



Sociology & Cultural Research Review (SCRR)
 Available Online: <https://scrrjournal.com>
 Print ISSN: 3007-3103 Online ISSN: 3007-3111
 Platform & Workflow by: [Open Journal Systems](https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.17386135)
<https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.17386135>



Political Stance Now and Then: A Comparative Thematic Analysis of Benazir Bhutto and Aseefa Bhutto-Zardari's Narratives

Dr. Nazia Anwar

Lecturer, University of Gujrat

nazia.anwar@uog.edu.pk

Samra Shahzad

MPhil Scholar, University of Gujrat

samrajutt102@gmail.com

Isha Razzaq Butt

MPhil Scholar, University of Gujrat

isharazzaq13@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

Political talk is an effective tool that is used to construct ideologies, identities and power relations. Bhutto family's political story which has passed the generations is an indication of the transforming Pakistani political ethos of democracy. The present research seeks to establish some of the similarities and differences between the political themes in the stories of Benazir Bhutto and Aseefa Bhutto-Zardari and investigate how the socio-political and contextual shifts have influenced their political speeches. The research applies the three-dimensional Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) model of Fairclough (1995 & 2013) to make a thematic comparison of the sampled speeches and statements of the two leaders based on the recurring patterns of politics, gender and ideology. The discussion shows that there was continuity of the ideals of democracy but a change in rhetoric of Benazir towards sentiment-filled and resistance-based rhetoric to Aseefa towards institutional-focused and policy-based rhetoric as a result of generational and contextual change. The research finds that the Bhutto legacy can be sustained by rhetorical adjustments that can reconfigure democracy and gender inclusiveness to meet the modern political situations.

Keywords: Political stance, now, then, comparative thematic analysis, Benazir Bhutto, Aseefa Bhutto-Zardari

1. Introduction

Political rhetoric has been a major element of leadership identity and ideology creation. The Bhutto family has had a niche and long-standing position in influencing democratic and political discourses in Pakistan. Being the first female Prime Minister of a Muslim-majority nation, Benazir Bhutto has redefined political discourse with a blend of democratic struggle, feminist empowerment and populist appeal (Munir, 2015). Her speeches in the 1980s and 1990s made Pakistan look like a strong democracy and made her a national and global icon of resistance to authoritarianism (Fairclough, 2013; Azeem, 2024).

Contrastingly, Aseefa Bhutto-Zardari is a new breed of politicians who are coming out in the digital and globalized world. This change in her political communication is concerning a more technocratic and policy-focused rhetoric as opposed to the populist rhetoric of moral resistance. The points on institutional accountability, gender inclusion, and socio-economic

reform made by Aseefa reflect the shift in the political landscape of Pakistan and the wider redefinition of the leadership narratives (The News, 2024; Global Women's Forum, 2024). Although, the discourse of Benazir Bhutto has been extensively analyzed in terms of feminism and rhetoric, little has been done to study the emerging political position of Aseefa Bhutto-Zardari in relation to each other. The literature available tends to separate Benazir as a historical event without considering how the Bhutto political ideology has continued to develop and evolve over the generations. It is urgently needed to know how the story of Aseefa inherits, modifies or redefines the political legacy of Benazir to suit emerging socio-political conditions, especially with the prism of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA).

Mughal (2024) and Abbas (2019) are among the previous researchers to examine the speeches of Benazir Bhutto and their political message which includes democratic, gender, and populism topics. Nevertheless, certain research gap exists in exploring the thematic development of the Bhutto discourse intergenerationally i.e. how a similar political ideology is redefined by a younger leader, functioning in an entirely different communicative context of media hybridity, globalization and shifting gender order. This research seeks to address this gap in the body of literature by using the three dimension-based CDA model by Fairclough (1995, 2013) to contrast and analyze the political messages and the linguistic devices used in the works of the two authors Benazir and Aseefa Bhutto-Zardari.

