance of <institutions> and had two dimensions: a *criterion* for civilization as an image building to the external world; and a *precondition* for success and stability of the country. For instance, referring to <institutions> as a symbol of civilization, President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in 1971 stated: “Civilization means institutions”. Similarly, using the ideograph as a precondition, Prime Minister Syed Yousaf Raza Gillani in 2008 said:

جب تک strong institutions نہیں ہوں گے ہم کامیاب نہیں ہو سکیں گے۔

Translation

Unless the institutions are strong, we will not succeed.

Making a similar point, President Mamnoon Hussain in 2014 said:

اداروں۔۔۔ کا استحکام، ریاست کا استحکام ہے۔

Translation

The stability of institutions is the stability of the state.

On the other hand, in its negative connotation, the ideograph referred to the *weak state* or *condition* of <institutions>. The ideograph in the negative sense first appeared in the speeches in 1971 and continued to recur in the subsequent decades till 2013. For instance, attributing the secession of East Pakistan to the poor condition or state of <institutions>, President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in 1971 stated: “Every institution of Pakistan has either been destroyed or threatened and that is why we face this state today”. Likewise, despite the passage of over two and a half decades since the first mention of the sorry state of affairs of

the <institutions> in 1971, Prime Minister Mian Mohammed Nawaz Sharif in 1997 also highlighted similar condition of the <institutions> by saying:

آج پاکستان کے ادارے اس قدر تباہی کا شکار ہیں جو بیان سے باہر ہے۔

Translation

Today, institutions of Pakistan are in such a state of disarray, which defies description.

In the same manner, General Parvez Musharraf, after imposing Martial Law in October 1999, said: "...all the institutions been played around with, and systematically destroyed". Also, highlighting the grave problems facing the country, Prime Minister Mian Mohammed Nawaz Sharif in 2013 described the devastating condition of government <institutions> as (*collapsed government institutions* تباہی کا شکار سرکاری ادارے). As such, the focus of Heads of State/Government remained on durability of <institutions>, restoration of public confidence in <institutions>, strengthening the <institutions> as well as promoting cooperation and unity among <institutions>. In this case, the ideograph occurred in the sense of *appeal* and *commitment*. For instance, in the sense of appeal, President General Mohammed Ayub Khan in 1965 stated: "Let us complete the task assigned to us so that the generations that come after us inherit durable institutions". In the sense of commitment, Prime Minister Malik Meraj Khalid in 1996 said:

ہم سرکاری اداروں۔۔۔ پر عوام کے اعتماد کو بحال کرنے کی کوشش کریں گے۔

Translation

We will endeavour to restore public confidence in... government institutions.

Similarly, Prime Minister Yousaf Raza Gillani in 2008 said:

ہم اداروں کو مضبوط کریں گے۔

Translation

We will strengthen institutions.

The ideograph was also used in the sense of *justification* of actions. For instance, President General Parvez Musharraf in 2007 said: "...in order to deal with this collision of the state institutions...I had to act. And I did act in the interest of Pakistan". Likewise,

justifying reforms for improving the condition of <institutions>, Prime Minister Mian Mohammed Nawaz Sharif in 2013 said:

ملکی اداروں کی باگ ڈور اب نااہل چہیتوں کے ہاتھ میں نہیں، بلکہ ایسے باصلاحیت افراد کے ہاتھ میں ہوگی جن کا انتخاب مثالی حد تک شفاف سسٹم کے ذریعے کیا جائے گا۔

Translation

The reins of state institutions will no longer be in the hands of incompetent favourites, but in the hands of talented individuals who will be selected through an ideally transparent system.

On the other hand, in its particular sense, the ideograph referred to specific *type* of <institutions>, such as democratic, parliamentary, local bodies, educational, civil, military, and accountability. However, the ideograph mostly occurred with democratic <institutions> from 1971 to 2014. More so, the ideographic focus remained on building/rebuilding, success, growth, cleansing, and strengthening of the <institutions> and the Heads of State/Government showed their commitment/resolve to achieve the policy goals. For instance, President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in 1971 said: “We have to rebuild democratic institutions”. Similarly, President Fazal Elahi Chaudhry in 1973 said: “To ensure the success of our democratic and parliamentary institutions, we must resolve not to resort to extra-parliamentary means of such character as will subvert these institutions”. Referring to the growth of local bodies into <institutions>, Prime Minister Moin Qureshi in 1993 said: “We must build our local bodies into institutions that are truly responsive to the needs of the people”. In the like manner, President Arif-ur-Rehman Alvi in 2018 said:

accountability کے اداروں کو مضبوط کرنے کی ضرورت ہے تاکہ وہ بلا خوف و امتیاز اپنا کام سرانجام دیں۔

Translation

There is a need to strengthen the institutions of accountability so that they work without fear or discrimination.

4.2.6 <Law>; <قانون>/qa:nu:n/ [law]

Law is the key to organised social life (Sarmah, 1997). As such, the word *law* frequently recurs in both public and political discourse in different contexts. The word *law* and its Urdu equivalent قانون /qa:nu:n/ is also an everyday term in Pakistan, which also appears in speeches/statements of Heads of State/Government as well as politicians. The analysis of the

inaugural speeches revealed that <law> and its alternative <قانون> was used as an ideograph, which appeared 54 times (25 in English and 29 in Urdu) in 25 speeches, as detailed in Table 4.17 at *Appendix B* to this study. The ideograph occurred with varying frequencies in the speeches of Presidents (0.051%), Prime Ministers (0.041%) and Military Leaders (0.021%) but it was not found in the speeches of Governor Generals, as shown in Figure 4.17 at *Appendix C* to this study. Thus, the highest percentage of the ideograph was observed in the speeches of Presidents.

The diachronic analysis of the speeches revealed that the ideograph first appeared in inaugurals in 1956 and occurred till 1960. Subsequently, it did not show up in the speeches for a decade. However, the ideograph resurfaced in 1971 and was later found in the speeches till 2014, except between 1998-2007, a period that witnessed a number of changes in Heads of State/Government. Thus, the occurrence of the ideograph in the speeches was mainly observed after 1971 onwards. The ideograph also occurred in the manifestation of <rule of law>. Diachronically speaking, <law> and its Urdu equivalent <قانون> /qa.nu:n/ appeared in the speeches in secular and religious senses. In its secular sense, the ideograph had both positive and negative connotations. In its positive connotation, the ideograph was employed in six different ways: commitment, precondition, need or necessity, guarantee to rights, a source of trust and justification of policies/actions. Heads of State/Government showed commitment to uphold <rule of law> or establish regard for <law>. For instance, President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in 1971 stated: “I have every intention...to give the rule of law to the people...We have to give the county the rule of law”. In the like manner, President Asif Ali Zardari in 2008 said: “We are committed to upholding... the rule of law”. Second, the ideograph served as a precondition to political stability, settlements of disputes and country’s success. For example, Prime Minister Hussain Shaheed Suharwardi in 1956 said: “The first essential is to secure political stability and that can never be attained unless we ensure the rule of law”. Similarly, Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in 1977 stated: “If I have an assurance from these gentlemen of the Opposition ... that the election disputes will

be settled ... according to law... then I will be in the happy position of considering...lifting of Emergency in Pakistan”. Likewise, Prime Minister Syed Yousaf Raza Gillani in 2008 stated:

اگر آپ نے ملک کو کامیاب کرنا ہے تو۔۔۔ rule of law ہونا چاہیے۔

Translation

There should be rule of law if you want the country to succeed.

Third, the ideograph functioned as a need or necessity for running state affairs, conducting accountability, controlling horse-trading and bribery as well as giving rightful place and respect to the Opposition. For instance, President General Mohammed Ayub Khan in 1960 said: “We can rest assured that the affairs of the country will be run in accordance with the law of the land”. Prime Minister Ghulam Mustafa Khan Jatoi in 1990 said: “Accountability in accordance with law... will be initiated”. Likewise, Prime Minister Mian Mohammed Nawaz Sharif in 1990 stated:

میں۔۔۔ قانون۔۔۔ کے مطابق حزب اختلاف کو اس کا جائز مقام اور احترام دوں گا۔

Translation

I will give the Opposition its rightful place and respect in accordance with law.

Similarly, Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto in 1993 stated:

قانون کو اتنا مضبوط بنائیں گے کہ رشوت اور ہارس ٹریڈنگ کرنے والے قانون کی گرفت سے نہ بچ سکیں گے۔

Translation

Law will be so strengthened that bribe takers and horse-traders will not be able to escape the grip of the law.

Fourth, the ideograph served as guarantee to rights like equality and personal laws of people, irrespective of their language, colour, caste, creed, race or sex. For instance, President Mamnoon Hussain in 2014 said:

قانون کی نظر میں ہر علاقہ کے عوام برابر ہیں۔

Translation

In the eyes of the law, the people of every region are equal.

Fifth, the ideograph worked as a source of trust on government for a common man. For example, President Sardar Farooq Ahmed Leghari in 1994 said:

عام آدمی کے دل میں حکومت کا اعتبار۔۔۔ اس وقت قائم ہو گا جب اسے معلوم ہو کہ اس کے ساتھ قانون کے مطابق معاملہ کیا جا رہا ہے۔

Translation

The trust of the government in the heart of the common man...will be established when he knows that he is being dealt with according to the law.

Sixth, the ideograph was also employed for justification of actions. For instance, President General Mohammed Ayub Khan who, while justifying his decision of election to Basic Democracies, in 1960 stated: "I have done this to ... establish an unquestionable regard for law". Likewise, justifying the capacity and capability enhancement of law-enforcement departments, President Sardar Farooq Ahmed Leghari in 1996 stated:

اصل چیز قانون کو موثر طریقے سے نافذ کرنا ہے۔۔۔ نفاذ قانون کے محکموں کی اہلیت اور صلاحیت میں بھی اضافہ کیا جائے گا۔

Translation

The key is to enforce the law effectively...the capacity and capability of law enforcement departments will also be enhanced.

On the other hand, the ideograph in the negative connotations referred to lack of respect for <law> by the people and lack of access to <law> by the common man. For instance, Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto in 1988 said:

یہ آمریت کا اثر ہے کہ جب قانون کا احترام نہیں کیا گیا تو پھر پورے ملک کے اندر لوگوں نے قانون کا احترام نہیں کیا۔

Translation

This is the effect of dictatorship that when the law was not respected, then people all over the country did not respect the law.

Likewise, Prime Minister Moin Qureshi in 1993 stated: "Today the common man...does not have easy recourse to law. If he turns to the courts, he has to wait for years before his grievances are redressed". In the religious sense, the ideograph was used in two ways: Islamization process and an Islamic principle embedded in the mind of people. For instance, Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, referring to Islamization process in 1977, said: "We can set up a Commission or can see what the Islamic Ideology Council has already achieved on the question of those laws which can be brought in conformity with the Holy Quran and Sunnah". Similarly, President Wasim Sajjad, using the ideograph in an ideological sense in 1993, stated:

حکمرانی کے لئے عوامی تائید،۔۔۔ اور قانون۔۔۔ کی بلا دستی کے زیریں اسلامی اصول ہمارے عوام کے جمہوری مزاج میں رچے بسے ہوئے ہیں۔

Translation

The golden Islamic principles of public support,...and rule of law are embedded in the democratic nature of our people.

4.2.7 <Law and order>; <امن ومان> /əmnɔ: əmɑ:n/ [law and order]

The first use of *law and order* in politics appeared in the United States in 1830s in response to the reformers' agitation for extending the right of franchise to all white men who did not own property (Sarat, 2020). As a result, *Law and Order Party* was formed by Samuel Ward King, the Governor of Rhode Island, in 1840 in order to oppose proposals for expansion of the vote to all. Later, the phrase *law and order* resurfaced in 1920 during the vice-presidential nomination at the Republican National Convention and Calvin Coolidge, the Republican Governor of Massachusetts, became a *law and order* candidate because as Governor he reacted to a police strike with force (Rawson & Miner, 2006). Also, the phrase *law and order* took centre stage during the Presidential Campaign in the USA in 1968 (Skrentny, 1996). Richard Nixon made *law and order* the key focus of his campaign, following the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr. in April, 1968, which resulted in nationwide revolts in more than hundred cities in the USA and rendered *law and order* the most significant domestic issue (Waxman, 2020). Likewise, following the death of George Floyd, an African American, by a white police officer in May, 2020 and the resultant nationwide protests against police brutality, Donald Trump declared himself the *President of Law and Order* in June 2020.

The phrase *law and order* and its equivalent in Urdu <امن ومان> /əmnɔ: əmɑ:n/ is also a common everyday term in Pakistani context and recurs in political discourse in the country. *Law and order* appeared even in the first speech delivered by Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the Founding Father of Pakistan, to the Constituent Assembly on August 11, 1947, three days prior to creation of Pakistan, who stated, "The first duty of a government is to maintain law and order, so that the life, property and religious beliefs of its subjects are fully protected by the State". Also, the second Prime Minister of Pakistan, Khawaja Nazimuddin was dismissed by Governor General Malik Ghulam Mohammad in April 1953 on failure of maintaining *law*

and order in the wake of anti-Ahmadi Movement, resulting in the imposition of Martial Law in Lahore. Also, “ensuring law and order” was part of General Parvez Musharraf’s seven-point agenda which he announced on October 17, 1999. The analysis of the inaugural speeches revealed that <law and order> and its Urdu alternative <امن ومان>/əmnɔ: əmɑ:n/ was used as an ideograph, which appeared 27 times (08 in English and 19 in Urdu) in 14 speeches, as detailed in Table 4.18 at *Appendix B* to this study. The ideograph occurred with varying frequencies in the speeches of Military Leaders (0.062%), Prime Ministers (0.021%) and Presidents (0.020%) but it was not found in the speeches of Governor Generals, as shown in Figure 4.18 at *Appendix C* to this study. Thus, the highest percentage of the ideograph was observed in the speeches of Military Leaders. The diachronic analysis of the speeches revealed that the ideograph first appeared in inaugurals in 1958 and then recurred in 1977, almost after two decades. In the subsequent period it occurred intermittently in the speeches from 1984 to 2002. However, after 2002 the ideograph did not show up in the speeches for a decade and reemerged in 2013 and later recurred in 2017.

Thus, the occurrence of the ideograph in the speeches was, for the most part, observed between 1984-2002. Diachronically, the ideograph in the speeches focused on five dimensions: maintenance, improvement, strengthening, control and restoration of <law and order> in the country or a specific area/city, particularly during or after Martial Law as well as elections or other eventualities. For instance, some significant events which took place in the country’s history that entailed the use of <law and order> included declaration of Martial Law in the country in 1958; rigging allegations in elections followed by imposition of Martial Law in 1977; sudden demise of the country’s President cum Army Chief in a plane crash in August 1988; dissolution of assemblies by the President and declaration of new elections in 1990 as well as 1993; holding referendum for extension of tenure by President General Parvez Musharraf in 2002; and holding fresh elections in the country in 2013, amid tense security situation due to terrorism, after successful completion of the government’s five-year tenure. Also, the ideograph appeared in both positive and negative connotations in the speeches. In its positive connotation, the ideograph was employed in eight different ways:

desire, priority, commitment, responsibility/duty, taking credit, caution/warning, appeal and gratitude. As regards desire, General Mohammed Zia-ul-Haq in 1977 stated:

میری خواہش ہے کہ ملک میں امن و امان قائم رہے۔

Translation

I desire maintenance of law and order in the country.

Using the ideograph in the sense of priority, President Ghulam Ishaq Khan in August 1988 said:

ملک میں امن و امان قائم رکھنے کو میری ترجیحات میں اولیت حاصل رہے گی۔

Translation

Maintaining law and order in the country will be my top priority.

Employing the ideograph in the sense of commitment, Prime Minister Mir Hazar Khan Khoso in 2013 said:

امن و امان بہتر بنائیں گے۔

Translation

We will improve law and order.

In the sense of responsibility/duty, the ideograph referred to three agencies responsible for the maintenance and control of <law and order>. These included: the Army, Government, and Provincial governments. For instance, General Mohammed Ayub Khan in 1958 stated: "...the army... is responsible for law and order". Similarly, President Wasim Sajjad in 1993 stated:

الیکشن سے پہلے اور الیکشن کے دوران امن و امان قائم رکھنا یقیناً حکومت کی بنیادی ذمہ داری ہے۔

Translation

Maintaining law and order before and during the elections is certainly the primary responsibility of the Government.

In the sense of taking credit by the Government for improving or restoring <law and order> in the country or a particular city, the ideograph was employed by President Ghulam Ishaq Khan in December 1988, who said:

امن و امان کی بگڑی ہوئی صورت حال گزشتہ دنوں حکومت کی کوششوں کے نتیجے میں خاصی بہتر ہوئی ہے۔

Translation

The deteriorating law and order situation has improved significantly in recent days as a result of government's efforts.

Similarly, Prime Minister Shahid Khaqan Abbasi in 2017 said:

ہم نے کراچی کو امن و امان دیا۔

Translation

We restored law and order in Karachi.

In the sense of caution/warning, the ideograph was used by General Mohammed Zia-ul-Haq in 1977 after imposition of Martial Law in 1977, who stated:

اگر کسی شہری نے امن و امان میں خلل ڈالنے کی کوشش کی تو اس سے بھی سختی سے پٹا جائے گا۔

Translation

If any citizen disturbs law and order in the country, he will also be severely dealt with.

In the sense of appeal, the ideograph was used to invite the opposition for working together with a view to resolving the country's problems, including maintenance of <law and order>. For instance, Prime Minister Mian Mohammed Nawaz Sharif in 1990, while inviting the members of Opposition for working together, said:

ملک میں امن و امان قائم کرنے کی کاوش،۔۔۔ ہمارے تعاون اور اشتراک کی بنیاد بن سکتے ہیں۔

Translation

Effort to maintain law and order in the country...can form the basis of our cooperation and collaboration.

Moreover, in the sense of gratitude, the ideograph was used to pay tributes to the Armed Forces for assisting the civilian government in maintenance of <law and order>. It was also employed to express gratitude to governors, provincial governments and their administration and police for maintaining <law and order> in their respective areas during the 1984 Referendum. For instance, Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in 1977 said: "I must pay my warmest tributes to the Armed Forces of Pakistan for...the maintenance of law and order".

In its negative connotation, the ideograph occurred in four senses: problem, challenge, attribution and justification. In the sense of problem, <law and order> was regarded as a mental state in which people feel lack of protection or security everywhere, be it home or outside home or in any other place. For instance, President Sardar Farooq Ahmed Leghari in 1994 said:

امن و امان کا مسئلہ صرف قانون عدالتوں اور پولیس کا مسئلہ نہیں ہے۔ یہ ایک ذہنی کیفیت ہے۔

Translation

The problem of law and order is not just a matter of law, courts and police. It is a state of mind.

Likewise, <law and order> was also considered a challenge. For example, Prime Minister Mir Hazar Khan Khoso in 2013 said:

ملک میں امن و امان کی خراب صورتحال نگران حکومت کے لئے چیلنج ہے۔

Translation

The deteriorating law and order situation in the country is a challenge to the caretaker government.

In the sense of attribution, the previous governments are blamed for ineffective maintenance of <law and order>. For instance, blaming the government of Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto, the caretaker Prime Minister Ghulam Mustafa Khan Jatoi in 1990 said: “The outgoing Government...provided the most ineffective maintenance of law and order”. In the sense of justification, the ideograph was used for justification of actions. For instance, justifying his action of imposing Emergency in three cities (Karachi, Hyderabad & Lahore) after PNA rallies/demonstrations against poll rigging, Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in 1977 said: “we are not going to permit any tinkering or tampering with law and order...we cannot allow anyone to go on the rampage”. Likewise, referring to the dissolution of Assemblies and dismissal of Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto’s government, Prime Minister Ghulam Mustafa Khan Jatoi in 1990 justified the Presidential action thus: “...the complete breakdown of law and order necessitated the Presidential constitutional action”. Also, justifying the need for taking more steps for the improvement of <law and order>, President Mohammed Rafiq Tarar in 1998 stated:

امن و امان کی صورتحال کو بہتر بنانے کے لئے مزید اقدامات کئے جائیں گے۔

Translation

To improve the law and order situation, further steps will be taken.

4.2.8 <Media>; <میڈیا>/mi:diə/ [media]

Media plays an important role and acts as a bridge between the public and the state. As such, it is considered as the fourth pillar of the state. Media not only disseminates information but

also shapes public opinion and in turn influences political and social change (Sabao & Chikara, 2018). The word *media* frequently appears in both the public and political discourse. Media is also an everyday term in Pakistan, which frequently recurs in public discourse and speeches/statements of Heads of State/Government as well as politicians. The analysis of the inaugural speeches revealed that <media> was used as an ideograph, which appeared 18 times (06 in English and 12 in Urdu) in 10 speeches, as detailed in Table 4.19 at *Appendix B* to this study. The ideograph occurred in the speeches of Presidents and Prime Ministers only, with a frequency of (0.022%) and (0.009%) respectively but it was not found in the speeches of Governor Generals and Military Leaders, as shown in Figure 4.19 at *Appendix C* to this study. Thus, the highest percentage of the ideograph was observed in the speeches of Presidents.

The diachronic analysis of the speeches revealed that the ideograph first appeared in inaugurals in 1971, almost two and half decades after the creation of Pakistan. However, it did not show up subsequently for a decade and resurfaced first in 1988 and then in 1993. Afterwards, it did not occur in the speeches for almost one and half decades and reappeared in 2007. Then onwards, the ideograph was found in the speeches till 2018, the time of the last inaugural in the country's history. Thus, the occurrence of the ideograph in the speeches was mainly observed after 2007. One of the possible reasons for the recurrence of <media> after 2007 was the opening of private channels in Pakistan during President General Parvez Musharraf era (1999-2008). Diachronically, <media> also appeared in the speeches in two manifestations: <print media> and <electronic media>. The ideograph also occurred in the speeches in three connotations: *neutral*; *positive* and *negative*. In its neutral connotation, <media> served as a *means* of sharing information. For instance, President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, after secession of East Pakistan in 1971 stated: "Whatever the realities, I will present them before you either through this media here or through public contact". In its positive connotation, the focus mainly remained on credibility and freedom of <media> and the ideograph appeared in seven different senses: commitment; assurance, support; justification; appeal, obligation and responsibility. In the sense of commitment, the ideograph referred to

Party's commitment towards restoring credibility of <media> and public trust on it. For instance, Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto in 1988 said:

پاکستان پیپلز پارٹی اس امر کو یقینی بنائے گی کہ میڈیا کی ساکھ بحال ہو اور اسے عوام کا اعتماد حاصل ہو۔

Translation

Pakistan People's Party will ensure that credibility of media is restored and it enjoys confidence of people.

Likewise, assuring journalists of freedom of <media> in the country especially for election coverage, Prime Minister Muhammad Mian Soomro in 2007 stated:

پرٹ میڈیا پر کوئی پابندی نہیں ہے۔

Translation

There is no restriction on print media.

In the sense of support, the ideograph was employed by Prime Minister Syed Yousaf Raza Gillani in 2008:

ہم۔۔۔ میڈیا کی آزادی کے حق میں ہیں۔

Translation

We...are in favour of freedom of media.

In the sense of justification, the ideograph was used for justification of actions and policies. For example, President Parvez Musharraf in 2007 said: "We liberated the media; we allowed them freedom of expression... We allowed private channels in the electronic media".

Similarly, President Asif Ali Zardari in 2008 stated:

The media has come a long way from the first day the PPP government opened up the airwaves to private networks... We will soon be bringing other fundamental laws, such as the Freedom of Information Bill,... with no interference from the State.

In the sense of appeal, the ideograph was used to seek <media> support in guiding the government as well as in awareness-raising on important public issues. For instance, Prime Minister Mian Mohammad Nawaz Sharif in 2013 said:

تبدیلی کے اس سفر میں۔۔۔ مجھے میڈیا کا ساتھ چاہیے، جو پوری آزادی سے ہماری کمزوریوں کی نشاندہی بھی کرے اور۔۔۔ مسائل کے حل میں ہمارا ہاتھ بھی بٹائے۔

Translation

In this journey of change...I need the support of the media, which can freely point out our shortcomings and ...help us solve problems.

Likewise, President Arif-ur-Rehman Alvi in 2018 stated:

میڈیا۔۔۔ سے چاہوں گا کہ وہ لوگوں میں زچہ و بچہ کی صحت اور چھوٹے کنبے کی افادیت کی اہمیت کو بھی اجاگر کریں۔

Translation

I will appeal ... media to promote awareness regarding mother and child health and benefits of small family.

In the sense of obligation, the ideograph referred to the monitoring role of <media> in the country. For instance, President Mamnoon Hussain in 2014 said:

وطن عزیز میں میڈیا بھی پڑتال اور نگہبانی کا فریضہ انجام دے رہا ہے۔

Translation

Media is also performing the duty of watchdog and monitoring in the country.

In the sense of responsibility, the ideograph referred to responsibilities and boundaries of <media>. For instance, President Mamnoon Hussain in 2014 said:

میڈیا بلاشبہ آزاد ہے۔۔۔ میڈیا کو اپنی آزادی کے ساتھ ساتھ اپنی ذمہ داریوں اور حدود کا یکساں طور پر احساس کرنا چاہیے۔

Translation

No doubt, media is free...while exercising its freedom, media should also realize its responsibilities and boundaries.

Finally, in its negative connotation, the ideograph was used to refer to <media> in general as well as some elements in the <media> for twisting facts and exacerbating the problem of terrorism. For instance, referring to the negative use of <media> by President Ghulam Ishaq Khan in 1993 and the subsequent dismissal of his government, Prime Minister Mian Mohammed Nawaz Sharif stated:

جس طرح سے الیکٹرانک میڈیا کا استعمال کیا گیا۔۔۔ جس عجیب انداز میں فیکٹس، فگرز کو توڑ مروڑ کر۔۔۔ قوم کے سامنے پیش کرنے کی کوشش کی۔

Translation

The way electronic media was used...The strange manner in which the facts and figures were distorted...and tried to present before the nation.

Similarly, President Parvez Musharraf in 2007 said:

...the unfortunate rise of terrorism...with a number of bomb blasts, suicide attacks all over Pakistan... some elements in the media, unfortunately, the media which I believe in their independence, complete independence; some elements further exacerbated this situation.

4.2.9 <Press>; <پریس>/pres/ [press]

The word *press* generally refers to convey information by the medium of paper (Rana, 2011). However, the liberty of the press faced challenges in the form of restrictions in England soon after the establishment of a Printing Press in 1476. Later, the Press underwent curbs and censorship by successive governments during British rule in India as well as after the creation of Pakistan in 1947 and the decades that subsequently followed (Niazi, 2010). As such, the word *press* is an everyday term in Pakistan. The word recurs in public discourse and speeches/statements of Heads of State/Government as well as politicians. The analysis of the inaugural speeches revealed that the word *press* was used as an ideograph. <Press> as an ideograph is linked to the ideograph of <media>, as discussed earlier. The ideograph appeared 12 times (05 in English and 07 in Urdu) in 05 speeches, as detailed in Table 4.20 at *Appendix B* to this study. The ideograph occurred in the speeches of Presidents and Prime Ministers only, with a frequency of (0.014%) and (0.007%) respectively but it was not found in the speeches of Governor Generals and Military Leaders, as shown in Figure 4.20 at *Appendix C* to this study. Thus, the highest percentage of the ideograph was observed in the speeches of Presidents. The diachronic analysis of the speeches revealed that <press> first appeared in inaugurals in 1971, almost two and a half decades after the creation of Pakistan and recurred in 1977. However, it did not show up subsequently for a decade and resurfaced in 1988 and then in 1993. Afterwards, it did not occur in the speeches for almost one and half decades and reappeared in 2008. Thus, the occurrence of the ideograph in the speeches was mainly observed between 1971-1993. Moreover, in the last two decades from 2001-18, the ideograph only occurred in 2008 which showed that the ideograph <press> lost out to the ideograph <media> in the last two decades. The analysis of the speeches revealed that both <press> and <media> occurred in the speeches interchangeably from 1971-2008. However, after 2008, only the <media> was found.

The ideograph <press> in the speeches referred to both local and foreign Press. While the foreign Press appeared in a negative role only, local Press occurred in both negative and positive connotations. For instance, highlighting the negative role of foreign Press, President

Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto in 1971 said: “The Western Press has been against us. The Press is writing against us. ...the press and the other forces have tried to create misunderstandings”. Similarly, pointing to the negative role of local Press, President Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto after secession of East Pakistan in 1971 stated: “The press gave all sorts of wrong impressions; they distorted my statements. They went on a great rampage against me and my party”. In its positive connotation, the focus mainly remained on freedom of <press> and the ideograph appeared in three different senses: *justification*, *appeal* and *institution*. In the sense of justification, the ideograph was used to justify actions. For instance, Prime Minister Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto in 1977 said: “I am also prepared to consider the relaxing of any restrictions on the Press”. Likewise, Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto in 1988 said:

ہم پریس کی آزادی کے منافی تمام قواعد اور قوانین منسوخ کر دیں گے، تاکہ پاکستان میں پریس آزاد ہو۔

Translation

We will revoke all laws and rules against the freedom of the press in order that the press in Pakistan is free.

In the sense of appeal, the ideograph was employed by President Wasim Sajjad in 1993:

میں۔۔۔ قومی پریس سے۔۔۔ اپیل کرتا ہوں کہ پاکستان کی جمہوری تاریخ کے اس اہم موڑ پر اپنی ذمہ داریوں کا احساس کرے۔

Translation

I ...appeal...the National Press to realize its responsibilities at this important juncture in the democratic history of Pakistan.

Also, Press was regarded as an institution. For instance, Prime Minister Syed Yousaf Raza Gillani in 2008 said:

جب تک institutions strong نہیں ہوں گے ہم کامیاب نہیں ہو سکیں گے۔ ہم تمام اداروں خواہ وہ پارلیمنٹ ہے۔۔۔ وہ پریس ہے۔

Translation

Unless the institutions are strong, we will not succeed...be it Parliament...or Press.

4.2.10 <Progress>; <ترقی> /t̪ərəq̪qi/ [progress]

The word *progress* enjoyed great popularity in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Leary, 2018) and it has strong political appeal in the twenty-first century (Slaboch, 2017). The word

progress and its Urdu equivalent *ترقی/تەرەققی* is also a common everyday term in Pakistan, which recurs in political discourse in Pakistan. For instance, President General Mohammed Ayub Khan declared his ten-year rule in the country as a “Decade of Progress and Prosperity” (Hamid, 1993). The Heads of State/Government employ the term *progress* and especially its Urdu alternative *ترقی/تەرەققی* in their speeches/statements. The analysis of the inaugural speeches revealed that <progress> and its Urdu substitute <ترقی/تەرەققی> was used as an ideograph, which appeared 120 times (30 in English and 90 in Urdu) in 28 speeches, as detailed in Table 4.21 at *Appendix B* to this study. The ideograph occurred with varying frequencies in the speeches of Presidents (0.118%), Governor Generals (0.103%), Prime Ministers (0.080%) and Military Leaders (0.021%), as shown in Figure 4.21 at *Appendix C* to this study. Thus, the highest percentage of the ideograph was observed in the speeches of Presidents.

The diachronic analysis of the speeches revealed that the ideograph first appeared in inaugurals in 1947 and recurred in the first decade till 1957. In the subsequent period, the ideograph did not occur in the speeches for seven years and resurfaced in 1965 and continued till 1971. However, the ideograph did not show up in the speeches for over a decade and reemerged in 1984. Subsequently, it continued to recur intermittently till 2018, the time of the latest inaugural in the country’s history. Thus, the occurrence of the ideograph, albeit with some gaps, was found in the speeches right from the creation of Pakistan in 1947 till the last inaugural in September, 2018. Diachronically, the ideograph also occurred in the speeches in seven manifestations, including <economic progress>, <social progress>, <human progress>, <industrial progress>, <constitutional progress>, <national progress> and <agricultural progress>. These varied manifestations make the meanings of <progress> multi-dimensional and complex. The ideograph also referred to three types of contexts in the speeches: national, regional and international. The ideograph in the speeches occurred in five senses: commitment, appeal, justification, need and obligation. In national context, the diachronic

analysis revealed certain preconditions to <progress> or <ترقی>/t̤r̤əqqi/, which included peace, security, democracy, education, economic stability, unity, discipline and faith. For instance, Prime Minister Liaqat Ali Khan in 1947 said: “The ‘sine qua non’ of progress is peace and security”. Likewise, Prime Minister Hussain Shaheed Suharwardi in 1956 said: “Democracy... is the only sure road to progress”. In the like manner, President Ghulam Ishaq Khan in December 1988 said:

ترقی کے لئے دوسری بنیادی شرط ہے تعلیم۔

Translation

The second basic condition for progress is education.

In the same vein, President Mamnoon Hussain in 2014 said:

معاشی استحکام کے بغیر ترقی۔۔۔ کا کوئی تصور ممکن نہیں ہے۔

Translation

Without economic stability, progress is unthinkable.

Also, the ideograph in the national context occurred with three types of entities: geographical areas or locations; particular groups and people in general; systems and sectors. As regards geographical areas or locations, the ideograph predominantly occurred with two terms: *Pakistan* and ملک or *country*, besides referring to both Wings of Pakistan (prior to 1971) as well as the province of Balochistan. For instance, showing his commitment Prime Minister Shaukat Aziz in 2004 stated:

ہمیں پاکستان کو ترقی۔۔۔ کی طرف لے کر جانا ہے۔

Translation

We will take Pakistan towards progress.

In the sense of appeal, Prime Minister Syed Yousaf Raza Gillani in 2008 said:

ہم ملک کی ترقی کے لئے۔۔۔ مل کر کام کریں گے۔

Translation

We will work together for the progress of the country.

Reference to the two Wings occurred once in the speeches in 1956, as Prime Minister Hussain Shaheed Suharwardi, while showing his commitment to secure the <progress> of both the Wings of the country, stated: “We must make every endeavour to see that...the

progress of both the Wings are equally secured". On the other hand, the ideograph with regard to Balochistan first appeared in the speeches in 1998 and subsequently recurred in the last decade, first in 2012 and then in 2018. In the sense of commitment, Prime Minister Raja Pervez Ashraf in 2012 said:

بلوچستان کی ترقی پر خصوصی توجہ دی جائے گی۔

Translation

Special attention will be given to the progress of Balochistan.

In case of the second entity, particular groups constituted four types, including backward classes, minorities, common people and people of Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA). The ideograph under this category also occurred with the term قوم or nation. In the sense of justification of early implementation of the programme, President Mohammed Rafiq Tarar in 1998 said:

غربت کے خاتمہ کے پروگرام پر جلد عمل درآمد کو یقینی بنایا جائے گا تاکہ پسماندہ طبقات بھی ترقی۔۔۔ سے ہمکنار ہو سکیں۔

Translation

Early implementation of the Poverty Alleviation Program will be ensured so that the backward classes can also share progress.

In the sense of need, President Mohammed Rafiq Tarar, while referring to minorities, in 1998 said:

اور انہیں دوسرے ہم وطنوں کی طرح ترقی۔۔۔ کے یکساں مواقع حاصل ہوں۔

Translation

And they [minorities] should have equal opportunities for progress like other compatriots.

In the sense of commitment, Prime Minister Shaukat Aziz in 2004 said:

ترقی کے ثمرات عام لوگوں تک پہنچیں گے۔

Translation

The fruits of progress will reach the common people.

Similarly, President Mamnoon Hussain in 2014 said:

حکومت فانا کے عوام کی ترقی کے لئے ہر ممکن کوشش کر رہی ہے

Translation

The Government is making every effort for the progress of the people of FATA.

In the sense of appeal, President Mamnoon Hussain in 2014 said:

عوام کی ترقی... کے لئے مل کے کام کرنا ہے۔

Translation

We will work together for the progress of people.

In the sense of commitment, Prime Minister Mian Mohammed Nawaz Sharif in 1997 said:

ہمیں جو مینڈیٹ اب قوم نے دیا ہے... ہمیں وہ مینڈیٹ قوم کی ترقی... کے لئے استعمال کرنا ہے۔

Translation

The mandate that the nation has given us now...we have to use that mandate for the progress...of the nation.

In the third entity, *systems* included economy and democracy, whereas *sectors* encompassed industry and agriculture. With regard to systems, the ideograph appeared in two senses: *commitment* and *mutual dependence*. For instance, in the sense of commitment, President Wasim Sajjad in 1993 said:

حکومت معیشت کی... ترقی کے لئے تمام ممکنہ اقدامات بروئے کار لائے گی۔

Translation

The government will take all possible steps for...progress of economy.

With regard to sectors, the ideograph appeared in the sense of *commitment*. For instance, President Isakandar Mirza in 1956 said: “My Government will adhere to the policy that...the progress of industry should not be hampered by unnecessary upheavals or strikes”. Likewise, President Arif-ur-Rehman Alvi in 2018 stated:

موجودہ حکومت نے اپنے منشور میں قوم سے اس شعبے [زرعی شعبے] کی ترقی کا وعدہ کیا ہے۔

Translation

The present government in its manifesto has promised the nation about the progress this [agriculture] sector.

In regional context, the ideograph focused on a particular country or the region with an emphasis on its manifestation of <economic progress>. The ideograph at this level appeared in the sense of justification, as President Isakandar Mirza in 1956 said: “We entered into a friendly cooperation Agreement with Turkey and joined the Baghdad and SEATO Pacts...solely to...accelerate the economic progress of these two vital regions”. In international context, the ideograph focused on interdependence of nations/countries with an emphasis on its manifestation of <human progress>. The ideograph at this level appeared in

two senses: *obligation* and *commitment*. In the sense of obligation, Prime Minister Liaqat Ali Khan in 1947 said: “We are conscious of...our obligations to the great world family of nations, the...orderly progress of each one of whom is essential for our own...progress”. In the sense of commitment, President Isakandar Mirza in 1956 said: “Our aims are identical with those of the United Nations’ Charter, that is,...co-operation with other countries in furthering human progress”.

4.2.11 <Reforms>; <اصلاحات>/isla:ha:t/ [reforms]

The word *reforms* gained centrality in English public life between 1780-82 when Christopher Wyvill’s Association Movement employed the word in its main slogan of *parliamentary reforms* to mobilize political classes against the government and its policy of American War (Innes, 2003). The word *reforms* in the recent years has been widely employed to refer to any policy initiative (Williams & Cummings, 2005). As such, the word appears in political discourse. *Reforms* and its Urdu equivalent *اصلاحات*/isla:ha:t/ is also a common everyday term in Pakistan. The Heads of State/Government employ the term in their speeches/statements. The analysis of the inaugural speeches revealed that <reforms> and its Urdu alternative <اصلاحات>/isla:ha:t/ was used as an ideograph, which appeared 47 times (38 in English and 09 in Urdu) in 11 speeches, as detailed in Table 4.22 at *Appendix B* to this study. The ideograph occurred in the speeches of Presidents and Prime Ministers only, with a frequency of (0.049%) and (0.032%) respectively but it was not found in the speeches of Governor Generals and Military Leaders, as shown in Figure 4.22 at *Appendix C* to this study. Thus, the highest percentage of the ideograph was observed in the speeches of Presidents.

The diachronic analysis of the speeches revealed that the ideograph first appeared in the inaugurals in 1956 and recurred in 1960. In the subsequent decade, the ideograph was not found but it resurfaced in 1971 and reemerged in 1977. Once again, it did not occur in the speeches for one and a half decades but reemerged in 1993 and recurred till 2002. Surprisingly, the ideograph did not appear in the following years till September 2018, the

time of the last inaugural in the country's history. Thus, the recurrence of the ideograph in the speeches was mainly observed between 1993-2002. Diachronically, <reforms> referred to both national and international contexts. At national level, the ideograph was used in three senses: achievement, commitment and justification. For instance, employing the ideograph in the sense of achievement, President General Mohammed Ayub Khan in 1960 said: "Some of the reforms...that have been introduced in the country in recent months...have already paved the way for the type of constitution I have described above". Using the ideograph in the sense of commitment, Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto in 1993 stated:

عوامی حکومت اصلاحات کی حکومت ہوگی۔

Translation

The people's government will be a government of reforms.

In the sense of justification, President General Pervez Musharraf, while defending his decision of holding referendum in April 2002 to allow him to remain in power as President for next five years, stated:

The people of Pakistan want the reforms...of our government to continue...If we sit around and do nothing, all the reforms...will vanish after October. So we thought that if the people were to give their mandate...on their desire of continuation of reforms.

At international level in foreign policy context, the ideograph was employed in the sense of *support* to newly independent Central Asian states. For instance, President Mohammed Rafiq Tarar in 1998 said:

پاکستان نو آزاد وسط ایشیائی ریاستوں کو بڑی اہمیت دیتا ہے اور سیاسی و اقتصادی اصلاحات میں ان کی ہر ممکن مدد کر رہا ہے۔

Translation

Pakistan attaches great importance to the newly independent Central Asian states and is assisting them in every possible way in political and economic reforms.

Moreover, the ideograph also occurred in the speeches in four manifestations, including <fundamental reforms>, <social reforms>, <economic reforms>, and <political reforms>. While the manifestation of <economic reforms> was observed at national as well as international levels; <fundamental reforms> and <social reforms> were focused at national level only and <political reforms> at international level. For instance, President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in 1971 stated: "I am glad that in the last five years we have capsuled fundamental reforms and brought about a massive transformation in Pakistan". Similarly, Prime Minister

Moin Qureshi in 1993 stated: “My government will present a comprehensive programme on economic and social reforms”. Likewise, at international level, Pakistan’s support to Central Asian states in political and economic<reforms> was cited above in the extract from the speech of President Mohammed Rafiq Tarar delivered in 1998. Also, five main purposes of initiating <reforms> came to the fore. These included: people’s benefit, country’s needs, national interest, meeting new challenges and economic progress. For instance, President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in 1977 stated: “Reforms are introduced for the benefit of the people”. Similarly, Prime Minister Moin Qureshi in 1993 said: “The reforms that we are undertaking are dictated solely by our needs and national interest”. Likewise, President Sardar Farooq Ahmed Leghari in 1994 stated:

ہر جگہ نئے چیلنجوں کا مقابلہ کرنے کے لئے قومیں اصلاحات کے مرحلوں سے گزر رہی ہیں۔

Translation

Nations everywhere are undergoing reforms to meet new challenges.

In the like manner, President Mohammed Rafiq Tarar in 1998 said:

تمام شعبوں میں اصلاحات کا بنیادی جزو معاشی ترقی کی رفتار میں تیزی لانا ہے۔

Translation

A key component of reforms in all fields is to accelerate economic progress.

4.2.12 <Security>; <سیکورٹی> /sɪkjʊrəti/ [security]

The term *security* has great political significance (Krause & Williams, 2002). As such, the word appears in political discourse in numerous contexts around the globe. A drastic increase in the use of the term *security* was witnessed in the second half of the twentieth century, whereas in the twenty-first century the employment of the word *security* expanded to almost every facet of human life (Ball, 2019). In Pakistan, the word *security* is an everyday term. The word is mostly interpreted in the military sense (Khattak, 1996). One of the main reasons for this connotation of security in Pakistan is its long history of wars with its eastern neighbour India, particularly over the issue of Indian illegal occupation of Kashmir. The 1948, 1965 and 1971 Wars; 1999 Kargil conflict and 2019 post-Pulwama issue are some of major events that took place between the two countries over decades. Resultantly, the word

security repeatedly recurs in public discourse and speeches/statements of Heads of State/Government as well as politicians. The analysis of the inaugural speeches revealed that the word <security> was used as an ideograph, which appeared 27 times (23 in English and 04 in Urdu) in 11 speeches, as detailed in Table 4.23 at *Appendix B* to this study. The ideograph occurred with varying frequencies in the speeches of Prime Ministers (0.028%), Military Leaders (0.021%) and Presidents (0.017%), but it was not found in the speeches of Governor Generals, as shown in Figure 4.23 at *Appendix C* to this study. Thus, the highest percentage of the ideograph was observed in the speeches of Prime Ministers.

The diachronic analysis of the speeches revealed that the ideograph first appeared in inaugurals in 1947 and then recurred in the first decade in 1953 and 1956. In the subsequent period, the ideograph did not show up in the speeches for over a decade and reemerged in 1969 and then in 1971. Again, it did not occur in the speeches for over two decades and resurfaced in 1993, followed by another hiatus of almost a decade. The ideograph reappeared in 2002 and its recurrence was observed till 2008. Afterwards, the ideograph appeared only in 2017. Thus, the occurrence of the ideograph in the speeches was, for the most part, observed during the first decade (1947-56) of the country's founding and in the later period between (2002-08), the time that witnessed the rise of terrorism in Pakistan and the resultant high incidence of terrorist activities in the country. Moreover, the time between (1969-71) was also significant in the country's history due to political instability and subsequent War in 1971, resulting in the secession of East Pakistan. Diachronically, the ideograph <security> also appeared in the speeches in five manifestations, including <internal security>, <national security>, <international security>, <food security>, and <social security>. Also, the ideograph occurred in the speeches in two broader connotations: *physical* and *social*. In its physical connotation, the ideograph in the speeches denoted not only the defence of the country from internal as well as external threats but also protection of other nations at regional and international levels. It involved two aspects: law and order and military (the Armed Forces).

At national level, both internal and external threats recurred from time to time. To effectively deal with internal threats, military, together with other law-enforcing agencies, provided assistance to government in ensuring maintenance of law and order in the country. At the same time, the Armed Forces also remained vigilant and prepared to counter external aggression on different occasions in the history of Pakistan. Throughout the speeches, <security> in its physical connotation at national level occurred in the form of *commitment* for ensuring <security> of Pakistan and *trust* in the capability of Pakistan, as indeed the Armed Forces as well as *justification* of policies. For instance, Prime Minister Liaqat Ali Khan in 1947 stated: “Today they [Armed Forces]... are of proved quality... to defend its [country] frontiers and to assist in the maintenance of internal security”. Similarly, Prime Minister Mohammad Ali Bogra in 1953 said: “... safeguarding ...security of Pakistan will be our constant care”. Likewise, President General Mohammed Yahya Khan in 1969 stated: “They [the Armed Forces] have always stood by the nation...to ensure... the security...of Pakistan”. In the like manner, Prime Minister Moin Qureshi in 1993 said: “Pakistan...has the full capability to ensure its own security and repulse any form of external threat or aggression”. Referring to post 9/11 situation in the country, Prime Minister Mir Zafarullah Khan Jamali in 2002 said:

internal security of my country اس ملک کو سخت ضرورت ہے۔

Translation

The country is in dire need of internal security.

Justifying the emergency imposed by President General Parvez Musharraf on November 3, 2007, Prime Minister Muhammad Mian Soomro in 2007 said:

ایمر جنسی سیکورٹی کی وجہ سے ہے اس لئے ہر ایک کو سیکورٹی کے معاملات میں بہتری کے لئے کام کرنا چاہیے۔

Translation

Emergency is due to security; so, everyone should work to improve security.

Likewise, justifying his policy to deal with critical <security> situation, President Asif Ali Zardari in 2008 said: “Pakistan is at a critical security juncture today. In order to meet the challenge...the Government has devised a comprehensive three-pronged strategy”. At international level, <security> in its physical connotation in the speeches was used in two

senses: *obligation* and *goal*. For instance, in the sense of obligation, Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan in 1947 said: “We are conscious of...our obligations to the great world family of nations, the security ... of each one of whom is essential for our own security”. In the sense of goal, President Isakandar Mirza in 1956 stated: “Our aims are identical with those of the United Nations’ Charter, that is, maintenance and promotion of international ... security”. Similarly, President Asif Ali Zardari in 2008 said: “In the realm of foreign policy, it would be our endeavour to promote regional and international...security”. The ideograph was also used to blame opponents. For example, President Asif Ali Zardari in 2008 said: “For seeking peaceful relations in the region, we were once called, a security risk by our critics”.

On the other hand, in its social connotation, <security> in the speeches referred to the protection and safety of life, property and freedom of people, citizens, and common man. More so, it also denoted pension, health and unemployment cover to lower and middle class workers and food to the common man. <Security> in its social connotation in the speeches appeared in six senses: precondition, duty, commitment, need, right and task. Using the ideograph in the sense of precondition and duty, Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan in 1947 stated: “The ‘sine qua non’ of progress is...security and it is the first duty of the State to ensure that every citizen may feel that his life and property are safe”. In the sense of commitment, the ideograph was employed by President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in 1971: “I want to ensure the security of the common man”. In the sense of need, Prime Minister Moin Qureshi in 1993 said: “We badly need a social security system in our country through which lower and middle-class workers can assure themselves of an old age pension, and health and unemployment insurance cover”. In the sense of duty and right, Prime Minister Shahid Khaqan Abbasi in 2017 stated:

سیورٹی کی provision حکومت کا اولین فرض ہوتا ہے، یہ ہر شہری کا بنیادی حق ہے۔

Translation

The provision of security is the first duty of the government; it is the basic right of every citizen.

In the sense of task, President Asif Ali Zardari in 2008 said: “The immediate and the most urgent task before the government is to provide food security to the common man, burdened with the rising prices of food items”.

4.2.13 <Stability>; <سُكُونُ> /sṭehka:m/ [stability]

Stability has become a central term in many disciplines such as international affairs, economics and political science (Hansson & Helgesson, 2003). It is also a significant key word in official discourse (Hansen, 2006). The word *stability* and its Urdu alternative سُكُونُ/sṭehka:m/ is used in political discourse in Pakistan. The Heads of State/Government employ the term *stability* and its Urdu equivalent سُكُونُ in their speeches/statements. The analysis of the inaugural speeches revealed that <stability> and its Urdu substitute <سُكُونُ>/sṭehka:m/ was used as an ideograph, which appeared 58 times (23 in English and 35 in Urdu) in 27 speeches, as detailed in Table 4.24 at *Appendix B* to this study. The ideograph occurred with varying frequencies in the speeches of Military Leaders (0.062%), Presidents (0.061%), Governor Generals (0.052%) and Prime Ministers (0.030%), as shown in Figure 4.24 at *Appendix C* to this study. Thus, the highest percentage of the ideograph was observed in the speeches of Military Leaders.

The diachronic analysis of the speeches revealed that the ideograph first appeared in inaugurals in 1948 and recurred in the first decade and beyond till 1958. In the subsequent period, the ideograph did not occur in the speeches for six years and resurfaced first in 1965 and then in 1973 after a gap of seven years. However, the ideograph did not show up in the speeches for a decade and reemerged in 1984. Subsequently, it continued to recur in the 1990s as well as in the last two decades from 2001-18. Thus, the occurrence of the ideograph, albeit with some gaps, was found in the speeches from 1948 till the last inaugural in September, 2018. But the recurrence of the ideograph was mainly found in the first decade and then in the last three decades from 1988-2018. Diachronically, the ideograph also

appeared in the speeches in five manifestations, including <political stability>, <internal stability>, <national stability>, <democratic stability> and <economic stability>. These varied manifestations of the ideograph make its meanings multi-dimensional and complex. More so, they also reveal three important aspects (democracy, economy & security) in the country's history whose <stability> was underscored over the years.

The ideograph in the speeches recurred with eight entities including; Pakistan, country, nation, state, institutions, federation, democracy and economy. While the first six entities could be subsumed under <national stability> or <internal stability>, the last two could be placed under <democratic stability> or <political stability> and <economic stability>. The ideograph with these entities occurred mainly in three senses: commitment; unity appeal and justification of policies/actions. For instance, in the sense of commitment, Prime Minister Khawaja Nazimuddin in 1951 stated:

میری تمام کوششیں پاکستان کے استحکام۔۔۔ پر صرف ہوں گی۔

Translation

All my efforts... will be directed towards the stability of Pakistan.

In the sense of appeal for unity, Prime Minister Syed Yousaf Raza Gillani in 2008 said:

ہم ملک کے استحکام کے لئے مل کر کام کریں گے۔

Translation

We will work together for the stability of country.

In the sense of justification, President General Parvez Musharraf in 2007, while responding to the West's demand for adoption of the West's views on democracy, civil liberties and human rights in Pakistan, stated: "May I say one certainly cannot sacrifice the stability...of the nation for the sake of your views on democracy or civil liberties or human rights".

4.2.14 <System>; <نظام> /nɪzɑ:m/ [system]

The word system is employed in a range of situations in fields of different nature and it appears in the names like nervous system, solar system and political system (Canete, Galindo

& Garcia-Moral, 2011). While the term *system* generally refers to a collection of interrelated units, components or entities (Bandyopadhyay & Bhattacharya, 2014), it is attributed different meanings by different people in daily language (Dekkers, 2014). The word *system* and its Urdu alternative سَیْسٹم /nīzɑ:m/ is also an everyday term in Pakistan. It frequently recurs in media, public discourse and speeches/statements of Heads of State/Government as well as politicians. The analysis of the inaugural speeches revealed that <system> and its Urdu equivalent < سَیْسٹم > was used as an ideograph, which appeared 19 times (07 in English and 12 in Urdu) in 12 speeches, as detailed in Table 4.25 at *Appendix B* to this study. The ideograph occurred in the speeches of Presidents and Prime Ministers only, with a frequency of (0.022%) and (0.011%) respectively but it was not found in the speeches of Governor Generals and Military Leaders, as shown in Figure 4.25 at *Appendix C* to this study.

The diachronic analysis of the speeches revealed that the ideograph first appeared in inaugurals in 1957 and occurred only once in the first decade. Subsequently, it did not show up in the speeches for well over a decade. However, the ideograph resurfaced between 1971-1998 as well as 2007-2018. Thus, the occurrence of the ideograph in the speeches was mainly noticed after 1971 onwards. It was also observed that the proposed idealized <system> was usually described by using four adjectives, including *transparent*, *impartial*, *clean* and *across the board*. These adjectives either appeared alone or two in varied combinations with <system>; For instance, impartial <system>, across the board and transparent <system>, and clean and transparent <system>. These descriptors not only make <system> ambiguous but also render it more appealing for people. Thus, Heads of State/Government justify their policies, decisions or actions to change the existing <system> or introduce a new one by assuring people that the idealized <system> will ensure justice, transparency and accountability. <System> was presented in the data as an *agent*, which occurred in the speeches in five different ways: problem solving, continuity, change, recovery, and crisis-creation. In the first four cases, the ideograph was used in positive connotations. However, in case of crisis-creation, it had negative connotations. For instance,

in positive connotation, presenting <system> as an agent of problem solving, Prime Minister Ibrahim Ismail Chaundrigar in 1957 declared: “I will give this matter my urgent attention... to introduce a system whereby their immediate and day-to-day problems can be dealt with”. Similarly, justifying his decision/action of holding Referendum for continuity, President General Zia-ul-Haq in 1984 stated:

ہم یہ ریفرنڈم کسی فرد واحد کے اقتدار کو طول دینے کے لئے نہیں بلکہ۔۔۔ نظام کو تسلسل دینے کے لئے کروا رہے ہیں۔

Translation

We are holding this referendum not to prolong the rule of an individual but ...to ensure continuity of system.

