

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

This dissertation examines the use of linguistics strategies such as pronouns (I, You, We), positioning, metaphors, story-telling, repetition (lexical repetition and repetition of structure) and intertextual reference in political speeches by five female political leaders and how these linguistics strategies influence the enactment of power and leadership in the past and present.

1.1 Background of Study

“Men speak one way, women speak another, that’s just the way it is” is a notably famous quote among the language and gender studies. Written by Annie Karrakayn, this quote very well defines the distinctive ways of speaking (speech styles) between a man and a woman. It has been pointed out that researchers tend to analyze the native ideology of language use, as though it were an objective description of the relationship between linguistic forms and social context (Silverstein, 1979).

In some way or another, speech styles between men and women are very much an outcome of social roles between the two genders as well as people’s perception (which is highly influenced by culture) of how a man or a woman should speak. Speech styles are strategically selected based on a speaker’s consideration of multiple social aspects of the context (for example, gender, age, intimacy, genre, speech-act type) as well as on the speaker’s linguistic ideology and attitudes concerning language use (Shigeko Okamoto, 1997).

During older times, men were construed as the “stronger sex”, judged in a positive way but were not the same for women who were constantly put as the last priority. Be it, in education, employment, legal status, politics and even in the voting system, women were not

given the privilege as it was given to men (Presented by Women's International Centre on Women's History in America), until the First Wave Feminism hit in the nineteenth century and began the change in the mindsets of women. As years went by and as different sets of thinking among women started voicing out, gender roles began to change. By the time Third Wave Feminism started fighting for women's right, gender roles especially of women's, began to take a huge turn. They were allowed to educate themselves, they had the rights to vote, they started working and even took part in politics.

Politics among women started as early as the 1920s, holding positions as ministers in their countries but it was not until the late 1950s when female leaders started taking positions as prime ministers and running their countries' highest offices (ibid). The role of women has indeed changed drastically, from the classic female role as mothers and wives to modern contemporary roles of corporate women challenging themselves to make their way to the top. However, there are still a handful of women who have conformed to their traditional and cultural roots and remained as what society perceives as the characteristics/roles of a women. In the same way, speech style or in simple layman's term – the manner in which a person speaks, remained the same among modern women as it is with traditional women. ... more pressure is put on women to perform a “civilizing” role and secondly because women must “manage” their femininity carefully because if they do not “display the acceptable feminine style in these incredibly gendered environment, they risk being labeled as somewhat strange and grotesque” (Puwar, 2004:75)

Women may be leaders (a role which was and is primarily held by men) but if they were to change their speech styles to that of men, they are sidelined and looked at in a negative way (aggressive, vulgar, unfeminine etc) . Women's speech styles that do not conform to this ideologically established norm may be criticized as not feminine, unattractive, ignorant, and symptomatic of improper upbringing (Okomoto, 1997.)

1.1.1 Women's Participation in Politics

Decades ago and even to date, leadership among female is seen as against the norm and many among the society oppose the idea of having a female as their country's leader due to several reasons.

1.1.1.1 Ideological Factors

Women are seen as less competent compared to their male counterpart as leadership attributes are solely associated with masculinity. Patriarchy and exclusion persist as the bases of societal arrangements, in which values are gauged through macho and racist socio-cultural standards that discriminate against women's participation. This negative model and norm also perpetuates itself in the family and in interpersonal relations (Stockholm, 2002). Patriarchy, as a system of male domination shaped women's relationship in politics. It transforms male and female into men and women and construct the hierarchy of gender relations where men are privileged (Eisenstein, 1984).

Andrienne Rich defines patriarchy:

“A familial-social, ideological, political system in which men by force, direct pressure or through ritual, tradition, law and language, customs etiquette, education, and the division of labour, determine what part women shall or shall not play in which female is everywhere subsumed under the male.”

(Rich, 1977:57)

When there is no motivation and when a female child is raised according to social norms and stereotypes, they do not perspire to be extraordinary individuals hence remain with the typical roles of women that is shaped by society. The typical woman accepts her responsibilities and circumstances in playing “her role”. The typical woman is not interested in participating in politics, as she does not consider it important (Stockholm, 2002).

Apart from that, as women's roles were confined to the chores in between the four walls of home, they were never given the privilege or rights to education hence lacked literacy and

knowledge of leadership. The high levels of illiteracy and women's disadvantageous situation in terms of human development constitute a serious limitation to women's access to politics (Stockholm, 2002).

The gender role ideology is used as an ideology tool by patriarchy to place women within the private arena of home as mothers and wives and men in the public sphere (Bari. F, 2005).

1.1.1.2 Socio-cultural Factors

Leaders are often described with adjectives such as "competitive", "aggressive" or "dominant" which are typically associated with masculinity (Hearn & Perkin, 1986-87). Margaret Thatcher was not only known as the "Iron Lady" which gives an aggressive connotation but also as the "best man" in Great Britain.

Women are constantly viewed as the subordinate compared to men (Lakoff, 1975). Gender role ideology does not only create duality of femininity and masculinity, it also places them in hierarchal fashion in which female gender is generally valued less compared to the male gender because of their socially ascribed roles in the reproductive sphere (Bari. F, 2005).

Studies on the field of management reflected that women who wanted to succeed needed to learn to act more like men and to learn to play those male games "their mothers never taught them" (Hennig and Jadrim, 1977). If they do not comply with the attributes of masculinity, they are disregarded as good leaders and if they do follow the traits of leadership as presumed by society, they are discriminated for being less feminine.

1.1.1.3 Political Factors

Male domination of politics, political parties and culture of formal political structures is another factor that hinders women's political participation (Bari. F, 2005). Also, women are

usually not elected at the position of power within part structures because of gender biases of male leadership (ibid). In countries where the political sphere is surrounded by the religions and cultural values, women are viewed nothing more than just a wife or a mother. Participating in the political arena is considered taboo and is not given any consideration. This puts constraints on women's participation in politics and continues being dominated by the male gender.

Apart from that, often male dominated political parties have a male perspective on issues of national importance that disillusions women as their perspective is often ignored and not reflected in the politics of their parties (Bari. F, 2005). Women are viewed as less competent in ideas and solutions as they are considered out of the political league and lack national interest due to their conformed nature towards social stereotypes of how a woman should be.

Although there are many reasons that hinder women's participation in politics, over the years, many women have beaten the odds and became successful in the political field. Despite being discriminated and rebuked by society, female gender has proved that they are capable of becoming great leaders (Sellers, 2003; Fine, 2006). Women's roles and responsibilities have changed tremendously and more women are climbing up the corporate ladder and making names on the political pedestal. Today, some of the noteworthy leaders are women and they have stamped a mark of excellence in their arena.

1.1.2 Gender Stereotypes and Power Relations

Gender is one of several important factors which define a person's identity. It gives an intense influence in our lives from the moment we are born, and we enact its social and cultural

meanings at every level, from the intra psychic to legal and political (Castaneda & Burns-Glover, 2004). Male and female babies are dressed in different kinds of clothing, and parents respond differently to male and female infants (Bell & Carver, 1980). People describe identical behaviour of infants differently if they are told the infant is a boy or a girl (Condry & Condry, 1976). Gender identity is one that is shaped by society. It is an expectation of social and cultural norm.

Gender and gender roles are there to define the way men and women behave in society in relation to each other, the way they look at themselves and also how they want society to look at them (Machel, 1998). These gender relations shape the way people structure the role of men and women in society. The ideas, knowledge, attitudes, and all the traits regarding the social division between male and female are reinforced in books and also the media (Machel, 2008). Thus, gender is constructed socially and basically revolves around the relationship between men and women in the context of power relations (Machel, 1998).

For decades, politics and leadership have been viewed as a male's job or identity and as women started partaking in parliamentary roles, they have been sidelined and given less support. This is because the stereotypical mindset that men are dominant and women are subordinate overrides the equal rights that should have been given to women and creates an imbalance in power relations (Northouse, 2004; Lord, DeVader & Alliger, 1986). These stereotypical gender relations affect the imbalance and inequality of power relations between men and women in society, of which the male is perceived as dominant and the female as subordinate (Machel, 2008). Hence, women are not given due respect and acceptance that they deserve.

1.2 Statement of Problem

Leadership and politics have always been associated with males (Chin, 2008; Eagly & Johannesen-Schmidt, 2001). For many years, female politicians were seen as not suitable for performing duties and tasks that are masculine in nature due to the stereotypical gender roles. However, in recent times, as women embraced the new ideologies and freedoms, and took on more roles and responsibilities, they have proven to be successful leaders not only on the corporate ladder but also in the male dominated political field (Chin, Lott, Rice & Sanchez-Hucles, 2006).

However, because most culture and religion have great impact on socio-culture, the stereotypical believe that men and women are distinguished by their gender roles do not seem to diminish hence women lose support and motivation by society in the run to become leaders. While stereotypes still play a huge role in people's life, it raises questions as to how female political leaders gain their reputation and acknowledgment from the society (Chin, 2004).

This study aims to identify the ways in which selected linguistic strategies (pronouns, positioning, metaphors, story-telling, repetition and intertextual reference) are used by five prominent female leaders in their speeches with two from the past and three from the present and consequently, how these linguistic strategies influence the discursive enactment of power and leadership. The research also concludes the similarities and differences in speech styles, if any, between female political of the past and present.

1.3 Statement of Purpose

The generation of the new millennium has definitely embraced roles that do not define their gender. Women and men now are applying various roles in their lives that are not gender bias. The significance of this study is the ways in which selected linguistic strategies are used by female political leaders in their speeches and how it influences the enactment of power and

leadership. The study also looks at the similarities and differences, if any, between the past and present female leaders.

The research questions are:

1. How are the selected linguistic strategies (of pronouns, positioning, metaphors, story-telling, repetition, and intertextual reference) used in the political speeches of female leaders?
2. How do these strategies influence the discursive enactment of power and leadership of the female leaders of the past and the present?
3. What are the similarities or differences in speech styles, if any, found in these female political leaders?

1.4 Significance of Study

Much study has been done on male leaders and their discursive patterns over the last few decades. These patterns have promoted them as leaders and have created a mindset among the society that leadership qualities and styles have to replicate these patterns. However, when women leaders imitate these leadership patterns they are often sidelined. This study is important because it reflects how much women have changed over the years and become successful leaders using discursive patterns that is very well accepted by society and seen as a powerful tool in enacting power and leadership.

1.5 Scope and Limitations of Study

The limitations of this study would be the choice of leaders who are all international leaders from other countries who have been exemplary in promoting their leadership attributes (ref. chapter 3). Besides that, data is from online resources which are readily transcribed. Reliability of the data is not 100% accurate as there may be manipulation in texts. As the

subjects are prominent leaders of the world, the possibility of having a one-to-one interview is impossible.

A recorded interview is not taken as the data because transcribing of the data would be time consuming and the time allocated is limited. The study looks into five different written speeches, each belonging to one female political leader. The study examines the differences in strategies that spans across four decades. The linguistic strategies that are analysed are selected and limited to the use of pronouns (we, You and I), positioning, metaphor, repetition (lexical repetition and repetition of structure), story-telling and intertextual reference in the speeches of the female political leaders and how these strategies work as a tool in enacting power and leadership. These linguistics strategies are selected because it has proven to be effective and powerful tool that helped political leaders enact power and leadership (ref. chap. 2).

1.6 Methodology of Study

This study uses Discourse Analysis in analysing written speech by female political leaders to identify the underlying discursive patterns that surfaces beyond text in the attempt to enact power and leadership. This study derives from the conceptual notion of women and language, women and power and woman and leadership in the past and present. An analytical framework will be used to study selected categories of analysis/linguistic strategies and how these elements function in the written speeches of the female political leaders. Then, these strategies would be further analysed to identify the discursive patterns that influences the enactment of power and leadership among these female political leaders.

1.7 Definition of Terms

In this section, the researcher defines the terms and concepts related to this study.

1.7.1 Discourse Analysis

Discourse analysis may, broadly speaking, be defined as the study of language viewed communicatively and/or of communication viewed linguistically. Any more detailed spelling out of such a definition typically involves reference to concepts of language in use, language above or beyond the sentence, language as meaning in interaction, and language in situational and cultural context. Depending on their particular convictions and affiliations – functionalism, structuralism, social interactionism, etc. – linguists will tend to emphasize one, or some, rather than others in this list (On the origins and implications of the language in use vs. language above the sentence distinction see for example Schiffrin, 1994, pp. 20– 39; Pennycook, 1994a, p. 116; Widdowson, 1995, p. 160; Cameron, 2001, pp. 10–13).

1.7.2 Gendered Language

Gendered language is concerned with how a particular language expresses bias in favor of a particular gender and treats the other sex in a prejudiced way (Graddol & Swan, 1989). Generally, the favour falls upon male and female is often treated discriminatorily. “Our use of language embodies attitudes as well as referential meanings. Woman’s language has its foundation the attitude that women are marginal to the serious concerns of life, which are preempted by men” (Lakoff, 1975).

1.7.3 Leadership Discourse

Discourse is defined as language above the sentence (Cameron, 2001), and secondly, on a more intangible level, it is comprehended in the Foucauldian sense as practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak” (Foucault, 1972). In implementing the first meaning of discourse, Cameron (2001: 11) analyzes the “patterns in units which are larger

and more extended, than one sentence” – that is, leaders’ interactions with a variety of people they work with.

1.7.4 Discursive Patterns

The adjective *discursive* is often used to describe speech or writing that tends to stray from the main point, but the word can also have almost the opposite meaning. *Discursive* can also be used to describe an argument based on reason instead of intuition. Discursive practices, in this way, are viewed as a demonstration of leadership performance, as well as the most significant means through which notions of leadership are continuously enacted and created. In other words, through the discursive ways and practices which leaders recurrently exercise in their everyday verbal or electronic communications, they carry out leadership and at the same time create themselves as specific kinds of leaders (Baxter, 2003).

1.8 Summary

The introduction chapter begins with a discussion on the background of the study. It moves next to the statement of problem and the purpose of the study, followed by a section on the significance and limitations of the study. The chapter concludes with a brief discussion on the methodology, scope and plan of the study and also definitions of terms. The next chapter will be the Literature Review chapter on Discourse Analysis, Gender Stereotypes, significant studies on women in the past and present, leadership discourse and other related studies relevant to this study. Chapter three discusses the methodology of the study, the notion of women and power, leadership and language, the analytical framework and the categories of analysis. Chapter four discusses the data and analysis and chapter five discusses the findings and a general conclusion.

CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

In this chapter, the discussion will begin with an insight into the concepts of Discourse Analysis such as Rhetorical Devices and Microstructure which forms the conceptual framework of this study. This will be followed by a discussion of the relationship between the concepts and gendered speech styles. Next would be a section discussing the notion of leadership and gender among female leaders.

2.1 Discourse Analysis

Discourse is the creation and organisation of the segments of a language above as well as below the sentence. It is segments of language which may be bigger or smaller than a single sentence but the adduced meaning is always beyond the sentence. The term discourse applies to both spoken and written language, in fact to any sample of language used for any purpose. Any series of speech events or any combination of sentences in written form wherein successive sentences or utterances hang together is discourse. Discourse cannot be confined to sentential boundaries. It is something that goes beyond the limits of sentence. In another words discourse is ‘any coherent succession of sentences, spoken or written’ (Matthews, 2005:100). In this study, the research attempts to look at the concepts of Discourse Analysis that helps identify how the linguistic strategies used by female leaders in their speeches influence the enactment of power and leadership.

2.1.1 Rhetorical Devices

Rhetoric is one of the features that set discourse analysis apart from conversation analysis. The way a description is put together in talk in a manner that counters an actual or

potential attempt to undermine it as partial or interested (Edward and Potter, 1992). Put another way, accounts and descriptions can have both an offensive and a defensive rhetoric (Potter, 1996b).

Analysis will often benefit from close attention to the rhetorical organisation of discourse. This involves inspecting discourse both for the way it is organised to make argumentative cases and for the way it is designed to undermine alternative cases (Billig, 1996). The focus on rhetoric directs attention from issues of how descriptions relate to the objects, events and so on that they are (putatively) describing and focuses attention on how that description relates to competing alternatives.

The concept of rhetoric is to refer to (generally optional) structures at various levels of discourse that result from special operations, such as those of repetition, permutation, substitution and deletion, classically known as *figurae*. It regulates specific forms of comprehension, for instance in persuasion, that is, in discourses aiming at influencing opinions, such as parliamentary debates. Especially those at the semantic level (Metaphor, simile, irony, hyperbole, euphemisms, litotes, etc.) are relevant for our analysis, because they manipulate meaning and the expression and formation of mental models of ethnic events and social representations of ingroup and outgroup (van Dijk, 1991).

Charteris Black (2005) argues that successful speakers, especially in political context, need to appeal to attitudes and emotions that are already within the listeners. When the listeners perceive that their beliefs are understood and supported, the speaker has created connections to the policy that they wish to communicate. When putting forward arguments a speaker has to communicate at an emotional level and take standpoints that seem morally correct. Furthermore, the listener must perceive that the arguments are relevant for the issue. This cannot be done solely by lexical means although linguistic performance is the most important factor (Charteris-Black, 2005:10).

According to Charteris-Black (2005), the effect of rhetorical strategies in political speeches is often a result of them being combined. Therefore, it is as interesting to look at the interaction of various strategies as it is to look at each one separately (Charteris-Black, 2005: 11). Jones and Wareing (1999) argue that the ability to convey the message that speaker and listener want the same thing plays a decisive role in the process of establishing an ideology (Jones and Wareing, 1999: 34). To achieve a sense of congruence between audience and speaker, politicians often make use of symbols to foster national unity (Balls & Peter, 2000: 81).

In this study, the researcher focuses on rhetoric devices such as lexical repetition and repetition of structure as well as metaphors used by female political leaders in their speeches to enact power and leadership.

2.1.1.1 Metaphors

Metaphors might traditionally be thought of as belonging to the world of poetry and literature, but their importance in the domain of politics ought not to be underestimated. Lakoff and Johnson, in their seminal text *Metaphors We Live By*, argued that metaphors have significant consequences for our understanding of the world as a whole and are used more commonly in everyday life than might initially be appreciated. Indeed, existing research has demonstrated that politicians use metaphors when discussing a variety of issues, including the Euro (Musolff, 2004), foreign policy (Chilton and Lakoff, 1995), the search for WMD in Iraq (Billig and MacMillan, 2005), and the Iraq war more generally (Lule, 2004).

According to Lakoff and Johnson, the importance of metaphors lies in their ability to use “one highly structured and clearly delineated concept to structure another” (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980: 61. See further Chilton, 2004). This enables us to understand complex issues through the use of familiar terms to describe them. For example, the ‘rational argument as war’

metaphor, where statements such as ‘your claims are indefensible’ and ‘he attacked every weak point in my argument’ might be made (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980: 4), “allows us to conceptualize what a rational argument is in terms of something that we understand more readily, namely, physical conflict” (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980: 61). These familiar terms, which often take the form of images, have “normative force” which is derived from “certain purposes and values, certain normative images, which have long been powerful in our culture” (Schoen, 1993: 147). Therefore:

“Metaphor draws on the unconscious emotional association of words, the values of which are rooted in cultural knowledge. For this reason it potentially has a highly persuasive force because of its activation of both conscious and unconscious resources to influence our intellectual and emotional response, both directly – through describing and analyzing political issues – and indirectly by influencing how we feel about things.”

(Charteris-Black 2005: 30)

Metaphors are linguistic symbols that give concrete labels to abstract ideas. This is possible because of the perceived similarities between objects and concepts as regards particular features that one wants to convey. “The sunshine of a smile” is an example of a metaphor, where it is understood that a smile brings out the same feelings of warmth and well-being as sunshine does.

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) hold the conceptual systems of human beings is metaphorical. Metaphors are not merely linguistic instruments. They actually permeate perception, thought and behaviour (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980: 3). Common metaphors in politics come from the domain of sports and war. Simultaneously, political campaigns can be seen as actions of war, although the military actions are in the shape of arguments. In western society, the two concept “argument” and “war” are generally understood as being closely connected in spite of the fact that they are different types of matters. (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980: 3), Lakoff

(1991) stresses on the importance of looking systematically not only on what metaphors represent but on what they really conceal.

2.1.1.2 Lexical Repetition

According to Cockcroft & Cockcroft (2005) nearly all political speeches consist of lexical repetitions in various ways. It is one of many techniques that can be used to persuade or emphasize a message in a speech (pp. 42). Rhetorical devices are in general used to emphasize something, persuade the audience, provoke negative or positive feelings or develop relationships.

Cockcroft & Cockcroft discuss how a speaker may use rhetoric devices as for example Initial, Terminal, Random, or Instant repetitions (pp. 182). These devices are used in the study and explained as follows: Initial repetition is defined as a “word or phrase repeated at the beginning of each one of a series of sentences or clauses”. Terminal repetition is when a word or phrase is repeated in the end of a series of clauses or sentences. Random repetition means that specific words or phrases are emphasized in sentence or paragraph. Instant repetition means that a word or phrase is immediately repeated one or more times (ibid).

In 2004, Hillier looked at lexical repetitions, as a general concept, in two political speeches performed by John Major and Tony Blair, in Great Britain. She found 21.6 percent of lexical repetitions in Blair’s speech. It almost three times more than Major’s 9.3 percent (pp.135). Hillier was not especially surprised by some of Blair’s choices “Blair’s choices suggest that he may be colonizing – via lexical repetition – what has always been considered to be traditional Conservative territory” (pp. 136). Hillier’s study confirms rhetorical devices to be important in political speeches.

This study intends to identify the reason the female political leaders use lexical repetition in their speeches.

2.1.1.3 Repetition of Structure

Johnstone et al. try to answer a difficult question about functions of repetition and provide a wide range of functions as follows:

“Repetition functions didactically, playfully, emotionally, expressively, ritualistically; repetition can be used for emphasis or iteration, clarification confirmation; it can incorporate foreign words into a language, in couplets, serving as a resource for enriching the language.”

(Johnstone et al., 1994, pp. 6)

a) Cohesive Repetition

Cohesion is defined by Hoey as a grammatical or lexical part of the text that connects sentences to other sentences in the 20 text (Hoey, 1991: 266). Halliday and Hasan explain that cohesion can be achieved partly through grammar and partly through vocabulary. (Halliday, Hasan, 1980, p. 5).

According to Hoey, repetition promotes textual cohesion and shows the relations among sentences (Hoey, 1991: 35). He defines this use of repetition as occurrence of items in sentences. Reoccurring items are used again so that something new may be said about them or add to them (Hoey, 1991: 268).

b) Emphatic Repetition

According to Persson, emphatic repetitions have emotive connotations. He also points out that the emotions aroused via repetition are natural and considered as a “linguistic universal.” (Persson, 1974: 166). Persson explains that emphatic repetition “reinforces or draws extra attention to a concept.” (Persson, 1974: 50). Similar suggestion is also made by the Osborns who state that by repeating sounds, words or phrases listener’s attention is caught and its frequent use helps to emphasize the significant attributes in the speech (Osborn, M., Osborn S., 1988: 297).

c) Intensifying Repetition

This function serves to intensify an utterance. Persson classifies intensifying repetition as an “intensification of degree or extent” and “intensification of quantity” (Persson, 1974: 15). Aitchison speaks about this use as well. She adds that “Intensification involves an increase in quantity or quality, and includes superlatives and augmentative uses.” (Aitchison, 1994: 20).

d) Hesitational Repetition:

The hesitational repetition mostly concerns items such as articles, personal pronouns and prepositions with a low informational value and indicates a cognitive activity (Persson, 1974: 152). Persson defines simple repetition as having an unclear function. According to him simple repetition puts nothing more to the expressed utterance. It does not change the meaning either semantically or emotively. It is usually used only to fill the gap in speaking or to provide a space to think about what to say next. Expression “false start” is connected to it as well (Persson, 1974: 152-153).

In this study, the researcher intends to identify the reason female political leaders use different types of repetition of structure in their speeches and how it helps them enact power and leadership.

2.2 Microstructure

At the microstructure level, analysis is focused on the semantic relations between propositions, syntactic, lexical and other rhetorical elements that provide coherence in the text, and other rhetorical elements such quotations, direct or indirect reporting that give factuality to the news reports.