1.1 Research Objectives:

- To explore the major similarities and differences in political themes of Benazir Bhutto and Aseefa Bhutto Zardari's narratives.
- To highlight how the changes in social, contextual and political contexts have influenced the political themes from Benazir Bhutto to Aseefa Bhutto Zardari.

1.2 Research Questions:

1. What are the major similarities and differences in political themes of Benazir Bhutto and Aseefa Bhutto Zardari's narratives?
2. How have the changes in social, contextual and political contexts influenced the political themes from Benazir Bhutto to Aseefa Bhutto Zardari?

2. Literature Review

2.1 Politics, Legacy and Bhutto Brand

The role of political dynasties is one of the themes in the literature of the Pakistani politics. The Bhutto family as well as the Sharif family are the center of discussions of the democratic institutions in Pakistan. Begum (2025) contrasts the families of Bhutto and Sharif and demonstrates how the history of politics influences the expectations of a leader, legitimacy and responsibility in a hybrid democracy. The concept of inherited legitimacy is mentioned several times in the research of Benazir and her heirs (Begum, 2025). The historical foundation of the ideological ground on which the discourse of the Benazir and Aseefa thrive is the founding message of the Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) that is: Islam is our religion, Democracy is our politics, Socialism is our economy and all the power to the people and the message of the founding party is the brainchild of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. (Dawood & Malik, 2022).

2.2 Benazir Bhutto: Rhetoric, Ideology and Discourse Strategy

There is a considerable amount of literature discussing the rhetoric of Benazir Bhutto. As an example, her speech in 1989-1997 reveals her reservedness and assertiveness due to the presence of works dealing with metadiscourse markers she utilizes (hedgies, boosters) in her

speech (Aziz et al., 2025). According to this study, she often employed hedges (could, need) but also strong boosters (should, must, thus) which allowed combining the assertiveness with rhetoric prudence (Aziz et al., 2025).

Transitivity in her works, in particular, *Reconciliation: Islam, Democracy and the West* shows how she approaches actors, processes and agency to align Islam and democracy ideologically instead of opposing them to each other, thereby, building a vision of liberal inclusion (Waseem & Khan, 2023). Her rhetorical appeals are studied by other researchers in terms of gender, religion and cultural appeal (Azeem, 2024, 2022). Benazir has been extensively analyzed as a charismatic leader: it has been argued that she came to the office after the execution of Zulfikar and her leadership style which emphasized moral courage, sacrifice, and a unifying voice, were the main pillars of her legitimacy (Azeem, 2022). The other theme is her fight to reestablish democracy which is normally talked about in terms of institutional resistance, dictatorship, military rule and civil liberties. Literature such as *The Saga of Candid Political Struggle of Benazir Bhutto to Restore Democracy in Pakistan* (Azeem & Salim, 2022) explains how she overcame political repressions, martial law and mass uprisings. Ethnicity politics, federalism and language politics in her regimes are also discussed: e.g., the example of Balochistan under the Bhutto regime reveals that democracy was connected with ethnic marginalization and the language conflict (Ahmed, Ali, and Riaz, 2019).

2.3 Rhetorical & Discourse Analysis

Corpus-linguistic methodology has been applied in numerous studies to measure aspects of discourse: boosters, hedges, assertiveness, modality, metaphors etc. (Ramzan et al., 2022). These studies demonstrate that the speechmaking style of Benazir used habitual assertive and motivational stylistic tools as opposed to more boilerplate and institutionalized political speech. Metaphors are also important in their usage. In the study *Metaphor and Ideology: Analyzing Speeches of Pakistani Political Leaders* (Nawaz et al., 2024), the conceptual metaphors of distinct leaders such as Benazir are compared and it is revealed that the metaphors chart out areas of conflict, journey, family, and so forth in the political speech. These studies assist in showing the ideology behind them, how an ideation of nation as family, politics as struggle or democracy as journey establishes meaning and emotional appeal.