Likewise, highlighting <system> as an agent of change, Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto in 1993 said:

اب قوم صرف چہروں کی تبدیلی نہیں چاہتی۔ اب نظام کی تبدیلی ضروری ہے۔

Translation

Now the nation does not just want a change of face. Now the system needs to change.

Using the ideograph in the sense of recovery, President Parvez Musharraf in 2007 claimed: “We have put the system back on rails”. In its negative connotations, <system> was employed as an agent of crisis or cause. For instance, after secession of East Pakistan, President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in 1971 stated: “We are the victims of our system....You have been victims of a system”.

4.2.15 <Bribery>; <رشوت> /rɪʃvət/ [bribery]

In the subcontinent, bribery prevailed long before the emergence of Pakistan in 1947. As such, the term is found in ordinary use in both public and political discourse. The country’s Founding Father Muhammad Ali Jinnah in his first address to the Constituent Assembly on August 11, 1947 mentioned the term *bribery* in tandem with *corruption*, as discussed later under *Section 4.2.16 <Corruption>*. Given the prevalence of the issue in the country, the Heads of State/Government employ the term bribery in their speeches/statements. The analysis of the inaugural speeches revealed that <bribery> and its Urdu alternative <رشوت>/rɪʃvət/ was used as an ideograph, which appeared 12 times (01 in English and 11 in Urdu) in 06 speeches, as detailed in Table 4.26 at *Appendix B* to this study. The ideograph

occurred with varying frequencies in the speeches of Military Leaders (0.021%), Prime Ministers (0.018%) and Presidents (0.002%) but it was not found in the speeches of Governor Generals, as shown in Figure 4.26 at *Appendix C* to this study. Thus, the highest percentage of the ideograph was observed in the speeches of Military Leaders. One of the possible reasons for the highest frequency of the ideograph in the speeches of Military Leaders could be that they assured people of good governance and eradication of social evils through strict implementation of rules and regulations. People also expected clean administration and good governance from them. More so, they wanted to focus on pressing public issues in order to gain support for their governments.

The diachronic analysis of the speeches revealed that the ideograph first appeared in inaugurals in 1958 and recurred almost after over two and a half decades in 1985. In the subsequent period, it occurred in the speeches till 1997. Beyond this period, it was not found in the data. Thus, the occurrence of the ideograph in the speeches was chiefly observed between 1985–97. The analysis further revealed that the ideograph in the speeches appeared in two connotations: petty corruption and political corruption and was used to show commitment and justify actions. Successive Heads of States/Government showed their commitment to end <bribery>. The ideograph was first used by General Mohammed Ayub Khan in 1958 while addressing the nation after imposing martial law. He declared that the existing laws on matters like <bribery> will be strengthened. Then, <bribery> was employed by Muhammad Khan Junejo in 1985 after becoming Prime Minister. He highlighted that the issue had grown exponentially at local level, particularly during the martial law (1977-85) and warned those committing <bribery> to shun such practices or else they would be dealt with severely. In this regard, he stated:

ہمارے ملک میں۔۔۔ رشوت بڑھ گئی ہے۔ ہمیں رشوت سے نجات حاصل کرنے کے لئے پوری کوشش کرنی ہے۔۔۔ گزشتہ آٹھ سال سے مارشل لاء کے دور میں لوکل نیچے کی سطح پر جو رشوت کا اندازہ ہے آپ اوپر بیٹھ کر اس کا اندازہ نہیں لگا سکتے۔ اسی لئے۔۔۔ ان حضرات تک یہ بات صاف الفاظ میں پہنچانا ہوں کہ آپ اپنے آپ کو صحیح راستے پر چلنے کے لئے آمادہ کریں۔ رشوت بھول جائیں۔ جو رشوت خور ہو گا اس کے لئے پاکستان میں اب جگہ نہیں ہوگی۔

Translation:

Bribery has increased in our country. We have to make every effort to eliminate bribery. In the last eight years during the martial law, bribery has grown manifold at lower local level and those sitting here in the Assembly cannot apprehend the gravity of the issue. Let me in no uncertain terms convey to those committing bribery that they must choose the right path and forget bribery. Henceforth, there will be no place for bribes in Pakistan.

Similarly, Prime Minister Mian Mohammed Nawaz Sharif in 1997 pointed out that <bribery> was rife in police stations and at Tehsil level and stated:

غریب لوگوں کو انصاف نہیں ملتا۔ تھانے میں جاتے ہیں وہاں دھکے پڑتے ہیں۔ تحصیل میں جاتے ہیں وہاں دھکے پڑتے ہیں۔ جب تک جیب گرم نہ کی جائے کسی کا کام نہیں ہوتا۔ رشوت دے دے کے بیچارے وہ پہلے ہی نڈھال تھے اب اور بد حال ہو چکے ہیں۔

Translation:

Poor people do not get justice. They face difficulties at police stations and at Tehsil, where they have to pay money for their work. Their condition has worsened by giving bribery at every step repeatedly.

Thus, <bribery> was used in the sense of low level petty corruption in official institutions, including but not limited to, Revenue Departments, Police, Passport Office, Customs Offices, Judiciary, and Excise Office and it permeated at all levels. However, the ideograph was also employed in the sense of political corruption in 1993 by Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto who alluded to the culture of Horse Trading, involving defection from one party to another for accepting <bribery>, and thus justified introduction of stringent laws by using <bribery> ideograph.

رشوت اور ہارس ٹریڈنگ ماضی میں قوم کو سیاست والوں کو اور جمہوریت کو بدنام کرنے کا ذریعہ بنی۔۔۔ قانون کو اتنا مضبوط بنائیں گے کہ رشوت اور ہارس ٹریڈنگ کرنے والے قانون کی گرفت سے نہ بچ سکیں گے۔

Translation:

In the past, bribery and horse trading resulted in bringing a bad name for the nation, politicians and democracy... We will strengthen law so that those who commit bribery and horse trading may not escape the clutches of law.

4.2.16 <Corruption>; <بد عنوانی> /bədʔɒnva:ni/; <کرپشن> /kə'ɾɒpʃ(ə)n/ [corruption]

The word *corruption* came into use in the English around the fourteenth century but its employment in political discourse emerged in the sixteenth century (Nisbet, 1982). Over time, corruption has become a global phenomenon, affecting all countries of the world with varying degrees (Faisal & Jafri, 2017), as is evident from Transparency International's

Corruption Perception Index (CPI) Report 2019, ranking 180 countries and territories by their perceived levels of corruption in public sector. Pakistan is also facing the issue of corruption and has been ranked 120 out of 180 countries. This reflects the grave nature of the issue in the country. Even successive governments in the 1990s were dismissed, inter alia, on corruption charges in Pakistan, including Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto's in 1990 and 1996 and Prime Minister Mian Mohammed Nawaz Sharif's in 1993 (Aziz, 2007). In 2017, Prime Minister Mian Mohammed Nawaz Sharif was also disqualified by the Supreme Court of Pakistan from holding public office in a corruption inquiry linked to Panama Papers (Shah, 2019). The roots of corruption in Pakistan date back to the colonial period (Awan, 2004, p. 19). The term was first used by the country's Founding Father Mohammad Ali Jinnah, who in his address to the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan on August 11, 1947 urged the members to eliminate the curse of corruption by saying:

One of the biggest curses from which India is suffering – I do not say that other countries are free from it, but I think our condition is much worse – is bribery and corruption. That really is a poison. We must put that down with an iron hand.

Mohammad Ali Jinnah considered eradication of corruption as second top most priority after maintenance of law and order, as mentioned in the speech. This attests to the fact that corruption as an issue has been highlighted since creation of Pakistan because corruption was prevalent in the sub-continent well before 1947. Resultantly, over the course of the country's history, a number of legislations were promulgated to curb corruption. Prominent among these included: Prevention of Corruption Act 1947; Public and Representative Office Disqualification Act (PRODA) 1949; Effective Bodies Disqualification Order (EBDO) 1959; Martial Law Regulation (MLR) No. 21; 1977; Ehtesab Ordinance 1997; and National Accountability Bureau (NAB) Ordinance (No. XVIII), 1999. This shows that anti-corruption measures have been in place since creation in 1947. What makes the term *corruption* powerful is its long history, particularly in law courts as well as legislatures (Goodwin, 2011, P. 53). As such, *corruption* is a frequently recurring word in newspaper headlines, news-bulletins and TV talk-shows. The term is also found in anti-corruption messages and slogans such as "Say No to Corruption" displayed in public places like airports,

ATMs to raise awareness against corruption. In Pakistan, corruption was the buzzword in 2018 (Naqvi & Farooq, 2018).

Given the widespread use of the word *corruption* and its Urdu equivalent <بدعنوانی> /bədʒʊnva:ni/ in Pakistan, the word is a common everyday term and has mass appeal. As such, the term is widely used in both public and political discourse in Pakistan. The Heads of State/Government employ the term *corruption* and its Urdu alternative <بدعنوانی>/bədʒʊnva:ni/ in their speeches/statements. The analysis of the inaugural speeches revealed that *corruption* and its Urdu substitute <بدعنوانی> /bədʒʊnva:ni/ was used as an ideograph, which appeared 38 times (15 in English and 23 in Urdu – with 09 <بدعنوانی> and 14 <کریپشن>) in 17 speeches, as detailed in Table 4.27 at *Appendix B* to this study. The ideograph occurred with varying frequencies in the speeches of Prime Ministers (0.041%), Presidents (0.024%) and Military Leaders (0.021%) but it was not found in the speeches of Governor Generals, as shown in Figure 4.27 at *Appendix C* to this study. Thus, the highest percentage of the ideograph was observed in the speeches of Prime Ministers. One of the possible reasons appears to be that Prime Ministers lead the Government Machinery through subordinate officials. Therefore, they place more emphasis on eradication of <corruption> to ensure good governance and mobilize people against this menace.

The diachronic analysis of the speeches revealed that the ideograph first appeared in inaugurals in 1947 and recurred in the first decade and afterwards till 1958. In the subsequent period, the ideograph did not occur in the speeches for over a decade and resurfaced in 1971. Again, the ideograph did not show up in the speeches for well over one and a half decades and reemerged in 1988 and continued to recur till 1998. In the last two decades from 2001-2018, the ideograph occurred in the inaugurals between 2013-18. Thus, the occurrence of the ideograph in the speeches was, for the most part, observed between 1947-58; 1988-98 as well as 2013-18. As such, the ideograph was used by Heads of State/Government right from creation of the country in 1947 till 2018, the time of the last inaugural in the country's

history, although with some gaps in-between. The ideograph <corruption> was sometimes used in tandem with <bribery> or <nepotism> ideographs, the other forms of <corruption>. The ideograph in the speeches appeared in two senses: commitment and justification of actions. Successive Heads of State/Governments showed their commitment to eradicate <corruption> from the country by dealing it with a heavy hand. For instance, the ideograph appeared in the inaugural speech of the first Prime Minister of Pakistan, Liaqat Ali Khan. Warning corrupt elements, he said in 1947: “Nor shall we tolerate corruption in any shape or form and let me give a warning to the corrupt wherever they exist and whatever position they occupy that their days are numbered”. This indicates that eradication of corruption was considered a priority right from the establishment of the country. Similar commitment was also shown in 1956 by Prime Minister Hussain Shaheed Suharwardi who underscored the need for strengthening Anti-Corruption Department to eliminate corruption: “It is said and felt that corruption is rampant...Let us all endeavour to get together and eradicate corruption from our midst...We propose to strengthen the Anti-Corruption Department”. Likewise, Prime Minister Ibrahim Ismail Chaudhry highlighted this social issue in 1957 thus:

Corruption has become very widespread and this evil must be put down with a heavy hand. Besides sapping the moral fibre of the nation and inflicting misery and hardship on the common man, it results in increasing the cost of living as the burden eventually falls on the consumer.

Thus, <corruption> is considered not only as a threat to moral values but it also has direct effect on the common man. It results in price hike and poverty, making the life of poor hard and miserable. Similarly, Prime Minister Malik Feroz Khan Noon in 1957 also vowed to fight this menace and stated: “We must concentrate on eradication of corruption”. Then, the country witnessed the first Martial Law in 1958 and General Mohammed Ayub Khan also underscored the need for tightening laws on all kinds of anti-state or anti-social activities. He declared: “Martial Law Regulations will be produced which will tighten up the existing laws on matters like...any form of bribery or corruption”. General Mohammed Ayub Khan’s use of the <bribery> ideograph in tandem with <corruption> reflects the same pattern in which the two terms were

sequenced (bribery preceding corruption) by Mohammad Ali Jinnah in 1947, as mentioned above. After two Martial Law governments and the secession of East Pakistan in 1971, Civilian Chief Martial Law Administrator and President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in his inaugural speech also emphasized the need for dealing with <corruption> and other social evils strictly and stated:

I will move as fast as necessary to see to it that corruption and nepotism---are handled, and when I say that I mean it. I know we have been using these words loosely in the past. But I will come down with a very heavy hand on corruption. I will see to it that corruption and maladministration are finished, as long as I am holding the office.

Here, he used <corruption> with <nepotism>, instead of <bribery>. Also, <nepotism> was employed as ideograph by the Heads of State/Government in the speeches and it was used six times only and hence not considered for detailed analysis because its frequency was below 10. He acknowledged that these words were also used by his predecessors but he assured that he would take a strict action against <corruption> to eliminate it completely. Later, in 1988, President Ghulam Ishaq Khan said:

اگر ہمیں ایک صحیح اسلامی معاشرہ تشکیل دینا ہے تو بد عنوانی، رشوت، اقربا پروری، ملاوٹ اور اس طرح کی دیگر سماجی برائیوں کی بیخ کنی کرنی ہوگی۔

Translation:

If we want to establish a true Islamic society, we have to eliminate corruption, bribery, nepotism, adulteration and other similar social evils.

Although <corruption> has been used throughout Pakistan's history, it has not always been a subject of great interest. However, since 1990s, it has emerged as key issue in the country. A diachronic analysis of <corruption> in the speeches also revealed a change in the meaning of corruption over time. In the initial years, the ideograph was used in the sense of bureaucratic <corruption> while from 1990 onwards, it generally referred to political or grand <corruption>. For instance, Prime Minister Mohammad Ali Bogra in 1953 stressed on corruption-free administration and stated: "It will be my foremost endeavor to ensure a clean and efficient administration free from corruption and nepotism, which will serve the people of Pakistan with true devotion". However, after dismissal of Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto in 1990 by the then President Ghulam Ishaq Khan on the charges of corruption, the Caretaker

Prime Minister Ghulam Mustafa Khan Jatoi in his inaugural speech justified the Presidential action thus: “Rampant corruption...necessitated the Presidential constitutional action. Given the fact that the outgoing Government was responsible for the worst corruption in Pakistan’s history...” Hence, <corruption> was used as one of the main justifications for dismissal of Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto. Here, <corruption> was employed in the sense of political or grand corruption. Subsequent dismissal of Prime Minister Mian Mohammed Nawaz Sharif in 1993 and once more of Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto in 1996 resulted in the widespread use in both public and political domains as well as change of meaning of the ideograph. “Ever since the 1990s, the word corruption has been repeated so often, that it now holds different meanings for different segments” (Paracha, 2018). He further states that in the 1990s, the two main political parties of the country, that is, Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) and Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz) (PML-N) used the term to call each other as “corrupt”. But now, when used by the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI), it means the “corrupt PPP/PML-N mafia” and when used by the PPP and the PML-N, it means the corrupt “electables” in PTI. Thus, in the political sphere, charges of <corruption> were frequently used by political parties/opponents to undermine each other’s moral standing. <Corruption> is often employed as a rhetorical weapon in political conflicts (Buchan & Hill, 2014). It plays a role to legitimize or undermine the political legitimacy of those holding public authority (Kroeze, Vitória & Geltner, 2018).

4.2.17 <Crisis>; <بحران> /bohra:n/ [crisis]

The word *crisis* usually denotes predicament, difficulty and danger (Anderson, 2013). It frequently recurs both on global scale as well as regional and national contexts (Dosenrode, 2012). Given the nature of varied crises that Pakistan has witnessed in its long history of more than seven decades, the word *crisis* and particularly its Urdu alternative بحران /bohra:n/ is an everyday term in Pakistan, which frequently recurs in media, public as well as political discourse in Pakistan. The analysis of the inaugural speeches revealed that the word <crisis>

and its Urdu equivalent <بحران> /bohra:n/ was used as an ideograph, which appeared 29 times (14 in English and 15 in Urdu) in 12 speeches as, detailed in Table 4.28 at *Appendix B* to this study. The ideograph occurred with varying frequencies in the speeches of Military Leaders (0.062%), Prime Ministers (0.028%) and Presidents (0.017) but it was not found in the speeches of Governor Generals, as shown in Figure 4.28 at *Appendix C* to this study. Thus, the highest percentage of the ideograph was observed in the speeches of Military Leaders.

The diachronic analysis of the speeches revealed that the ideograph first appeared in inaugurals in 1971, just after the secession of East Pakistan, one of the two Wings of the country. The ideograph recurred in the same decade in 1977. In the subsequent period of over a decade, the ideograph was not found but it resurfaced in 1988. And then after falling into disuse for a brief period, it reemerged in 1993 and was frequently employed in the 90s. However, in the last two decades between 1998-2018, the ideograph appeared only in 2008 and 2012. Thus, the occurrence of the ideograph was, for the most part, observed between 1993-98. Diachronically, the ideograph in the speeches appeared in a variety of manifestations, such as <national crisis>, <constitutional crisis>, <political crisis>, <economic crisis>, <energy crisis>, <بے روزگاری کا بحران> (*unemployment crisis*) and <مہنگائی کا بحران> (*price hike crisis*). Also, the ideograph in the speeches referred to three types of situations: security, political and socio-economic, affecting the country and people. These situations encompassed 1971 War (security situation); 1977 Elections, Martial Laws (1958; 1969; 1977), dissolution of Assemblies/Government in 1993 (political situations); unemployment, price hike and energy problems (socio-economic situations). For instance, referring to the situation in the wake of 1971 War, President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto stated: “We are facing the worst crisis in our country’s life, a deadly crisis...But this is the national crisis. This is a crisis of our survival”. He also called the post-1971 situation as the *deepest crisis* (Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, 1977). Similarly, pointing to the situation after dismissal of his government by then President Ghulam Ishaq Khan and his subsequent restoration by the Supreme Court of Pakistan, Prime Minister Mian Mohammed Nawaz Sharif in 1993 stated:

اللہ تعالیٰ نے اس ملک کو ایک بہت بڑے کرائسز سے بچالیا ہے۔

Translation

Allah Almighty has saved this country from a great crisis.

Moreover, the ideograph at national level was employed in two senses: *appeal* and *justification* of policies/actions. For instance, in his appeal to the members of National Assembly, Prime Minister Raja Pervez Ashraf in 2012 said:

اس ایوان نے گزشتہ چار سال میں کئی ایک بحران حل کیے ہیں۔۔۔ تاہم کچھ مسائل ابھی حل طلب ہیں ان میں بے روزگاری، مہنگائی اور توانائی کا بحران شامل ہے۔ میں اس ایوان سے اپیل کرتا ہوں کہ ان گھمبیر مسائل کے حل کے لئے ہم بھرپور کوشش کریں گے۔

Translation

This House has resolved a number of crises in the last four years...But we still have some problems to solve, including unemployment, price hike and the energy crisis. I appeal to this House that we will do our best to resolve these serious problems.

Using the ideograph for justification of action, General Mohammed Zia-ul-Haq in 1977, while justifying his decision of imposing Martial Law in the country, stated:

جب سیاستدان ملک کو بحران سے نکلانے میں ناکام رہیں تو افواج پاکستان کے لئے خاموش تماشائی بنے رہنا ایک ناقابل معافی جرم ہے۔ یہی وجہ ہے کہ فوج کو مجبوراً مداخلت کرنی پڑی ہے۔

Translation

When politicians fail to steer the country out of crisis, it is an unforgivable crime for the Armed Forces to remain as silent spectator. That is why the Army performance had to intervene.

4.2.18 <Terrorism>; <دہشت گردی> /dæhʃəʔ ɡərdi/ [terrorism]

The word terrorism was first employed in 1794 (Nassar, 2004) to describe the violence and harsh measures used by the Government against those who were considered as the enemies of the French Revolution. However, the word has become part of public and political discourse in the world, particularly after the 9/11 in USA (Jackson, Jarvis, Gunning & Been-Smyth, 2011). In Pakistan, the roots of terrorism can be traced back to 1980s (Saeed, Syed & Martin, 2014). One of the major causes of this, among other things, was the Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan in 1979. However, the country saw worst kind of terrorism after September 11, 2001, when the US launched operation “Enduring Freedom” in Afghanistan. These two international interventions had lasting impact on Pakistan. Without reference to these events, one cannot understand terrorism in Pakistan (Murphy, 2013). In addition, sectarian and ethnic

factors at domestic level also contributed to this phenomenon. As such, for over three decades, the term terrorism and its Urdu alternative <دہشتگردی> /d̪æɦʃəɽ̪ ɡəɽ̪d̪i/ has been recurring frequently in the public and political discourse. The analysis of the speeches revealed that <terrorism> and its Urdu equivalent <دہشتگردی> /d̪æɦʃəɽ̪ ɡəɽ̪d̪i/ was used as an ideograph by Heads of State/Government of Pakistan, which appeared 19 times (06 in English and 13 in Urdu) in 07 speeches, as detailed in Table 4.29 at *Appendix B* to this study. The ideograph occurred in the speeches of Presidents and Prime Ministers only, with a frequency of (0.030%) and (0.002%) respectively but it was not found in the speeches of Governor Generals and Military Leaders, as shown in Figure 4.29 at *Appendix C* to this study.

The diachronic analysis of the speeches revealed that the ideograph first appeared in the inaugurals in 1988. In the subsequent period, the ideograph did not occur in the speeches for almost a decade and resurfaced in 1998. In the last two decades from 2001-18, the ideograph occurred in the inaugurals in 2004 and continued to recur till 2018. Thus, the occurrence of the ideograph in the speeches was observed only in the last three decades of the country's history from 1988 to 2018. In these three decades (1988-2018), the country faced serious challenges of terrorism in the form of two major waves. The First Wave started in the 1980s and continued till 2000, witnessing four major peaks. The first peak was observed in 1987, mostly in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (formerly North-West Frontier Province). The second peak was seen in 1991, mostly in Sindh, whereas some in Punjab. This was the outcome of two streaks of terrorism running together in Pakistan: ethnic and sectarian. The third peak was recorded in 1995 in Sindh alone with ethnic terrorism in Karachi and Hyderabad. The fourth peak was seen in 1997 mostly in Punjab and to some extent in Sindh, with mainly sectarian but some ethnic terrorism. On the other hand, the Second Wave began from September 2001 and continues to date, although its intensity has subsided to a considerable extent. Terrorism during this wave was carried out by sectarian, religious and nationalist non-state actors against innocent civilians, government officials, journalists, civil society

activists, public leaders, foreigners, law enforcement agencies including security forces and public infrastructure within Pakistan (Feyyaz, 2013).

During this period, the peak occurred in 2004 with far greater intensity in two forms: Taliban in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (previously called North-West Frontier Province) and the former Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA), and ethnic groups in Balochistan. This peak continued, grew and expanded over the years, reaching the highest point on December 16, 2014, when Army Public School, Peshawar was attacked, killing about 144 young and innocent children. This was one of the country's deadliest terrorist incidents, which shocked the entire nation. Following this, a National Action Plan (NAP) was formulated with the consensus of all political parties for countering terrorism. Pakistan suffered badly due to terrorism in the Second Wave, losing thousands of precious civilian lives, security personnel and a great damage to economy. Pakistan is among top five most affected countries from terrorism in the world (Waheed, 2018). The analysis also revealed that the occurrence of the ideograph in the speeches was far greater after 9/11 than prior to this period. One of the reasons for the higher incidence of the ideograph after September 2001 could be the intensity of the issue. The analysis of speeches also revealed that <terrorism> before 2001 was mostly sectarian. For instance, President Mohammed Rafiq Tarar in 1998 stated:

میں معاشرے کے تمام طبقوں سے اپیل کرتا ہوں کہ وہ اسلام کی روح کو پچپائیں اور مسلک یا عقیدے کے نام پر دہشت گردی کی ان وحشیانہ وارداتوں کا سدباب کریں۔

Translation:

I appeal all segments of society to understand the spirit of Islam and put an end to brutal acts of terrorism carried out in the name of sect or religious belief.

However, a major change was witnessed after 9/11; the emphasis shifted and <terrorism> was linked to Islam. The ideograph in the speeches appeared in three senses: need, commitment and justification. In the sense of need, President Ghulam Ishaq Khan in his speech in 1988 underscored the need for the passage of Prevention of Terrorism Ordinance. Likewise, President Mamnoon Hussain in 2014 stated:

پاکستان کو دہشت گردی اور انتہا پسندی کا سامنا ہے ان سے نجات دلانے کے لئے اور پاکستان کو ترقی کی راہ پر گامزن کرنے کے لئے اس مسئلہ کا حل ضروری ہے۔

Translation:

Pakistan is facing the scourge of terrorism and extremism. It is critically important to resolve this issue to put Pakistan on a path of progress.

As such, successive Heads of State/Government showed their commitment to eradicate terrorism. For instance, Prime Minister Chaudhary Shujaat Hussain in 2004 stated:

ہمیں دہشت گردی کے خلاف جنگ کرنا ہوگی۔

Translation:

We...have to wage a war against...terrorism.

In the same vein, President Mamnoon Hussain said in 2014:

ہم پاک سرزمین کو دہشت گردی سے پاک کر کے دم لیں گے۔

Translation:

We will not rest until we eradicate terrorism from the country.

The ideograph was also used for justification of policies and actions. For instance, President Asif Ali Zardari in 2008 stated: “We will not tolerate the violation of our sovereignty and territorial integrity by any power in the name of combating terrorism”. The President considered the drone attacks carried out by US in Pakistan as violation of the country’s <sovereignty> and territorial <integrity>. On the other hand, US justified such strikes to counter <terrorism>. Likewise, justifying his actions after 9/11 scenario, President Parvez Musharraf in his inaugural speech in 2007 stated: “In order to deal with the rising trend of terrorism, I had to act. And I did act in the interest of Pakistan”.

4.3 SECTION: 3 Nationalism-Focused Ideographs

Section 3 discusses *Nationalism-Focused Ideographs*, which included 04 Positive Ideographs, that is, <country>, <nation>, <Pakistan> and <state>.

4.3.1 <Country>; <ملک> /molk/ [country]

The word *country* in the sense of a native land has positive connotations and is loaded with affect and ideology (Muecke, 2005). As such, the word *country* and its Urdu alternative *ملک/molk/* is a common everyday term in Pakistan and has mass appeal. The term is used in political discourse in Pakistan. The analysis of the inaugural speeches revealed that <country>/ or its Urdu equivalent <ملک>/molk/ was used as an ideograph, which appeared 244 times (111 in English and 133 in Urdu) in 43 speeches, as detailed in Table 4.30 at *Appendix B* to this study. The ideograph occurred with varying frequencies in the speeches of Military Leaders (0.640%), Prime Ministers (0.280%), Governor Generals (0.181%) and Presidents (0.081%), as shown in Figure 4.30 at *Appendix C* to this study. Thus, the highest percentage of the ideograph was observed in the speeches of Military Leaders.

The diachronic analysis of the speeches revealed that the ideograph first appeared in inaugurals in 1947 and then recurred in the speeches almost consistently till 2018, the time of the last inaugural in the country's history. Diachronically, the employment of the ideograph in the speeches can be categorized into two periods: 1947-71 and 1971-2018. The first period shows the time duration from independence in August 1947 till secession of East Pakistan in December 1971 while the second constitutes the time afterwards from December 20, 1971 to September 2018.

The first period (1947-71) predominantly focused on stability, solidarity, consolidation, territorial integrity, unity, progress and prosperity of the <country>. However, no indicators of identity were observed with the ideograph, except the words *great*, *glorious*, *beloved* and *dear*, mostly encompassing affective dimension; for instance, great and glorious <country>. On the other hand, the second period (1971-2018), alongside focusing on

stability, solidarity, integrity, unity, progress, prosperity, survival, sovereignty, well-being and defence of the <country>, included indicators of identity which the first period lacked; for instance, free, independent and sovereign <country>; democratic <country>; Muslim <country>; peace-loving <country>; modern, prosperous and Islamic <country>; peaceful <country>; responsible and dignified <country>. In addition, the <country> was also portrayed in economic terms as poor <country>. These qualifiers render the ideograph complex and open to multiple interpretations. Of these, democratic <country>, Muslim <country> and Islamic <country> are significant because they demonstrate the ideological foundations of the <country>, mainly based on democracy and Islam, which are generally invoked. For instance, General Mohammed Zia-ul-Haq in 1977 stated:

اس ملک کی بقاء جمہوریت اور صرف جمہوریت میں ہے۔

Translation

The survival of this country lies in democracy and democracy alone.

Similarly, President Ghulam Ishaq Khan in December 1988 said:

یہ ملک اسلام کے نام پر حاصل کیا گیا تھا اور اسلام سے وابستگی کے سہارے ہی قائم رہ سکتا ہے۔

Translation

This country was created in the name of Islam and can survive only on the basis of commitment to Islam.

Also, throughout the speeches in both the periods, the ideograph occurred in three senses: commitment, appeal and justification. In the first sense, in turn, the ideograph was used as both personal and collective commitment. For instance, Prime Minister Ch. Mohammed Ali in 1955 said: “I shall spare nothing, not even my life, in the service of our beloved country”. On the other hand, in the sense of collective commitment, Prime Minister Syed Yousaf Raza Gillani in 2008 stated:

ہم ملک کی یکجہتی کے لئے، ہم ملک کی ترقی کے لئے، ہم ملک کے استحکام کے لئے مل کر کام کریں گے۔

Translation

We will work together for the solidarity, progress and stability of the country.

In the sense of appeal, the ideograph was used for invoking both support and unity. In case of appeal for support, Prime Minister Mohammad Ali Bogra in 1953 said: “I feel confident that the people of Pakistan will help me and my colleagues to serve the best

interests of the country”. Likewise, President General Mohammed Yahya Khan in 1969 said: “I urge every one of you to cooperate with my Administration in bringing the country back to sanity”. On the other hand, in case of appeal for unity, Governor General Isakandar Mirza in 1955 said: “We must put our shoulders jointly to the wheel of destiny and take our country... to the goal which our traditions have marked for us”. Finally, in the sense of justification, the ideograph was used to justify policies, actions for self-rule, such as imposition of Martial Law, schemes, and decisions. For instance, on joining the the Baghdad and SEATO Pacts, President Isakandar Mirza in 1956 said: “We sincerely believe that by joining these Pacts we are acting...in the highest interests of our country”. Likewise, announcing the declaration of first Martial Law in the country, General Mohammed Ayub Khan in 1958 said: “This is a drastic and extreme step taken with great reluctance, but with the fullest conviction that there was no alternative to it except the disintegration and complete ruination of the country”. In a like manner, General Mohammed Zia-ul-Haq, while imposing Martial Law in 1977, said:

یہ اقدام صرف ملک کو بچانے کی خاطر کیا گیا ہے۔

Translation

This step has been taken only to save the country.

Likewise, National Debt Retirement Scheme *قرض اتار دملک سنوارو (Retire Debt, Adorn Country)*, which was launched by Prime Minister Mohammed Nawaz Sharif in 1997, employed the ideograph for justification of the scheme and the same was reiterated by President Mohammed Rafiq Tarar in his inaugural in 1998 while highlighting the effectiveness of the scheme. The ideograph was also used for justification of tax collection. For example, Prime Minister Shahid Khaqan Abbasi in 2017 said:

آپ ٹیکس نہیں دیں گے تو ملک ترقی نہیں کرے گا۔۔۔ آپ ٹیکس نہیں دیں گے تو ملک کمزور ہو گا۔

Translation

If you do not pay tax, the country will not progress....If you do not pay tax, the country will be weak.

Similarly, justifying his decision of accountability, Prime Minister Imran Khan in 2018 stated:

جن لوگوں نے اس ملک کو لوٹا... ان کو نہیں چھوڑوں گا۔

Translation

I will not spare... those people who plundered this country.

The ideograph was also used for blaming politicians in general and those from the Opposition in particular. For instance, General Mohammed Ayub Khan, while blaming politicians for their rifts and fighting after the death of the Founding Fathers, said in 1958: “Politicians started a free-for-all type of fighting...against each other, regardless of the ill-effects on the country”. Similarly, the ideograph was used by Prime Minister Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto in 1977 to blame the Opposition parties of Pakistan National Alliance (PNA), a coalition of nine parties, for their behaviour after the 1977 elections, which ultimately resulted in the imposition of Martial Law in the country (researcher’s additions in square brackets): “I shall give another example of how irresponsible they [Leaders of the Opposition parties] are and how they do not even take into account the country’s interest”. On the other hand, the ideograph was also used to acknowledge and justify the contributions of predecessors and party’s founding fathers. For instance, Governor General Isakandar Mirza, while praising his predecessor Governor General Malik Ghulam Mohammad in 1955, said: “As Governor-General...he saved the country from chaos”. Likewise, Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto, while extolling the services of her father and founding leader of Pakistan Peoples Party in 1988, said:

ذوالفقار علی بھٹو شہید نے... ۱۹۷۱ء میں... اس ملک کو بچایا تھا۔

Translation

Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto Shaheed...saved this country...in 1971.

4.3.2 <Nation>; <قوم>/qo:m/ [nation]

The word *nation* accrued political usage in the late eighteenth century (Weinbaum, 2007) and consistently occurs in political and public discourse. The word *nation* and its Urdu alternative قوم/qo:m/ is also a common everyday term in Pakistan. The word has a mass appeal owing to its strong affective potential. Resultantly, the term is used in the political discourse in

Pakistan. The Heads of State/Government employ the term *nation* and especially its Urdu equivalent قوم/قو:m/ in their speeches/statements. The analysis of the inaugural speeches revealed that <nation>/<قوم>/قو:m/ was used as an ideograph, which appeared 259 times (79 in English and 180 in Urdu) in 44 speeches, as detailed in Table 4.31 at *Appendix B* to this study. The ideograph occurred with varying frequencies in the speeches of Governor Generals (0.724%), Prime Ministers (0.244%), Military Leaders (0.227%) and Presidents (0.139%), as shown in Figure 4.31 at *Appendix C* to this study. Thus, the highest percentage of the ideograph was observed in the speeches of Governor Generals.

The diachronic analysis of the speeches revealed that the ideograph first appeared in inaugurals in 1947 and then recurred in the speeches almost consistently till 2018, the time of the last inaugural in the country's history. Diachronically, the ideograph <nation> in the speeches occurred in two different connotations: *people* and *country*. While the former referred to a community of people with a common religion, the latter denoted a country with a sovereign government. In its usage as *people*, the ideograph also appeared in the speeches in two manifestations: <Muslim nation> and <Pakistani nation>, which reflected the ideological genesis of a community first as Muslim nation and later as Pakistani nation. Prior to Partition in 1947, Hindus and Muslims lived together in the united India. It was Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the leader of the All-India Muslim League, who described them as two separate nations, resulting in the evolution of a *Two-Nation Theory* – a key narrative for the creation of Pakistan (Kermani, 2017). As such, the manifestation of <Muslim nation> showed up in the first inaugural delivered by the Founding Father of Pakistan, Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, on the birth of Pakistan in 1947 who stated: "...the birthday of... Pakistan...marks the fulfilment of the destiny of the Muslim nation which made great sacrifices in the past few years to have its homeland". On the other hand, <Pakistani nation> appeared first in the speeches in 1951. For instance, Prime Minister Khawaja Nazimuddin in 1951 said:

قائد اعظم کی وفات پاکستانی قوم کے لئے ایک چیلنج تھا۔

Translation

The death of Quaid-e-Azam was a challenge to the Pakistani nation.

Subsequently, the two manifestations of <nation> did not occur in the speeches for over three and a half decades. However, from 1988 onwards, recurrence of the two was observed in the speeches, with greater frequency of <Pakistani nation> than a <Muslim nation>, although both were regarded as key identity constituents of the <nation> representing a community of people who achieved independence in August 1947 under the leadership of Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the first Governor General of Pakistan. While <Muslim nation> appeared in the speeches in 1988, <Pakistani nation> occurred in the speeches in 1993, 1997 and 1998. Moreover, the two occurred together in 2002. However, in the ensuing period, only <Pakistani nation> appeared in the speeches. For instance, President Ghulam Ishaq Khan in December 1988 said:

پاکستان۔۔ ایک۔۔ متحد مسلم قوم کی حیثیت سے اکیسویں صدی میں داخل ہو گا۔

Translation

Pakistan...will enter the 21st century as a...united Muslim nation.

Similarly, Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto in 1993 stated:

پاکستانی قوم کا مستقبل تابناک ہے۔

Translation

The future of the Pakistani nation is bright.

Likewise, Prime Minister Mian Mohammed Nawaz Sharif in 1997 said:

پاکستانی قوم کا بڑا مشکور ہوں۔

Translation

I am very grateful to the Pakistani nation.

In the like manner, President Mohammed Rafiq Tarar in 1998 stated:

پاکستانی قوم۔۔ ہر چیلنج کا مقابلہ کرنے کی بھرپور صلاحیت رکھتی ہے۔

Translation

Pakistani nation...is fully capable of facing every challenge.

In the same vein, Prime Minister Mir Zafarullah Khan Jamali in 2002 said:

یہ ایک قوم ہے اور اس قوم کا نام جو ہے مسلمان کے بعد پاکستانی ہے۔ یہ پاکستانی قوم ہے۔

Translation

This is one nation and its name after Muslim is Pakistani. This is a Pakistani nation.

Later, President General Parvez Musharraf in 2007 said: “I am grateful to the Pakistani nation for reposing this confidence in me”. On the other hand, the ideograph in its usage as *country* predominantly referred to nation-building dimension with a focus on the tasks of *rebuilding* the <nation> and *reconstruction* of the <nation>. However, the difference between the two usages of the <nation> as *people* and *country* is not always straightforward and at times confusing to differentiate between the particular employment of the ideograph <nation>/<قوم>/qo:m/ as people or country. For instance, Governor General Isakandar Mirza in 1955 said: “...the political parties have to place the interests of the nation above party interests”. Similarly, President General Mohammed Yahya Khan in 1969 said: “...a state of panic has paralyzed life in the nation...The nation has to be pulled back to safety and normal conditions have to be restored without delay”. Likewise, President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in 1971 said: “I tell the farmers, you are the backbone of the nation”. In the like manner, Prime Minister Mian Mohammed Nawaz Sharif in 1997 said:

ہمیں جو مینڈیٹ اب قوم نے دیا ہے... ہمیں وہ مینڈیٹ قوم کی ترقی اور خوشحالی کے لئے استعمال کرنا ہے۔

Translation

The mandate that the nation has given us now...we have to use that mandate for the progress and prosperity of the nation.

Diachronically, the ideograph <nation>/<قوم>/qo:m/ was also qualified by seven positive adjectives, including *united* <nation> (Mohammad Ali Jinnah Jinnah, 1947); *great*/عظیم<nation>/<قوم> (Prime Minister Hussain Shaheed Suharwardi, 1956; General Mohammed Zia-ul-Haq, 1977; President Asif Ali Zardari, 2008); *free* <nation> (Prime Minister Ibrahim Ismail Chaudhry in 1957); *thriving* <nation> (President General Parvez Musharraf, 2007); *peaceful*/پرامن<nation>/<قوم> (President Sardar Farooq Ahmed Leghari, 1994; President Mohammed Rafiq Tarar, 1998; President Mamnoon Hussain, 2014); *determined and courageous* /پرعزم اور حوصلہ مند<nation> (President Mamnoon Hussain, 2014). These positive descriptors reflect the collective identity of the <nation>. However, the ideograph

also occurred with a negative adjective. For instance, مقروض قوم or indebted <nation> (President Arif-ur-Rehman Alvi, 2018). The ideograph in the speeches occurred in four connotations: *commitment, appeal, identification and justification*. In the sense of commitment to serve the <nation>, Governor General Khawaja Nazimuddin in 1948 said:

قوم کی خدمت کروں گا۔

Translation

I will serve the nation.

Similarly, Governor General Malik Ghulam Mohammad in 1951 said: “I...rededicate my life to the service of my nation”. In the like manner, Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto in 1993 stated:

پاکستانی قوم کا مستقبل تابناک ہے ہم اسے تابناک بنانے کا عزم رکھتے ہیں۔

Translation

The future of the Pakistani nation is bright. We are determined to make it brighter.

In the sense of appeal for unity, Prime Minister Mohammad Ali Bogra in 1953 stated: “We must stand united as a nation”. Later, President General Mohammed Ayub Khan in 1958 said: “Let us now resolve to face the tasks ahead of us as a nation and get down to solid and honest hard work”. In the sense of identification, Prime Minister Hussain Shaheed Suharwardi in 1956 stated: “We are one nation. We are all Pakistanis...All of us must feel that we are one great nation”. In the sense of justification of foreign policies, Prime Minister Ibrahim Ismail Chaudrigar in 1957 said: “Our foreign policy will be such as...will be consistent with the honour and dignity of a free nation”. Likewise, referring to the political instability after allegations of rigging in the 1977 elections and justifying his action of imposing Martial Law, General Mohammed Zia-ul-Haq in 1977 said:

اس بات کا اندیشہ تھا کہ اس صورت حال کی وجہ سے ملک ایک بار پھر افراتفری اور سنگین تہجران کا شکار ہو جائے گا۔ یہ خطرہ مول لینا قوم کے مفاد میں ہرگز نہ تھا۔ چنانچہ یہ فوجی کارروائی عمل میں لانی پڑی۔

Translation

It was feared that the country would once again fall into chaos and a serious crisis because of this situation. Taking this risk was not in the interest of the nation at all. So this military action was taken.

The ideograph <nation> was invoked in three types of situations entailing change of Head of State/Government: One, a crisis arising out of death or serious illness of Heads of

State or Government; Second, a political crisis emanating from imposition of Martial Law, dissolution of Assemblies or at times their restoration and disqualification of Heads of Government by the Supreme Court of Pakistan; Third, the coming into power of new leadership after due process of elections. Under these circumstances, the Heads of State/Government made appeals to the <nation> for seeking support, loyalty, trust and confidence. At the same time, Heads of State/Government also showed their responsibility to <nation>, made promises, offered assurances and expressed gratitude. For instance, in case of death of a Head of State/Government, the successor paid tribute to his predecessor as servant of the <nation>, made appeals for unity, asked the nation to show loyalty with the government as the nation was in a difficult situation. On the other hand, in political crisis situation, the Head of State/ Government attributed responsibility to the predecessors for damaging the <nation>, showed commitment to retrieve the <nation> from crisis situation and made appeals for unity. In case of new leadership, the Heads of State/Governments thanked and praised the <nation>, showed personal commitment and identification, made promises and appealed for unity.

4.3.3 <Pakistan>; <پاکستان>

The roots of the word *Pakistan* date back to January 1933, when Chaudhary Rahmat Ali, then a student at Cambridge University, used it in his pamphlet titled *Now or Never: Are We to Live or Perish for Ever* (Cilano, 2014). In political discourse, the term *Pakistan* was used by Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah and other Muslim leaders for uniting the Muslims of India in their struggle for the creation of a separate land. Thus, the term *Pakistan* became a unity symbol well before the creation of a country with the same name. Resultantly, most of the slogans before the country's independence contained the word *Pakistan* (Shafiq, Sultana & Munir, 2017). For instance, *Lake Rahenge Pakistan, Bat Ke Rahega Hindustan* (We will seize Pakistan by dividing Hindustan); *Pakistan Ka Matlab Kya, La Ilaha IllAllah* (What does Pakistan mean? There is no God but Allah) and *Pakistan Zindabad* (Long Live Pakistan).

While the first slogan was Partition-specific, the last two slogans are still heard at political rallies, in schools and at random junctures in the country. Moreover, *Pakistan Ka Matlab Kya*, *La Ilaha IllAllah* conveys that *Pakistan* is Islam as *La ilaha illAllah* is the first half of the kalima, the declaration of faith in Islam, thus making *Pakistan* an Islamic country by definition (Afzal, 2018, p. 28).

Since independence in 1947, the word *Pakistan* frequently recurs in the speeches and statements of Pakistani leaders and politicians. Moreover, the word also appears in slogans such as *Sab Se Pehle Pakistan* (Pakistan Comes First), *Paksitan Khape* (We want Pakistan); names of political parties like *Pakistan Peoples Party*, *Pakistan Muslim League*, *Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf*; titles of Movements, Aliances and Charters such as *Pakistan Democratic Movement*, *Pakistan National Alliance*, and *Charter of Pakistan*. It is a common everyday term and is used in different permutations and connotations; for instance, *Quaid Ka Pakistan* (Quaid's Pakistan); *Iqbal Ka Pakistan* (Iqbal's Pakistan); *Naya Pakistan* (New Pakistan); *Purana Pakistan* (Old Pakistan); *Do Nahi – Aik Pakistan* (Not two but one Pakistan) and *Roshan Pakistan* (Bright Pakistan). Over the years, the word has acquired great emotional appeal and has thus gained the status of an ideograph. Like the word <America> which surfaced as the highest frequency ideograph in a study conducted by Hodyc (2018) as discussed in Chapter 2 in this study, <Pakistan> also emerged as the most frequently employed ideograph in the inaugural speeches of the Heads of State/Government of Pakistan. Its frequency was 170 in English and 221 in Urdu speeches, thus totaling 391 times in 49 speeches, as detailed in Table 4.32 at *Appendix B* to this study. The ideograph occurred with varying frequencies in the speeches of Governor Generals (0.569%), Prime Ministers (0.413%), Military Leaders (0.331%) and Presidents (0.203%), as shown in Figure 4.32 at *Appendix C* to this study. Thus, the highest percentage of the ideograph was observed in the speeches of Governor Generals. One of the possible reasons for the highest incidence of the ideograph in the speeches of Governor Generals appears to be that during the formative years of the country Governor Generals placed more emphasis on <Pakistan> and built their discourse around this ideograph. For instance, the country's Founding Father Mohammad Ali

Jinnah used <Pakistan> eight times in his inaugural, the highest frequency word in his speech.

A diachronic analysis of <Pakistan> in the inaugurals showed that the ideograph first appeared in the speeches in 1947 and subsequently recurred till the last inaugural in the country's history. Diachronically, the employment of the ideograph in the speeches could broadly be divided into two periods: 1947-1971 and December 20, 1971-2018. The first period (1947-December 19, 1971) predominantly focused on the stability, integrity, security, survival, solidarity, well-being and progress of <Pakistan>. During this period, the ideograph in the speeches appeared in three senses: appeal, commitment, and justification. The ideograph was used in the sense of appeal for unity, loyalty and support. For instance, Governor General Khawaja Nazimuddin in 1948 said:

ہمیں پاکستان کے تحفظ و استحکام کے لئے کام کرنا چاہیے۔

Translation

We should work for the security and stability of Pakistan.

Similarly, Prime Minister Hussain Shaheed Suharwardi in 1956 said: "...nothing should be done or said that will damage the integrity and the stability of Pakistan". Likewise, President General Mohammed Ayub Khan in 1965 stated: "Together let us build, together let us accomplish, so that Pakistan should endure and prosper". In the like manner, President General Mohammed Yahya Khan in 1969 said: "Let everyone, whatever his calling may return to his post and do his bit to repair the damage caused to the...well-being of Pakistan". In the sense of commitment, the ideograph was used in two forms: commitment to achieve a goal and commitment to serve. While the former was collective in nature, the latter was more of a personal type. For instance, demonstrating commitment to achieve a goal, Prime Minister Mohammad Ali Bogra in 1953 said: "...we shall march forward to our goal of a strong and prosperous Pakistan". On the other hand, showing their commitment to serve <Pakistan>, Prime Minister Ibrahim Ismail Chaudhry in 1957 said: "I shall do all that I can to serve Pakistan". Similarly, Prime Minister Malik Feroz Khan Noon in 1957 said: "I shall do all I can to the limits of my endurance to serve Pakistan". Likewise, President General Mohammed Ayub Khan in 1965 stated: "I re-dedicate myself to the service of Pakistan". The

ideograph was used for justification of foreign policy and unpalatable actions. For instance, Prime Minister Ibrahim Ismail Chaudhry in 1957 said: “Our foreign policy will be such as would serve the interests of Pakistan...” Likewise, justifying the declaration of Martial Law, General Mohammed Ayub Khan in 1958 said: “This extreme step has been taken...in the interest of...Pakistan”.

On the other hand, the second period (December 20, 1971-2018) witnessed a major shift and the emphasis predominantly remained on rebuilding <Pakistan> anew, with a greater focus on its progress and prosperity. As such, during this period commitment was shown to make <New Pakistan> (Prime Minister Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, December 20, 1971); <Roshan Pakistan>/<روشن پاکستان> (Prime Minister Mian Mohammed Nawaz Sharif, 2013); and <Naya Pakistan>/<نیا پاکستان> (Originally used by Imran Khan now incumbent Prime Minister, Head of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf, but appeared in the inaugural speech of President Arif-ur-Rehman Alvi in 2018). Of these, <new Pakistan> and <Naya Pakistan>/<نیا پاکستان> apparently stand similar with the only difference that the second seems to be the Urdu translation of the first. <Naya Pakistan> is neither really new nor original (Mujahid, 2013). It was first used in its English version, *New Pakistan* by Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto in 1971. However, both were used in different contexts. For instance, President Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, while addressing the nation in 1971 after the secession of East Pakistan, said: “We will make a new Pakistan, a prosperous and progressive Pakistan”. During this time of unprecedented crisis, President Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto wanted to raise the morale of people who were in a state of shock after the separation of East Pakistan by giving them a hope of making a <New Pakistan> that would be different from the united Pakistan (East and West Pakistan together) achieved twenty-four years ago in 1947. In contrast, Naya Pakistan (New Pakistan) was initially introduced by Head of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) Imran Khan in 2013 and used it vigorously for his Election Campaign in 2018. The Urdu word Naya meaning new, which functions as a modifier of Pakistan, describes the way the country would look on the occasion of Imran Khan becoming the Prime Minister. In other words, it refers to Imran Khan's

Pakistan, which would be different from Purana Pakistan (Old Pakistan). However, it did not occur in the inaugural speech of Prime Minister Imran Khan. Instead, <Naya Pakistan> was used by President Arif-ur-Rehman Alvi, who belongs to PTI, in his inaugural in 2018. He stated:

موجودہ حکومت نے نیا پاکستان بنانے کا عزم کیا ہے۔۔۔ میرے خیال میں نئے پاکستان کی سب سے بڑی شناخت سادگی، کافروغ، غیر ضروری پروٹوکول کا خاتمہ اور بدعنوانیوں سے پاک نظام ہے۔

Translation

The present Government has resolved to make a New Pakistan...In my view, the concept of the New Pakistan lies in promoting simplicity, discontinuation of unnecessary protocols and a corruption-free system.

Thus, <Naya Pakistan> gave people hope of Tabdeeli (change) in terms of simplicity, corruption-free society and equal treatment for all, both rich and poor. Moreover, <روشن پاکستان>/<Roshan Pakistan> was employed by Pakistan Muslim League (N) in 2013 Elections Campaign (Tarar, 2019). However, after winning elections and becoming Prime Minister, Mian Mohammed Nawaz Sharif in 2013 reiterated <روشن پاکستان>/<Roshan Pakistan> in his inaugural speech and stated:

ہم نے نئے روشن پاکستان کی بنیاد رکھ دی ہے۔۔۔ ایسا پاکستان جو انتہا پسندی، بد امنی، کرپشن، بد عنوانی، غربت، پسماندگی اور آمریت کے حوالے سے نہیں بلکہ امن، گڈ گورننس، ترقی، خوشحالی، باہمی اخوت، عالمی برادری میں وقار اور صاف ستھری جمہوریت کے حوالے سے جانا جائے گا۔

Translation

We have laid the foundation of a new Roshan Pakistan;...A Pakistan which will be recognized in the international community for peace, good governance, progress, prosperity, mutual brotherhood, dignity and clean democracy rather than for extremism, unrest, corruption, poverty, backwardness and dictatorship.

Thus, <Roshan Pakistan> focused on development of a better and prosperous Pakistan, particularly on eradication of load-shedding issue which had almost stalled progress and industrial functioning, thus paralyzing the economy of the country. As such, the adjective Roshan (bright) was used with <Pakistan>, which contained a message of hope associated with the concept of light (Umar & Rasul, 2017). Furthermore, during this period another commitment in the form of <Pakistan First> appeared in the inaugural speech of President Parvez Musharraf in 2007 when he resigned from the portfolio of Chief of Army Staff and

became a Civilian President. President General Parvez Musharraf in 2007 stated: “And one has to see Pakistan and act in the interest of Pakistan...I will take all actions, each and every action, on the basis of Pakistan comes first, beyond my person”. However, <Pakistan First> was initially used by President General Parvez Musharraf in his speech on September 19, 2001 to UN General Assembly. As such, Prime Minister Mir Zafarullah Khan Jamali in 2002 reiterated <Pakistan First> in his inaugural by stating:

ہم نے یہی دیکھنا ہے کہ ہم پاکستان کے لئے کیا کر سکتے ہیں۔ پاکستان first باقی تمام چیزیں بعد میں۔

Translation

We have to see what we can do for Pakistan. Pakistan First; rest everything comes later.

Prime Minister Mir Zafarullah Khan Jamali in 2002 repeated <Pakistan First> ideology to demonstrate his loyalty to President Parvez Musharraf who supported him in becoming the Prime Minister, just like President Arif-ur-Rehman Alvi who repeated Imran Khan’s <Naya Pakistan> in his inaugural as discussed above. The <Pakistan First> ideology was a departure from the religious identity of <Pakistan> towards its redefinition in territorial terms with a commitment to preserve <Pakistan> and base every decision keeping the interest of Pakistan first. In other words, the ideology of <Pakistan First> reflected a shift from pan-Islamism towards globalism and was used for justification to side with US and her allies in the War on Terror in the Post 9/11 scenario (Kausar, 2011). It is important to highlight that a similar slogan was also noted in American political context (Roberts, Hammond & Sulpharo 2012). For instance, *America First* was used by Warren G. Harding, a Republican candidate, during Campaign of 1920. Pat Buchanan, another Republican candidate, repeated the *America First* slogan in the Campaign of 1992. John McCain also a Republican employed this slogan in his Campaign of 2008. President Donald Trump, a Republican, used *America First* in his inaugural speech in 2017: “From this day forward, a new vision will govern our land. From this day forward, it’s going to be only America First; America First”. Thus, the slogan remained in use for almost a century. America First, therefore, was not a new vision, as President Donald Trump mentioned. Rather, it was a century-old slogan. In a like manner, President General Parvez Musharraf also introduced Pakistan First.