2.2.1 Pronoun

Traditionally, pronouns have been treated as part of a grammatical paradigm. They have been grouped together because of their morpho-syntactic similarities focusing on grammatical divisions of first, second and third person or singular and plural number. In these traditional grammars of English, pronouns are often explained in terms of their referential and anaphoric properties (see for example Bernar, 1975; Chomsky, 1981; Kaplan, 1989; van Riemsdijk and Williams, 1986). The more simplified of these traditional explanations (see for example Bernard 1975), define pronouns in the literal sense of replacing a noun. Similarly, Brown and Yule (1983) explain pronouns as text coherence devices. In more sophisticated traditional pronoun paradigms (see for example Comrie, 1981; Chomsky, 1981; Halliday and Hasan, 1976; Kaplan, 1989; Lyons, 1977; van Riemsdijk and Williams, 1986) properties of first and second pronoun are not seen as replacing nouns, but are accounted for in terms of addressing and referring to speech participants. In such a view, the first person represents the speaker and the second person represents the addressee.

One of these functions of pronouns has been defined in terms of pronouns 'capacity to act as a means of expressing different social relations. The most well-known of these is the account of the pronouns of power and solidarity by Brown and Gilman (1960) which shows how social hierarchy is reflected in the use of the pronouns 'tu' and 'vous' in French and their equivalents in other European languages. Also, Singer (1973) argues for viewing reference as 'social' in the sense that the location/relationship of the listener affects speaker's choice of deictic term. Hanks (1990, 1992) consider the 'evolution' in meaning of 'elite' personal pronouns in relation to changes in societal structures. Rumsey (2000) shows how 'I' can be used in some Pacific languages not only to talk about 'self' as an individual but as a way of showing that one belongs to a collective. Wilson's work (1990) reveals that pronouns are being used in political talk as a means of showing varying degrees of distance from 'self'.

Pronouns have also studied as a flexible resource for constructing social categories. These studies include: the work of Sacks (1992: Volumes 1 and 2) which shows how pronouns are socially deployable resources being used to index identity and status; Watson (1987), whose study on pro-terms claims that the principle of mutual exclusivity of pronouns does not apply to pronouns in interaction, but meanings of pronouns must be interpreted within a particular context; Schegloff (1996), and Malone (1997), who demonstrate how pronouns are used to represent 'self'.

The above-mentioned approach to pronouns as a resource for the construction of identity has been used in combination with Goffman's (1974, 1981) approach to understanding pronouns in the following studies (Clayman, 1992; Malone, 1993; Nevile, 2001; Schiffrin, 1987). Malone's (1993) study of postgraduate students' talk highlights the expediency of Goffman's (1981) approach for analysing talk because it reflects the complexity of interactional roles. Furthermore, shifts in footing are signaled by pronouns. Clayman's (1992) analysis of news interviews shows how interviewers shift footing in order to achieve neutrality. He also includes data which show how pronouns are being used to mark footing shifts towards 'self' and 'others'. Schiffrin (1987) argues that 'you know' does footing work that indicates a shared identity. Nevile (2001) talks about the construction of identity by pilots through the use of pronouns. In these studies, Goffman's (1974, 1981) approach is used as a framework for interpreting the use of pronouns as a means of constructing identity.

a) Pronoun "I":

'I' is a term of self-reference and not a substitute for a noun or name as is the case with third person pronouns (Comrie, 1981; Halliday and Hasan, 1976; Lyons, 1977). As Sacks (1992:675) pointed out: "I" is the way I refer to myself in talk and not a substitute for my name. "I" stands alone as marker of the speaker referring to himself/herself. And, as Benveniste

(1971:218) eloquently said: “‘I’ is “the reality of discourse” and ‘I’ signifies “the person who is uttering the present instance of the discourse containing “I.” In political speeches, I can be used by the speaker to convey his opinion, it makes the speech more subjective, it shows the authority of the speaker and it can be a way to show compassion with the audience and to narrate a story (Bramley, 2001:27).

The first person singular pronoun has a number of functions. ‘I’ ties the talk to other parts of the talk and indexes the speaker to the here and now (Sacks, 1992:1-32). Another function of the first person singular pronoun of “I” in political speeches includes giving a sense of here and now, suggesting that “I” capture the moment (Pennycook, 1993:3). Malone (1997) elaborates on Sacks’ work saying that ‘I’ not only indexes the speaker, it anchors the talk in the moment, provides subjectivity and states the speaker’s position. Wilson (1990) shows that ‘I’ is used as a means of establishing rapport with the audience and shows a degree of personal involvement and commitment. ‘I’ encodes a “personal voice” (Wilson, 1990) and can be used to separate self from others (Watson, 1987:269). “I” can also be used to create a ‘relationship’ with the audience, because using “I” makes the speech seem as if it is on a more personal level. “I” might also be used to show commitment to the audience and personal involvement in issues; “I” gives the speaker a personal voice that distances him from others. This means that it cannot always be expected that the other members of his party agree with the speaker’s opinions when the pronoun “I” is used (Bramley, 2001:27). The advantage of using “I” is that it shows personal involvement, which is especially useful when positive news is delivered.

The issue of subjectivity is what might make some politicians avoid using “I” (Pennycook, 1993:3). The disadvantage is that it is obvious whom to put the blame on when something goes wrong. It can also be seen as an attempt of the individual speaker to place himself above or outside the shared responsibility of his colleagues (Beard, 2000:45).

The most motivating reasons for a politician to use the pronoun “I” in his speech is to come across as good and responsible, to describe himself in a positive way and highlight personal qualities. Examples of personal qualities that politicians want to express include being someone with principles, moral, power and who is not afraid to take action when necessary (Bramley, 2001:28).

b) Pronoun “We”:

‘We’ is always simultaneously inclusive and exclusive, a pronoun of solidarity and of rejection, of inclusion and exclusion. “We” is sometimes used to convey the image of one political party as a team, and therefore a shared responsibility making themselves look smaller as a whole. The use of the pronoun “we” can be divided into two categories: the inclusive we, which can be used to refer to the speaker and the listener/viewer and the exclusive we, that refers to both the speaker and the listener or listeners (Karapetjana, 2011: 3). “We” is also used sometimes by politicians to avoid speaking about themselves as individuals, and instead suggest that others are involved, perhaps to lead negative attention away from the speaker in question. By using the pronoun “we”, the speaker include others in the utterance, creating a group with a clear identity, making others responsible for potential issues as well (Bramley, 2001: 76). The advantage of using the pronoun “we” in political speeches is that it helps share responsibility (Beard, 2000: 45). On the one hand it defines a ‘we’, and on the other it defines a ‘you’ or a ‘they’: ‘we’ Americans, ‘we’ British, ‘we’ Republicans, ‘we’ academics, ‘we’ who care about the planet, ‘we’ humans, ‘we’ men, and so on. Although this may often be an explicit *The politics of pronouns* 175 naming of the ‘we’, it is also frequently a covert assumption about shared communality. “We” is an important pronoun in political speeches in the sense that it expresses ‘institutional identity’, i.e. when one person speaks as a representative of or on behalf of an institution. “We” is also used to separate us from them, for example between two political

groups, such as political parties. By establishing an ‘us’ and them separation the speaker can create an image of the group he belongs to in a positive way and the other group in a negative way. The intention of the ‘us’ and them separation is to set one group apart from the other group and their actions, and to include or exclude hearers from group membership (Bramley, 2001:76).

The use of the first person plural pronoun is always advantageous as it spreads the responsibility during bad state of affairs. Moreover, it reduces the distance between the speaker and the audience, hence builds rapport. This pronoun gives a sense of inclusiveness: the feeling that the speaker and the audience are not divided entities, developing an unconscious pride in the listeners (Halmari, 2004).

The use of “we” can shorten the distance between speakers and listeners, leaving them in the same position, establishing a cordial relationship, winning the approval and support from listeners (Danbin, 2010).

c) Pronoun “You”:

The conventional categorisation classifies pronouns according to their morphosyntactic properties and includes second person singular – ‘you’ singular; and second person plural – ‘you’ (see for example Bernard, 1975: Kaplan, 1989). This categorisation however, does not account for ‘you’ generic, nor the ways in which ‘you’ is used as a social resource.

Other analyses view pronouns as fixed functional categories (Mühlhäusler and Harré, 1990:12) in which ‘you’ is used without regard to social status, unlike other Western European languages such as French, Italian and German which encode social relations of power and solidarity (Brown and Gilman, 1960).

Some linguists describe ‘you’ to specify the participant role as hearer or addressee/recipient, which are distinct from the referential third person pronouns (Comrie,

1981; Halliday and Hasan, 1976; Lyons, 1977). In Goodwin's (1996) discussion on participation frameworks, 'you' is referred to as the pronoun which encodes the role of 'recipient' while Levinson (1988) refers to 'you' as the 'addressed recipient'. Similarly, Lerner (1996: 281) notes that "'you' singular provides a way to refer to the addressee of the speaker" and is used for addressing a singular recipient while 'you' plural is used for addressing multiple recipients. In multi-party conversations the use of 'you' is problematic because it is not automatically clear who is referred to by 'you' (Lerner, 1996: 281).

Benveniste (1971) claims that 'you' (and 'I') are fundamentally different from the third person pronouns because their referent is uniquely established only in the moment of discourse, by the speaker who utters them. Benvenist (1971: 218) describes 'you' (and 'I') as 'indicators' to distinguish them from words that are not bound to the moment of utterance. 'You' in this sense is "the individual spoken to in the present instance of discourse containing the linguistic instance of 'you'" (Benveniste, 1971: 218).

The difference between the traditional categorisation of 'you' (Bernard, 1975; Kaplan, 1989) and the treatment of 'you' as a social resource (Hanks, 1990; Lerner, 1996; Malone, 1997; Sacks, 1992) is that the former treats 'you' as a fixed grammatical category of person-reference or as a fixed functional category (Mühlhäusler and Harré, 1990) and the latter refers to 'you' as a pronoun that can be used as an interactive resource (Lerner, 1996; Malone, 1997; Sacks, 1992; Watson, 1987).

According to Sacks (1992: 163 and 568) one of the characteristics of 'you' is that the listener is always included regardless of whether the 'you' is 'you' singular, 'you' (plural) or generic 'you'. Sacks (1992: 165) claims that an inherent property of 'you' is its 'this and that ambiguity' where 'you' can mean both 'you' singular and 'you'-plural or 'you' generic. When the listener tries to work out what the 'you' refers to, first s/he considers whether it is herself/himself that is being referred to. If the listener does not think that 'you' is referring to

himself/herself alone then s/he will try to see if the 'you' is the listener and some others. Even if the listener concludes that 'you' refers to him/herself and others, the listener is still included (Sacks 1992: 163 and 568). Sacks (ibid) claims that 'you' is useful as an inclusive term because it does not exclude the hearer, unlike 'we' which has the potential to exclude the hearer depending on the intended membership of 'we'. It is these properties that speakers use in their construction and design of talk for the listeners (Goodwin, 1996; Sacks, 1992).

In this study, the researcher would study the influence of the use of pronoun as linguistic strategies by female political leaders in enacting power and leadership.

2.2.2 Positioning

In the past few years, the study of "identity ha[s] moved into the center-stage of the social sciences" (Bamberg et al., 2007: 1), but, since it developed from different traditions, there are quite diverging perspectives on the way identity is viewed and analyzed. An important – and by now generally shared – perspective though, is that of social constructionism, which has led linguists to view identity as a social construct. So instead of taking an essentialist perspective on identity and "directly contrary to what appears to be its settled semantic career" (Hall, 2000: 17), "role and identity are not regarded as fixed categories but as resources which actors draw on to carry out everyday lives" (Hall et al., 1999: 293) and they are "continually shaped and reshaped through interactions with others and involvement in social and cultural activities" (Wetherell/Maybin, 1996: 220). Or as Verschueren (2008: 26) sums it up:

"...identity is not a property [...] of an individual, but [...] it is interactively created over and over (though with a degree of consistency), so that the same individual can literally have different identities in different contexts."

So instead of looking at identity as "a given" or "a product", we have to view it as "a process" (De Fina et al., 2006: 2). This, of course, makes identities "extremely complex construct[s]" (De Fina, 2003: 15), which are typically viewed in the plural since "individuals

have multiple identities” (Verschuere, 2008: 26) because of their evolving and contextually bound nature. These identities may even shift during one interaction, and they can be negotiated and renegotiated on a turn-by turn basis.

In this study, the researcher would identify the kind of positioning the female political leaders take on and how it influences the enactment of power and leadership among their audience.

2.2.3 Story-telling

Storytelling is among the most effective of the communication tools at the disposal of political and civic leaders.

Throughout human history, storytelling has been important as a leadership tool for changing people’s minds and sparking great movements of change. The great religions have been built, and the great wars have been launched, using story as the principal communications tool. That’s because stories tend to be more interesting and fresh than abstract argument. Stories fit the way people think. Story weaves in emotion in a way that rational argument can never do. Moreover, narrative is integral to the way we make decisions. Rather than making decisions by careful intellectual effort or following cues, human beings make most of their conscious decisions through narrative. We cannot decide what to do until we decide what story or stories we see ourselves as living. If political and civic leaders are to change the way people think and act, they have to change those stories.

Nevertheless, the recognition of the role of storytelling in leadership is a relatively recent phenomenon. Theorists in the fields of leadership, communications and persuasion have had a hard time accepting that simple narratives could be apt to get action than reasoned argument.

The contemporary interest in leadership storytelling has coincided with the recognition of a growing need for leadership, and the realization of the limited effectiveness of traditional modes of communication for accomplishing its goals. The emergence of vast challenges such as global warming, the increasing globalization of the economy, the accelerating pace of change, the consequent imperative for ever faster innovation, the emergence of global networks of partners, the rapidly growing role of intangibles, which cannot be controlled like physical goods, the increasing ownership of the means of production by knowledge workers, the escalating power of customers in the marketplace, and the burgeoning diversity in both the workplace and marketplace—all these forces imply a vastly more important role for real leadership—and storytelling—now and in the future. Storytelling is one of the few rhetorical tools able to generate the passion needed to win active support for the actions needed to deal with such deep, pervasive and rapid changes.

Story telling is how we develop individual and collective identities that define the ends we seek and among whom we seek them (MacIntyre, 1981; Carr, 1986; Taylor, 1989; Bruner, 1990; Polkinghorne, 1991; Somers, 1992; Hunt, 1994; Somers, 1994; Ricoeur, 1995; Teske, 1997; Polletta, 1998; Davis, 2000; Gergan, 2001; Hincheman and Hincheman, 2001; MacIntyre, 2001). Our identity can be understood as a story we weave from the lifetime of stories in which we have participated as tellers or listeners, learning how to act in the world. When we tell our story we do identity work, reenacting who we have been and forging the persons we become. As an interaction among speakers and listeners, storytelling is culture forging activity, constructing shared understandings of how to manage the risks of uncertainty, anomaly, and unpredictability grounded in recollection of how we dealt with past challenges. Our individual identities are thus linked with those with whom we share stories - our families, communities, colleagues, faith traditions, nationalities - and with whom we enact them at our family dinners, worship services, holidays, and other cultural celebrations that institutionalize - or transform - their retelling.

Story telling is how we access the emotional – or moral - resources for the motivation to act on those ends (Brueggemann, 1978; Sarbin, 1995; Bradt, 1997; Peterson, 1999;

Peterson, 1999). Inherently normative, stories map positive and negative valance onto different kinds of behavior. They thus become what Charles Taylor calls our “moral sources” – sources of emotional learning we can access for the courage, love, hope we need to deal with the fear, loneliness and despair that inhibits our action (Taylor, 1989; Jasper, 1998). As St. Augustine taught “knowing the good” is insufficient to produce a change in behavior that requires “loving the good.” Story telling is both a way to "frame" our experience as purposive (making things "add up") and of "regulating our emotions" (retaining confidence, keeping our anxiety under control, having a story we can believe in) (Bruner, 1990).

In this study, the researcher would identify if storytelling techniques have been used by female political leaders of the past and present and how it influences their enactment of power and leadership.

2.2.4 Intertextual Reference

Discourse typically do not come alone, but may be part of complex social and political debates, in which various sources, competing or alternative discourses and other forms of text or talk are explicitly referred to for examples, evidence, opinions, ways of speaking and so on (van Dijk, 1991).

Intertextuality, or the recognisable “borrowing” of words or phrases from another source (Selzer), sometimes occurs with entire sentences. Sayings, aphorisms and other fixed phrases are examples of this.

Intertextuality forms one of the crucial grounds for writing studies and writing practice. Texts do not appear in isolation, but in relation to other texts. We write in response to prior writing, and as writers we use the resources provided by prior writers. When we read we use knowledge and experience from texts we have read before to make sense of the new text, and as readers we notice the texts the writer invokes directly and indirectly. Our reading and writing

are in dialogue with each other as we write in direct and indirect response to what we have read before, and we read in relation to the ideas we have articulated in our own writing (Volosinov & Bakhtin, 1987).

All the above concepts would be analysed from the speech and would be connected with the notion of power, gender and leadership to identify the strategies used by female political leaders in the past and present in enacting power and leadership discursively.

2.3 Gendered Language

Gendered language deals with how language choice reflects and/or promotes gender division within the society. It is believed that language possesses the ability to shape our view of how we perceive the world and also, how we see ourselves as a member of society, how we want to be perceived and the place we belong in the social strata of society (Lei, 2006). And thus, the attempt to link language and gender will be made in the following paragraphs.

Gendered language is a language that promotes gender bias and treats one sex as the weaker compared to the other (Lei, 2006). Usually, the favour falls on men and is against women, the existence of gendered language is mainly due to the existence of sexism in society, in the past, women were regarded as the weaker sex and were supposed to stay at home, remaining in a powerless state and subordinate to men (Lei, 2006). In contrast, men were and are still seen as the centre both at home and also in the society. Greater consciousness about the discrimination against women has led feminist movements to many conscious attempts to influence and change language and linguistic behaviour (Lei, 2006). This study is done to identify to what extent language and gender has been challenged and how have women evolved in terms of power and dominance through language.

2.3.1 Past Researches in Feminine Speech Styles

Decades ago, men's speech style was seen as the norm and female's speech style was seen as abnormal and inferior one. Jespersen (1922) once wrote that women are more refined in their speech, use less coarse and gross expressions, are uninventive, and men who were forced to be restricted to women's speech style would quickly be reduced to a state of boredom due to the nature of women's conversation. (Jespersen, 1922) This clearly indicates that women are seen as linguistically deficient in comparison to men. Deborah Tannen (1990) in "His Politeness is Her Powerlessness" explains that female speech styles are constantly seen as powerless. In the event where a woman is indirect in her conversation, it is seen as a state of being powerless even though it could just as well be her seeking connection. Although indirectness is the prerogative of those in power and is seen as high status when used by men, it is not evaluated in the same way for women. In other words, women's speech styles are often debased and seen as of lower status.

In later years, men and women's speech styles were re-examined and Robin Lakoff (1975) pointed out that these women's speech styles which were regarded as abnormal, is not "abnormal" but different.

Women and men's conversation was seen to mirror that of other relationships in society, such as the relationship between parent and child, (West & Zimmerman, 1977) and doctor and patient. (West, 1984) With men's style being compared in most cases to that of the powerful person in these relationships. This concludes that women are usually dominated by men in conversations as it is in gender roles.

There were also a large number of pieces of research into differences in the grammatical structures women and men use, as the traditional belief that women are more polite than men, (Brown, 1980) use fewer vulgar terms (Gomm, 1981) and language closer to Standard English were examined (Milroy & Margrain, 1980; Cheshire 1982).

In the past, the outcome is, men and women have different styles of speech, which is very closely influenced by culture and society's perception on how men and women should speak. Women used to be defined by their feminine characteristics which were reflected partly by the way they speak, if not their gender roles. Roles do not suddenly materialize out of nowhere; like other things, they are socially constructed, and they are socially constructed based on categories (Ridgeway & Smith-Lovin, 1999).

According to Robin Lakoff, women are very submissive in the way they speak, always allowing the opposite sex to dominate any given conversations. Women are also seen as the weaker gender when it came to power play. Past researches show that men tended to speak more than listen, an indication that men try to be powerful and dominant when it came to speaking. "Women are concerned not to violate the man's turn but to wait until he has finished" (Coates, 1986: 100). Therefore, women are perceived as submissive. Being submissive also allows one to be dominated over and in this case, women who put on a submissive image which opens the door to be dominated by men.

Besides that, Robin Lakoff (1975) also mentioned that the women's speech style also includes a lot of hedging and tag lines which indicates uncertainty in their conversation and a need for the listener's approval to make any statement and the lack of confidence. Lakoff (ibid) highlighted the use of the 'tag question' as an illustration of this. Claiming that women use more tag questions than men, who in turn by using them less appear to be more assertive. Further research found that tag questions were more commonly associated with women's language (Siegler and Siegler, 1976), illustrating people's attitudes towards women's speech and its tentativeness. Researches were also conducted to look at the use of paralinguistic features (hmmm, ermmm, etc.) among women and men and the result showed that women tended to use it more often than men. Lakoff (1975) described them as a feature of women's language which makes their language less direct.

Also highlighted as women's speech style is the politeness, where women do not use vulgar language. Also Lakoff (1975) claimed that while men use stronger expletives, women use politer versions such as 'damn' and 'oh dear' (Coates, 1986: 108).

Studies have also been done on the length of conversation between men and women (verbosity). The question of who talks more has been a long-standing area of discussion. Tannen (1990) examined conversations between married couples and discussed at length the stereotypes of the wife who 'never stops talking' and the husband who comes home from work and barely utters a word about his day to his wife. Phrases such as 'She never stops talking' and 'He never talks to me about work' being typical of responses. However, other studies revealed that men speak more than women do (Swacker, 1975).

A research was done on the Yanyuwa language once by John Bardley (2010) and according to his ethnographic research, he found that culture plays a great role in shaping the way men and women speak. People's perception on how men and women speak also indicates that women are the weaker gender. According to Jennifer Coates (1986), a research done in a classroom setting, male students are given more priority in class, which in turn gives them power in the society. In other words, past researches prove that women were dominated not only in gender roles but in their speech styles as well.

However, recent researches done by researcher like Judith Baxter proposes a different idea to how men and women speak.

2.3.2 Current Researches in Women and Their Speech Styles

Current research on the differences between male and female speech styles proved that women too tend to interrupt in conversation. Zimmerman and West (1975) found that in conversations involving eleven mixed-sex pairs men interrupted or overlapped their female counterparts a total of fifty-five times, but were interrupted or overlapped themselves only

twice. In comparison, conversations involving single sex pairs produced significantly fewer interruptions and overlaps by men on men. It was also found that women are much more likely to interrupt their own sex. A recent study on *Women's Talk at a Ladies' Gym* proved that 65% of women interrupted conversations that interest them.

Judith Baxter (2003) says that women and men speak the same way except that they are looked at in different ways by people. People's perception which is directly influenced by society and culture say that men and women speak differently and in the past, people did conform to those ideas and beliefs. However, as women received more rights and privileges in their lives, they began to realize that they too in some way are the same as men. Women also evolved in terms of gender roles, where in the beginning, they tended to play the roles that were "supposed" to be their roles such as being a house wife and a mother. Now, women are climbing the corporate ladder and speak in a way that women in the past would not.

Decades ago, men's speech style was seen as the norm and female's speech style was seen as abnormal and inferior one. Jespersen (1922) once wrote that women are more refined in their speech, use less coarse and gross expressions, are uninventive, and men who were forced to be restricted to women's speech style would quickly be reduced to a state of boredom due to the nature of women's conversation (Jespersen, 1922). This clearly indicates that women are seen as linguistically deficient in comparison to men. In later years, men and women's speech styles were re-examined and Robin Lakoff (1975) pointed out that these women's speech styles evolved because they were being dominated by men and were themselves timid and hesitant. Deborah Tannen (1990) takes this further and explains that female speech styles are constantly seen as powerless.

Women and men's conversation was seen to mirror that of other relationships in society, such as the relationship between parent and child, (West & Zimmerman 1977) and doctor and patient (West, 1984) with men's style being compared in most cases to that of the

powerful person in these relationships. All these gender differences are seen to be outcomes of the process of socialisation. This has led to the perception that female leaders too are products of gender socialisation and have either adapt their leadership style or adopt a more “masculine” leadership style (as Margaret Thatcher was often accused of).

Women in power are likely to be constricted by rigid regulatory gender norms (Butler, 1990; Gal, 1991). In the case of women politicians, their identities are especially subjected to the media’s interpretation of their performances (Walsh, 2001; Lakoff, 2003). Within political science, the feminised style often forms a part of wider debates around the substantive representation of women (Lovenduski, 2005). This notion of a “style” is a fairly vague term which can relate to the way women dress, to the topics they raise and the language they use in the debating chamber. This idea of a feminised speech style contends that women bring a “consensual” or non-adversarial communication and speech style to politics (Childs, 2004).