2.4 The Narrative and Public Discussion of Aseefa Bhutto-Zardari

Assefa's literature is less bulky and older, although, it is increasingly increasing. Reports by media about her maiden speech at National Assembly in 2024-25 indicate that she is establishing a role vis-a-vis economic inequality and relief to ordinary citizens besides criticizing budgets on grounds that they are anti-people (The News, 2024; Tribune, 2025). Inflation, unemployment, load shedding and her calls to help farmers and the marginalized was the subject of her public speeches (Pakistan Today, June 2024). These reports indicate Aseefa taking on a plea by PPP that ideological consistency involves care of the socio-economic justice (Pakistan Today, 2024) and demand institutional accountability.

Moreover, she puts issues such as youth, education and health into a very clear focus of her speech to the global audience such as in her World Population Day 2025 message, she writes about young people empowered, getting quality education, healthcare and speaks on behalf of youth (PPP website, 2025). Gendered expectations are found in both of them: she makes symbolic appeals (to the dreams of Benazir) and tangible policy requests (education, health, opportunity). (PPP messaging, 2025)

2.5 Gender & Women Leadership

Another, though not entirely distinct body of literature considers gendered leadership. Benazir has frequently been examined as an example of female leadership in a Muslim, patriarchal nation: the study, *Islam, Pakistan and Women Leadership*, describes the way her leadership was framed, the strangeness of her presence in more conservative environments and the rhetorical tools of how she negotiated gender norms (Azeem, 2022). The intersectional political and gender identity also emerges through the comparison of rhetorical styles of female politicians Benazir and Indira Gandhi (Saif & Akram, 2022).

In this case of Aseefa, this is in development. Her symbolic/institutional status is due to the fact that she is an elected Parliamentarian at the same time. Her speeches are sometimes full of hopes of mothering, representing marginalized groups of political participants (economics, budget critique). Therefore, the literature proposes a new conflux: symbolic gendered appeal + policy activism. Based on this survey there are a few gaps that can be filled by your research:

1. **Systematic CDA analysis of speeches by Aseefa:** This is due to a large amount of news coverage and media coverage but little in peer-reviewed journals conducting comprehensive discourse/corpus/CDA analysis of the narrative of Aseefa.
2. **Longitudinal comparison:** There is much on Benazir, but little is done to trace diachronic changes in the factual lexical, metaphorical and pragmatic aspects of her time and ours.
3. **Contextual mediation:** What role should change in the social media environment (social media, televised assembly, global normative pressure) play in the discursive practice?
4. **Audience reception:** The majority of this is not present in the literature regarding the reception of these discourses by various publics.
5. **Intersectional gender analysis:** Gender aspect is frequently concerned with the issue of woman leader but less concerned with gender and its interaction with class, region, age in the story of Aseefa.

3. Methodology

3.1 Research Design

This is a qualitative Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) study within the framework of a comparative analysis of how political identity, power and gender have been represented in the language and ideology of Benazir Bhutto and Aseefa Bhutto-Zardari in their speeches. The CDA's choice also enables to identify implicit ideologies, sociopolitical relations of power and symbolic representations, which are coded in words (Fairclough, 2013; Wodak and Meyer, 2016). Both the linguistic texture and the sociopolitical situation of the chosen speeches are analyzed in terms of Fairclough (1995) three-dimensional model the textual, discursive and social practice dimensions to interpret the chosen texts.

3.2 Data Collection

The data set includes six speeches by Benazir Bhutto (1988-2007) and six speeches and statements by Aseefa Bhutto-Zardari (2019-2024), which were purposely chosen as focusing on the same theme of democracy, empowering women and political reform. These are parliamentary speeches, street demonstrations, media conferences and statements spread out in social media, located in the reliable archives like The News international, Dawn and official web of the Pakistan People Party (PPP). The comparison was facilitated by the

selection criteria as the political context and genre of both leaders were comparable in dealing with comparable audiences on national issues (Ahmad and Akhtar, 2020). Scripts were checked and copied as it is to retain authenticity.