Moreover, just like its employment in the first period, the ideograph in the second period also appeared in four senses: appeal, commitment, justification and need or requirement. However, the main difference in the second period particularly in the sense of appeal was the use of the ideograph, inter alia, in ideological connotations based on the ideology of Islam. Invoking the ideograph thus had greater unity and mobilization appeal because it involved not only to defend Pakistan but also Islam. For instance, Prime Minister Shaukat Aziz in 2004 said:

پاکستان اسلام کا قلعہ ہے۔ آئیے ہم اس قلعے کو اور مضبوط کرتے ہیں۔

Translation

Pakistan is a citadel of Islam. Let us make this fortress stronger.

The ideograph in the sense of appeal was also used for support, as President Asif Ali Zardari in 2008 said: “Let us pledge to help build together a secure, strong and prosperous Pakistan”. In the sense of commitment, the ideograph showed collective commitment to a goal. For instance, President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in 1971 said: “We will march to a great and more glorious Pakistan”. Similarly, Prime Minister Shaukat Aziz in 2004 said:

ہمیں پاکستان کو ترقی اور خوشحالی کی طرف لے کر جانا ہے۔

Translation

We have to take Pakistan towards progress and prosperity.

In the sense of justification, the ideograph was used to justify self-rule and decisions. For example, President General Mohammed Zia-ul-Haq after winning referendum in December 1984 said:

اللہ تعالیٰ کا لاکھ لاکھ شکر ہے۔ کہ اس نے پاکستان کو 19 دسمبر کے ریفرنڈم میں سرخرو فرمایا۔

Translation

Allah Almighty be thanked that He requited Pakistan in the Referendum of December 19.

Similarly, Prime Minister Moin Qureshi in 1993 stated: “We are fully prepared to take the politically tough decisions, that we believe, are necessary to put Pakistan back on the road to prosperity”. In the sense of need or requirement, the ideograph occurred with the ideology of democracy. For example, Prime Minister Mian Mohammed Nawaz Sharif in 2013 said:

پاکستان اور جمہوریت لازم و ملزوم ہیں۔۔۔ پاکستان کی بقاء، سلامتی، خود مختاری، ترقی، خوشحالی اور عالمی براداری میں عزت و وقار کا انحصار اس بات پر ہے کہ پاکستان میں جمہوریت مضبوط ہو۔

Translation

Pakistan and democracy are inseparable...Pakistan's survival, integrity, sovereignty, progress, prosperity and its honour and dignity in the international community depend on strengthening democracy in Pakistan.

4.3.4 <State>; <ریاست> /rɪjɑ:səʃ/ [state]

The word *state* occurred in political sense in the sixteenth century (Pruthi, 2005). The word *state* and its Urdu equivalent ریاست is also a common everyday term in Pakistan and is also used in political discourse. The Heads of State/Government employ the term *state* and its Urdu substitute ریاست in their speeches/statements. The analysis of the inaugural speeches revealed that <state> and its Urdu alternative <ریاست>/rɪjɑ:səʃ/ was used as an ideograph, which appeared 46 times (34 in English and 12 in Urdu) in 20 speeches, as detailed in Table 4.33 at Appendix B to this study. The ideograph occurred with varying frequencies in the speeches of Governor Generals (0.155%), Prime Ministers (0.043%), Military Leaders (0.041%) and Presidents (0.024%), as shown in Figure 4.33. Thus, the highest percentage of the ideograph was observed in the speeches of Governor Generals.

The diachronic analysis of the speeches revealed that the ideograph first appeared in inaugurals in 1947 and then recurred in 1955. In the subsequent period, it intermittently occurred in the speeches till 1977. Afterwards, the ideograph did not show up for a decade and reemerged in 1988. Then, it continued to appear in the speeches, albeit with intervals, till 2018, the time of the last inaugural in the country. Thus, the occurrence of the ideograph in the speeches was, for the most part, observed in the first decade. Diachronically, the ideograph in the speeches occurred in four senses: obligation, appeal, goal and justification. In the sense of obligation, the ideograph referred to State-citizen relationship through reciprocal responsibilities and rights. That is to say, citizens had responsibilities towards the State and vice versa. For instance, referring to citizens' obligation towards the State,

Governor General Mohammad Ali Jinnah in 1947 stated, “The creation of the new State has placed a tremendous responsibility on the citizens of Pakistan”. Making a similar point, Prime Minister Liaqat Ali Khan in 1947 said, “Every citizen must ensure that as far as lies in his power he will allow no harm, little or great, to come to the State”. On the other hand, highlighting the obligation of the State towards citizens/people, Prime Minister Liaqat Ali Khan in 1947 stated, “It is the first duty of the State to ensure that every citizen may feel that his life and property are safe and he is free to pursue his vocation without fear of any kind”. Similarly, President Arif-ur-Rehman Alvi in 2018 said:

ریاست عوام کو ان کے حقوق کی فراہمی یقینی بنائے۔

Translation

The State should ensure that the people are provided with their rights.

In the sense of appeal, the ideograph was used to ask people for greater efforts and cooperation in order to make Pakistan a strong and great country. Moreover, it was also employed to appeal Muslims to be tolerant and accept the rights and privileges of the minorities. For instance, President General Mohammed Ayub Khan in 1958 said, “I must also ask you to work hard and put in your best efforts. This is the period when our State has to be built and this can only happen if people work”. In the same vein, President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in 1971 stated: “I am confident that with your cooperation, understanding and patience we will emerge as a stronger and a greater state”. Likewise, Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in 1977 said: “They [minorities] know... that this is an Islamic state, an ideological state and that it is only a true Muslim who is tolerant and will accept the rights, the duties and the privileges of others”. In the sense of goal, the focus remained on welfare dimension and the ideograph appeared in both *secular* and *ideological (Islamic)* connotations. For instance, using the ideograph in its secular connotation, President Isakandar Mirza in 1956 said: “As we progress with the consolidation of our economy, our emphasis will naturally shift more and more towards the concept of a welfare State”. Making a similar point, President General Mohammed Ayub Khan, 1965 stated: “...in my endeavours to move towards the establishment of a welfare state I have the fullest support of my people”. On the

other hand, employing the ideograph in its Islamic connotation, President Wasim Sajjad, in 1993 said:

پاکستان کو ایک عظیم اسلامی فلاحی ریاست بنانے کا... خواب... ضرور پورا ہو گا۔

Translation

The dream of making Pakistan a great Islamic welfare state... will surely come true.

Making a similar point, President Mohammed Rafiq Tarar in 1998 said:

پاکستان جسے ایک مثالی اسلامی فلاحی ریاست بنانا ہم سب کی دلی آرزو ہے۔

Translation

It is the heartfelt wish of us all to make Pakistan an ideal Islamic welfare state.

To this end, the model of <ریاست مدینہ> or <state of Madina> was also quoted. Although this concept was presented by Prime Minister Imran Khan but it did not appear in his inaugural and instead occurred in the inaugural of President Arif-ur-Rehman Alvi in 2018 who stated:

ہمارے سامنے... ریاست مدینہ کا ماڈل موجود ہے۔

Translation

We have the model of the State of Madina.

In the sense of justification of action, President General Parvez Musharraf, while referring to Phase I of his democratic transition between 1999 and 2002, said in 2007: "...we had to revive the economy of Pakistan and take it forward from a failed state to a thriving nation, which Alhamdulillah, I am proud of the fact that we did". In addition, the ideograph was also used in retrospect in the sense of <جدید ریاست> or <modern state> by Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto in 1988 while referring to a speech by Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the Founder of Pakistan, as saying at the time of partition:

پاکستان ایک جدید ریاست کی حیثیت سے پروان چڑھے گا۔

Translation

Pakistan will grow as a modern state.

Thus, the analysis of the ideograph in the speeches indicated that the ideograph also occurred in four manifestations: <welfare state> (President Isakandar Mirza, 1956; President General Mohammed Ayub Khan, 1965); <Islamic state>; <ideological state> (Prime Minister

Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, 1977); <جدید ریاست> or <modern state> (Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto, 1988); <اسلامی فلاحی ریاست> or <Islamic welfare state> (President Wasim Sajjad, 1993; Mohammed Rafiq Tarar, 1998) and <ریاست مدینہ> or <state of Madina> (President Arif-ur-Rehman Alvi, 2018). These varied manifestations reflected two broad periods in which the ideograph appeared in the speeches in both secular and ideological (Islamic) connotations. The first period encompassed the initial three decades (1947-76) denoting the ideograph in its secular connotation, whereas the second period included 1977 and beyond till the time of the last inaugural in the country's history in 2018, which mainly referred to ideological (Islamic) connotation, except for 1988 when the ideograph was employed by Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto in retrospect to refer to the speech of the country's Founding Father, as cited above, which could be subsumed under the first period. One possible explanation for this broad division of two periods could be that Pakistan was declared an Islamic state after 1973 Constitution (Eteraz, 2009). As such a major shift from secular to ideological (Islamic) was observed first in 1977 and then in the subsequent decades.

4.4 SECTION 4: Politics-Focused Ideographs

Section 4 discusses *Politics-Focused Ideographs*, which encompassed 05 Positive Ideographs, that is, <constitution>, <democracy>, <elections>, <referendum>, <کرسی>/kursi/[chair] and 02 Negative Ideographs, that is, <dictatorship> and <martial law>.

4.4.1 <Constitution>; <آئین>/a:i:n/; <دستور>/d̪əst̪u:r/ [constitution]

Pakistan has tumultuous constitutional history and has been governed by five Constitutions since its founding. Among these, three were main constitutions – 1956, 1962 and 1973, whereas two interim – the Government of India Act 1935 and 1972 Interim Constitution. The Government of India Act, 1935 remained the constitutional act of Pakistan for initial nine years, that is, till 1956. Also, the country remained under military rule for a significant period, resulting in the abrogation/suspension of constitutions from time to time. As such, the term is commonly used in political discourse in the country. The analysis of the inaugural speeches revealed that <constitution> or its Urdu equivalents <آئین>/a:i:n/or <دستور>/d̪əst̪u:r/ was used as an ideograph, which appeared 149 times (85 in English and 64 in Urdu with 61 <آئین> and 03 <دستور>) in 30 speeches, as detailed in Table 4.34 at *Appendix B* to this study.

The ideograph occurred with varying frequencies in the speeches of Presidents (0.140%), Prime Ministers (0.105%), Governor Generals (0.103%) and Military Leaders (0.062%), as shown in Figure 4.34 at *Appendix C* to this study. Thus, the highest percentage of the ideograph was observed in the speeches of Presidents. One possible explanation of the highest use of the ideograph by Presidents could be that they are the guardians of the constitution.

A diachronic analysis of <constitution> in the inaugurals showed that the ideograph first appeared in the speeches in 1955 and subsequently recurred intermittently in the speeches till the last inaugural in the country's history in 2018. Diachronically, the employment of the ideograph in the speeches could broadly be divided into two periods:

1955-1977 and 1988-2018. The first period (1955-1977) focused on constitution-making as well as defending, safeguarding and upholding the <constitution>. As such, three Constitutions (1956; 1962 and 1973) were formulated during this period. On the other hand, the second period (1988-2018) witnessed a major shift and the emphasis predominantly remained on restoration of <constitution> and supremacy of <constitution>, alongside upholding <constitution>.

The ideograph in the speeches also appeared in three manifestations: <democratic constitution>/<parliamentary constitution>; <federal constitution> and <Islamic constitution>. These manifestations pointed to three main principles, *democracy*, *federation*, and *Islam*, as embodied in The Objectives Resolution of March 1949 adopted by the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan for constitution-making in Pakistan (Bhattacharyya, 2010). Of these, <democratic constitution> or <parliamentary constitution> and <Islamic constitution> demonstrated the ideological foundations of the <constitution>, mainly based on the principles of democracy and Islam. The ideograph in the speeches also appeared in five senses: policy goal, commitment, obligation, precondition and justification. In the sense of policy goal, Prime Minister Ch. Mohammed Ali in 1955 stated: “The most urgent task that faces your Government is to ensure that the new Constitution is framed with the minimum of delay”. This pointed to the delay in constitution-making in the initial years of the country’s founding. After Partition with India in August 1947, Pakistan was still being governed by Interim Constitution of the Government of India Act 1935. As such, constitution-making was set as a policy goal after Partition. The delay was mainly caused by certain issues; prominent among these were the role of Islam in the state; Centre–Provinces relations, that is Strong versus Weak Centre or Centralization versus Autonomy; Joint versus Separate Electorate; and the choice of national language (Bhattacharyya, 2010). The ideograph also occurred in the sense of commitment. For instance, Governor General Isakandar Mirza in October 1955 said: “My Government and I are determined to give you a workable democratic Constitution”. Eventually, the first Constitution of Pakistan was adopted in March 1956, which provided for parliamentary system of government. The adoption of the first

Constitution took nine years and two Constituent Assemblies—the first (1947–55), and the second (1955–56). However, before the Constitution took shape, it was abrogated by then President Isakandar Mirza on October 7, 1958 despite his earlier commitment in 1956 “to defend the Constitution”. Thus, Martial Law was imposed in Pakistan under General Mohammed Ayub Khan, who also soon became President. Resultantly, the situation called for either one of the three choices: restoration of 1956 Constitution; drafting a new constitution; or continuation of Martial Law. But President General Mohammed Ayub Khan opted to give the country a new constitution because he already had some reservations about 1956 Constitution and later in his book titled *Friends Not Masters* he called the 1956 Constitution as “a document of despair, a bundle of unworkable compromises and a hotchpotch of alien concepts” (Kamran, 2010, pp. 87-88). More so, he wanted a presidential system of government rather than parliamentary to ensure the focal point of power. Thus, the ideograph also occurred in the sense of obligation. President General Mohammed Ayub Khan in his inaugural in 1960 announced: “It is my obligation to give the country a constitution in order to be able to withdraw Martial Law”. As a result, President General Mohammed Ayub Khan appointed a Constitution Commission in 1960 for drafting a new Constitution, which resulted in the Constitution of 1962.

Unlike 1956 Constitution, the 1962 Constitution provided for presidential system of government. With the departure of President General Mohammed Ayub Khan, the Constitution of 1962 was also abrogated on March 25, 1969, due to imposition of martial law consecutively for the second time. General Mohammed Yahya Khan became President, who later held General Elections on December 7, 1970 under his Legal Framework Order (LFO). The subsequent events led to secession of East Pakistan in December, 1971. Resultantly, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto became President and Civilian Chief Martial Law Administrator of Pakistan. He also showed commitment to a new constitution in his inaugural and stated: “I have every intention to... give a constitution to the people of Pakistan”. Within four months, the National Assembly of Pakistan in April 1972 adopted an Interim Constitution, which provided for a Presidential form of government with a federal set-up. This temporary

document was based on the Government of India Act, 1935 (Baxter, 1974). Later, a Constitution Committee was appointed, with members from National Assembly representing all parties, to draft a permanent constitution. Finally, the Constitution of 1973 was formulated and enforced in August 1973. Like 1956 Constitution, it provided for parliamentary system of government. Pakistan's current parliamentary system of government is modeled on 1973 Constitution of Pakistan, with a Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament) consisting of the President and two Houses to be known respectively as the National Assembly and the Senate. Although the 1973 Constitution is the current one, it has also undergone significant changes, mostly as a result of two more martial laws under General Mohammed Zia-ul-Haq (1977) and General Pervez Musharraf (1999), which turned the parliamentary system into a semi-presidential system. The most significant amendment was the inclusion of Article 58-2 (b), which granted the President discretionary power to dissolve Parliament under *vague* emergency provisions. This Article was applied on a number of occasions from 1985-1996 and four elected governments were dismissed. However, the Eighteenth Amendment to the 1973 Constitution in April, 2010 removed Article 58-2 (b) and restored parliamentary system of government, which empowered Prime Minister and Parliament and rendered the role of presidency ceremonial. More so, it also regarded the suspension or holding in abeyance of the Constitution as high treason. The validation of such acts by judges was also prohibited.

The ideograph was also used as a *precondition* to political stability and success of the country. For example, Prime Minister Hussain Shaheed Suharwardi in 1956 said: "The first essential is to secure political stability and that can never be attained unless we...uphold the constitution in letter and in spirit". Likewise, Prime Minister Syed Yousaf Raza Gillani in 2008 stated:

اگر آپ نے ملک کو کامیاب کرنا ہے تو آئین کی پاسداری کرنی پڑے گی۔

Translation

If you want the country to succeed, you have to uphold the constitution.

The ideograph was also employed in the sense of justification of policies, rule and actions. Justifying the dissolution of Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto's government by President Ghulam Ishaq Khan in 1990 under Article 58-2 (b), the Caretaker Prime Minister

Ghulam Mustafa Khan Jatoi said: “The constitution has been upheld. The democratic process is continued”. In a like manner, justifying his struggle for restoration of his government after its dissolution in April 1993 by then President Ghulam Ishaq Khan, Prime Minister Mian Mohammed Nawaz Sharif, after his restoration by the Supreme Court of Pakistan, stated:

یہ ساری جدوجہد آئین کی بحالی کے لئے۔۔۔ ہم نے کی ہے۔

Translation

We have done...all this struggle for the restoration of the Constitution.

4.4.2 <Democracy>; <جمہوریت> /dʒəmhu:rijət/ [democracy]

The word *democracy* is ubiquitous in US political lexicon (Omelicheva, 2015). It is also central to the United States foreign policy showing its commitment to promote and spread democracy worldwide (Jenkins, Jenkins & Plowden, 2008). The word *democracy* and its Urdu equivalent *جمہوریت* /dʒəmhu:rijət/ is also an everyday term in Pakistan, which frequently recurs in media, public discourse and speeches/statements of Heads of State/Government as well as politicians. The analysis of the inaugural speeches revealed that <democracy> and its Urdu alternative <جمہوریت> /dʒəmhu:rijət/ was used as an ideograph, which appeared 153 times (65 in English and 88 in Urdu) in 31 speeches, as detailed in Table 4.35 at *Appendix B* to this study. The ideograph occurred with varying frequencies in the speeches of Prime Ministers (0.126%), Presidents (0.123%), Governor Generals (0.103%) and Military Leaders (0.103%), as shown in Figure 4.35 at *Appendix C* to this study. Thus, the highest percentage of the ideograph was observed in the speeches of Prime Ministers.

The diachronic analysis of the speeches revealed that the ideograph first appeared in inaugurals in 1953 and subsequently recurred almost throughout the speeches till 2017, except for a hiatus of one decade from 1978 to 1987. The ideograph in the speeches occurred in six manifestations: <Islamic democracy>, <basic democracy> <participatory democracy>, <parliamentary democracy>, <market democracy>, <real democracy> or <true democracy>. These varied manifestations make the ideograph ambiguous and render it to multiple interpretations. The ideograph in the speeches referred to both national and international

contexts. At national level, <democracy> was employed in two broader connotations: *system* and *struggle*. As a system, the ideograph appeared in conventional as well as ideological senses. In conventional sense, the ideograph denoted the generic representative form of <democracy> and was regarded as a cause. For instance, President General Mohammed Ayub Khan in 1965 said: “People who came out to my support...have served the cause of democracy”. On the contrary, in ideological sense, <democracy> referred to an Islamic ideal and principle. For instance, Prime Minister Mohammad Ali Bogra in 1953 stated, “The people of Pakistan will help me and my colleagues to serve...ideals of the Islamic Democracy”. Making a similar point, President Sardar Farooq Ahmed Leghari in 1994 stated:

جمہوریت، آزادی، مساوات --- کے اصولوں پر جو اسلام نے بتائے ہیں پورے طور پر عمل درآمد ہو گا۔

Translation

The principles of democracy, freedom, equality...that Islam has laid down will be fully implemented.

However, the ideological dimension of <democracy> was also criticized. For instance, President General Mohammed Ayub Khan in 1960 said: “...democracy has been run in Pakistan...in the sacred name of Islam”. On the other hand, the ideograph also appeared in the connotation of *struggle* for restoration of <democracy>. One of the major reasons for such struggle was the weak state or condition of <democracy> in the country due to political instability. Since independence in 1947, Pakistan has witnessed four Martial Laws and as many dissolutions of assemblies by Governor General and Presidents as well as disqualifications of two Prime Ministers by the Supreme Court of Pakistan, as mentioned earlier in Chapter 1. Resultantly, <democracy> could not take root in the country. The weak state of <democracy> has been highlighted by Heads of State/Governments in their inaugurals. For instance, referring to the Martial Laws of 1958 and 1969 and subsequent secession of East Pakistan in 1971, President Fazal Elahi Chaudhry in 1973 said: “It was the displacement, the supplanting of democracy in Pakistan which caused a confusion in its political life that proved fatal to its integrity”. Likewise, pointing to the chequered history of <democracy> in Pakistan, President Ghulam Ishaq Khan in December 1988 said:

بد قسمتی سے --- پاکستان میں جمہوریت کا پودا پنپ نہیں پایا۔۔۔ بنیادی غلطی صرف ایک تھی اور وہ تھی آئین سے انحراف۔

Translation

Unfortunately,...the sapling of democracy did not flourish in Pakistan. There was only one basic mistake and that was deviation from the Constitution.

Similarly, referring to the state of <democracy> before his takeover in October 1999, President General Pervez Musharraf in 2002 claimed: “There was no democracy here...We thought something has to be done to prevent reverting back to the pre-99 political era of destabilized democracy”. It is worth pointing out that in the first decade of the country’s history, the focus in the speeches remained on effective, efficient and successful functioning of <democracy> in Pakistan. For instance, Prime Minister Mohammad Ali Bogra in 1953 stated: “Democracy must function effectively in the country”. One of the reasons for emphasis was the dismissal of Prime Minister Khawaja Nazimuddin by Governor General Malik Ghulam Mohammad in 1953 and the subsequent nomination of Prime Minister Mohammad Ali Bogra. However, after the declaration of first Martial Law in 1958 and afterwards in the subsequent decades, the emphasis drastically shifted from functioning of <democracy> to restoration, preservation, strengthening, stability, survival, continuity, and promotion of <democracy>. Possibly, one of the major reasons for this shift, as mentioned earlier, was the imposition of Martial Laws, dissolutions of assemblies and disqualifications of Prime Ministers by the Supreme Court of Pakistan. Resultantly, these seven dimensions, that is, restoration, preservation, strengthening, stability, survival, continuity, and promotion of <democracy> recurred throughout the speeches.

While focus on these seven dimensions was found throughout after 1958, the most significant among these was the restoration of <democracy>, which entailed great struggle. Such struggle, for the most part, occurred in the speeches during 1971, 1988, 1993 and 2008. These time periods denoted significant events in the country’s history. For instance, on becoming the first Civilian Chief Martial Law Administrator and President in 1971 after secession of East Pakistan, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto stated: “I have been five and a half years in a struggle for democracy and it has not been an ordinary struggle...I will restore democracy”. Likewise, referring to her eleven-year long struggle for restoration of <democracy> when Martial Law was imposed in July 1977 and her father was put behind the bars and later

executed, Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto, after becoming the first female Prime Minister of Pakistan in 1988, stated:

یہ طویل جدوجہد۔۔۔ جو جمہوریت کی بحالی کی جدوجہد تھی۔ عوام کی طاقت سے اپنی منزل تک پہنچی۔

Translation

This long struggle...for restoration of democracy has reached its destination by the power of the people.

In 1988 <democracy> returned to Pakistan after 11 years. The restoration of democracy involved great struggle. In this regard, the Movement for Restoration of Democracy (MRD) played a vital role, which started in 1981 and gained substantial momentum in 1983 and continued till the death of President General Zia-ul-Haq in August 1988 in a plane crash. Likewise, referring to the restoration of his government by the Supreme Court of Pakistan in 1993 after its dismissal by President Ghulam Ishaq Khan, Prime Minister Mian Mohammed Nawaz Sharif, while commending Speaker National Assembly for his efforts towards restoration of <democracy>, said:

پاکستان میں جمہوریت اب۔۔۔ صحیح معنوں میں ریستور ہوئی ہے۔۔۔ جمہوریت کی بحالی کی جدوجہد میں۔۔۔ آپ کا نام سنہری حروف میں پاکستان کی تاریخ میں لکھا جائے گا۔

Translation

In Pakistan, democracy has restored in true sense. In the struggle for the restoration of democracy...your name will be written in golden letters in the history of Pakistan.

Likewise, Prime Minister Syed Yousaf Raza Gillani in 2008 said:

یہ لمحہ۔۔۔ جمہوریت کے لئے۔۔۔ struggle کی وجہ سے نصیب ہوا ہے۔

Translation

This moment... came due to struggle for democracy.

Prime Minister Syed Yousaf Raza Gillani came to power in 2008 after years of military rule by General Parvez Musharraf, who imposed Martial Law in October 1999. Thus, <democracy> was restored in Pakistan after nine years. In this connection, the Alliance for Restoration of Democracy (ARD) played an important role to get rid of military government and ensure General Elections. The ideograph also appeared in the sense of acknowledgement to recognise the struggle and sacrifices of the nation, party leadership, democratic forces, civil society, and political workers for restoration of <democracy> to the country. For instance, Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto in 1988 said:

انسانی تاریخ میں شاید ہی کسی قوم نے جمہوریت کے بحالی کے لئے اتنی بڑی جدوجہد کی ہو۔

Translation

Hardly has any nation in human history made such a great struggle for restoration of democracy.

Similarly, Prime Minister Syed Yousaf Raza Gillani in 2008 stated:

آج شہید محترمہ بے نظیر بھٹو کی عظیم قربانی کی وجہ سے یہاں جمہوریت بحال ہو رہی ہے۔

Translation

Today, democracy is being restored here due to the great sacrifice of Shaheed Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto.

President Mamnoon Hussain in 2014 stated:

وطن عزیز میں جمہوری قوتوں اور سول سوسائٹی نے جمہوریت کی بحالی کے لئے بے مثال قربانیاں دیں۔

Translation

Democratic forces and civil society in the country rendered unprecedented sacrifices for the restoration of democracy.

The ideograph also appeared in the sense of blaming the Opposition as well as justification of policy. For instance, Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in 1977 blamed the behaviour of Opposition parties of Pakistan National Alliance (PNA), “against the interests of democracy”, after the 1977 elections, which ultimately resulted in the imposition of Martial Law in the country. In the sense of justification, the ideograph was employed by President General Mohammed Ayub Khan in 1960 to justify his decision for the conduct of elections to Basic Democracies and the Presidential ballot: “I have done this to firmly implant the essence of democracy in the minds of my countrymen”.

At international level, <democracy> as a *system* occurred in two senses: *support* and *contrast*. In the sense of support, the ideograph was used for justification of foreign policy. For instance, President Ghulam Ishaq Khan in December in 1988 said:

ہم افریقہ اور جنوبی امریکہ میں۔۔۔ جمہوریت کی تحریکوں کی حمایت بھی جاری رکھیں گے۔

Translation

We will continue to support...democracy movements in Africa and South America.

In the sense of contrast, the ideograph was used to compare the system of <democracy> in the developed and developing countries. For instance, President General Parvez Musharraf in 2007 stated:

...there is an unrealistic...obsession with your form of democracy...On behalf of the developing countries and on behalf of my own country Pakistan, please understand we want democracy. I am for democracy...But we will do it our way.

4.4.3 <Elections>; <الیکشن> /ɪlekʃən/; <انتخابات>/ɪnt̪ɛxɑːbɑːt̪/[elections]

The British, in the Indian Sub-Continent, introduced elections in the early 20th century not only to spread European democracy but also to solidify colonial form of governance (Gilmartin, 2012). Provincial elections were held under British rule in 1937 and 1946 respectively. Thus, after creation in 1947, the first Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, which also acted as Parliament, drew its legitimacy from the provincial elections held on a restricted franchise in 1946 prior to the country's independence (Kamran, 2009). Moreover, for the initial nine years of Pakistan's political history (1947-1956), no direct elections were held in Pakistan, as Prime Minister Hussain Shaheed Suharwardy in his inaugural in 1956 stated: "Ever since the establishment of Pakistan, we have not held direct elections to Parliament". Only provincial elections were conducted occasionally and the Constituent Assemblies were brought into being indirectly by the Provincial Assemblies. However, since the declaration of first Martial Law in the country in 1958, Pakistan has oscillated between civilian and military rule and experienced both indirect and direct elections, non-party and party-based elections, referendums as well as presidential and parliamentary forms of governments. The first General Elections in Pakistan on the basis of *One Person, One Vote* were held in December 1970, after 23 years of the country's founding (Election Commission of Pakistan, n.d.). Subsequently, nine elections on the same pattern have been conducted, including 1977, 1988, 1990, 1993, 1997, 2002, 2008, 2013 and 2018. Except for General Elections of 1970, the rest of the elections in Pakistan before and after 1970 were not fully free and fair and serious questions about every election were raised (Oldenburg, 2010).

Given the long history of elections in Pakistan, the term is commonly used in both public and political discourse in the country. The Heads of State/Government employ the term *elections* in their speeches/statements. The analysis of the inaugural speeches revealed that <elections> and its Urdu alternatives <الیکشن> /ɪlekʃən/; <انتخابات>/ɪnt̪ɛxɑːbɑːt̪/ was used as an

ideograph, which appeared 160 times (108 in English and 52 in Urdu) in 22 speeches, as detailed in Table 4.36 at *Appendix B* to this study. The ideograph occurred with varying frequencies in the speeches of Prime Ministers (0.195%), Military Leaders (0.165%) and Presidents (0.071%) but it was not found in the speeches of Governor Generals, as shown in Figure 4.36 at *Appendix C* to this study. Thus, the highest percentage of the ideograph was observed in the speeches of Prime Ministers. One of the possible reasons for the highest percentage of the ideograph in the speeches of Prime Ministers could be the parliamentary system of government in Pakistan. More so, from 1990 onwards, caretaker set-ups were led by Prime Ministers whose primary responsibility was the conduct of <elections>. They would assure people of holding elections in time and in a manner acceptable to all parties.

The diachronic analysis of the speeches revealed that the ideograph first appeared in the inaugurals in 1953 and recurred in the first decade till 1957. In the subsequent period, the ideograph showed up in the speeches intermittently, first in 1965, then in 1971 and finally in 1977. Afterwards, the ideograph did not occur in the speeches for a decade and resurfaced in 1988. Then, the ideograph continued to recur in the 1990s. In the last two decades from 2001-18, the ideograph occurred in the inaugurals from 2007 till 2018. Moreover, the ideograph in the speeches occurred in four senses: commitment, priority, challenge and justification of policy/rule. In the sense of commitment, the ideograph appeared predominantly at pre-election stage both in prospective and retrospective manner, with Heads of State/Government demonstrating commitment to ensure *free* (آزادانہ) and *fair* (منصفانہ), <elections> and sometimes using *time factor* like *as early/soon as possible* or *on scheduled time/dates*. While in the initial three decades of the country's founding, the phrase fair and free and its inversion free and fair <elections> was found interchangeably in the speeches, in the later period from 1977 onwards, the phrase free and fair was more common. For instance, Prime Minister Ch. Mohammad Ali Bogra in 1953 said: "I am determined to ensure fair and free elections". In the same vein, Prime Minister Malik Feroz Khan Noon in 1957 stated: "My Government ...will be committed...to ensure that elections on a free and fair basis will take place as soon as possible". In his retrospective commitment, Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali

Bhutto in 1977 declared: “I wanted the elections to be fair and free whatever the outcome”. But in the later period from 1977 onwards, the phrase *free and fair* was more common. For instance, General Mohammed Zia-ul-Haq in 1977 said:

میرا واحد مقصد آزادانہ اور منصفانہ انتخابات کروانا ہے۔

Translation

Holding free and fair elections is my sole aim.

The recurrence of commitment to *free and fair* <elections> as well as the *time factor* in the speeches could be attributed to two reasons: credibility of <elections>; cancellation of <elections>. For instance, after Partition, the first provincial elections in Pakistan were held in 1951 in Punjab and North West Frontier Province (Now KP), in 1953 in Sindh and in 1954 in East Bengal on the basis of adult franchise. The credibility of the elections, particularly in West Pakistan raised doubts in general public (Kamran, 2009). As such, the newly established Central Government appointed an Electoral Reforms Commission on October 19, 1955 to suggest recommendations for electoral reforms/laws in order to ensure *free and fair* <elections> so that true representation of the people shall be guaranteed. After the declaration of Martial Law in 1958, the Parliamentary elections, scheduled for early 1959, were cancelled and political parties banned. Similarly, allegations of rigging were raised by Combined Opposition Parties (COP) after 1965 Presidential Election between President General Mohammed Ayub Khan and Fatima Jinnah. Likewise, when the results for the 1977 Elections were announced, Pakistan National Alliance (PNA), which stood in opposition to Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP), refused to accept the results of the elections by accusing PPP of poll rigging and demanded re-elections. This political turmoil resulted in imposition of Martial Law in the country in July 1977 by General Mohammed Zia-ul-Haq, who promised to hold elections within 90 days but subsequently did not keep his promise and cancelled elections. In a similar fashion, results of General Elections held in 2013 were challenged by Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI), followed by 126 days long sit-in (Dharna) in Islamabad for recounting of votes, with forensic examination of voters’ thumb impressions in four constituencies of the National Assembly to regain public confidence in the elections.

Similarly, after 2018 General Elections, rigging allegations were raised by PML(N) and other political parties, which declared the elections rigged.

In contexts other than Pakistan, *free and fair* has also become a catchphrase and is frequently mentioned in the literature on elections and democracy (Vasciannie, 2018). The phrase has also become so common that it appears even in the names of organizations aiming to observe elections, such as *Free and Fair Election Network* (FAFEN). However, despite its overuse and long history, the phrase is imprecise and lacks clear definition (Schwanitz, 2009). Political parties, voters, academics, the media and other stakeholders call elections *free and fair*, sometimes *free but not fair*, or even *neither free nor fair* without being clear on the meaning of these terms (Vasciannie, 2018).

Together with *free and fair*, the other three adjectives, that is, Impartial (غیر جانبدارانہ), Transparent (شفاف) and Peaceful (پرامن) also appeared with the <elections> ideograph in the inaugural speeches after 1977 and onwards. These three did not follow a strict sequence like *free and fair*. Their order varied with *free* and *fair*. For instance, President Ghulam Ishaq Khan in 1988 said:

انتخابات کو پرامن، منصفانہ اور غیر جانبدارانہ طور پر منعقد کرانے کے سلسلے میں حکومت اپنی تمام تر ذمہ داریاں پوری کرے گی۔

Translation

Government will fulfill all responsibilities to hold elections in a peaceful, fair and impartial manner.

Likewise, President Pervez Musharraf in 2007 stated: “We must ensure that these elections are free, fair and transparent”. These adjectives occurred in different permutations with <elections>, rendering its meaning complex and varied. One of the possible interpretations for showing commitment to hold *free* (آزادانہ), *fair* (منصفانہ), and *impartial* (غیر جانبدارانہ) <elections> is that the same is in consonance with the main objective of Election Commission of Pakistan (n.d.). However, the exact reason for the use of Transparent (شفاف) and Peaceful (پرامن) cannot be ascertained and may be attributed to contextual factors, inter

alia, security situations in the country. Like *commitment*, the ideograph in the sense of *priority* appeared at pre-election stage. For instance, Prime Minister Muhammad Mian Soomro in 2007 said:

ملک کے اندر منصفانہ اور شفاف انتخابات کا انعقاد نگران حکومت کی اولین ترجیح ہے۔

Translation

Holding fair and transparent elections in the country is a topmost priority of the caretaker government.

Likewise, Prime Minister Mir Hazar Khan Khoso in 2013 stated:

آزادانہ اور منصفانہ الیکشن اولین ترجیح ہے۔

Translation

Free and fair election is a topmost priority.

In the same vein, the ideograph in the sense of *challenge* appeared predominantly at pre-election stage both in specific and generic contexts. The ideograph in the sense of *challenge* showed up in speeches in 1993 and afterwards. In a specific context, the ideograph referred to 1993 and 2018 scenarios. Referring to the unprecedented political instability in the country after the resignation of both then Prime Minister Mian Mohammed Nawaz Sharif and then President Ghulam Ishaq Khan, the Caretaker President Wasim Sajjad in 1993 said:

موجودہ انتخابات۔۔۔ پوری قوم کے لئے ایک چیلنج۔۔۔ کی حیثیت رکھتے ہیں۔

Translation

The current elections...are...a challenge to the entire nation.

Likewise, referring to the post-2013 situation of rigging allegations as well as the longest sit-in (Dharna) of 126 days by Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI), coupled with the security situation at that time mainly due to terrorism, Prime Minister Nasir-ul-Mulk in 2018 stated:

میرے خیال میں ملک میں موجودہ ماحول میں منصفانہ اور آزادانہ انتخابات ایک چیلنج ہے۔

Translation

I think fair and free elections are a challenge in the current environment in the country.

In its generic context, Prime Minister Raja Pervez Ashraf in 2012 said:

دیگر چیلنجوں کے ساتھ شفاف الیکشن بھی ایک چیلنج سمجھا جاتا رہا ہے۔

Translation

Along with other challenges, transparent elections have also been considered a challenge.

The ideograph was also used in the sense of *justification* for policy and actions at post-election stage. For instance, justifying his demand for opening four constituencies after the 2013 General Elections and subsequent sit-in (Dharna) of 126 days in Islamabad, Prime Minister Imran Khan in 2018 said:

یہ سب کچھ۔۔۔ ہم اپنے ملک میں صاف اور شفاف الیکشن کے لیے کر رہے تھے۔

Translation

We were doing all this...for fair and transparent elections in the country.

4.4.4 <Referendum>; <استصواب رائے>/ɪstɪsvɑːbɪrɑːe/ [referendum]

The word *referendum* came into use in the English language from 1880s (Suksi, 1993) and showed up in literature in both England and the United States around 1890s (Rappard, 1912). While referendum has become a regular feature in the political process of many nations such as Switzerland and Australia, it has also been conducted in many Third World countries as well as Asian nations like Pakistan (Smith, 1986). Pakistan has witnessed three referendums in the course of its history since creation in 1947. The first referendum was held in February 1960 by President General Mohammed Ayub Khan, the second in December 1984 by President General Mohammed Zia-ul-Haq and the third in April 2002 by President General Pervez Musharraf (Baid, 2002). Among these, the first referendum was different as it was based on a limited franchise of Basic Democrats. As such, referendum is a common everyday term in Pakistani context and recurs in political discourse in the country. The Heads of State/Government employ the term *referendum* and its Urdu alternative <استصواب رائے>/ɪstɪsvɑːbɪrɑːe/ in their speeches/statements. The analysis of the inaugural speeches revealed that <referendum> or its Urdu equivalent <استصواب رائے>/ɪstɪsvɑːbɪrɑːe/ was used as an ideograph, which appeared 13 times (12 in English and 01 in Urdu) in 02 speeches, as detailed in Table 4.37 at *Appendix B* to this study. Among Heads of State/Government, the ideograph was used by Presidents only with a frequency of (0.022%). However, the ideograph was not

found in the speeches of Governor Generals, Prime Ministers and Military Leaders, as shown in Figure 4.37 at *Appendix C* to this study.

The diachronic analysis of the speeches revealed that the ideograph first appeared in inaugurals in 1984 and then recurred in 2002 only. Thus, the ideograph in the speeches did not appear in the first three and a half decades of the country's history despite a referendum held in the rule of President General Mohammed Ayub Khan in 1960. Nor did the ideograph occur after 2002. While referendum was the common subject of both President General Mohammed Zia-ul-Haq's 1984 Speech and President General Parvez Musharraf's 2002 Speech, what differentiated the two was their purpose. The main focus of President General Mohammed Zia-ul-Haq's 1984 Speech was on expression of gratitude to all segments of society for their support in the referendum. On the other hand, the chief emphasis of President General Parvez Musharraf's 2002 Speech was on legality, constitutionality, necessity and turn-out of referendum. Resultantly, both had commonality of subject but difference of purpose. Diachronically, the ideograph in the speeches was employed in five connotations: duty, process, movement, source, and justification. For instance, using the ideograph in the sense of religious and national duty and a democratic process, President General Mohammed Zia-ul-Haq in 1984 stated:

ریفرنڈم کو کامیاب بنانے میں عوام کے ہر طبقے، پاکستان کے ہر علاقے اور زندگی کے ہر شعبے سے تعلق رکھنے والے خواتین و حضرات نے۔۔۔
اسے اپنا ایک دینی اور قومی فریضہ سمجھتے ہوئے، اپنی ذمہ داریاں پوری کیں۔

Translation

Considering referendum as a religious and national duty, people from all classes and men and women from every area of Pakistan and all walks of life...fulfilled their responsibilities to make it successful.

Likewise, using the ideograph in the sense of democratic process, he further added:

میں تو ان خواتین و حضرات کا بھی ممنون ہوں جنہوں نے ریفرنڈم میں نفی ووٹ ڈالا۔۔۔ اور ریفرنڈم کے جمہوری عمل کی تصدیق کی۔

Translation

I am even grateful to all those men and women who cast the No Vote in the referendum...and endorsed the democratic process of the referendum.

Similarly, using the ideograph in the sense of movement by showing identification and in the sense of a source of strength, power, unity and dignity, President General Mohammed Zia-ul-Haq in 1984 said:

مجھے شکریہ ادا کرنا ہے۔ دین اسلام کے ان بے لوث سپاہیوں کا، شیع رسالت کے ان جانثار پروانوں کا اور نظریہ پاکستان کے ان پر جوش علمبرداروں کا جنہوں نے ریفرنڈم کی مہم کو اپنی مہم سمجھا۔

Translation

I thank those selfless soldiers of Deen-i-Islam, devotees of the Prophet (peace be upon him) and the enthusiastic upholders of the Ideology of Pakistan who considered the Referendum Movement as their own movement.

ریفرنڈم نے ہمیں قوت دی ہے۔ طاقت دی ہے۔ اتحاد دیا ہے۔ وقار دیا ہے۔

Translation

The Referendum has given us strength, power, unity and dignity.

The ideograph was also used as *justification* of policies, decisions or actions. For instance, justifying his decision of referendum, President General Mohammed Zia-ul-Haq in 1984 stated:

ہم یہ ریفرنڈم کسی فرد واحد کے اقتدار کو طول دینے کے لئے نہیں بلکہ ملک میں استحکام لانے اور ایک نظام کو تسلسل دینے کے لئے کروا رہے ہیں۔

Translation

We are holding this referendum not to prolong the rule of an individual but to bring stability to the country and continuity to a system.

Likewise, justifying his decision of referendum, President General Parvez Musharraf in 2002 argued: “The effect that we wanted to create was a reversal of this process of destabilization in Pakistan through the mandate of the people of Pakistan. And therefore I came in and therefore the referendum”.

4.4.5 <کرسی> /kursi / [chair; authority; power]

The word *کرسی*/kursi/ in Urdu literally means *chair* in English. However, in its figurative sense the term symbolises authority and power (Shafiq, 1987). Even its English synonym *chair* stems from *cathedra*, meaning bishop’s throne, which also denotes authority and exception (Cresswell, 2014). Chairs, in the Middle Ages, were reserved for nobility or ecclesiastics while common people would sit on benches (Saje, 2016). Thus, the term still carries its formal sense of authority although chairs are now used by common people. Given the use of the word *کرسی*/kursi/ in Pakistani context, the word is a common everyday term. As such, it is

also used in political discourse in Pakistan. The word <کرسی>/kursi/ generally recurs in the statements and speeches of Heads of States/Governments as well as politicians in Pakistan. The analysis of the inaugural speeches revealed that <کرسی>/kursi/ was used as an ideograph, which appeared 17 times in 04 speeches, as shown in Table 4.38 at *Appendix B* to this study. Among Heads of State/Government, the ideograph was used by Prime Ministers only with a frequency of (0.030%), but it was not found in the speeches of Governor Generals, Military Leaders and Presidents, as indicated in Figure 4.38 at *Appendix C* to this study.

The diachronic analysis of the speeches revealed that the ideograph first appeared in inaugurals in 2002, almost five and a half decades after the creation of Pakistan, and it occurred in the speeches in the last two decades – 2002-2017. It was found only in Urdu speeches and was employed by Prime Ministers exclusively. Diachronically, the ideograph <کرسی>/kursi/ appeared in the speeches in both positive and negative senses. In its positive sense, the ideograph had four connotations: political experience, democracy, sanctity and responsibility. For instance, referring to political experience, Prime Minister Syed Yousaf Raza Gillani in 2008 said:

میں میڈم سپیکر! آپ کی کرسی پر ساڑھے تین سال بیٹھا ہوں اور میں نے دیکھا ہے اگر اس ملک کو چلانا ہے تو آپ کو پارلیمنٹ کی supremacy بحال کرنی پڑے گی۔

Translation

Madame Speaker! I sat on your chair for three and a half years and realized if you want to run this country, you will have to restore the supremacy of Parliament.

Likewise, using the ideograph in the sense of democracy and sanctity, Prime Minister Raja Pervez Ashraf, in 2012 stated:

یہ جمہوریت کی کرسی ہے، یہ کرسی پاکستان کے عوام کی کرسی ہے، یہ کرسی جو میرے لئے بڑی معتبر ہے۔۔۔ اور میرے لئے اس کی عظمت سے بڑھ کر کوئی چیز نہیں۔ کیونکہ یہ کرسی شہید ذوالفقار علی بھٹو کی کرسی ہے، یہ شہید محترمہ بے نظیر بھٹو کی کرسی ہے۔

Translation

This is a chair of democracy. This is the chair of the people of Pakistan. I have great respect for this chair...and there is nothing dearer to me than its greatness because it is the chair of Shaheed Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Shaheed Benazir Bhutto.

In the sense of responsibility, Prime Minister Shahid Khaqan Abbasi in 2017 said:

مجھے اس کرسی کے بوجھ کا احساس ہے یہ وہ سیٹ ہے جس پر لیاقت علی خان بھی بیٹھے، یہاں پر ذوالفقار علی بھٹو بھی بیٹھے، یہاں پر بینظیر بھٹو بھی بیٹھیں، محمد خان جونجو بھی بیٹھے، میرے بزرگ ظفر اللہ جمالی صاحب بھی بیٹھے اور نواز شریف آج بھی موجود ہے۔

Translation

I am aware of the responsibility of this chair. This is the seat where Liaqat Ali Khan, Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, Benazir Bhutto, Muhammad Khan Junejo and my elder Zafarullah Jamali sat and Nawaz Sharif is present even today.

While democracy referred to people's rule, sanctity pointed to the association of the ideograph either with the party's founding fathers or predecessors from other parties. Prime Minister Raja Pervez Ashraf, in 2012 referred to Founding Fathers and martyrs of his Party Shaheed Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto and Shaheed Benazir Bhutto, whereas Prime Minister Shahid Khaqan Abbasi in 2017 referred to the First Prime Minister of the country, Liaqat Ali Khan, and his predecessors from other parties such as Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, Benazir Bhutto, Muhammad Khan Junejo as well as the leader of his own party, Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif of PML(N). Also, responsibility comes with sanctity.

In its negative sense, the ideograph referred to the transience of power as well as the target or objective of the power-hungry politicians and their desire to reach Prime Minister's chair. For instance, highlighting the transitory nature of power, Prime Minister Mir Zafarullah Khan Jamali in 2002 said:

یہ جانتے ہوئے کہ کوئی بھی کرسی اس نے کسی سے کوئی وفا نہیں کی۔ میں آپ تمام حضرات کا مشکور ہوں۔

Translation

I am grateful to all of you, knowing that no chair is loyal to anyone-

Likewise, referring to the desire or ultimate target of politicians, Prime Minister Shahid Khaqan Abbasi in 2017 said:

یہ کرسی سیاست کی معراج سمجھی جاتی ہے اور ہر ایم این اے جو یہاں پر بیٹھا ہے اس کی خواہش ہے کہ وہ اس کرسی تک پہنچے۔ اگر کسی کی نہیں ہے تو کھڑا ہو کر بتادے۔

Translation

This chair is regarded as the pinnacle of politics. And each MNA sitting here has the desire to reach the Prime Minister's chair. Whoever in this House does not harbour such a desire should stand up and tell me.

In both its positive and negative senses, the ideograph was mainly used to refer to the Prime Minister's chair. However, it was also employed to point to the Speaker's chair in the sense of political experience, as used by Prime Minister Syed Yousaf Raza Gillani in 2008.

4.4.6 <Dictatorship>; <آمریت> /ɑ:mɪrɪjəʃɪp/; <آمریتوں> /ɑ:mɪrɪjəʃɪp̃/ [dictatorships]

Dictatorship is a form of government in which absolute power resides in one person or a small group of people (Hunter, 2018). As such, it can be categorized into three types, including monarchic, military or civilian (Cheibub, Gandhi & Vreeland, 2010). More common among these variants in practice are military dictatorships (Acemoglu, Ticchi & Vindigni, 2010). Pakistan has been ruled by four military dictatorships in 1958, 1969, 1977 and 1999.

As a result, the term dictatorship is a common phenomenon in the public and political discourse in Pakistan. It is generally counterposed with democracy and used in a negative sense. Sometimes, the term is used to label an elected government as dictatorship when it violates democratic norms and takes extreme steps, using power beyond law or constitution. Given the recurrent use of the word dictatorship and its Urdu alternative *آمریت* /ɑ:mɪrɪjəʃɪp/ or its plural *آمریتوں* /ɑ:mɪrɪjəʃɪp̃/ [dictatorships] in Pakistan, the word is a common everyday term. As such, it is widely used in both public and political discourse in Pakistan. The Heads of State/Government employ the term <dictatorship> and its Urdu equivalent <آمریت> /ɑ:mɪrɪjəʃɪp/ in their speeches/statements. The analysis of the inaugural speeches revealed that <dictatorship> and its Urdu substitute <آمریت> /ɑ:mɪrɪjəʃɪp/ was used as an ideograph. The ideograph <dictatorship> and its Urdu synonym <آمریت> /ɑ:mɪrɪjəʃɪp/ or its plural <آمریتوں> /ɑ:mɪrɪjəʃɪp̃/ [dictatorships] appeared 13 times (03 in English and 10 in Urdu –with 09 <آمریت> and 01 <آمریتوں>) in 06 speeches, as detailed in Table 4.39 at *Appendix B* to this study. The ideograph occurred in the speeches of Prime Ministers and Presidents only, with a frequency of (0.019%) and (0.003%) respectively but it was not found in the speeches of Governor Generals and Military Leaders, as shown in Figure 4.39 at *Appendix C* to this study. This is possibly because, as elected and democratic representatives of the people, Prime Ministers support democratic ideology against dictatorial rule in any form. This is also

corroborated by the Prime Ministers' overuse of the negative ideograph <martial law>, as explained in *Section 4.4.7 <Martial Law>* of this thesis.

The diachronic analysis of the speeches revealed that the ideograph first appeared in the inaugurals in 1971 and then recurred in 1973. In the subsequent period, the ideograph did not occur in the speeches for almost one and a half decades and resurfaced first in 1988 and then in 1993. Again, the ideograph did not show up in the speeches for almost two decades and reemerged in 2012-13. The ideograph <dictatorship> was used mostly by Heads of State/Government from Pakistan Peoples Party. For instance, the ideograph first appeared in 1971 in the speech of President and Civilian Chief Martial Law Administrator Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. Later, he also used it in his inaugural speech as Prime Minister in 1973. This ideograph also appeared in the speech of Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto, the daughter of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, in 1988 after she became the first female Prime Minister of Pakistan and then in the speech of Prime Minister Raja Pervez Ashraf in 2012. Except for the caretaker President Wasim Sajjad's speech in 1993, the ideograph was also used by Prime Minister Mian Mohammed Nawaz Sharif from Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz), who used this ideograph only in his speech in 2013 when he came into power once again after his removal by General Parvez Musharraf in 1999. Interestingly, this ideograph was not found in the earlier inaugurals delivered by Prime Minister Mian Mohammed Nawaz Sharif in 1990, 1993 and 1997, although three martial laws had already been imposed in the country prior to 1990. Moreover, the analysis of individual Heads of State/Government revealed that the frequency of <dictatorship> was the highest in the speech of Prime Minister Mian Mohammed Nawaz Sharif in 2013. While the ideograph has not been defined in the speeches, it has always been depicted in negative terms and regarded as mother of all ills. For instance, President Wasim Sajjad in 1993 said:

یہاں آمریت کو کبھی اچھا نہیں سمجھا گیا۔ اور نہ برداشت کیا گیا۔

Translation:

Dictatorship was never regarded as good nor tolerated in Pakistan.

Similarly, Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto in 1988 said:

یہ آمریت کا اثر ہوا ہے کہ جب قانون کا احترام نہیں کیا گیا تو پھر پورے ملک کے اندر لوگوں نے قانون کا احترام نہیں کیا، جب حکومت ہندوق کے زور پر چلائی گئی تو ہمارے نوجوانوں میں بھی یہ خیال پیدا ہوا کہ اصل قوت ہندوق سے آتی ہے۔ قانون سے نہیں آتی۔

Translation:

One result of dictatorship has been that lack of respect for law led the people to disregard the law. Since the Government was run at gunpoint, our youth got the notion that real power comes from the gun, not through the law.

Likewise, Prime Minister Mian Mohammed Nawaz Sharif in 2013 stated:

ہماری تاریخ گواہ ہے کہ جب بھی آمریت آئی پاکستان کو شدید نقصان پہنچا اور وفاق کی اکائیاں ایک دوسرے سے دور ہوئیں۔ جب بھی آمریت آئی انتہا پسندی، قانون شکنی اور بد امنی کو فروغ ملا۔ جب بھی آمریت آئی عالمی برادری میں پاکستان کا وقار مجروح ہوا اور جناب سپیکر! ہم تو یہ سانحہ بھی دیکھ چکے ہیں کہ آمریت کے سبب پاکستان دو ٹکڑے ہو گیا۔

Translation:

History is witness to the fact that whenever dictatorship was imposed, Pakistan suffered heavily and distances between federating units widened. Whenever dictatorship came, extremism, law-breaking and unrest increased. Whenever dictatorship came, Pakistan's dignity in international community was undermined; and honourable speaker, we have also witnessed that Pakistan disintegrated into two parts due to dictatorship.