Women are still struggling to gain equal political representation (The House of Commons is currently only 20% women). Women in politics may perceive that there is an advantage to be gained from the belief that they bring “civilising” influence to historically male-dominated, adversarial forums. However, this may be a risky strategy as there are inevitable consequences to perpetuating these stereotypical notions of male and female speech styles.

Clare Walsa (2001: 6) suggests that the value placed upon co-operative discourse strategies by some feminists may “have contributed to the creation of a gendered split within the public sphere, by reinforcing the prevailing view, including among women themselves that they are naturally suited to relatively low-status roles.” It may also make it harder for professional women to perform in adversarial contexts, firstly because more pressure is put on women to perform a “civilising” role and secondly because women must “manage their femininity carefully because if they do not “display the acceptable feminine style in these

incredibly gendered environments, they risk being labelled as somewhat strange and grotesque” (Puwar, 2004: 75).

Study done by Judith Baxter, shows that there is power in language used by female leaders in the business field. There has been evidence that show women are engaging in “double voice” discourse and undertaking more of the conversational “work” in institutions than their male counterparts (Baxter, 2008). Apart from that, her study done on The Management Team also showed that women tend to adopt the masculinised speech style (e.g: interruptions, lengthy turns, talking over others, blocking statements, refusals of comply, bald assertions) (Baxter, 2003).

Although research has been conducted on women leaders in the business field but there is none done on female political leaders. This research intends to investigate if female leaders have any particular style in speech and if so, can it be responded as either “feminine” or “masculine” or perhaps even as something entirely different.

In terms of power, women seem to be powerless and powerful to a certain extent. According to Valerie Walkerdine (1990: 4-5), in her study of power play (shift), a women of a position as a teacher is powerful as an authoritative figure but powerless as a women/sex object. However, what people do not realize is that, the students who were boys also displayed power and powerlessness in them as a student. So, in other words, recent studies show that women and men are the same, but to a certain extent, it is due to the power shift that takes place. This is the same for female leaders. Their speech styles are very much influenced by power shift and not the traditional ideas or beliefs that separate the identity of female and male.

Women in the past are very conservative. There has been a distinctive way of categorizing topics that are taboo (spoke about rarely) and those of that which was not taboo (spoke about commonly). These days, women do talk on topics that are considered taboo among single group talk (Al-Khatib, 2008).

2.4 Leadership Discourse

2.4.1 Definitions

Some common definitions of leadership include the following: “The creative and directive force of morale” (Munson, 1921). Or this definition is, “The process by which an agent induces a subordinate to behave in a desired manner” (Bennis, 1959). Yet another definition is as follows, “The presence of a particular influence relationship between two or more persons” (Hollander & Julian, 1969). Still another reads, “Directing and coordinating the work of group members” (Fiedler, 1967). Leadership is also, “An interpersonal relation in which others comply because they want to, not because they have to” (Merton, 1969). “Transforming followers, creating visions of the goals that may be attained, and articulating for the followers, the ways to attain those goals” (Bass, 1985; Tichy & Devanna, 1986). And lastly, leadership is “Actions that focus resources to create desirable opportunities” (Campbell, 1991).

2.4.2 Difference between Male and Female Leadership Discourse

Males use more assertive speech style while women use tentative style. The assertive style has been said to be masculine and the tentative style feminine. Males communicate with greater volume, lower pitch, and greater inflection, which give power and passion to their ideas (Eakins & Eakins, 1978; Payne, 2001). Females, on the other hand, do not speak as loudly, have higher pitched voices, and are hesitant, which communicates weakness rather than strength. They often sound powerless due to frequent use of hedges, qualifiers, and tag questions (Mulac, Lundell, & Bradac, 1986). According to Crawford (1995), assertiveness training for women resulted from the idea that women were socialized to be meek, polite, and passive.

The prototype for assertiveness is virtually synonymous with masculinity (Crawford, 1995). It should not be surprising then that women have been led to believe if they wanted to succeed, they had to be like men. Women, in an effort to sound more powerful and to combat stereotypical impressions of them as the weaker sex, have adopted more masculine speech styles, including lowering their pitch (Hoar, 1992). However, studies have proven that when women adopt the assertive style, they are viewed as more knowledgeable and competent compared to the ones who speak in a tentative tone by both men and women although men were more influenced by women who speak in a tentative tone (Carli, 1990). Perhaps men preferred women in the appropriate gender-role of feminine female and women did not. This presents yet another quandary for women. These findings suggest that women in powerful positions should adopt an assertive, strong, and passionate style—masculine. However, to gain positions of power in the first place in a male-dominated, hierarchical system might require a tentative style that would be more influential with men. Clearly women in leadership roles need to adapt depending on where in the hierarchy they are located (Carli, 1990).

2.5 Summary

In this chapter, the researcher provided a review on Discourse Analysis focusing on rhetoric devices and microstructure which explains the use of selected linguistic strategies in political speeches and how these strategies influence the enactment of power and leadership among female leaders of the past and present. The researcher also provided review on gendered language in the past and present to justify the use of languages/feminine speech styles in the past and present as well as Leadership Discourse, its definition and the difference between male and female leadership discourse. This research is conducted to investigate to what extent has female speech style evolved over the years and what are the strategies that works best for

female leaders. The above reference would help the researcher identify how the strategies used by female political leaders influence the enactment of power and leadership in the past and present.

CHAPTER 3 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction:

This study aims to identify the strategies used by female political leaders in the past and present in enacting power and leadership in their leadership. This chapter presents the method used by the researcher in conducting this study. There will be an explanation on the type of data chosen for this study and also the reason for the selection of the data. This will be followed by a section discussing the data collection procedure. The data is analysed using Discourse Analysis focusing upon the selected linguistic strategies used in political speeches that influences the discursive enactment of power and leadership.

The research questions are:

1. How are the selected linguistic strategies (of pronouns, positioning, metaphors, story-telling, repetition, and intertextual reference) used in the political speeches of female leaders?
2. How do these strategies influence the discursive enactment of power and leadership among the female political leaders of the past and the present?
3. What are the similarities or differences in speech styles, if any, found in these female political leaders?

3.1 The Data

Five female political leaders are selected in total. One written speech for each leader is taken as the data. Each speech is selected according to the motivational theme. All speeches are approximately 2654 words on average. The chosen female leaders and the speeches are:

1. Margaret Thatcher – Tribute to Ronald Reagen

A speech in recognition of former President, Ronald Reagan's achievements, in the effort to persuade and inspire the audience.

2. Indira Priyadarshini Gandhi – What Educated Women Can Do

A speech on how women have evolved over the years and how they should utilise their strengths to enhance themselves as well as the country.

3. Hillary Rodham Clinton – Gay Rights are Human Rights

A speech which intends to persuade the society in accepting gay rights as human rights.

4. Julia Gillard – A speech to the Leader of the Opposition

A speech against sexism and misogyny that speaks for women's rights.

5. Aung San Suu Kyi

A speech on the experience in Oxford University and the support needed in making Burma a place like Oxford.

Female political leaders were chosen because there has not been much research done on political leadership among female leaders although there have been studies conducted on leadership among female leaders in the corporate/business organisation (Baxter, 2003 & 2008). Two political leaders in the past and three political leaders in the present have been chosen to identify the different types of strategies used in enacting power and leadership and discursively. Female political leaders of the past and present are chosen to distinguish any similarities or differences in speech styles 4 decades ago and now, that may be present which contributes to the enactment of power and leadership discursively. These leaders are prominent political leaders, well known for their strong leadership skills and have produced exemplary achievements in their career as leaders in their nation.

Example:

Margaret Thatcher served as the Prime Minister of United Kingdom and is known to have inspired many with her aggressive approach although during her time, the approach was considered unacceptable by society due to its masculine nature. She was nicknamed “Iron Lady”. Despite that, she was still looked up to as a powerful leader who made drastic change as a Leader of the Conservative Party including the implementation of the Thatcherism policies.

Indira Gandhi served as the Prime Minister of India and was known for her centralisation of power. She was a strong female leader who went to war with Pakistan in support of the independence movement war of independence in East Pakistan, which resulted in an Indian victory and the creation of Bangladesh. She contributed vastly to her country and that makes her a significant leader.

Hillary Rodham Clinton served as the 67th Secretary of State and was known for her significant contributions while serving as the Senator of United States and the First Lady of The United States. Part of her initiatives included her effort to change the dynamics of child care and health care for children. She also played a huge role in the support of military action in Afghanistan and the Iraq War Resolution and took the responsibility for security lapses related to the 2012 Benghazi attack. Hillary Rodham Clinton is also part of many women empowerment programmes. She portrays great leadership qualities and is significant to the study.

Julia Gillard served as the Prime Minister of Australia and the Australian Labour Party Leader being the first woman to hold these positions. Her participation in politics has been significant because it opened a new dimension 42

to politics in the eyes of public by being aggressive in her actions which opposes the notion of women. As a female leader, she made initiatives to change the old school of thoughts on women's role. She is an active feminist who fights for the rights of women hence is seen as a powerful female leader, significant to the study.

Aung San Suu Kyi is a Burmese opposition politician and chairperson of the National League for Democracy. Her contributions are reflected in the ways she fought for the freedom of her country. She was awarded the Rafto Prize and the Sakharov Prize for Freedom of Thought and the Nobel Peace Prize alongside other significant awards. She is listed as one of the most powerful women in the world by Forbes and is significant to the study.

As the research mainly focuses on the different strategies employed by female political leaders' of the past and present, the female leaders are grouped according to past and present leadership periods. Therefore, Indira Gandhi and Margaret Thatcher would be grouped as the past and Julia Gillard, Hillary Rodham Clinton and Aung San Suu Kyi would be grouped as the present leaders.

The research focuses on individual leaders and speeches and identifies their strengths and strategies employed in enacting power and leadership. The reason for looking into individual styles would be because, the researcher believes that each leader be it in the past or present would have their own discursive patterns although they may have conformed to certain cultural norms and analysing to identify their personal individual styles would open the study to a larger perspective of the strategies that has been employed by leaders of the past and present. Then, the researcher would identify the ways in which these strategies influence the discursive enactment of power and leadership.

3.1.1 The choice of data:

The data were all taken from online resources. The data are speeches that have been transcribed. The motivational theme is chosen because through motivational speeches, leaders are able to capture the hearts and minds of the audience. A leader who is able to motivate are considered charismatic individuals who are visionary, sensitive to their environment/followers, articulate, admired and trustworthy yet unconventional (Conger & Kanungo, 1998). These speeches are chosen because these are some of the interesting speeches that has reflected their leadership skills and has become a motivational tool to certain targeted group. This makes the speeches significant to the study because it is able to capture the audience.

Example:

Margaret Thatcher's speech to address her tribute to Ronald Reagan amplifies the fact that she looks up to his leadership thus acts reflects her own leadership skills. It is able to capture the attention of her audience who are friends and family members or people who were closely affiliated with Ronald Reagan.

Indira Gandhi's speech to address the importance of education among women amplifies her strength as a female leader. The targeted audience are young women hence, the speech acts as a motivational tool that is able to engage the audience.

Hillary Rodham Clinton's speech was to address the importance of gay rights which are also part of human rights. This portrays her as a person of compassion and considerate. Her target audience are the transgender and also the people of United States. This acts as a motivational tool which also reflects her ability as a leader who is able to impact the society.

Julia Gillard's speech to address women's rights in the parliament portrays her as a powerful female leader who is able to make a stand thus acts as a tool to inspire women.

This also impacts her target audience who are mainly politicians in the parliament hence is able to position herself firmly.

Aung San Suu Kyi's speech to address her gratitude towards people of Oxford brings out her soft side which is able to capture her audience emotionally. It reflects her leadership qualities and also acts as a motivational tool that inspires her audience.

The selected female leaders are not all Prime Ministers but are key individuals in the political world hence carry a strong sense of leadership. They have all contributed to the country and society in many ways. The selected female leaders had a vision and laid the foundation to that vision that enabled people to follow. The essence of being a leader is to be able to have a strong viewpoint that can be established further for people to follow.

“Without a powerful modern philosophical tradition, without theoretical and empirical cumulation ... we lack the very foundations for knowledge of a phenomenon – leadership ... - that touches and shapes our lives” (Burns, 1978, p. 3).

The speeches are available from the online sources and are also readily transcribed. The research aims to investigate the linguistics strategies (pronouns, positioning, metaphors, storytelling, repetition and intertextual reference) employed by female political leaders therefore, a readily transcribed speech is considered appropriate. It is also taken into account that these speeches may not have been written personally by the leaders themselves instead would have been written by an appointed person in the Parliament. However, to a certain degree, the leaders themselves would have read and approved the speeches before they are heard in public (Stephan Denning, 2008). Therefore, the leadership strategies of these female leaders are reflected in the speeches because it is written based on the key points outlined by these female political leaders.

3.1.2 The data collection procedure:

The data collection procedure for this study is carried out in two stages, namely the selection of texts and also the labeling of texts. The articles chosen are labeled as below, by which the label ‘S’ refers to ‘speech’.

	Female Leaders	Topic	Labels
The Past	Margaret Thatcher	Tribute to Ronald Reagan	S1
	Indira Gandhi	What Educated Women Can Do	S2
The Present	Hillary Rodham Clinton	Gay Rights are Human Rights	S3
	Julia Gillard	A speech to the Leader of the Opposition	S4
	Aung San Suu Kyi	A Speech to the University of Oxford	S5

Table 3.1: Names of female political leaders and the title of their speeches

3.2 Conceptual Framework

In this section, the conceptual notions which influence this study are discussed.

3.2.1 The Notion of Women and Language

Over the years, women have changed drastically and have started taking bigger and more challenging roles. Thus, their speech styles have also evolved to suit their new roles and responsibilities. It is no longer the description of what society perceived as gender roles and speech styles. Those days, women are seen as the weaker gender whose roles and responsibilities revolved in between the walls of their homes (ref. to chapter 2.3). They are often discriminated if they do not conform to social rules and expectations and are shut off from social growth. Their speech styles are considered a submissive speech style where they usually give in to the male gender (ref to. chapter 2.3.1). This usually ends up in women being dominated by men hence lose power or authority over issues. Feminine speech styles also reflected lack of certainty especially when they use lexical items such as hedging and tag questions (ref. to chapter 2.3.1) which lead to audience being sceptical of their abilities hence lack of power held by them.

However, women have come a long way and have not only evolved in their use of language but also gained roles and responsibilities that were once taboo to society. Today, women are able to hold big positions (such as the position of Prime Ministry, Secretary to State etc) and become leaders of countries because they are able to convince their audience on their abilities to lead their countries through the way they speak. One of the signal consequences of the dramatic change in women's participation in the labour force is that women now work side-by-side with men and compete for status with men in the same hierarchies (Browne, 2002). The evolution has certainly taken time and this study examines the ways in which the strategies employed by female political leaders influence the enactment of power and leadership through their speeches that reflect their speech styles. The strategies used by female political leaders indicate the evolvement in women and language.

3.2.2 The Notion of Women and Power

Power is defined as in the past; women were seen as powerless and easily dominated by men (Lakoff, 1975). Their conversations are often viewed as boring and do not have the power to gauge the audience's attention (ref. to chapter 2.3.1). Therefore, women tend to be quiet and passive. If they speak, they are usually interrupted by men and this showcases nothing other than lack of power and easily being dominated. Be it in conversations or in decision making, women are not given the privilege to voice out and were powerless. As years passed, women began taking bigger roles and responsibilities that allowed them to hold some power. Today, women hold positions that give them complete power and dominance over issues (Baxter, 2010). However, women did not gain power overnight. They worked over decades to gain acceptance by society and as society evolved, their perception on women and power too changed. They were discriminated and labelled with names. For example, Margaret Thatcher who displayed aggressive speech styles and actions was named the "Iron Lady" because society

could not accept the change in gender roles (ref. to chapter 2.3.2). However, as years passed, women leaders used various strategies to enact power and leadership and be accepted by the society. Although overall, women are still viewed as incapable of being a great politician (ref. to chapter 2.3.2) there are a number of female political leaders who have stamped a mark of excellence in their work and leadership. These female leaders employ strategies that help them enact power and leadership through powerful speeches (Searle, 1969). This study reveals the various strategies employed by female political leaders in the past and how they are different or similar from the current strategies used in enacting power and leadership.

3.2.3 The Notion of Women and Leadership

In the past, women were seen as incapable of leadership hence, they were not given the opportunity to partake in the political arena (Karau, 2002). However, as women's roles began changing, they started getting involved in politics. In the beginning of their involvement in politics, female political leaders employ the strategies which are similar to that of male political leaders (ref. to chapter 2.4). This clearly indicates that speech styles among female leaders have changed (unlike the gender stereotypical speech styles) and they adopt a rather assertive type of speech style (Lakoff, 1975). There are examples of female leaders who use an assertive approach instead of the tentative approach as suggested to be a more feminine approach such as Margaret Thatcher of the past and Julia Gillard of the present. However, Margaret Thatcher (Gavrilov, 1976) (1976 Sunday Times 25 Jan. 3/2) and Julia Gillard both have been labelled negatively by society because of their assertive approach. This study investigates the linguistic strategies (pronoun, positioning, metaphors, repetition and intertextual reference) employed by female leaders of the past and present and what are the similarities or differences that make them great leaders. The reason for investigating the selected linguistic strategies is to identify the strength of these female leaders and how the use of these selected linguistic strategies reflect

the notion of women and language, power and leadership. The selected linguistic strategies and its connection with leadership skills will be further explained in chapter 3.4 Categories of Analysis.

3.3 Analytical Framework

Discourse Analysis

Discourse analysis is concerned with the investigation of language as it is actually used as opposed to an abstract system or structure of language (see Mills, 1997 for a historicised account of the term ‘discourse’).

Discourse Analysis is a term used to describe a range of research approaches that focus on the use of language. There are many different types of discourse analysis such as conversation analysis, discursive psychology, critical discourse analysis and Foucauldian discourse analysis. Each of these has its own assumptions, emphasis and methods but the key overlapping interest is in the way meaning is constructed in communication.

Discourse analysis is a way of understanding social interactions. The researcher acknowledges their own bias and position on the issue, known as *reflexivity*. The aims of research vary: the aim of one investigator might be to understand power relationships in society in order to bring about change; another may be interested in appearance and how it can shape identity; and another investigator may be interested in an interaction or conversation simply for its own sake (in terms of not knowing what the study might uncover). This study uses the discourse analysis method to analyse the categories of analysis in analysing written speeches that will help identify the underlying strategies beyond text that is used in influencing the discursive enactment of power and leadership through political speeches.

This study employs an analytical framework that attempts to bring together the conceptual notions discussed in the previous section with linguistic analysis.

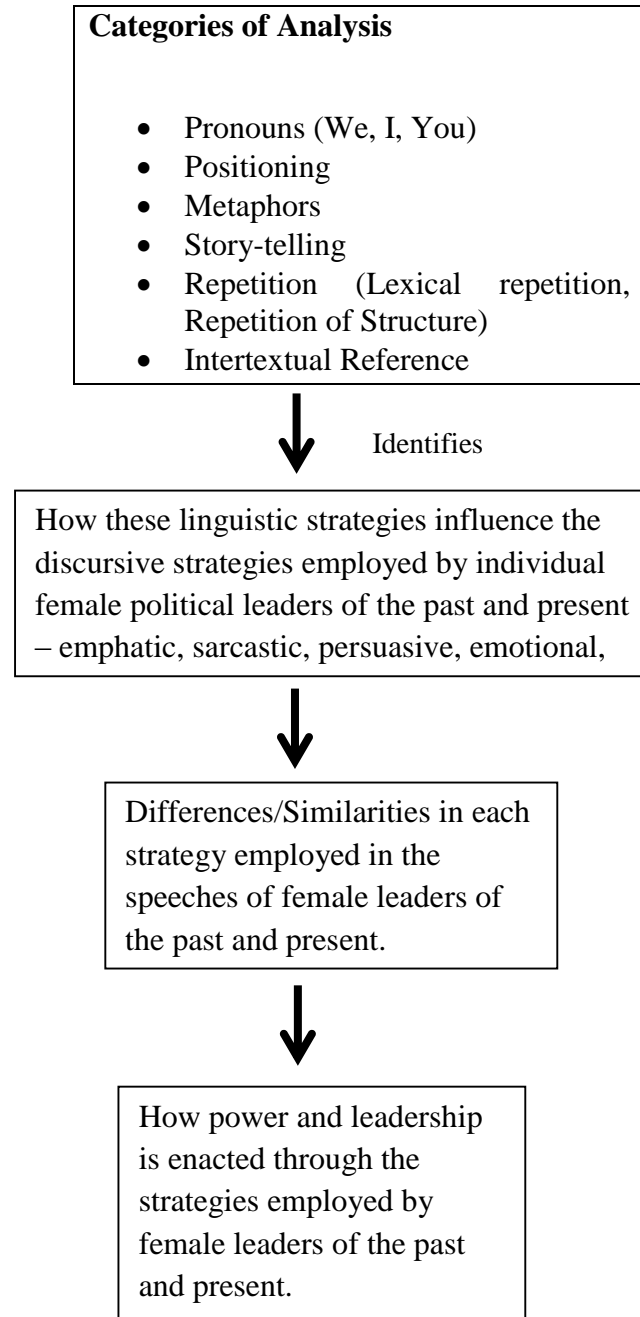


Chart 3.1: Power and leadership enacted through selected linguistic strategies

In this research, each individual female political leader’s speeches would be analysed to identify the use of categories of analysis such as the use pronouns (We, I, You), Positioning,

Metaphors, Story-telling, Repetition (Lexical Repetition and Repetition of Structure) and Intertextual References. The categories of analysis were chosen based on past researches on speech styles that influenced the enactment of power and leadership (Cappone, 2010; Greenstien, 2009; Hart, 1997; Mey, 1993).

The categories of analysis are then further analysed to identify the discursive strategies (emphatic, sarcastic, persuasive, emotional, humourous) employed by these individual female political leaders which helps them connect to their audience thus enact power and leadership. These analyses would then identify the comparative historical approach (similarities and difference) in the strategies employed by female political leaders of the past and present (if any) and how power and leadership is enacted through these strategies.

Finally, through the common traits and differences, the study would be able to identify the similarities and differences between the strategies employed by leaders of the past and how it has influenced the discursive enactment of power and leadership of female leaders of the past and present.

3.4 Categories of Analysis

To answer question one, excerpts that indicates the categories of analysis as mentioned above will be taken and analysed separately to investigate the strategies employed by each individual female leaders in enacting power and leadership discursively whether it contains elements of sarcasm, mitigation, humour, persuasiveness etc. Each speech would be analysed to investigate the categories of analysis as per below:

3.4.1 - Use of pronouns (We, You, I)

Example:	I shall do whatever it takes to keep our country safe.
	We shall do whatever it takes to keep our country safe.

The use of pronoun “I” and “We” sends two different messages. The first indicates sole responsibility but the second indicates shared responsibility. The first sentence does not show unity but the second shows solidarity and acts as a persuasive form.

3.4.2 - Use of positioning

Examples: I understand the situation of students in the university.
As a former student in the university, I understand the situation of the students in the university.

Positioning is a way of letting the audience know that the speaker has been through similar situations as the audience therefore, understands them. It also puts the speaker on par with the audience hence solidarity. The use of positioning is different from the use of pronouns because positioning focuses on the speaker and not the audience therefore the speaker is responsible for the actions placed and shows the complexity of an identity (see 2.1 for explanation on Positioning). Positioning enables the speaker to place herself in the various shoes of the audience hence helps gain the audience’s attention.

3.4.3- Use of metaphors

Example: She can **speak very well**.
She has **got the gift of gab**.

The above sentences are synonym in meaning however, the first sentence is less captivating in comparison to the second sentence. Therefore, metaphors are used to engage readers and stir their thoughts or even sound humourous. Metaphors are not straight forward therefore does not

have strong effect towards an action. Metaphors do not give direct answers but it makes the audience ponder on what was meant by the speaker.

3.4.4- Use of story-telling

Storytelling acts as a way of captivating audience through the play of emotions. Through storytelling, audience are able to engage with the speaker through emotions. (Brueggemann, 1978; Sarbin, 1995; Bradt, 1997; Peterson, 1999; Peterson, 1999). Apart from that, storytelling also has the effect of revealing a shared or common understanding between the audience and the speaker and how the past experiences have shaped an individual. (MacIntyre, 1981; Carr, 1986; Taylor, 1989; Bruner, 1990; Polkinghorne, 1991; Somers, 1992; Hunt, 1994; Somers, 1994; Ricoeur, 1995; Teske, 1997; Polletta, 1998; Davis, 2000; Gergan, 2001; Hincheman and Hincheman, 2001; MacIntyre, 2001).

