

GENDER PERFORMANCE BY PAKISTANI EMINENT FEMALE POLITICAL LEADERS IN THEIR MEMOIRS

Mudasar Jahan,

Ph.D., Scholar, Foundation University, Islamabad <mudasar.jehan@uog.edu.pk>

Rooh Ul Amin,

Professor, Foundation University, Islamabad, <roohul.amin@fui.edu.pk>

Abstract

This study aims to reconstruct how eminent Pakistani female political leaders enacted their gender identities during various phases of their lives based on their memoirs. The idea is to figure out how social and political roles motivated them to take on different gender identities. Essentially, the study attempts at correlating their gender identities in their memoirs with the social and political positions they assumed. For characterizing the shift and to see how their identities oscillate, their lives have been divided into different phases, that is political and non-political. The data were gathered from the memoirs written by the female figures who had eminent political careers. The systemic functional grammar presented by Halliday in tandem with Butler's theory of gender performance has been used to analyze the memoirs. The transitivity patterns have been studied in the works and the content analysis has helped in highlighting how they performed their gender. The data obtained from two sources have been triangulated to reinforce the findings. The results show that the gender identities that the female political leaders adopted were in commensuration with the political and social roles they wanted to portray, required, or expected of them. The findings, in particular, demonstrate that their gender performance can be best seen as a cline on which their identities fluctuate inconsistently with whether they were in the role of a politician or conventional female capacity. They did not cling to any fixed identity rather they chose to go with the flow under the demands of their position.

Keywords: Gender identities, Performativity, SFG, Meaning-making choices, Memoirs, Female politicians.

INTRODUCTION

Gender is not biologically predetermined but socially determined (UNESCO, 2003). This claim gave rise to several subsequent views on gender to further cement the idea that gender is socially constructed. In this regard, Coates (2004) maintained that there is a clear dividing line between traditional and modern notions of the concept of gender roles. Traditionally, gender roles are based on binarism, that is, gender is always seen in opposition and a stable identity and the Deficit Approach (Lakoff, 1975), the Dominance Approach (Zimmerman & West, 1980), and the Difference Approach (Tannen, 1990) are examples of this view. In contrast to these approaches, there is one that goes against the ebb and claims that gender is a socio-semiotic phenomenon. Butler (1999, 2004, 2006), an American philosopher, social constructivist, and post-structuralist, makes a distinction between gender and gender identity. In her view, the former is a broader term whereas the latter is glued to gender performance only. Butler (1999) presented a revolutionary concept of gender identity which is based on performativity and it is at the core of the philosophy in her path-breaking work on gender. She claims that *one* does not produce gender identity, but *performativity* produces a gender identity for individuals. That is to say that no one is gender before doing gender acts (Figueira, 2016). Butler further claims that gender is not a one-time act, but repeated and dominant performativity produces gender identity for an individual, and more importantly, this identity is unstable. Thus, it produces and reproduces different identities for individuals if they come across a new matrix of culture. This insight into gender identity broke new ground in the domain of gender identity and provided a new window to studying this phenomenon. Thus, the notion of performativity provides an excellent means of explaining and understandings of social and political issues.

This paper adopts this approach to study the gender performativity of eminent Pakistani female writers who had remarkable political careers and held positions where they needed to assume different identities to meet the requirements of their offices as well as need to live up to the expectation of the public and their followings. Memoirs by these female writers were chosen based on the fact that in this genre of writing, the writers tip their innermost thoughts and the acts how they perceive them in a greater detail that is otherwise difficult to elicit. The paper hopes

to show that a detailed analysis of the works is a means of enhancing our understanding of how gender is performed by this class of memoir writers. The investigation triggers the research problems that what type of meaning-making choices are employed by female memoirs writers to express their experience about the world and what are the typical acts revealed which assign them the gender identity during different phases of life?

LITERATURE REVIEW

In language studies, the analysis of the differences in the linguistic behaviors of men and women is referred to as gender studies (Fotouhi, 2011). Men and women behave differently on account of the expectations of gender roles that their concerned societies provided. For gender analysis, the application of the Hallidayan Systemic Functional Grammar (henceforth, SFG) model (Halliday, 1990) for the analysis of non-fictional discourse for its ideational meaning is the most useful tool for unveiling a given text's different constructions which work to produce the different gender-oriented language constructions, characters, actions, and gender in terms of who is doing what to whom, when, where, with what and why.

Among studies on gender and performativity (e.g., Gallardo, 2006; Akogbeto & Koukpossi, 2015) *transitivity* is applied to Bernard Shaw's *Pygmalion* and Soyinka's *The Lion and the Jewel*. Gallardo (2006) discovers the transitivity features in Bernard Shaw's 'Pygmalion', and sees male characters as doers of more practicality while the females perceive more. The results portray that men are the doer of something, the commander in chief, and the king while their female counterparts are represented as goals and/or beneficiaries of men's actions. Ayoola's (2013) study explores feminine sensibility, receptivity, and voicing of the inner-self. Farrokhzad's femininity displays sadness and sentiments of guilt reproducing the poetess' contest and fights against the very nature of a women's temper and disposition. Hu, Xu, and Hao's (2018) work on dictionaries segregate gender ideology through transitivity processes, that is the discourse of the contemporary Chinese Dictionary is executed for analysis. It is observed that the experience of women is mostly confined to their particular environment. Alternatively, the male members are seen as operators of the environment, dominantly affecting the lives of others and bringing great changes in their life. In a similar vein, the findings of Saifuddin's (2018) study reveal that the presence of men was more highlighted while women were less highlighted in terms of nouns, pronouns, adjectives, etc. Anggeria (2019) argues that gender is the study of gender identity i.e., women and men about their allocated roles in their particular societies. The study suggests that there is no gender equality which needs a lot for better survival. Banda's (2005) study investigates the social identity of men and women in the corpora sample of Zambian's English language by using a research tool 'systemic functional linguistics' conversational model (Eggins, & Slade, 1997). An analysis is arranged grammatical patterns at the sentence level. transitivity choices are pointed out for authoritative and non-authoritative choices among men and women. Thus, produces identities for men and women at the background of choices.