Also, the ideograph appeared in the sense of commitment to end <dictatorship> and ensure civil rule. For instance, President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in 1971 stated: "I want suffocation to end. I know what it means under dictatorship that decides fundamental matters in their own manner. This is not the way civilized countries are run. Civilization means Civil Rule". Likewise, Prime Minister Raja Pervez Ashraf in 2012 stated:

ڈکٹیٹر شپ نے اپنے شکنجے بڑی مضبوطی کے ساتھ ہمارے معاشرے میں گاڑے ہوئے تھے۔ نہ صرف پاکستان پیپلز پارٹی نے بلکہ اس طرف بیٹھے ہوئے معزز اراکین نے اور ان تمام بڑی جماعتوں نے ہر جمہوری ذہن رکھنے والے پاکستانی نے لازوال قربانیاں دیں۔

Translation:

Dictatorship was deeply entrenched in our society. Not only Pakistan Peoples Party but also honourable members sitting on this side, all major political parties and every Pakistani with a democratic mindset rendered imperishable sacrifices.

4.4.7 <Martial Law>; <مارشل لاء> /mɑ:rfəl lɑ:/ [martial law]

The term *Martial Law* points to the military origins of dictatorship (Rossiter, 1948). It may refer to an arbitrary government with military power (Minattur, 1962) or extraordinary military power employed in times of emergency (Warshauer, 2006). The concept of Martial Law was introduced in British India by the colonial government for crushing resistance

movement and, from time to time, martial law was imposed in India by the British government. It was implemented in Punjab in the 1920s following the Jillianwala Bagh's massacre; it was imposed in North West Frontier Province (Now Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) in 1930s, and in Sindh in 1942 against the Hur Movement. However, all these martial laws were imposed by a civilian government and were lifted after the resistance was successfully quelled. In Pakistan, the first martial law was implemented by a civilian government in Lahore in 1953 in the wake of anti-Ahmadi Movement. Later, the country also witnessed four martial laws imposed by military leaders in 1958, 1969, 1977 and 1999 on the basis of the *Doctrine of Necessity*. As such, the term *Martial Law* is commonly used in the public and political discourse of Pakistan. The analysis of the inaugural speeches revealed that <martial law> or <مارشل لاء> /mɑ:ɾʃəl lɑ:/ [martial law] was used as an ideograph and appeared 10 times (05 in English and as many in Urdu) in 07 speeches, as detailed in Table 4.40 at *Appendix B* to this study. The ideograph occurred in the speeches of Prime Ministers and Presidents only, with a frequency of (0.012%) and (0.005%) respectively but it was not found in the speeches of Governor Generals and Military Leaders, as shown in Figure 4.40 at *Appendix C* to this study. One of the possible explanations could be that Prime Ministers showed their commitment to <democracy>, rather than <martial law> to strengthen democratic governments in the country.

The diachronic analysis of <martial law> showed that the ideograph first appeared in inaugurals in 1960. In the subsequent period, the ideograph did not occur in the speeches for over a decade and resurfaced in 1971, 1973 and 1977, followed by 1985 and 1988. Thus, the occurrence of the ideograph in the speeches was, for the most part, observed between 1971-88. Although the country saw another martial law in 1999, this ideograph did not occur in the inaugural speeches beyond 1988. Instead, <dictatorship> was observed in the speeches afterwards. Successive governments portrayed <martial law> in negative sense and demonstrated their commitment to end <martial law> as soon as possible and restore <democracy>. For instance, President Mohammed Ayub Khan in 1960 declared: “As matters stand at the moment, it is my obligation to give the country a constitution in order to be able

to withdraw Martial Law”. Likewise, the first Civilian Chief Martial Law Administrator and President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in 1971 stated: “I would not like to see Martial Law remain one day longer than necessary, one minute more than necessary, one second more than necessary”. Similarly, President Fazal Elahi Chaudhry in 1973 stated: “Within a short period of four months, he (Zulfikar Ali Bhutto) ended Martial Law and have the country an interim Constitution”. In the like manner, Prime Minister Muhammad Khan Junejo in 1985 said:

میں نے وزارت عظمیٰ قبول کرنے سے پہلے صدر پاکستان سے درخواست کی تھی کہ دو چیزیں کبھی بھی زیادہ وقت تک ایک ساتھ نہیں چل سکتیں، ایک مارشل لاء اور دوسری سول حکومت۔ میں نے ان سے درخواست کی کہ ہم ایک پروگرام کے تحت اس transitory period کو cover کریں تاکہ جتنا جلد ہو سکے مارشل لاء سے نجات حاصل ہو۔

Translation:

Before accepting premiership, I had asked the President of Pakistan that two things could never go together for long: one is martial law and the other is civil government. I had asked him that we would cover this transitory period under a programme so as to get rid of martial law as soon as possible.

Later, Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto in 1988 stated:

گزشتہ چالیس سالوں میں عوام نے تین بار بے رحم مارشل لاء کے ہاتھوں دکھ سہے ہیں۔

Translation:

In the last forty years, the people have suffered three times at the hands of ruthless martial law.

4.5 SECTION 5: Religion and Values-Focused Ideographs

Section 5 discusses *Religion and Values-Focused Ideographs*, which consisted of 09 Positive Ideographs and were divided into two sub-domains: Religion and Values. While Religion-Focused Ideographs included <Islam> and <faith>, Values-Focused Ideographs comprised <cause>, <dignity>, <equality>, <freedom>, <justice>, <peace> and <unity>.

4.5.1 <Islam>; <اسلام> /islɑ:m/ [islam]

The word *Islam* has special significance in Pakistani context because Pakistan was created in the name of Islam in 1947 (Philippon, 2014). Islam served as a unifying force in mobilizing people during Pakistan Movement and the country's Founding Fathers relied on appeals to Islam (Dhulipala, 2015). The word *Islam* or <اسلام>/islɑ:m/ is an everyday term in Pakistan, with strong positive connotations and powerful emotive force. The word repeatedly recurs in public discourse and speeches/statements of Heads of State/Government as well as politicians. The analysis of the inaugural speeches revealed that <Islam> or <اسلام>/islɑ:m/ was used as an ideograph, which appeared 58 times (21 in English and 37 in Urdu) in 19 speeches, as detailed in Table 4.41 at *Appendix B* to this study. The ideograph occurred with varying frequencies in the speeches of Military Leaders (0.103%), Governor Generals (0.078%), Presidents (0.054%) and Prime Ministers (0.032%), as shown in Figure 4.41 at *Appendix C* to this study. Thus, the highest percentage of the ideograph was observed in the speeches of Military Leaders.

The diachronic analysis of the speeches revealed that the ideograph first appeared in inaugurals in 1948 and recurred in the first decade and afterwards till 1960. In the subsequent period, the ideograph did not occur in the speeches for a decade and resurfaced in 1971. Later, the ideograph appeared in the speeches in the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s, although with some intervals. In the last two decades from 2001-18, the ideograph recurred between 2004-14. Thus, the occurrence of the ideograph in the speeches could be divided into three periods: 1948-60; 1971-98; 1998-2014. The ideograph appeared in the speeches in both

national and international contexts. The focus of the ideograph in the first two periods (1948-60 & 1971-98) was on national context, while it was on international context in the third period (1998-2014), with the exception of 2014. In the national context, <Islam> in the speeches appeared as a very complex concept, lending itself to multiple interpretations. As such, it was variously interpreted and an appeal made to people to advance their understanding of <Islam> and comprehend its true spirit. For instance, President General Mohammed Ayub Khan in 1960 stated: “In the fast-moving world of today when the horizon of man is widening...and the searchlight of his knowledge is extending more and more...our understanding of Islam should also move forward, not backwards”. Likewise, Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in 1977 sated: “Islam is an enlightened and a progressive force. Islam has never sanctioned retrogression. This is how we interpret Islam”. In the like manner, President Mohammed Rafiq Tarar in 1998 said:

میں معاشرے کے تمام طبقوں سے اپیل کرتا ہوں کہ وہ اسلام کی روح کو پہچانیں۔

Translation

I appeal all sections of society to understand the spirit of Islam.

Also, the ideograph in the national context occurred in the speeches in three different senses: *force*, *religion* and *system*. In the sense of force, the ideograph appeared as a motivational force at the time of crises, particularly the death of a leader or the secession of the country in 1971. For instance, Governor General Malik Ghulam Mohammad, on the assassination of Prime Minister Liaqat Ali Khan in 1951, sated: “We believe in Islam and as Muslims the martyrdom of our great leader will only stimulate us to further action and strength...Equipped with the essentials of Islam, I am sure we can face the future with confidence”. In a like manner, President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, after the secession of East Pakistan in 1971, stated: “We will march to a great and more glorious Pakistan. This we will do because we have faith in Islam”. In the sense of religion, the ideograph was used for both personal commitment as well as collective commitment and identification. In case of personal commitment to serve <Islam>, Prime Minister Chaudhry Mohammed Ali in 1955 said: “I shall spare nothing, not even my life, in the service of...Islam”. Similarly, Prime Minister Ibrahim Ismail Chaudrigar in 1957 said: “I shall do all that I can to serve ... Islam”. In case

of collective commitment and identification, Prime Minister Hussain Shaheed Suharwardi in 1956 said: “We are Muslims and the principles of Islam are dear to us. But let us not always exploit its name in justification or in condemnation of our acts”. Likewise, President Ghulam Ishaq Khan in December 1988 said:

اسلام ہمارا دین بھی ہے، ہمارا نظریہ حیات بھی اور ہماری شناخت بھی۔

Translation

Islam is our religion, ideology and identity.

In the sense of a system, the ideograph appeared as an independent political system in 1977. However, prior to that it occurred in two different forms in the first period (1948-60), with an ideological shift in 1971 in the second period (1971- 98). In the first period, <Islam> was used as a basis for constitution-making and as a support for running democracy in the country. For instance, Prime Minister Ch. Mohammed Ali in 1955 said: “It must be a Constitution that will do credit to the finest traditions of Islam”. On the other hand, as a support for running democracy in the country, General Mohammed Ayub Khan in 1958 stated: “...democracy has been run in Pakistan...in the sacred name of Islam”. In the second period (1971-98), two major ideological shifts occurred: The first was a change from Islamic Democracy to Islamic Socialism, which was witnessed in 1971, as President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto stated: “...Islam with social progress, based on what we consider to be Islamic Socialism, based on brotherhood, equality, and a feeling of tolerance and association”. The emphasis on Islamic Socialism continued till 1977. The second shift was towards Islamic System as an independent political entity, which occurred after the declaration of Martial Law in 1977 by General Mohammed Zia-ul-Haq. <Islam> was used as an ideological base of Pakistan, entailing Islamic System. For instance, General Mohammed Zia-ul-Haq in 1977 said:

پاکستان جو اسلام کے نام پر قائم ہوا تھا وہ اسلام کے نام پر ہی قائم رہے گا، جس کے لئے اسلامی نظام اشد ضروری ہے۔

Translation

Pakistan, which was created in the name of Islam, will survive only in the name of Islam, for which Islamic System is absolutely essential.

Thus, during the rule of President General Mohammed Zia-ul-Haq from 1977-88, emphasis was laid on <اسلام> نظام or *Islamic System* and <اسلام> نفاذ or *Enforcement of Islamic System*. More so, a departure from the traditional closing salutation of پاکستان زندہ باد or *Pakistan Zindabad* in the inaugurals was observed and instead the slogans of اسلام زندہ باد or *Islam Zindabad* in the inaugurals was observed and instead the slogans of اسلام زندہ باد or *Islam Zindabad* were introduced as closing salutations in the inaugural speeches by President General Mohammed Zia-ul-Haq in 1978 and 1984. President General Mohammed Zia-ul-Haq also announced the Enforcement of Islamic System in the country on the first Muharram-ul-Haram, the first month of the Islamic calendar, on December 2, 1978:

اس مبارک سال کے آغاز پر ہمارے ملک میں نظام اسلام کے نفاذ کا اعلان ہو رہا ہے۔۔۔ نظام اسلام ہی ہماری منزل تھی۔ نظام اسلام ہی ہماری منزل ہے اور نظام اسلام ہی ہماری منزل رہے گی۔

Translation

This blessed year begins with the announcement of the enforcement of the Islamic System in our country...Islamic System was our destination. It is our destination and it will remain our destination.

Highlighting the delay of three decades in the enforcement of Islamic System in the country, President General Mohammed Zia-ul-Haq in his speech of December 2, 1978 also stated:

اس نظام کو رائج کرنے کا عہد مسلمانانِ پاک وہند نے اسی روز کر لیا تھا جب انہوں نے ایک الگ قوم ہونے کے حوالے سے ایک الگ ملک کا مطالبہ کیا تھا۔ یہ مقام افسوس ہے کہ ملک تو قائم ہو گیا، لیکن اس میں نظام اسلام قائم نہ ہو سکا۔ بہت سے سیاست دانوں نے اسلام کے نام پر اپنی سیاست چکائی اور بہت سے حکمرانوں نے نظام اسلام کے وعدے پر اپنی من مانی کی۔

Translation

The Muslims of the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent had pledged to introduce Islamic System on the very day they made a demand for a separate homeland on the basis of being a separate nation. It is a pity that though the country has been established, Islamic System could not be introduced. Many a politician exploited the name of Islam and many a ruler did what he pleased in the promise of Islamic System.

Also, President General Mohammed Zia-ul-Haq justified the conduct of a referendum in 1984 in the name of <Islam> and continuity of Islamic System in the country. Even after the death of President General Mohammed Zia-ul-Haq in August 1988, the imprints of his

emphasis on <Islam> and Islamic System continued to recur in the subsequent speeches. For instance, President Ghulam Ishaq Khan in December 1988 said:

یہ ملک اسلام کے نام پر حاصل کیا گیا تھا اور اسلام سے وابستگی کے سہارے ہی قائم رہ سکتا ہے۔

Translation

This country was created in the name of Islam and can survive only on the basis of commitment to Islam.

Similarly, Prime Minister Ghulam Mustafa Khan Jatoi in 1990 regarded <Islam> as Pakistan's guiding ideology. Likewise, Prime Minister Shaukat Aziz in 2004 said:

پاکستان اسلام کا قلعہ ہے۔

Translation

Pakistan is a citadel of Islam.

A shift in the speeches towards international context was observed in the third period (1998-2014). Except for 2014, the rest of this period from 1998-2012 was international-focused. Although this shift was noticeable in 1998, the post 9/11 world scenario was also one of the main reasons for this change to occur. In the international context, <Islam> appeared in three connotations: crisis, solution strategy, and image building. For instance, President Mohammed Rafiq Tarar in 1998 said:

مغربی دنیا میں اسلام کے تصور کو مسخ کر کے پیش کیا جا رہا ہے جس سے اسلام۔۔۔ کے بارے میں غلط تاثر قائم ہو رہا ہے۔ اس امر کی اشد ضرورت ہے کہ ہمارے اہل علم و دانش مختلف عالمی زبانوں میں ایسا موثر لٹریچر تیار کریں جو اسلام کے حقیقی تصور کو اجاگر کر سکے۔

Translation

The concept of Islam is being distorted in the Western world, creating a misconception about Islam. There is an urgent need for our scholars and intellectuals to produce effective literature in different world languages that can highlight the true concept of Islam.

In the like manner, Prime Minister Shaukat Aziz in 2004 said:

ہمیں اسلام۔۔۔ کو درپیش challenges کا پوری طرح احساس ہے۔ ہمیں یقین ہے کہ روشن خیال میانہ روی جسے enlightened moderation بھی کہتے ہیں ان challenges کا سامنا کرنے کا بہترین طریقہ ہے۔

Translation

We are fully aware of the challenges facing... Islam. We believe that the concept of Enlightened Moderation is the best way to meet these challenges.

Thus, Prime Minister Shaukat Aziz in 2004 reiterated the idea of *enlightened moderation*, which was introduced by President General Parvez Musharraf in September,

2003 while addressing the 58th Session of the United Nations General Assembly (Ahmad & Sajjad, 2019). Enlightened moderation was a strategy designed to resolve growing threats of ideological confrontation between Islam and the West in the wake of 9/11 in 2001. Pakistan, in particular, was vulnerable to this confrontational discourse owing to two reasons: Being an Islamic State and a frontline state in the War on Terrorism. Religious extremism became a major concern of the world and it was attributed to <Islam>. As such, Prime Minister Raja Pervez Ashraf in 2012 said:

مذہبی شدت پسندی سے اسلام کو ناقابل تلافی نقصان پہنچا۔

Translation

Rreligious extremism...inflicted irreparable damage on Islam.

Hence, the damage caused to <Islam> can be remedied through its image building by devising different strategies such as *Enlightened Moderation*.

4.5.2 <Faith>; <ایمان> /i:ma:n/[faith]

The word *faith* has a two-fold combination of trust and belief (Rendall, 2014). The word has two equivalents in Urdu and is translated as *Yaqin* meaning *certitude* and *Iman* denoting belief. While *Yaqin* is secular in nature, *Iman* is more religious in connotation. *Faith* was a very important and crucial word for Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the Founder of Pakistan, and the second word in his motto, *Unity, Faith, Discipline* (Devji, 2013). However, during General Mohammed Zia-ul-Haq rule (1977-88), the word faith was placed before unity and thus Jinnah's motto of *Unity, Faith, Discipline* was presented as *Faith, Unity, Discipline* (Paracha, 2017). As such, the word *faith* is an everyday term in Pakistan, with strong positive connotations and powerful emotive force. The word repeatedly recurs in public discourse and speeches/statements of Heads of State/Government as well as politicians. The analysis of the inaugural speeches revealed that the word <*faith*> and its Urdu equivalent <ایمان> was used as an ideograph, which appeared 31 times (29 in English and 2 in Urdu) in 13 speeches, as detailed in Table 4.42 at *Appendix B* to this study. The ideograph occurred with varying

frequencies in the speeches of Prime Ministers (0.027%), Presidents (0.025%) and Military Leaders (0.021%) but it was not found in the speeches of Governor Generals, as shown in Figure 4.42 at *Appendix C* to this study. Thus, the highest percentage of the ideograph was observed in the speeches of Prime Ministers.

The diachronic analysis of the speeches revealed that the ideograph first appeared in inaugurals in 1947 and then recurred in 1956 and continued till 1973. In the subsequent period of one and half decades, the ideograph was not found but it resurfaced in 1988 and then showed up in 1993. Once again, the ideograph did not occur in the speeches for almost a decade. The ideograph reemerged in 2002 and in the subsequent period did not appear in the speeches till September 2018, the time of the last inaugural in the country's history. Thus, the occurrence of the ideograph in the speeches was mainly observed between 1956-1973. Diachronically, the ideograph in the speeches occurred in two connotations: religious and secular. In the religious connotation, the ideograph referred to belief in God and Islam and it also occurred in the manifestation of <spiritual faith>. In the religious connotation, the ideograph in the speeches also appeared in four senses: source of external and internal unity, justification, achievement and intrinsic force. As a source of unity, the ideograph referred to unity between Muslims of other countries (India, Afghanistan) as well as between the people of the two Wings of Pakistan (prior to December 1971). For instance, just after creation of Pakistan in 1947, Prime Minister Liaqat Ali Khan said: "Our brothers in faith in the Indian Union continue to suffer aggression and humiliation for no other fault than that of being Muslims". Likewise, President Isakandar Mirza in 1956 stated: "As for Afghanistan...they are our brothers-in-faith". In the same vein, Prime Minister Noor-ul-Amin in 1971 appealed: "All Pakistanis are brethren in faith and bound by fraternity". As justification for policies/decisions, the ideograph was used by President General Mohammed Ayub Khan in 1960 to justify his decision of making a new Constitution for the country: "What I am after is to bring a Constitution under which we can ...be true to our faith". In the sense of achievement, Prime Minister Noor-ul-Amin in 1971 stated: "With faith...we have defeated the enemy in the past...with faith...we shall foil the enemy's designs". Using the ideograph

in the sense of intrinsic force, Prime Minister Ibrahim Ismail Chaudhry in 1957 said: "...with faith in our hearts...the people of Pakistan will go forward from strength to strength".

On the other hand, in its secular connotation, the ideograph occurred in the speeches in three senses: trust or confidence, justification and intention. The ideograph in the sense of trust or confidence denoted reciprocal trust or confidence of Heads of State/Government in people and vice versa. For instance, Prime Minister Hussain Shaheed Suharwardi in 1956 said: "I have full faith in the patriotism of my people". Similarly, President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in 1971 stated: "Please have faith in me because I have infinite faith in you". In the like manner, President General Pervez Musharraf in 2002 said: "I am proud of the fact that people think that they have so much faith in me. They showed their faith and that was why this massive turnout".

In the sense of justification of decision/action, the ideograph was used to justify the declaration of Martial Law by General Mohammed Ayub Khan in 1958 (researcher's additions in brackets): "But lately I could see that they [people] were beginning to lose faith even in us for not saving them from the tyranny and mental and spiritual torture". Similarly, the ideograph was used in the sense of intention for justification of action. While justifying his action of withdrawing ban on National Awami Party (NAP) which was imposed by President General Mohammed Yahya Khan on November 26, 1971, President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in December 1971 stated: "I am withdrawing the ban on the National Awami Party...I have done it in good faith".

4.5.3 <Cause>

The word *cause* generally signifies origin and refers to the source or reason of an event or action (Breva-Claramonte, 1983). The term also means an aim or principle, exceeding selfish desires and thus worth striving for (Barnard & Parker, 2012), such as protecting the homeland or preservation of freedom. It is in this latter sense that the word *cause* is used in politics to mobilize audience towards the aim. The cause is always wrapped in a façade of high ideals

(DiJoseph, 2010). The term is also used in political discourse in Pakistan. The Heads of State/Government employ the term *cause* in their speeches/statements. The analysis of the inaugural speeches revealed that <cause> was used as an ideograph, which appeared 16 times in 08 speeches, as detailed in Table 4.43 at *Appendix B* to this study. The ideograph occurred with varying frequencies in the speeches of Governor Generals (0.129%), Military Leaders (0.021%), Prime Ministers (0.009%) and Presidents (0.008%), as shown in Figure 4.43 at *Appendix C* to this study. Thus, the highest percentage of the ideograph was observed in the speeches of Governor Generals.

The diachronic analysis of the speeches revealed that the ideograph appeared mostly in the first three decades (1947-77) of the country's history. In the subsequent period, it did not occur and reemerged from 2002-2008. Also, its employment in the speeches occurred in domestic, regional and international contexts in both direct and implied manner. Its direct use involved the explicit mention of another ideograph with <cause>. In this case, the ideograph <cause> appeared throughout the speeches with six other ideographs, including <Pakistan>, <democracy>, <people>, <country>, <nation> and <peace>. For instance, while thanking people for their support in elections, President General Mohammed Ayub Khan in 1965 said: "...they too have served the cause of democracy". In the same vein, Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto after winning elections in 1977 stated: "...politicians or others in public life may...choose to dedicate their services to the cause of people". On the other hand, in case of its implied use, <cause> did not appear with other ideographs. Rather, it occurred by itself, either preceded or followed by adjectives such as *just*, *righteous*, *great*, and *common*; appearing in combination or alone with <cause>. For instance, Governor General Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the Founding Father of Pakistan, in his inaugural speech in August 1947 stated: "Muslims of India have shown to the world that ...their cause is just and righteous". Here, the use of <cause> is implied. Speaking retrospectively, he was probably referring to the cause of a separate homeland whose realization was made possible in the creation of Pakistan. Similarly, President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in his speech in 1971 after secession of Pakistan said: "There can be no doubt that we will succeed. Pakistan was made for a great cause".

Again, the use of <cause> is implied not direct. He did not explicitly mention the <great cause> for which Pakistan was made. Speaking prospectively, he tried to rebuild people's confidence and hope in the future. Probably, he alluded to the cause of Islam. It is important to point out that both these speeches were delivered on significant occasions in the country's history. The speech by Governor General Mohammad Ali Jinnah occurred just after the creation of Pakistan and the one by President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was after the secession of formerly East Pakistan. Both the speeches followed a common pattern of using <cause> in an implied manner.

The ideograph also occurred in the speeches in two senses: commitment and justification of policy, action or rule. For instance, showing his commitment, Governor General Isakandar Mirza in his speech in 1955 declared: "We cannot let the cause of the people of Kashmir lapse under the pressure... We do not consider any sacrifice too great to uphold your cause". Likewise, President Asif Ali Zardari in his speech in 2008 stated: "Pakistan will continue to extend full support to the Palestinian cause of self-determination". In the sense of justification of his action, General Mohammed Ayub Khan in his speech in 1958 mentioned: "I refused on several occasions the late Mr Ghulam Mohammad's offer to take over the country. I did so in the belief that I could serve the cause of Pakistan better from the place where I was". On the other hand, responding to the rumours of support to Pakistan National Alliance (PNA), nine-party Opposition, by the Muslim countries, Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in 1977 said: "I do not think that any Muslim country would support such a heterogeneous, obscurantist and negative Opposition. We have espoused the cause of the Islamic world more vigorously than any of the previous Governments of Pakistan".

4.5.4 <Dignity>; <ڤڤ> /vəqɑ:r/ [dignity]

The word *dignity* frequently recurs in cultural conversations, constitutions, declarations, international conventions, social movements and discussions for rights and privileges of citizenship (Rosen, 2012). As such, Article 14 (1) of the 1973 Constitution of Pakistan also guarantees protection of "dignity of man" and regards it an inviolable fundamental right.

More so, Islam also accords great value to “dignity of man”. As a result, the word serves as a powerful rhetorical device and appears in the speeches and statements of Heads of State/Government. In 1993, President Ghulam Ishaq Khan described the address of Prime Minister Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif to the nation as subversion, violating Article 14 (1) of the 1973 Constitution, as the Prime Minister assailed the President by making personal attacks on the him (Rehman, 2018). The analysis of the inaugural speeches revealed that <dignity> or /d̪iː/vəqɑːr/ was used as an ideograph, which appeared 29 times (06 in English and 23 in Urdu) in 18 speeches, as detailed in Table 4.44 at *Appendix B* to this study. The ideograph occurred with varying frequencies in the speeches of Military Leaders (0.041%), Prime Ministers (0.027%) and Presidents (0.020%), but it was not found in the speeches of Governor Generals, as shown in Figure 4.44 at *Appendix C* to this study. Thus, the highest percentage of the ideograph was observed in the speeches of Military Leaders.

The diachronic analysis of the speeches revealed that the ideograph first appeared in inaugurals in 1947 and recurred in 1957 and 1960. In the subsequent period of more than one and a half decades, the ideograph was not found but it resurfaced in 1977. And then after falling into disuse for almost a decade, it reemerged in 1988 and continued to recur in the 90s. However, in the last two decades between 2001–2018, the ideograph frequently appeared from 2002–14. Thus, the occurrence of the ideograph was, for the most part, observed between 1988–98 as well as 2002–14. Diachronically, the ideograph in the speeches appeared in four senses: commitment, appeal, goal or mission and justification of policies/actions. More so, the ideograph mainly occurred at three levels: individual, institutional and national. At individual level, <dignity> was used in both internal and external orientations. In the former case, <dignity> was used as an obligation that was *people-oriented*, intended to be achieved from within. For instance, President General Mohammed Ayub Khan in his speech in 1960 declared <dignity> as an individual obligation and urged people to develop a national attitude, which rises above pettiness and personal as well as parochial interests. In the latter case, <dignity> was used in two dimensions: *leadership-oriented* and *religion-oriented*. For example, Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto

in 1977 claimed that he had given people “a new sense of dignity”. Thus, he took credit of cultivating <dignity> among people. Similarly, President Mohammed Rafiq Tarar in 1998 highlighted that each individual had a personal right to <dignity>, as bestowed on them by Islam. Thus, <dignity> was used in a religious sense and was regarded as a right of each individual.

At institutional level, <dignity> occurred in three different ways: referring to institutions in general; with names of institutions; and with the term profession. Again, the ideograph appeared in both internal and external orientations. In the first case, it was used as a personal and constitutional obligation, calling upon members to uphold <dignity> of their professions and institutions. Thus, <dignity> was *members-oriented*. For instance, urging personnel of the Armed Forces, General Mohammed Zia-ul-Haq in 1977 said:

اپنے فرائض ادا کرتے وقت اپنے اور اپنے پیشے کے وقار کو پیش نظر رکھیں۔

Translation

While performing your duties, keep yours and your profession’s dignity in view.

Moreover, President Sardar Farooq Ahmed Khan Laghari, while addressing Parliament in 1994, urged parliamentarians that:

گالم گلوچ اور ذاتی حملے سے پارلیمنٹ کا وقار۔۔۔ متاثر ہوتا ہے۔ جسے قائم رکھنا ہم سب کا آئینی فرض ہے۔

Translation

Verbal abuse and personal attacks---affect dignity of Parliament. It is our constitutional obligation to uphold it.

In the external sense, <dignity> was leadership-oriented. For instance, Prime Minister Syed Yousaf Raza Gillani in 2008 stated:

ہم اداروں۔۔۔ کی۔۔۔ dignity پر compromise نہیں کریں گے۔

Translation

We will not compromise on dignity of institutions.

At national level, <dignity> occurred in the manifestation of <national dignity> and also apperaed with five words, that is, Pakistan, nation, flag, law and justice. In its manifestation of <national dignity>, the ideograph was used as a goal or mission. For instance, Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto in her speech in 1988 pledged to instill <national dignity> among people to keep the nation united. While <national dignity> was set as a goal,

its meaning was far from clear and its definition in the speeches was not found. However, Heads of State/Government in their speeches highlighted four social evils, including incompetence, nepotism, corruption and lack of passion for service which, according to them, damaged <national dignity>. Thus, with the help of contrast concepts or through negation, it became clear that these four social evils should be avoided to restore <national dignity>. With the words Pakistan and nation, the focus remained on restoring protecting and raising the <dignity> of Pakistan/nation in international community. For instance, Prime Minister Mian Mohammed Nawaz Sharif, showing his commitment to restore Pakistan's dignity, stated in 1993:

پاکستان کے۔۔۔ وقار کو ریستور کریں گے۔

Translation

We shall restore the dignity...of Pakistan.

Similarly, President Parvez Musharraf, after his decision to take off uniform in 2007, stated: "...with me as a civilian President and General Kayani as Army Chief, this way we will be able to protect the... dignity of this nation". <Dignity> also occurred with the word *flag*, representing the country in a symbolic manner and with the words *law* and *justice*. For instance, Prime Minister Liaqat Ali Khan in 1947 urged the Armed Forces to uphold <dignity> of national flag to keep it forever flying. Likewise, President Sardar Farooq Ahmed Leghari in 1994 stated:

ہمیں اپنے ذرائع ابلاغ کے ذریعے اور تعلیمی نظام کے ذریعے لوگوں کے دلوں میں قانون اور انصاف کا وقار بحال کرنا چاہیے۔

Translation

We should restore dignity of law and justice in the hearts of people through media and education system.

<Dignity> was also used as a justification for policies, decisions or actions. For instance, Prime Minister Ibrahim Ismail Chandrigar in 1957 stated: "Our foreign policy will be...consistent with the honour and dignity of a free nation". Similarly, justifying his decision of holding referendum to extend his tenure in office, General Mohammed Zia-ul-Haq in 1984, said:

ریفرنڈم نے ہمیں۔۔۔ وقار دیا ہے۔

Translation

Referendum has given us...dignity.

4.5.5 <Equality>; <مساوات> /musa:va:t̪ /; <برابری> /bəra:bəri/ [equality]

According to Johnson (2005), the word equality became a reforming idea after the French Revolution (1789–99) and it was among one of the key words in the Revolution’s *Liberty, Equality, Fraternity* slogan, which profoundly moved the people to action. Equality has become a political term and an ideological concept (Thompson, 2017). It has played an important role in politics as well as in social movements by oppressed and marginalised social groups and communities, which rely on *equality* to frame their claims (Holtug, 2013). Thus, the scope of *equality* is broad and the word applies to a range of contexts, encompassing social, judicial, political, economic and cultural dimensions. Its remit even extends to the private sphere, such as homes and workplaces. In Pakistan, *equality* appeared in the Objective Resolution of March 12, 1949 as an Islamic principle as well as a fundamental right with a focus on *equality of status*, *equality of opportunity* and *equality before the law*. Subsequently, the word also occurred in the Constitutions of 1956, 1962 and 1973 (the current one). For instance, the 1962 Constitution states that “in the interest of equality itself, it is necessary to compensate for existing inequalities, whether natural, social, economic or of any other kind”. Thus, the term *equality* or its Urdu alternatives <مساوات> /musa:va:t̪/ or <برابری> /bəra:bəri/ has mass appeal and is found in the public and political discourse in the country. The analysis of the inaugural speeches revealed that <equality > and its substitutes <مساوات> /musa:va:t̪/ or <برابری> /bəra:bəri/ was used as an ideograph, which appeared 17 times (04 in English and 13 in Urdu – with <مساوات> 07 times and <برابری> 06 times) in 11 speeches, as detailed in Table 4.45 at *Appendix B* to this study. The ideograph occurred with varying frequencies in the speeches of Governor Generals (0.026%), Military Leaders (0.021%), Presidents (0.017%) and Prime Ministers (0.009%), as shown in Figure 4.45 at *Appendix C* to this study. Thus, the highest percentage of the ideograph was observed in the speeches of Governor Generals.

The diachronic analysis of the speeches revealed that the ideograph also occurred in the speeches in four manifestations: <human equality>, <equality before the law>, <equality of opportunity> and <equality of status>. The analysis also revealed that the ideograph first appeared in inaugurals in 1948, followed by its occurrence in 1956. In the subsequent period till 1970, it was not found in the speeches. However, it re-emerged twice in the ensuing period, first from 1971 to 1994 and then from 2012–2018. Thus, the presence of the ideograph in the speeches can be divided into three periods: 1948-56; 1971-94 and 2012-18. While the ideograph in the first period (1948–56) mainly occurred in the secular sense, it appeared in both secular and religious senses in the remaining two periods (1971-94 & 2012-18). In secular sense, the ideograph referred to constitutional and administrative obligations at domestic level. For instance, President Isakandar Mirza stated in 1956: “It is...gratifying to note that ... the Constitution...guarantees to the minorities complete equality before law—equality of status and of opportunity”. Likewise, showing administrative obligation, General Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq, after imposition of Martial Law, in 1977 said:

میری یہ کوشش ہوگی کہ مارشل لاء انتظامیہ نہ صرف سب سے --- برابری کا برتاؤ کرے بلکہ عوام کو اس بات کا احساس بھی ہو۔

Translation

It would be my utmost endeavour to ensure that the Martial Law Administration not only treats all the people with ... equality but also makes them feel so.

Similarly, the ideograph in secular sense also referred to democratic obligation and a mark of dignity for justification of cooperation and relations with foreign countries. For instance, Governor General Khawaja Nazimuddin in 1948 stated:

ہم انسانی مساوات کے قائل ہیں --- اس لئے ہر ایک کے ساتھ دنیاوی امور میں تعاون کے لئے تیار ہیں۔ خواہ وہ ملک کسی مذہب کا ہو۔

Translation

We believe in human equality...Therefore, we are ready to cooperate with every nation in worldly affairs, regardless of the religion of the country.

Similarly, Prime Minister Raja Pervez Ashraf in 2012 said:

ہم --- امریکا اور عالمی برادری کے ساتھ --- برابری کی سطح پر تعلقات کو فروغ دیں گے۔

Translation

We...will promote relations with the United States and the international community...on equality basis.

On the other hand, in religious sense, the ideograph refers to a principle of Islam and Heads of State/Government showed their commitment to upholding and implementation of the Islamic tenet of <equality>. For instance, Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto in 1988 stated:

ہمارا نصب العین ہے کہ ہم۔۔ مساوات اور تحمل و برداشت کے اعلیٰ اسلامی اصولوں کی سر بلندی کے لئے کوشش کرتے رہیں گے۔

Translation

Our mission is to continue to strive for the supremacy of the highest Islamic principles of...equality and tolerance.

Similarly, President Mamnoon Hussain in 2014 said:

اسلام نے اپنی عالمگیر اور ابدی تعلیمات میں انسانوں کے درمیان مساوات سے کام لینے کا جو درس دیا، پاکستان میں اس کی عملی تصویر دکھائی دینی چاہیے۔

Translation

Equality for all is what Islam has taught in its universal and eternal teachings and its practical manifestation should be seen in Pakistan.

4.5.6 <Freedom>; <آزادی> /ɑ:zɑ:di/ [freedom]

The word *freedom* has strong positive connotations and powerful emotive force (Warburton, 2001). It frequently appears in social movements and political discourse and everyone appropriates it to own purposes (Dixon, 2010). It is also the most commonly used word in daily language (Figurski, 2012). The word *freedom* and its Urdu equivalent آزادی/ɑ:zɑ:di/ is an everyday term in Pakistan. The word repeatedly recurs in media, public discourse and speeches/statements of Heads of State/Government as well as politicians. The word also appeared in the title of political Marches carried out for expulsion of sitting Governments. For instance, Imran Khan organized “Azadi March” or “Freedom March” against the Government of Prime Minister Mian Mohammed Nawaz Sharif in 2014, while Maulana Fazal-ur-Rehman led Azadi (Freedom) March” against the government of Prime Minister Imran Khan in 2019. The analysis of the inaugural speeches revealed that <freedom> or <آزادی>/ɑ:zɑ:di/ was used as an ideograph, which appeared 41 times (09 in English and 32 in Urdu) in 20 speeches, as detailed in Table 4.46 at *Appendix B* to this study. The ideograph occurred with varying frequencies in the speeches of Governor Generals (0.129%), Presidents (0.035%) and Prime Ministers (0.027%), but it was not found in the speeches of Military Leaders, as shown in

Figure 4.46 at *Appendix C* to this study. Thus, the highest percentage of the ideograph was observed in the speeches of Governor Generals. The diachronic analysis of the speeches revealed that the ideograph first appeared in inaugurals in 1947 and recurred in the first decade and continued afterwards till 1960. In the subsequent period, the ideograph did not occur in the speeches for almost two and a half decades and resurfaced in 1984. Later, the ideograph appeared in the speeches in the 1980s and 1990s, although with some intervals. In the last two decades from 2001–2018, the ideograph recurred between 2004–14 and the focus in this period predominantly remained on media freedom.

The ideograph in the speeches also appeared in seven manifestations: <religious freedom>; <individual freedom>; <national freedom>; <economic freedom>; <political freedom>; <freedom of expression> and <freedom of Press/media>. These varied manifestations reflect multiple connotations of <freedom>. The ideograph in the speeches referred to both domestic and foreign contexts. In the domestic context, the ideograph occurred in both *secular* and *ideological* connotations. In its secular sense, <freedom> showed up as a blessing and its protection was regarded an obligation, while in the ideological sense it appeared as an Islamic principle. For instance, President Ghulam Ishaq Khan in 1988 said:

اب یہ ہمارا فرض ہے کہ آزادی --- کی اس عظیم نعمت کی نہ صرف دل و جان سے حفاظت کریں بلکہ اس کے استحکام کے لئے کوئی دقیقہ فریاد نہ کریں۔

Translation

It is now our duty not only to protect this great blessing of freedom --- wholeheartedly but also to leave no stone unturned for its stability.

Similarly, President Sardar Farooq Ahmed Leghari in 1994 stated:

--- آزادی --- کے اصولوں پر جو اسلام نے بتائے ہیں پورے طور پر عمل درآمد ہو گا۔

Translation

The principles of... freedom,... that Islam has laid down will be fully implemented.

Moreover, the ideograph in the domestic context also referred to *individual* and *particular groups*, including minorities and political prisoners. For instance, Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto in 1988 said:

جمہوری نظام کی بنیاد فرد کی آزادی ہے۔

Translation

Individual freedom is the basis of a democratic system.

Particular groups included minorities and political prisoners. For instance, President General Mohammed Zia-ul-Haq in 1984 said:

پاکستان میں۔۔۔ انھیں [اقلیتوں کو] اپنے مذہب پر عمل کرنے کی پوری آزادی ہے۔

Translation

In Pakistan...they [minorities] have complete freedom to practise their religion.

Likewise, Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto in 1988 said:

میں اپنے سیاسی قیدی بھائیوں کو کہنا چاہتی ہوں کہ۔۔۔ آپ کی آزادی ملک کے لئے بہت ضروری ہے۔

Translation

I want to tell my political prisoner brothers that...your freedom is very important for the country.

On the other hand, in the foreign context, the ideograph appeared in three senses: *struggle, justification of policy and identification*. In the sense of struggle, Governor General Khawaja Nazimuddin in 1948 stated:

اسلامی ملکوں پر نظر دوڑائیے ہر طرف مسلمان۔۔۔ آزادی۔۔۔ کے لئے جدوجہد کر رہے ہیں۔

Translation

Have a look at the Islamic countries. Muslims everywhere... are struggling for... freedom.

In the sense of justification of policy, Governor General Isakandar Mirza in 1955 said: "In our international policies, we stand for...freedom". In a like manner, Prime Minister Ibrahim Ismail Chaudrigar in 1957 said: "We appreciate the value of foreign pacts and alliances on the basis of...defence of freedom against aggressive anti-democratic forces". In the sense of identification, <freedom> loving tribes, states/countries and people were regarded as friends and commitment to support <freedom> movements of other countries was also shown. For instance, President Ghulam Ishaq Khan in December, 1988 stated:

پاکستان۔۔۔ قوموں کی آزادی۔۔۔ کا علمبردار ہے۔ ہم افریقہ اور جنوبی امریکہ میں آزادی۔۔۔ کی تحریکوں کی حمایت بھی جاری رکھیں گے۔

Translation

Pakistan...is a champion of...the freedom of nations. We will also continue to support freedom movements...in Africa and South America.

As such, both in the domestic and foreign contexts, <freedom> appeared in positive connotations and was presented as the quintessential value with great rhetorical potential to

unite the people and the government behind goals and policies. With those supporting <freedom> were positioned as friends and the ideograph also served as a primary rationale for policy decisions.

4.5.7 <Justice>; <انصاف>/msa:f/ [justice]

The word *justice* implies equal treatment of individuals in accordance with law and embodies not only the fair distribution of resources and rights but also punishment (Parekh, 2005). The word frequently appears in political and foreign policy discourse. *Justice* and its Urdu equivalent انصاف [msa:f] is an everyday term in Pakistan. The word has great mass appeal and as such was the motto of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (*Pakistan Movement for Justice*), a political party founded in 1996 and is currently in power. The word repeatedly recurs in public discourse and speeches/statements of Heads of State/Government as well as politicians. The analysis of the inaugural speeches revealed that <justice> or <انصاف> [msa:f] was used as an ideograph, which appeared 43 times (20 in English and 23 in Urdu) in 17 speeches, as detailed in Table 4.47 at *Appendix B* to this study. The ideograph occurred with varying frequencies in the speeches of Prime Ministers (0.043%), Military Leaders (0.041%), Presidents (0.027%) and Governor Generals (0.026%), as shown in Figure 4.47 at *Appendix C* to this study. Thus, the highest percentage of the ideograph was observed in the speeches of Prime Ministers.

The diachronic analysis of the speeches revealed that the ideograph first appeared in inaugurals in 1953 and then recurred in the first decade. In the subsequent period, the ideograph did not show up in the speeches for over a decade and reemerged in 1971. Afterwards, it continued to appear intermittently in the speeches in the 70s, 80s and 90s till 1998. Again, it did not occur in the speeches for a decade and resurfaced in 2008, followed by another hiatus of almost a decade. The ideograph reappeared in 2018 only. Thus, the occurrence of the ideograph in the speeches was, for the most part, observed between 1985–1998. Moreover, a sharp decline was noticed in the use of the ideograph in the last two

decades, as it occurred in the speeches only in 2008 and 2018. Diachronically, the ideograph <justice> also appeared in the speeches in three manifestations: <social justice>; <economic justice>; and <judicial justice>. The ideograph in the speeches also appeared in five senses: secular, ideological (Islamic), need, commitment and justification. In its secular sense, the ideograph referred to administrative obligation, as General Mohammed Zia-ul-Haq, after imposition of Martial Law in 1977, said:

میری یہ کوشش ہوگی کہ مارشل لاء انتظامیہ نہ صرف سب سے انصاف۔۔۔ کا برتاؤ کرے بلکہ عوام کو اس بات کا احساس بھی ہو۔

Translation

It would be my utmost endeavour to ensure that the Martial Law Administration not only treats all the people with justice...but also makes them feel so.

In its ideological sense, <justice> was considered as an Islamic principle. For instance, Prime Minister Hussain Shaheed Suharwardi in 1956 stated: “If we tread the path of justice...we are acting in accordance with the...principles of Islam”. In the sense of need, the ideograph appeared in both positive and negative shades. In its positive sense, <justice> was regarded as a prerequisite for stability, lasting political decisions as well as infusing a spirit of national dignity in the nation. For instance, ensuring stability through people’s confidence in government, Prime Minister Hussain Shaheed Suharwardi in 1956 said: “If the people feel that justice will be the watchword of the administration; that each one will get his dues and deserts; then and then only can stability be secured”. Likewise, President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in 1971 stated: “A political decision based on justice is a lasting decision”. Also, Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto said:

قوم کو متحد کرنے اور انصاف۔۔۔ کی بنیاد پر اس میں قومی وقار کا جذبہ پیدا کرنے کے لئے ہم انشاء اللہ معاشرہ میں امن و آشتی کی فضا پیدا کریں گے۔

Translation

In order to unite the nation and infuse a spirit of national dignity into it on the basis of justice...,we will create an atmosphere of peace and amity in the society.

Moreover, the need for establishing regard for <justice> was considered as a priority.

For instance, President Sardar Farooq Ahmed Leghari in 1994 stated:

ہمیں اپنے ذرائع ابلاغ کے ذریعے اور تعلیمی نظام کے ذریعے لوگوں کے دلوں میں۔۔۔ انصاف کا وقار بحال کرنا چاہیے۔

Translation

We should restore dignity of justice...in the hearts of people through media and education system.

On the other hand, in its negative sense, the focus remained on the problem of lack of access to <justice> by the poor people in police stations and in courts. For instance, underscoring the need for reforms in the department of police, Prime Minister Mian Mohammed Nawaz Sharif, in 1997 said:

پولیس کے اندر انقلابی تبدیلیاں لانے کی ضرورت ہے۔۔۔ غریب لوگوں کو انصاف نہیں ملتا۔

Translation

Revolutionary changes are needed in the police...The poor people do not get justice.

Likewise, highlighting the need for speedy justice in courts, President Arif-ur-Rehman Alvi in 2018 said:

نظام انصاف کی جانب بھی توجہ لازم ہے تاکہ غریب عوام نسلوں تک مقدمات کے چنگل میں پھنس کر مسائل کا شکار نہ ہوتے رہیں۔

Translation

Attention must also be paid to the justice system so that poor people do not get mired in court cases for generations.

Also, Sifarish culture and corruption were highlighted as the two major reasons for lack of access to <justice> for the poor. For instance, President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in 1971: I want each and every individual to be regarded as important. I do not want him to get his justice through “sifarish”. Prime Minister Imran Khan in 2018 said:

جو پیسہ۔۔۔ اس ملک میں عدالتی اور معاشی انصاف دینے پر خرچ ہونا تھا،۔۔۔ وہ لوگوں کی جیبوں میں گیا۔

Translation

The money...that was to have spent on provision of judicial and economic justice in this country went into people's pockets.

Thus, ensuring justice to the poor was based on three factors: introduction of police reforms, elimination of Sifarish culture and corruption. In the sense of commitment, the focus remained on provision of <justice> to all people in general as well as to special groups. In case of <justice> for all, Prime Minister Hussain Shaheed Suharwardi in 1956 said: “We shall mete out justice to all without fear or favour”. Similarly, Prime Minister Mian Mohammed Nawaz Sharif in 1997 stated:

ہم انشاء اللہ عوام کو انصاف فراہم کریں گے۔

Translation

Inshallah we will provide justice to people.

On the other hand, in case of <justice> for special groups, five categories were mentioned in the speeches, including minorities, all classes, government employees, labourers and women. For instance, Prime Minister Hussain Shaheed Suharwardi in 1956 said: “The communal minorities can rely upon our justice”. Similarly, Prime Minister Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto in 1977 said: “Justice will be done to all classes”. Likewise, President Asif Ali Zardari in 2008 said: “Just development is not possible without justice for women”. In the sense of justification for actions, the ideograph was employed for justification of personal as well as party’s sufferings and foreign policy and other measures/actions. For instance, President Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto in 1971 stated: “I was isolated from the ruling junta, from the bureaucracy...The press gave all sorts of wrong impressions; they distorted my statements;...only because we were struggling for...social justice”. President Wasim Sajjad in 1993 stated:

ہماری خارجہ پالیسی۔۔ انصاف کے اصولوں پر قائم ہے۔

Translation

Our foreign policy is based on the principles of...justice.

President Mohammed Rafiq Tarar in 1998 said:

جلد اور فوری انصاف کی فراہمی۔۔۔ کے لئے ہنگامی بنیادوں پر اقدامات کئے جانے چاہئیں۔

Translation

For provision of speedy justice, steps should be taken on emergency basis.

4.5.8 <Peace>;<امن>/əmn/ [peace]

The word peace is often employed in different contexts around the globe (Lutfy, 2016) and was the most commonly used term in Europe in 1939 (Schneider, 1999). The word frequently appears in political and foreign policy discourse. Peace and its Urdu equivalent امن [əmn] is an everyday term in Pakistan, which repeatedly recurs in public discourse and speeches/statements of Heads of State/Government as well as politicians. The analysis of the inaugural speeches revealed that <peace> or <امن> [əmn] was used as an ideograph, which

appeared 72 times (39 in English and 33 in Urdu) in 20 speeches, as detailed in Table 4.48 at *Appendix B* to this study. The ideograph occurred with varying frequencies in the speeches of Governor Generals (0.207%), Presidents (0.061%) and Prime Ministers (0.050%), but it was not found in the speeches of Military Leaders, as shown in Figure 4.48 at *Appendix C* to this study. Thus, the highest percentage of the ideograph was observed in the speeches of Governor Generals.

The diachronic analysis of the speeches revealed that the ideograph first appeared in inaugurals in 1947 and then recurred in 1955 and continued till 1957. In the subsequent period, the ideograph did not occur in the speeches for one and a half decades and resurfaced in 1973. Once again, the ideograph did not show up in the speeches for almost one and a half decades and reemerged in 1988. Subsequently, it continued to recur intermittently till 1998, followed by another hiatus of almost a decade. The ideograph reappeared in 2007 and afterwards it occurred in the speeches till 2018, the time of the last inaugural in the country's history. Thus, the occurrence of the ideograph, albeit with some gaps, was found in the speeches right from the creation of Pakistan in 1947 till the last inaugural in September, 2018. The consistent recurrence of <peace> in the speeches could be attributed to two major factors: geographical location of Pakistan and the complex communal make-up of the country. As such, <peace> was regarded as an *object* and a *precondition* to progress by the Founding Fathers. For instance, Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the first Governor General of Pakistan, in 1947 stated: "Our object should be peace within and peace without". Likewise, Liaqat Ali Khan, the first Prime Minister of Pakistan in 1947 said: "The 'sine qua non' of progress is peace". The ideograph in the speeches could be divided into three periods: 1947-57; 1973-98 and 2007-18, which mainly referred to three types of contexts: national, regional and international. While the focus in the first period (1947-57) predominantly remained on world <peace> or international <peace>, in the subsequent periods (1973- 98 & 2007-18), however, emphasis on national, regional and international <peace> was observed.

At national level, the ideograph was used in six senses: responsibility, need, role, commitment, justification and appeal. The ideograph at this level also referred to four

categories of <peace>: communal <peace>; industrial <peace>; <peace> in general; and <peace> in particular areas (city or province). In the sense of responsibility, the ideograph denoted communal <peace>. For instance, Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the first Governor General of Pakistan, in 1947 stated: “The creation of the new State has placed a tremendous responsibility on the citizens of Pakistan...to demonstrate to the world how can a nation, containing many elements, live in peace”. Likewise, in the sense of need, the ideograph denoted industrial <peace>. For instance, President Ghulam Ishaq Khan in December 1988 said:

مزدوروں کی جائز ضروریات کو پورا کر کے صنعتی امن کو بھی یقینی بنایا جائے۔

Translation

Industrial peace must also be ensured by meeting the legitimate needs of the labourers.

In the senses of role, commitment and justification, the ideograph referred to <peace> in general. For example, in the sense of role, President Wasim Sajjad in 1993 said:

انتخابات کے دوران امن عامہ کو یقینی بنانے کے لئے فوج اپنا کردار ادا کرے گی۔

Translation

The Army will play its role in ensuring peace during the elections.

In the sense of commitment, Prime Minister Liaqat Ali Khan in 1947 stated: “My Government will never hesitate to put down lawlessness and activities subversive of peace”. Likewise, Benazir Bhutto in 1988 said:

ہمارا پیغام۔۔۔ امن۔۔۔ کا پیغام ہے۔ ہم۔۔۔ معاشرہ میں امن۔۔۔ کی فضا پیدا کریں گے۔

Translation

Our message...is the message of...peace. We will create an atmosphere of peace in the society.

In the sense of justification of policy/action, President Asif Ali Zardari in 2008 said: “The Charter of Democracy binds the government to a framework of peace ... for the people of Pakistan”. In the sense of appeal, the ideograph denoted <peace> in a particular city or province. For example, Prime Minister Mian Mohammed Nawaz Sharif in 2013 said:

ہم مل کر کراچی کے امن کو بحال کریں۔۔۔ بلوچستان میں امن قائم ہو گا۔

Translation

Together, we will restore peace to Karachi...In Balochistan, peace will be established.

At regional level, the ideograph occurred with India, Afghanistan and Iran, the three neighbouring countries of Pakistan. The ideograph appeared predominantly with India, Afghanistan and less so with Iran. One of the major reasons for recurrence of the ideograph with these countries is Pakistan's chequered history of relations with Afghanistan and Iran as well as the tense and volatile relationship with India right from the outset in 1947, particularly due to Kashmir Issue, resulting in, inter alia, two major Wars of 1965 and 1971. Thus, except for China, Pakistan's relations with the rest of the neighbouring countries (India, Afghanistan and Iran) have seen ups and downs over the years. As such, Pakistan wants to live in <peace> with its neighbours and has always desired for <peace> in the region. For instance, Prime Minister Malik Feroz Khan Noon in 1957 said: "We...desire to live in peace and amity...with all our neighbours". Likewise, President Sardar Farooq Ahmed Leghari in 1994 said:

ہماری خواہش ہے کہ ہم اپنے ہمسایوں کے ساتھ امن --- کے ساتھ رہیں۔

Translation

We want to live in peace...with our neighbours.