Example:	Everyone has to work hard to achieve something big in life. When I was s student, I worked as a waitress in a restaurant during the day and burn the midnight oil to do my revision but it paid well because today, I may not be standing where I am if not for the hard work I've put in.
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Story-telling is a strategy employed by speakers to engage the audience. It also helps the audience to understand the intended message clearly. At certain times, when it tells of a speaker's background, life's experiences, it builds solidarity between the audience and them. Hence, it acts to persuade audience.

3.4.5- Use of repetition

- **3.4.5.1 Lexical repetition**

Lexical repetition is a mechanism of producing cohesion in a text by means of repetition of two or more lexical items that are observable at the surface of the text (Halliday and Hasan, 1976).

Example: Let's be one in mind, heart and soul.
 Let's be one in mind, one in heart and one in soul.

The use of “one” in the first sentence does not show emphasis of being one but the one in sentence two shows emphasis being one and strengthens the meaning.

- **3.4.5.2 Repetition of structure**

Controlled or intentional repetition refers to things happening consciously according to the speaker's choice of words. Moreover, intentional repetition is seen in written language and particularly in poetry (Aitchison, 1994: 21-22). Biber et al., proposes that deliberate repetitions are used for emphasis, maintaining attention or for clarity (Biber et al., 1999: 1056).

This research focuses on four types of repetition of structure which are the cohesive repetition, emphatic repetition, intensifying repetition and hesitational repetition.

a) Cohesive Repetition:

Cohesion is defined by Hoey as a grammatical or lexical part of the text that connects sentences to other sentences in the text (Hoey, 1991: 266). Halliday and Hasan explain that cohesion can be achieved partly through grammar and partly through vocabulary. (Halliday, Hasan, 1980: 5).

Example: I've seen good legislation die because good intention weren't enough, because they weren't fortified with a political majority and political will. I've seen this country -- this country's judgment clouded by fear.

The use of cohesive repetition "I've seen" in the first second sentence connects with the first sentence, giving the whole context a flow that can be easily understood by the audience.

b) Emphatic Repetition:

As reported by Persson, emphatic repetition can be represented by a single item but also by a larger unit of speech that is used to contrast, to focus and to arouse emotions. More concretely, this type includes "repetition with emphatic, emotive, assertive, exclamatory, exhortative, insistent, urgent or contrastive force" (Persson, 1974: 50).

As a consequence, emphatic repetition fulfills not only the function of emphasis but also in arousing various emotions and showing vehemence that belongs to its basic characteristics. Emotive repetition acts as a tool that connects the emotions of the speakers as well as the audience, creating an effect that enables the audience to understand the speaker deeper and emotionally.

Example: For when we have faced down impossible odds, when we've been told we're not ready or that we shouldn't try or that we can't, generations of Americans have responded with a simple creed that sums up the spirit of a people: Yes, we can. Yes, we can. Yes, we can.

The word "Yes, we can" has been repeated to show emphasis and to motivate the audience.

This has an emotional effect on the audience as has a tone of insistence and emotive in nature.

c) Intensifying Repetition:

Persson argues that this type of repetition covers cases that express degree or quantity and intensify duration (Persson, 1974: 20-22). Then, intensifying repetition is easily recognisable because it involves only one word, is paraphrasable, and the meaning stays the same. Another typical characteristic is that the repeated item is seen as an integral device (Persson, 1974: 51-52). He also points out that intensification achieved by repeated items chiefly occurs not only in areas of adjectives and adverbs but also in nouns and verbs. Intensifying repetitions communicate mainly cognitive rather than emotive effect (Persson, 1974: 20-22).

Example: It was a sad, sad dream.

The example above shows an intensifying repetition. The word “sad” is repeated to express a certain degree of sadness.

d) Hesitational Repetition:

The hesitational repetition mostly concerns items such as articles, personal pronouns and prepositions with a low informational value and indicates a cognitive activity (Persson, 1974: 152). Persson defines hesitational repetition as simple repetition that does not have clear function mostly as conversation fillers (Persson, 1974: 152-153).

Example: I am against cruelty that I would do anything to banish it.
I am against cruelty, I am against cruelty that I would do anything to banish it.

Repetition is used to empower a message and to remind audience of the message while enabling speakers to speak fluently. Each type of repetition has different effects and ways of stimulating the audience and in this research, the researcher identifies the types of repetition of structure employed by these individual female political leaders and how these repetitions is able to help the female political leaders enact power and leadership.

3.5.6 - Use of Intertextual Reference

Intertextuality is the explicit and implicit relations that a text or utterance has to prior, contemporary and potential future texts. Through such relations a text evokes a representation of the discourse situation, the textual resources that bear on the situation and how the current text positions itself and draws on other texts (Bazerman, 2000). Intertextual analysis examines the relation of a statement to that sea of words, how it uses those words, how it positions itself in respect to those other words (Bazerman, 1991 and 1993).

This study intends to identify the intertextual references that are used by the female political leaders in their speeches and how it is used to enact power and leadership.

<p>Example: People who intend to take revenge would end up destroying the world.</p> <p> I quote the words of Mahatma Gandhi, “An eye for an eye only ends up making the whole world blind.</p>

The above sentences have the same meaning. However, by using intertextual reference, the speaker is using a powerful leader as a guide. This would provide the audience with a belief that the intended meaning is an established and guided one from past teachings from a renowned leader.

3.5 Summary

In summary, this chapter looks into the overall methodology employed by the researcher. The notion of women and language, power and leadership tied with the analytical framework of Discourse Analysis helps in identifying the major components that are involved in revealing the linguistic strategies that influences the discursive enactment of power and leadership among female political leaders of the past and present.

In the following chapter, the research would attempt to put all the above mentioned methodology together in the data analysis.

CHAPTER 4

DATA ANALYSIS

4.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses the strategies employed by female political leaders in enacting power and leadership through their speeches. The purpose of this study is to identify how the selected linguistic strategies influence the enactment of power and leadership (Refer to 1.3 Statement of Purpose). This chapter examines the individual leaders' speeches and identifies the ways in which the six strategies of pronouns, positioning, metaphors, story-telling, repetition, and intertextual reference are employed in the speeches. After the analysis of the use of each strategy in the speeches, there will be a discussion of how each strategy influences the enactment of power and leadership of the female leaders in the past and in the present.

4.1 Analysis of Pronouns

This section will discuss the use of pronouns in the female leaders' speeches before going on to a discussion of how pronouns influence the enactment of power and leadership in the speeches of female leaders in the past and present.

4.1.1 Pronouns as a linguistic strategy

In this study, the researcher will focus only on three pronouns which are the first person singular pronoun "I", first person plural "we" and the second person singular/plural pronoun "you" because these pronouns relate closely between the speaker and the audience.

4.1.1.1 Use of Pronoun “We”

The study covers the use of both the exclusive “we” and the inclusive “we”. The exclusive “we” is used to refer to the speaker and the addressees who are/not present at the moment whereas the inclusive “we” is used to refer to the speaker and the addressees who are present at the moment. This study looks at individual female political leaders and their use of pronoun “we” in their speeches.

4.1.1.1.1 Margaret Thatcher

a). Use of Inclusive “We”

Margaret Thatcher has used the inclusive ‘we’ on many occasions:

1. (L20) **We** *live in an era of sound bites and spin doctors, of false sentiment and real cynicism.*
“We” is used to describe the modern political effect that both Margaret Thatcher and the audience are facing in their lives. They both share a common understanding on the current political systems.
2. (L53) *Well now **we** know, from the mouths of ex-Soviet officials no less, that SDI was crucial in forcing them to renounce military competition and to end the Cold War.*
“We” is used to describe the common understanding that both Margaret Thatcher and the audience share on the ex-Soviet officials on their enforcement towards military competition and the end of Cold War.
3. (L58) *Missile Defence is just one example of the continuity between the world which Ronald Reagan and I faced in the 1980s and the world **we** know today.*
“We” is used to describe the common understanding and sharing of interest on the Missile Defence that has been a continuation of the past political system to the current political situation.
4. (L65) *Rather, **we** face threats from numerous different quarters –*
“We” is used to describe the threats that both Margaret Thatcher and the audience share with the current political situation.
5. (L56) *What **we** have seen proves beyond doubt that America is in truth, not just name, the unrivalled global superpower.*

“We” is used to describe the common understanding of where America stands in the eyes of the world and both Margaret Thatcher and the audience believe so.

6. (L20) **We** live in an era of sound bites and spin doctors, of false sentiment and real cynicism.

“We” is used to describe the modern political effect that both Margaret Thatcher and the audience are facing in their lives. They both share a common understanding on the current political systems.

Text Box 4.1: Use of Inclusive “We” – Margaret Thatcher

The above data shows that Margaret Thatcher has used the inclusive “we” in her speech. Statement 1-5 indicates the use of inclusive “we” to state sharing of interest between herself and her audience. The use of inclusive “we” indicates that both the speaker and audience are aware of the situation that they are facing and that they stand on the same grounds on how they feel about the situation. By using the inclusive “we”, Margaret Thatcher is able to convey the message of solidarity to her audience. The notion of solidarity is able to convince the audience and build trust among the audience and allow her to be the leader who will bring a change or difference in their lives. Statement 6 indicates the use of inclusive “we” to state a call for action together as one. She uses the inclusive “we” to urge her audience to act together in what she believes in. This too shows an act of solidarity whereby she seeks for oneness from her audience to fight for what she believes in. By using the pronoun “we” that is intended to the audience, she is putting herself as one with the audience hence, there is no hierarchy to separate the leader from the audience. The use of inclusive “we” brings the audience closer to her.

As a conclusion, Margaret Thatcher uses the inclusive “we” to build trust and solidarity among her audience through common sharing of interest. Through this, she is able to let her audience know that she is aware of how they feel and how they are impacted in the process and that she is there to help make a change and difference in their lives with the help from them. The use of inclusive “we” acts as a form of persuasion to bring the audience to be favourable in her direction.

b). Use of Exclusive “We”

In terms of the Use of Exclusive “We”, Thatcher’s speeches also show several examples:

1. (L5) *Ronnie and I got to know each other at a time when we were both in Opposition, and when a good many people intended to keep us there.*
“We” is used to describe the sharing of interest between Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan and how they have strived together in the political arena.

2. (L8) *But in a certain sense, we remained an opposition, we were never the establishment. We were opposed to big government, to fashionable opinion within the belt-way, and to the endless round of so-called liberal solutions to problems the liberals themselves had created.*
“We” is used to describe the sharing of political interest between Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan and how they have survived the challenging world of politics together.

Text Box 4.2: Use of Exclusive “We” – Margaret Thatcher

The data above shows that Margaret Thatcher has used the exclusive “we” to show a common trait and sharing of interests between herself and her extended audience who are not directly impacted. She uses the exclusive “we” to show her political relationship with Ronald Reagan who is a powerful and influential politician in the past. The use of pronoun “we” shows that there is solidarity between Ronald Reagan, the President of The United States and herself, president of The United Kingdom thus, she is able to capture the attention of the audience while instilling in them opinions of two great leaders. The use of “we” acts as a form of persuasion in making the audience think and believe like Ronald Reagan, a powerful and influential leader. By using the exclusive pronoun “we” to show the sharing of interest and beliefs between herself and Ronald Reagan, she is able to persuade her audience to think and act like herself.

4.1.1.1.2 Indira Gandhi

a) Use of Inclusive “We”

Indira Gandhi has used the inclusive ‘we’ on many occasion.

1. (L2) *It is as we build our homes that we can build our country.*
 “We” is used to state a common sharing of cultural belief between Indira Gandhi and the audience. The use of “we” further emphasises on the kind of life and cultural background Indira Gandhi has been brought up in.
2. (L22) *Now, we have got education and there is a debate all over the country whether this education is adequate to the needs of society or the needs of our young people.*
 “We” is used to describe the challenges, restrictions and struggles that both Indira Gandhi and the audience who are women face in the education system.
3. (L31) *We know of first class students, especially I medicine or nuclear energy.*
 “We” is used to describe a common sharing of interest between Indira Gandhi and the audience on students who have been successful in lives.
4. (L38) *...our capability how we can extract the good, how we can make use of what is around us.*
 “We” is used to call for action as one between Indira Gandhi and the audience. It is a form of persuasion that brings the audience together as one to make a change for the better of their lives.
5. (L50) *Now, all these bad things we have to fight against and that is what we are doing since Independence.*
6. (L52) *But, we must not allow this dark side of the picture which, by the way.*
7. (L55) *..., we seem to want to project the worst side of society.*
 “We” is used to call for action as one to fight against all the bad things that have been happening in India. Indira Gandhi used the inclusive “we” so show that she is one and on the same level with her audience and they should work together as one to achieve a goal that is favourable to all of them. It is a form of persuasion to make her audience work together as one and to think and acts like her.

Text Box 4.3: Use of Inclusive “We” – Indira Gandhi

The above data indicates that Indira Gandhi used the inclusive “we” in her speech for two reasons. Sentences 1-3 show that Indira Gandhi has used the inclusive “we” to state a common sharing of interest between herself and her audience. By doing so, she is able to inform her audience that she is no different from them when it comes to education and cultural believes. This acts as a form of persuasion because Indira Gandhi is able to bring her audience together

emotionally to think and act like her through the common cultural believes, struggles and challenges that she has faced as a student. She strengthens her thoughts and believes through the sharing of interest that she has with her audience and indirectly builds trust. Sentence 4-7 shows the use of inclusive “we” to call for action as one. By using the inclusive “we”, she is urging her audience to act according to what she believes in. This enables Indira Gandhi to reinforce her power through the call of action as one.

As a conclusion, it can be said that Indira Gandhi has used the inclusive “we” for two purposes which are to state a common sharing of interest which binds her to her audience and builds trust because the audience knows that she has been through the same struggles as they are facing and trust that she would be able to bring change to them as well as the use of “we” to call for action as one. Through this, Indira Gandhi is putting herself on par with her audience and sending them the message that she cannot do it alone but only with the help of all of them as one, which gives her audience confidence and a certain level of power in achieving a goal. The use of inclusive “we” acts as a form of persuasion in bringing the audience together as one to achieve a goal.

b). Use of Exclusive “We”

In terms of the Use of Exclusive “We”, Gandhi’s speeches also show several examples:

1. (L14) ***We*** just did not walk.
“We” is used to describe the Indian girls of India who were conformed to social norms and culture. It is to inform the audience that they are not the only one but she (Indira Gandhi) too have gone through the challenges of being a woman in the country.
2. (L8) ***We*** -- and by "***we***" I do not mean only ***we*** in India but all the world -- have neglected women education.
“We” is used to describe the women of the world and not only in India where the rights to get education and be educated have been stripped of the many women of the world.

Text Box 4.4: Use of Exclusive “We” - Indira Gandhi

The data above shows that Indira Gandhi has used the exclusive “we” in her speech to connect her beliefs to the beliefs of the many challenged and underprivileged women around the world. By doing so, Indira Gandhi is able to persuade her audience to act upon the cruel act against women’s rights to education. She is urging her audience to make a change so that her country will change. Indira Gandhi tackled the young women of India because she is a woman and she is able to persuade other woman to break the barriers that the cultural norms have set by sharing her personal background that is similar to that of those women. By making a change in the mind sets of women, she believes that she would be able to bring a little change to the country. The use of exclusive “we” is used by Indira Gandhi as an example to her audience on how women have not been given similar rights as men to pursue education in certain parts of the country, hence the slowdown on economic growth. By giving such examples, Indira Gandhi is able to persuade the audience to acts against the cultural norms and get the rights to education for the betterment of themselves and the country.

4.1.1.1.3 Julia Gillard

a) Use of Inclusive “We”

Julia Gillard has used the inclusive ‘we’ on many occasions:

1. (L154) *But **we** will see none of that from the Leader of the Opposition because on these questions he is incapable of change.*
“We” is used to share her opinion with her audience as one in an attempt to go against the Leader of the Opposition.
2. (L12) ***We** are now supposed to take seriously that the Leader of the Opposition is offended by Mr Slipper’s text messages, when this is the Leader of the Opposition who has said, and this was when he was a minister under the last government...*
3. (L29) *This is the man from whom **we’re** supposed to take lectures about sexism*
“We” is used to share her thoughts and opinion and speak on behalf of the audience on what she thinks and feels of the Leader of the Opposition.

Text Box 4.5: Use of Inclusive “We” – Julia Gillard

The data above shows that Julia Gillard has used the inclusive “we” to express her opinions and thoughts which are in line with the thoughts and opinions of her audience who are Members of the Parliament. By using the inclusive “we”, Julia Gillard is able to speak for the other Members of the Parliament. The use of inclusive “we” shows solidarity as it does not reflect one voice, her voice but the voice of the audience as well hence shows that what she believes in is accepted by the audience.

As a conclusion, there is a lot of sarcasm in the tone of the speech. The use of sarcasm creates an indirect approach that makes the audience ponder on the message hence acts as a form of persuasion.

b) Use of Exclusive “We”

Julia Gillard did not use the exclusive “we” in this speech because the speech related her own emotions, thoughts and actions.

4.1.1.1.4 Hillary Rodham Clinton

a) Use of Inclusive “We”

Hillary Rodham Clinton has used the inclusive ‘we’ on many occasions:

- | | |
|----------|---|
| 1. (L3) | <i>This weekend, <u>we</u> will celebrate Human Rights Day, the anniversary of one of the great accomplishments of the last century.</i>
“We” is used to express the sharing of interest between Hillary and the audience on the celebration of Human Rights Day. |
| 2. (L18) | <i>It does not matter what country <u>we</u> live in, who our leaders are, or even who <u>we</u> are.</i>
“We” is used to express general opinion on the way people should live. The use of “we” acts as a form of persuasion in working towards what they believe in despite the challenges that comes around it. |
| 3. (L19) | <i>Because <u>we</u> are humans, we therefore have rights. And because <u>we</u> have rights, governments are bound to protect them.</i>
“We” is used to express freedom of rights on behalf of the audience. It is a form of persuasion that urges the audience to speak for their rights. |

- | | |
|----------|---|
| 4. (L34) | <i>Today, I want to talk about the work <u>we</u> have left to do to protect one group of people whose human rights are still denied in too many parts of the world today.</i> |
| 5. (L48) | <i>So <u>we</u>, like all nations, have more work to do to protect human rights at home. “We” is used to call for action to work together as one in protecting the minority group that has been long discriminated. It acts as a form of persuasion that urges everyone to work together as one in accepting and protecting the minority group.</i> |

Text Box 4.6: Use of Exclusive “We” - Hillary Rodham Clinton

The data above shows that Hillary Rodham Clinton has used the inclusive “We” to speak in general and be one as the audience. Her use of the inclusive “we” positions herself as one with the audience and she states her opinions and thoughts as one with the audience. She uses the inclusive “we” for two reasons, one to state her opinions and thoughts by putting herself as one with her audience which indirectly acts as a form of persuasion in urging her audience to recognise the freedom of rights and accepting the minority group and secondly to call for action. She uses the inclusive “we” to put herself one with the audience as she calls all together as one to act upon what she believes in.

As a conclusion, it can be said that Hillary Rodham Clinton has used the inclusive “we” to create a sense of oneness between herself and her audience. By doing so, she is urging her audience to recognise and accept the freedom of rights of the minority group. Apart from that, she has used the inclusive “we” to urge them to act together as one in protecting the rights of the minority group.

b). Use of Exclusive “We”

In terms of the Use of Exclusive “We”, Clinton’s speeches also show several examples:

- | | |
|---------|---|
| 1. (L7) | <i>In the aftermath of World War II, many nations pressed for a statement of this kind to help ensure that <u>we</u> would prevent future atrocities and protect the inherent humanity and dignity of all people. “We” is used to express her thoughts and opinions which are in line with that off the delegates from six other countries.</i> |
|---------|---|

Text Box 4.7: Use of Exclusive “We”

The data above shows that Hillary Rodham Clinton has used the exclusive “we” to express her thoughts and opinions which are in line with that of other delegates from six other countries. She indirectly expresses that her opinions and thoughts are supported by a larger constitution that supports her notion of standing up for the minority group. This acts as a form of persuasion to urge the audience to accept the minority group and treat them with justice as the right thing to do is to respect the freedom of rights. The use of exclusive “we” shows solidarity between her and the six other delegates which also acts as a strong force for the audience to work towards what she believes in.

As a conclusion, Hilary Rodham Clinton used the exclusive “we” to show solidarity between herself and the delegates of six other countries. While she has set herself on par with her audience by using the inclusive “we” to show she is one with them, she has also set herself on par with the delegates of the six other countries, as a leader by using the exclusive “we” so that she is able to urge her audience to work together with her and think in line with her and the leaders of the other countries.

4.1.1.1.5 Aung San Suu Kyi

a) Use of Inclusive “We”

Aung San Suu Kyi did not use the Inclusive “We” in this speech.

b). Use of Exclusive “We”

In terms of the Use of Exclusive “We”, Suu Kyi’s speeches also show several examples:

- | | |
|----------|---|
| 1. (L16) | <u>We</u> were nice, the students now are nice. |
| 2. (L19) | They were so open, as <u>we</u> were open – because <u>we</u> had been given a chance to be open. |
| 3. (L20) | <u>We</u> were not afraid – there was no reason for us to be afraid – and this opened us to the world. |

4. (L26) *These were the sort of things we noticed as students, and talked about, and built a whole philosophy on this little fact that we had different sets of knees, our knees were shaped differently.*
 “We” is used to express her thoughts on her experience in Oxford as a student with her peers and how they all have together as one. Aung San Suu Kyi used the exclusive “We” to share with her audience the common thoughts and believes that she has shared with her peers in Oxford while she studied there.
5. (L82) *It is a road that we will have to carve out for ourselves.*
6. (L83) *This is a road that we will have to build as we go along*
7. (L85) *They think that the road where we are standing is like one of those highways on which I travelled from London to Oxford*
 “We” is used to express her thought and opinions on behalf of her people and country, Burma. She puts herself on par with her people of Burma and seeks to change the current situation of her country to a better country and would like to use the values and principles that she has learnt in Oxford to make that change. The use of exclusive “we” is also a call for action, to make a change for her country.

Text Box 4.8: Use of Exclusive “We” – Aung San Suu Kyi

The data above shows that Aung San Suu Kyi has used the exclusive “We” in her speech for two reasons. First, she has used the exclusive “we” to show solidarity between herself and her peers of Oxford. The use of exclusive “we” shows that her thoughts and beliefs are similar to that of her peers in Oxford. They think alike and act alike hence, she is an outcome of what Oxford has sowed. This indirectly tells her audience who are people of Oxford that she is one with them too. By doing so, she is able to connect herself to her audience and share a common interest and gauge her audience’s attention. Second, she used the exclusive “We” to speak on behalf of her citizen in Burma and the change that is needed to become like the people of Oxford. She places herself on par with her people in Burma and speaks on behalf of them to bring change to her country. It is a call for action and she uses the exclusive “we” to show solidarity between herself and the citizen of Burma.

As a conclusion, Aung San Suu Kyi has used the exclusive “we” to share her thoughts and opinions and show solidarity towards her audience who are the community of Oxford. She

also used the exclusive “we” to show solidarity and build trust between herself and the people of Burma so that they can be one in mind to make a change for the country.

4.1.1.2 Analysis of Pronoun “I”

The use of pronouns ‘I’ as with the pronoun ‘You’ expresses sociable styles and connotes a higher degree of intimacy and solidarity, as shown in Cameron (2001:132). The combination of ‘I’ and ‘You’ shows not only strong emotion, but also informal relationship between the speaker and the listener. This section looks into individual use of pronoun “I” in the speeches.

4.1.1.2.1 Margaret Thatcher

Margaret Thatcher has used the pronoun “I” in several occasions.