3.3 Analytical Framework

The CDA process used the model of Fairclough (2013):

Vocabulary, transitivity, modality and metaphor were studied through textual analysis to define patterns that are used to create power and gender identities. The analysis of the discursive practice took into account intertextuality, processes of production and consumption - how each leader reproduced or confronted inherited political narratives. The context of the social practice analysis presented these linguistic findings in the context of the Pakistani sociopolitical history, revealing how both leaders exploited discourse to establish their legitimate positions, modernity and gender representation in a patriarchal political culture (Mahmood and Rashid, 2022). To enhance rigor, corpus-assisted CDA methods were combined with the help of AntConc 3.5.9, which allows supporting the qualitative interpretation with the quantitative one (Baker, 2021). The keywords determined in word-frequency and collocation analyses included democracy, people, rights, and women whereas ideological focus and lexical framing were tracked in both corpora.

3.4 Data Analysis Procedure

Making of thematic orientation in each speech was done by first reading the speech in its entirety. The repetitive lexical and syntactic patterns were coded into such categories as empowerment, sacrifice, nationhood, and democracy. Coding was performed with a combination of deductive themes based on the literature of CDA and inductive patterns that were born out of the texts (Braun and Clarke, 2019). Co-text and ideological stance were then analyzed through the analysis of concordance lines. Comparative matrices were created to show how the discourse of Benazir built reformist and revolutionary identity, and Aseefa discourse-built continuity and legacy politics. Peer debriefing and inter-coder reliability have been implemented to guarantee credibility: 20 percent of the coded data was cross-checked by two independent researchers giving a Cohens 1 value of 0.82, which indicates a high degree of agreement (McHugh, 2012).

4.Data Analysis

4.1 Thematic analysis

a) Theme 1: Democracy and Anti-authoritarianism

Benazir and Aseefa place political legitimacy in the context of democratic rule and opposition to authoritarianism, but the focus is different. Benazir rhetoric is also famous, as she bases her argument on existential defiance against military domination and presents politics as a moral battle of the restoration of the nation; CDA and corpus studies reveal the repetition of binary oppositions (democracy vs. dictatorship), high agentivity on behalf of the people and repetition of the moral vocabulary. Aseefa also endorses democratic values but conceptualizes them in terms of institutional reinforcement and policy deliverables (e.g. budget fairness, parliamentary accountability) not necessarily heroic struggle. This change indicates varying political timings: the mobilization of anti-dictatorship Benazir, and the involvement of Aseefa in the parliamentary-political and governmental discussions.

b) Theme 2: Gender Representation and Performance of Woman Leader

Benazir was just gesture of an achievement, the first woman to become prime minister in a majority Muslim country and gendered exceptionalism (leadership as family inheritance and discursive breakthrough) was frequently used. Moral and heroic narratives were used to legitimize political claims by integrating her identity as a woman leader as scholarship documents. The discourse of Aseefa inherits the legacy and turns more instrumental in terms of gender activism: she previews concrete gender-sensitive policy demands (inclusion in budgets, female economic participation) and employs technical policy discourse and appeals to the empowerment of women. In brief: Benazir's gendered authority was more symbolic and mobilizing; that of Aseefa's is more programmatic and policy oriented.

c) Theme 3: Populist Mobilization vs Technocratic Policy Framing

The speeches by Benazir are rich with the use of populist rhetoric tools, namely emotive appeals, stories of martyrdom, and the calls to the mass mobilization which are in line with the leader developing the mass loyalty in the conditions of repression. Modern studies and collections of her speeches confirm this trend. Many of the rhetorical repertoires Aseefa uses are emotional appeals though that are frequently combined with technocratic policy language (budget critique, programmatic proposals, references to ministries and data). This crossbreed records the transformation of the PPP into a less oppositional movement but as a party that has reached a balance between popular legitimacy and governing credibility.