As regards India, the ideograph first appeared in the speeches in 1955 and subsequently recurred intermittently till 2008. For instance, President Wasim Sajjad in 1993 stated:

ہم ہندوستان سمیت تمام ممالک کے ساتھ امن و آشتی کے ساتھ رہنا چاہتے ہیں۔ ہم بھارت کے ساتھ با مقصد مذاکرات کے لئے ہمہ وقت تیار ہیں اور اسے دعوت دیتے ہیں کہ وہ جنوبی ایشیا میں امن کے قیام کے لئے مثبت اقدامات کرے۔

Translation

We want to live in peace with all countries, including India. We are always ready for meaningful dialogue with India and invite India to take positive steps for peace in South Asia.

Even a cross-border Campaign *Aman Ki Asha* (Hope for Peace), combing words from both Urdu and Hindi Languages was also jointly launched in January 2010 by two media groups, that is, Jang Group in Pakistan and The Times of India Group in India, for promoting mutual peace and diplomatic/cultural relations between Pakistan and India. With regard to Afghanistan, the ideograph in the speeches first appeared in 1998 and then recurred in the last decade (2011-18). For instance, President Mohammed Rafiq Tarar in 1998 said:

افغانستان میں جاری خانہ جنگی پر ہمیں گہری تشویش ہے۔ پاکستان اس سے براہ راست متاثر ہے۔ ہماری دلی خواہش ہے کہ وہاں امن بحال ہو۔

Translation

We are deeply concerned about the ongoing civil war in Afghanistan due to which Pakistan is directly affected. We sincerely wish that peace be restored there [in Afghanistan].

Likewise, Prime Minister Raja Pervez Ashraf in 2012 said: “It is our firm belief that until there is peace in Afghanistan, there can be no peace in Pakistan”. In the same vein, President Arif-ur-Rehman Alvi in 2018 stated:

افغانستان میں امن۔۔۔ پاکستان کی خوشحالی اور ترقی کے لئے ضروری ہے۔

Translation

Peace in Afghanistan... is vital for prosperity and progress in Pakistan.

Concerning Iran, the ideograph showed up once in 2014, as President Mamnoon Hussain said:

ہم ایران کے ساتھ اپنے صدیوں پرانے تعلقات کو مستحکم بنانے کے لئے کوشاں ہیں۔۔۔ ہمارے باہمی، قریبی اور برادرانہ تعلقات علاقے کے امن۔۔۔ کے لئے کلیدی حیثیت رکھتے ہیں۔

Translation

We are working to strengthen our centuries-old relationship with Iran....Our mutual, close and fraternal relations are the key to peace in the region.

At international level, the ideograph appeared in two synonymous manifestations: <world peace> and <international peace>. Right from its creation in 1947, Pakistan has shown its commitment to upholding UN Charter and maintaining, stabilizing, strengthening, and promoting <world peace> or <international peace> because Pakistan considers <world peace> as a condition precedent to peace in Pakistan and as such “peace within and peace without” has been set as an object by the Founding Father Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah in 1947, as mentioned earlier under discussion on <peace> at national level. The focus on <world peace> was predominant in the first period (1947-57). For instance, Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the first Governor General of Pakistan, in 1947 stated: “We stand by the United Nations Charter and will gladly make our full contribution to the peace...of the world”. Similarly, Prime Minister Liaqat Ali Khan in 1947 said: “We firmly believe that world peace is a condition precedent to the peace and prosperity of Pakistan and we shall therefore unreservedly cooperate with the United Nations in every possible way in

the great task of stabilizing world peace”. Later, Prime Minister Ch. Mohammed Ali in 1955 said: “Pakistan has thus far steadfastly followed a policy conducive to strengthening world peace. Our foreign relations will continue to be determined by our resolve to do whatever lies in our power to promote international peace”. A year afterwards, President Isakandar Mirza in 1956 said: “Our aims are identical with those of the United Nations’ Charter, that is, maintenance and promotion of international peace”. Likewise, Prime Minister Ibrahim Ismail Chaudrigar in 1957 stated: “We believe in a firm and close adherence to the United Nations on the basis of the principles enunciated in the Charter and for the purpose of securing world peace”. However, in the subsequent periods (1973-98 and 2007-18) <world peace> appeared once in 2014 in connection with Pakistan-US relations for the stability of <world peace> in the aftermath of 9/11 and the ensuing War on Terror. For instance, President Mamnoon Hussain in 2014 said:

عالمی امن کے استحکام کے باب میں پاکستان اور امریکہ کا تعاون تاریخ میں ہمیشہ یاد رکھا جائے گا۔

Translation

The cooperation of Pakistan and the United States for stability of world peace will always be remembered in history.

4.5.9 <Unity>; <اتحاد>/ittēha:d/ [unity]

The term *unity* generally denotes “the state or condition of being one” (Porterfield, 2013, p.51). The notion of *unity* lies at the core of fragmentation debate (Prost, 2012). The word *unity* is used by leaders, particularly in the times of crisis, to rally public support against internal and external threats (Chachavalpongpun, 2010). As a result, the word recurs in political discourse in different contexts around the world. The word *unity* and its Urdu equivalent اتحاد/ittēha:d/ has great significance in Pakistani context. *Unity* or اتحاد is also one of the three words, together with faith and discipline, in Pakistan’s national motto *Unity, Faith and Discipline* adopted in 1948 (Paracha, 2017). As such, the word *unity* or its Urdu substitute اتحاد/ittēha:d/ is an everyday term in Pakistan, which repeatedly recurs in public discourse and speeches/statements of Heads of State/Government as well as politicians. The

analysis of the inaugural speeches revealed that the word <unity> and its Urdu alternative <اتحاد>/ittēha:d/ was used as an ideograph, which appeared 24 times (12 in English and as many in Urdu) in 14 speeches, as detailed in Table 4.49 at *Appendix B* to this study. The ideograph occurred with varying frequencies in the speeches of Presidents (0.025%), Military Leaders (0.021%) and Prime Ministers (0.014%), but it was not found in the speeches of Governor Generals, as shown in Figure 4.49 at *Appendix C* to this study. Thus, the highest percentage of the ideograph was observed in the speeches of Governor Generals.

The diachronic analysis of the speeches revealed that the ideograph first appeared in inaugurals in 1953 and recurred in the first five decades of the country's history especially in 1950s, 80s, and 90s in addition to its occurrence in 1965 and 1971. However, in the last two decades between 2001-2018, it showed up only in 2014. Diachronically, the ideograph occurred in the speeches in two manifestations: <national unity> and <Islamic unity>, thus referring to <unity> at both domestic (national) and external (international) levels. At domestic or national level, the ideograph denoted two types of <unity>: Overall <unity> in the country and <unity> between institutions. In the first case, the ideograph appeared in five connotations: ideal, source of achievement, appeal, justification and message. For instance, Prime Minister Mohammad Ali Bogra, while highlighting dissensions, disharmony, provincialism and intolerance as threats to <unity>, employed the ideograph in the sense of an ideal in 1953: "The most important task facing the country today is to re-assert the ideals of unity and solidarity on which Pakistan was founded". Using the ideograph in the sense of a source of achievement, Prime Minister Ch. Mohammed Ali in 1955 stated:

It was primarily because of our unity that we were able to overcome the disasters that at one time threatened to engulf our new State. It is by this unity again that we shall triumph over whatever difficulties may be ahead of us.

The ideograph in the sense of appeal was common especially after elections or during the times of crisis. For instance, after the 1965 elections between Miss Fatima Jinnah and President General Mohammed Ayub Khan, which resulted in the latter's victory, President General Mohammed Ayub Khan appealed to the nation: "Let this great moment become a symbol of lasting unity". Similarly, during 1971 War, Prime Minister Noor-ul-Amin appealed

for unity by saying: “With...unity we have defeated the enemy in the past...With...unity among us, we shall foil the enemy’s design”. In the sense of justification, President General Mohammed Zia-ul-Haq in 1984, while justifying his decision of holding the referendum, said:

ریفرنڈم نے ہمیں --- اتحاد دیا ہے۔

Translation

Referendum...has given us unity.

In the sense of message, the ideograph was used by Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto in 1988:

ہمارا پیغام اتحاد کا پیغام ہے۔

Translation

Our message is the message of unity.

Also, constitution was regarded as a means of promoting <national unity>, as pointed out by President Isakandar Mirza in 1956: “The constitution...will, I am sure, promote national unity”. At external or international level, the ideograph was used in the sense of *necessity* or *need* for strengthening <unity> among Muslim nations. For instance, Prime Minister Ibrahim Ismail Chaundrigar in 1957 said: “We appreciate the necessity of building up unity and brotherly relations among Muslim nations of the world for attaining a congenial environment for the growth and culture of Islamic values”. Likewise, President Ghulam Ishaq Khan in December 1988 stated:

ہم ایران، عراق جنگ کے خاتمے کا خیر مقدم کرتے ہیں اور امید رکھتے ہیں کہ --- جو یقیناً --- اسلامی اتحاد کے لئے تقویت کا باعث ہو گا۔

Translation

We welcome the end of the Iran-Iraq war and hope... that will surely strengthen ... Islamic unity.

4.6 SECTION 6: Society-Focused Ideographs

Section 6 discusses *Society-Focused Ideographs*, which encompassed 08 Positive Ideographs, that is, <citizens>, <common man>, <minorities>, <people>, <refugees>, <right(s)>, <welfare> and <women> and 01 Negative Ideograph <منشیات>/monəʃfiɑ:t/[drugs].

4.6.1 <Citizens>; <شہری>/ʃæhri/ [citizen]; <شہریوں> /ʃæhriõ/ [citizens]

The word *citizen* became everyday term in social and political life, particularly after the French Revolution (Goulemot, 2013). Deeply embedded is the concept of locality in the word *citizen* (Huws, 2008). The word has legal, political, social and cultural implications, most importantly showing the legal association of a person with a state. The word *citizen* or its Urdu equivalents <شہری> /ʃæhri/ is a common everyday term in Pakistan, which frequently recurs in political discourse in Pakistan. The word also appears in the Constitutions of Pakistan. It was also used in title of the online application Programme *Pakistan Citizens' Portal* launched by the incumbent government on October 28, 2018. Pakistan has three categories of declared citizens: citizens by *birth*, *descent* and *migration*, as mentioned on the official website of Directorate General of Immigration & Passports, Ministry of Interior, Government of Pakistan (Government of Pakistan, n.d.c). The analysis of the inaugural speeches revealed that <Citizens> or its Urdu equivalents <شہری> /ʃæhri/ and <شہریوں> /ʃæhriõ/ was used as an ideograph, which appeared 35 times (16 in English and 19 in Urdu with 15 <شہری> and 04 <شہریوں>) in 19 speeches, as detailed in Table 4.50 at Appendix B. The ideograph occurred with varying frequencies in the speeches of Governor Generals (0.129%), Military Leaders (0.083%), Presidents (0.030%) and Prime Ministers (0.014%), as shown in Figure 4.50 at Appendix C to this study. Thus, the highest percentage of the ideograph was observed in the speeches of Governor Generals.

The diachronic analysis of the speeches revealed that the ideograph first appeared in inaugurals in 1947 but did not show up subsequently for eight years and resurfaced in 1956 and 1958. However, then onwards it did not occur in the speeches for well over a decade and reappeared in 1971 and afterwards was found in the speeches, albeit intermitantly, till 2018. Thus, the occurrence of the ideograph in the speeches was mainly observed after 1971 although it did appear in the first decade right from 1947. Diachronically, the ideograph in the speeches appeared in the sense of Pakistani <citizens>, referring to four distinct categories: Muslims; Minorities; Particular Groups; General. While the first two categories were based on religious identity, Particular Groups including women, prisoners, bureaucrats and people of some specific areas denoted social identity, whereas General category comprising everyone irrespective of creed, region, status or sex represented national identity. Moreover, the focus of the ideograph mainly remained on legal aspects, surrounding status, duties, obligations, responsibilities, and rights and also signified reciprocal state-citizen relationship. The ideograph appeared in the speeches in three connotations: appeal, commitment and justification of actions. In the sense of appeal, Governor General Mohammad Ali Jinnah in 1947 declared: “As long as they [minorities] fulfil their duties and obligations as loyal citizens of Pakistan, they have nothing to fear”. Thus, minorities were called upon to fulfill their responsibilities and were assured protection. Likewise, President Sardar Farooq Ahmed Leghari in 1994 stated:

پاکستان کے تمام مسلم شہریوں کا دینی فریضہ ہے کہ وہ اپنے درمیان رہنے والی اقلیتوں کی حفاظت کریں۔

Translation

It is the religious obligation of all Muslim citizens of Pakistan to protect the minorities living with them.

Similarly, talking about protection and empowerment of women in 2008, President Asif Ali Zardari said: “I will request the government...to not just provide protection to women, but to empower them ... to their just entitlements as full citizens of this State”. In the like manner, President Ghulam Ishaq Khan, on the death of President General Zia-ul-Haq in an air crash in August 1988, stated:

مجھے یقین ہے کہ پاکستان کا ہر شہری، قومی انتہا کی اس گھڑی میں اپنی ذمہ داریوں کا احساس کرے گا۔

Translation

I am sure that every citizen of Pakistan will realize their responsibilities in this hour of national tragedy.

On the other hand, showing commitment to protection of <citizens>, Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto in 1988 stated:

ہر شہری کی جان و مال، عزت کی حفاظت کریں گے، خواہ اس کا کوئی سا مذہب فرقہ یا نسل ہو، خواہ وہ مرد ہو یا عورت۔۔۔ ہم تمام شہریوں کو یکساں معاشرتی درجہ دینے اور انسانی حقوق کے پہلو سے حفاظت کرنے کی کوشش کریں گے۔

Translation

We will protect the life, property and honour of every citizen, regardless of their religion, sect, race or sex... We will try to give equal social status to all citizens and protect their human rights.

The ideograph was also used for justification of actions. For instance, General Mohammed Ayub Khan, while justifying his action of declaring Martial Law in 1958 stated: “I have spoken to you, my fellow citizens, at some length... to convince you that this extreme step has been taken in your interest”. Likewise, following the unrest and violence caused due to calls by the nine-party Pakistan National Alliance (PNA) for overthrowing the government on rigging in March 1977 elections, Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, while justifying his decision of imposing curfew in major cities stated: “The life and property of all of our citizens are sacred and we cannot allow anyone to go on the rampage”.

4.6.2 <Common Man>; <عام آدمی> /ɑ:m a:ɖmi/ [common man]

The term *common man* in political discourse was coined by Henry A. Wallace, Vice President of the United States, in his May 8, 1942 speech, which is known for his striking phrase *The Century of the Common Man* (Browne, 2015). Since then, the phrase recurs in political and public discourse. In 2012, *Aam Aadmi Party* (Common Man Party) was launched in India. In the same fashion, *Aam Aadmi Party* was also registered with Election Commission of Pakistan in 2014, although it has not gained any traction yet. As such, the word *common man* and its Urdu equivalent <عام آدمی> /ɑ:ma:ɖmi/ is an everyday term in Pakistan. The analysis of the inaugural speeches revealed that <common man> or <عام آدمی>

/ɑ:ma:ɢmi/ was used as an ideograph, which appeared 31 times (18 in English and 13 in Urdu) in 14 speeches, as detailed in Table 4.51. The ideograph occurred in the speeches of Presidents and Prime Ministers only, with a frequency of (0.029%) and (0.025%) respectively but it was not found in the speeches of Governor Generals and Military Leaders, as shown in Figure 4.51 at *Appendix C* to this study. Thus, the highest percentage of the ideograph was observed in the speeches of Presidents.

The diachronic analysis of the speeches revealed that the ideograph first appeared in inaugurals in 1955 and recurred in 1957. In the subsequent period, the ideograph did not show up for over a decade and resurfaced in 1971 and was later found in the speeches in the 70s, 80s and 90s till 1998. However, in the last two decades from 2001-18, the ideograph appeared only in 2008, 2013 and 2018. Thus, the occurrence of the ideograph in the speeches was intermittent and appeared mostly between 1971-1998. Diachronically, the ideograph in the speeches appeared in three senses: state or condition, policy goal and indicator of progress or success. In the sense of state or condition, problems/sufferings of the <common man> in both intangible and tangible forms were highlighted. For instance, President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in 1971 said: “The common man...been subjected to, too, much humiliation...If the common man had not been humiliated for 24 years, Pakistan as a nation would not have been humiliated today”. Similarly, referring to the lack of basic necessities of life, President Ghulam Ishaq Khan in December 1988 highlighted:

آزادی کے اتالیس سال بعد بھی عام آدمی اکثر و بیشتر زندگی کی بنیادی ضرورتوں کو ترس رہا ہے۔

Translation

Even after 41 years of independence, the common man, by and large, is still longing for the basic necessities of life.

On the other hand, in the sense of policy goal, the main emphasis was laid on the welfare of the <common man>. For instance, Prime Minister Ibrahim Ismail Chaudrigar in 1957 stated: “Pakistan is to be so developed and administered that the welfare of the common man becomes the dominating feature of national thought, policy and action”. To this end, commitment was shown to focus on two major dimensions of welfare, that is, *social* and *economic*. The social dimension included aspects such as fair treatment, empowerment,

security and respect. For instance, Prime Minister Malik Feroz Khan Noon in 1957 said: We must concentrate on ... ensuring a fair deal for the common man. Similarly, President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in 1971 stated: “I want to ensure the security of the common man, the respect of the common man”. On the contrary, the economic dimension focused on alleviating the financial hardships of the <common man>. For instance, Prime Minister Malik Meraj Khalid in 1996 stated:

ہم۔۔۔ عام آدمی کی معاشی مشکلات کو کم کرنے اور اس کے بوجھ کو قدرے ہلکا کرنے کی طرف بھی توجہ دیں گے۔

Translation

We will also pay attention to alleviate the economic hardships of the common man and ease his burden to some extent.

In the like manner, President Asif Ali Zardari in 2008 said: “The government is to provide food security to the common man, burdened with the rising prices of food items”. In the sense of indicator of progress or success, the ideograph was used by President Ghulam Ishaq Khan in December in 1988 said:

عام آدمی کے معیار زندگی میں۔۔۔ تبدیلی۔۔۔ حقیقی اقتصادی اور معاشرتی ترقی کا واحد معتبر پیمانہ ہے۔

Translation

The only reliable measure of real economic and social progress is the change in the standard of living of the common man.

Similarly, President Mohammed Rafiq Tarar in 1998 said:

حکومت کی تمام پالیسیوں، اس کے تمام اقدامات، اس کی ساری قانون سازی اور اس کی تمام تر اصلاحات کی افادیت کو پرکھنے کا اصل معیار یہ ہے کہ عام آدمی کی زندگی میں کتنی مثبت تبدیلی آئی ہے۔

Translation

The real criterion for evaluating the effectiveness of all government policies, measures, legislation and reforms is that how much positive change has taken place in the life of the common man.

The ideograph was also used for justification of actions. For instance, Prime Minister Mian Mohammed Nawaz Sharif in 2013 said:

ہم۔۔۔ وہ تمام steps لیں گے جو اس وقت ایک عام آدمی ہم سے توقع کر رہا ہے۔

Translation

We... will take all those steps, which a common man is expecting from us at this time.

The ideograph was also employed for blaming the Opposition for not offering something worthwhile to the <common man>. For instance, Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in 1977 said: “What was the style, the tenor and the tone of the Opposition’s election campaign and what it had to offer to the common man”.

4.6.3 <Minorities >; <اقلیتوں> /<اقلیتیں>/eqlijetõ/[minorities]

The word *minorities* from antiquity till the French Revolution mostly recurred in discussions about constitutional matters and denoted a group outnumbered in vote (Schaser, 2019). However, in the mid-1800s, the term referred to religious groups but immediately after the First World War it emerged as a key concept in public discourse world-wide and by the end of the twentieth century its application extended to a range of groups in varied situations around the globe (White, 2011). The issue of *minorities* has also gained significance in political discourse, especially after the emergence of nation-states (Najiullah, 2011). The word *minorities* is a common everyday term in Pakistan, which is also used in political discourse in Pakistan and the Heads of State/Government employ word and its Urdu equivalent اقلیتوں /اقلیتیں/eqlijetõ/in their speeches/statements. The analysis of the inaugural speeches revealed that <minorities> and its Urdu alternative <اقلیتوں>/<اقلیتیں>/eqlijetõ/ was used as an ideograph, which appeared 33 times (13 in English and 20 in Urdu) in 17 speeches, as detailed in Table 4.52 at *Appendix B* to this study. The ideograph occurred with varying frequencies in the speeches of Presidents (0.029%), Prime Ministers (0.027%) and Governor Generals (0.026%), but it was not found in the speeches of Military Leaders, as shown in Figure 4.52. Thus, the highest percentage of the ideograph was observed in the speeches of Presidents.

The diachronic analysis of the speeches revealed that the ideograph first appeared in inaugurals in 1947 and showed up in the first decade in 1953, 1956 and 1957. However, it did not occur in the speeches for next two decades and reappeared in 1977 and afterwards was found in the speeches till 2014. Diachronically, <minorities> occurred in the inaugurals in

two main connotations: a *social group* and a *psychological construct*. As a social group, the <minorities> constituted three categories, including religious, communal (scheduled castes) and a combination of both religious and communal. On the other hand, <minorities> were also considered as a psychological construct arising from mental complex. For instance, Prime Minister Hussain Shaheed Suharwardi in 1956 stated: “I am most anxious that we should get rid of the majority and minority complex based on communal or religious differences”. As such, psychological dimension was also taken into consideration alongside assurances of interests, rights and facilities of <minorities>. The ideograph also appeared in the speeches as Supported Community and Supporting Community. As a Supported Community, <minorities> were regarded as a sacred trust and dignified citizens, who were pledged guarantees concerning security/protection of their interests and rights, provision of generous treatment and facilities based on both religious and secular assurances. While religious protection was provided by Islam, secular safeguards were in the form of Constitution, Objectives Resolution of 1949 and vision of the Father of the Nation, Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah. For instance, President Iskandar Mirza in 1956 stated: “I am particularly attracted by the safeguards provided in the Constitution for the minorities...I am glad that provision has also been made for the Scheduled Castes”. Likewise, Prime Minister Hussain Shaheed Suharwardi in 1956 highlighted: “Time and again has it been said that the minorities will receive generous treatment...In accordance with true Islamic traditions”. In the same vein, President Sardar Farooq Ahmed Leghari in 1994 said:

قرارداد مقاصد کا تقاضہ ہے کہ مملکت اقلیتوں کے لئے مناسب سہولتیں فراہم کرے۔

Translation

Objectives Resolution demands that State to provide appropriate facilities to minorities.

As Supporting Community, <minorities> were acknowledged for their support/participation in elections, both general elections and within Parliament as well as for their role in the country’s development. For instance, Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in 1977 said: “I want to thank the minorities also because,...they voted for the Pakistan Peoples Party”. Likewise, President Asif Ali Zardari in 2008 stated: “I also note that the minorities of

Pakistan have played a crucial role in the development of the country. In the same vein, President Mamnoon Hussain in 2014 said:

اقلیتوں نے ملک کی تعمیر و ترقی میں ایسا کردار ادا کیا ہے جو قابل تحسین اور قابل اطمینان ہے۔

Translation

Minorities have played a commendable and satisfactory role in the development and progress of the country.

The ideograph also appeared in three senses: commitment, appeal and justification of policy/action. For instance, using the ideograph in the sense of commitment, Prime Minister Mohammad Ali Bogra in 1953 stated: “The interests and legitimate rights of the minorities shall be fully secured”. Similarly, Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto in 1988 said:

اقلیتیں ہماری مقدس امانت ہیں، ہم عہد کرتے ہیں کہ تمام اقلیتوں کو تحفظ مہیا کیا جائے گا۔

Translation

Minorities are our sacred trust. We pledge to provide protection to all minorities.

In the sense of appeal, the ideograph was used for unity in society and served as a secular and religious obligation for the Muslim Majority. For instance, Governor General Mohammad Ali Jinnah in 1947 stated: “Let us impress the minorities by word, deed and thought”. Likewise, President Farooq Ahmed Leghari in 1994 said:

پاکستان کے تمام مسلم شہریوں کا دینی فریضہ ہے کہ وہ اپنے درمیان رہنے والی اقلیتوں کی حفاظت کریں۔

Translation

It is the religious obligation of all Muslim citizens of Pakistan to protect the minorities living with them.

The ideograph was also used for justification of policies and actions. For instance, President Parvez Musharraf in 2007 said: “We empowered the minorities of Pakistan. We gave them joint electorate and the double advantage of also fixed seats; reserve seats”.

4.6.4 <People>; <Masses>; <Public>; <عوام>/əvɑ:m/; <لوگوں>/lo:gõ/ [people]

The word *people* encompasses all classes, races and individuals and as such is a preferred word to other groups and divisions in the society like race or class (Schall, 1998). Inherent in the concept of *people* is the notion of collectivity (McGee, 1975). As such, the word *people* is

common in political discourse around the globe. For instance, President Abraham Lincoln used the term *people* in his iconic phrase *of the people, by the people, for the people* in his Gettysburg Address on November 19, 1863. The word *people* also appeared in the opening line of the United Nation's Constitution *We the people of the United States*. People is the most commonly used word in daily language. The word *people* and its Urdu alternative *لوگوں* [əvɑ:m] is an everyday term in Pakistan, which repeatedly recurs in media, public discourse and speeches/statements of Heads of State/Government as well as politicians. The analysis of the inaugural speeches revealed that <people> and its Urdu equivalent <لوگوں> [əvɑ:m] was used as an ideograph, which occurred in the speeches in three varied forms: <masses>, <public> and <لوگوں> [lo:gõ]. While these variants appeared rarely in the speeches with <masses> 06 times, <public> 03 times and <لوگوں> 06 times; the ideograph <people> and its Urdu substitute <لوگوں> [əvɑ:m] was predominantly used, with <people> 192 times and <لوگوں> 140 times, thus all together totals 347 in 37 speeches, as detailed in Table 4.53 at *Appendix B* to this study. As such, the focus remained on the analysis of <people> or <لوگوں> ideograph. The ideograph occurred with varying frequencies in the speeches of Prime Ministers (0.363%), Military Leaders (0.227%), Presidents (0.218%) and Governor Generals (0.052%), as shown in Figure 4.53 at *Appendix C* to this study. Thus, the highest percentage of the ideograph was observed in the speeches of Prime Ministers.

A diachronic analysis of <people> or <لوگوں> [əvɑ:m] in the inaugurals showed that the ideograph first appeared in the speeches in 1947 and subsequently recurred, although intermittently, till the last inaugural in 2018 in the country's history. The diachronic analysis of the ideograph also revealed that <people>/<لوگوں> [əvɑ:m] occurred in the speeches without any particular categorization till 1977. From that time onwards, the ideograph in the speeches appeared in the form of different economic manifestations including <poor people>

or <غریب عوام> (Prime Minister Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, 1977; Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto, 1988; Prime Minister Moin Qureshi, 1993; Prime Minister Shaukat Aziz, 2004); <محرورم عوام> or <deprived people>, <چس ماندہ عوام> or <downtrodden people>, <مظلوم عوام> or <oppressed people> (Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto, 1988). Also, the ideograph in the speeches appeared in five senses: appeal, duty, commitment, identification and justification. The ideograph was used in the sense of appeal for unity, confidence and cooperation. Using the ideograph as an appeal for unity, Prime Minister Liaqat Ali Khan in 1947 said: “The people of different parts of Pakistan should cease to think in terms of their own province but as members of a common family – as Pakistanis first and Sindhis, Punjabees and Bengalees afterwards”. Likewise, Prime Minister Noor-ul-Amin in 1971 said: “I am sure that the people of Pakistan will stand united to face the situation”. Similarly, Prime Minister Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto in 1977 stated: “We shall work unitedly for the good of our people”. Likewise, President Mamnoon Hussain in 2014 said:

عوام کی ترقی اور خوشحالی کے لئے مل کے کام کرنا ہے۔

Translation

We have to work together for the progress and prosperity of the people.

On the other hand, employing the ideograph as an appeal for confidence and cooperation, Prime Minister Hussain Shaheed Suharwardi in 1956 said: “...it is not possible to deal with the problems unless we have the confidence and the cooperation of the people”. Similarly, Prime Minister Ibrahim Ismail Chaudrigar in 1957 said: “My Government cannot succeed unless the people fully co-operate with us in this regard”. In the sense of duty, the ideograph appeared in the speech of Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto who said:

حکومت کا یہ فرض ہے کہ جبر اور استحصال سے عوام کو تحفظ مہیا کرے۔

Translation

It is the duty of the government to protect people from oppression and exploitation.

The ideograph was also used in the sense of commitment. For instance, Prime Minister Mohammad Ali Bogra in 1953 said: “My colleagues and I are determined to give

our best in the service of...people whose servants we are". In the same manner, Prime Minister Malik Meraj Khalid in 1996 stated:

ہم عوام کو جان و مال کا تحفظ فراہم کرنے کی کوشش کریں گے۔

Translation

We will strive to protect the life and property of people.

A year later, Prime Minister Mian Mohammed Nawaz Sharif in 1997 said:

ہم۔۔۔ عوام کو انصاف فراہم کریں گے۔ ظلم۔۔۔ سے نجات دلائیں گے۔

Translation

We...will provide justice to the people; We will protect them from...oppression.

The ideograph was employed in the sense of identification. For instance, President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in 1971 said: "I have no family. My family is the people of Pakistan. My children are the people of Pakistan". Likewise, his daughter, Benazir Bhutto in 1988 said:

ہماری قوت کا اصل سرچشمہ عوام ہیں۔ ہم آپ میں سے ہیں۔ آپ کا دکھ ہمارا دکھ ہے۔ آپ کی عزت ہماری عزت ہے۔ آپ کی خوشی ہماری خوشی ہے۔

Translation

The real source of our strength are the people. We are from amongst you. Your suffering is our suffering. Your honour is our honour. Your happiness is our happiness.

The ideograph was used for justification of policies, programmes, self-rule and actions such as blaming the opposition and accountability of political opponents. For instance, after winning 1965 elections, President General Mohammed Ayub Khan said: "...people have, by an overwhelming vote of confidence, endorsed my policies and my programmes...I have the fullest support of my people". Likewise, President General Mohammed Yahya Khan in 1969 stated: "My sole aim in imposing martial law is to protect life, liberty and property of the people". Blaming the Opposition leaders, Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in 1977 said: "But these gentlemen of the Opposition did not talk about...matters pertaining to the welfare of the people, nor about how they were going to improve the economic, social and spiritual lives of the people". Likewise, justifying the initiation of accountability process after the dismissal of Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto and her government, Caretaker Prime Minister Ghulam Mustafa Khan Jatoi in 1990 said: "Accountability..., which is also the demand of the people, will be initiated". Similarly,

President Parvez Musharraf in 2007 said: “We empowered the people of Pakistan through the local government systems that we introduced”. Furthermore, in case of self, the ideograph was used for support and identification, as discussed above in the sense of appeal for support as well as in the sense of identification. On the other hand, in case of others, the ideograph was used for accountability, blaming the Opposition as well as giving respect and rightful place to the Opposition. The ideograph for accountability of others and blaming the Opposition has been discussed above in the sense of justification. However, in case of giving respect and rightful place to the Opposition, the ideograph appeared in the speech of Prime Minister Mian Mohammed Nawaz Sharif in 1990, who stated:

میں۔۔۔ عوام کی امنگوں کے مطابق حزب اختلاف کو اس کا جائز مقام اور احترام دوں گا۔

Translation

I will...give the opposition its due place and respect according to the aspirations of the people.

4.6.5 <Refugees>; <مہاجرین> /moħa:dʒiri:n/ [refugees]

Refugee is a common everyday term in Pakistan. This is so because the country has been hosting millions of Afghan refugees for four decades, who came to Pakistan in 1979 after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, although Pakistan is not party to the 1951 Refugee Convention nor its 1967 Protocol. Moreover, the country also saw an influx of millions of Muslim refugees from various Indian villages, towns and cities after the creation of Pakistan in 1947. These refugees were later settled mostly in the then East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) and Sindh and some in Punjab, the provinces of then West Pakistan (now Pakistan). However, those who migrated at the time of Partition are still identified as *refugees* (Murshid, 2013). As such, the word *refugees* and its Urdu equivalent *مہاجرین*/moħa:dʒiri:n/ appears in political discourse. The Heads of State/Government employ the term in their speeches/statements. The analysis of the inaugural speeches revealed that <refugees> and its Urdu alternative <مہاجرین>/moħa:dʒiri:n/ was used as an ideograph, which appeared 17 times (13 in English and 04 in Urdu) in 11 speeches, as detailed in Table 4.54 at *Appendix B* to this

study. The ideograph occurred with varying frequencies in the speeches of Governor Generals (0.052%), Prime Ministers (0.014%) and Presidents (0.012%) but it was not found in the speeches of Military Leaders, as shown in Figure 4.54 at *Appendix C* to this study. Thus, the highest percentage of the ideograph was observed in the speeches of Governor Generals.

The diachronic analysis of the speeches revealed that the ideograph first appeared in inaugurals in 1948 and frequently recurred in the first decade from 1948–57. In the subsequent period of over one decade, the ideograph was not found and it resurfaced in 1971. Once again, it did not occur in the speeches for almost one and a half decades and reemerged in 1985 and continued till 1993. Surprisingly, the ideograph did not appear in the following two and a half decades till the last inaugural was delivered in September 2018. Thus, the presence of the ideograph in the speeches can be divided into three periods: 1948-57; 1971; and 1985-93. Diachronically, these periods basically referred to three categories of <refugees>: Muslim migrants from India to Pakistan – 1948-57; Pakistani citizens from East Pakistan to India – 1971; Afghan citizens from Afghanistan to Pakistan –1985-93. The first period (1948-57) focused on Muslim migrants from India who were the outcome of Partition in 1947, when Pakistan came into being. The Muslim <refugees> from India opted to live permanently in Pakistan as Pakistani citizens and thus migrated from India. At that time, these unsettled <refugees>, for the most part, concentrated in East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) and the city of Karachi, part of then West Pakistan. As such, the new state, inter alia, faced <refugees> issue. While describing this as a big problem and a festering sore, the Heads of State/Government showed commitment to resolve it. For instance, Prime Minister Mohammad Ali Bogra in 1953 stated: “We have big problems before us...the refugee problem, among others, need the most vigorous effort”. Similarly, Prime Minister Ibrahim Ismail Chaudhry in 1957 stated: “We shall do everything that we can to cure the festering sore which is the refugee problem...My Government will do all that it can to tackle the problem”. Moreover, the main focus in this period was rehabilitation of <refugees>, with a special emphasis on providing them shelter and employment as well as settling their

compensation claims. Thus, the ideograph was used for public appeal and justification of actions such as housing schemes and other measures. For example, Governor General Isakandar Mirza in 1955 said: “Our economic and social order is continuously complicated by the problem of refugees...I must appeal to the public to supplement the efforts of the Government...to expedite the work of rehabilitation”. Likewise, President Isakandar Mirza in 1956 said: “To provide adequate shelter and gainful employment to this mass of uprooted humanity...new housing schemes...and new measures are under consideration for accomplishing the task of rehabilitating the refugees”. In the like manner, Prime Minister Hussain Shaheed Suharwardi in 1956 said:

I am anxious to erase the word “refugees” from our vocabulary. If I classify them differently from the local inhabitants, many of whom are equally destitute and need help, it is on account of the fact that they are the result of the establishment of Pakistan.

In the same vein, Prime Minister Malik Feroz Khan Noon 1957 said: “We must concentrate on...the rehabilitation of refugees and the speedy determination of their claims”. The second period, restricted only to 1971, points to the migration of Pakistani citizens from East Pakistan to India. The refugee problem began after the General Elections in Pakistan on 7 December 1970, in which the Awami League won majority in East Pakistan, whereas Pakistan Peoples Party secured victory in West Pakistan. However, unfortunately the two political parties could not find a common ground for agreement to form government, resulting in the rupture of negotiations between the two. Consequently, the situation in East Pakistan deteriorated and as such the people of East Pakistan sought refuge in India after March 1971. Seeing the influx of refugees, the Indian Government refused to accommodate the refugees from East Pakistan on permanent basis because India considered the refugees as a threat to its security and the structure of social and economic life. For instance, the Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, while summarising the situation to the Indian Commander-in-Chief, stated on April 25, 1971 (Myard, 2010, p. 17): “I have telegrams from the Chief Ministers of Tripura, Manupur, Assam, Bengal. Refugees are pouring in. You must stop them. If necessary, move into East Pakistan but stop them”. Thus, refugees problem was at

the center of East Pakistan Crisis and was considered as the trigger of the 1971 War. Referring to the Indian Government use of the ideograph <refugees> for justification of attack on East Pakistan, President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in 1971 highlighted: “India...talked about the refugee problem and as a result of it she invaded my country. We had never said that we do not want to take back refugees”.

The third period (1985-93) referred to Afghan <refugees> from Afghanistan, which was mainly the result of the Soviet – Afghan War (1979-89), when after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in December 1979, three million Afghan citizens fled Afghanistan to seek refuge in Pakistan. These <refugees> mostly settled in the provinces of NWFP (now Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) and Balochistan. The main focus in this period was on repatriation of <refugees> to their homeland with honour and dignity. The ideograph was used to appeal for humanitarian and religious obligation. For instance, President Ghulam Ishaq Khan in December 1988 stated:

ہم سمجھتے ہیں کہ افغان مسئلے کا جامع حل، عزت و وقار کے ساتھ مہاجرین کی اپنے گھروں کو واپسی از حد ضروری ہے۔۔۔ جب تک ایسا نہیں ہو جاتا، ہم اپنے افغان بھائیوں کی امداد کا انسانی اور اسلامی فریضہ ادا کرتے رہیں گے۔

Translation

We believe that a comprehensive solution to the Afghan problem requires the return of refugees to their homes with honour and dignity. Until that happens, we will continue to fulfill our humanitarian and Islamic obligation to help our Afghan brothers.

4.6.6 <Rights>; <حقوق> [hoqu:q] [rights]

The word *rights* appears in a wide range of combinations, including but not limited to, natural rights, human rights, women rights, equal rights, civil rights and basic rights. The term *rights* gained traction and became a keyword, following a series of changes in political and philosophical thought from seventeenth to nineteenth centuries (Hunt, 2015). The term frequently recurs in social movements and public as well as political discourse in different contexts around the globe. The word *rights* and its Urdu equivalent حقوق [hoqu:q] is also a common everyday term in Pakistan, which is also used in political discourse in Pakistan. The Heads of State/Government employ the term *rights* and especially its Urdu alternative حقوق

[hoqu:q] in their speeches/statements. The analysis of the inaugural speeches revealed that <rights> and its Urdu substitute <توق>[hoqu:q] was used as an ideograph, which appeared 57 times (30 in English and 27 in Urdu) in 19 speeches, as detailed in Table 4.55 at *Appendix B* to this study. The ideograph occurred in the speeches of Prime Ministers and Presidents only, with a frequency of (0.050%) and (0.049%) respectively but it was not found in the speeches of Governor Generals and Military Leaders, as shown in Figure 4.55 at *Appendix C* to this study. Thus, the highest percentage of the ideograph was observed in the speeches of Prime Ministers.

The diachronic analysis of the speeches revealed that the ideograph first appeared in inaugurals in 1947 and subsequently recurred intermittently in the speeches till the last inaugural in 2018, except for a hiatus of a decade between 1960 and 1971. Diachronically, <rights> also occurred in the speeches in eight different manifestations, including <legitimate rights>, <equal rights>, <human rights>, <fundamental rights>, <basic rights>, <democratic rights>, <social rights> and <political rights>. These varied manifestations rendered the ideograph multifaceted and complex. Moreover, the ideograph appeared in the speeches in five senses: condition, commitment, demand, priority and justification. Also, the ideograph in the speeches occurred with two broad categories, that is, *people in general* and *particular groups*. The two categories have both secular and ideological support in honouring, protecting/safeguarding, provision and guarantee of their <rights>. While the secular support came from constitution, law and Founding Fathers (e.g. Quaid-e-Azam), the ideological support was provided by Islam, including the Holy Quran, Sunnah and Islamic jurisprudence, appearing as safeguards to ensure <rights>, especially of particular groups.

Under the category of *people in general*, the ideograph occurred with individuals, citizens, nation and people. For instance, President General Mohammed Ayub Khan in 1960 said: "... unless individuals discharge their responsibilities to the nation and the country, they should expect no guarantee that their rights will be honoured and protected". Likewise, Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto in 1988 said:

ہم تمام شہریوں کو۔۔۔ انسانی حقوق کے پہلو سے حفاظت کرنے کی کوشش کریں گے۔

Translation

We will strive to protect human rights aspects of...all citizens.

Similarly, Prime Minister Mian Mohammed Nawaz Sharif in 1997 said:

قوم اس بات کا ہم سے تقاضا کرتی ہے کہ ان کے حقوق کا ہم تحفظ کریں۔

Translation

The nation demands that we protect their rights.

On the other hand, the category of *particular groups* includes minorities, women, poor man, backward classes, downtrodden/deprived people, farmers, workers, peasants, journalists and people of Northern Areas. Among these ten types of particular groups, the major focus was on the <rights> of minorities, which recurred in the speeches for over six decades, with its first mention in 1953 and the last in 2014. For instance, Prime Minister Mohammad Ali Bogra in 1953 stated: “The...legitimate rights of the minorities shall be fully secured”. Similarly, Prime Minister Mian Mohammed Nawaz Sharif in 1997 said:

اقلیتوں کے حقوق کا ہم۔۔۔ پورا تحفظ کریں گے۔

Translation

We will fully protect the rights of minorities.

The next significant focus group in the speeches was of women. The <rights> of women first appeared in the speeches in 1977, followed by in 1984 and then its recurrence after almost one and a half decades in 1998. Thus, the focus on women <rights> in the speeches remained from 1977 to 1998. For instance, Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in 1977 said: “It would be a denial of human rights if our women who constitute half of our population...were to be kept indoors behind the boundary walls of their houses and deprived of their fundamental rights”. Similarly, President Mohammed Rafiq Tarar in 1998 stated:

خواتین کو اسلام نے۔۔۔ وہ حقوق عطا کیے ہیں جن کا تصور مغربی دنیا میں ناپید ہے۔ اللہ کے فضل و کرم سے پاکستان میں پہلے دن سے ہی خواتین کے حقوق کو مکمل آئینی و قانونی تحفظ دیا گیا ہے۔

Translation

Islam has given women...rights that are unimaginable in the Western world. By the grace of God, women's rights have been given full constitutional and legal protection in Pakistan since the day of the country's founding.

The rest of the particular groups occurred once in a specific speech. For instance, Prime Minister Liaqat Ali Khan in 1947 said: “In Pakistan the poor man’s rights...will come first; those of others will come afterwards”. Likewise, Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto in 1988 said:

صحافیوں کے حقوق کا تحفظ کیا جائے گا۔

Translation

Rights of journalists will be safeguarded.

Similarly, President Asif Ali Zardari in 2008 said: “The people of the Northern Areas must also get their basic rights”. In the sense of justification, Prime Minister Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, while justifying his party’s victory in 1977 Elections, said: “Would it [Pakistan Peoples Party] have received such a mandate...if it had denied the workers and peasants their legitimate rights”. Likewise, justifying the establishment of Pakistan Peoples Party, Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto in 1988 said:

ہمارا سفر بیس سال پہلے شروع ہوا تھا۔ جب ذوالفقار علی بھٹو شہید نے ہمارے ملک کے پس ماندہ اور محروم عوام کے حقوق کی حفاظت کے لئے پارٹی بنائی تھی۔

Translation

Our journey began 20 years ago when Shaheed Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto founded a party for safeguarding the rights of the downtrodden and deprived people of our country.

4.6.7 <Welfare>; <فلاح و بہبود> /fələ:h o bəhbu:d/ [welfare]

The word *welfare* strikes responsive chords in people as it relates to their concerns (Broom & Johnson, 1993). As such, the word frequently recurs in political discourse. *Welfare* and its Urdu alternative فلاح و بہبود /fələ:h o bəhbu:d/ is also a common everyday term in Pakistan. The Heads of state/Government employ the term in their speeches/statements. The analysis of the inaugural speeches revealed that <welfare> or its Urdu equivalent <فلاح و بہبود> was used as an ideograph, which appeared 32 times (27 in English and 05 in Urdu) in 11 speeches as detailed in Table 4.56 at *Appendix B* to this study. The ideograph occurred in the speeches of Prime Ministers and Presidents only, with a frequency of (0.032%) and (0.024%) respectively but it

was not found in the speeches of Governor Generals and Military Leaders, as shown in Figure 4.56 at *Appendix C* to this study.

The diachronic analysis of the speeches revealed that the ideograph first appeared in inaugurals in 1955 and then recurred in 1956–57 as well as in 1965. In the subsequent period of over a decade, the ideograph was not found but it resurfaced in 1977 and once again did not occur in the speeches for over a decade. The ideograph reemerged in 1988 and occurred in the speeches till 1998. Following a gap of two decades, the ideograph appeared once more in September 2018, the time of the last inaugural in the country's history. Thus, the recurrence of the ideograph in the speeches was intermittent. Diachronically, the ideograph also appeared in three manifestations, <social welfare>, <collective welfare> and <human welfare> and occurred at three levels: national, regional and international. At national level, the ideograph was associated with four categories: people; common man, particular groups including labour, students and women; and country. Also, the focus at this level was mostly on <social welfare> and the ideograph appeared in seven senses: achievement, need, objective, commitment, unity appeal, accountability by people, and justification of policies/actions. For instance, using the ideograph in the sense of achievement, Prime Minister Ch. Mohammed Ali in 1955 stated: "A great deal has been achieved...in promoting social welfare". Similarly, in the sense of need, President Isakandar Mirza in 1956 said: "There is now...the need for promoting social welfare activities in the country". Likewise, in the sense of objective, Prime Minister Hussain Shaheed Suharwardi in 1956 said: "We have only one aim, namely, devotion to our country, and as equal citizens, contribute to its welfare". Further, in the sense of commitment, Prime Minister Ibrahim Ismail Chaudrigar in 1957 said: "Pakistan is to be so developed and administered that the welfare of the common man becomes the dominating feature of national thought, policy and action". In contrast, in the sense of unity appeal, President General Mohammed Ayub Khan in 1965 urged: "Nothing should divert us from pursuing our common cause...the welfare of our people". In the same vein, in the sense of accountability by people, Prime Minister Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto 1977 said: "Today, people...have veritable sixth sense...They can tell who is their friend and who seeks

to exploit them for vested interests that run counter to their welfare”. Finally, in the sense of justification of policies/actions, President Mohammed Rafiq Tarar in 1998 stated:

موجودہ حکومت نے خواتین کی فلاح و بہبود کے لئے بعض اہم پروگرام تشکیل دیئے ہیں۔

Translation

The present government has formulated some important programs for the welfare of women.

At regional level, the ideograph referred to two regions—the Middle East and the South-East Asia—and as many countries, that is, Afghanistan and India. At this level, the ideograph was associated with three categories: area, country and people. The focus at this level was mainly on <collective welfare> and <human welfare> and the ideograph was used in the sense of justification of friendly foreign policy towards regional and neighbouring countries. For instance, President Isakandar Mirza in 1956 said: “We...joined the Baghdad and SEATO Pacts...for the collective welfare of the area...by joining these Pacts we are...also helping in ...human welfare”. Similarly, Prime Minister Mian Mohammed Nawaz Sharif in 1997 stated:

ہم سمجھتے ہیں کہ ہماری جتنی بھی آمدنی ہے ہم اس کو اپنے عوام کی فلاح و بہبود پر خرچ کریں۔۔۔ ہندوستان کی بھی یقیناً یہی خواہش ہوگی۔

Translation

We believe that whatever income we have, we should spend it on the welfare of our people... India will surely have the same desire.

At international level, the ideograph referred to countries in general. The focus at this level was mainly on <human welfare> and the ideograph was used in the sense of commitment to UN Charter and justification of friendly foreign policy towards countries of the world. For instance, President Isakandar Mirza in 1956 said: “Our aims are identical with those of the United Nations’ Charter, that is, cooperation with other countries in furthering human... welfare”.

4.6.8 <Women >; <خواتین>/xəvɑ:ʈi:n/ [women]

The word *women* (plural form) refers to a group with a common structural and social position in relation to men (Curthoys, 2005). As such, the word in its plural form frequently appears in the titles of Social Movements such as African Women’s Movement, Women’s Health

Movement as well as academic courses like Women Studies. Moreover, the word in its plural form also occurs in political discourse in different contexts mostly in the forms of *women rights* and *women empowerment* for political activism and social change. The word *women* and its Urdu equivalent خواتین [xəvɑ:ʈi:n] is also a common everyday term in Pakistan, which is used in both public and political discourse in the country. The Heads of State/Government employ the term *women* and its Urdu alternative خواتین [xəvɑ:ʈi:n] in their speeches/statements. The analysis of the inaugural speeches revealed that <women> or its Urdu substitute <خواتین>/xəvɑ:ʈi:n/ was used as an ideograph, which appeared 62 times (22 in English and 40 in Urdu) in 15 speeches, as detailed in Table 4.57 at Appendix B to this study. The ideograph occurred with varying frequencies in the speeches of Presidents (0.079%), Prime Ministers (0.025%) and Military Leaders (0.021%) but it was not found in the speeches of Governor Generals, as shown in Figure 4.57 at Appendix C to this study. Thus, the highest percentage of the ideograph was observed in the speeches of Presidents.

The diachronic analysis of the speeches revealed that the ideograph first appeared in inaugurals in 1958 and occurred only once in the first decade. Subsequently, it did not show up in the speeches for almost two decades. However, the ideograph resurfaced in 1977 and was subsequently found in the speeches till 2018. Thus, the occurrence of the ideograph in the speeches was mainly observed after 1977 onwards. <Women> or <خواتین> [xəvɑ:ʈi:n] appeared in the speeches in two senses: the Supporting Group and the Supported Group. In the sense of Supporting Group, <women> served as a distinct social category/segment of society or Parliament, who were taken into confidence for gaining their sympathies or were acknowledged for their support to the Heads of State/Government during elections. For instance, General Mohammed Ayub Khan after declaration of Martial Law in 1958 said: “This is the occasion on which I feel I should take my countrymen and women into confidence”. Likewise, Prime Minister Mian Mohammed Nawaz Sharif, after restoration of his government by the Supreme Court of Pakistan in 1993, said:

میں۔۔۔ ملک کی 52 فیصد خواتین کا۔۔۔ شکریہ ادا کروں گا جنہوں نے اس جہاد میں ہمارا بھرپور ساتھ دیا ہے۔

Translation

I...thank ...52 per cent women of the country... who supported us in this Jihad.

Similarly, President General Parvez Musharraf, after referendum in 2002, stated:

“Women, may I add, were entirely in our support. Never have women voted in such large quantity”. Moreover, thanking members of National Assembly after being elected as Prime Minister of Pakistan in 2004, Shujaat Hussain said:

میں۔۔۔ خاص طور پر خواتین کا شکریہ گزار ہوں جنہوں نے مجھ پر اعتماد۔۔۔ کیا۔

Translation

I...especially thank women, who trusted me.

On the other hand, in the sense of the Supported Group, <women> received both religious and secular support regarding their concerns for rights such as equality, justice, status, respect and empowerment. While religious support was in the shape of the tenets of Islam, the holy Quran and Sunnah, secular support was mainly in the form of human rights, constitution, law, and sayings of the Founding Fathers of the country. For instance, with regard to religious support, Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in 1977 said: “Women voted for us because we have tried to serve them, to emancipate them, to treat them as equals according to the tenets and teachings of Islam...to ensure for women their rightful place in our society”. Likewise, President General Mohammed Zia-ul-Haq in 1984 said:

میں اپنی ان ماؤں، بہنوں اور بیٹوں کو یقین دلاتا ہوں کہ آپ نے جس نظام کی حمایت میں ووٹ ڈالا ہے۔ وہی نظام آپ کو ایسے حقوق دیتا ہے جن کا خواتین صدیوں تک انتظار کرتی رہیں۔

Translation

I assure my mothers, sisters and daughters that the system {Islam} you have voted for gives you the rights that women have been waiting for centuries.

As regards secular support, President Mohammed Rafiq Tarar in 1998 said:

پاکستان میں پہلے دن سے ہی خواتین کے حقوق کو مکمل آئینی و قانونی تحفظ دیا گیا ہے۔

Translation

In Pakistan, women's rights have been given full constitutional and legal protection right from the country's founding.

Moreover, the plight of <women> as well as their under-utilization was highlighted and policies, reforms and actions were justified to improve their condition by empowering them to participate in all fields as equal citizens for the progress and prosperity of the

country. For instance, highlighting the sufferings of <women>, Prime Minister Shaukat Aziz in 2004 said:

ہماری بہت سی خواتین نہایت مشکل زندگی بسر کر رہی ہیں۔ ہم اپنی خواتین کی حالت بہتر بنانے کے لئے ہر ممکن کوشش کریں گے تاکہ وہ ترقی کے اس سفر میں برابر کی شریک ہوں۔

Translation

Many of our women are living a very difficult life. We will do everything possible to improve the condition of our women so that they can participate equally in this journey of progress.

Likewise, President Asif Ali Zardari in 2008 stated:

I note with pain that...the women of this great nation continue to suffer crimes against them with disturbing frequency. I will request the government to do its utmost to not just provide protection to women, but to empower them at every step of the long road to their just entitlements as full citizens of this State.

As stated earlier, to improve conditions of <women>, policies, reforms and actions were justified. For instance, while assuring to provide <women> right to work, right to choose a job freely, right to equal pay for equal work, fair and favourable working conditions and maternity leave with pay, Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto in 1988 said:

ہم ایسے تمام قوانین کو منسوخ کر دیں گے جن سے خواتین کی حق تلفی ہوتی ہے۔۔۔ ہم موجودہ معاشرتی اور اقتصادی حقائق کے تقاضوں کے مطابق خواتین سے متعلق اصلاح کریں گے۔

Translation

We will repeal all laws that deprive women of their rights...We will bring in reforms concerning women in accordance with the requirements of current social and economic realities.

Similarly, President Sardar Farooq Ahmed Leghari in 1994 stated:

حکومت پاکستان نے خواتین کی حیثیت میں ڈرامائی ترقی لانے کا عزم کئے ہوئے ہے۔۔۔ اس ضمن میں جو اقدامات کئے گئے ہیں ان میں۔۔۔ خواتین پولیس فورس کا قیام، خواتین کے لئے علیحدہ پولیس اسٹیشنوں کا قیام، اور اعلیٰ عدالتوں میں خواتین ججوں کا تقرر شامل ہیں۔

Translation

The Government of Pakistan is committed to dramatic progress in the status of women...The steps taken in this regard...include the establishment of Women's Police Force, separate police stations for women and appointment of women judges in the high courts.