Koussouhon and Dossoumou (2015) investigated gender identity by making comparisons among selected corpus samples. By applying *performativity*, they made a comparison between a poetic drama and songs, in the 1950s and the 2000s. The drama shows an earlier history of women being meek, weak and subjugated, and accommodating but the playwright presents them as equal to men. However, later on, trends are shown changing and identity shifts are evident. The love songs show that in 1950, men were active and seducers, while women were passive and objectified however in the 21st-century women, are presented in new love songs as active and sometimes as wild and independent.

Schötz (2020) applies the performativity check to different poems. She keeps in the view the Butler's (1999) approach to gender identity performativity. Kureishi's postethnic short stories explore conceptualizations of masculinity in the realm of masculinity. This research also draws attention to the shifts in identities due to performances, such as masculine gender practices, bisexual men, and 'feminist house husband'. Kureishi's short stories offer savior literature about the formation of female identity. Harman and Zhang (2015) conducted an art-based research informed by Butler's (1999) performativity approach and Halliday's (1990) SFG model on meaning-making choices and investigates and negotiates the language teachers' identities by the nexus of SFL and performativity. Joy, Belk, and Bhardwaj (2015) conducted a research study by using the performativity model that, in India, the performances of lower-class ladies make them vulnerable to sexual harassment, and a change in performative attitude can lower the ratio of rape cases in India. Thus, performativity in their work is reflected to be the reason for a social crime, which can be hindered by bringing a positive change in performativity. Phillip and Knowles (2012) applied transitivity patterns and finds out that those women who trigger away from a traditional perspective or women-hood can do business well. The review of the related literature necessitates that women politicians' memoirs have the potential to be explored from the perspective of women's gender identities through SFG and performativity in nexus.

METHODOLOGY

The study employs the theory of 'Performativity' as a framework to analyze the memoirs by eminent Pakistani female figures. Two memoirs, namely Benazir Bhutto's "The Daughter of East" and Abida Hussain's "The Power Failure" have been selected for analysis. A mixed-method approach is adopted for data collection and analysis. For quantitative data analysis, meaning-making choices are classified into Halliday's (1990) 'Transitivity' patterns for the execution of material and non-material activities (material and non-material choices are stained out by using Antconc: a text analyzer toolkit to get frequencies percentages). That is, the frequencies of material and not material processes 'for women writers' are judged at different phases of life. For qualitative data analysis, Butler's (1999) performativity is selected to analyze repeated performances/acts at three consecutive phases. That is categorical excerpts are seen through the lens of performativity, phase-wise, for the extraction of identity for political actors. The selection of excerpts is based on the important messages being delivered by focusing on the alluring/repeated acts in the fabric of the corpus of nominated memoirs, that is the categorical excerpts showing gender identity stained out. The data are triangulated to answer the research questions qualitatively and quantitatively.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Approaches and theories work in a hierarchy and are complementary to each other to get the results of the research questions. According to Lincoln and Guba (1985), a paradigm comprises four elements, namely: epistemology, ontology, methodology, and axiology. Keeping in view this concept, the current study selects Halliday's (1990) conceptual framework to answer the research questions. SFG is used to judge data quantitatively while

Table 1. Conceptual Framework: Corpus Memoirs Phase-wise division (Pre-political, Peak-political, and Post-political)	
Butler's Performativity, (1999) for qualitative data analysis	Halliday's SFG, (1992) for quantitative analysis

performativity deals with qualitative analysis. The rationale for the selection of these research frameworks for this is the sociopolitical background and these two provide a rational amalgamation to see the

corpus impeccably to glean the answer to the research questions through the socio-political perspective. Both of the theories belong to the post-structuralist, and social-constructivist research paradigms. As researchers, we designed a conceptual framework that provides a perfect platform to explore the fabric of the sociopolitical background of the corpus and pull out the communicated message of the female political leader during the political and non-political times of their life.

Transitivity

SFG is a theoretical approach that considers language as a social semiotic system and centers around a clause and the notion that treats language as having the meaning potential, not as structure. Transitivity as one of its postulates, SFG deals with the concept that one of the functions of a clause is to transmit the ideas or representation of experience, events, and actions of consciousness of the writer or speaker (Halliday, 1976, 1985). It deals with the concept that clause as a representative i.e., about construing experience of the world around and inside. It is a semantic system and the best theoretical tool to analyze representations of reality in a linguistic text/corpus and to classify the experience of the authors into various lexico-grammatical options (for the enumeration of meaning-making choices). It can provide variations in the text written by the writers who are influenced by different mind styles or authorial ideologies (Fowler, 1986).