- | | |
|-----------|--|
| 1. (L5) | <i>Ronnie and I got to know each other at a time when we were both in Opposition.</i> |
| 2. (L58) | <i>Missile Defence is just one example of the continuity between the world which Ronald Reagan and I faced in the 1980s and the world that we know today.</i>
Sentence 1 and 2 shows that pronoun “I” has been used to express personal experiences. The sharing of personal experiences creates informal conversations that makes Margaret Thatcher closer to her audience. |
| 3. (L56) | <i>I mean, of course, Ballistic Missile Defense.</i> |
| 4. (L84) | <i>I am pleased and proud that Britain, once again has made an important contribution to this struggle against evil.</i> |
| 5. (L103) | <i>I hope and trust that Britain will support to hit the action your President decides to take.</i>
Sentence 3 to 5 shows the use of pronoun “I” in expressing personal opinions, thoughts and wishes. The use of pronoun “I” makes the speech more personal and reachable to the audience hence is able to captivate the audience’s attentions. |

Text Box 4.9: Use of Pronoun “I” – Margaret Thatcher

The data above shows that Margaret Thatcher has used the personal pronoun “I” in her speech. She used the pronoun “I” to either relate her experiences or to state her personal

opinions. The use of pronoun “I” in her speech enhances her stand as the leader as it acts as a personal voice especially in relating her experiences and friendship with Ronald Reagan and how they are in sync in thoughts on achieving liberty. This in turn increases rapport between the audience and herself as they are able to relate the sacrifices and fight that Ronald Reagan had put forward to become a great leader and the sacrifices and fight that Margaret Thatcher would put forth in gaining the same objective. The use of personal pronoun “I” makes the speech more personal and Margaret Thatcher is able to reach to her audience better through personal experiences which can only be expressed by using the personal pronoun “I”.

As a conclusion, Margaret Thatcher has used the personal pronoun “I” to either express her personal life’s experiences that has made her to be a person she is today. Her beliefs are built based on the life’s experiences that she has had and she is able to make her audience understand her standpoint through the life experiences that she has had. She has also used the personal pronoun “I” to express her personal thoughts, ideas and wishes so that it becomes a personal message from her to the audience. The use of personal pronoun “I” while expressing personal thoughts and opinions also acts as a form of persuasion by urging the audience to act according to her stance.

4.1.1.2.2 Indira Gandhi

Indira Gandhi has used the pronoun “I” in several occasions:

- | | |
|----------|---|
| 1. (L9) | <i>Off course, not to you but when <u>I</u> was a child, the story of early days of women’s education in England...</i> |
| 2. (L12) | <i><u>I</u> remember what used to happen here.</i> |
| 3. (L12) | <i><u>I</u> still remember the days when living in old Delhi...</i> |
| 4. (L13) | <i><u>I</u> had to go out in dholi if <u>I</u> left the house</i>
Sentence 1 to 4 shows the use of personal pronoun “I” in expressing personal experiences. Indira Gandhi has used the personal pronoun “I” to express her experiences as a an young Indian girl who was tied down with cultural norms |

and beliefs and the struggles she had to endure in the course of her growing years. The use of personal pronoun “I” makes her life’s experiences very personal and in a way it captures the attention of her audience because they are able to relate their lives with that off Indira Gandhi.

5. (L23) *I am one of those who always believe that education is not bad, that event he present...*

6. (L36) *So, that is why I say that there is something worthwhile.*

7. (L93) *As I said, we do have many shortcomings...*

Sentence 5 to 7 shows the use of personal pronoun “I” in expressing personal views, opinions and thoughts. The use of personal pronoun “I” makes the message informal and personal in the sense that it is directly from her to the audience.

8. (L59) *...I think every time you will find, it will be more and more difficult for you to do it.*

9. (L89) *..., I think, nobody has yet been able to point out to me which country has more freedom of expression or action.*

Sentence 8 and 9 shows the use of personal pronoun “I” as a form of hedging. The word “think” is accompanied by “I” which is necessary otherwise, the word would not bear meaning. The above sentence does not impact the use of personal pronoun “I” directly and can be aborted but Indira Gandhi has used it to express uncertainty not because she is unsure of what she is saying but rather there is no solid evidence in her statement. The outcome of her statement may result in either yes or no. The use of personal pronoun “I” here acts as a form of mitigation to lessen the force of information that she is saying.

Text Box 4.10: Use of Pronoun “I” – Indira Gandhi

The above data shows that Indira Gandhi has used the personal pronoun “I” mainly to express her personal life experiences as well as to express her personal opinions, thoughts and views. The use of personal pronoun “I” in expressing her personal life’s experiences makes the message very personal and Indira Gandhi is able to draw herself closer to her audience as they share an almost similar life’s experiences which are conformed to cultural norms and values. This helps her build trust among her audience hence helps position herself stronger as a leader who understands the needs of her audience. The use of personal pronoun “I” to express personal thoughts, views and opinions makes Indira Gandhi seem approachable and the advises

that she gives seem like a personal one to one like message which makes her closer to her audience.

As a conclusion, Indira Gandhi has used the personal pronoun “I” to express life’s experiences and express thought, opinions and views as a way of getting closer and capturing her audience’s attention. The sharing of similar life’s experiences help build trust between her and her audience hence acts as a form of persuasion to urge her audience to think and act like her. This indirectly helps her gain power and leadership. Indira Gandhi has also used the personal pronoun as a form of hedging which acts as a way of mitigating the information that she stated. It is used not because she is unsure of the information but simply because the outcome may vary on different individuals.

4.1.1.2.3 Julia Gillard

Julia Gillard has used the pronoun “I” in several occasions:

1. (L1) *Thank you very much Deputy Speaker and **I** rise to oppose the motion moved by the Leader of the Opposition.*
2. (L2) *And in so doing **I** say to the Leader of the Opposition **I** will not be lectured about sexism and misogyny by this man.*
3. (L3) ***I** will not.*
4. (L7) *Well **I** hope the Leader of the Opposition has got a piece of paper and he is writing out his resignation.*
5. (L17) *He has said, and **I** quote, in a discussion about women being under-represented in institutions of power in Australia, the interviewer was a man called Stavros.*
Sentence 1-5 shows the use of personal pronoun “I” to express her personal voice against the Leader of the opposition. Julia Gillard has used the personal pronoun “I” to sternly voice her personal opinions and objections towards the Leader of the Opposition.
6. (L162) ***I’ve** had him yell at me to shut up in the past, but **I** will take the remaining seconds of my speaking time to say to the Leader of the Opposition **I** think the best course for him is to reflect...*

Sentence 1-6 shows the use of personal pronoun “I” in expressing her past experience with the Leader of the Opposition. The use of personal pronoun “I” indicates her personal encounter whereby she was directly impacted as a woman and by stating this experience, she is justifying herself and her stance.

Text Box 4.11: Use of Pronoun “I” – Julia Gillard

The data above shows that Julia Gillard has used the personal pronoun “I” to express her sincere regret and hatred towards the Leader of the Opposition. By using the pronoun “I”, she is indicating her personal voice that is against the Leader of the Opposition. It is also a way of expressing her emotions while accentuating the power that she has. By using the personal pronoun “I”, she is projecting a bold image and that she is not afraid of negative remarks and neither is afraid of the consequences of her statements. Her use of personal pronoun “I” reflects a person of confidence, power and strong dominance. The use of sarcasm in her speech also reflects her boldness and that she is not afraid to use words that can be discriminating.

As a conclusion, Julia Gillard’s use of personal pronoun “I”, besides being used to express her personal voice also projects power and dominance, boldness and confidence.

4.1.1.2.4 Hillary Rodham Clinton

Hillary Rodham Clinton has used the pronoun “I” in several occasions:

1. (L1) ***I** want to thank Director General Tokayev and Ms. Wyden along with other ministers, ambassadors, excellence’s, and UN partners.*
2. (L34) *Today, **I** want to talk about the work we have left to do to protect one group of people whose human rights are still denied in too many parts of the world today.*
3. (L42) ***I** am talking about gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender people, human beings born free and given bestowed equality and dignity, who have a right to claim that, which is now one of the remaining human rights challenges of our time.*

The use of personal pronoun “I” in sentence 1 to 3 shows that Hillary used the pronoun “I” to express her thoughts and considerations in working towards

the minority group. She uses the pronoun “I” to express her own thoughts and views.

4. (L189) *To the leaders of those countries where people are jailed, beaten, or executed for being gay, **I** ask you to consider this: Leadership, by definition, means being out in front of your people when it is called for.*

Sentence 4 shows that Hillary used the personal pronoun “I” to make a personal request to her audience to consider her stance and help her work towards it.

Text Box 4.12: Use of Pronoun “I” – Hillary Rodham Clinton

The data above shows that Hillary Rodham Clinton used the personal pronoun “I” to express her thoughts and considerations on the minority group. She used the personal pronoun “I” to let her audience know that she, an influential person is okay with the fact that the minority group are given due consideration on human rights as they are also human and they deserve to be treated right. Her personal opinions on LGBT minorities were expressed openly as she believes that her opinions are valued by the audience due to her standing as a leader. Therefore, she is able to voice her personal thoughts and persuade the audience to think and act as she would. Hillary Rodham Clinton also used the personal pronoun “I” to make a request to the audience to consider her beliefs and thoughts and work towards accepting the minority group. She believes that by making a personal request, her audience would be more obliging because she is putting herself on par with her audience and asking them to do her a favour. She is not imposing any rules instead requesting her audience to consider which means, she is not directly enforcing power on them but indirectly enacting power by gaining acceptance from her audience. By doing so, Hillary Rodham Clinton is indirectly persuading her audience to accept the minority group and give them due considerations.

As a conclusion, Hillary Rodham used the personal pronoun “I” in her speech to express her personal opinions and also the make a request from her audience which indirectly acts as a form of persuasion in urging them to accept what she believes in. Through this, she is able to enact power and leadership.

4.1.1.2.5 Aung San Suu Kyi

Aung San Suu Kyi has used the pronoun “I” in several occasions:

1. (L1) *The years that **I** spent as a student at St Hugh’s; the years **I** spent in Park Town as a wife and mother the years **I** spent under house arrest.*
2. (L5) *During the most difficult years **I** was upheld by memories of Oxford.*
3. (L5) *These were among the most important inner resources that helped me to cope with all the challenges **I** had to face.*
4. (L8) *Some are days like these, when **I** went on the Cherwell with friends in a punt, or sat reading on the lawn at St Hugh’s, or in the library -...*
Sentence 1 to 4 indicates the use of personal pronoun “I” in expressing personal experiences. Aung San Suu Kyi has used the personal pronoun “I” to express her past experiences as a student in Oxford University.
5. (L66) ***I** think **I** was the only Burmese person resident in the university for the first couple of years.*
6. (L70) *And **I** never felt that they were different from me.*
7. (L78) *And that’s why throughout the years when **I** was struggling for human rights in Burma **I** felt **I** was doing something of which my old university would have approved.*
Sentence 5 to 7 indicates the use of the personal pronoun “I” to express her opinion and thoughts which is further connected to the ideas supported by her former university.

Text Box 4.13: Use of Pronoun “I” – Aung San Suu Kyi

The data above shows that Aung San Suu Kyi has used the pronoun “I” in her speeches to either express her personal experience or to state her personal opinion. Aung San Suu Kyi has used the personal pronoun “I” to tell of her stories as a student in Oxford to her audience to help them relate their life experiences with that of hers. This way, she is able to build a sense of closeness with her audience as they share common experience as students of Oxford University. Through the use of personal pronoun “I” in expressing her personal experiences, she is able to put herself in a position more accepted by her audience, Oxford educated, on par with the audience and not just another citizen from Burma which is a third world country with

underprivileged citizens. By making positive implications on her experience in Oxford, she is able to connect with her audience. In her use of pronoun “I” in expressing her opinion, she talks about growth and development for the country as a leader. Through this, she positions herself as a former student of Oxford who has the ideas and thoughts that are similar to that of the teaching of the Oxford University while striving as a leader of her country, Burma, to help make a change in her country. Her use of personal pronoun “I” also acts as a form of persuasion, urging her audience to extend a helping hand in making what she believes, in line with what her audience have learnt and believe in to make a change in her country.

As a conclusion, Aung San Suu Kyi has used the personal pronoun “I” to express her personal experiences and personal opinions and thoughts to gain attention and acceptance from her audience to help her country. She puts herself on par with her audience in order to gain help for her country and that is a reflection of power and leadership.

4.1.1.3 Analysis of Pronoun “You”

The second person singular and plural pronoun “You” is usually used to indicate either a single or a group of audience. It does not reflect hierarchy and stands neutral to show that a particular conversation is directed to that person. In the above data, all female leaders use the pronoun “You” in a plural form which is directed to the audience except for one leader, S3 who have used the pronoun “You” directly at an individual. In some ways, the use of pronoun “You” also gives each individual in the audience an obligation as well as individual responsibility and commitment.

4.1.1.3.1 Margaret Thatcher

Margaret Thatcher has used the pronoun “You” in several occasions.

1. (L47) *Do **you** remember how he was told that the only way to deal with Soviet advances was to negotiate arms control?*
2. (L49) *Do **you** remember how they said that toughness in dealing with the Soviets would only help...*
3. (L52) *And do **you** remember how much they mocked an old man's obsession with Star Wars?*
Plural pronoun “you” in sentence 1 to 3 is used to raise questions to the audience. The purpose of the question was not to gain an answer but merely as a reminder to her audience.

Text Box 4.14: Use of Pronoun “You” – Margaret Thatcher

The data above shows that Margaret Thatcher has used the pronoun “you” in her speech but the use was to question the audience not with a purpose of getting an answer from them but to simply arouse the questions in their minds and to remind them of something that they have shared together emotionally. It’s an ironic way of getting the audience to think while giving them the answers. The use of pronoun “you” somewhat bridges the gap between the audience and her and she is able to better relate to her audience without social boundaries of leader and audience. The use of plural pronoun “you” although is directed to all her audience seems somehow directed to each individual in the group hence makes the message personal.

As a conclusion, Margaret Thatcher has used the plural pronoun “you” in the analysed speech to make a statement or voice her stance through the form of questions. The use of pronoun “you” as a form of question directly impacts all her audience and although there is no need to answer the question, it makes the audience create answers in the minds.

4.1.1.3.2 Indira Gandhi

Indira Gandhi has used the pronoun “You” in several occasions:

1. (L14) *First, you had your sari with which you covered your head, then you had another shawl or something with which you covered your hand and all the body, then you had a white shawl, with which everything was covered by another cloth.*
2. (L58) *If your teacher tells you, “You cannot do this,” even if you are a very bright student, I think every time you will find, it will be more and more difficult for you to do it.*
3. (L61) *...saying, “Go along, you have done very good work, now try a little harder,” then you will try a little harder and you will be able to do it.*
4. (L105) *You simply could not have long hair and go in the villages and wash it every day*
Plural pronoun “you” in sentence 1 to 4 is used to provide example to her audience. By using the pronoun “you”, the message is personal and seems somewhat directed to each individual audience present.
5. (L106) *So, when you lead a life, a particular kind of life, your clothes, your everything has to fit into that life if you are to be efficient.*
6. (L107) *If you have to go in the villages and you have to bother whether your clothes are going to be dirty, then you cannot be a good worker.*
7. (L109) *You have to forget everything of that kind.*
Plural pronoun “you” in sentence 5 to 7 is used to provide advice to her audience. The use of pronoun “you” makes the message more effective as the audience hear it as a personal advice to each of them.
8. (L125) *Some people think that only by taking up very high jobs, you are doing something important or you are doing national service.*
9. (L76) *I do not know how many of you know that the countries of Western Europe and Japan import 41 per cent of their food needs, whereas India imports just under two per cent.*
Plural pronoun “you” in sentence 8 to 9 is used to share her views and opinion.

Text Box 4.15: Use of Pronoun “You” – Indira Gandhi

The above data shows that Indira Gandhi has used the plural pronoun “you” in her speech to provide examples, advice and views and opinions that are directed to her audience. The use of plural pronoun “you” gives an impact that the message is directly intended to each individual audience. The use of plural pronoun “you” makes each individual responsible hence makes a call for action simpler. Apart from that, when Indira Gandhi uses the plural pronoun

“you”, it creates an informal tone which eliminates the leader and audience boundaries thus making it easier to penetrate the audience emotionally.

As a conclusion, Indira Gandhi use the plural pronoun “you” to provide examples, advice and opinions which has the effect of directly impacting the audience individually. By doing so, each individual audience feel a need to act upon it which means it is a form of indirect persuasion.

4.1.1.3.3 Julia Gillard

Julia Gillard has used the pronoun “You” in several occasions:

- | |
|---|
| 1. (L32) <u>You</u> said that in March 2004, I suggest <u>you</u> check the records
The use of singular pronoun “you” is intended to an individual person. |
|---|

Text Box 4.16: Use of Pronoun “You” – Julia Gillard

The data above shows the use of singular pronoun “you” by Julia Gillard in her speech. She has used the pronoun “you” to a single individual in her audience. The use of the singular pronoun “you” which was intended to one particular person was to make justification to her statement. The use of pronoun “you” was to blame the individual for his acts. The use of pronoun “you” in the speech appears to be straight forward and message is very strong hence portrays her as a powerful and dominant person.

As a conclusion, Julia Gillard has used the singular pronoun “you” which is intended directly at a particular individual. By doing so, she displays a sense of straight forwardness and boldness. She projects herself as a powerful leader, unafraid of the consequences of her act.

4.1.1.3.4 Hillary Rodham Clinton

Hillary Rodham Clinton has used the pronoun “You” in several occasions:

1. (L189) *To the leaders of those countries where people are jailed, beaten, or executed for being gay, I ask **you** to consider this: Leadership, by definition, means being out in front of your people when it is called for.*
2. (L52) *So I come here before **you** with respect, understanding, and humility. Even though progress on this front is not easy, we cannot delay acting.*
The use of plural pronoun “you” in sentence 1 and 2 shows that Hillary has used them to make a request from her audience. The use of pronoun “you” although is intended to all her audience seems like a personal request to each individual audience present and not physically present but directly involved.
3. (L204) *Wherever **you** live and whatever the circumstances of your life, whether **you** are connected to a network of support or feel isolated and vulnerable, please know that **you** are not alone.*
4. (L206) *People around the globe are working hard to support **you** and to bring an end to the injustices and dangers **you** face.*
Sentence 3 and 4 shows the use of plural pronoun “you” to make reference to the minority group.

Text Box 4.17: Use of Pronoun “You” – Hillary Rodham Clinton

The data above shows that Hillary Rodham Clinton has used the plural pronoun “you” to address two different groups of audience, one which consist of the audience that she is making a plea from and another a group of audience where she is making the plea for. The use of plural pronoun “you” makes the intended message personal and although directed to a group of audience, seems like it is directed to individual audience. She used the pronoun “you” to make a request from the audience and also used the pronoun “you” to give the minority group positive advice on the outcome.

The use of plural pronoun “you” in making a request although intended to a group of audience has an effect of impacting them as an individual. While it is a request, the use of pronoun “you” somewhat persuades the audience to act according to her stance.

4.1.1.3.5 Aung San Suu Kyi

Aung San Suu Kyi has used the pronoun “You” in several occasions:

1. (L18) *When you look at their faces, you don't see any hidden agenda there.*
2. (L81) *It is not the sort of road that you find in England*
The plural pronoun “you” in sentence 1 and 2 was used to directly provide opinion to her audience.
3. (L113) *That these investments will help to promote in our country the kind of values for which you stand – the kind of values that you taught me.*
The plural pronoun “you” in sentence 3 shows that Aung San Suu Kyi used the plural pronoun “you” to make an indirect request to her audience.
4. (L117) *...but you can select what is best from the past to help you go forward to the future.*
The plural pronoun “you” in sentence 4 is used to give advice to her audience.

Text Box 4.18: Use of Pronoun “You” – Aung San Suu Kyi

The above data shows that Aung San Suu Kyi has used the plural pronoun “you” to provide opinion, make an indirect request or to advise her group of audience. Although the use of pronoun “you” is intended to a group of people, the effect is that it impacts them individually. When she uses the pronoun “you”, her request becomes personal and somewhat intended to each individual and not as a whole and acts as a form of persuasion that urges them to consider the request that she has made.

As a conclusion, Aung San Suu Kyi has used the personal plural “you” to make a request, state an opinion and give advice to her audience and although it is directed to all her audience, it somewhat projects individuality and acts as a form of persuasion.

4.1.2 The Use of Pronouns in Enacting Power and Leadership in the past and present

Below, the researcher will provide an analysis of the use of pronouns that influenced the enactment of power and leadership.

4.1.2.1 Analysis of Use of Pronoun “We”

The data above shows that both Inclusive “We” and Exclusive “We” have been used by the female political leaders in their speeches. This section will look into the similarities and differences of inclusive and exclusive “we” used between the female political leaders.

The data above shows that all four out of five female political leaders have used the Inclusive “We” in their speech. Aung San Suu Kyi is the only one who has not used the Inclusive “We” in the analysed speech. The use of inclusive “we” by all four female political leaders shows similarities as the pronoun “we” was used to show solidarity between the speaker and the audience. By doing so, the female political leaders are putting themselves on par with the audience hence their thoughts and opinions are shared as one with the audience. They also positioned themselves as approachable because they are not seen as leaders but as one with the audience. While using the inclusive “we” is a strategy that builds trust between the leaders and the audience, it also acts as a form of persuasion especially when it is a call for action. The female leaders are able to urge the audience to work together with them towards their views and thoughts as one. The use of Inclusive “We” makes it easier to get the audience to act together with them because they position themselves not as leaders but as one with the audience and this is able to capture the audience’s trust and by using the inclusive “we”, the female political leaders are not working alone towards the goal but with a group of people who believe in them.

Aung San Suu Kyi did not use the Inclusive “We” because the direction of her speech was more towards her experience as a student in Oxford University and there was no common sharing of interest between her audience and herself. She connects herself to her audience by using her past experience as a student of Oxford University because her audience are current people of Oxford. She did not use the inclusive “we” because she could not connect herself

directly to the audience but she is able to connect herself to her audience through her past experiences and connection to her peers in Oxford University.

It can be concluded that the Inclusive “We” is a strategy employed by female leaders of the past and present in building trust and solidarity between themselves and their audience hence enact power and leadership. They use the inclusive “we” to indirectly persuade the audience to think and act according to their stance.

The data above shows that four out of five female political leaders have used the Exclusive “We” in the speech. Julia Gillard is the only female political leader who did not use the exclusive “we” in her analysed speech. The data shows that there are similarities as the female political leaders have used the exclusive “we” to express their thoughts and opinions which are similar to that of a larger constitution as a back-up to their standpoint. The exclusive “we” is used to provide examples that support the basis of their notion so that the audience would be able to perceive it from a larger perspective rather than that of a single perspective. The use of exclusive “we” is a strategy that helps connect the female political leaders’ thoughts and beliefs with their audience with a justification from a stronger party or constitution. Aung San Suu Kyi has also used the exclusive “We” to show oneness with the people of her country and a call for action on behalf of her people because her audience are not the people of Burma but people of Oxford. She also used the exclusive “we” to talk about her past experiences with students of the Oxford University who were her peers to get connected emotionally with her audience. She is able to relate her thoughts to that of her audience through the exclusive “we” that binds her with her peers from Oxford University hence create a bond between herself and her audience.

Julia Gillard however did not use the exclusive “we” in the analysed speech as her back-ups are part of her audience and she does not need the support of a larger or more established

constitution because the speech is directly intended to one particular person in the audience. She does not need support as she is able to make justification to her own statements.

As a conclusion, it can be said that the exclusive “we” is used by the female political leaders of the past and present to indirectly get connected to the audience through support from a larger or more established constitution. Through this, the audience believe that whatever that the female political leaders have said consists of a solid justification from a more established or larger paradigm.

Pronoun “we” is divided into two which is the inclusive “we” and exclusive “we”. According to Wales (1996:66), the exclusive “we” is generally used to refer to the speaker and third parties who may or may not be present in the immediate situation. The use of exclusive “we” can be exploited to share responsibility. Sadia (2005) advanced the argument that at the bottom of the constraints that women face is the patriarchal system where decision making powers are in the hands of males. Hence, by using the pronoun “we”, the female political leaders are not making decisions as individuals but gaining acceptance by the audience through sharing of decision making. Apart from that, the use of exclusive “we” also acts as a way of justifying their notions from a more established and larger standpoint. Inclusive “we” refers to the speaker and the listener. Through the use of inclusive “we”, it is possible to see the leaders presume to speak on the audience’s behalf. Channelling the responsibility among the audience is one way to encourage solidarity thus acts as a persuading strategy in working as a team to achieve a particular goal. One of the reasons for the use of pronoun “we” is that these female leaders can never be certain that their decisions will always necessarily be viewed in a positive way. Therefore, the use of “we” spreads the responsibility and can be manipulated to establish a sense of group unity. The data shows that leaders of the past and present have used the pronoun “we” in their speeches and have enacted power and leadership.