Likewise, President Parvez Musharraf in 2007 said: "We empowered the women of Pakistan". Making a similar point, President Arif-ur-Rehman Alvi in 2018 said:

خواتین کی فلاح و بہبود کے سلسلے میں ان کے لئے تعلیم، روزگار اور اعلیٰ ترین سطح سے لے کر چلی سطح تک اختیار بنانے کی پالیسیاں وضع کی جائیں۔۔ Women Empowerment کے بغیر کسی ملک کی ترقی کا خواب کامیاب نہیں ہو سکتا۔

Translation

With regard to women's welfare, policies be formulated for their education, employment and empowerment from the highest to the lowest level. No country can progress without women empowerment.

4.6.9 <منشیات> /mʊnəʃfiɑ:t/ [drugs]

The association of the term *drug* with substance abuse began by the end of the nineteenth century (Parascandola, 1995). The word has negative connotations when employed in a context other than medicine (Norwick, 1983). The illegal use of drug has legal and social constraints. As such, it is banned; for instance, opium in the US in 1909. Efforts to control drugs are described through slogans such as *War on Drugs*, and *Drug Free World*. Pakistan is also facing the problem of drug abuse and the government is committed to control drugs. In this regard, the Ministry of Narcotics Control, established in 1989, envisions a society free from the menace of drugs with an aim to make Pakistan a drug-free country. Pakistan is also a signatory to the 1961 Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs (Sajjad, 2018). However, the harsh control and punishment structure has not controlled the drug abuse.

According to a briefing in 2015 by Director General (DG) of Anti Narcotics Force (ANF) to the Senate Standing Committee on Interior and Narcotics Control, Pakistan has seven million drug addicts with 700 deaths from drug addiction every day (Dawn, 2015). The use of drugs is rising among youth, particularly in university and school children. In this connection, the incumbent Prime Minister Imran Khan launched *Zindagi* (life) app on January 6, 2020 to curb drug trafficking and spread awareness about the menace. As such, the word <منشیات> /mʊnəʃfiɑ:t/ [drugs] is commonly used in public and political discourse. The analysis of the speeches revealed that <منشیات> /mʊnəʃfiɑ:t/ [drugs] was used as an ideograph, which appeared in the speeches of Presidents only. The ideograph first appeared in the speeches in 1988 and then recurred in 1994. Thus, the ideograph in the speeches occurred between 1988-94 and appeared 13 times in the speeches of only two Presidents. The

ideograph occurred once in the speech by President Ghulam Ishaq Khan on December 14, 1988 and 12 times in the inaugural by President Sardar Farooq Ahmed Leghari on November 14, 1994. One of the possible explanations for occurrence of the ideograph in the speeches between 1988-94 could be that during the 1980s and 1990s efforts were made by Pakistani government to control cultivation and production of opium due to US concern. An eight-member US Congressional team visited Pakistan in 1984 to discuss with Pakistani officials the growing menace of heroin trafficking and this was followed by announcement of *new effective measures* by Pakistani government to curb drug trafficking (Haq, 1996). Diachronically, the ideograph in the speeches appeared in three senses: problem, threat and justification of actions. In the sense of problem, President Ghulam Ishaq Khan in 1988 said:

آج ملک میں منشیات کی وبا عام ہے۔ لاکھوں نوجوان اور بے شمار خاندان اس کے تباہ کن اثرات کے جہنم کا ایندھن بن گئے ہیں۔۔۔ ہم اپنی قومی زندگی میں درپیش آنے والے ان منفی رجحانات سے کسی طور چشم پوشی نہیں کر سکتے۔

Translation:

Today, drug addiction is a common problem in the country; millions of young people and innumerable families have been affected by its devastating effects... We cannot overlook these negative trends in our national life.

Likewise, using the ideograph in the sense of threat, President Sardar Farooq Ahmed Leghari in 1994 said:

منشیات کا پھیلاؤ اور استعمال بڑے پیمانے پر منشیات کی ترسیل بھی ہماری مملکت اور معاشرے کے بنیادی ستونوں کے لئے ایک سنگین خطرہ ہے۔

Translation:

The use and spread of drugs and their large-scale trafficking was a serious threat to the pillars of the state and society.

This shows that <منشیات> /mənəʃʃiɑ:t/ [drugs] was regarded as a threat to society and state. It has affected the social fabric of Pakistani society in every walk of life (Ahmed & Shafi, 1990). The negative consequences of drug abuse affect not only individuals who abuse drugs but also their families and friends, various businesses, and government resources. Similarly, using the ideograph in the sense of justification of policies, President Sardar Farooq Ahmed Leghari in 1994 said:

۱۹۸۰ میں منشیات کے عادی چند سو افراد کی تعداد بڑھ کر اب تین ملین کی خوفناک حد تک پہنچ گئی ہے۔ حکومت کو اس اضافہ پر بڑی تشویش ہے اور اس نے اس لعنت کو روکنے کے لئے بعض بنیادی اقدامات اٹھائے ہیں۔

Translation:

The number of a few hundred drug addicts in 1980 has risen to a staggering three million. The government is deeply concerned about this increase and has taken some basic steps to stop this curse.

President Sardar Farooq Ahmed Leghari stated that the rising trend in drug addiction is a matter of great concern for the government, which has taken some basic steps to curb this curse, including death penalty for those involved in drug trafficking and confiscation of property of those punished for two or more years due to their involvement in illicit drug trade as well as rehabilitation of drug addicts. Different drug laws are being consolidated and Pakistan Narcotics Board and Anti-Narcotics Boards are being reorganized. The diachronic analysis of the ideograph shows that till 1980, the problem of <منشیات> /mənəʃfiɑ:t/ [drugs] has not attracted attention owing to less number of addicts but this problem became worse in the early 1980s with the introduction of heroin into the international market including Pakistan (Khalily, 2001).

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSIONS

This chapter presents the conclusion of the study and is structured as follows: First, cross referencing and linking research questions and methodological approach is given, followed by key findings based on the research questions are presented, along with additional findings. Subsequently, the study's implications, strengths and limitations are highlighted. Finally, some recommendations are made for future research.

5.1 Cross-Referencing Research Questions and Methodological Approach

The study aimed to analyse ideographs in the inaugural speeches of Heads of State/Government of Pakistan from the country's creation in 1947 to September, 2018, the time of the latest inaugural speeches in Pakistan's political history delivered by the country's incumbent Heads of State/Government. The study was based on the following research questions.

5.2 Research Questions

- Q1.** Which ideographs have the Heads of State/Government of Pakistan used in their speeches?

- Q2.** To what extent are the ideographs of the Heads of State/Government of Pakistan specific to civil and military leaders?

- Q3.** What historical and political circumstances (motivated/compelled) Heads of State/Government of Pakistan to use particular ideographs?

- Q4.** How have the ideographs been used in the speeches diachronically?

5.3 Methodological Approach

To address these questions, the study carried out textual analysis of speeches by Heads of State/Government from 1947–2018, using McGee’s framework of Ideographic Criticism. In all, 58 speeches were included in the study, which contained a total of 124,363 words, averaging 2,144 words apiece. They were collected from different sources because they were scattered and diversified: they were neither available at a single location nor in a single format (text, audio, or video). However, every possible endeavour was made to collect data from official sources to ensure its authenticity. The study was qualitative in nature and exploratory in its approach. It set ideograph as a unit of analysis. The analysis was conducted in five steps, which included: *identification*, *translation* (in case of Urdu speeches), *categorization*, *contextualization* and *interpretation*. Thus, both positive and negative ideographs in the speeches were identified to develop rhetorical culture (ideographs) of Pakistani political rhetoric. To this end, an iterative process was employed, which involved reading and rereading of the speeches, that is, repeated close readings were carried to identify ideographs. The scan for ideographs included single words and phrases or multiple word clusters. As such, only those positive and negative ideographs were selected and analysed, which had a frequency of 10 or above in both English and Urdu speeches taken together or in either of the languages.

5.4 Key Findings

Based on the criterion of 10-frequency as mentioned above and detailed in *Chapter 3 Methodology*, a total of 58 ideographs were identified in this study. Of these 47 were positive ideographs, namely <accountability>, <agriculture>, <cause>, <change>, <citizens>, <constitution>, <common man>, <country>, <democracy>, <dignity>, <economy>, <education>, <elections>, <employment>, <equality>, <faith>, <freedom>, <health>, <institutions>, <investment>, <Islam>, <justice>, <labour>, <law>, <law and order>, <media>, <minorities>, <nation>, <peace>, <Pakistan>, <people>, <press>, <progress>, <prosperity>, <referendum>, <reforms>, <refugees>, <right(s)>, <security>, <stability>,

<state>, <system>, <tax>, <unity>, <welfare>, <women> in English and <کرسی>/kursi/[chair] in Urdu. Similarly, 11 were negative ideographs, namely <bribery>, <corruption>, <crisis>, <dictatorship>, <martial law>, <poor>, <poverty>, <terrorism>, <unemployment> in English and <منشیات>/mənəʃfiɑ:t̪/[drugs] and <مہنگائی>/məhŋga:i/[price hike] in Urdu.

The 58 ideographs were divided into six major Thematic Domains, which included: Economy-Focused Ideographs, Governance-Focused Ideographs, Nationalism-Focused Ideographs, Politics-Focused Ideographs, Religion and Values-Focused Ideographs, Society-Focused Ideographs. *Economy-Focused Ideographs* consisted of 07 Positive Ideographs, that is, <agriculture>, <economy>, <employment>, <investment>, <labour>, <prosperity>, <tax>, and 04 Negative Ideographs, that is, <poor>, <poverty>, <unemployment> and <مہنگائی>/məhŋga:i/[price hike]. On the other hand, *Governance-Focused Ideographs* comprised 14 Positive Ideographs, that is, <accountability>, <change>, <education>, <health>, <institutions>, <law>, <law and order>, <media>, <press>, <progress>, <reforms>, <security>, <stability>, <system> and 04 Negative Ideographs, that is, <bribery>, <crisis>, <corruption>, and <terrorism>. *Nationalism-Focused Ideographs* included 04 Positive Ideographs, that is, <country>, <nation>, <Pakistan>, <state>. Moreover, *Politics-Focused Ideographs* encompassed 05 Positive Ideographs, that is, <constitution>, <democracy>, <elections>, <referendum>, <کرسی>/kursi/[chair] and 02 Negative Ideographs, that is, <dictatorship> and <martial law>. *Religion and Values-Focused Ideographs* consisted of 09 Positive Ideographs and were divided into two sub-domains: Religion and Values. While Religion-Focused Ideographs included <Islam> and <faith>, Values-Focused Ideographs comprised <cause>, <dignity>, <equality>, <freedom>, <justice>, <peace> and <unity>. *Society-Focused Ideographs* encompassed 08 Positive Ideographs, that is, <citizens>, <common man>, <minorities>, <people>, <refugees>, <right(s)>, <welfare> and <women> and 01 Negative Ideograph <منشیات>/mənəʃfiɑ:t̪/[drugs]. While the domains of Nationalism-Focused as well as Religion

and Values-Focused Ideographs encompassed only Positive Ideographs, the remaining four domains had both Positive and Negative Ideographs.

A number of similarities and differences were observed in the employment of both Positive and Negative Ideographs by Heads of State/Government. As regards 47 Positive Ideographs, 14 appeared in the speeches of all Heads of State/Government, that is, Governor Generals, Prime Ministers, Presidents and Military Leaders. These 14 common Positive Ideographs included: <country>, <nation>, <Pakistan>, <state>, <Islam>, <cause>, <justice>, <equality>, <democracy>, <constitution>, <stability>, <progress>, <citizens> and <people>. Among these ideographs, the highest use of <country>, <Islam> and <stability> was found in the Inaugural Speeches of Military Leaders, whereas the highest incidence of <democracy>, <justice> and <people> occurred in the Inaugural speeches of Prime Ministers. On the other hand, the highest use of <nation>, <Pakistan>, <state>, <cause>, <citizens> and <equality> appeared in the speeches of Governor Generals, whereas the highest frequency of <constitution> and <progress> was found in the speeches of Presidents. These 14 common ideographs can be subsumed under five Thematic Domains: First, Nationalism-Focused ideographs, that is, <country>, <nation>, <Pakistan> and <state>. These ideographs revealed that all Heads of State/Government chiefly relied on nationalist sentiment. Among these 04 ideographs, <Pakistan> emerged as the highest frequency ideograph in the Inaugural Speeches of Heads of State/Government of Pakistan, whereas <country> and <nation> appeared as the third and fourth frequently employed ideographs in the Inaugural Speeches respectively.

The high incidence of these ideographs in the inaugurals also indicated their significance in Pakistani political rhetoric. These ideographs occurred in the inaugurals right from the creation of Pakistan in August 1947 and recurred in the speeches in the subsequent decades till the last inaugural in the country's history in September, 2018. Even <Pakistan> appeared in slogans before the country's independence. For instance, *Leke Rahenge Pakistan, Bat Ke Rahega Hindustan* (We will seize Pakistan by dividing Hindustan); *Pakistan Ka Matlab Kya, La Ilaha IllAllah* (What does Pakistan mean? There is no God but Allah) and

Pakistan Zindabad (Long Live Pakistan), as already discussed in *Chapter 4, Discussion*. These ideographs were mainly used by Heads of State/Government for showing commitment, making appeal and justifying self-rule, policies and actions. These ideographs were usually invoked in three types of situations in the Inaugural Speeches. One, a crisis arising out of death or serious illness of Heads of State or Government; Second, a political crisis emanating from imposition of Martial Law, dissolution of Assemblies or at times their restoration and disqualification of Heads of Government by the Supreme Court of Pakistan; Third, the coming into power of new leadership after due process of elections. For instance, in case of political crisis situation, the Head of State/ Government attributed responsibility to the predecessors for damaging <country>, <nation>, <Pakistan> and <state> and showed commitment to retrieve <country>, <nation>, <Pakistan> and <state> from crisis situation. Likewise, in case of Martial Law, these ideographs were used to justify self-rule and the actions of imposing Martial Law.

Second, Religion and Values-Focused Ideographs, that is, <Islam>, <cause>, <equality> and <justice>. Among these, <Islam> is a Religion-Focused Ideograph, whereas <cause>, <equality>, and <justice> are Values-Focused Ideographs. The employment of Religion-Focused Ideograph <Islam> in the speeches of all Heads of State/Government reflected its importance in Pakistani Political rhetoric. Just like <Pakistan>, the ideograph <Islam> also appeared even before independence. For instance, when Malik Feroz Khan Noon, who later became Prime Minister of Pakistan in December 1957, joined All-India Muslim League in 1945, he appealed the people of Punjab to vote for All-India Muslim League and stated: “To vote a non-Muslim League member will be against Islam” (Rahman, 2008). As such, <Islam> appeared as an ideograph in the Speeches of Heads of State/Government after independence. Thus, <Islam> has always remained central to political discourse in Pakistan. One of the possible explanations for the significance of this ideograph in Pakistani political rhetoric is that Pakistan is the only Muslim-majority country which was created in the name of <Islam>. More so, as per the country’s Constitution, <Islam> has been declared as state religion. Therefore, the ideograph <Islam> occurred in the inaugurals from

1948 and recurred in the speeches in the subsequent decades till 2014. In the first decade in the Civilian rule from (1947-58), <Islam> was used for promotion of democracy in the country. As a consequence, General Mohammed Ayub Khan, while declaring Martial Law in 1958, stated: "...democracy has been run in Pakistan...in the sacred name of Islam". Later, General Mohammed Zia-ul-Haq (1977-88) used the ideograph <Islam> for justification and continuation of self-rule and actions. He justified the conduct of a referendum in 1984 in the name of <Islam> and continuity of Islamic System in the country. Even after the death of President General Mohammed Zia-ul-Haq in August 1988, the imprints of his emphasis on <Islam> and Islamic System continued to recur in the subsequent period. For instance, Prime Minister Ghulam Mustafa Khan Jatoi in 1990 regarded <Islam> as Pakistan's guiding ideology. In addition, the ideograph appeared as a motivational force at the time of crises, particularly the death of a leader or the secession of the country in 1971. Thus, both Civilian as well as Military Leaders used <Islam> for their political gains. On the other hand, the three common Values-Focused Ideographs were <cause>, <equality> and <justice>. It is worth-highlighting that the ideograph <cause> appeared in the Inaugural Speeches mostly either with another Values-Focused Ideograph <peace> or three Nationalism-Focused Ideographs, including <country>, <nation> and <Pakistan>; one Politics-Focused Ideograph, <democracy> and one Society-Focused Ideograph, <people>. Thus, its employment is predominantly ideological. Moreover, <equality> and <justice> were the two common values that appeared in the speeches of all Heads of State/Government. One of the possible explanations for the common use of these two Values-Focused Ideographs could be the social as well as economic inequalities in the society and the lack of access to <justice> for the poor, mainly due to rampant corruption and Sifarish culture.

Third, Politics-Focused Ideographs, that is, <constitution> and <democracy> were also common. The ideograph <constitution> appeared in the speeches in 1955 and recurred till 2018, the time of the last inaugural in the country's history, whereas <democracy> occurred first in 1953 and subsequently showed up in the speeches till 2017. Also, <constitution> and <democracy> appeared as the sixth and seventh frequently employed

ideographs in the Inaugural Speeches respectively. The high incidence of these two ideographs could be attributed to the checkered constitutional and democratic history of Pakistan, chiefly owing to the imposition of Martial Laws, dissolutions of assemblies and disqualifications of Prime Ministers by the Supreme Court of Pakistan, as discussed in detail in *Chapter 1, Introduction*, and in *Chapter 4, Discussion*, under <Constitution> and <Democracy> ideographs respectively. Therefore, Heads of State Government showed commitment and justified their actions for restoration of <constitution>, supremacy of <constitution> and upholding <constitution> as well as for restoration, strengthening and continuity of <democracy>. Moreover, throughout Pakistan's history the struggle for restoration of <democracy> appeared in two distinct forms: First, Opposition Parties endeavouring to oust Civilian Government; Second, politicians trying to oust Military Governments. In these cases, the ideograph <democracy> and one of its manifestations, that is, <real democracy> were used. For instance, Combined Opposition Party (COP) under the leadership of Fatima Jinnah, sister of Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, campaigned for 1965 Elections against General Mohammed Ayub Khan on one-point agenda, that is, restoration of <real democracy>. Likewise, an anti-government campaign by Pakistan Democratic Movement (PDM) under the headship of Maulana Fazlur Rehman was launched in September, 2020 against the Government of Prime Minister Imran Khan for restoration of <real democracy>. Thus, the same ideograph was used after five decades for justification of anti-Government rallies and demonstrations across the country. Similarly, titles of Movements and Alliance were formed, using the ideograph of <democracy>; For instance, Movement for Restoration of Democracy (MRD) against General Mohammed Zia-ul-Haq and Alliance for Restoration of Democracy (ARD) against General Parvez Musharraf.

Fourth, two Governance-Focused Ideographs, that is, <progress> and <stability> were also common, which appeared in the inaugural speeches in 1947 and 1948 respectively and continued to recur, albeit with some intervals, till 2018, the time of the last inaugural in 2018. The recurrence of these ideographs and their employment by all Heads of State/Government pointed to their significance in Pakistani political rhetoric. The ideograph <progress> mostly

occurred in combination with three Nationalism-Focused ideographs, that is, <country>, <nation> and <Pakistan> as well as one Society-Focused ideograph, that is, <people>. The ideograph mainly focused on social and economic aspects. On the other hand, the ideograph <stability> appeared in conjunction with the four Nationalism-Focused ideographs, that is, <country>, <nation>, <Pakistan> and <state>; Governance-Focused ideograph of <institutions>, Politics-Focused ideograph of <democracy> and Economy-Focused ideograph of <economy>. Thus, the Heads of State/Government showed their commitment and justified their rule and actions on the basis of <political stability>, <internal stability>, <national stability>, <democratic stability> and <economic stability>.

Fifth, two Society-Focused Ideographs, that is, <citizens> and <people> were common, which appeared in the speeches in 1947 and subsequently recurred, although intermittently, till the last inaugural in 2018 in the country's history. While <people> emerged as the second highest frequency ideograph in the Inaugural Speeches of Heads of State/Government of Pakistan, the frequency of <citizens> was far less compared to <people>. This indicated that leaders made more frequent use of <people> than <citizens> ideograph. One of the possible reasons for greater reliance on the use of <people> could be the all-encompassing nature of the ideograph <people>, including classes, races and individuals, whereas the ideograph <citizens> has more of a legal connotation to it. As such, the recurrence of <citizens> ideograph was more frequent in the initial decades, with a focus surrounding status, duties, obligations, responsibilities, and rights as well as reciprocal state-citizen relationship. However, both ideographs were used by Heads of States/Government for justification of policies, programmes, self-rule and actions. For instance, Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, while justifying his decision of imposing curfew in major cities in 1977 following the unrest and violence caused due demonstrations by Pakistan National Alliance (PNA), stated: "The life and property of all of our citizens are sacred and we cannot allow anyone to go on the rampage". Likewise, President General Mohammed Yahya Khan in 1969 stated: "My sole aim in imposing martial law is to protect life, liberty and property of the people".

It is pertinent to highlight that the 14 common ideographs, discussed above, did not contain any Economy-Focused Ideographs, which indicated that all Heads of State/Government chiefly relied on ideological orientation instead of real issues. As a consequence, such ideological manifestation becomes more prominent in the testing times. For instance, ideographs <Islam> and <Pakistan> were used by Prime Minister Mian Mohammed Nawaz Sharif in the wake of international sanctions, following the nuclear tests in May 1998. While the sanctions resulted in serious economic challenges, Prime Minister Mian Mohammed Nawaz Sharif stated that “economic hardship is a small price to pay for the glory of Islam and Pakistan”. Thus, Prime Minister Mian Mohammed Nawaz Sharif distracted people’s attention from the real issue of economy towards something ideological.

Apart from the 14 common Positive Ideographs appeared in the speeches of all Heads of State/Government, 15 Ideographs (12 Positive and 03 Negative) occurred in the speeches of Prime Ministers, Presidents and Military Leaders only. The 12 Positive Ideographs included: <change>, <dignity>, <economy>, <elections>, <faith>, <institutions>, <labour>, <law>, <law and order>, <security>, <unity>, and <women>. On the other hand, the 03 Negative Ideographs encompassed: <bribery>, <corruption> and <crisis>. All these ideographs could be subsumed under five Thematic Domains that is, Governance-Focused, Religion and Values-Focused, Economy-Focused, Politics-Focused and Society-Focused. Among these, the major thrust was on Governance-Focused Ideographs, which totalled 08, that is, 05 Positive and 03 Negative. Positive Ideographs included: <change>, <institutions>, <law>, <law and order> and <security> while Negative Ideographs encompassed <bribery>, <corruption> and <crisis>. Religion and Values-Focused comprised 03 Positive Ideographs. Among these, <faith> was Religion-Focused and <dignity> as well as <unity> were Values-Focused. Moreover, Economy-Focused Ideographs included <economy> and <labour>, whereas Politics and Society-Focused Ideographs comprised <elections> and <women> respectively. It is worth-highlighting that both Civilian and Military Leaders employed <bribery>, <corruption> and <crisis> to justify their rule, actions and policies. More so, <bribery> and <crisis> has the highest frequency in the speeches of Military

Leaders.

Similarly, 06 Positive Ideographs including <education>, <freedom>, <minorities>, <peace>, <prosperity> and <refugees> showed up in the speeches of Governor Generals, Prime Ministers and Presidents only. These ideographs could be categorised under four Thematic Domains, that is, Society-Focused, Values-Focused, Governance-Focused and Economy-Focused. Among these, the major thrust was on Society and Values- Focused Ideographs. While Society-Focused Ideographs included <minorities> and <refugees>, Values-Focused comprised <freedom> and <peace>. On the other hand, Governance and Economy-Focused Ideographs included <education> and <prosperity> respectively.

Furthermore, 20 Ideographs (13 Positive and 07 Negative) appeared in the speeches of Prime Ministers and Presidents only. The 13 Positive Ideographs included: <accountability>, <agriculture>, <common man>, <employment>, <health>, <investment>, <media>, <press>, <reforms>, <right(s)>, <system>, <tax> and <welfare>. On the other hand, the 07 Negative Ideographs encompassed <dictatorship>, <martial law>, <poor>, <poverty>, <terrorism>, <unemployment> and <مَاهِنْغَا:ي>/mæhŋga:i/[price hike]. These ideographs could broadly be subsumed under three Thematic Domains: Economy, Governance and Society-Focused Ideographs. Among these, the major thrust was on Economy and Governance-Focused Ideographs. Economy-Focused Ideographs totalled 08, that is, 04 Positive and as many Negative. The Positive Ideographs included <agriculture>, <employment>, <investment> and <tax>, whereas Negative Ideographs encompassed <poor>, <poverty>, <unemployment> and <مَاهِنْغَا:ي>/mæhŋga:i/[price hike]. On the other hand, Governance-Focused Ideographs included 06 Positive Ideographs, that is, <accountability>, <health>, <media>, <press>, <reforms>, <system> and 01 Negative Ideograph, that is, <terrorism>. Moreover, there were 03 Positive Society-Focused Ideographs, encompassing <common man>, <right(s)> and <welfare>. Besides, 02 Negative Politics-Focused Ideographs, that is, <dictatorship> and <martial law> also occurred in the Inaugural Speeches of Prime Ministers and Presidents only. Likewise, 02 ideographs, one Positive, that is,

<referendum> and the other Negative, that is, <منشیات>/munəʃfiɑ:t/[drugs] showed up in the speeches of Presidents only. Moreover, the Positive Ideograph <کرسی>/kursi/ [chair] appeared in the speeches of Prime Ministers only.

Thus, a total of 29 Ideographs (26 Positive and 03 Negative) appeared in the speeches of Military Leaders. These ideographs covered all six Thematic Domains, including Nationalism-Focused: <country>, <nation>, <Pakistan> and <state>; Religion-Focused: <faith> and <Islam>; Values-Focused: <cause>, <dignity>, <equality>, <justice> and <unity>; Economy-Focused included: <economy> and <labour>; Politics-Focused: <constitution>, <democracy> and <elections>; Society-Focused: <citizens>, <people> and <women>; Governance-Focused: Positive Ideographs <change>, <institutions>, <law>, <law and order>, <progress>, <security>, and <stability> while Negative Ideographs <bribery>, <corruption> and <crisis>. Moreover, in the speeches of Military Leaders, 06 Positive Ideographs, that is, <country>, <dignity>, <economy>, <Islam>, <law and order> and <stability> and 02 Negative Ideographs, that is, <bribery> and <crisis> had the highest percentage in the Inaugural Speeches. However, ideographs such as <accountability> and <reforms> did not occur in the speeches of the Military Leaders, although they highlighted in their Inaugural Speeches the wrongs of the Civilian Governments and promised to fix everything. Moreover, other ideographs which did not occur in the Inaugural Speeches of Military Leaders included: <agriculture>, <common man>, <education>, <employment>, <freedom>, <health>, <investment>, <media>, <minorities>, <peace>, <press>, <prosperity>, <referendum>, <refugees>, <right(s)>, <system>, <tax>, <welfare> and <کرسی>/kursi/[chair] and the negative ideographs <dictatorship>, <martial law>, <مہنگائی>/məhŋga:i/[price hike], <poor>, <poverty>, <terrorism>, <unemployment> and <منشیات>/munəʃfiɑ:t/[drugs]. Although the ideograph <peace> did not occur in the inaugural speeches of Military Leaders, it however now appears frequently in the speeches and statements of Military Leaders in other contexts. For instance, as mentioned in *Chapter 4*,

Discussion, the ideograph <accountability> did not appear in the inaugurals by General Mohammed Zia-ul-Haq (1977-88) and General Parvez Musharraf (1999-2008), they used this ideograph subsequently in their respective tenures. General Mohammed Zia-ul-Haq, after his take-over on July 5, 1977, postponed the elections by using the slogan of *Pehlay Ehtesab, Phir Intikhab* [*accountability first, then elections*]. Likewise, General Parvez Musharraf established National Accountability Bureau (NAB) just a month after his takeover in 1999 by declaring that <accountability> was the demand of everyone.

Similarly, a total of 20 Positive Ideographs appeared in the speeches of Governor Generals. Among these, 14 are the common ideographs including, <country>, <nation>, <Pakistan>, <state>, <Islam>, <cause>, <equality>, <justice>, <constitution>, <democracy>, <progress>, <stability>, <citizens> and <people>, which were also found in the Inaugural Speeches of Military Leaders, as discussed above. Moreover, 06 other ideographs, including <freedom>, <peace>, <education>, <prosperity>, <minorities> and <refugees> were also found in the Inaugural Speeches of Governor Generals but they were not found in the Speeches of Military Leaders. The 20 Positive Ideographs used by Governor Generals covered all six Thematic Domains, including Nationalism-Focused: <country>, <nation>, <Pakistan> and <state>; Religion-Focused: <Islam>; Values-Focused: <cause>, <equality>, <freedom>, <justice> and <peace>; Economy-Focused: <prosperity>; Politics-Focused: <constitution> and <democracy>; Society-Focused: <citizens>, <minorities>, <people> and <refugees>; Governance-Focused: <education>, <progress> and <stability>. Moreover, in the speeches of Governor Generals, 11 Positive Ideographs, that is, <cause>, <citizens>, <equality>, <freedom>, <education>, <nation>, <Pakistan>, <peace>, <prosperity>, <refugees> and <state> had the highest percentage in the Inaugural Speeches. Furthermore, out of the 11 Negative Ideographs selected for analysis on the basis of ten or above in this study, not a single Negative Ideograph appeared in the speeches of Governor Generals.

Likewise, a total of 56 Ideographs (46 Positive and 10 Negative) appeared in the speeches of Prime Ministers. The 46 Positive Ideographs are broken down thus: Among these, 14 are the common Positive Ideographs including, <country>, <nation>, <Pakistan>,

<state>, <Islam>, <cause>, <equality>, <justice>, <constitution>, <democracy>, <progress>, <stability>, <citizens> and <people>, which were also found in the Inaugural Speeches of Military Leaders, Governor Generals and Presidents, as discussed above. Similarly, 12 Positive Ideographs encompassing, <change>, <dignity>, <economy>, <elections>, <faith>, <institutions>, <labour>, <law>, <law and order>, <security>, <unity>, and <women>, which also occurred in the speeches of Presidents and Military Leaders, as detailed above. Moreover, 06 Positive Ideographs including <education>, <freedom>, <minorities>, <peace>, <prosperity> and <refugees>, which also showed up in the speeches of Governor Generals and Presidents, as highlighted above. Furthermore, 13 Positive Ideographs including, <accountability>, <agriculture>, <common man>, <employment>, <health>, <investment>, <media>, <press>, <reforms>, <right(s)>, <system>, <tax> and <welfare> were found, which also occurred in the speeches of Presidents, as pointed out above. Finally, 01 Positive Ideograph <کرسی>/korsi/ [chair] appeared in the speeches of Prime Ministers only. On the other hand, the 10 Negative Ideographs are classified thus: 03 Negative Ideographs encompassing <bribery>, <corruption> and <crisis>, which also appeared in the speeches of Presidents and Military Leaders. Moreover, 07 Negative Ideographs including, <dictatorship>, <martial law>, <poor>, <poverty>, <terrorism>, <unemployment> and <مہنگائی>/mæhŋgɑ:i/[price hike], which also appeared in the speeches of Presidents.

The 56 Ideographs (46 Positive and 10 Negative) used by Prime Ministers covered all six thematic domains, including *Economy-Focused* consisted of 07 Positive Ideographs, that is, <agriculture>, <economy>, <employment>, <investment>, <labour>, <prosperity>, <tax>, and 04 Negative Ideographs, that is, <poor>, <poverty>, <unemployment> and <مہنگائی>/mæhŋgɑ:i/[price hike]. On the other hand, *Governance-Focused* comprised 14 Positive Ideographs, that is, <accountability>, <change>, <education>, <health>, <institutions>, <law>, <law and order>, <media>, <press>, <progress>, <reforms>, <security>, <stability>, <system> and 04 Negative Ideographs, that is, <bribery>, <crisis>,

<corruption>, and <terrorism>. *Nationalism-Focused* included 04 Positive Ideographs, that is, <country>, <nation>, <Pakistan>, <state>. Moreover, *Politics-Focused* encompassed 04 Positive Ideographs, that is, <constitution>, <democracy>, <elections>, <کرسی>/kursi/[chair] and 02 Negative Ideographs, that is, <dictatorship> and <martial law>. *Religion and Values-Focused* consisted of 09 Positive Ideographs and were divided into two sub-domains: Religion and Values. While Religion-Focused Ideographs included <Islam> and <faith>, Values-Focused Ideographs comprised <cause>, <dignity>, <equality>, <freedom>, <justice>, <peace> and <unity>. *Society-Focused* encompassed 08 Positive Ideographs, that is, <citizens>, <common man>, <minorities>, <people>, <refugees>, <right(s)>, <welfare> and <women>.

Moreover, in the speeches of Prime Ministers, 12 Positive Ideographs, that is, <accountability>, <change>, <democracy>, <elections>, <justice>, <faith>, <people>, <right(s)>, <security>, <tax>, <welfare> and <کرسی> /kursi/ [chair] and 07 Negative Ideographs, that is, <corruption>, <dictatorship>, <martial law>, <poor>, <poverty>, <unemployment>, and <مہنگائی> /mæhŋga:i/[price hike] had the highest percentage in the Inaugural Speeches. However, in the speeches of Prime Ministers, Positive Ideograph <referendum> and Negative Ideograph <منشیات>/mənəʃfiɑ:tʃ/[drugs] did not occur.

Likewise, a total of 57 Ideographs (46 Positive and 11 Negative) appeared in the speeches of Presidents, which indicate that Presidents in their Inaugural Speeches used all Positive Ideographs except <کرسی>/kursi/[chair] and all Negative Ideographs identified in this study, as discussed above. Moreover, in the speeches of Presidents, 18 Positive Ideographs, that is, <agriculture>, <constitution>, <common man>, <employment>, <health>, <institutions>, <investment>, <law>, <labour>, <media>, <minorities>, <press>, <progress>, <referendum>, <reforms>, <system>, <unity>, and <women> and 02 Negative Ideographs, that is, <terrorism> and <منشیات>/mənəʃfiɑ:tʃ/[drugs] had the highest percentage in the Inaugural

Speeches. In addition, the Negative Ideograph <منشیات>/munəʃʃi:ʔ/[drugs] and the Positive Ideograph <referendum> did not occur in the speeches of Governor Generals, Military Leaders and Prime Ministers, whereas the Positive Ideograph <کرسی>/kursi/[chair] did not occur in the speeches of Governor Generals, Military Leaders and Presidents.

The Heads of State/Government used ideographs in the speeches for a variety of purposes. Notable among these are justification of self-rule, policies, decisions, actions, schemes/programmes, appeal for unity and support; showing commitment, blaming politicians/the opposition and acknowledging the contributions of predecessors and party's founding fathers. Moreover, the diachronic analysis of these ideographs in the inaugural speeches showed a certain evolution over time. For instance, diachronically, the ideograph <accountability> in the speeches appeared in two broader connotations: *principle* and *process*, while the ideograph <tax> diachronically occurred in the speeches as a *system* and an *obligation*. <Tax> appeared as a system in the initial decades (1977-1984) and the main focus during this time was on reforms in the tax system, whereas as an obligation the ideograph appeared in the last decade as a legal obligation rather than an option. Likewise, the ideograph <economy> appeared in two main connotations: *system* and *state/condition*. As a system, <economy> occurred in two forms: conventional (Western) and Islamic but as a state/condition, <economy> also had two forms: *weak* and *strong*. Thus, throughout the speeches, the bust and boom in <economy> remained visible. In the same fashion, the ideograph <Islam> showed up in the speeches in three different connotations, that is, as a *force*, *religion* and *system*.

Likewise, the ideographs recurred in the inaugurals over decades and a consistency in ideographs was observed. As such, it could be argued that these ideographs were mostly repetitive in nature and more often than not the same ideograph was used in different situations and contexts across decades. For instance, the diachronic analysis of <مہنگائی>/məhŋga:i/ (price hike) showed that the term first appeared in inaugurals in 1985 and then recurred in the subsequent decades in the inaugural speeches. Similarly, the ideograph

<health> appeared first in inaugurals in 1956, almost nine years after the creation of Pakistan and it recurred in the subsequent decades till 2018. In the like manner, the ideograph <education> first showed up in the speech in 1948 and continued to recur in the subsequent decades until 2018. The same was the case with <corruption> ideograph, which appeared first in 1947 and continued to recur in the speeches of Prime Ministers, Presidents and Military Leaders till 2018. Thus, the ideograph was used over decades for justification of self-rule, policies and actions. It follows that the ideographs which appeared in the inaugural speeches are likely to recur in future inaugural speeches because these constitute the rhetorical culture of Pakistan.

5.5 Additional Findings

Except for the three positive ideographs, that is, <Pakistan>, <کرسی>/kursi/[chair] and <Islam>, and the two negative ideographs, that is, <منشیات>/munəʃfiɑ:tʃ/ [drugs] and <بہنگائی>/mæhŋɑ:i/[price hike], the rest of the ideographs appear to have come from foreign cultures. This substantiates McGee's (1980) explanation that some ideographs are archetypal, which transcend cultural boundaries and become cross-cultural. Moreover, another possible reason for use of foreign ideographs in Pakistani culture seems to be the long period of colonial rule in the united India. It appears that later their Urdu alternatives were developed and adopted side by side because Urdu is the national language of Pakistan while English is the official language in the country alongside Urdu. Resultantly, code-mixing and code-switching, particularly at word level, is common from Urdu to English and vice versa, which was also observed in the inaugural speeches. Some Urdu ideographs were found in the speeches delivered in English; for instance, <sifarish> and <zulm> (President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, 1971). On the other hand, some English ideographs were also found in the speeches delivered in Urdu; for example, <economy>, <investment>, and <corruption> (Prime Minister Shahid Khaqan Abbasi, 2017). However, five ideographs, including <press>,

<media>, <tax>, <martial law> and <security> still do not have Urdu substitutes and appear in the English language in Pakistan. As such, ideographs are borrowed from foreign cultures and subsequently acclimatised and made part of one's own culture. For instance, <democracy> is an ideograph borrowed from foreign culture and is staunchly advocated and supported in the Pakistani context.

The purpose of such borrowings appears to bring about social change or control public consciousness, which is contingent upon change in language. In other words, social change occurs when the ideographs change, as discussed in *Chapter 3*. This seems to be so because ideographs constitute units which provide material for ideologies. Social change takes place when people come across new ideographs or find a different meaning or interpretation of the existing ideographs. In so doing, people acquire a modified or new social consciousness. This trend of borrowing from other cultures has enhanced in the modern times, particularly after the advent of internet and social media, which provide for greater global connectivity.

Moreover, the 58 ideographs analysed in this study were mostly abstract in nature such as <equality>, <freedom> and <progress>. However, 07 ideographs, that is, <citizens>, <common man>, <labour> or <labourers>, <minorities>, <people>, <refugees> and <women> seemed too concrete and far more material in nature to work as ideological abstractions. Although these ideographs existed materially, they referred less to actual <labourer> or <women> than to ideological understanding of the rhetorical meanings of these ideographs. Thus, the concept of ideograph has been expanded from abstraction to material objects.

5.6 Implications of the Research

The power of language is a major implication for ideographic criticism. The study has substantiated the significance of language, particularly ideographs, in political discourse. Ideographs foster persuasiveness and as such have the ability to connect people and influence mass consciousness. Hence, politicians employ ideographs as a primary tool to persuade

audience for support to gain power or bring about social change. Thus, analysis of how ideographs are employed by politicians help make people better informed political decisions. Therefore, it is important to analyse and understand political discourse because politics affects people's life.

This study was a maiden effort in Pakistan to analyse ideographs in the inaugural speeches by Heads of State/Government, using ideographic perspective. As such, the present study contributed at four levels: theory, method, genre and context. At theoretical level, the study identified rhetorical culture (a systematic repertoire of ideographs) of Pakistan and thus further enriched the ideographic theory. At methodological level, the study for the first time introduced and applied ideographic framework to Pakistani political discourse comprising 58 speeches spanning more than seven decades while previous research in Pakistan predominantly used CDA methods on a limited number of speeches, mostly one or two. More so, the study also analysed Negative Ideographs in the speeches as previous research work on Negative Ideographs was very limited, as mentioned in *Chapter 2, Literature Review*. At genre level, the study explored the entire range of inaugurals since the country's founding, whereas previous research on inaugural speeches in Pakistan was extremely rare and very limited. Moreover, the study also contributed to compilation of Inaugural Speeches from 1947-2018, which would serve as a useful data source for future studies. At contextual level, the study explored a new political context with a rich and varied history spanning over seven decades, as outlined in *Section 1.4* under *Why Pakistani Inaugurals?* Thus, the study will help raise awareness in understanding how leaders establish relationship with the public through language use for justification of rule, policies and action as well as gaining their support. It will also sensitise teachers of political discourse, linguists, political analysts, journalists and politicians to the types of ideographs used by Heads of State/Government of Pakistan in their inaugural speeches. Finally, the study will be beneficial in understanding the changing dynamics of Pakistani political thought over a period of almost over seven decades; thus, it will bring to the fore the rhetorical culture of Pakistan. The study may be useful for better understanding of ideographs by civil as well as military leadership in Pakistan, together

with the changing dynamics of Pakistani political thought and its evolution over a period of almost over seven decades.

5.7 Limitations of the Study

The study was limited to the analysis of inaugural speeches by Heads of State/Government while speeches delivered by the rulers on other occasions lie outside the purview of the present research. The findings of the study will, therefore, be restricted to inaugurals and as such will not be applicable to the entire period of each ruler or to the whole political discourse of Pakistan. This study was aimed for a macro-level research with a breadth of coverage spread across the entire canvas of Pakistan's political history, covering a period of more than seven decades since the country's creation to the present government. As such, in-depth analyses of the ideographs were not possible as an inherent limitation of macro-level studies.

5.8 Recommendations for Future Research

Since this was a maiden effort to explore ideographs in inaugural speeches, the study offers greater scope for future research in the context of Pakistan. Future studies could focus on continuation of *macro-level* research, like this study, on inaugural speeches, which would not only make inaugural genre a well-established part of research culture in Pakistan, as elsewhere like the United States, but would also help develop a rich repository of ideographs used in such speeches. In this regard, future research could be conducted on the synchronic analysis of the 58 ideographs analysed diachronically in this study. Moreover, studies could also be carried out on both diachronic and synchronic analysis of the remaining ideographs identified in this study whose frequency was less than ten. Also, ideographic analysis of those inaugural speeches could be carried out, which were addressed to the Nation but did not come under the definition of Inaugural Speech for the current thesis. Moreover, *micro-level* studies on inaugurals can be carried out, choosing one or two ideographs for exhaustive in-depth analysis either diachronically or synchronically or both. Furthermore, ideographic evolution

of each Head of State/Government could be studied by analysing subsequent speeches following the inaugural during their entire term in office. Such research could explore a specific ideograph employed by each Head of State/Government or a range of ideographs used by them. Moreover, future research could also explore ideographs in speeches by Heads of State/Government delivered during crises such as national disaster, war or pandemic. It would also be useful to analyse ideographs in the speeches delivered by the Opposition Leaders or Heads of the Opposition Parties in the National Assembly, particularly following the inaugural speeches. More so, ideographs in the election campaign speeches by Heads of political parties would also be rewarding. Moreover, while this study analysed these speeches only from ideographic perspective, the same speeches could be analysed from other perspectives (e.g. Move Analysis; Corpus Analysis; Topical Analysis) to examine new dimensions and find out useful insights for future research. There is also a dire need to compile and maintain genre-wise online archival record of speeches to ensure easy accessibility of such data for future studies.

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Appendix A

S No	Name of Library/University	University/Institution	City	URL
1	Allama Iqbal Open University Library	Allama Iqbal Open University	Islamabad	http://library.aiou.edu.pk
2	Bait Al Hikmah Library	Hamdard University, Karachi	Karachi	http://library.hamdard.edu.pk
3	Central Library	International Islamic University	Islamabad	http://opac.iiu.edu.pk:64445
4	Dr. Mahmud Husain Library	University of Karachi	Karachi	http://www.uok.edu.pk/library/dlib.php
5	Dr. Muhammad Hamidullah Library	International Islamic University	Islamabad	http://irikoha.iiu.edu.pk:64446/cgi-bin/koha/opac-main.p
6	Dr. Raziuddin Siddiqi Memorial (DRSM) Library	Mohammad Ali Jinnah University	Islamabad	http://lib.qau.edu.pk/opac
7	National Library of Pakistan	Ministry of Education, Pakistan	Islamabad	http://www.nlp.gov.pk/resources.html
8	Nazir Library	National University of Modern languages	Islamabad	http://diglib.numl.edu.pk

S No	Name	Abbr	Date	Audience	Language	Words	Format	Source	Reference
1	Mohammad Ali Jinnah	MAJ	Aug 15, 1947	Nation	English	488	Government Publication	DEMP Library	Government of Pakistan (2012)
2	Khawaja Nazimuddin	KN	Sep 15, 1948	Nation	Urdu	1347	Newspaper Text	National Archives of Pakistan	Saadat (1948)
3	Malik Ghulam Mohammad	MGM	Oct 19, 1951	Nation	English	694	Newspaper Text	National Archives of Pakistan	Dawn (1951b)
4	Isakandar Mirza	IM	Oct 6, 1955	Nation	English	1336	Newspaper Text	National Archives of Pakistan	Dawn (1955a)

S No	Name	Abbr	Date	Audience	Language	Words	Format	Source	Reference
1	Liaqat Ali Khan	LAK	Aug 15, 1947	Nation	English	1620	Newspaper Text	National Archives of Pakistan	The Daily Gazette (1947)
2	Khawaja Nazimuddin	KN	Oct 17, 1951	Nation	Urdu	677	Magazine Report	Radio Pakistan, Islamabad	Aahang (1951)
3	Mohammad Ali Bogra	MAB	Apr 17, 1953	Nation	English	462	Newspaper Text	National Archives of Pakistan	Dawn (1953)
4	Ch. Mohammed Ali	CMA	Aug 11, 1955	Nation	English	1113	Newspaper Text	National Archives of Pakistan	Dawn (1955b)
5	Hussain Shaheed Suharwardi	HSS	Sep 12, 1956	Nation	English	3834	Newspaper Text	National Archives of Pakistan	Dawn (1956)
6	Ibrahim Ismail Chaudrigar	IIC	Oct 18, 1957	Nation	English	1554	Newspaper Text	National Archives of Pakistan	Dawn (1957a)
7	Malik Feroz Khan Noon	MFKN	Dec 17, 1957	Nation	English	607	Newspaper Text	National Archives of Pakistan	Dawn (1957b)
8	Noor-ul-Amin	NUA	Dec 9, 1971	Nation	Bengali	536	Newspaper Text	PID Archives	The Pakistan Times (1971)
9	Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto	ZAB	Aug 12, 1973	National Assembly	English	1466	Official Report	NA Official Website	The National Assembly of Pakistan (1973)
10	Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto	ZAB	Mar 28, 1977	National Assembly	English	8547	Government Publication	Nazir Library NUML, Islamabad	Government of Pakistan (2010b)
11	Muhammad Khan Junejo	MKJ	Mar 24, 1985	National Assembly	Urdu	2289	Official Report	NA Official Website	The National Assembly of Pakistan (1985)

Table 3.3 Continued									
Prime Ministers' Inaugural Speeches									
S No	Name	Abbr	Date	Audience	Language	Words	Format	Source	Reference
12	Benazir Bhutto	BB	Dec 2, 1988	Nation	Urdu	3526	Magazine Report	National Library of Pakistan, Islamabad	Pak Jamhuriat (1988)
13	Ghulam Mustafa Khan Jatoi	GMKJ	Aug 8, 1990	Press Conference	English	479	Video	PTV Islamabad	Pakistan Television (1990)
14	Mian Mohammed Nawaz Sharif	MMNS	Nov 6, 1990	National Assembly	Urdu	596	Official Report	NA Official Website	The National Assembly of Pakistan (1990)
15	Mir Balakh Sher Mazari	MBSM	Apr 20, 1993	Press Conference	Urdu/English	204	Video	PTV Islamabad	Pakistan Television (1993)
16	Mian Mohammed Nawaz Sharif	MMNS	May 27, 1993	National Assembly	Urdu	2289	Official Report	NA Official Website	The National Assembly of Pakistan (1993a)
17	Moin Qureshi	MQ	Aug 19, 1993	Nation	English	3863	Newspaper Text	PID Archives	The Pakistan Times (1993)
18	Benazir Bhutto	BB	Oct 19, 1993	National Assembly	Urdu	1008	Official Report	NA Official Website	The National Assembly of Pakistan (1993b)
19	Malik Meraj Khalid	MMK	Nov 10, 1996	Press Conference	Urdu	1042	Video	PTV Islamabad	Pakistan Television (1996)
20	Mian Mohammed Nawaz Sharif	MMNS	Feb 17, 1997	National Assembly	Urdu	4794	Official Report	NA Official Website	The National Assembly of Pakistan (1997)

Table 3.3 Continued									
Prime Ministers' Inaugural Speeches									
S No	Name	Abbr	Date	Audience	Language	Words	Format	Source	Reference
21	Mir Zafarullah Khan Jamali	MZKJ	Nov 21, 2002	National Assembly	Urdu	1806	Official Report	NA Official Website	The National Assembly of Pakistan (2002)
22	Chuahary Shujaat Hussain	CSH	June 29, 2004	National Assembly	Urdu	506	Official Report	NA Official Website	The National Assembly of Pakistan (2004a)
23	Shaukat Aziz	SA	Aug 27, 2004	National Assembly	Urdu	1760	Official Report	NA Official Website	The National Assembly of Pakistan (2004b)
24	Muhammad Mian Soomro	MMS	Nov 16, 2007	Media Interaction (After oath-taking)	Not determined	186	Newspaper Text	National Library of Pakistan	Jang (2007)
25	Syed Yousaf Raza Gillani	SYRG	Mar 24, 2008	National Assembly	Urdu	1197	Official Report	NA Official Website	The National Assembly of Pakistan (2008a)
26	Raja Pervez Ashraf	RPA	June 22, 2012	National Assembly	Urdu	1739	Official Report	NA Official Website	The National Assembly of Pakistan (2012)
27	Mir Hazar Khan Khoso	MHKK	Mar 24, 2013	Media Interaction	Urdu	491	Newspaper Text	National Library of Pakistan, Islamabad	Nawa-e-Waqt (2013)
28	Mian Mohammed Nawaz Sharif	MMNS	June 5, 2013	National Assembly	Urdu	3815	Official Report	NA Official Website	The National Assembly of Pakistan (2013)

S No	Name	Abbr	Date	Audience	Language	Words	Format	Source	Reference
29	Shahid Khaqan Abbasi	SKA	Aug 1, 2017	National Assembly	Urdu	2915	Official Report	NA Official Website	The National Assembly of Pakistan (2017)
30	Nasir-ul-Mulk	NUM	June 1, 2018	Media Interaction	Not determined	133	Newspaper Text	National Library of Pakistan, Islamabad	Jang (2018)
31	Imran Khan	IK	Aug 17, 2018	National Assembly	Urdu	1403	Official Report	NA Official Website	The National Assembly of Pakistan (2018a)

S No	Name	Abbr	Date	Audience	Language	Words	Format	Source(s)	Reference
1	Isakandar Mirza	IM	Mar 25, 1956	National Assembly	English	3849	Official Report	NA Official Website	The National Assembly of Pakistan (1956)
2	Mohammed Ayub Khan	MAK-I	Oct 27, 1958	Nation	English	135	Government Publication	DEMP Library	Government of Pakistan (1964b)
3	Mohammed Ayub Khan (Post-Referendum)	MAK-II	Feb 15, 1960	Nation	English	998	Government Publication	DEMP Library	Government of Pakistan (1964c)
4	Mohammed Ayub Khan (After reelection)	MAK-III	Jan 2, 1965	Nation	English	565	Government Publication	DEMP Library	Government of Pakistan (1964a)

Table 3.4 Continued Presidents' Inaugural Speeches									
S No	Name	Abbr	Date	Audience	Language	Words	Format	Source(s)	Reference
14	Mohammed Rafiq Tarar	MRT	February 23, 1998	Parliament	Urdu	6458	Government Publication	DEMP Library	Government of Pakistan (1999)
15	Parvez Musharraf	PRM-I	June 20, 2001	Nation	English	916	Video	PTV Islamabad	Pakistan Television (2001)
16	Parvez Musharraf (Post-Referendum)	PRM-II	May 3, 2002	Press Conference	English	2107	Video	PTV Islamabad	Pakistan Television (2002)
17	Parvez Musharraf	PRM-III	Nov 29, 2007	Nation	English	2551	Video	PTV Islamabad	Pakistan Television (2007)
18	Muhammad Mian Soomro (Acting)	MMS	---	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
19	Asif Ali Zardari	AAZ	Sep 20, 2008	Parliament	English	3000	Official Report	NA Official Website	The National Assembly of Pakistan (2008b)
20	Mamnoon Hussain	MH	June 2, 2014	Parliament	Urdu	3850	Official Report	NA Official Website	The National Assembly of Pakistan (2014)
21	Arif-ur-Rehman Alvi	AUA	Sep 17, 2018	Parliament	Urdu	3433	Official Report	NA Official Website	The National Assembly of Pakistan (2018b)

S. No	Name	Abbr	Date	Audience	Language	Words	Format	Source	Reference
1	Mohammed Ayub Khan	MAK	Oct 8, 1958	Nation	English	1624	Government Publication	DEMP Library	Government of Pakistan (1964a)
2	Mohammed Yahya Khan	MYK	Mar 26, 1969	Nation	English	701	News Item	National Library of Pakistan	Dawn (1969)
3	Mohammed Zia-ul-Haq	MZUH	Jul 5, 1977	Nation	Urdu	2011	Government Publication	DEMP Library	Government of Pakistan (n.d.a)
4	Parvez Musharraf	PRM	Oct 12, 1999	Nation	English	504	News Item	PID Archives	Dawn (1999)