d) Theme 4: Family/ Legacy Branding as Discursive Capital

Bhutto family brand serves as discursive capital to both speakers. The capital of family legacy was used by Benazir as the part of the creation of moral power and historical continuity with Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. Aseefa builds on the same tradition but has to contend with the demands of modern institutional accountability and competency in policies and therefore, appeals to legacy tend to be linked to programmatic prescriptions to prevent the impression that it is nothing more than a dynastic rhetoric. The news reports and profiles inform that Aseefa specifically connects her efforts to the vision of her mother as she presents tangible policy priorities.

e) Theme 5: Media Ecology and Audience Targeting

Rhetorical strategies of Benazir were oriented to the mass rallies, the print and state broadcast situation; her style is performative and is oriented to the mass mobilization. The communication process of Aseefa occurs within a multi-platform media ecology (televised assembly sessions, social media clips, international forums). Therefore, her message needs to correspond to various groups of people, including domestic voters, parliamentary colleagues, NGOs and international forums. The wider audience landscape encourages her to make short policy assertions, quantifiable demands (budgetary allocations) and increase the prevalence of institutional referents in her speech.

f) Synthesis and Implications

Continuities: The devotion to democracy, family heritage and the appeal to popular benefit are also the core of the stories of both characters.

Shifts: The nomadic tendency is an intergenerational shift between a generation of mobilization (Benazir) that is charismatic, confrontational and a generation of advocacy (Aseefa) that is technocratic and gender-responsive. This indicates institutional transformation of Pakistani politics (institutionalization of parties, media fragmentation and global normative impact on gender policy).

5. Findings and Discussion

Comparative thematic analysis of the political narratives of Benazir Bhutto and Aseefa Bhutto-Zardari indicates that there has been a lot of continuity and a change in the discourse of the Pakistan People's Party (PPP). The two leaders have a similar democratic ethos that is based on the legacy of the Bhutto family but they differ in their rhetoric approach to changes in socio-political and media conditions. The results reveal that there is an underlying theme of democracy and anti-authoritarianism which plays a major role in the two stories. The arguments of Benazir were structured as the democratic versus dictatorial dichotomy with the focus on the political conflict and self-sacrifice (Munir, 2015). Her speeches projected democracy as a morality obligation and not a governmental system. On the contrary, the story of Aseefa puts democracy in the context of institutional responsibility and policy change which is a shift of populist mobilization to parliamentary pragmatism (The News, 2024). Another critical theme comes in the gender representation. The leadership of Benazir represented the gendered exceptionalism as an embodiment of the female figure that transcends patriarchal boundaries in the Muslim-majority nation (Azeem, 2024). Conversely, Aseefa leaves the realm of symbolism to the policy-based gender advocacy and emphasizes the participation of women in decision-making and a fair distribution of resources (Global Women's Forum, 2024). This transformation describes the larger sociopolitical change of representational feminism to participatory government.

The third important finding is related to the rhetorical style and communicative strategies. Emotional appeal and mass mobilization were the features of the oratory used by Benazir, which worked in the post-dictatorial settings (Mughal, 2024). Digitally mediated discourse through institutional politics is characterized by the heavy use of emotive elements and technocratic terms (e.g., budget allocations, social protection, etc.) by Aseefa to gain credibility among policy audiences (DAWN News, 2025). In general, the discussion demonstrates how moral-political opposition is replaced by professionalized policy discourse. The Bhutto story is being changed towards a heroic resistance to a developmental rule through changes in the wider society media diversification, globalization and mainstreaming the gender role. The results highlight the ideas of Fairclough (2013) that discourses are social practices: language also changes ideologically and institutionally depending on its time.

6. Conclusion

This thematic investigation comparison has led to the conclusion that the discursive orientation and rhetorical expressions of Benazir Bhutto and Aseefa Bhutto-Zardari are meaningfully different. Though, they share such a common political ideology as being based on democratic values, social justice, and gender equality. The analysis based on the three-dimensional framework provided by Fairclough (2013) illustrates that these differences are not caused by the ideological disruption but rather growing socio-political locales, the environment of the media, and expectations of the generation in the political landscape of Pakistan.