4.1.2.2 Analysis of Use of Pronoun “I”

Overall, pronoun “I” has been used by all the five leaders, from the past and present. It can be said that the pronoun “I” has been employed by the female leaders in either expressing their personal thoughts, opinions, stating a fact, making a personal request, expressing their emotions as well as in expressing their personal experiences that is able to impart the underlying message to the audience. The personal pronoun “I” acts as a personal voice that helps leaders establish themselves as leaders through their own thoughts and beliefs and when the audience accepts these opinions and thoughts or is able to relate their lives’ stories with that of the leader, they would acknowledge these leaders hence support them thus help them enact power and leadership. It is another form of persuasion that indirectly makes the audience move in the same direction as the leaders. The use of personal pronoun “I” puts the leader on par with their audience at times hence the lines that separates them from the audience as leader evaporates making it easier to penetrate the hearts and minds of their audience. The use of personal pronoun “I” is an informal way of disseminating information in a straight forward manner. It reflects power, boldness and confidence hence puts the female leaders on a stronger leadership platform, trusted by their audience.

As a conclusion, the personal pronoun “I” has been used by all five female political leaders in expressing their thought, opinions and sharing of personal experiences. However, in this study, there is no evidence of these female political leaders using the personal pronoun “I” to work on a particular goal on their own for instance, none of the female political leader have used the pronoun “I” to say, *“I promise that I will make this work for the betterment of the country”* or *“I will ensure that all people are given the best in time to come.”*

Pronoun “I” is used by these female leaders to add personal touch in their speeches and voice their own personal opinions which portrays their commitment towards their beliefs and how they will stand by their actions. “I” can also be used to create a ‘relationship’ with the

audience, because using “I” makes the speech seem as if it is on a more personal level. “I” might also be used to show commitment to the audience and personal involvement in issues; “I” gives the speaker a personal voice that distances him from others. This means that it cannot always be expected that the other members of his party agree with the speaker’s opinions when the pronoun “I” is used (Bramley 2001:27). It is used when the leader would like emphasis on their personal responsibility of certain actions. It can also be seen as an attempt of the individual speaker to place himself above or outside the shared responsibility of his colleagues (Beard 2000:45). The pronoun “I” is also used when speaking about personal experiences, when relating stories that has a significant meaning towards the message of the speech. The speakers use the pronoun “I” when expressing their personal perspective or emotions and it separates them from others. By using the pronoun “I”, their message appears stronger as it reflects their own voice. It also indicates power and dominance as these speakers are aware that their voice is supreme compared to others. Therefore, through their personal experiences, opinions and thoughts, they are enacting power and leadership among the audience. The data shows that leaders of the past and present have used the pronoun “I” in their speeches and were able to enact power and leadership.

4.1.2.3 Analysis of Use of Pronoun “You”

Overall, the pronoun “you” has been used by all the above mentioned female leaders of the past and present moment in their speeches. When the leaders make an appeal, advise, question, address a particular group of people or an individual or advise the audience, they use the pronoun “you”. The use of pronoun “you” has the impact of influencing each individual indirectly although it is meant to be the plural pronoun “you”. When making request or giving advice to a group of audience, the plural pronoun “you” has effect on each individual and

becomes a personal message from the speaker to the audience. It also becomes persuasive as each individual feels responsible and obligated to be part of the speakers' stance.

As a conclusion, the pronoun "you" either singular or plural has been used by the female leaders of the past and present to state personal opinions, views, advise or make a request to their audience. The intention is to make each stance personal and although directed to a group of people, they expect an individual response from each one of them in the audience. The pronoun "you" which is informal in nature bridges the gap of leader audience hence make it easier to connect to individual audience emotionally.

The use of pronoun "you" to indicate singular and plural has also been identified in the speeches of past and present female leaders. By using the pronoun "you", the message is passed on to each person in the audience because it does not indicate any hierarchy and each audience are addressed to in a personal friendly way. Therefore, it is equally spread among the audience and there is no ambiguity or unfairness among the audience thus make them all active part in their speeches. It bridges the social status gap and brings the speaker closer to the audience. However, one speaker has used the second person singular pronoun "you" to address one particular individual. The speaker personally addressed her emotions to the individual. Her act of addressing her emotions to the individual shows her dominance and power.

Overall, the use of pronoun "you" sets a non-hierarchical level between the speaker and the audience therefore eases the social status between them. It is a strategy employed by the female leaders of the past and present in enacting power by dropping off the social status to gain acceptance and create oneness between them and the audience. The data shows that leaders of the past and present have used the pronoun "you" in their speeches and have enacted power and leadership.

The use of pronoun has been really useful in enacting power and leadership for the female political leaders. Female political leaders use various kinds of pronouns to persuade

their audience to think and act like them thus enact power and leadership. By using different kinds of pronouns, the female political leaders are able to reach to their audience emotionally while creating a sense of solidarity. The use of pronouns “we”, “I” and “you” in the past indicates that it has been a practice in the political field four decades ago and the use of these same pronouns by current female political leaders shows that it is still in use in the current political arena. These pronouns have an emotional effect on their audience and acts to persuade them indirectly. All female leaders from the past and present display an act of indirect persuasion in their effort to enact power and leadership.

4.2 Positioning

This section will discuss the use of positioning in the female leaders’ speeches before going on to a discussion of how positioning influence the enactment of power and leadership in the speeches of female leaders of the past and present.

4.2.1 Positioning as a Linguistic Strategy

In everyday lives, people tend to reposition themselves from one identity to another through their discourse and actions. The purpose of repositioning is to fit into the roles that they carry in their everyday lives. (Hall et al. 1999: 293). This section identifies the positioning that has taken place in the speeches of individual leaders and how it is able to enact power and leadership. In this study, the research would look into the types of positioning taken by each individual female political leader of the past and present and how these positioning impacts the audience.

4.2.1.1 Margaret Thatcher

Margaret Thatcher has used the positioning in several occasions:

1. (L2-7) *It is an honour to join so many friends this evening in a tribute to freedom and a tribute to the President whose name is synonymous with it – Ronald Reagan.
My friends, one further golden thread connects Ronald Reagan with the Republican Party today – the love of liberty. So it is doubly fitting that this should be your theme tonight.*

My friends: in the continuation of the War Against Terror our countries must again stand firm.

Ronnie and I got to know each other at a time when we were both in Opposition, and when a good many people intended to keep us there. They failed, and the conservative 1980s were the result.

The above data shows that Margaret Thatcher has positioned herself as a friend to Ronald Reagan and also to her audience. She positioned herself not only a friend who understands Ronald Reagan as a President but also as an individual who constantly strived to give the best to his citizen.

She also positioned herself as a friend to her audience when she referred to them as “My friends”. By doing so, it implies that the audience could consist of those who are friends of hers and Ronald Reagan and who have been through and understands the political journey that she has been through.

2. (L8-19) *But in a certain sense, we remained an opposition, we were never the establishment. we were opposed to big government, to fashionable opinion within the belt-way, and to the endless round of so-called liberal solutions to problems the liberals themselves had created. For our opponents, there are always a hundred reasons why the government must intervene to plan its children’s lives. For us, there’s one overwhelming reason why it shouldn’t – because men and women are born to be free.*

The data above shows that Margaret Thatcher has positioned herself as a leader who is well versed of the conventional governmental systems and is ready to take charge. She wants to make a change for the betterment of her citizen and understands the need of her citizens.

Text Box 4.19: Use of Positioning – Margaret Thatcher

Margaret Thatcher has used the positioning strategy in her speech as a friend and as a leader. She positioned herself as a friend to Ronald Reagan, the celebrant of the event. She described him as a great leader of his country, who was also a friend whose political thoughts jived with that of hers. By doing so, Margaret Thatcher is able to tell her audience that Ronald Reagan and she had the same thoughts and visions about developing a country politically.

Ronald Reagan believed and fought for freedom and by positioning herself as his friend, she is indirectly telling her audience that she too believes in the rights for freedom. Apart from positioning herself as a friend to Ronald Reagan, she also positioned herself as a friend to the audience. By doing so, she is bridging the leader citizen gap and putting herself on par with her audience. That way, her audience are able to connect to her on a personal level and share the same experiences that they have had concerning the political systems.

Margaret Thatcher also positioned herself as a leader especially when speaking about the consequences of conventional political systems and how it can be changed to provide better situation to the country and the citizen. Placing herself in the leader's position increases the audience's confidence as they tend to evaluate her as a leader and choosing and saying the right words are crucial so that the audience do not misjudge her.

As a conclusion, Margaret Thatcher has positioned herself in two different positions throughout her speech. Positioning herself as a friend and a leader shows that she is capable of evaluating and handling situations from different perspectives in an organized manner.

4.2.1.2 Indira Gandhi

Indira Gandhi has used the positioning in several occasions:

1. (L12-21) *I remember what used to happen here. I still remember the days when living in old Delhi even as a small child of seven or eight. I had to go out in a doli if I left the house. We just did not walk. Girls did not walk in the streets. First, you had your sari with which you covered your head, then you had another shawl or something with which you covered your hand and all the body, then you had a white shawl, with which everything was covered again although your face was open fortunately. Then you were in the doli, which again was covered by another cloth. And this was in a family or community which did not observe purdah of any kind at all. In fact, all our social functions always were mixed functions but this was the atmosphere of the city and of the country.*

The data above shows that Indira Gandhi has positioned herself as a cultured Indian girl who has grown according to the perceived cultural norms and beliefs. Positioning herself as such enables her to show

understanding towards her audience who are of similar backgrounds. She is able to better relate herself to her audience by telling them that she too has been in the same situation as her audience have been. By doing so, she is able to draw her audience closer to her

2. (L31-33) *We know of first class students, especially in medicine or nuclear energy for instance, they are approached long before they have passed out and offered all kinds of inducements to go out.*

(L52-55) *But, we must not allow this dark side of the picture which, by the way, exists in every country in the world. Even the most rich country in the world has its dark side, but usually other people hide their dark sides and they try to project the shining side or the side of achievement.*

The data above shows that Indira Gandhi positioned herself as a leader. By doing so, she is able to shift her stance to her audience. As a leader, she is able to make general statements on the well-being of the country and how she is can help in making a change for the country with the consideration and help from her audience who are women just like her. She is able to inspire young women to become well educated like her.

Text Box 4.20: Use of Positioning – Indira Gandhi

Indira Gandhi has positioned herself in two different positions in her speech. She positioned herself as a cultured Indian woman to make a point that it is fine to be educated while being cultured and religious in beliefs. She wants her audience who are women to change their perspectives on education and being educated. She positioned herself as a cultured Indian woman to show that while being conformed to cultural and religious beliefs, she is still able to perform her duties as a leader because she is open and able to suit herself to her surroundings which is important in helping themselves and the country flourish. By positioning herself in a position like her audience, she is able to help her audience understand her stance better while bringing their attention to her. She is able to penetrate them emotionally and help them understand the circumstances of being a woman and how they can help their country grow.

Apart from that, Indira Gandhi has also positioned herself as a leader. This is important to show her audience that she is there as a leader to help and make change for the country. As a leader, she is able to help her audience who are of the same gender as her, to break the norms of the society who believes that a woman should not be overly exposed to education so that

they can be confined within the four walls of home. She positions herself as a leader to advise them on what is best for them and how they can use their best to help the country advance in terms of economics.

As a conclusion, Indira Gandhi has positioned herself as a cultured Indian girl to make a point about woman and education and how to break the cultural perspectives of an Indian society so that they can help the country grow and also as a leader to show that she is there to help them change as well as help the country grow.

4.2.1.3 Julia Gillard

Julia Gillard has used the positioning in several occasions:

1. (L162-166) *I've had him yell at me to shut up in the past, but I will take the remaining seconds of my speaking time to say to the Leader of the Opposition I think the best course for him is to reflect on the standards he's exhibited in public life, on the responsibility he should take for his public statements; on his close personal connection with Peter Slipper, on the hypocrisy he has displayed in this House today.*

(L34-37) *I was also very offended on behalf of the women of Australia when in the course of this carbon pricing campaign, the Leader of the Opposition said "What the housewives of Australia need to understand as they do the ironing..." Thank you for that painting of women's roles in modern Australia.*

(L167-170) *And on that basis, because of the Leader of the Opposition's motivations, this Parliament today should reject this motion and the Leader of the Opposition should think seriously about the role of women in public life and in Australian society because we are entitled to a better standard than this.*

The data shows that Julia Gillard has positioned herself as an active feminist who has been offended by the way the Leader of the Opposition described women as a whole. She positioned herself as a feminist to tell her audience that women are capable of being more than just a housewife. She stands on behalf of women of Australia to fight the stereotypical perspective of women's role that the Leader of Opposition has. By doing so, she is standing up not only for the women of Australia but also for herself.

2. (L75-76) *Big on lectures of responsibility, very light on accepting responsibility himself for the vile conduct of members of his political party.*

(L158-161) *Good sense, common sense, proper process is what should rule this Parliament. That's what I believe is the path forward for this Parliament, not the kind of double standards and political game-playing imposed by the Leader of the Opposition now looking at his watch because apparently a woman's spoken too long.*

The data above shows that Julia Gillard as positioned herself as a leader. She lays down good leadership values and explains that that is what she would do as a leader. By doing so, Julia Gillard is emphasizing on her qualities as a leader and what difference she would make for her country as a leader.

3. (L137-143) *Believe that is the appropriate path forward, and that people will then have an opportunity to make up their minds with the fullest information available to them.*

But whenever people make up their minds about those questions, what I won't stand for, what I will never stand for is the Leader of the Opposition coming into this place and peddling a double standard. Peddling a standard for Mr Slipper he would not set for himself. Peddling a standard for Mr Slipper he has not set for other members of his frontbench.

The data above shows that Julia Gillard positioned herself as a citizen of the country. She speaks on behalf of the people of Australia on their decisions upon knowing the truth about the Leader of the Opposition. She believes that the people need to know the truth so that they would be able to make the right choices and decisions on parliamentary votes. By positioning herself as a citizen, she is claiming her rights as a citizen who needs to know the truth about the Parliament. She is setting transparency for her people because she believes in that.

Text Box 4.21: Use of Positioning – Julia Gillard

The data above shows that Julia Gillard has positioned herself in three different positions in her speech. She positioned herself as an active feminist in her speech, standing up for women of Australia from being discriminated in the Parliament. By doing so, she is polishing the standards of women including her and reinstating that women are capable. By doing so, she is stating that she is capable as a leader and portrays herself as a strong and bold individual. Julia Gillard puts a non-stereotypical front in her speech, fighting for women's rights unlike women of the past who are constantly suppressed from being able to voice themselves out. If women in the past are considered timid, Julia Gillard poses as a bold and

aggressive person, masculine in nature because she believes that women are capable of becoming great leaders and not just home makers. By her putting a strong front and standing up for women, she is creating an opportunity for women to become less stereotypical. She is inspiring women to become like her.

Apart from that, Julia Gillard also positions herself as a leader when she talks about the leadership that Australia needs to become a better country. She points the qualities that are needed in the Parliament. By doing so, she builds trust among her audience that she is one who believes in qualities as such hence will work forward towards achieving that. She believes in honesty and proper process which are essential operating systems in the political arena and by stating her opinions, she is building a strong platform of her own leadership among her audience.

Julia Gillard has also positioned herself as a citizen by speaking up for them about the rights of knowing the ins and outs of the parliament. By doing so, she is able to win the trust of her people because she is honest about her work, beliefs and decisions. This is what that is needed by the society.

As a conclusion, Julia Gillard has used three kinds of positioning which are active feminist, leader and citizen. By doing so, she is able to build an image that women are capable individuals who should be respected and by doing so, she projects herself as a suitable person in the Parliament. Her bold actions also project her as a brave and capable leader who is able to bring change not only among women but also in the Parliament. Julia Gillard positions herself as a citizen when she speaks on behalf of the Australian women as well as when projecting the importance of transparency in the political systems.

4.2.1.4 Hillary Rodham Clinton

Hillary Rodham Clinton has used the positioning in several occasions.

1. (L44-46) *I speak about this subject knowing that my own country's record on human rights for gay people is far from perfect.*
- (L49-52) *Now, raising this issue, I know, is sensitive for many people and that the obstacles standing in the way of protecting the human rights of LGBT people rest on deeply held personal, political, cultural, and religious beliefs.*
- (L42-44) *I am talking about gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender people, human beings born free and given bestowed equality and dignity, who have a right to claim that, which is now one of the remaining human rights challenges of our time.*
- (L196-197) *And to people of all nations, I say supporting human rights is your responsibility too.*

The data above shows that Hillary Clinton has positioned herself as a leader. She believes in LGBT people who are the minority group and wants to fight for their freedom which is not approved by many of the citizens in her country but she wants to fight against the norm and try to make her audience understand and accept her ideologies on the minority group. By doing so, she is displaying leadership qualities that do not always follow the norms but something which is challenging. She believes that she is capable of making that change of perception among her audience.

2. (L15-17) *And the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted. It proclaims a simple, powerful idea: All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights.*
- (L36-39) *In many ways, they are an invisible minority. They are arrested, beaten, terrorized, even executed. Many are treated with contempt and violence by their fellow citizens while authorities empowered to protect them look the other way or, too often, even join in the abuse.*

The data above shows that she positions herself as a fighter for the minority group. She speaks on behalf of the minority group and tries to stand up for them. By doing so, she is positioning herself positively among the LGBT minority group and is seen as an emphatic person among her audience who is capable of understanding the needs of the minority group. Her approach of supporting the minority and fighting for their rights shows that she is not one who is liberal, rationale and just to those who do not have substantial support from the society. Hillary Clinton positioning as a fighter makes the minority group closer to her and those who think like her support her actions.

3. (L156-159) *This challenge applies to all of us as we reflect upon deeply held beliefs, as we work to embrace tolerance and respect for the dignity of all persons, and as we engage humbly with those with whom we disagree in the hope of creating greater understanding.*

(L204-206) *Wherever you live and whatever the circumstances of your life, whether you are connected to a network of support or feel isolated and vulnerable, please know that you are not alone.*

The data above shows that Hillary Clinton has positioned herself as the citizen of the country. She places herself in the shoes of the citizens and speaks to her audience as one of them. She states her understanding of cultural beliefs as many of them hold but she also understands respect for dignity and hopes that her audience would reflect upon humanity to understand and accept the minority group for greater understanding and prosperity of the country. She also speaks on behalf of the citizen by putting herself as one with them to tell the minority group that they are not alone but are supported and protected by people around them. By doing so, Hillary Clinton is trying to forge peace among the majority and the minority. She is sowing humanity among her audience to show love and respect to the minority group.

Text Box 4.22: Use of Positioning – Hillary Rodham Clinton

The data above shows that Hillary Rodham Clinton has positioned herself in three positions. She positioned herself as a leader when speaking of her country and how the citizens have treated the minority group. She also spoke generally about many other countries that have accepted the minority group as one and urged her audience to act accordingly to show respect and kindness toward the LGBT minority group. By stating that her thoughts are in line with that of the many leaders of other countries, she is putting herself on par with those leaders hence a perception that is not merely her belief but also a belief of a larger organisation hence imply that recognising and accepting the minority group is the right thing to do.

She also positioned herself as a fighter for the minority group. By doing so, she is emotionally connecting herself to them. As a leader, by being a fighter for the minority group, she is able to gauge the audience's attention and gain better understanding and acceptance from the audience.

Positioning herself as a citizen of the country helps Hillary Rodham Clinton gain acceptance by the audience because she is able to display her understanding towards their

beliefs and emotions. She is able to gain trust from them and her audience are able to get connected to her easily. She also spoke on behalf of the majority to tell the minority group that they are not alone but there are people all around them who accept them for who they are. Her attempt creates peace between the citizens and increases faith in them that she is one who wants to create peace among them.

As a conclusion, Hillary Rodham Clinton positioned herself in three different roles throughout the speech. She positioned herself as a leader to create awareness and to lay her stance for she believes that is she capable in making a difference in the lives of the minority group. She positioned herself as a fighter to show that the minority are not alone but have her support and so that their voice would be heard loud and clear among the citizens. She positioned herself as a citizen to show them that she is one with them and to be one as a country, there needs to be peace and acceptance. By doing so, she is able to fight for the minority group while showing understanding towards the others.

4.2.1.5 Aung San Suu Kyi

Aung San Suu Kyi has used the positioning in several occasions:

1. (L14-17) *When I see Oxford now, when I see the students of Oxford now, when I met some of them at St Hugh's yesterday, I saw myself again as a young student: carefree, happy, nice. We were nice, the students now are nice. They have been given a chance to be nice.*

(L18-21) *It's a very simple word, but it's an important one. When you look at their faces, you don't see any hidden agenda there. They were so open, as we were open – because we had been given a chance to be open. We were not afraid – there was no reason for us to be afraid – and this opened us to the world.*

(L22-24) *I remember small things. I remember so often going in a bus, with my very dear friend Ann Pasternak-Slater, sitting side by side, in a bus on the Banbury Road, our four denim-clad knees next to each other...*

The data above shows that Aung San Suu Kyi positioned herself as a student of Oxford University where she talks about her life as a student in

a university that taught her a great deal about life. She explained to her audience who are also students of Oxford University her experiences in Oxford and how it has shaped her to become the person she is. By doing so, she is trying to relate to her students, trying to capture their hearts with the similarities that they share. She is indirectly stating that she is able to understand them because she has been in their shoes before. This enables her to gauge her audience's attention thus capture their interest.

(L32-34) *I have to mention one of my fellow honorands at this time, because when I was under house arrest I was also helped by the books of John le Carré. They were an escape - I won't call it an escape, they were a journey into the wider world.*

(L2-3) *...the years I spent under house arrest - when my university, the University of Oxford, stood up and spoke up for me.*

The data above shows that Aung San Suu Kyi positioned herself as a prisoner of house arrest. She explains to her audience how the Oxford University has stood up for her in times of her house arrest. She explained that she learned a lot during her house arrest. By positioning herself as a prisoner of house arrest, she is able to get her audience's attention as they would want to know more about how she has gone through those years. She connects her experience as a prisoner of house arrest with Oxford University, stating that Oxford has become somewhat her savior. Her positioning as a prisoner projects her as a strong and determined person and is able to draw her audience's attention.

2. (L65-69) *Oxford taught me to value humankind, because when I was in Oxford I was the only student from Burma. I think I was the only Burmese person resident in the university for the first couple of years. And all my friends were non-Burmese – of course English students, but students from all over the world, from Ghana, from India, from Thailand, from Sri Lanka, from all over the world.*

(L89-90) *But our road is one which is, as I said, one we have to build for ourselves, inch by difficult inch. And I hope that you will all be with us while we are doing this.*

(L102) *I would like a bit of Oxonian Shangri-la in Burma.*

The data above shows that Aung San Suu Kyi has positioned herself as a citizen of Burma. She connects her experience as a Burmese student with Oxford University and ties it with the values she has picked up in her university. She explains that she has learnt humankind and to value good things because the life in Oxford has taught her so, something that she may not have been able to feel in her own country. But she speaks as a citizen of her country who wishes to bring back the same thing she has felt to her country so that as much as she has learnt, she would be able to teach her people the same. She wants her people to have the same opportunity that she has had. She knows that it is a long way to achieving it but by

positioning herself as a citizen who has gained so much and wants the same for her people shows that she is loyal to her country. She projects herself as a person who is determined to bring change to her people.

3. (L112-115) *Please help us to make sure that all investments in Burma – business, development, humanitarian, all these in a sense are investments – that these investments are democracy-friendly and human rights-friendly. That these investments will help to promote in our country the kind of values for which you stand – the kind of values that you taught me.*

(L106-110) *And I mention it because I would like all our friends, all our well-wishers, to remember that investing in Burma should be done with a sense of responsibility, and to remind those who are thinking of making use of the new opportunities that Burma is offering to remember that we, the people of Burma, need to benefit from these investments as much as investors themselves.*

The data above shows that Aung San Suu Kyi has positioned herself as a leader of her country. By positioning herself as a leader, she is able to make a plea to her audience to help her country develop. While making her plea, she also urges them to be responsible on their own merits and that as much as they would like to contribute and benefit from it, the people of Burma needs to benefit from it too. By doing so, she is standing firm as a leader who protects her country. She positions herself as a humble leader among the audience while urging them to contribute and help her country grow. This shows that she is a leader who is willing to go above and beyond boundaries to make a difference for her country.

Text Box 4.23: Use of Positioning – Aung San Suu Kyi

The data above shows that Aung San Suu Kyi has used several positions in her speech. She positioned herself as a student of Oxford University to relate her experiences as a student of Oxford to her audience who are students and members of the Oxford University. By doing so, she is able to gain their attention. She is able to connect to them emotionally on their common interest which is the Oxford University that has been the device that moulded her to be the better person. In that, she is trying to persuade her audience to give her people in Burma the same opportunity that she has had to become better people and a better country.