Appendix B

S No	Ruler	Category	Words	<Agriculture>	<زراعت>	Total
1	HSS	PM	3834	1	0	1
2	ZAB	PM-II	8547	1	0	1
3	MMNS	PM-II	2289	0	1	1
4	MQ	PM	3863	2	0	2
5	RPA	PM	1739	0	1	1
6	SKA	PM	2915	2	0	2
7	IM	P	3849	2	0	2
8	GIK	P-II	6356	0	3	3
9	SFAL	P	5281	0	1	1
10	MRT	P	6458	0	4	4
11	AAZ	P	3000	3	0	3
12	AUA	P	3433	0	2	2
Total				11	12	23

S No	Ruler	Category	Words	<Economy>	<معیشت>	Total
1	HSS	PM	3834	2	0	2
2	IIC	PM	1554	1	0	1
3	BB	PM-I	3526	0	2	2
4	GMKJ	PM	479	1	0	1
5	MMNS	PM-I	596	0	1	1
6	MQ	PM	3863	12	0	12
7	MMNS	PM-III	4794	0	3	3
8	MMNS	PM-IV	3815	0	2	2
9	SKA	PM	2915	3	0	3
10	MYK	ML	701	2	0	2
11	PRM	ML	504	1	0	1
12	IM	P	3849	3	0	3
13	MZUH	P-I	2607	0	1	1
14	GIK	P-II	6356	0	7	7
15	WS	P	3114	0	3	3
16	MRT	P	6458	0	8	8
17	PRM	P-III	2551	1	0	1
18	AAZ	P	3000	2	0	2
19	AUA	P	3433	0	7	7
Total				28	34	62

Table 4.3 Frequency of <employment> and <روزگار>						
S No	Ruler	Category	Words	<Employment>	<روزگار>	Total
1	BB	PM-I	3526	0	4	4
2	MMNS	PM-III	4794	0	1	1
3	RPA	PM	1739	0	1	1
4	IM	P	3849	2	0	2
5	GIK	P-II	6356	0	2	2
6	MRT	P	6458	0	1	1
7	MH	P	3850	0	1	1
8	AUA	P	3433	0	4	4
Total				2	14	16

Table 4.4 Frequency of <investment> and <سرمایه کاری>						
S No	Ruler	Category	Words	<Investment>	<سرمایه کاری>	Total
1	BB	PM-I	3526	0	1	1
2	MQ	PM	3863	4	0	4
3	MMNS	PM-III	4794	0	1	1
4	SKA	PM	2915	6	0	6
5	MZUH	P-I	2607	0	3	3
6	GIK	P-II	6356	0	1	1
7	SFAL	P	5281	0	2	2
8	MRT	P	6458	0	9	9
9	AAZ	P	3000	1	0	1
10	MH	P	3850	0	5	5
11	AUA	P	3433	1	3	4
Total				12	25	37

Table 4.5 Frequency of <labour> and <مزدور>						
S No	Ruler	Category	Words	<Labour>	<مزدور>	Total
1	ZAB	PM-II	8547	3	0	3
2	BB	PM-I	3526	0	4	4
3	MMNS	PM-II	2289	0	1	1
4	MMNS	PM-III	4794	0	4	4
5	MMNS	PM-IV	3815	0	1	1
6	MYK	ML	701	1	0	1
7	IM	P	3849	3	0	3

Table 4.5 Continued						
Frequency of <labour> and <مزدور>						
S No	Ruler	Category	Words	<Labour>	<مزدور>	Total
8	ZAB	P	7301	7	0	7
9	MZUH	P-II	3853	0	1	1
10	GIK	P-II	6356	0	1	1
11	SFAL	P	5281	0	1	1
12	PRM	P-II	2107	4	0	4
Total				18	13	31

Table 4.6						
Frequency of <prosperity> and <خوشحالی>						
S No	Ruler	Category	Words	<Prosperity>	<خوشحالی>	Total
1	MAJ	GG	488	1	0	1
2	MGM	GG	694	1	0	1
3	LAK	PM	1620	1	0	1
4	MAB	PM	462	1	0	1
5	CMA	PM	1113	2	0	2
6	BB	PM-I	3526	0	1	1
7	MMNS	PM-I	596	0	1	1
8	MQ	PM	3863	2	0	2
9	MMNS	PM-III	4794	0	7	7
10	SA	PM	1760	0	3	3
11	MMNS	PM-IV	3815	0	4	4
12	IM	P	3849	1	0	1
13	MAK	P-III	565	1	0	1
14	FEC	P	1370	1	0	1
15	GIK	P-II	6356	0	1	1
16	WS	P	3114	0	2	2
17	SFAL	P	5281	0	1	1
18	MRT	P	6458	0	5	5
19	MH	P	3850	0	6	6
20	AUA	P	3433	0	1	1
Total				11	32	43

Table 4.7						
Frequency of <tax> and <ٹیکس>						
S No	Ruler	Category	Words	<Tax>	<ٹیکس>	Total
1	ZAB	PM-II	8547	1	0	1
2	MQ	PM	3863	11	0	11

Table 4.7 Continued
Frequency of <tax> and <ٹیکس>

S No	Ruler	Category	Words	<Tax>	<ٹیکس>	Total
3	BB	PM-II	1008	0	0	0
4	SKA	PM	2915	0	10	10
5	GIK	P-II	6356	0	2	2
6	SFAL	P	5281	0	3	3
Total				12	15	27

Table 4.8
Frequency of <poor> and <غریب>

S No	Rulers	Designation	Words	<Poor>	<غریب>	Total
1	LAK	PM	1620	3	0	3
2	ZAB	PM-II	8547	1	0	1
3	MKJ	PM	2289	0	4	4
4	MQ	PM	3863	5	0	5
5	MMNS	PM-III	4794	0	5	5
6	MZKJ	PM	1806	0	1	1
7	ZAB	P	7301	1	0	1
Total				10	10	20

Table 4.9
Frequency of <poverty> and <غریبت>

S No	Ruler	Designation	Words	<Poverty>	<غریبت>	Total
1	ZAB	PM-II	8547	2	0	2
2	BB	PM-I	3526	0	4	4
3	MQ	PM	3863	1	0	1
4	CSH	PM	506	0	1	1
5	SYRG	PM	1197	0	1	1
6	MMNS	PM-IV	3815	0	4	4
7	MAK	P-III	565	1	0	1
8	MRT	P	6458	0	1	1
9	AAZ	P	3000	1	0	1
Total				5	11	16

Table 4.10
Frequency of <unemployment> and <بے روزگاری/بیر روزگاری>

S No	Ruler	Designation	Words	<Unemployment>	<بے روزگاری/بیر روزگاری>	Total
1	MMNS	PM-III	4794	0	3	3
2	CSH	PM	506	0	1	1

Table 4.10 Continued
Frequency of <unemployment> and <بے روزگاری/بیروزگاری>

S No	Ruler	Designation	Words	<Unemployment>	<بے روزگاری>	Total
3	MMS	PM	186	0	1	1
4	RPA	PM	1739	0	1	1
5	MMNS	PM-IV	3815	0	1	1
6	ZAB	P	7301	1	0	1
7	GIK	P-II	6356	0	1	1
8	MRT	P	6458	0	1	1
9	MH	P	3850	0	2	2
10	AUA	P	3433	0	1	1
Total				1	12	13

Table 4.11
Frequency of <مہنگائی> /mæhŋgɑ:i/ [price hike]

S No	Ruler	Designation	Words	<مہنگائی>	Total
1	MKJ	PM	2289	3	3
2	BB	PM-II	1008	1	1
3	MMNS	PM-III	4794	1	1
4	SYRG	PM	1197	1	1
5	MMNS	PM-IV	3815	1	1
6	GIK	P-II	6356	1	1
7	MH	P	3850	1	1
8	AUA	P	3433	1	1
Total				10	10

Table 4.12
Frequency of <accountability> and <احتساب>

S No	Ruler	Category	Words	<Accountability>	<احتساب>	Total
1	GMKJ	PM	479	1	0	1
2	MMK	PM	1042	0	1	1
3	MMNS	PM-III	4794	1	17	18
4	RPA	PM	1739	0	1	1
5	MMNS	PM-IV	3815	0	1	1
6	IK	PM	1403	0	5	5
7	ZAB	P	7301	3	0	3
8	WS	P	3114	0	1	1
9	AAZ	P	3000	2	0	2
10	AUA	P	3433	1	0	1
Total				8	26	34

S No	Ruler	Category	Words	<Change>	<تبدیلی>	Total
1	LAK	PM	1620	1	0	1
2	MFKN	PM	607	1	0	1
3	ZAB	PM-II	8547	3	0	3
4	MQ	PM	3863	3	0	3
5	BB	PM-II	1008	0	4	4
6	MMNS	PM-IV	3815	0	6	6
7	IK	PM	1403	0	4	4
8	MZUH	ML	2011	0	1	1
9	MAK	P-I	135	1	0	1
10	ZAB	P	7301	1	0	1
11	GIK	P-II	6356	0	1	1
12	WS	P	3114	0	3	3
13	MRT	P	6458	0	2	2
14	PRM	P-I	916	3	0	3
15	PRM	P-II	2107	3	0	3
16	PRM	P-III	2551	2	0	2
17	AUA	P	3433	0	2	2
Total				18	23	41

S No	Ruler	Category	Words	<Education>	<تعلیم>	Total
1	KN	GG	1347	0	3	3
2	HSS	PM	3834	2	0	2
3	IIC	PM	1554	1	0	1
4	ZAB	PM-II	8547	5	0	5
5	MKJ	PM	2289	0	12	12
6	BB	PM-I	3526	0	2	2
7	MQ	PM	3863	1	0	1
8	MMNS	PM-III	4794	1	3	4
9	SKA	PM	2915	4	1	5
10	IK	PM	1403	1	2	3
11	IM	P	3849	2	0	2
12	MZUH	P-I	2607	0	1	1
13	GIK	P-II	6356	0	8	8
14	SFAL	P	5281	0	7	7

Table 4.14 Continued
Frequency of <education> and <تعلیم>

S No	Ruler	Category	Words	<Education>	<تعلیم>	Total
15	MRT	P	6458	0	4	4
16	AUA	P	3433	0	9	9
Total				17	52	69

Table 4.15
Frequency of <health> and <صحت>

S No	Ruler	Category	Words	<Health>	<صحت>	Total
1	HSS	PM	3834	1	0	1
2	IIC	PM	1554	1	0	1
3	BB	PM-I	3526	0	1	1
4	MQ	PM	3863	2	0	2
5	SKA	PM	2915	2	0	2
6	IM	P	3849	1	0	1
7	GIK	P-II	6356	0	1	1
8	SFAL	P	5281	0	6	6
9	MRT	P	6458	0	4	4
10	AUA	P	3433	0	1	1
Total				7	13	20

Table 4.16
Frequency of <institutions> and <ادارے/اداروں>

S No	Ruler	Category	Words	<Institutions>	<ادارے/اداروں>	Total
1	ZAB	PM-II	8547	1	0	1
2	MQ	PM	3863	2	0	2
3	MMK	PM	1042	0	4	4
4	MMNS	PM-III	4794	0	1	1
5	SA	PM	1760	0	2	2
6	SYRG	PM	1197	3	2	5
7	RPA	PM	1739	0	5	5
8	MMNS	PM-IV	3815	0	3	3
9	SKA	PM	2915	0	1	1
10	PRM	ML	504	1	0	1
11	MAK	P-III	565	1	0	1
12	ZAB	P	7301	2	0	2
13	FEC	P	1370	2	0	2
14	MZUH	P-I	2607	0	6	6
15	MZUH	P-II	3853	0	4	4
16	GIK	P-II	6356	0	2	2

S No	Ruler	Category	Words	<Institutions>	<ادارے/اداروں>	Total
17	WS	P	3114	0	4	4
18	SFAL	P	5281	0	8	8
19	MRT	P	6458	0	13	13
20	PRM	P-III	2551	1	0	1
21	MH	P	3850	0	10	10
22	AUA	P	3433	0	3	3
Total				13	68	81

S No	Ruler	Category	Words	<Law>	<قانون>	Total
1	HSS	PM	3834	1	0	1
2	NUA	PM	536	1	0	1
3	ZAB	PM-II	8547	3	0	3
4	MKJ	PM	2289	0	1	1
5	BB	PM-I	3526	0	4	4
6	GMKJ	PM	479	2	0	2
7	MMNS	PM-I	596	0	2	2
8	MMNS	PM-II	2289	0	1	1
9	MQ	PM	3863	1	0	1
10	BB	PM-II	1008	0	2	2
11	MMS	PM	186	0	1	1
12	SYRG	PM	1197	1	0	1
13	RPA	PM	1739	0	3	3
14	MHKK	PM	491	0	0	0
15	MAK	ML	1624	1	0	1
16	IM	P	3849	2	0	2
17	MAK	P-II	998	3	0	3
18	ZAB	P	7301	2	0	2
19	MZUH	P-I	2607	0	1	1
20	WS	P	3114	0	3	3
21	SFAL	P	5281	0	4	4
22	MRT	P	6458	0	4	4
23	PRM	P-III	2551	2	0	2
24	AAZ	P	3000	6	0	6
25	MH	P	3850	0	3	3
Total				25	29	54

S No	Ruler	Category	Words	<Law and order>	<امن و امان>	Total
1	ZAB	PM-II	8547	2	0	2
2	GMKJ	PM	479	3	0	3
3	MMNS	PM-I	596	0	1	1
4	MHKK	PM	491	0	5	5
5	SKA	PM	2915	0	1	1
6	MAK	ML	1624	1	0	1
7	MZUH	ML	2011	0	2	2
8	MZUH	P-II	3853	0	1	1
9	GIK	P-I	1457	0	1	1
10	GIK	P-II	6356	0	1	1
11	WS	P	3114	0	3	3
12	SFAL	P	5281	0	1	1
13	MRT	P	6458	0	3	3
14	PRM	P-II	2107	2	0	2
Total				8	19	27

S No	Ruler	Category	Words	<Media>	<میڈیا>	Total
1	BB	PM-I	3526	0	1	1
2	BB	PM-II	1008	0	1	1
3	MMS	PM	186	0	1	1
4	SYRG	PM	1197	0	1	1
5	MMNS	PM-IV	3815	0	1	1
6	ZAB	P	7301	1	0	1
7	PRM	P-III	2551	3	0	3
8	AAZ	P	3000	2	0	2
9	MH	P	3850	0	6	6
10	AUA	P	3433	0	1	1
Total				6	12	18

S No	Ruler	Category	Words	<Press>	<پریس>	Total
1	ZAB	PM-II	8547	1	0	1
2	BB	PM-I	3526	0	2	2
3	SYRG	PM	1197	0	1	1

Table 4.20 Continued						
Frequency of <press> and <پریس>						
S No	Ruler	Category	Words	<Press>	<پریس>	Total
4	ZAB	P	7301	4	0	4
5	WS	P	3114	0	4	4
Total				5	7	12

Table 4.21						
Percentage of <progress> and <ترقی>						
S No	Ruler	Category	Words	<Progress>	<ترقی>	Total
1	KN	GG	1347	0	4	4
2	LAK	PM	1620	3	0	3
3	KN	PM	677	0	1	1
4	MAB	PM	462	1	0	1
5	CMA	PM	1113	6	0	6
6	HSS	PM	3834	4	0	4
7	IIC	PM	1554	1	0	1
8	MFKN	PM	607	1	0	1
9	BB	PM-I	3526	0	2	2
10	MMNS	PM-II	2289	0	3	3
11	MMNS	PM-III	4794	0	3	3
12	SA	PM	1760	0	11	11
13	SYRG	PM	1197	0	1	1
14	RPA	PM	1739	0	3	3
15	MMNS	PM-IV	3815	0	4	4
16	SKA	PM	2915	0	1	1
17	MYK	ML	701	1	0	1
18	IM	P	3849	9	0	9
19	MAK	P-III	565	2	0	2
20	ZAB	P	7301	1	0	1
21	MZUH	P-II	3853	0	1	1
22	GIK	P-II	6356	0	15	15
23	WS	P	3114	0	3	3
24	SFAL	P	5281	0	8	8
25	MRT	P	6458	0	13	13
26	PRM	P-III	2551	1	0	1
27	MH	P	3850	0	10	10
28	AUA	P	3433	0	7	7
Total				30	90	120

S No	Ruler	Category	Words	<Reforms>	<اصلاحات>	Total
1	HSS	PM	3834	1	0	1
2	ZAB	PM-II	8547	10	0	10
3	MQ	PM	3863	5	0	5
4	BB	PM-II	1008	0	1	1
5	MMK	PM	1042	0	1	1
6	MAK	P-II	998	1	0	1
7	ZAB	P	7301	15	0	15
8	SFAL	P	5281	0	2	2
9	MRT	P	6458	0	5	5
10	PRM	P-I	916	3	0	3
11	PRM	P-II	2107	3	0	3
Total				38	9	47

S No	Ruler	Category	Words	<Security>	<سیورٹی>	Total
1	LAK	PM	1620	5	0	5
2	MAB	PM	462	1	0	1
3	MQ	PM	3863	3	0	3
4	MZKJ	PM	1806	1	0	1
5	CSH	PM	506	1	0	1
6	MMS	PM	186	0	2	2
7	SKA	PM	2915	1	2	3
8	MYK	ML	701	1	0	1
9	IM	P	3849	3	0	3
10	ZAB	P	7301	2	0	2
11	AAZ	P	3000	5	0	5
Total				23	4	27

S No	Ruler	Category	Words	<Stability>	<استحکام>	Total
1	KN	GG	1347	0	2	2
2	KN	PM	677	0	1	1
3	CMA	PM	1113	3	0	3
4	HSS	PM	3834	4	0	4
5	IIC	PM	1554	1	0	1

Table 4.24 Continued
Frequency of <stability> and <استقرار>

S No	Ruler	Category	Words	<Stability>	<استقرار>	Total
6	ZAB	PM-I	1466	1	0	1
7	BB	PM-I	3526	0	1	1
8	MMNS	PM-I	596	0	1	1
9	BB	PM-II	1008	0	1	1
10	MMK	PM	1042	0	1	1
11	CSH	PM	506	1	0	1
12	SYRG	PM	1197	0	1	1
13	RPA	PM	1739	1	0	1
14	MAK	ML	1624	2	0	2
15	PRM	ML	504	1	0	1
16	IM	P	3849	4	0	4
17	MAK	P-III	565	1	0	1
18	FEC	P	1370	1	0	1
19	MZUH	P-II	3853	0	3	3
20	GIK	P-I	1457	0	3	3
21	GIK	P-II	6356	0	5	5
22	WS	P	3114	0	5	5
23	SFAL	P	5281	0	2	2
24	PRM	P-I	916	2	0	2
25	PRM	P-III	2551	1	0	1
26	MH	P	3850	0	7	7
27	AUA	P	3433	0	2	2
Total				23	35	58

Table 4.25
Frequency of <system> and <نظام>

S No	Ruler	Category	Words	<System>	<نظام>	Total
1	IIC	PM	1554	1	0	1
2	ZAB	PM-I	1466	1	0	1
3	BB	PM-II	1008	0	1	1
4	MMK	PM	1042	0	1	1
5	MMNS	PM-IV	3815	1	0	1
6	IK	PM	1403	0	1	1
7	ZAB	P	7301	2	0	2
8	MZUH	P-II	3853	0	7	7
9	MRT	P	6458	0	1	1

Table 4.25 Continued
Frequency of <system> and <نظام>

S No	Ruler	Category	Words	<System>	<نظام>	Total
10	PRM	P-III	2551	1	0	1
11	AAZ	P	3000	1	0	1
12	AUA	P	3433	0	1	1
Total				7	12	19

Table 4.26
Frequency of <bribery> and <رشوت>

S No	Ruler	Designation	Words	<Bribery>	<رشوت>	Total
1	MKJ	PM	2289	0	5	5
2	BB	PM-I	3526	0	2	2
3	BB	PM-II	1008	0	2	2
4	MMNS	PM-III	4794	0	1	1
5	MAK	ML	1624	1	0	1
6	GIK	P-II	6356	0	1	1
Total				1	11	12

Table 4.27
Frequency of <corruption>, <بد عنوانی> and <کرپشن>

S No	Ruler	Designation	Words	<Corruption>	<بد عنوانی>	<کرپشن>	Total
1	LAK	PM	1620	1	0	0	1
2	MAB	PM	462	1	0	0	1
3	HSS	PM	3834	4	0	0	4
4	IIC	PM	1554	1	0	0	1
5	MFKN	PM	607	1	0	0	1
6	GMKJ	PM	479	2	0	0	2
7	MMK	PM	1042	0	1	0	1
8	MHKK	PM	491	0	0	1	1
9	MMNS	PM-IV	3815	0	2	3	5
10	SKA	PM	2915	0	0	6	6
11	MAK	ML	1624	1	0	0	1
12	ZAB	P	7301	4	0	0	4
13	GIK	P-II	6356	0	1	0	1
14	SFAL	P	5281	0	3	0	3
15	MRT	P	6458	0	2	0	2
16	MH	P	3850	0	0	1	1
17	AUA	P	3433	0	0	3	3
Total				15	9	14	38

Table 4.28
Frequency of <crisis> and <بحران>

S No	Ruler	Category	Words	<Crisis>	<بحران>	Total
1	ZAB	PM-II	8547	2	0	2
2	BB	PM-I	3526	0	2	2
3	MMNS	PM-II	2289	5	0	5
4	MQ	PM	3863	2	0	2
5	BB	PM-II	1008	0	1	1
6	SYRG	PM	1197	0	2	2
7	RPA	PM	1739	0	2	2
8	MZUH	ML	2011	0	3	3
9	ZAB	P	7301	4	0	4
10	WS	P	3114	0	4	4
11	MRT	P	6458	0	1	1
12	AAZ	P	3000	1	0	1
Total				14	15	29

Table 4.29
Frequency of <terrorism> and <دہشت گردی>

S No	Ruler	Designation	Words	<Terrorism>	<دہشت گردی>	Total
1	CSH	PM	506	0	1	1
2	GIK	P-II	6356	0	1	1
3	MRT	P	6458	0	4	4
4	PRM	P-III	2551	4	0	4
5	AAZ	P	3000	2	0	2
6	MH	P	3850	0	5	5
7	AUA	P	3433	0	2	2
Total				6	13	19

Table 4.30
Frequency of <country> and <ملک>

S No	Ruler	Category	Words	<Country>	<ملک>	Total
1	MAJ	GG	488	1	0	1
2	KN	GG	1347	0	1	1
3	IM	GG	1336	5	0	5
4	LAK	PM	1620	3	0	3
5	KN	PM	677	0	2	2
6	MAB	PM	462	4	0	4
7	CMA	PM	1113	7	0	7
8	HSS	PM	3834	5	0	5
9	IIC	PM	1554	2	0	2

Table 4.30 Continued						
Frequency of <country> and <ملک>						
S No	Ruler	Category	Words	<Country>	<ملک>	Total
10	MFKN	PM	607	1	0	1
11	NUA	PM	536	3	0	3
12	ZAB	PM-I	1466	9	0	9
13	ZAB	PM-II	8547	14	0	14
14	MKJ	PM	2289	0	14	14
15	BB	PM-I	3526	0	7	7
16	MMNS	PM-II	2289	0	11	11
17	MQ	PM	3863	3	0	3
18	BB	PM-II	1008	0	1	1
19	MMNS	PM-III	4794	0	5	5
20	MZKJ	PM	1806	1	3	4
21	SA	PM	1760	0	16	16
22	SYRG	PM	1197	0	5	5
23	RPA	PM	1739	0	6	6
24	MHKK	PM	491	0	2	2
25	MMNS	PM-IV	3815	0	3	3
26	SKA	PM	2915	0	17	17
27	IK	PM	1403	0	14	14
28	MAK	ML	1624	15	0	15
29	MYK	ML	701	4	0	4
30	MZUH	ML	2011	0	6	6
31	PRM	ML	504	6	0	6
32	IM	P	3849	6	0	6
33	MAK	P-I	135	1	0	1
34	MAK	P-II	998	5	0	5
35	MAK	P-III	565	1	0	1
36	ZAB	P	7301	7	0	7
37	FEC	P	1370	2	0	2
38	GIK	P-II	6356	0	6	6
39	WS	P	3114	0	6	6
40	SFAL	P	5281	0	1	1
41	PRM	P-III	2551	2	0	2
42	AAZ	P	3000	4	0	4
43	AUA	P	3433	0	7	7
Total				111	133	244

Table 4.31						
Frequency of <nation> and <قوم>						
S No	Ruler	Category	Words	<Nation>	<قوم>	Total
1	MAJ	GG	488	4	0	4
2	KN	GG	1347	0	12	12

Table 4.31 Continued						
Frequency of <nation> and <قوم>						
S No	Ruler	Category	Words	<Nation>	<قوم>	Total
3	MGM	GG	694	7	0	7
4	IM	GG	1336	5	0	5
5	KN	PM	677	0	6	6
6	MAB	PM	462	1	0	1
7	HSS	PM	3834	12	0	12
8	IIC	PM	1554	2	0	2
9	ZAB	PM-II	8547	2	0	2
10	BB	PM-I	3526	0	17	17
11	GMKJ	PM	479	2	0	2
12	MMNS	PM-I	596	0	1	1
13	MMNS	PM-II	2289	0	13	13
14	MQ	PM	3863	2	0	2
15	BB	PM-II	1008	0	5	5
16	MMK	PM	1042	0	4	4
17	MMNS	PM-III	4794	0	40	40
18	MZKJ	PM	1806	0	5	5
19	CSH	PM	506	0	1	1
20	SA	PM	1760	0	2	2
21	SYRG	PM	1197	0	3	3
22	RPA	PM	1739	0	5	5
23	MHKK	PM	491	0	1	1
24	MMNS	PM-IV	3815	0	6	6
25	IK	PM	1403	0	8	8
26	MAK	ML	1624	1	0	1
27	MYK	ML	701	4	0	4
28	MZUH	ML	2011	0	6	6
29	MAK	P-I	135	1	0	1
30	MAK	P-II	998	1	0	1
31	MAK	P-III	565	2	0	2
32	ZAB	P	7301	8	0	8
33	FEC	P	1370	11	0	11
34	MZUH	P-I	2607	0	1	1
35	MZUH	P-II	3853	0	1	1
36	GIK	P-I	1457	0	10	10
37	WS	P	3114	0	9	9
38	SFAL	P	5281	0	1	1
39	MRT	P	6458	0	12	12
40	PRM	P-I	916	4	0	4
41	PRM	P-III	2551	9	0	9

Table 4.31 Continued
Frequency of <nation> and <قوم>

S No	Ruler	Category	Words	<Nation>	<قوم>	Total
42	AAZ	P	3000	1	0	1
43	MH	P	3850	0	9	9
44	AUA	P	3433	0	2	2
Total				79	180	259

Table 4.32
Frequency of <pakistan> and <پاکستان>

S No	Ruler	Category	Words	<Pakistan>	<پاکستان>	Total
1	MAJ	GG	488	8	0	8
2	KN	GG	1347	0	7	7
3	MGM	GG	694	4	0	4
4	IM	GG	1336	3	0	3
5	LAK	PM	1620	3	0	3
6	KN	PM	677	0	13	13
7	MAB	PM	462	4	0	4
8	CMA	PM	1113	7	0	7
9	HSS	PM	3834	6	0	6
10	IIC	PM	1554	6	0	6
11	MFKN	PM	607	4	0	4
12	NUA	PM	536	4	0	4
13	ZAB	PM-I	1466	7	0	7
14	ZAB	PM-II	8547	7	0	7
15	MKJ	PM	2289	0	3	3
16	BB	PM-I	3526	0	12	12
17	MMNS	PM-I	596	0	7	7
18	MMNS	PM-II	2289	0	39	39
19	MQ	PM	3863	8	0	8
20	BB	PM-II	1008	0	6	6
21	MMNS	PM-III	4794	0	26	26
22	MZKJ	PM	1806	0	11	11
23	CSH	PM	506	0	3	3
24	SA	PM	1760	0	8	8
25	SYRG	PM	1197	0	3	3
26	RPA	PM	1739	3	6	9
27	MMNS	PM-IV	3815	0	36	36
28	IK	PM	1403	0	1	1
29	MAK	ML	1624	10	0	10
30	MYK	ML	701	2	0	2

S No	Ruler	Category	Words	<Pakistan>	<پاکستان>	Total
31	MZUH	ML	2011	0	3	3
32	PRM	ML	504	1	0	1
33	IM	P	3849	1	0	1
34	MAK	P-I	135	1	0	1
35	MAK	P-II	998	2	0	2
36	MAK	P-III	565	4	0	4
37	ZAB	P	7301	55	0	55
38	FEC	P	1370	7	0	7
39	MZUH	P-I	2607	0	1	1
40	MZUH	P-II	3853	0	5	5
41	GIK	P-I	1457	0	1	1
42	GIK	P-II	6356	0	7	7
43	WS	P	3114	0	3	3
44	MRT	P	6458	0	6	6
45	PRM	P-I	916	3	0	3
46	PRM	P-III	2551	4	0	4
47	AAZ	P	3000	6	0	6
48	MH	P	3850	0	6	6
49	AUA	P	3433	0	8	8
Total				170	221	391

S No	Ruler	Category	Words	<State>	<ریاست>	Total
1	MAJ	GG	488	4	0	4
2	IM	GG	1336	2	0	2
3	LAK	PM	1620	10	0	10
4	CMA	PM	1113	1	0	1
5	HSS	PM	3834	3	0	3
6	ZAB	PM-II	8547	3	0	3
7	BB	PM-I	3526	0	4	4
8	MQ	PM	3863	2	0	2
9	RPA	PM	1739	0	1	1
10	MAK	ML	1624	2	0	2
11	IM	P	3849	1	0	1
12	MAK	P-III	565	1	0	1
13	ZAB	P	7301	1	0	1
14	GIK	P-II	6356	0	1	1

S No	Ruler	Category	Words	<State>	<ریاست>	Total
15	WS	P	3114	0	1	1
16	MRT	P	6458	0	2	2
17	PRM	P-III	2551	1	0	1
18	AAZ	P	3000	3	0	3
19	MH	P	3850	0	1	1
20	AUA	P	3433	0	2	2
Total				34	12	46

S No	Ruler	Category	Words	<Constitution>	<آئین>	<دستور>	Total
1	IM	GG	1336	4	0	0	4
2	CMA	PM	1113	4	0	0	4
3	HSS	PM	3834	1	0	0	1
4	IIC	PM	1554	1	0	0	1
5	ZAB	PM-I	1466	18	0	0	18
6	ZAB	PM-II	8547	7	0	0	7
7	BB	PM-I	3526	0	4	0	4
8	GMKJ	PM	479	1	0	0	1
9	MMNS	PM-I	596	0	0	3	3
10	MMNS	PM-II	2289	0	5	0	5
11	SYRG	PM	1197	0	2	0	2
12	RPA	PM	1739	0	5	0	5
13	MMNS	PM-IV	3815	1	3	0	4
14	SKA	PM	2915	0	4	0	4
15	MYK	ML	701	1	0	0	1
16	MZUH	ML	2011	0	2	0	2
17	IM	P	3849	5	0	0	5
18	MAK	P-II	998	6	0	0	6
19	MAK	P-III	565	2	0	0	2
20	ZAB	P	7301	7	0	0	7
21	FEC	P	1370	15	0	0	15
22	GIK	P-I	1457	0	4	0	4
23	GIK	P-II	6356	0	13	0	13
24	WS	P	3114	0	4	0	4
25	SFAL	P	5281	0	5	0	5
26	MRT	P	6458	0	3	0	3
27	PRM	P-III	2551	6	0	0	6

S No	Ruler	Category	Words	<Constitution>	<آئین>	<دستور>	Total
28	AAZ	P	3000	6	0	0	6
29	MH	P	3850	0	5	0	5
30	AUA	P	3433	0	2	0	2
Total				85	61	3	149

S No	Ruler	Category	Words	<Democracy>	<جمہوریت>	Total
1	IM	GG	1336	4	0	4
2	MAB	PM	462	2	0	2
3	HSS	PM	3834	3	0	3
4	ZAB	PM-I	1466	3	0	3
5	ZAB	PM-II	8547	7	0	7
6	BB	PM-I	3526	0	13	13
7	GMKJ	PM	479	1	0	1
8	MMNS	PM-I	596	0	1	1
9	MMNS	PM-II	2289	0	4	4
10	BB	PM-II	1008	0	6	6
11	MMK	PM	1042	0	8	8
12	SYRG	PM	1197	0	4	4
13	RPA	PM	1739	0	5	5
14	MHKK	PM	491	0	1	1
15	MMNS	PM-IV	3815	0	10	10
16	SKA	PM	2915	0	3	3
17	MAK	ML	1624	2	0	2
18	MZUH	ML	2011	0	3	3
19	MAK	P-II	998	1	0	1
20	MAK	P-III	565	1	0	1
21	ZAB	P	7301	9	0	9
22	FEC	P	1370	4	0	4
23	GIK	P-I	1457	0	2	2
24	GIK	P-II	6356	0	7	7
25	WS	P	3114	0	4	4
26	SFAL	P	5281	0	3	3
27	MRT	P	6458	0	1	1
28	PRM	P-II	2107	13	0	13
29	PRM	P-III	2551	9	0	9
30	AAZ	P	3000	6	0	6

Table 4.35 Continued						
Frequency of <democracy> and <جمہوریت>						
S No	Ruler	Category	Words	<Democracy>	<جمہوریت>	Total
31	MH	P	3850	0	13	13
Total				65	88	153

Table 4.36							
Frequency of <elections> and <انتخابات>; <ایکشن>							
S No	Ruler	Category	Words	<Election(s)>	<ایکشن>	<انتخابات>	Total
1	MAB	PM	462	1	0	0	1
2	HSS	PM	3834	9	0	0	9
3	IIC	PM	1554	6	0	0	6
4	MFKN	PM	607	1	0	0	1
5	ZAB	PM-II	8547	51	0	0	51
6	MBSM	PM	204	1	0	0	1
7	MQ	PM	3863	9	0	0	9
8	MMK	PM	1042	0	0	5	5
9	MMS	PM	186	0	0	5	5
10	RPA	PM	1739	2	0	4	6
11	MHKK	PM	491	0	5	2	7
12	SKA	PM	2915	0	2	0	2
13	NUM	PM	133	0	0	5	5
14	IK	PM	1403	2	0	0	2
15	MZUH	ML	2011	0	0	8	8
16	IM	P	3849	2	0	0	2
17	MAK	P-III	565	3	0	0	3
18	ZAB	P	7301	6	0	0	6
19	GIK	P-I	1457	0	0	2	2
20	WS	P	3114	0	4	20	24
21	SFAL	P	5281	0	0	1	1
22	PRM	P-III	2551	4	0	0	4
Total				97	11	52	160

Table 4.37						
Frequency of <referendum> and <استصواب رائے>						
S No	Ruler	Category	Words	<Referendum>	<استصواب رائے>	Total
1	MZUH	P-II	3853	10	1	11
2	PRM	P-II	2107	2	0	2
Total				12	1	13

Table 4.38 Frequency of <کری>				
S No	Ruler	Category	Words	<کری>
1	MZKJ	PM	1806	1
2	SYRG	PM	1197	1
3	RPA	PM	1739	10
4	SKA	PM	2915	5
Total				17

Table 4.39 Frequency of <dictatorship>, <آمریت> and <آمریتوں>							
S No	Ruler	Designation	Words	<Dictatorship>	<آمریت>	<آمریتوں>	Total
1	ZAB	PM-I	1466	1	0	0	1
2	BB	PM-I	3526	0	2	0	2
3	RPA	PM	1739	1	0	0	1
4	MMNS	PM-IV	3815	0	6	1	7
5	ZAB	P	7301	1	0	0	1
6	WS	P	3114	0	1	0	1
Total				3	9	1	13

Table 4.40 Frequency of <martial law> and <مارشل لاء>						
S No	Ruler	Designation	Words	<Martial Law>	<مارشل لاء>	Total
1	ZAB	PM-I	1466	1	0	1
2	ZAB	PM-II	8547	1	0	1
3	MKJ	PM	2289	0	4	4
4	BB	PM-I	3526	0	1	1
5	MAK	P-II	998	1	0	1
6	ZAB	P	7301	1	0	1
7	FEC	P	1370	1	0	1
Total				5	5	10

Table 4.41 Frequency of <Islam> and <اسلام>						
S No	Ruler	Category	Words	<Islam>	<اسلام>	Total
1	KN	GG	1347	0	1	1
2	MGM	GG	694	2	0	2
3	KN	PM	677	0	1	1
4	CMA	PM	1113	2	0	2

Table 4.41 Continued						
Frequency of <Islam> and <اسلام>						
S No	Ruler	Category	Words	<Islam>	<اسلام>	Total
5	HSS	PM	3834	3	0	3
6	IIC	PM	1554	1	0	1
7	ZAB	PM-II	8547	7	0	7
8	GMKJ	PM	479	1	0	1
9	SA	PM	1760	0	3	3
10	MAK	ML	1624	1	0	1
11	MZUH	ML	2011	0	4	4
12	MAK	P-II	998	2	0	2
13	ZAB	P	7301	2	0	2
14	MZUH	P-I	2607	0	4	4
15	MZUH	P-II	3853	0	9	9
16	GIK	P-II	6356	0	4	4
17	SFAL	P	5281	0	1	1
18	MRT	P	6458	0	8	8
19	MH	P	3850	0	2	2
Total				21	37	58

Table 4.42						
Frequency of <faith> and <ایمان>						
S No	Ruler	Category	Words	<Faith>	<ایمان>	Total
1	LAK	PM	1620	1	0	1
2	HSS	PM	3834	3	0	3
3	IIC	PM	1554	1	0	1
4	NUA	PM	536	3	0	3
5	ZAB	PM-I	1466	3	0	3
6	BB	PM-I	3526	0	2	2
7	MQ	PM	3863	2	0	2
8	MAK	ML	1624	1	0	1
9	IM	P	3849	5	0	5
10	MAK	P-II	998	2	0	2
11	MAK	P-III	565	1	0	1
12	ZAB	P	7301	6	0	6
13	PRM	P-II	2107	1	0	1
Total				29	2	31

Table 4.43 Frequency of <cause>				
S No	Ruler	Category	Words	<Cause>
1	MAJ	GG	488	2
2	IM	GG	1336	3
3	ZAB	PM-II	8547	4
4	MZKJ	PM	1806	1
5	MAK	ML	1624	1
6	MAK	P-III	565	2
7	ZAB	P	7301	1
8	AAZ	P	3000	2
Total				16

Table 4.44 Frequency of <dignity> and <وقار>						
S No	Ruler	Category	Words	<Dignity>	<وقار>	Total
1	LAK	PM	1620	1	0	1
2	IIC	PM	1554	1	0	1
3	ZAB	PM-II	8547	1	0	1
4	BB	PM-I	3526	0	3	3
5	MMNS	PM-I	596	0	1	1
6	MMNS	PM-II	2289	0	2	2
7	MZKJ	PM	1806	0	1	1
8	SYRG	PM	1197	1	0	1
9	RPA	PM	1739	0	1	1
10	MMNS	PM-IV	3815	0	3	3
11	MZUH	ML	2011	0	2	2
12	MAK	P-II	998	1	0	1
13	MZUH	P-II	3853	0	1	1
14	GIK	P-I	1457	0	1	1
15	SFAL	P	5281	0	2	2
16	MRT	P	6458	0	3	3
17	PRM	P-III	2551	1	0	1
18	MH	P	3850	0	3	3
Total				6	23	29

S No	Ruler	Category	Words	<Equality>	<مساوات>	<برابری>	Total
1	KN	GG	1347	0	1	0	1
2	BB	PM-I	3526	0	2	2	4
3	RPA	PM	1739	0	0	1	1
4	MZUH	ML	2011	0	0	1	1
5	IM	P	3849	2	0	0	2
6	ZAB	P	7301	2	0	0	2
7	GIK	P-II	6356	0	1	1	2
8	WS	P	3114	0	0	0	0
9	SFAL	P	5281	0	1	0	1
10	MH	P	3850	0	1	1	2
11	AUA	P	3433	0	1	0	1
Total				4	7	6	17

S No	Ruler	Category	Words	<Freedom>	<آزادی>	Total
1	MAJ	GG	488	1	0	1
2	KN	GG	1347	0	2	2
3	IM	GG	1336	2	0	2
4	LAK	PM	1620	1	0	1
5	IIC	PM	1554	2	0	2
6	BB	PM-I	3526	0	7	7
7	MMNS	PM-I	596	0	1	1
8	SA	PM	1760	0	2	2
9	SYRG	PM	1197	0	1	1
10	MMNS	PM-IV	3815	0	1	1
11	IM	P	3849	1	0	1
12	MAK	P-II	998	1	0	1
13	MZUH	P-II	3853	0	1	1
14	GIK	P-I	1457	0	2	2
15	GIK	P-II	6356	0	5	5
16	WS	P	3114	0	4	4
17	SFAL	P	5281	0	1	1
18	MRT	P	6458	0	3	3
19	PRM	P-III	2551	1	0	1
20	MH	P	3850	0	2	2
Total				9	32	41

Table 4.47
Frequency of <justice> and <انصاف>

S No	Ruler	Category	Words	<Justice>	<انصاف>	Total
1	IM	GG	1336	1	0	1
2	MAB	PM	462	1	0	1
3	HSS	PM	3834	6	0	6
4	IIC	PM	1554	1	0	1
5	ZAB	PM-II	8547	2	0	2
6	MKJ	PM	2289	0	1	1
7	BB	PM-I	3526	0	6	6
8	GMKJ	PM	479	1	0	1
9	MMNS	PM-III	4794	0	5	5
10	IK	PM	1403	0	1	1
11	MZUH	ML	2011	0	2	2
12	ZAB	P	7301	6	0	6
13	WS	P	3114	0	3	3
14	SFAL	P	5281	0	2	2
15	MRT	P	6458	0	1	1
16	AAZ	P	3000	2	0	2
17	AUA	P	3433	0	2	2
Total				20	23	43

Table 4.48
Frequency of <peace> and <امن>

S No	Ruler	Category	Words	<Peace>	<امن>	Total
1	MAJ	GG	488	5	0	5
2	IM	GG	1336	3	0	3
3	LAK	PM	1620	6	0	6
4	CMA	PM	1113	3	0	3
5	HSS	PM	3834	4	0	4
6	IIC	PM	1554	1	0	1
7	MFKN	PM	607	2	0	2
8	BB	PM-I	3526	0	3	3
9	MMS	PM	186	0	1	1
10	RPA	PM	1739	3	0	3
11	MMNS	PM-IV	3815	0	5	5
12	IM	P	3849	4	0	4
13	FEC	P	1370	2	0	2
14	GIK	P-II	6356	0	6	6
15	WS	P	3114	0	5	5

Table 4.48 Continued
Frequency of <peace> and <امن>

S No	Ruler	Category	Words	<Peace>	<امن>	Total
16	SFAL	P	5281	0	7	7
17	MRT	P	6458	0	2	2
18	AAZ	P	3000	6	0	6
19	MH	P	3850	0	2	2
20	AUA	P	3433	0	2	2
Total				39	33	72

Table 4.49
Frequency of <unity> and <اتحاد>

S No	Ruler	Category	Words	<Unity>	<اتحاد>	Total
1	MAB	PM	462	1	0	1
2	CMA	PM	1113	2	0	2
3	IIC	PM	1554	1	0	1
4	NUA	PM	536	2	0	2
5	BB	PM-I	3526	0	1	1
6	MMNS	PM-I	596	0	1	1
7	PRM	ML	504	1	0	1
8	IM	P	3849	2	0	2
9	MAK	P-II	998	1	0	1
10	MAK	P-III	565	2	0	2
11	MZUH	P-II	3853	0	4	4
12	GIK	P-II	6356	0	2	2
13	MRT	P	6458	0	1	1
14	MH	P	3850	0	3	3
Total				12	12	24

Table 4.50
Frequency of <citizens> and <شہری> / <شہریوں>

S No	Ruler	Category	Words	<Citizens>	<شہری>	<شہریوں>	Total
1	MAJ	GG	488	5	0	0	5
2	HSS	PM	3834	1	0	0	1
3	ZAB	PM-II	8547	1	0	0	1
4	BB	PM-I	3526	0	2	1	3
5	SA	PM	1760	0	1	0	1
6	SKA	PM	2915	0	2	0	2
7	MAK	ML	1624	3	0	0	3
8	MZUH	ML	2011	0	1	0	1

Table 4.50 Continued							
Frequency of <citizens> and <شہری> / <شہریوں>							
S No	Ruler	Category	Words	<Citizens>	<شہری>	<شہریوں>	Total
9	ZAB	P	7301	2	0	0	2
10	FEC	P	1370	1	0	0	1
11	MZUH	P-I	2607	0	2	0	2
12	MZUH	P-II	3853	0	0	1	1
13	GIK	P-I	1457	0	1	0	1
14	GIK	P-II	6356	0	2	1	3
15	SFAL	P	5281	0	0	1	1
16	MRT	P	6458	0	1	0	1
17	AAZ	P	3000	1	0	0	1
18	MH	P	3850	0	2	0	2
19	AUA	P	3433	2	1	0	3
Total				16	15	4	35

Table 4.51						
Frequency of <common man> and <عام آدمی>						
S No	Ruler	Category	Words	<Common Man>	<عام آدمی>	Total
1	CMA	PM	1113	2	0	2
2	IIC	PM	1554	2	0	2
3	MFKN	PM	607	1	0	1
4	ZAB	PM-II	8547	1	0	1
5	MKJ	PM	2289	1	1	2
6	MQ	PM	3863	3	0	3
7	MMK	PM	1042	0	2	2
8	MMNS	PM-IV	3815	0	1	1
9	ZAB	P	7301	7	0	7
10	GIK	P-II	6356	0	4	4
11	SFAL	P	5281	0	1	1
12	MRT	P	6458	0	3	3
13	AAZ	P	3000	1	0	1
14	AUA	P	3433	0	1	1
Total				18	13	31

Table 4.52						
Frequency of <minorities> and <اقلیتیں/اقلیتوں>						
S No	Ruler	Category	Words	<Minorities>	<اقلیتیں/اقلیتوں>	Total
1	MAJ	GG	488	1	0	1
2	MAB	PM	462	1	0	1

S No	Ruler	Category	Words	<Minorities>	<اقلیتیں/اقلیتوں>	Total
3	HSS	PM	3834	2	0	2
4	IIC	PM	1554	2	0	2
5	ZAB	PM-II	8547	2	0	2
6	BB	PM-I	3526	0	2	2
7	MMNS	PM-III	4794	0	4	4
8	SA	PM	1760	0	1	1
9	MMNS	PM-IV	3815	0	1	1
10	IM	P	3849	2	0	2
11	MZUH	P-II	3853	0	1	1
12	SFAL	P	5281	0	3	3
13	MRT	P	6458	0	1	1
14	PRM	P-II	2107	1	0	1
15	PRM	P-III	2551	1	0	1
16	AAZ	P	3000	1	0	1
17	MH	P	3850	0	7	7
Total				13	20	33

S No	Ruler	Category	Words	<People>	<Masses>	<Public>	<عوام>	<لوگوں>	Total
1	IM	GG	1336	1	0	1	0	0	2
2	LAK	PM	1620	2	0	0	0	0	2
3	MAB	PM	462	5	0	0	0	0	5
4	CMA	PM	1113	2	0	0	0	0	2
5	HSS	PM	3834	0	1	0	0	0	1
6	IIC	PM	1554	5	0	1	0	0	6
7	MFKN	PM	607	3	0	0	0	0	3
8	NUA	PM	536	1	0	0	0	0	1
9	ZAB	PM-I	1466	16	0	0	0	0	16
10	ZAB	PM-II	8547	48	4	0	0	0	52
11	MKJ	PM	2289	0	0	0	11	0	11
12	BB	PM-I	3526	0	0	0	29	0	29
13	GMKJ	PM	479	4	1	0	0	0	5
14	MMNS	PM-I	596	0	0	0	11	0	11
15	MQ	PM	3863	8	0	0	0	0	8
16	BB	PM-II	1008	0	0	0	7	0	7
17	MZKJ	PM	1806	1	0	1	3	0	5
18	SA	PM	1760	0	0	0	10	4	14
19	SYRG	PM	1197	0	0	0	3	0	3

S No	Ruler	Category	Words	<People>	<Masses>	<Public>	<عوام>	<لوگوں>	Total
20	RPA	PM	1739	0	0	0	10	0	10
21	MMNS	PM-IV	3815	0	0	0	8	0	8
22	SKA	PM	2915	0	0	0	4	0	4
23	IK	PM	1403	0	0	0	0	2	2
24	MAK	ML	1624	6	0	0	0	0	6
25	MYK	ML	701	5	0	0	0	0	5
26	MAK	P-II	998	5	0	0	0	0	5
27	MAK	P-III	565	9	0	0	0	0	9
28	ZAB	P	7301	52	0	0	0	0	52
29	FEC	P	1370	3	0	0	0	0	3
30	MZUH	P-II	3853	0	0	0	12	0	12
31	GIK	P-II	6356	0	0	0	6	0	6
32	SFAL	P	5281	0	0	0	8	0	8
33	PRM	P-II	2107	6	0	0	0	0	6
34	PRM	P-III	2551	2	0	0	0	0	2
35	AAZ	P	3000	8	0	0	0	0	8
36	MH	P	3850	0	0	0	11	0	11
37	AUA	P	3433	0	0	0	7	0	7
Total				192	6	3	140	6	347

S No	Ruler	Category	Words	<Refugee(s)>	<مہاجرین>	Total
1	KN	GG	1347	0	1	1
2	IM	GG	1336	1	0	1
3	MAB	PM	462	1	0	1
4	HSS	PM	3834	2	0	2
5	IIC	PM	1554	3	0	3
6	MFKN	PM	607	1	0	1
7	MKJ	PM	2289	0	1	1
8	IM	P	3849	3	0	3
9	ZAB	P	7301	2	0	2
10	GIK	P-II	6356	0	1	1
11	WS	P	3114	0	1	1
Total				13	4	17

S No	Ruler	Category	Words	<Right(s)>	<حقوق>	Total
1	LAK	PM	1620	1	0	1
2	MAB	PM	462	1	0	1
3	IIC	PM	1554	2	0	2
4	ZAB	PM-II	8547	13	0	13
5	BB	PM-I	3526	0	5	5
6	MMNS	PM-III	4794	0	4	4
7	CSH	PM	506	1	0	1
8	MMNS	PM-IV	3815	0	1	1
9	IM	P	3849	1	0	1
10	MAK	P-II	998	3	0	3
11	ZAB	P	7301	3	0	3
12	MZUH	P-II	3853	0	2	2
13	WS	P	3114	0	1	1
14	SFAL	P	5281	0	5	5
15	MRT	P	6458	0	4	4
16	PRM	P-III	2551	3	0	3
17	AAZ	P	3000	2	0	2
18	MH	P	3850	0	3	3
19	AUA	P	3433	0	2	2
Total				30	27	57

S No	Ruler	Category	Words	<Welfare>	<فلاح و بہبود>	Total
1	CMA	PM	1113	1	0	1
2	HSS	PM	3834	8	0	8
3	IIC	PM	1554	1	0	1
4	ZAB	PM-II	8547	6	0	6
5	MQ	PM	3863	1	0	1
6	MMNS	PM-III	4794	0	1	1
7	IM	P	3849	9	0	9
8	MAK	P-III	565	1	0	1
9	GIK	P-II	6356	0	1	1
10	MRT	P	6458	0	2	2
11	AUA	P	3433	0	1	1
Total				27	5	32

S No	Ruler	Category	Words	<Women>	<خواتین>	Total
1	ZAB	PM-II	8547	4	0	4
2	BB	PM-I	3526	0	3	3
3	MMNS	PM-II	2289	0	1	1
4	MQ	PM	3863	2	0	2
5	CSH	PM	506	0	1	1
6	SA	PM	1760	0	3	3
7	MAK	ML	1624	1	0	1
8	MZUH	P-II	3853	0	6	6
9	SFAL	P	5281	0	12	12
10	MRT	P	6458	0	6	6
11	PRM	P-II	2107	5	0	5
12	PRM	P-III	2551	3	0	3
13	AAZ	P	3000	6	0	6
14	MH	P	3850	0	4	4
15	AUA	P	3433	1	4	5
Total				22	40	62