Table 2. Material Processes/Sample Material Clauses		
Active Voice		
Actor	Material Processes	Goal/Affected
John	is cooking	the pizza.
Passive Voice		
Goal /Participant	Material Processes	Actor/ Participant
The Pizza	is cooked	by John.
Passive voice/ agentless		
The Pizza	is being cooked.	

Notably, this study focuses on 'material processes' in opposition to the group of the 'non-martial' processes. Material clauses are based on the processes of doing and physical activity. Participants in the material process involve the actor (the doer), and the goal (the affected). Matthiessen (2009) proposed that a material clause construe doing and happenings which include actions, activities, and events. In other words, the material process is an arrangement of a process and participants involved that require some input of energy to occur and when the participants are likely to undertake a change. The presence of more material

processes in the writing styles of a writer is an emblem that the writer herself is actively taking part in physical world activities. This, study chooses it as a theoretical tool to quantitatively answer its first research question related to the type of meaning-making choices (material and non-material) employed by female memoirs writers to express

their experiences about their world at different phases of their life (political and non-political). Their communicated experiences as repeated acts produce their gender identity that is, their communicated experience is determined by classifying their choices phase-wise into transitivity patterns.

Performativity: Butler (1990), the American philosopher, a post-structuralist, social constructivist, and gender theorist first coined the term ‘transitivity’. Inspired by Austin’s description of performative and even more by Derrida’s criticism, she claims that ‘the power of performative comes from their iterability’ (as mentioned in Butler, Kroløkke 2006). The Derridean notion of iterability was formulated in response to the theorization of speech acts by Searle (1985) that every act is itself a recitation/ritualized production (Butler, 2006). Butler (1999) claims that gender identity is always produced through a set of dominant repeated acts. These acts do not stay the whole life which is why unstable. She also asserts that there is no gender before acts/performativity. Gender identity and gender acts exist at the same time; Participant does not produce gender identity, but performativity constructs and reconstructs the gender identity for the participants. Thus, the emphasis is placed on the deed. Hence, this is the most appropriate framework to qualitatively answer the second research question related to typical acts revealed in the memoir corpus which assign them their gender identity during different phases of their life. The lens of performativity provides a transparent glass to peek into the text to see the assigned gender roles during political and non-political phases.

RESULTS

To answer the first research question (quantitatively), the meaning-making choices are executed into Halliday’s (1992) lexico-grammatical indexes for transitivity patterns (material and non-material). In this regard, Fowler (1979) gives his views that SFG is the best applicable research tool and most appropriate systemic model for the calculation of language in literature. Thus, the meaning-making choices for material and non-material (verbal, mental, behavioral, existential, and relational) processes at various phases, i.e., pre-political, peak-political, and post-political are sorted out. Phases are compared for gender identity variations based on several frequencies of material and non-material processes, that is the gender identity variations ‘for the three phases’ are calculated on the bases of the ratio of frequencies for Bhutto and Hussain. Similarly, to get the answer to the second research question, i.e., for qualitative data analysis the most important chunks of corpus ‘based on repeatedly performed acts that show alluring gender identities in the memoir’s corpus are sorted out in the form of excerpts. Then, variations among phases-wise gender identities are separated from the corpus to see what effects the political background put on the writer’s perceptions and commination of their world of reality. The phase-wise quantitative and qualitative interpretations and analyses are given below.

Pre-political Phase

Bhutto as an Inquisitor: The study of the pre-political phase through the lens of Butler’s theoretical approach to gender and performativity produces an impression for Bhutto that she asks so many questions. She is usually in a situation where she is unaware of matters going on in her life. She is not a decision-maker to go out for direct contact while she is found most of the time asking questions for her knowledge’s sake. When her mother asks, “...*I nonchalantly asked my mother the next morning. "Who?" my mother asked. "Bob Hope," I said. " ...What is it?" I asked, brushing it off my face..." (pg.32)*. In another situation, she asks questions about when her father was hanged till death....” *I was weeping. "Why should we point out the place of burial to you?" I asked them...(pg.13)*. The glass of performativity sees her as a girl who has insufficient information about her surroundings and is mostly seen asking questions to quench her thirst for information. Her image comes out that she is a part of a male chauvinist society. She is not very aware of her surroundings and matters. Thus, her gender identity is that she is an inquisitor: a womanish quality in a male dominant society. This characteristic purely fits with the traditional approach of gender identity roles fixed for women.

Bhutto as a Moralist: The study at another point in the pre-political phase displays her as a woman who is very much concerned about her morality. She takes care of others on account of her morality. Whenever there occurs an issue at home, she consoles

Table: 3. Transitivity Patterns of Pakistani Women Writers in the Pre-Political Phase		
Transitivity Process	Freq%	Freq%
	Bhutto	Hussain
Material	35%	30%
Non-material	65%	70%

her younger siblings. At one moment when her father gets house arrested and later arrested and sent to jail, she tries

her best to bring peace at home out of the chaos and tension of the situation. The following lines luster in her memoir to strengthen the concept that she is a moralist. "... *Our house became filled with tension, but I tried not to show my fear. What good would it have done...*" (pg.25). The performativity explicating a gender identity that Bhutto is very high on is morality. Such kind of other incidents at this phase leaves an impression that she is a female member of the male dominant society, who is high in morals. Her gender identity is that she is a high moral woman in her build-up in a male dominant society. This characteristic purely fits with the traditional approach of gender identity roles fixed for women.