Apart from that, she also positioned herself as a prisoner of house arrest. Her point is to state that although she was a prisoner, Oxford University was open enough to stand up for her. The kind of mentality was different and rare and that shaped her to become open minded, ready for a change and to change. And being a prisoner, in one word, she is able to convey the

challenges she faced but she never gave up and is still struggling to bring change to her country. Her positive attributes projects her as a determined and strong person.

Aung San Suu Kyi also positioned herself as a citizen of Burma, relating her experiences as a Burmese student in Oxford University. She was proud and happy to be given such opportunity and explained that she would like her people to experience the kind of experiences she has had so that they too can become like her, a leader with great sense of gratitude and humanity.

She also positioned herself as a leader of her country who is striving hard to make her country grow economically. She is urging investors to invest smartly in her country but to ensure that benefits are not only gained by investors but is also enjoyable by her citizens. This shows that Aung San Suu Kyi is concerned about her country, she wants development but she is also there to watch their back, to ensure that they are not exploited but grow together with the country.

As a conclusion, Aung San Suu Kyi positioned herself as a student of Oxford University while talking about her experiences in the university and how it has changed her life to be the person she is. She positioned herself as a prisoner of house arrest to explain how Oxford University has stood up for her in challenging times. She positioned herself as a citizen of Burma when she spoke on behalf of her citizen who wished to have the opportunity that she has had in Oxford University and she positioned herself as a leader who is trying her best to help her country grow economically so that her people could experience the kind of experience she has had and become someone better in life.

4.2.3 The Use of Positioning Strategy in Enacting Power and Leadership in the Past and Present

The data shows that all female leaders have used the positioning strategy in their speeches. They have taken multiple roles while trying to impart an important message to the audience. The purpose of the positioning is usually interrelated to the content of the speech. The data shows that Margaret Thatcher and Indira Gandhi have taken double roles throughout their speech. Margaret Thatcher has positioned herself as a friend and leader. She positioned herself as a friend because she has highlighted her friendship with Ronald Reagan in her speech which is a tribute to him. By doing so, she is able to talk about friendship and engage with her audience. She positioned herself as a leader because she spoke about her roles as an Opposition member of the Parliament and her political views that can help enhance the country and by positioning herself as a leader, she is better able to get her message across as a voice of a superior. Indira Gandhi has positioned herself as a cultured Indian girl and a leader in her speech. She positioned herself as a cultured Indian girl because her audience are young Indian college students and are typically cultured due to the country's traditions. By doing so, she is able to engage with her audience and her audience are also able to understand her point of view. They are able to connect culturally and emotionally. She positioned herself as a leader as she spoke generally about the country and how it can be better with the help of education and by standing as leader, her motivation to take education seriously is heard better. The similarities between the two leaders of the past are the role of "leader" that they employ in their speech because of their position as the leader of the country which eventually calls for action. The other roles are used as an element to engage readers through mutual understanding or common experiences to show emotional connection that helps persuades the audience to act together.

As for the leaders of the present, the data above shows that they have taken multiple roles. Julia Gillard and Hillary Rodham Clinton have used three roles whereas Aung San Suu

Kyi has used four roles in her speech. Julia Gillard has positioned herself as a leader, citizen and a feminist in her speech. She positioned herself as a citizen when she voices up for the women of Australia and also the people of Australia. By doing so, she does not segregate herself from her people but puts herself as one with them to show unity and oneness. She wants to practice good values and principles of politics hence she emphasises on transparency in politics. Therefore, her audience has a sense of trust, closeness and a perception that she will stand up for them in time to come. She positioned herself as a feminist as she fought for the rights of women from being discriminated as the weaker gender. By doing so, she positions herself strongly as a woman and a leader and shows that she is bold in taking challenges. She positioned herself as a leader when she stated her personal political views. Hillary Rodham Clinton has positioned herself with three roles in her speech which is the role of a leader, a fighter of the minority and as a citizen. She positioned herself as a fighter of the minority to get the audience to think and act as she would by giving the minority the rights that they deserve. She positioned herself as a citizen when she spoke about the effort that can be taken to preserve the rights of the minority group. By doing so, her audience are able to engage with her opinions and beliefs hence gain understanding towards the issue. She positioned herself as a leader when talking about her country and her people and by positioning herself as a leader, she places herself above the audience in terms of hierarchy therefore, her decisions are stronger and firmer. Aung San Suu Kyi has positioned herself in four roles throughout her speech. She positioned herself as a student of Oxford University while relating her experiences in the university and by doing so, she is able to better relate her stories from a student's point of view hence, her audience who are students and members of the University are able to have a clear understanding towards her speech. She positioned herself as prisoner of house arrest while relating her experience and struggles and tells of how Oxford has helped her find a way out. By doing so, she amplifies the goodness of Oxford University for helping her while she was a

prisoner of house arrest and portrays herself strong and determined. She positioned herself as a citizen of Burma while speaking about her country and her wishes towards the well-being of her country. By doing so, she shows that she and her fellow country people have the same understanding and she is one in thoughts and beliefs as them. She positioned herself as a leader when speaking of the development of her country. She spoke on behalf of her country's people in appealing for help from her audience to help her country grow.

The similarities between the leaders of the present would be positioning themselves as leaders and citizen of their country. It is important to position themselves as leaders although they try to take on other roles, ultimately, they have to stand out as a leader to project confidence and capability of being and thinking like a leader. They have to position themselves as leaders to show their stance and work their ideologies among their audience. The other roles that they take on are similar to that of the past leaders. It is to engage audience through common experiences and mutual understanding. Other positioning is to focus on certain points that they wish to deliver so that they are able to create a proper story line instead of running out of topic.

There is a difference between the leaders of the past and the present in the positioning. Margaret Thatcher and Indira Gandhi did not position themselves as the citizen of the country. However, Julia Gillard, Hillary Rodham Clinton and Aung San Suu Kyi portrayed themselves as citizens of their country. They also took more positioning compared to leaders of the past. This goes to show that female leaders of the present are able to position themselves in more roles while successfully conveying their message. Positioning themselves in various roles shows that they look at issues from a wider angle, from various perspectives and capable of multitasking.

Each individual are shaped and reshaped over time while carrying on various roles in their lives. This, of course, makes identities “extremely complex construct[s]” (De Fina

2003: 15), which are typically viewed in the plural since “individuals have multiple identities” (Verschuereen 2008: 26) because of their evolving and contextually bound nature.

Or as Verschuereen (2008: 26) sums it up

“...identity is not a property [...] of an individual, but [...] it is interactively created over and over (though with a degree of consistency), so that the same individual can literally have different identities in different contexts.

The positioning of these individual female leaders with different roles goes to show that they have been through various life experiences that shaped them to be the person they are and positioning themselves in various roles reveals the phases of their life. They take on different identities to suit their surroundings and circumstances. By doing so, it allows them to take charge of the situation and manage it well.

By positioning themselves in various roles, the female leaders project themselves as better analyst of issues and better leaders who are able to find solutions. So, in other words, they are able to convince the audiences of their capability hence enact power and leadership.

Apart from that, positioning themselves in various roles also gives an idea that these leaders have been in such situations in their lives and revealing it through positioning to a certain extent projects transparency. Transparency is important as it helps audience trust the leader better hence acts as a tool in enacting power and leadership.

Leaders of the past, Margaret Thatcher and Indira Gandhi have used positioning in their speeches however, it is minimal with only two roles. This could be because, in previous years, women who talk a lot or divert from the topic are known as chatterbox and are considered nagging. Therefore, they minimize the positioning strategy and are straighter to the point. They also did not position themselves as citizens perhaps because positioning themselves as one with the audience would mean losing the hierarchical level and they become on par with the audience. Those days, this may have been the better strategy as they are able to stay composed as a leader and gain more respect and attention from the audience. As years pass by, the

stereotypical perception about women has changed. Women have started becoming bold and are brave to express themselves. By using the positioning strategy, they are not only able to better relate their speech to the audience but are able to connect to them emotionally because positioning makes the speech more personal. Positioning themselves as citizens show that they are more compassionate towards the citizen's feelings and more understanding of their needs hence able to gain their attention and positive response.

As a conclusion, the study shows that there is an increase in the use of positioning strategy by female leaders of the present in comparison to the past female leaders. Female leaders of the present tend to position themselves in more roles compared to past female leaders. This also shows that they are capable of making decisions derived from complex situations. Cheryl de la Rey (2005) lists the traits commonly associated with leadership as effective communication skills, task completion, responsibility, problem solving, originality, decision making, action taking, vision, self-awareness, confidence, experience and power. This also shows their participation in various roles and being emphatic in situations.

Taking various positioning shows that they are willing to share power and information with their audience. Woman portray a more participatory approach, are more democratic, allow for power and information sharing, are more sensitive, more nurturing than men, focus on relationships and enable to make contributions through delegation (de la Rey, 2005; Grole and Montgomery, 2000; Tedrow, 1999).

4.3 Analysis of Metaphor

This section will discuss the use of metaphors in the female leaders' speeches before going on to a discussion of how metaphors influence the enactment of power and leadership in the speeches of female leaders of the past and present.

4.3.1 Metaphors as Linguistics Strategy

The data indicates that metaphor is often used by the female political leaders in their speeches. The metaphors are mainly used by the female political leaders to strengthen the message that is being conveyed in their speeches. Leaders of the past and present use these strategies in emphasizing their voice (See 2.1 for explanation on Use of Metaphors). Although the words are in rhetorical form with a deep meaning, the irony is that, the meaning is on the surface as the speaker and listener share common experiences and thoughts.

In this study, the researcher wishes to investigate the reason of using metaphors and how does that help strengthen themselves as leaders and influence the enactment of power and leadership. This research looks at individual leaders' speech styles to identify the metaphors used. This is because each individual leader has their own personal style in using metaphors which are closely related to the topic of their speech.

4.3.1.1 Margaret Thatcher

Margaret Thatcher has used the metaphors in several occasions:

- | | | |
|----|------|---|
| 1. | (L2) | <i>Tribute to freedom and a tribute to President whose name is synonymous with it – Ronald Reagan.</i> |
| | | Explains that Ronald Reagan was a fighter of freedom. The use of this metaphor implies that Ronald Reagan was a person who believed and acted towards achieving freedom for his country. Ronald Reagan is said to be synonymous to freedom because his aim as a President was to achieve freedom for his country. |
| 2. | (L6) | <i>They failed and the conservative 1980s were the result.</i> |
| | | Conservative does not refer to the year but mainly to those involved in the politics – the establishment. The word conservative is used because the establishment was afraid of modernisation and new ideas/thoughts. They remained with the old system and refused to try new things hence were not able to step out of the box to become different. |
| 3. | (L9) | <i>We were opposed to big government, to fashionable opinion within the belt-way, and to the endless round of so-called liberal solutions to problems the liberals themselves had created.</i> |

Fashionable opinion means a thinking that is not conservative, opposed to the mentality of the establishment. The use of fashionable opinion indicates fresh and in-trend opinions that could have made the change in the political arena.

4. (L20) *We live in an era of sound bites and spin doctors, of false sentiment and real cynicism.*
The metaphor “sound bites and spin doctors” indicate an era of modernization. “False sentiments and real cynicism” here indicates the world of politics where people get their ways through fake emotions which in real is just a sarcastic way of conveying a message.
5. (L22) *The words of Ronald Reagan is so refreshing.*
Words that are refreshing mean a new perspective, modern thinking. The metaphor explains that Ronald Reagan brought many new ideas that were more realistic.
6. (L25) *The fact that he kept his composure and lifted us all with his humour testified his inner strengths, not to a life without hardship.*
Explains that although Ronald Reagan jokes and makes people laugh with his sense of humour, that doesn’t mean he has not faced hardship but even more the hardship that he has faced, has thought him to be strong on the inside.
7. (L64) *No longer have two nuclear superpowers confronted each other around the globe.*
Two nuclear superpowers refer to two nuclear producing countries that have dominated the world. Superpowers implies powerful and the ability to destroy.
8. (L71) *But yesterday’ conservatives never imagined that the end of the Soviet Union would usher in an end to danger –*
Yesterday’s conservatives refer to the political establishment of the country in the past. The word yesterday is used because it implies something that has happened.
9. (L74) *It succumbed to the fatal illusion that government’s role is to make us comfortable, rather than to keep us safe.*
Government’s role is seen as an illusion that does nothing more than endanger the lives of society. Fatal is used because the illusion was like death sentence that people failed to perceive.
10. (L96) *Fear masquerading as caution, pique posing as dignity, words substituting for thought.*
Explains fear of drama, using anger as dignity and speaking whatever that comes to the mind.
11. (L98) *Whatever the protests of the faint-hearts, it is high time to take action against the Rogue States which are arming against us.*

	The word faint-hearts refer to those who are weak emotionally and can be easily influenced. Arming against us refer to battling us.
12. (L118)	<p><i>America is mighty, but no democracy will tolerate becoming the whole world's policeman.</i></p> <p>World's policeman refers to America being on watch over other countries.</p>
13. (L124)	<p><i>But it respects America more when it knows that the promises and warnings of the US Commander-in-Chief are endorsed by the other main organs of elected government.</i></p> <p>Other main organs of elected government refer to the other members of the politics. The word organs are used because the government is like a system that needs units/organs like the members of politics to make the system work.</p>
14. (L129)	<p><i>My friends, one further golden thread connects Ronald Reagan with the Republican Party today – the love of liberty.</i></p> <p>Golden thread refers to the connector between Ronald Reagan with the Republican Party. The word “golden” is used because it implies an important bond. Thread implies bond, ties etc....</p>
15. (L107-112)	<p><i>America today is not just the only global superpower. She enjoys a superiority over any other power or combination of powers greater than any nation in modern times. This also places on her shoulders an awesome responsibility. For the United States, as for any country, national interest must come first – and without apology. But America's interests are so vast that no region lies beyond them. This, my friends, has three implications – each full of significance for the future.</i></p>
16. (L113-114)	<p><i>On the first I have touched already. America must remain strong. She must again, as under Ronald Reagan, rebuild, reshape and modernise her defences.</i></p> <p>America is defined as a gendered being and in this case, America is a female. America is seen as a strong and powerful country and her use of gendered pronoun to address America also imparts the message that women are strong and powerful in their own way. By using the gendered pronoun, she is establishing her stand as a strong and powerful leader.</p>

Text Box 4.24: Use of Metaphors – Margaret Thatcher

The data above shows that Margaret Thatcher has used many metaphors in her speech. Most of her metaphors refer to the established politics especially when discriminating them and to Ronald Reagan especially when praising him. The use of metaphors with a negative and sarcastic tone to address the established government would be to stir the emotions of the audience with words that arouses their curiosity and as the nature of metaphors require a person

to think because of its indirectness, the audience would eventually ponder on the message and the message will stay longer in their minds.

She also used metaphors with a softer tone in praising Ronald Reagan because metaphors are more meaningful and praising a person using metaphors stands out more thus creates a notion of close friendship with Ronald Reagan among her audience which would last long.

Margaret Thatcher also used metaphors to describe America and positioned it as a female gender. By doing so, she is not only uplifting America positively but also women as great leaders. Margaret Thatcher persuades through indirect discrimination and also encourages through indirect praising but both only with a common understanding of the issues spoken between the audience and herself as the metaphors are rather deep.

As a conclusion, Margaret Thatcher used metaphors to negatively and sarcastically address the established government but used metaphors positively to speak highly of Ronald Reagan. She also used metaphors that described America as a woman to show the capability of women as strong and powerful leaders.

4.3.1.2 Indira Gandhi

Indira Gandhi has used the metaphors in several occasions:

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|----|-------|---|
| 1. | (L23) | <i>I am one of those who always believe that education needs a thorough overhauling.</i>
Overhauling refers to the need for an extreme makeover. Overhaul is usually used for cars that need thorough check through or makeover. The reason why Indira Gandhi used the word overhaul is because the education system in India needs to be checked through thoroughly and necessary changes have to be made if needs arise. |
| 2. | (L46) | <i>Superstition, which has grown over the years and which sometimes clouds over the shining brightness of ancient thought and values, eternal values.</i>
Clouds over the shining brightness refer to the superstition that has ingrained in the lives of society that is impairing the growth and |

development of the country. Indira Gandhi used the word covers over because it is something that only shields and can be removed. She is implying that the ancient thoughts and values, eternal values have deep and positive outcomes but it is often buried under superstitions.

3. (L48) *Then, of course, there is the physical poverty of large numbers of our people.*

Poverty is an abstract noun that cannot be seen but physical poverty is something that can be seen because it is in the lives of the many people in India. Physical poverty refers to homeless people, beggars, lack of food etc.

4. (L52) *But, we must not allow this dark side of the picture which, by the way, exists in every country in the world.*

5. (L70) *Today, we are passing through especially dark days. But these are not dark days for India alone.*

Dark side of the picture refers to the poverty and superstition that hampers the growth of the country. The word dark is used instead of bad because dark has deeper negative impact on people. Dark, culturally and religiously reflect something evil and bad and that effect is stronger on the audience.

6. (L78) *Yet, somehow we ourselves project an image that India is out with the begging bowl.*

Begging bowl refers to poverty. She used the word begging bowl because in India, many people from little children to adults are out begging with a bowl in their hands due to extreme poverty.

7. (L126) *But we all know that the most complex machinery will be ineffective if one small screw is not working as it should and that screw is just as important as any big part.*

The phrase tells that everybody in a society plays a great role in the development of the country despite education and social background. She used the metaphor complex machinery because a country is like machine and it will not function well even if one screw is not working. The society/citizens are the screws and they need to work hand in hand to make the country grow.

8. (L131) *In our superstition, we have thought that some work is dirty work.*
Job that is not professionally inclined. It means work that does not bring respect to those who do it.

9. (L150) *In our society, we allow lots of smaller explosions because we think that that will guard the basic stability and progress of society and prevent it from having the kind of chaotic explosion which can retard our progress and harmony in the country.*
Explosions refer to outrage of society/individual due to forceful event. She used the word explosion because an explosion happens all of a sudden and when it happens, it creates a lot of damage. Similarly, a chaos/riot can happen among the

society and when it happens, it leaves a whole lot of emotional and physical damage not only to the society but also the country.

10. (L154-157) *So, I hope that all of you who have this great advantage of education will not only do whatever work you are doing keeping the national interests in view, but you will make your own contribution to creating peace and harmony, to bringing beauty in the lives of our people and our country. Beauty refers to a better meaningful life.*

Text Box 4.25: Use of Metaphors – Indira Gandhi

The data above shows that Indira Gandhi has used metaphors in her speech. She used metaphors in describing her country. The metaphors used basically describes India as a country which has potential in growing but not developing due to the mentality of the society and how these mentality has to see change in order to become better developed. Indira Gandhi used metaphors that are culturally inclined such as “dark days”, “shining brightness of ancient values” and phrases from Sanskrit. Her approach of using such words and phrases are more likely to captivate the audience who are most likely to be of the Indian culture, values and background. Thus, there is a common understanding between the audience and Indira Gandhi. She began her speech with a Sanskrit phrase that notions the importance of women as the basis of the home and country which makes her standing as a female leader even stronger.

She also used metaphors in amplifying the importance of education and banishing poverty to captivate the attention of the audience and tackle them emotionally so that they would feel the kind of emotions she feels and understand the message that she is trying to imply. The use of metaphors has greater effect because it makes the audience think, the choice of lexical items with stronger effect are able to stir their emotions.

As a conclusion, Indira Gandhi used metaphors in her speech to tie the important points together with what she and her audience believe in culturally and religiously. Her metaphors are tied around the notion of education, poverty and making a change for the country.

4.3.1.3 Julia Gillard

Julia Gillard has used the metaphors in several occasions:

1. (L8) *Because if he wants to know what misogyny looks like in modern Australia, he doesn't need a motion in the House of Representatives, he needs a mirror.*
He needs a mirror tells that the Leader of the Opposition need to reflect upon his actions. Julia Gillard is implying that the Leader of the Opposition needs to look at his own actions first before pointing out the actions of others. Her use of metaphor creates a sense of sarcasm.
2. (L36) *Thank you for that painting of women's roles in modern Australia.*
Painting of women's roles explains the fact that the Leader of Opposition has pointed out the stereotypical thoughts of a women's responsibility when in fact, most modern women are no longer as described by the Leader of the Opposition. Julia Gillard is being sarcastically by saying thank you for the statement made by the Leader of the Opposition.
3. (L43) *Ditch the Witch*
A connotation to throw a woman aside, to keep women out of politics. Men always viewed women in power as dominant and evil, like a witch therefore, Julia Gillard who has portrayed strong leadership and a powerful person has been labelled a witch. By using words that are considered sexist arouses emotions among her audience and she is able to channel her anger and disappointment.
4. (L44) *I was offended when the Leader of the Opposition stood next to a sign that described me as a man's bitch.*
Man's bitch refers to women who are considered a subordinate to men like a slave to the men. Julia Gillard was referred to as a slave to men.
5. (L49-52) *And now, the Leader of the Opposition wants to be taken seriously, apparently he's woken up after this track record and all of these statements, and he's woken up and he's gone "Oh dear, there's this thing called sexism, oh my lords, there's this thing called misogyny.* Woken up after this track record means coming to a realisation. It does not mean that a person woke up from sleep but simply coming to a realisation after being ignorant for a long time. Julia Gillard used this metaphor to show sarcasm.
6. (L56) *But now seeks to use this as a battering ram against someone else.*
Battering ram refers to going against. She used the word battering ram because the political arena consist of people who always put other people down to enhance themselves.

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|------------|---|
| 7. (L73) | <p><i>Instead of course, it was all viewed as good fun until it was run in a Sunday newspaper and then the Leader of the Opposition and others started ducking for cover.</i></p> <p>Ducking for cover meaning hiding away. The use of this metaphor further amplifies the action of hiding and it is a way of discriminating the Leader of the Opposition.</p> |
| 8. (L75) | <p><i>Big on lectures of responsibility, very light on accepting responsibility himself for the vile conduct of members of his political party.</i></p> <p>Big on lectures refer to the way the Leader of the Opposition has made empty promises. Light on accepting responsibilities show that he does not take responsibilities on his actions. By using the metaphors, Julia Gillard is sarcastically implying that the Leader of the Opposition is not up to what he portrays to be by words.</p> |
| 9. (L139) | <p><i>But whenever people make up their minds about those questions, what I won't stand for, what I will never stand for is the Leader of the Opposition coming into this place and peddling a double standard.</i></p> <p>Peddling a double standard means practising one while talking something else. She used the word pedalling because, in order to make a bicycle move, a person has to pedal. In this case, the Leader of the Opposition pedals double standards to make politics work for him.</p> |
| 10. (L161) | <p><i>Apparently a woman is talking to long.</i></p> <p>To suggest that the listener is getting bored. She is reiterating that the Leader of the Opposition's views on women and speech styles implying that women talk too much and the talks are usually empty talks and does not mean anything. She is being sarcastic about the way the Leader of the Opposition has made implications about women.</p> |

Text Box 4.26: Use of Metaphors – Julia Gillard

The above data shows that Julia Gillard has used metaphors in her speech. Her metaphors are discriminatory in nature. She has used metaphors to mock the Leader of the Opposition party for his actions but with a sense of sarcasm. Her metaphors may not be understood by everyone unless the audience are of people who are aware of the topic of discussion. Her words show that she is bold and brave in her statements hence projecting her as a powerful and strong woman who is capable of taking a man down. The use of metaphors that has the tone of anger and disappointment stirs the emotions of her audience especially those of which who are women as she tries to stand up for women's rights and status. In this speech, there is a common understanding between the audience and herself therefore, they are able to gauge her point of view although she has used metaphors.

As a conclusion, Julia Gillard has used metaphors in her speech which are sarcastic and discriminatory in nature to make fun of the Leader of the Opposition. By doing so, she is not being direct in her discrimination but being indirect so that the audience are able to perceive it according to their understanding of the issue.