The political speeches of Benazir Bhutto were the post authoritarian populist times where leadership was represented through moral bravery and emotional appeal. Her speeches were based on the restoration of democracy, empowerment of the people and opposition to dictatorship (Munir, 2015). She frequently used metaphor in her language and the instruments of mobilization included sacrifice and collective struggle (Mughal, 2024). On the

contrary, the rhetoric of Aseefa Bhutto-Zardari is an evolutionary view of this legacy i.e. policy advocacy through institutions, institutionally accountable and inclusive. She has emphasized in her speeches gender-responsive budgeting, healthcare, and equitable governance (The News, 2024; Global Women's Forum, 2024).

The results have confirmed the presence of the thematic change in symbolic and moralized resistance to institutionalized and evidence-based political participation. Therefore, the story of Aseefa, re-signifies the Bhutto political tradition which conveys its historical moral authority into modern developmental discourse. This development reflects the larger shift of charismatic politics to policy professionalism of which discourse is responsive to the communicative needs of evolving political realities (Azeem, 2024). Overall, the two leaders help to rearticulate the democratic identity of the PPP. Their stories are different in style and structure but the sum of them all is a continuing fight to have participatory governance and gender inclusivity. The study confirms the idea that political talk is not lifeless but it changes over time the hopes of the society that the Bhutto legacy continues to be historical as well as prospective. The study is an addition to the political discourse literature because it explores the persistence and evolution of the leadership rhetoric in the Pakistani system of democracy. It has given a comparative linguistic and thematic approach of two successions of Bhutto leadership which represent the changing cross-over between gender, democracy and political ideology. The study also provides information on the role of language as a place of power and change in political communication. Placing the discourses of both leaders in the context of the CDA offered by Fairclough (2013), the study provides a better insight into the way in which political discourses adjust to recent ideological, technological, and gendered realities.

Additionally, the research has practical implications to scholars in the political communication field, gender studies, and South Asian politics. It highlights the dynamicity of the relationship between discourse, power and ideology in the formation of leadership identities with a sophisticated insight into how political discourse in Pakistan is re-created through the generations.

7. Recommendations

Future studies ought to take this comparative framework to incorporate more of the developing political voices in Pakistan to be able to trace wider ideological changes across parties and generations. The multimodal discourse analysis must be integrated by scholars with the aim of understanding how the digital media platforms are transforming the political discourses. This study can be used by policymakers and political communicators in order to develop inclusive, democratic and gender-sensitive rhetoric. Also, longitudinal analysis of the changing discourse of Aseefa Bhutto-Zardari could provide more information on the shift in political communication in the post-digital era in Pakistan.

References

- Abbas, R. (2019). Feminine subjectivity in modern Urdu poetry. *Journal of South Asian Literature*, 45(2), 78–90.
- Ahmed, C., Ali, M., & Riaz, A. (2019). Democracy and the politics of ethnicity and language in Pakistan during the Bhutto regime: A case study of Balochistan. *Journal of Political Studies*, 6(2), 589–609. <http://jps.pu.edu.pk>
- Ahmad, M. B., & Akhtar, S. (2020). Political discourse and gender representation in Pakistani parliamentary speeches. *Journal of Social Sciences Review*, 8(3), 45–58.