Hussain as an Inquisitor: The keen observation of memoir corpus in the pre-political phase also points out a piece of information that Hussain is very inquisitive in her childhood. This aspect of her personality leads to an impression that she is insufficient in her knowledge. She is not allowed to go out and move freely to quench her thirst for about society while wandering freely so she is seen asking questions about her childhood to the people living in her surroundings. She was part of the feudal lord's family and does not wear a hijab (veil) so when she goes to the shrine near her Hawalli (a residential villa) to meet supplicants she was curious to know how women do wear it. "...*But, what does this have to do with the hypocrisy' specific purdah?*" (pg.61). She asks why women do wear purdah (veil-face masks to conceal facial identity), according to her it is just hypocrisy. This shows feudalism in her personality, but the gender aspect generates an identity for her is that Hussain is an inquisitor being part of the male dominant society. The frequency of asking questions identifies her gender identity as a woman who asks questions and does not produce informatory or order-oriented statements: this is a typical womanish quality in a male dominant society. This characteristic purely fits with the traditional approach of gender identity roles fixed for women.

Hussain as a Moralist: The detailed study of the corpus at the pre-political phase begets a gender identity for Hussain that she is high in morality. She is a typical woman of male chauvinist society. She takes care of her family and leaves a lesson that women must look after their relatives living in whereabouts. In this regard, she describes her love and respect for her family. Once she finds her father sick, she rushes to her father to inquire about his health and to take care of him while leaving all activities aside, she writes, "...*I questioned dropping the groceries, I rushed towards my father and asked, 'Are you in pain?'*" later on, she writes that she uses to convey the messages of supplicants to her father" ... *I assured our caller that I would convey his message to my father...*" (pg.43). The reflection through the mirror of performativity readers sees her gender identity that she is a typical woman of a male dominant society who is high in her morality. Morality is a typical womanish quality by default in a male dominant society. This characteristic purely fits with the traditional approach of gender identity roles fixed for women.

Though both of them belong to high strata or feudal lords' families, their preferences are of high stature, like they meet high officials in their childhood but even then, their way of dealing with life is traditional. In a nutshell, it is pertinent to claim that both qualitative (through SFG) and quantitative (through performativity) data analysis strengthen each other by producing identical results that both of the women at this phase of life are passive, accommodating, moralists and inquisitors. Their gender identity divulges the concept that they belong to a male chauvinist society where women are seen as playing their roles as doing household tasks, looking after the family, and always in a position to receive suggestions. Thus Bhutto and Hussain are traditional ladies at this phase of life because at that time society expects their traditional roles. To see the phase-wise variation a similar data analysis arrangement is made for the peak-political phase of life.

Peak-political Phase

This is a transitory phase. Women have entered into their practical and political life. This phrase expresses the impression of gender identity, the political leaders 'Pakistani women' put into their writings during their peak time in

Transitivity Process	Freq%	Freq%
	Bhutto	Hussain
Material	75%	70%
Non-material	25%	30%

politics. The quantitative data analysis shows that both of the women have switched and shown new frequencies of material and non-martial

transitivity processes. Material processes are executed by them as (75%) and (70%) while non-material (25%) and 30%), respectively. As compared to the pre-political phase (see table 1), and the peak-political phase (see table 4) demonstrate that both women have reduced the frequency of non-material processes and increased the frequency of material processes. The more material processes the more practical and authentic their decisions are. They are more decision-makers, authoritative, advisers, and uncompromising. They are in office and enjoying political status. The

frequency of the material processes communicates that they are close to the masculinizing. To see what type of preferences are used by them in the corpus, the chunks of excerpts carrying repeated performativity are also seen through the lens of Butler's performativity.

Bhutto as an Authoritative Figure: The lens of performativity produces an image of Bhutto's personality at this phase as a staunch political leader-like role. She has masked a new face as a political leader who is very authoritative and responsible and is not less than men. Earlier, she seeks sympathy meanwhile in this phase she is seen giving the order, and more like a true political orator she argues and gives comments. In this regard, her memoir glosses some of the extracted as, "... *I looked down at people packed into the courtyards like sardines. "My brothers and respected elders," I yelled down to them at the top of my lungs, microphones, and loudspeakers having been forbidden by the regime. "I bring you salaams greetings from Chairman Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. The crime against him is a crime against the people." Therparkar. Sanghar. Whenever possible I also addressed bar associations and press clubs, always speaking of the illegality of the regime and the injustice meted out to my father and the PPP...(pg.102).* The performativity produces an impression of gender identity for her character that Bhutto is a very authoritative leader. She deals with every matter very intelligently and wisely as well. This characteristic meets the requirements of a political leader who is very autocratic. She has switched the role from a traditional to an autocratic lady. This new converted gender identity is being seen at the peak-political phase. She is at the height of her authority as compared to the previous phases. This transformation fits with Butler's (1999) concept that gender is not a fixed and stable identity but keeps changing over time.