Appendix C

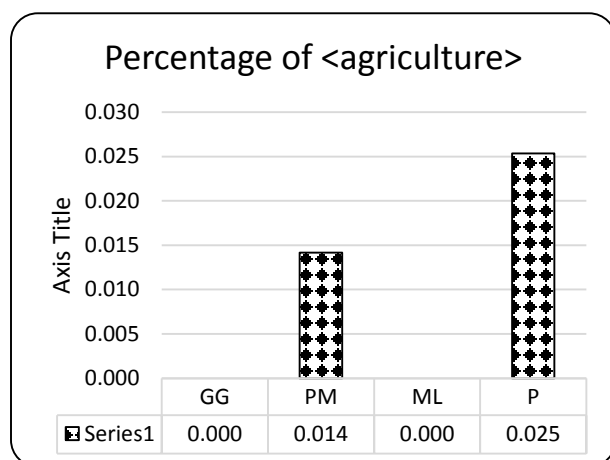


Figure 4.1: Percentage of <agriculture> and
<زراعت>

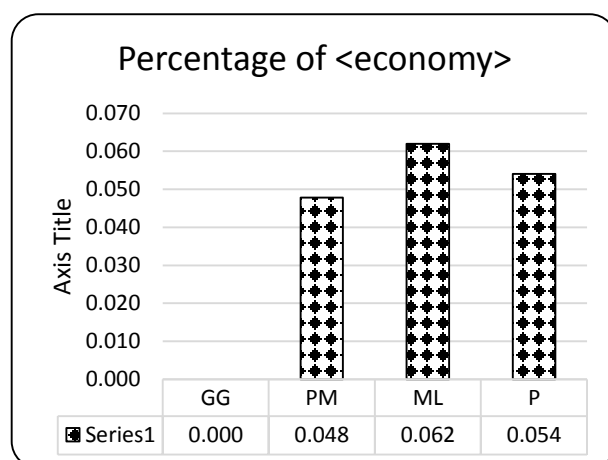


Figure 4.2 Percentage of <economy> and
<معیش>

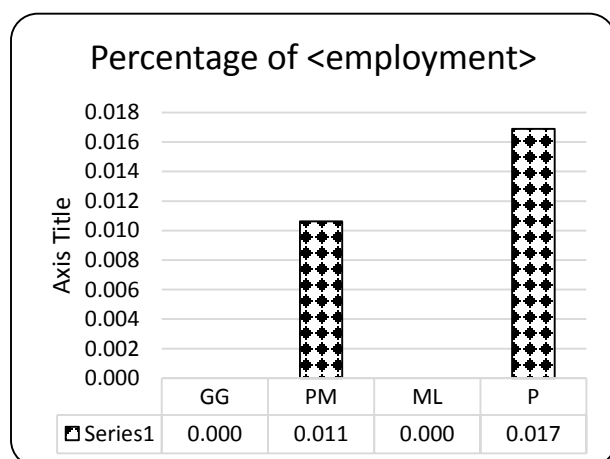


Figure 4.3 Percentage of <employment>
and <روزگاری>

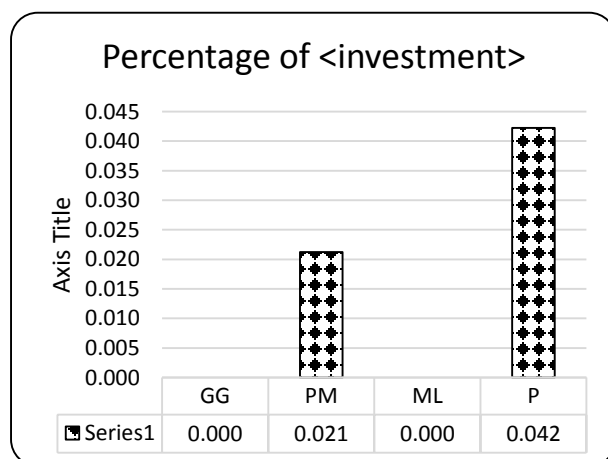


Figure 4.4 Percentage of <investment> and
<سرمایه کاری>

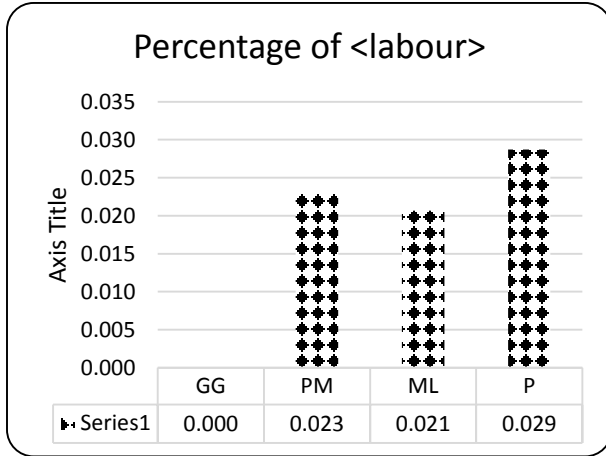


Figure 4.5 Percentage of <labour> and <مزدور>

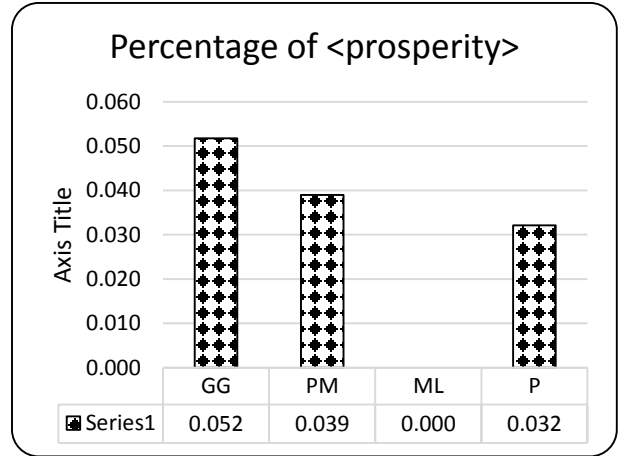


Figure 4.6: Percentage of <prosperity> and <خوشحالی>

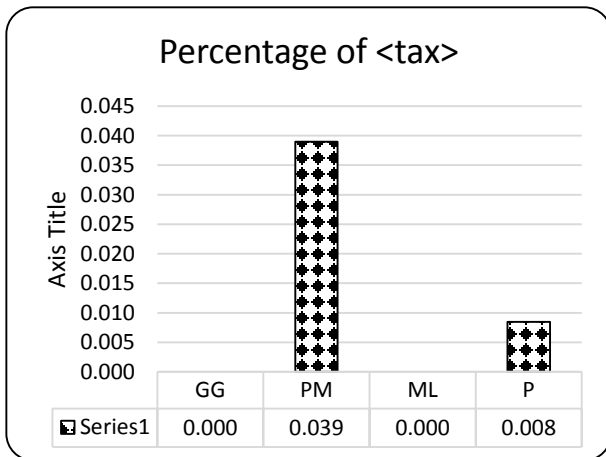


Figure 4.7: Percentage of <tax> and <ٹیکس>

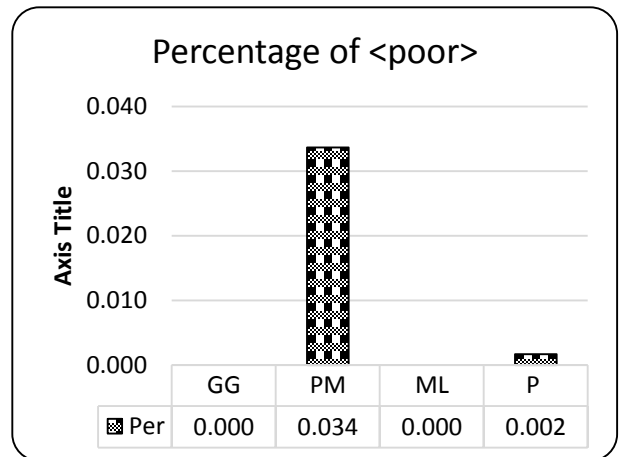


Figure 4.8: Comparison of overall use of <poor> and <غریب>

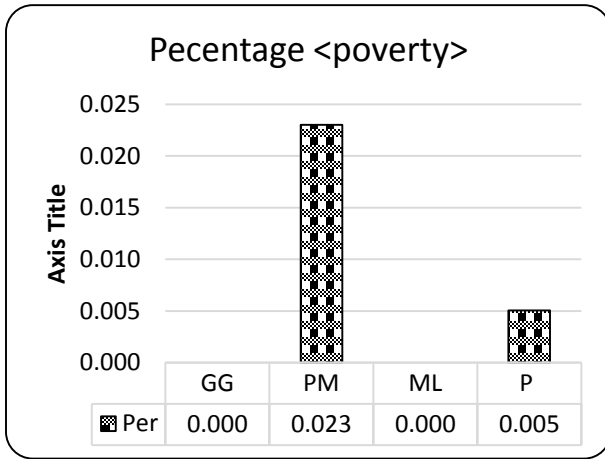


Figure 4.9: Comparison of overall use of <poverty> and <غربت>

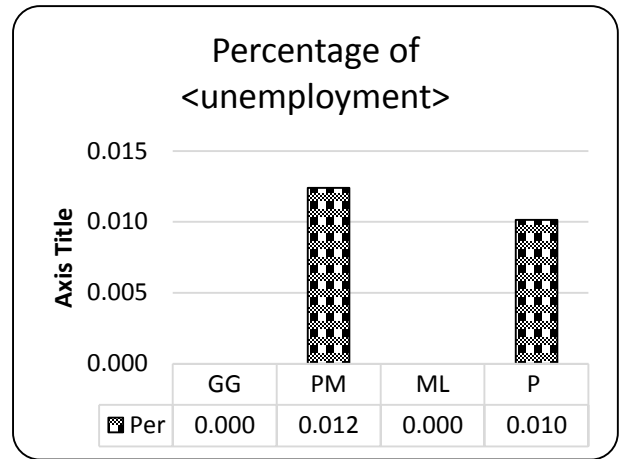


Figure 4.10: Comparison of overall use of <unemployment> and <بے روزگاری>

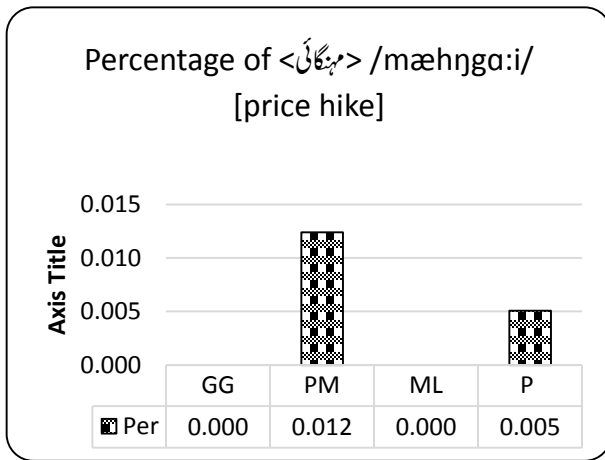


Figure 4.11: Comparison of overall use of <مہنگائی> /mæhŋga:i/ [price hike]

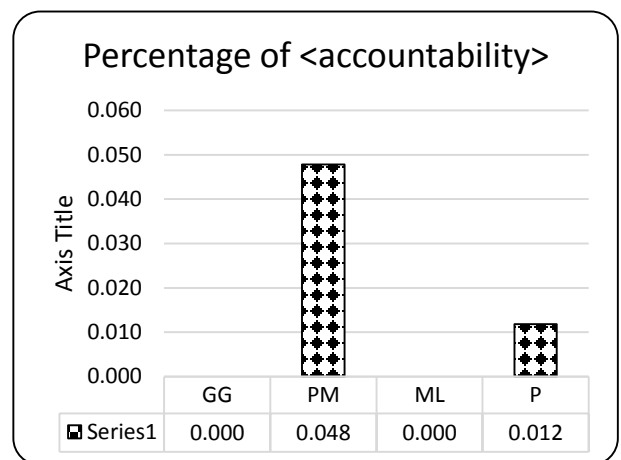


Figure 4.12: Comparison of overall use of <accountability> and <احتساب>

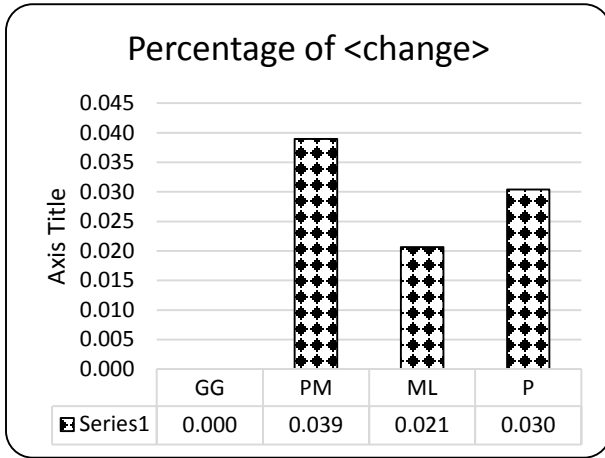


Figure 4.13: Percentage of <change> and <تبدیلی>

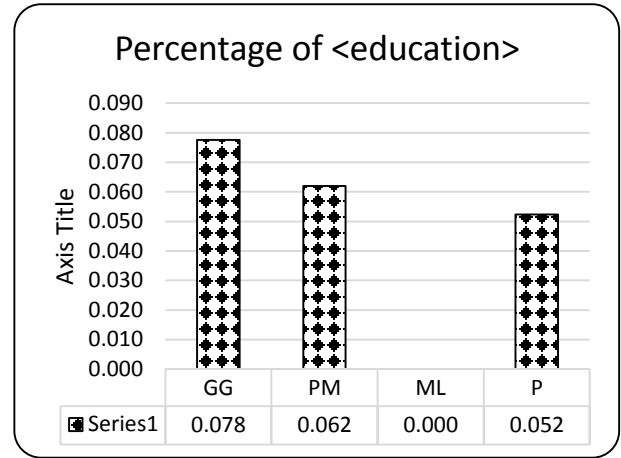


Figure 4.14: Percentage of <education> and <تعلیم>

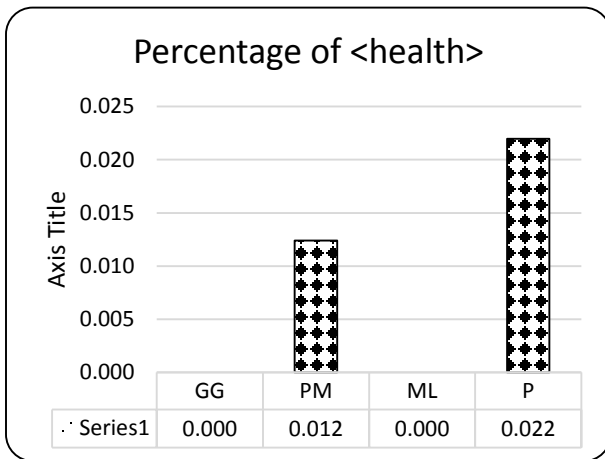


Figure 4.15: Percentage of <health> and <صحت>

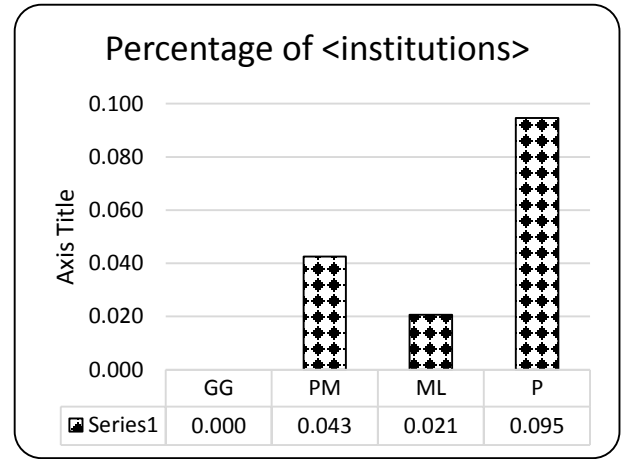


Figure 4.16: Percentage of <institutions> and <ادارے/اداروں>

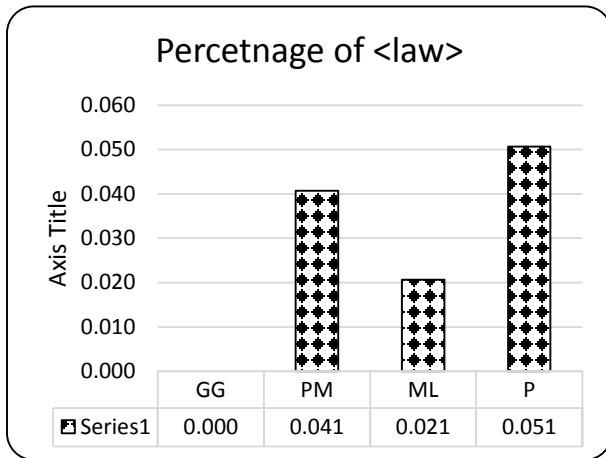


Figure 4.17: Percentage of <law> and <قانون>

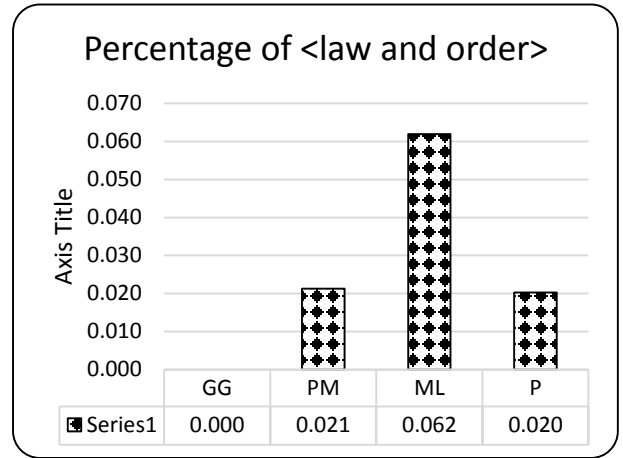


Figure 4.18: Percentage of <law and order> and <امن وامن>

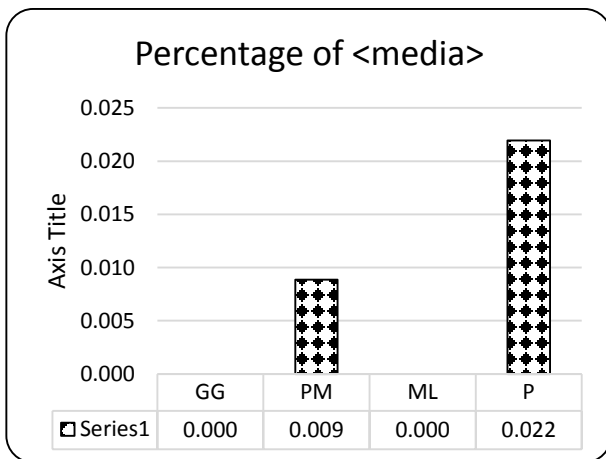


Figure 4.19: Percentage of <media> and <میڈیا>

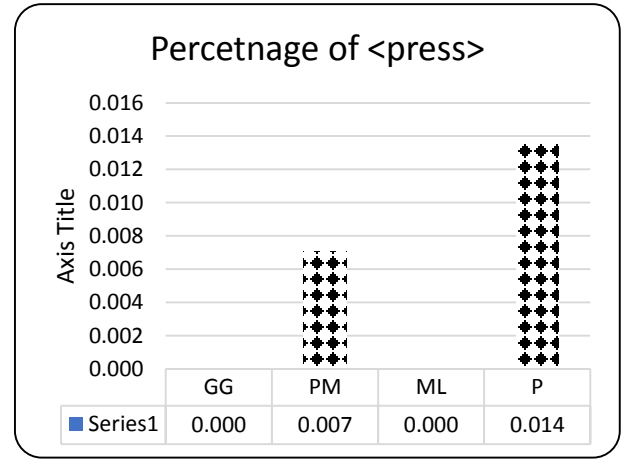


Figure 4.20: Comparison of overall use of <press> and <پریس>

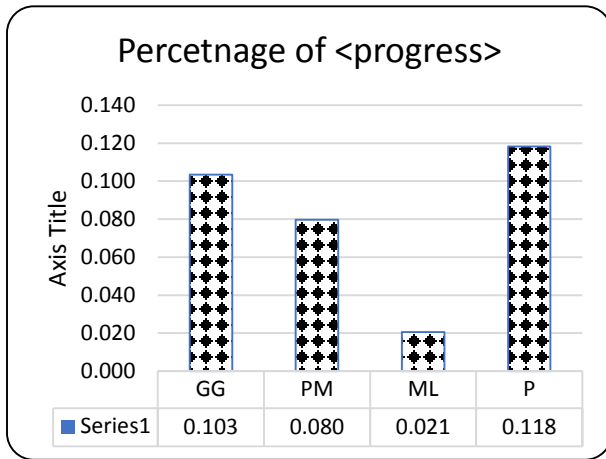


Figure 4.21: Comparison of overall use of <progress>, and <ترقی>

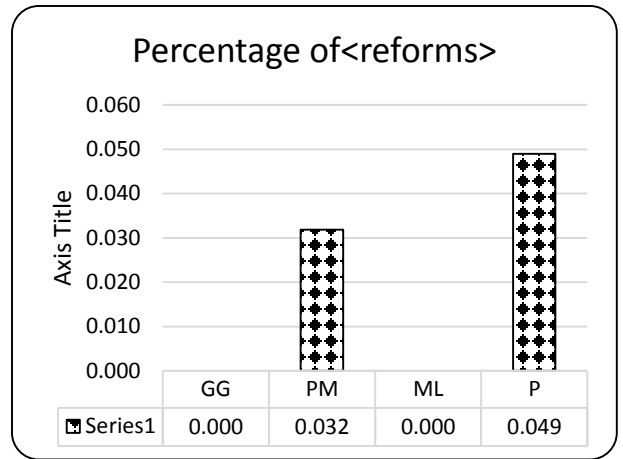


Figure 4.22: Percentage of <reforms> and <اصلاحات>

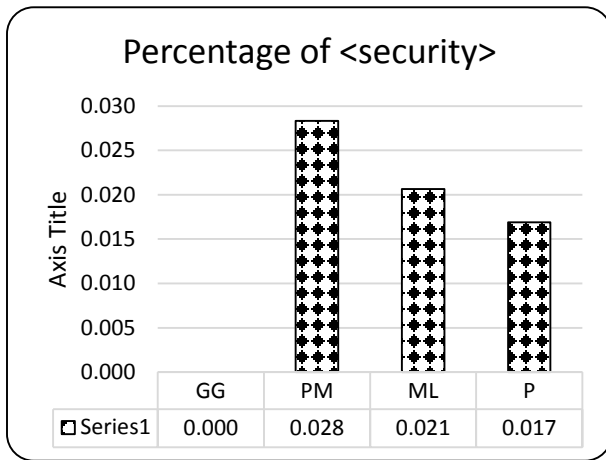


Figure 4.23: Percentage of <security> and <سیکورٹی>

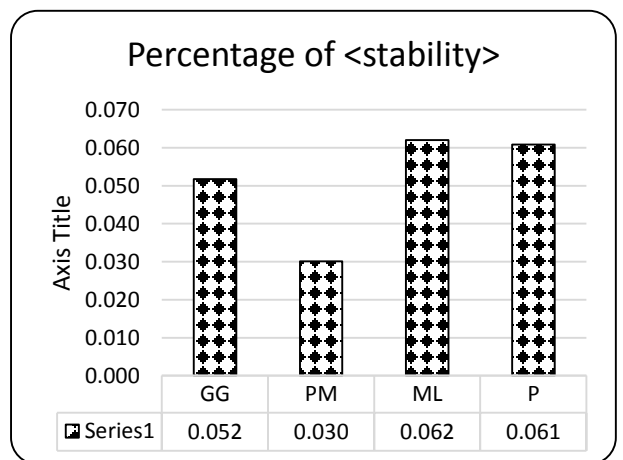


Figure 4.24: Percentage of <stability> and <استحکام>

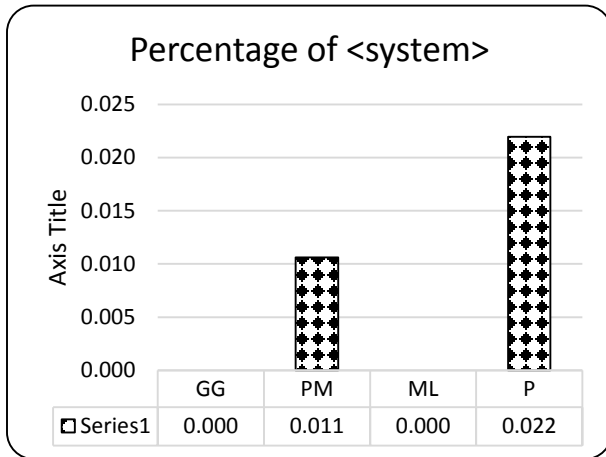


Figure 4.25: Percentage of <system> and <نظام>

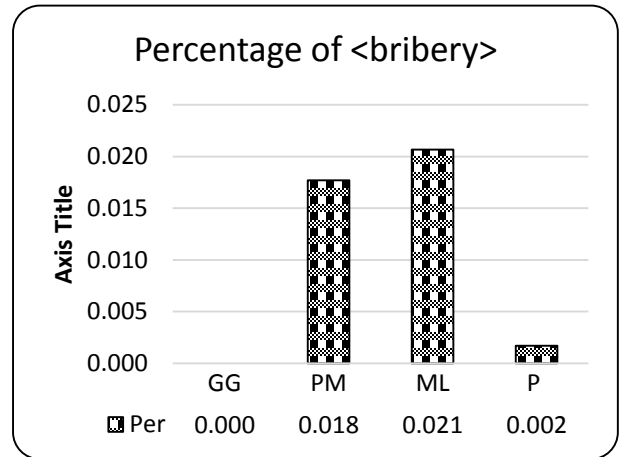


Figure 4.26: Comparison of overall use of <bribery> and <رشوت>

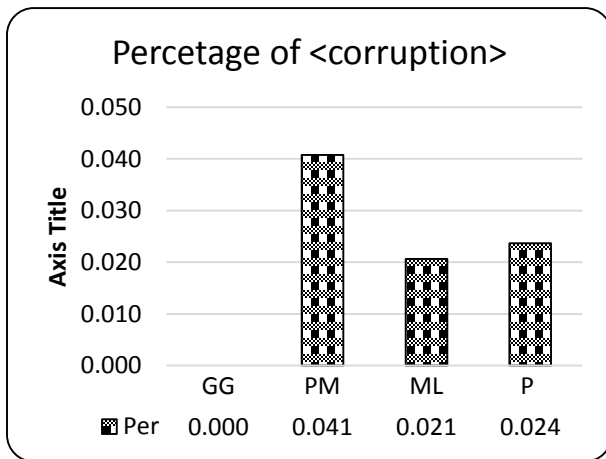


Figure 4.27: Comparison of overall use of <corruption>, <بدعنوانی> and <کرپشن>

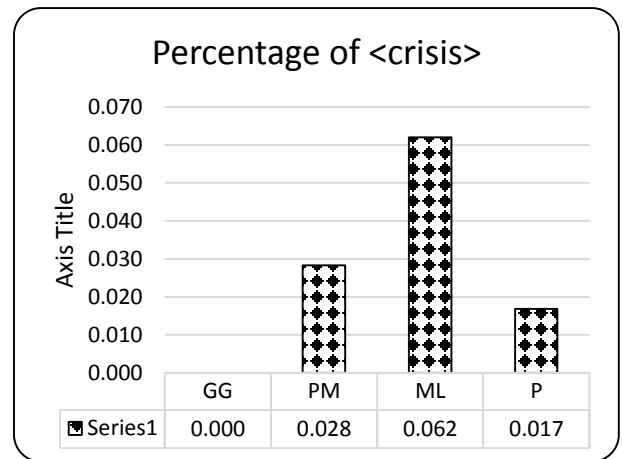


Figure 4.28: Percentage of <crisis> and <بحران>

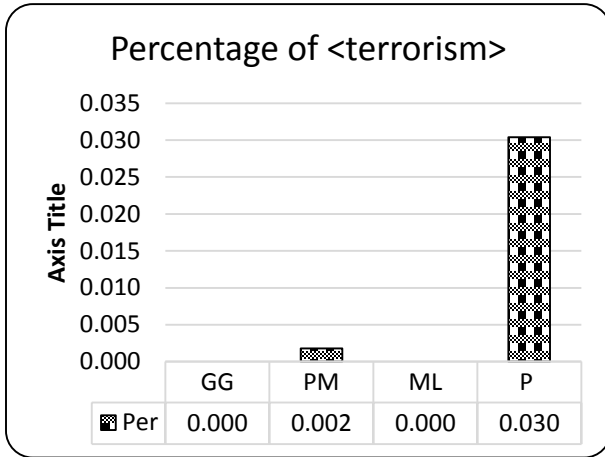


Figure 4.29: Comparison of overall use of <terrorism> and <دهشت گردی>

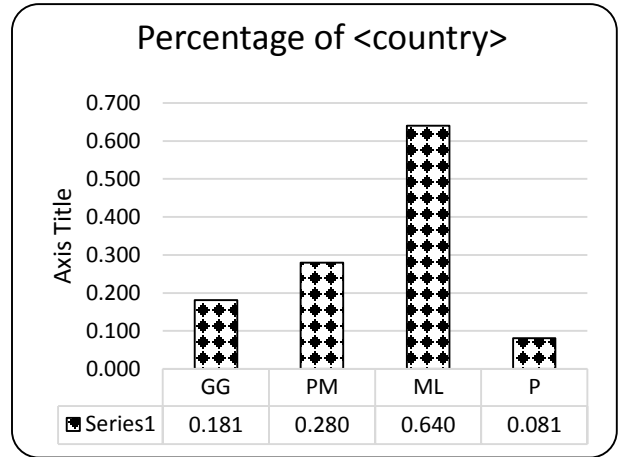


Figure 4.30: Comparison of overall use of <country> and <ملک>

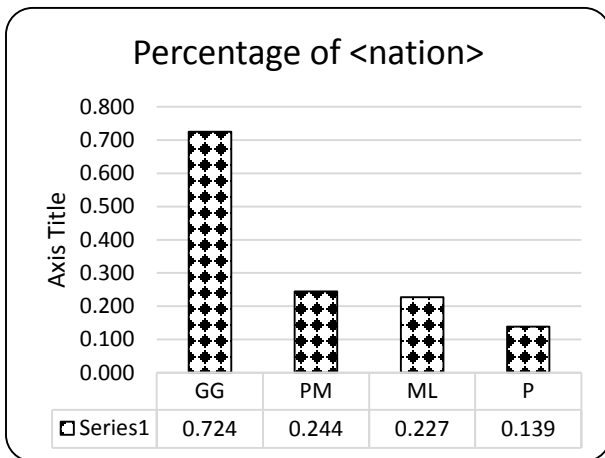


Figure 4.31: Comparison of overall use of <nation> and <قوم>

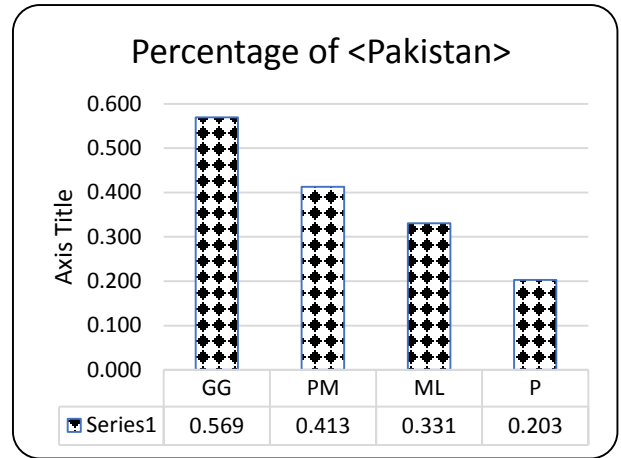


Figure 4.32: Comparison of overall use of <Pakistan> and <پاکستان>

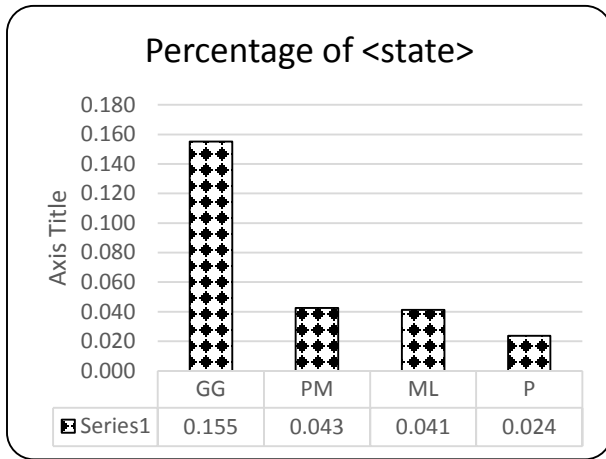


Figure 4.33: Percentage of <state> and <ریاست>

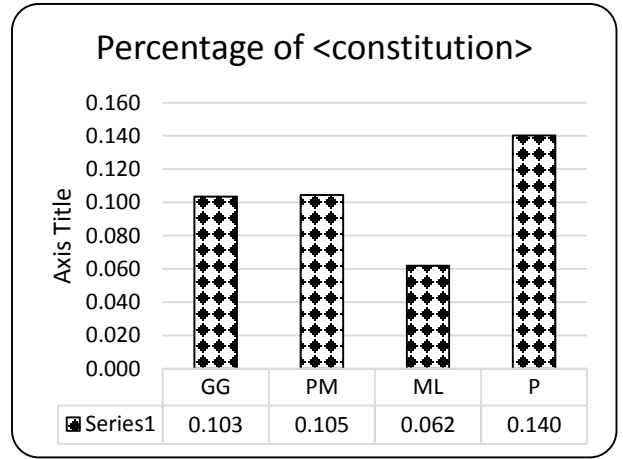


Figure 4.34: Comparison of overall use of <constitution>, <آئین> and <دستور>

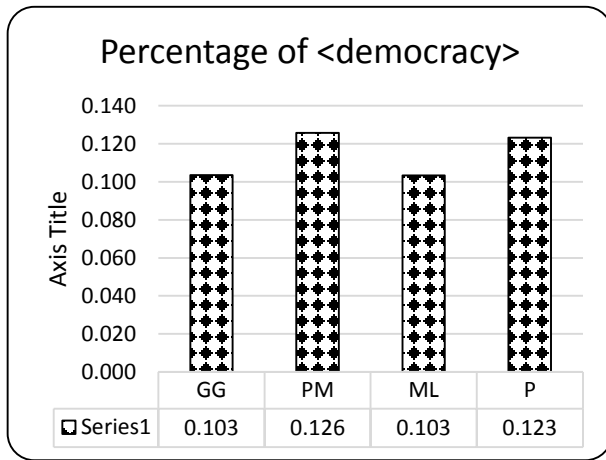


Figure 4.35: Percentage of <democracy> and <جمهوریت>

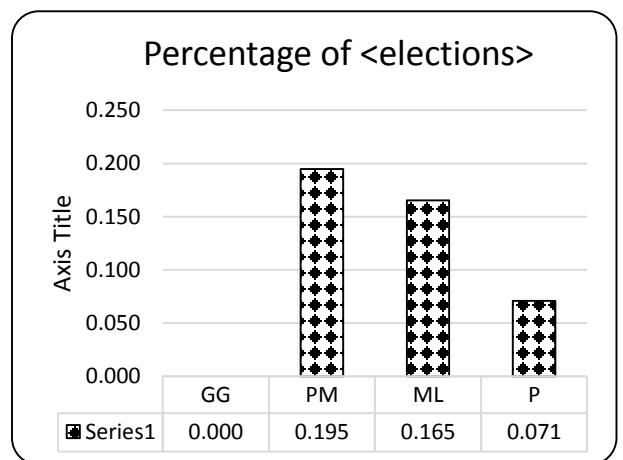


Figure 4.36: Comparison of overall use of <elections>, <آئین> and <انتخابات>

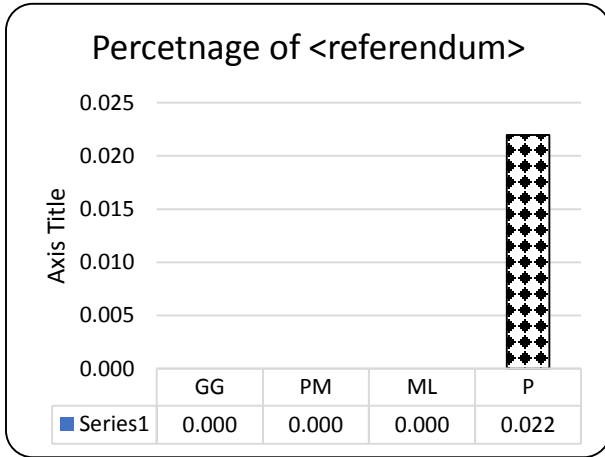


Figure 4.37: Percentage of <referendum> and <استصواب رائے>

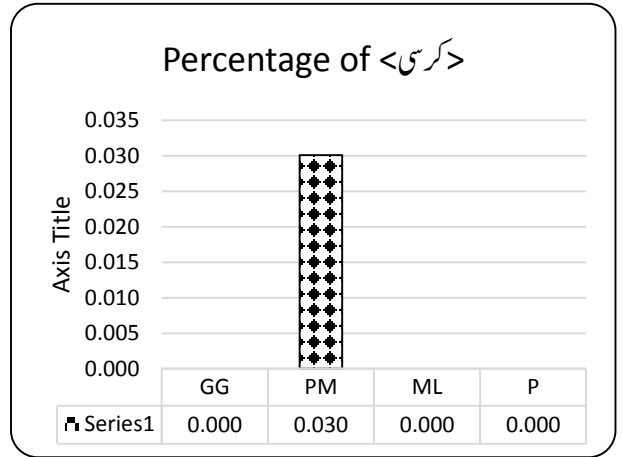


Figure 4.38: Percentage of <کرسی>

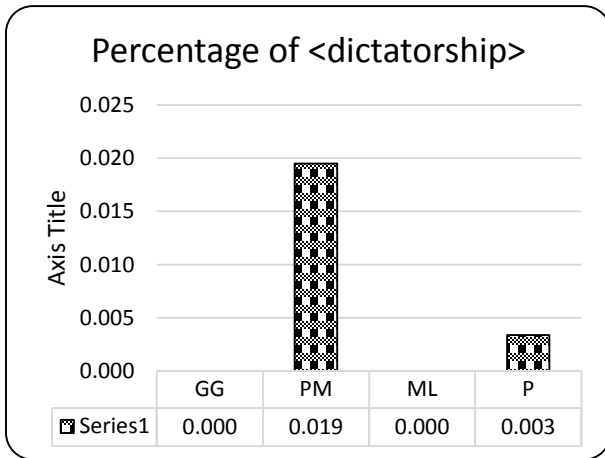


Figure 4.39: Comparison of overall use of <Dictatorship>, <آمریت> and <آمریتوں>

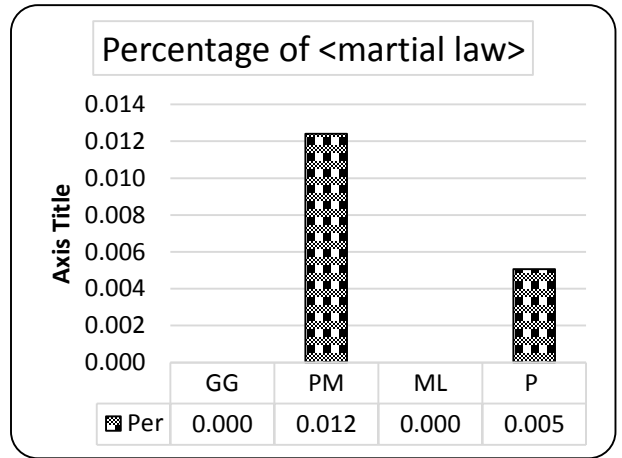


Figure 4.40: Comparison of overall use <Martial Law> and <مارشل لاء>

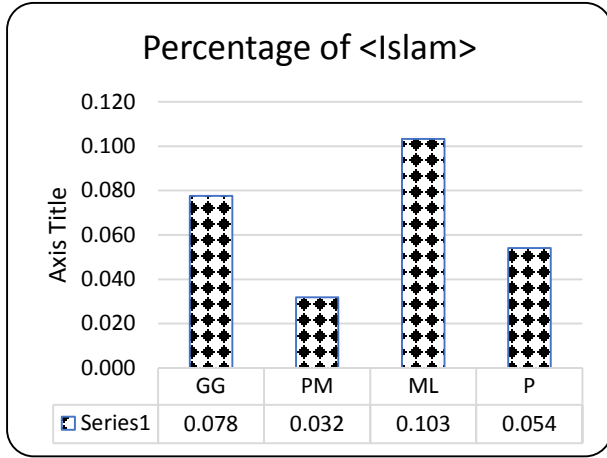


Figure 4.41: Comparison of overall use of <Islam> and <اسلام>

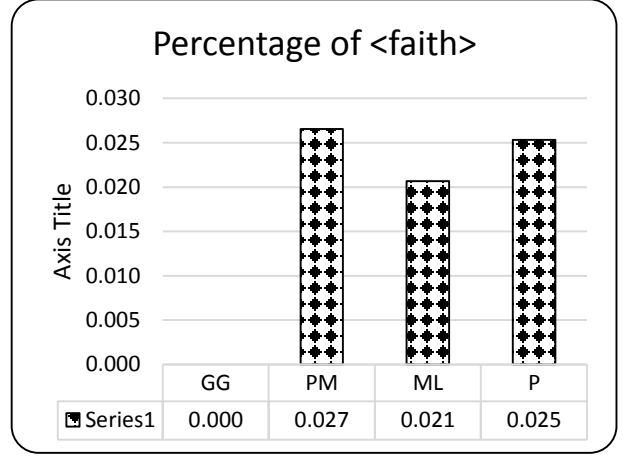


Figure 4.42: Percentage of <faith> and <ایمان>

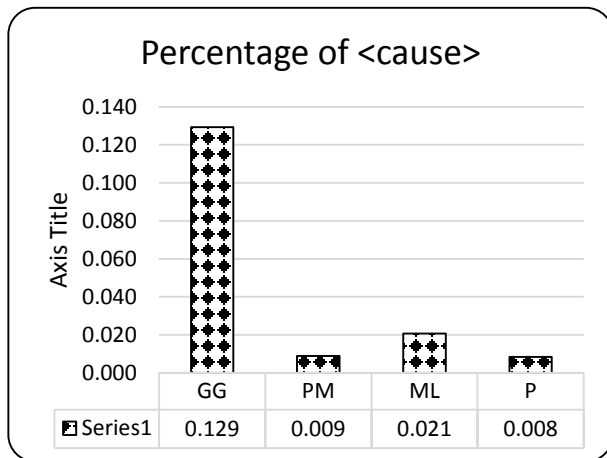


Figure 4.43: Percentage of <cause>

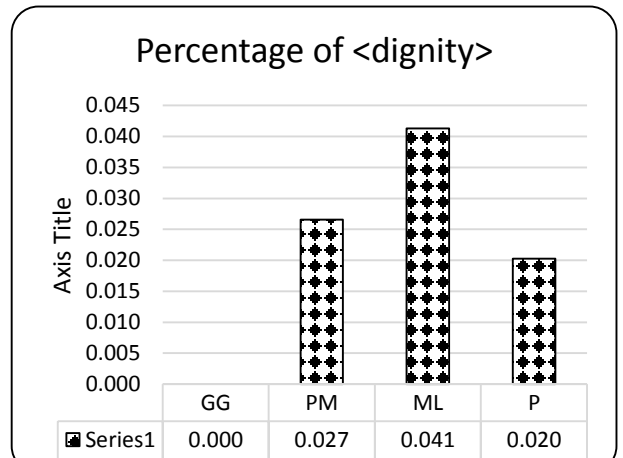


Figure 4.44: Percentage of <dignity> and <وقار>

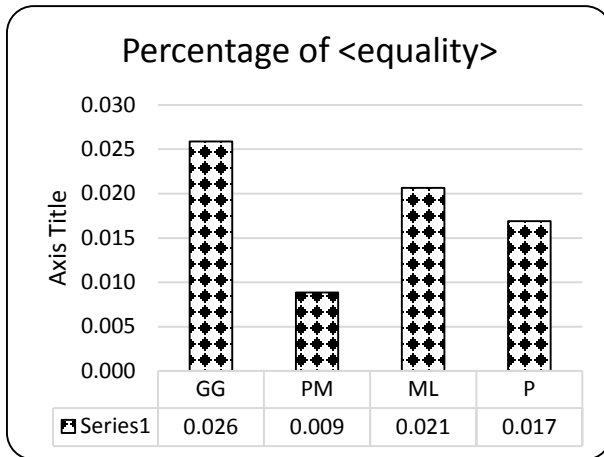


Figure 4.45: Percentage of <equality>, <برابری> and <مساوات>

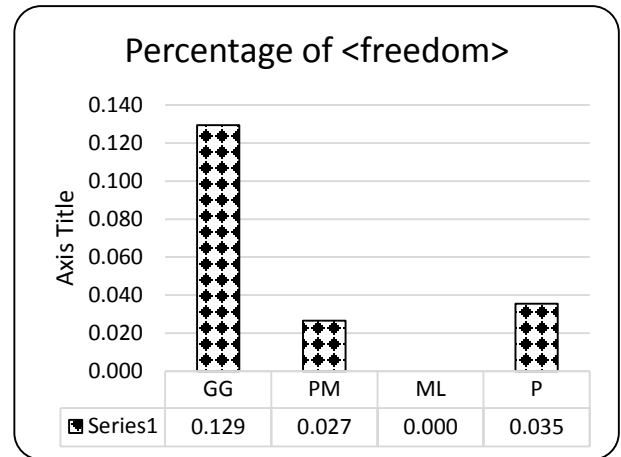


Figure 4.46: Percentage of <freedom> and <آزادی>

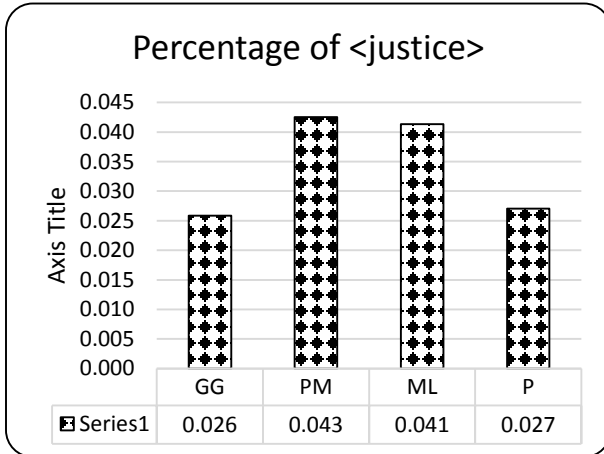


Figure 4.47: Percentage of <justice> and <انصاف>

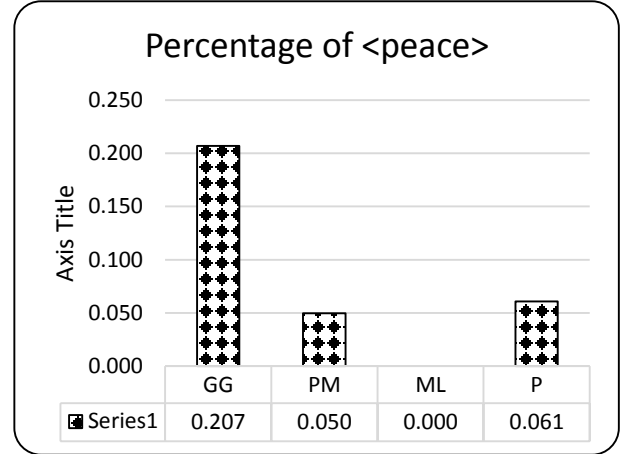


Figure 4.48: Percentage of <peace> and <آمن>

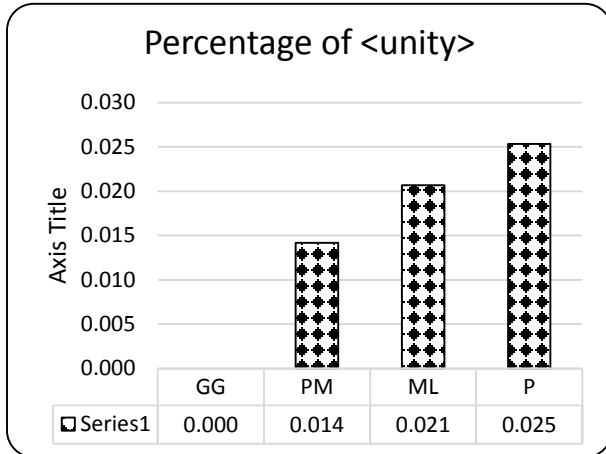


Figure 4.49: Percentage of <unity> and <اتحاد>

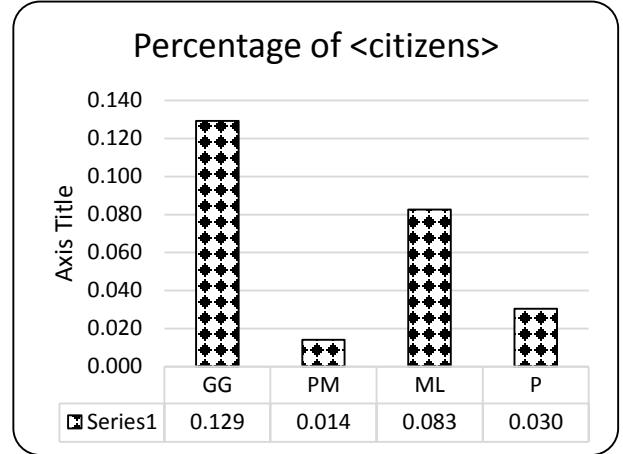


Figure 4.50: Percentage of <citizens>/ <شہریوں> and <شہری>

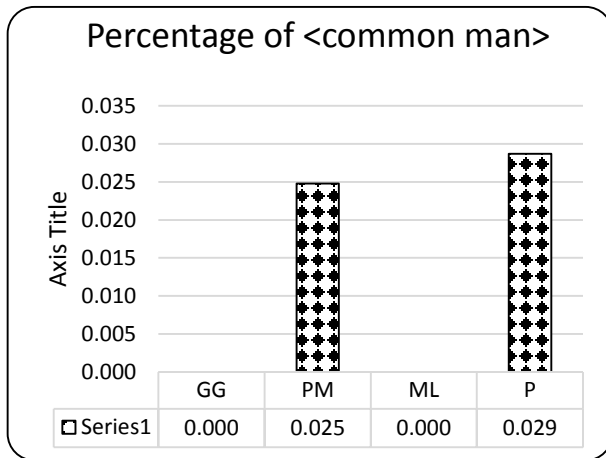


Figure 4.51: Percentage of <common man> and <عام آدمی>

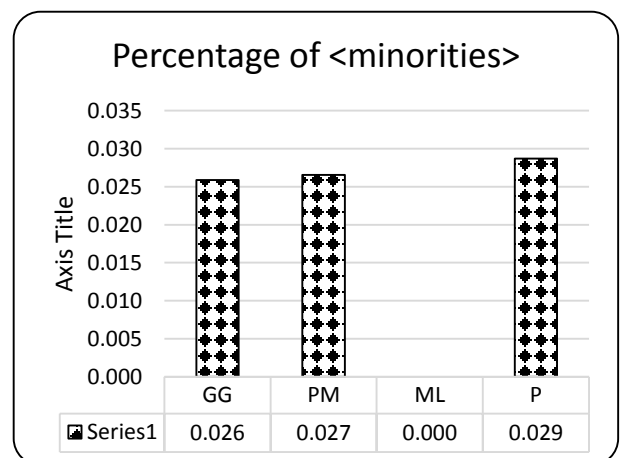


Figure 4.52: Percentage of <minorities> and <اقلیتیں/اقلیتوں>

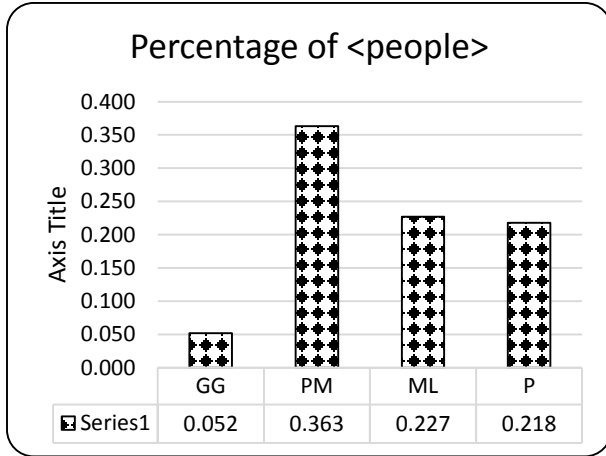


Figure 4.53: Comparison of overall use of <people>, <masses>, <public>, <عوام> and <لوگوں>

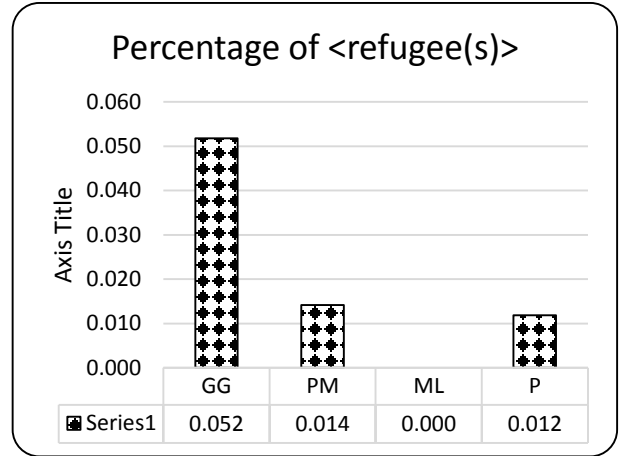


Figure 4.54: Percentage of <refugee(s)> and <مہاجرین>

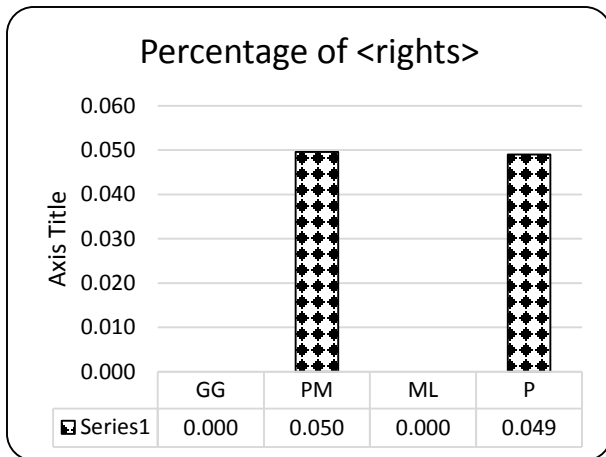


Figure 4.55: Percentage of <rights> and <حقوق>

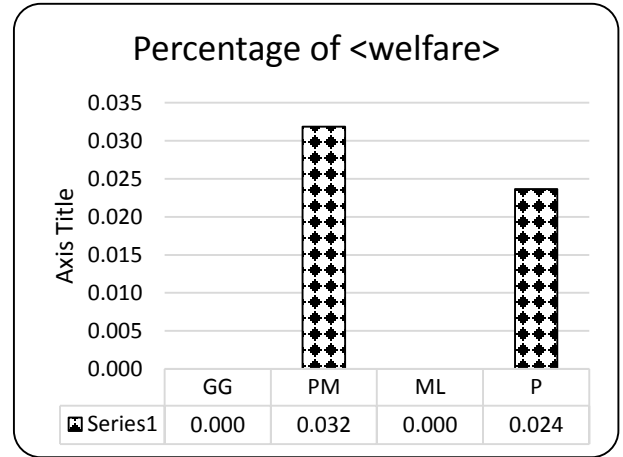


Figure 4.56: Percentage of <welfare> and <فلاح و بہبود>

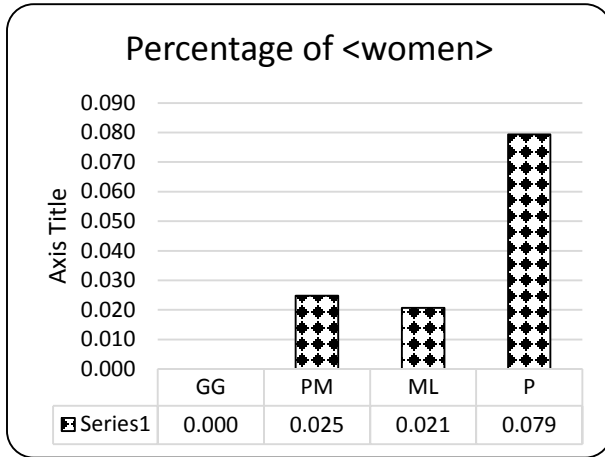


Figure 4.57: Percentage of <women> and
<نوائین>