- Azeem, M. (2022). Islam, Pakistan and women leadership: A case study of Benazir Bhutto. *Journal of Politics and International Studies*, 45, 78–93. <http://jpis.pu.edu.pk>
- Azeem, M. (2024). Revisiting Benazir Bhutto and her contribution to restore democracy. *Asian Humanities & Social Sciences Journal*.
- Aziz, S., Kamran, U., & Ali, S. (2025). A corpus-based study of hedges and boosters in the speeches of Benazir Bhutto. *Corporum: Journal of Corpus Linguistics*. <https://journals.au.edu.pk>
- Baker, P. (2021). *Corpus linguistics and critical discourse analysis* (2nd ed.). Routledge.
- Begum, S. (2025). The role of political dynasties in Pakistani democracy: A comparative study of Bhutto and Sharif families. *Social Science Review Archives*, 3(2), 1510–1519. <https://policyjournalofms.com>
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2019). Reflecting on reflexive thematic analysis. *Qualitative Research in Sport, Exercise and Health*, 11(4), 589–597.
- DAWN News English. (2025). PPP's Aseefa Bhutto says Pakistani people deserve a "better budget" / Full speech [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com>
- Dawood, M., & Malik, K. S. (2022). Political parties in Pakistan: A case study of Pakistan People's Party. *Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities Research*, 5(3), 22–27.
- Fairclough, N. (1995). *Critical discourse analysis: The critical study of language*. Longman.
- Fairclough, N. (2013). *Language and power* (3rd ed.). Routledge.
- Global Women's Forum Dubai. (2024, November). *UAE is a model for others to follow: Aseefa Bhutto—Pakistan's First Lady* [Press release].
- Harf-o-Sukhan, Ramzan, M., Hussain, A., Watto, S. A., & Fatima, M. (2022). Assertive strategies in Pakistani democratic and dictatorial speeches: Speech corpora of Benazir Bhutto and Pervez Musharraf. *Harf-o-Sukhan*, 6(1), 358–371. <https://harf-o-sukhan.com>
- Hughes, R. G. (2021). The Bhutto family and Pakistan: Power, politics, and legacy. *Journal of South Asian Studies*, 39(2), 145–162.
- Kuraishi, A. (2024). *Talking post-truth: Elite rhetoric on democracy in Pakistan* [Working paper]. V-Dem Institute.
- Mahmood, R., & Rashid, A. (2022). Representation of women in Pakistani political narratives: A critical discourse perspective. *Pakistan Journal of Language Studies*, 12(2), 88–104.
- McHugh, M. L. (2012). Interrater reliability: The kappa statistic. *Biochemia Medica*, 22(3), 276–282.
- Mughal, M. R. (2024). A corpus-based analysis of the speeches of Benazir Bhutto. *Journal of Applied Linguistics Studies*.
- Mughal, M. R., Kiani, Z. H., & Ahmad, A. (2023). Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto as an eloquent speaker: A corpus-based analysis of his speeches at UNO. *Pakistan Social Sciences Review*, 7(3), 249–260.
- Muhammad, A., & Salim, A. (2022). The saga of candid political struggle of Benazir Bhutto to restore democracy in Pakistan. *Journal of Political Studies*, 6(2), 497–518. <http://jps.pu.edu.pk>
- Munir, M. (2015). Critical discourse analysis of Benazir Bhutto's selected speeches. ResearchGate. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/critical_discourse_analysis_benazir

Nawaz, M. H., Ikhtiar, A., Raza, A. M., & Nouman, M. (2024). Critical Discourse Analysis of Political Speeches in Pakistan: Power, Ideology and Language Manipulation. *Futurity Proceedings*, 1.

Pakistan Peoples Party. (2025, July 10). Message from the First Lady of Pakistan, H. E. Aseefa Bhutto Zardari, on World Population Day 2025. Pakistan Peoples Party. <https://pppp.org.pk>

Pakistan Today. (2024, June 23). Aseefa Zardari slams Budget FY24, highlights public discontent in NA debut. *Pakistan Today*. <https://www.pakistantoday.com.pk>

Saif, S., & Akram, K. (2022). A critique of rhetorical devices in selective political discourse: Indira Gandhi and Benazir Bhutto. *Journal of Politics and International Studies*, 45, 61–77. <http://ipis.pu.edu.pk>

Silverman, D. (2020). *Interpreting qualitative data* (6th ed.). Sage Publications.

The Express Tribune. (2025). Aseefa terms budget anti-people. *The Express Tribune*. <https://tribune.com.pk>

The News. (2024). PPP's Aseefa Bhutto criticises Budget FY25 in maiden NA speech. *The News International*. <https://www.thenews.com.pk>

Wodak, R., & Meyer, M. (2016). *Methods of critical discourse studies* (3rd ed.). Sage Publications.