Bhutto as Crises Manager: The thorough analysis of experts from the peak-political phase also produces a gender identity impression for Bhutto that she is a crisis manager in true letters and spirits. She faces the bounces of opponents very confidently. She was not afraid of death. Some of the excerpts gloss in her memoir as, ...*Another warning came in from Rawalpindi. Then another in Lahore. "The regime practiced a mock assassination," a sympathetic member of the administration told me. "The 'assassin' came right up to you, then reported back that it was simple, that anybody could get close to you." I tried not to be alarmed. Though death was always a possibility, I did my best to focus on political issues instead...(pg.278).* The reflection of performativity produces a gender identity impression for her personality that Bhutto is a very competent woman. She takes decisions keeping in the view situation. She did it intelligently and cleverly. This characteristic meets the requirements of a political leader who has the ability of decision-making at the time of crises and trials. She has switched her role from a traditional to an autocratic lady. This new converted gender identity is being seen at the peak-political phase. She is at the height of her authority as compared to the previous phases. This transformation fits with Butler's (1999) concept that gender.

Hussain as an Authoritative Figure: The researchers see the memoir corpus portion based on the excerpts from the peak-political phase of life and analyze that through the mirror of performativity. It shows that at this phase of life, Hussain has switched to a staunch political leader-like role. She has masked a new face as a political leader who is very authoritative and responsible. She is not less than men and her identity has been switched from a traditional gender role to a political man-like role. Earlier, she seeks sympathy meanwhile at this phase she is traced to giving orders, and more like a true political orator she argues and gives comments. In this regard, her memoir glosses some of the international decisions during her regime. In this regard, the words glossing in the text as, "...*Addressing Nawaz Sharif, I said, 'Mian Sahib' politics is a game of giving and take. We vote out a premier from Sindh and replace her with a premier from the same province; so Sindh does not suffer from a feeling of deprivation. Next time, it could be premier from our province. But, for the moment, we have committed Jatoi sahib, have we not? The others in the room agreed with me, and it was decided at that all the MNCs who were going to vote against her be taken to Murree (pg.352).* The performativity produces an impression of her personality at the peak-political phase that Hussain is very authoritative. She deals with every matter very intelligently and wisely as well. Thus, the repeated performativity creates an impression for Hussain that she is authoritative. This characteristic meets the requirements of a political leader who is very autocratic. She has switched the role from a traditional to an autocratic lady. Fitting with Butler's (1999) concept, his new converted gender identity is being seen at the peak-political phase. She is at the height of her authority as compared to the previous phases.

Hussain as Crises Manager: The thorough analysis of experts from the peak-political phase also produces a gender identity impression for Bhutto that she is a crisis manager in true letters and spirits. She faces the bounces of opponents very confidently. She was not afraid of death. Some of the experts glossing in her memoir as, "...*This set pace for my campaign, crisscrossing the district being feted everywhere, I managed to scoop up fifteen members*

who pledged support within a fortnight. Next came the moment to decide on my panel of special-interest members. It was easy enough to select the farmer, Lahore, and minority candidates but I had a hard time finding a suitable woman who would be considered electable- and eventually on the wife of Jamaal Kahn Baloch, much to Soobaan's chagrin (pg.630). She faces issues regarding the selection of members. The performativity produces an impression of gender identity for her character that Hussain is a very authoritative leader. She deals with every matter very intelligently and wisely as well. This characteristic meets the requirements of a political leader who is very autocratic. She is at the height of her authority as compared to the previous phases. This transformation fits with Butler's (1999) concept that gender is not a fixed and stable identity but unfixed and unstable. She has switched the role from a traditional to an autocratic lady. This new converted gender identity is being seen at the peak-political phase.

The results of this study reinforce the fact that there are variations among pre and peak-political phases of their lives. Thus, it is pertinent to say that both the women at the peak political phase of life show the maximum presence of material processes and are more practical and active as well as their performativity shows their gender identity as decision-makers, crisis managers, and authoritative. Political status demands a specific type of role-playing that they do not have before entering or at the onset of their career. They masked the new gender identity and camouflaged their traditional gender identity roles. The reason for this switching is that both now observe offices and have political powers. Life is full of decisions and self-actions and the decrease in non-martial processes is also an emblem that now all of them can put things in the practical zone. Power let them behave like a strong political leader and they assume new identities (Butler, 1990) to keep their faces saved. Thus, the results show that gender identities are not fixed. To further strengthen the point of view that gender identities are not fixed, data are analyzed in the same pattern for the post-political phase.

Post-political Phase

This is again a non-political and transitory phase of the women politicians' lives. The most important situation which makes it distinguished is that this phase of life resembles a pre-political phase. Writers are not playing traditional roles as they use to play in pre-political, but the frequencies do resemble the pre-political phase of life, being out of office. Bhutto and Hussain use non-material (64%) and (69%) and material (34%) and (32%),

Transitivity Process	Freq%	Freq%
	Bhutto	Hussain
Material	34%	32%
Non-material	64%	69%

respectively. The results of this phase (1.5) resemble the results of the pre-political phase (1.3). The pre-political phase of life and post-political

phase of life look alike. They are no more representative of their world of politics but as traditional common women who can suggest but do not pass orders. Thus, the material processes produce results for women that they are passive, propose, accommodating, accepting, passive and weak. Finally, To further strengthen the point of view that gender identities are not fixed, data are analyzed in the same pattern through Butler's (1990) lens of transitivity.

Bhutto as an Inquisitor: The study of the pre-political phase through the lens of Butler's theoretical approach to gender performativity, produces a gender identity impression for Bhutto that she asks so many questions. She is usually in a situation where she is unaware of matters going on in her life. She is not a decision-maker to go out for direct contact while she is found most of the time asking questions for her knowledge. When her mother asks, *"...By the end of the carnage, more than 240 were dead, and 300 were wounded. Schools, markets, and shopping centers were closed as curfews were imposed in Hyderabad and Karachi. I was sickened when I heard the news. Who was behind it? (Pg.311)"*. She presents herself as a weak person who needs sympathy and has traditional woman-like traits in her personality at this phase of life. The performativity of the above lines is explicating that Bhutto is a very uninformed lady. The repeated performativity consolidates an impression for him that she is an inquisitor. She is less powerful as compared to political phases of life. She turns out to be very traditional and this trait meets the requirements of Butler's (1999) approach that gender identities are unstable.

Bhutto as a Follower: A thorough analysis of the pre-political phase through Butler's lens of performativity shows that inwardly Bhutto is a traditional woman, a pure womanish quality in a male chauvinist society. She is a true follower. On getting dismissed from her seat and being powerless, she is seen as a true follower of her father to start a party campaign. She writes, *"...But I was torn. Never leave a field open, my father had said over and over. I didn't know what to do, nor did I know what the members of the MRD in Pakistan were planning to do...(pg.318)"*. She presents herself as a weak person who needs sympathy on account of her father, so she tells her

followers that she reflects on her father. She has a common woman-like trait in her personality at this phase. The repeated performativity consolidates an impression for her that she is a follower of her father. Like a common woman who follows men's driven paths in Pakistan, she is as passive as she was in the pre-political phase which shows her unstable (Butler, 1990) gender identity.

Hussain as an Inquisitor: The study of the pre-political phase through the lens of Butler's theoretical approach to gender, and performativity produces an impression for Hussain as she asks so many questions. She is usually in a situation where she is unaware of matters going on in her life. She is not a decision-maker to go out for direct contact while she is found most of the time asking questions for her knowledge. When her mother asks, *"...Climbing up a grand mahogany stairway, we entered a large wood-paneled hall reminiscent of the Darbar Hall of Governors. House in Lahore. Ranged on either side of the hall were two long rows of generals of the Philippine army. 'Has something unusual happened?' I inquired... (pg.256)"*. A common woman-like trait in her personality at the post-political time explicates that Hussain is in a habit of questioning. She is less powerful compared to political phases of life and she is as traditional as she was in the pre-political phase of life. This trait meets the requirements of Butler's (1999) approach that gender identities are unstable

Hussain as a Follower: A thorough study of the post-political phase through Butler's lens of performativity shows that inwardly she is a follower of her father's footsteps, a pure womanish quality in a male chauvinism society. she writes, *"...I realized that not only would my father's path be a hard one to follow, many censorious eyes would also monitor every move I made. (pg. 529)"*. She presents herself as a weak person who needs sympathy. A traditional woman-like trait she has in her personality at that time. The repeated performativity consolidates traditional woman-like traits and gives the impression that she is a follower who is bound to follow the footmarks of her father's traditional enigma to impress others. She is less powerful compared to political phases of life and she is as traditional as she was in the pre-political phase of life which meets the requirements of Butler's (1999) approach that gender identities are unstable.

Putting it all together, both quantitative and qualitative data analyses show that the communicated identity of both women at different phases of life shows that their identities have kept on transitioning between the powerful leaders and the traditional women. Time and again, their gender identity bounces back and they shed their masked identity. They are passive, compromising, suggestive, advisors, and mentors and one phase of life whereas in another they are the receivers of the roles the traditional society imposes on women.

DISCUSSION

In the study, the quantitative and qualitative approaches worked side by side. The findings show that in all the phases, both approaches produce identical results for the gender identities of the Pakistani women writers. The application of the qualitative and quantitative data analysis produces almost similar results, as women are traditional women in the pre-political phase of life as both of them have shown less material and more non-material processes. At this phase of life, they have corresponded to their family life, household activities, nostalgia for traditional and old culture, etc. Later on, they switch to the next phase, i.e., the transitory phase, the peak-political phase. While moving towards the peak-political phase of life, again the amalgamation of both of the approaches produces the same results and shows that their gender identity corresponded to the masculine type or they produce the impression of gender identity that both of them are staunch political leaders, very close of men, who can take decisions at the time of tough moments. Finally, they switch back to the non-political phase when they get relieved from the office. The frequencies of material and non-material processes of the post-political phase match with a pre-political phase of life. The qualitative lens of performativity produces similar results compared to quantitative data analysis and similar to the pre-political phase of life. Thus, at this phase of life, both of them are meek, compromising, passive, accommodating, suggestive and traditional women. Both of the women have back and forth moments on the cline of gender identities. That is, they both oscillate on the cline of gender identities.

Identities are unstable as Butler (1990) says, both the women have assumed different identities during different phases of their lives. Both Bhutto and Hussain play gender roles as traditional women in the pre-political phase, but later on, being in office, and an official roles expectations, they masked a new gender identity, that is of a political leader while relieving from the office they cling back to their traditional gender identity after relinquishing the political offices. At every phase, social expectations made them behave differently. The findings of this study align with Koussouhon and Dossoumou's (2015) study on performativity where they found that women's identities shift from 1950 to 2000 in a given discourse. That is, women were shown weaker and more accommodating during the early phase of songs and novels but later switched to more aggressive and hostile to men during 2000. In line with Amoussou's (2015) work on transitivity patterns, the present study shows that those women who trigger away

from the traditional perspective of womanhood can do business well. The results of the current research also show that the identity shifts take place among women but in a different way, i.e., traditional to powerful, and again traditional. The analysis of the study is done through Butler's (1999) perspective, *performativity* that gender identity is performative and unstable as well, resultantly producing gender identities. Thus, instead of he or she, it is better to call a person 'they' so for gender identity is concerned. Thus, this study adds a new variable in the existing research studies that gender identities keep oscillating on the gendering cline at the background of the matrix of culture.

CONCLUSION

The data analysis presented above established a clear correlation between the gender roles performed by the authors and the types of processes used. The findings of the study show that these eminent female writers of memoirs assumed different identity roles in their various phases of life. We saw that both of the authors while in the pre-political phases of their lives adopted conventional gender identities assigned by Pakistani culture and more interesting the types of processes they choose to describe their lives, acts, and behavior are expressed through non-material processes.

This sharply contrasts with their peak-political career phase. The analysis showed that the identities they took on during this period were markedly different from those of the earlier phase. Quite noticeably, the social and political roles assumed during this period as indicated by the qualitative data analysis were those which were less feministic and more male-oriented. That is, they wanted to show power, independence, and authority. Thus, their social and political roles were authoritative as compared to the previous phase where they were more feminine. These findings have been buttressed by the quantitative data collected through transitivity patterns or more specifically through the processes used by them to talk about their actions and behavior. This similarity between the findings from both sources of data establishes the fact that they attempted to live up to the expectations of the people and the demand of the office they held.

The findings also reveal interesting outcomes relating to the post-peak political career phases of both the leaders' memoirs. Analyzing the transitivity patterns (types of processes) and social and political roles assumed during this phase, mark a reversion to the earlier phases of life which is more oriented toward acceptable female roles assigned by the society that pre and post-political phases are almost similar to each other, while the peak political phase is different from pre and post-political due to political power.

The study, in short, points to a conclusion, that is, the gender identity of eminent female political figures in Pakistan is not constant. As can be seen clearly from the data, it, instead, fluctuates and moves along a cline. Gender identity under this view is flexible and subject to change depending on the context in which the female politicians and writers of their memoirs found themselves. The main motivating force for taking up various gender identities seems to be driven by an urge to live up to the expectation of the national demands and their followings. This study lends support to Butler's (1990) view that we perform gender rather than have it. Various circumstances, expectations, and demands come into play in guiding us on what gender role we need/are required to assume. This correlation between the identities can be seen as a link between the cline of gender identity and the cline of phases of life. As shown in figure 1, the social-political position—the independent variable influences the adopted gender identity—the dependent variable).

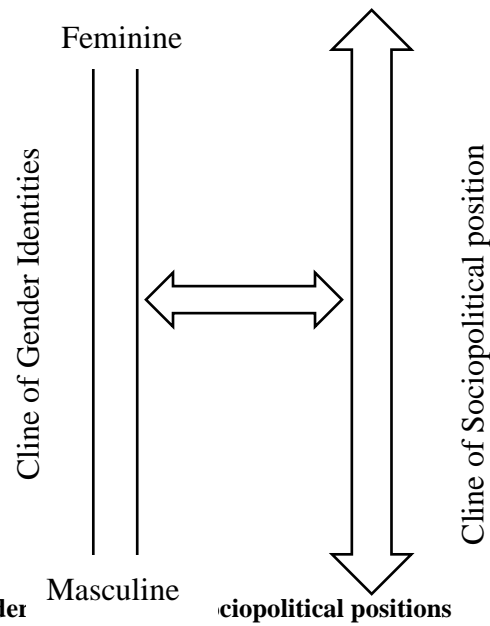


Figure 1: Cline of gender **ciopolitical positions**

Finally, the findings enunciate a connection between the variables of this study. The mediating or moderating roles of other variables are beyond the scope of this study but could be a potential research avenue for future exploration of female politicians' memoirs.

REFERENCES

- Abbas, M. A., & Talaat, M. (2019). Transitivity analysis of newspapers' news headlines depicting crime committed against women in Pakistan. *International Journal of English Linguistics*, 9(5), 400-414.
- Akogbeto, P., & Koukpossi, A. (2015). Gender issues in the Lion and the Jewel by Wole Soyinka: A linguistics-oriented analysis from a systemic functional grammar and critical discourse analysis perspective. *Communication and Linguistics Studies*, 1(2), 26-34.
- Amousso, C. Y. (2015). Mood, Interpersonal and Ideological Meaning Patterns in the Abiku poems (JP Clark; W. Soyinka). *International Journal of language and Linguistics*, 2(3), 129-138.
- Anggeria, F (2019). Gender representation of Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie in 'We Should All be Feminist'. *Monolingual*. 3(1), 13-26.
- Ayoola, M. O. (2013). An interpersonal metafunction analysis of some selected political advertisements in some Nigerian newspapers. *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, 3(8), 165-178.
- Banda, F. (2005). Analysing social identity in casual Zambian/English conversation: a systemic functional linguistic approach. *Southern African linguistics and applied language studies*, 23(3), 217-231.
- Butler, J. (1999). *Gender trouble: Feminism and the subversion of identity*. New York: Routledge.
- Butler, J. (2004). *Undoing gender*. New York: Routledge.
- Butler, J. (2005). Gender trouble: Feminism and the subversion of identity GT. *Political Theory*, 4(4), 4-24.
- Butler, J. (2006). *Gender trouble: Feminism and the subversion of identity*. New York: Routledge.
- Coates, J. (2004). *Women, men, and language: A sociolinguistic account of gender differences in language*. Harlow, England: Pearson Longman.
- Ding, J. (2021). Sinicization as glocalization in The Chinese–English Dictionary. *Lexicography: Journal of ASIALEX*, 8(2), 166-187.
- Eggins, S. & Slade, D. (1997). *Analysing casual conversation*. London; New York: Cassell.
- Figueira, J. (2016). Gender Performance. In N. Naples, R. Hoogland, C. Wickramasinghe, W. Maithree, W. & W.C. Angela (Eds.). *The Wiley Blackwell Encyclopedia of Gender and Sexuality Studies*. Hoboken: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Fowler, R. (1979). *Language and Control* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Fowler, R. (1986). *Linguistic criticism*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Fotouhi R, M. (2012). *Stylistics; theories, approaches, and methods*. Tehran: Sokhan.
- Gallardo, B., C. (2006). *Analysis of a literary work using systemic functional grammar*. Presented at 33rd International Systemic Functional Congress.
- Halliday, M. A. K. (1976). *System and function in language: selected papers*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Halliday, M.A.K. (1985). *An introduction to functional grammar*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Halliday, M. A. (1992). New ways of meaning: The challenge to applied linguistics. *Thirty Years of Linguistic Evolution*, 59-95.
- Halliday, M. A. K. (1990). *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*. Melbourne: Hodder & Stoughton.
- Halliday, M.A.K. and Hasan, R. (1976). *Cohesion in English*. London: Longman.
- Halliday, M. A. K., & Matthiessen, Ch. (2004). *An Introduction to Functional Grammar* (3rd ed.). London: Hodder.
- Harman. R.M and Zhang, X (2015). *Performance, performativity, and second language identities: How can we know the actor from the act?* The University of Georgia, Language and Literacy Department, Linguistics Program, 315 Aderholt Hall, Athens, GA, 30602, United States. Journal homepage: www.elsevier.com/locate/linged.
- Hu, H., Xu, H., & Hao, J. (2019). An SFL approach to gender ideology in the sentence examples in the Contemporary Chinese Dictionary. *Lingua*, 220, 17-30. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1558/lexi.20870>.
- Joy, A., Belk, R., & Bhardwaj, R. (2015). Judith Butler on performativity and precarity: Exploratory thoughts on gender and violence in India. *Journal of Marketing Management*, 31(15-16), 1739-1745. DOI: 10.1080/0267257X.2015.1076873.
- Koussouhon, L. A., & Dossoumou, A. M. (2015). Analyzing Interpersonal Metafunction through Mood and Modality in Kaine Agary's Yellow-Yellow from Critical Discourse and Womanist Perspective. *International Journal of English Linguistics*, 5(6), 20-33. Doi: 10.5539/IJEL V5N6P20. Corpus ID:55984206
- Kroløkke (2006). *Gender communication theories & analyses: From silence to performance*. Thousand Oaks, Calif: SAGE.
- Lakoff, T.R. (1975). *Languages and Woman's Place*. New York: Harper & Row.

- Matthiessen, C.M.I.M. (2009). ADA—Applicable Discourse Analysis: The SFL potential for discourse analysis. Plenary presentation at the *36th International Systemic Functional Linguistic Congress (ISFC)*, 14-18 July, Tsinghua University, Beijing.
- Phillips, M., & Knowles, D. (2012). Performance and performativity: Undoing fictions of women business owners. *Gender, Work & Organization*, 19(4), 416-437.
- Saifuddin, F. (2018). Gender representations in English textbook: Critical discourse analysis. *International Journal of English Literature and Social Sciences*, 3(1), 239-268. <https://dx.doi.org/10.22161/ijels.3.1.10> ISSN: 2456-7620.
- Schötz, B. (2020). “What Is a Man?”, or the Representation of Masculinity in Hanif Kureishi’s Short Fiction. In S. Horlacher. *Configuring Masculinity in Theory and Literary Practice* (pp. 217-250). Brill.
- Searle, J. R. (1985). *Expression and meaning: Studies in the theory of speech acts*. Cambridge University Press.
- Tannen, D. (1990). Gender differences in topical coherence: Creating involvement in best friends' talk. *Discourse Processes*, 13(1), 73-90.
- UNESCO (2003). *Gender Mainstreaming Implementation Framework*. programme and meeting document.
- Zimmerman, D. & C. West (1975). Sex roles, interruptions and silences in conversation. In B. Thorne & N. Henley (eds.). *Language and Sex: Difference and Dominance* (pp. 105-29). Massachusetts: Newbury.