4.3.1.4 Hillary Rodham Clinton

Hillary Rodham Clinton has used the metaphors in several occasions:

1. (L9) *They discussed, they wrote, they revisited, revised, rewrote, for thousands of hours.*
Thousands of hours does not bear literal meaning but it means, a lot of time, energy and effort has been used.
2. (L30-33) *And thanks to that work of generations, for millions of individuals whose lives were once narrowed by injustice, they are now able to live more freely and to participate more fully in the political, economic, and social lives of their communities.*
Lives were once narrowed by injustice refer to freedom and rights that has been taken away due to unfairness in the government system. It speaks about life that is not given the opportunity that it deserves to grow fully.
3. (L87) *Being gay is not a Western invention; it is a human reality.*
The phrase above indicates that being gay is not a trend or creation in the western countries but happens naturally by birth. Hillary tries to tell her audience that people don't chose to be gay out of the blues, overnight but it is something that they have dealt with over the years and the only way to feel comfortable about it is by accepting the fact.
4. (L95) *But in fact, in all countries, there are costs to not protecting these rights, in both gay and straight lives lost to disease and violence, and the silencing of voices and views that would strengthen communities, in ideas never pursued by entrepreneurs who happen to be gay.*
Silencing of voices and views refer to effort in keeping people quite from being open to discussion. The phrase in some ways sounds cruel because people are not allowed to voice out their opinions and thoughts.

5. (L100) *Former President Mogae of Botswana pointed out recently that for as long as LGBT people are kept in the shadows, there cannot be an effective public health program to tackle HIV and AIDS.*
Kept in the shadows refer to keeping it a secret or keeping it hidden. It is another way of saying that they are kept away from the truth. It reflects the non-transparency in the system because as a matter of fact, the minority group does exist but people live in lie by pretending that it does not exist.
6. (L136) *In fact, it takes a constellation of conversations in places big and small.*
Constellation of conversations refers to many talks. Hillary is saying that it takes a lot of persuasion, a lot of explanation, a lot of effort in making people understand and accept the issue that has been raised. In places big and small refers to countries, states, towns, outlets etc. anywhere that houses people.
7. (L152) *Finally, progress comes from being willing to walk a mile in someone else's shoes.*
Walk a mile in someone's shoes is to empathise the sufferings of others. It means to understand other people's situation and whatever they are going through.
8. (L234) *We know the road ahead will not be easy.*
Road refers to the future. She used the word road because life is like a long journey and along the way, the road may not be as smooth. The use of this metaphor explains to the audience that there may be time when the road will be bumpy, life will have ups and downs.

Text Box 4.27: Use of Metaphors – Hillary Rodham Clinton

The data above shows that Hillary Rodham Clinton has used metaphors in her speech to speak about the freedom of rights to speak and act and the effort placed in making the people recognise and accept the minority group. Her tone in the use of metaphors although may sound like a plead is also strong and persuasive. She explains to the audience that being the minority is not something that is chosen by them but it has been created from birth and silencing them or keeping them in the shadow means not wanting to recognise them and accept them. She used metaphors that are persuasive emotionally, urging her audience to accept the minority group and give them the due respect and consideration. She also says that there would only be

progress if the audience actually went through the same situation as the minority group which questions their humanity.

As a conclusion, Hillary Rodham Clinton used metaphors to explain situations that are inclined to freedom of rights and the huge amount of effort that have been placed to make a difference in the lives of the minority group. She urges her audience to recognise and accept the minority group by using metaphors that are able to tackle the emotional side of the audience.

4.3.1.5 Aung San Suu Kyi

Aung San Suu Kyi has used the metaphors in several occasions:

1. (L1) *Today, many strands of my life have come together.*
Many strands of my life refers to the many experiences of life. Aung San Suu Kyi used the word strand because like hair, strands of hair is what that makes up for a head full of hair and just like that, her life as a whole is made up of many strands that comes together.
2. (L3) *When my university, the University of Oxford, stood up and spoke up for me.*
Stood up and spoke up for me refers to the people of Oxford University who have helped her. She is referring to the University as an entity with life that has been there for her.
Campus life means a life in which young people can create their own world – or make the world their own. Make the world their own means live the way they want and not by the norms of culture. Aung San Suu Kyi is saying that the world that we live in is in our hands and how we want to live our lives and shape our lives really is in our hands. It is about having the freedom of choice, a choice to make decisions of our own.
3. (L65) *Oxford taught me to value humankind, because when I was in Oxford I was the only student from Burma.*
Oxford taught me simply refers to her experiences in Oxford. It is not the building itself but mainly the culture and people in Oxford, values and principles that Oxford practise is what that taught her humankind because Oxford is a place that brings together people from all walks of life, rich or poor.
4. (L74) *Oxford is a place of tremendous broad-mindedness*
The phrase indicates that in Oxford, people are open to ideas; they are not conservative but modern in thoughts, always looking at the broader perspective.

5. (L78) *And that's why throughout the years when I was struggling for human rights in Burma I felt I was doing something of which my old university would have approved.*
My old university approving not literally but it is what the University has thought her which is to fight for human rights and by doing so for her country would be a continuation of a priceless lesson in life.
6. (L81) *Burma is at the beginning of a road.*
Beginning of the road refers to start of growth. Growth is seen as a journey that is progressive. Hence, placing Burma at the beginning of the road means that Burma is in the beginning of a journey towards growth.
7. (L81) *It is not smooth; it is not well-maintained; in fact, it is not yet there. It is a road that we will have to carve out for ourselves. This is a road that we will have to build as we go along.*
The phrases talks about the development process of Burma which would be filled with challenges with roads that are not smooth and well-maintained and the country have to achieve development with the cooperation of everyone as one.
8. (L85) *They think that the road where we are standing is like one of those highways on which I travelled from London to Oxford – and almost got carsick! – very straight and very smooth. Too smooth and too straight perhaps for me, because I not used to such smoothness.*
The road refers to her life's journey and her life at Oxford was one with less challenges which she was not used to as she is from a country where life is full of challenges. She refers to the roads in London as highways that are smooth or in other words, developments in London that are very well established unlike in Burma.
9. (L89) *But our road is one which is, as I said, one we have to build for ourselves, inch by difficult inch.*
Here the phrase indicates that growth of the country has to be done one by one and will take place little by little. It cannot be done overnight but with a lot of hard work and many years.
10. (L90) *I hope that you will understand that this road is there in our hearts and minds, but not actually there yet in real fact.*
Here, the road refers to dreams of having a developed country which everyone thinks about but not in progress yet. She stated that there is the will in her heart to make Burma like Oxford/London but it is not yet a reality in Burma.
11. (L95) *And I stayed in a hotel called the Shangri-La. And I think every Oxonian, or most every, knows that in Lost Horizon Shangri-La was described as "something a little like Oxford".*
Something a little like Oxford refers to the comfort and luxury that she has felt.

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| 12. (L120) | <p><i>It was such a harmonious picture of the old and the new standing together as a promise for the future.</i></p> <p>The old and new refers to life's experiences and how it can blend well if the right past is practised in the future to make a difference in her country.</p> |
| 13. (L129) | <p><i>But I bring all these experience back to me here at Oxford, and I find that Oxford is big enough and broad enough to contain my new experiences as well.</i></p> <p>Big enough and broad enough refers to the people of Oxford who appreciate new ideas.</p> |

Text Box 4.28: Use of Metaphors – Aung San Suu Kyi

The above data shows that metaphors have been used by Aung San Suu Kyi widely in her speech. Her use of metaphors revolve around her experiences in Oxford, her gratitude towards Oxford University for shaping her to be the person she is as well as the change that she wishes to see in Burma and how it can be done.

She describes Oxford University as an entity with live that is able to understand her, speak for her and stand up for her metaphorically to create a sense of belonging and oneness with her audience.

She uses metaphors that are related to progress for her country and connects it to journey. The metaphors used are also deep in meaning and is certain to arouse the minds of the audience. The metaphors are positive and connotes soft emotions thus appeals to the audience. It brings the audience closer to Aung San Suu Kyi as they are able to connect emotionally while sharing a common interest towards Oxford University. Her way of expressing her ideas and thoughts through metaphors helps the audience picture it the way she sees it in an imaginative way.

As a conclusion, Aung San Suu Kyi has used the metaphors to describe Oxford University and the growth of her country. Her use of metaphors has a positive tone and is able to tackle the positive emotions of her audience. Aung San Suu Kyi has played with metaphors so eloquently that is creates a poetry like speech that is captivating to the audience. She is able to tackle the good side of the audience by using metaphors that puts Oxford University on a

pedestal while comparing it to her country. She did not put her country below par but used positive metaphors to say that Burma is not yet there, like London/Oxford but wishes it to be like that. Indirectly, she is persuading her audience to help her achieve her goals and aims of developing Burma.

4.3.2 The Use of Metaphors in Enacting Power and Leadership in the Past and Present

The use of metaphors, as Lakoff and Johnson put it (1980), metaphor deals with thought rather than language itself. The use of metaphors in the speeches shows that it has been carefully planned to target the specific audience with the right choice of words and examples. They share a common understanding and are able to perceive the meaning behind the metaphors used. All five leaders have used metaphors in their speeches to express emotions, persuade or even discriminate, all of it which narrates a story that will be remembered well by the audience. Metaphors have been used as a tool in political speeches of female leaders in the past and have been used continuously till the present day. The tone of metaphors whether it reflects a message positively or negatively depends on the message the female leaders' wishes to imply. Julia Gillard poses similarities in the tone of her metaphors with that of Margaret Thatcher which is the tone of discriminatory (ref. chapter 4.2.1 and 4.2.3) whereas Hillary Rodham Clinton and Aung San Suu Kyi pose similarities with Indira Gandhi which is the softer tone that acts to persuade through positive emotions. The use of metaphors stirs the emotions and minds and results in imaginative thinking. The imaginative thinking is shaped either negatively or positively depending on the words that are used.

Example:	<p>Her smile is like the flowers in the meadow <i>One would imagine a person with a smile that is warm and friendly.</i></p> <p>Her smile is dark like the floors of the ocean <i>One would imagine a person with a smile that is not very charming but rather dark and evil.</i></p>
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The data indicates that metaphors have become a crucial tool in political speeches of female leaders. However, each metaphor has significant meaning that is closely related to the message of the speech. This study reveals that leaders of the present may have imitated leaders of their past for instance, there are similarities in the choice of metaphors used by Margaret Thatcher and Julia Gillard. They both used metaphors that are sarcastic and discriminatory in nature which are able to arouse negativity among their audience such as anger, hatred etc. Margaret Thatcher used words like conservative, era of sound bites and spin doctors, fatal illusion etc. to describe the government shows negative connotation and audience who listen to such metaphors would make negative conclusion about the government political system. Similarly, Julia Gillard used metaphors like ducking for cover, pedalling double standards etc. to describe the Leader of the Opposition also has the same effect on the audience. The other leaders namely Indira Gandhi, Hillary Rodham Clinton and Aung San Suu Kyi on the other hand used metaphors that create awareness or that are positively inclined thus creating a pleasant message for their audience. In other words, all female leaders have used metaphors that tackle the audience emotionally by sowing positive or negative emotions in them.

In the past, Margaret Thatcher has been named “The Iron Lady” due to her aggressive political ways that is against the social set rules of how a woman should act and behave however, in the present years; Julia Gillard who portrays the qualities of Margaret Thatcher is viewed as “bold” and “strong”. The metaphors used by both of them reflects discriminatory remarks over the opposition party and Julia Gillard is seen to be more direct with her choice of words whereas Margaret Thatcher has been careful by using metaphors that are indirect and can only be understood by audience who share a common interest with her. Between them, their speech styles have definitely evolved from being indirect to directly opposing in a discriminatory and sarcastic tone. This strategy certainly has a way of capturing the audience as these female leaders portray a strong, powerful and self-confident front and the choice of

metaphors is able to create imagination in the minds of the audience. Because of its nature that is subjective, audience are able to perceive the message according to their own understanding towards the issues.

Indira Gandhi, Hillary Rodham Clinton and Aung San Suu Kyi used metaphors that are either religiously shared between the audience or metaphors that are soft in tone with no harsh words or discriminatory language intended to a specific audience. Their tone is more soothing and is more pleading than forceful. This strategy certainly has a way of capturing the audience through the connection of positive emotions. The female political leaders are able to captivate their hearts and minds and persuade them to follow their stance as Bronowski (1972) highlights that metaphors are “the essential core of human thought and creativity... to make a metaphor is also to make a political claim. Metaphors provide a good example of the possible intertwining of the rational and non-rational, they permit vagueness which enables them to carry cognitive and emotive potential within one framework (Jamieson, 1985, p. 73)

As a conclusion, female leaders of the past and present both have used metaphors in their speeches. The metaphors vary according to the direction of the speech and the message that is perceived from the metaphors is up to the audience based on their understanding towards the issue that has been spoken about.

4.4 Analysis of Repetition

The repetition or restatement of an idea at intervals not only promotes clarity, but encourages the acceptance of an idea. When you repeat and emphasize one idea, competing ideas are subordinated and sometimes are driven completely out of the audience's mind.” (Anthony Compollo, 2000). In this study, two types of repetition would be analysed.

According to Shepard (1990), repetition serves as intensification, humour, control in conversation, expression of anger/pleasure/displeasure, cohesion/coherence, emphasis, evaluative and thematic function.

This section will discuss the use of repetition (lexical repetition and repetition of structure) in the female leaders' speeches before going on to a discussion of how these repetitions influence the enactment of power and leadership in the speeches of female leaders of the past and present.

4.4.1 Lexical Repetition as Linguistic Strategy

In a sentence, a particular word is called repeated lexical if it can be omitted without altering the meaning of the sentence. The use of lexical repetition is usually to emphasise on certain points and to reinforce it in the minds of audience.

According to Cockcroft & Cockcroft nearly all political speeches consist of lexical repetitions in various ways. It is one of many techniques that can be used to persuade or emphasise a message in a speech (42). Rhetorical devices are in general used to emphasise something, persuade the audience, provoke negative or positive feelings or develop relationships.

In this study, the researcher intends to study the lexical items used by each individual female political leaders that has been repeated more than 10 times in the speech and what is the significance of the repeated lexical item with the purpose of the speech. The occurrences of repeated lexical items are count manually throughout the speech. The lexical items that are taken into account do not include articles, prepositions and pronouns.

4.4.1.1 Margaret Thatcher

Margaret Thatcher has used the lexical repetition in several occasions:

Lexical Repetition	Frequency
America	19
Reagan	16
World	15
President	12
Total lexical items repeated	62/1747
Overall repetition in percentage against the number of words in speech.	3.52%

Table 4.1: Use of Lexical Repetition – Margaret Thatcher

The data above shows that four lexical items have been repeated in the speech. Margaret Thatcher has used the word “America” the most number of times in her speech with the frequency of 19, followed by the word “Reagan” with a number of 16, “world” with a frequency of 15 and “president” with the frequency of 12. The total frequency of repeated lexical items, all combined is 62. The percentage of repetition that has occurred against the overall number of words in the speech is 3.52%. All the lexical items that have been repeated have significance meaning towards the purpose of the speech. The lexical items that have been repeated is significant to the message of the speech which is about the President of The United States and repeating those lexical items reinforces the meaning of the speech.

Margaret Thatcher used repetition on the word “America” the most because she is talking about the President of America who is Ronald Reagan and how he has made tremendous change in America. By emphasising the word “America”, Margaret Thatcher is implying that she wants her country to be like that of America.

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| 1. | (L13) | <i>Ronald Reagan helped America – and so America could help the world - because he rejected that approach.</i> |
| 2. | (L29) | <i>Ronald Reagan’s achievements can be summed up like this: he made America great again, and he used that greatness to set the nations free.</i> |
| 3. | (L33) | <i>All his policies were of a piece, and all reflected his own distinctive philosophy. He believed in America, and he believed in people.</i> |

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| 4. | (L107) | <i><u>America</u> today is not just the only global superpower. She enjoys a superiority over any other power or combination of powers greater than any nation in modern times.</i> |
| 5. | (L144) | <i>My friends, God Bless Ronnie - and God Bless <u>America</u>!</i> |

Text Box 4.29: Use of Lexical Repetition

The word “America” appears as initial, terminal, random or even instant repetition. The words have all been used to emphasise on the greatness of America and by doing so, Margaret Thatcher is implying that Britain should take America as an example.

Margaret Thatcher also used repetition on the word “Reagan” because the speech shows tribute to him and by repeating his name, she is emphasising on the purpose of the speech, to celebrate him, to honour him.

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| 1. | (L4) | <i>Ronald <u>Reagan</u> – Conservative!</i> |
| 2. | (L13) | <i>Ronald <u>Reagan</u> helped America – and so America could help the world - because he rejected that approach.</i> |
| 3. | (L21) | <i>That’s why just reading – or hearing as we shall - the words of Ronald <u>Reagan</u> is so refreshing.</i> |
| 4. | (L57) | <i><u>Reagan’s</u> Legacy and the World Today.</i> |

Text Box 4.30: Use of Lexical Repetition

The word “Reagan” appears as either initial or random repetition. There is no use of terminal and instant repetition for the word Reagan. The word “Reagan” is repeated to put emphasis on the work that he has delivered throughout his course of service. He has been emphasised as good friend and a good leader and by doing so, she is reflecting her leadership which is similar to his hence create a lasting memory of who Ronald Reagan has been and also the kind of leadership he had that will be continued by Margaret Thatcher.

Margaret Thatcher also used repetition on the word “world” to explain the influence and effects America have on the world.

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| 1. | (L13) | <i>Ronald Reagan helped America – and so America could help the <u>world</u> because here rejected that approach.</i> |
| 2. | (L20) | <i>The <u>world</u> isn't much used to hearing that kind of message now.</i> |
| 3. | (L58) | <i>Missile Defence is just one example of the continuity between the <u>world</u> which Ronald Reagan and I faced in the 1980s and the <u>world</u> we know today.</i> |
| 4. | (L134) | <i>It was what brought moral grandeur to his vision of America and to his dreams for a better <u>world</u>.</i> |

Text Box 4.31: Use of Lexical Repetition

The word “world” has appeared as random, terminal and instant repetition in the speech. The word “world” has been repeated to emphasise on the changes that Ronald Reagan has made for his country and the world. The repetition helps the audience realise that the world is a better place now because of Ronald Reagan’s contribution. By supporting Ronald Reagan, Margaret Thatcher is emphasising on the kind of service she will have for her country as a leader and how she would make a difference to the world.

Margaret Thatcher also used repetition on the word “President”. The word was repeated to show emphasis on President Ronald Reagan and how he has made tremendous change and contribution while he was a president. Mainly, the word president has been repeated to show respect of the person who hailed as president of the country.

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| 1. | (L2) | <i>It is an honour to join so many friends this evening in a tribute to freedom and a tribute to the <u>President</u> whose name is synonymous with it – Ronald Reagan.</i> |
| 2. | (L30) | <i>Either of these achievements would qualify a <u>President</u> for the political pantheon.</i> |
| 3. | (L82) | <i>And it proves too that another great American <u>President</u> sits in the White House.</i> |
| 4. | (L90) | <i>For as <u>President</u> Bush has reminded us, though a great battle is over, the war itself is not. Our purpose must be to strike the other centres of Islamic terrorism wherever they are.</i> |

Text Box 4.32: Use of Lexical Repetition

The word “president” appeared as random repetition that was used to describe presidency or the greatness of a leader as a president. This is to form emphasis on the notion that there needs to be a great leader/president in order to see a country or nation develops. Margaret Thatcher is able to emphasise great leadership skills by emphasising on the word president and by instilling the values on great leadership skills which is to be like President Ronald Reagan.

4.4.1.2 Indira Gandhi

Indira Gandhi has used the lexical repetition in several occasions:

Lexical Repetition	Frequency
Country	25
People	22
Education	13
World	16
Society	11
India	11
Total lexical items repeated	92/2484
Overall repetition in percentage against the number of words in speech.	3.70%

Table 4.2: Use of Lexical Repetition – Indira Gandhi

The data above shows that six lexical items has been repeatedly used in the speech. Indira Gandhi has used the word “country” the most number of times with a frequency of 25, followed by “people” with a frequency of 22, “education” with the frequency of 13, “world” with a frequency of 10, “society” and “India” both with a frequency of 10. The total frequency of repeated lexical items, all combined is 92. The percentage of repetition that has occurred against the overall number of words in the speech is 3.70%.

Indira Gandhi used repetition on the word “country” the most. Her use of the word “country” puts emphasis on the importance of contributing to the growth of the country to have a better life.

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| 1. | (L2) | <i>It is as we build our homes that we can build our <u>country</u>.</i> |
| 2. | (L4) | <i>...then that <u>country</u> cannot have harm only and no <u>country</u> which does not have harmony can grow in any direction at all.</i> |
| 3. | (L98) | <i>We have to decide, not once and for all but almost every week, every month what is coming out that is good and useful to our <u>country</u> and what of the old we can keep and enshrine in our society.</i> |
| 4. | (L158) | <i>We want to do a great deal for our <u>country</u>, but we have never regarded India as isolated from the rest of the world.</i> |

Text Box 4.44: Use of Lexical Repetition

The word “country” appeared as terminal, instant and random repetition in her speech. She used the word “country” to compare her country India with other countries and also to state general information. By repeating the word “country”, she is putting emphasis on the importance of growth for her country. She is implying that India deserves to be on par with other countries and by repeating the word “country”, she is creating awareness among her audience and urging them to cooperate for the sake of the country.

Indira Gandhi also used repetition on the word “people” in her speech. She used the word “people” to generally describe the responsibilities and duties of the citizen and people of the world in making a change for their country.

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| 1. | (L22) | <i>Now, we have got education and there is a debate all over the country whether this education is adequate to the needs of society or the needs of our young <u>people</u>. Many of our young <u>people</u> leave us and go abroad because they get higher salaries, they get better conditions of work.</i> |
| 2. | (L39) | <i>There are <u>people</u> who through observation can learn from anything that is around them.</i> |
| 3. | (L48) | <i>Then, of course, there is the physical poverty of large numbers of our <u>people</u>.</i> |
| 4. | (L90) | <i>So, something is said and a lot of <u>people</u> without thinking keep on repeating it with additions until an entirely distorted picture of the country and of our <u>people</u> is presented.</i> |

Text Box 4.45: Use of Lexical Repetition

The word “people” in the speech appeared as terminal, random or instant repetition. Most of the word “people” is either preceded by adjective “young” or pronoun “our”. The word “people” is used to create awareness among the audience that to make a country a better place to live in, it is in the hands of the citizen especially the young ones. To make India a better country, it is in the hands of the citizens of India. The word “people” is repeated to tell her audience that they need to contribute and be responsible of their actions to make their country progress. Indira Gandhi also used repetition on the word “Education”. This is because, it is mainly directed to students and her emphasis is on women’s education.

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| 1. | (L7-9) | <i>That is why women's <u>education</u> is almost more important than the <u>education</u> of boys and men. We -- and by "we" I do not mean only we in India but all the world -- have neglected women <u>education</u>.</i> |
| 2. | (L9) | <i>Of course, not to you but when I was a child, the story of early days of women's <u>education</u> in England, for instance, was very current.</i> |
| 3. | (L82) | <i>We have to see and you, the educated women, because it is great privilege for you to have higher <u>education</u>, you have to try and see our problems in the perspective of what has happened here in this country and what is happening all over the world.</i> |
| 4. | (L141) | <i>They are feeling alienated from their societies, not only in India but almost in every country in the world, except in places where the whole purpose of <u>education</u> and government has to be to make the people conform to just one idea.</i> |

Text Box 4.46: Use of Lexical Repetition

The word “education” has appeared as random and instant repetition in the speech. The word has also been preceded with the adjective “women” to indicate the freedom of receiving education among women. Indira Gandhi repeatedly used the word “education” because she is re-enforcing the importance of education in the minds of her audience. She wants her audience to know that education can make a huge change not only in their lives but also for the country. By repeating the word, she is placing emphasis on education hence persuading her audience to further educate themselves to be better individuals.

Indira Gandhi also used repetition for the word “world”. She has used the word “world” to talk about the challenges of women around the world in obtaining education. She also used the word repeatedly to emphasise on the other countries around the world.

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| 1. | (L8) | <i>We -- and by "we" I do not mean only we in India but all the world -- have neglected women education.</i> |
| 2. | (L33) | <i>Now, that shows that people do consider that they have a standard of knowledge and capability which will be useful anywhere in the world.</i> |
| 3. | (L53) | <i>Even the most rich country in the world has its dark side, but usually other people hide their dark sides and they try to project the shining side or the side of achievement.</i> |
| 4. | (L133-136) | <i>Now we find that manure is the most valuable thing that the world has today and many of the world's economies are shaking because there is not enough fertilizer - and not just the chemical fertilizer but the ordinary manure, night-soil and all that sort of thing, things which were considered dirty.</i> |

Text Box 4.47: Use of Lexical Repetition

The word “world” has appeared as terminal, instant or random repetition in the speech. The word “world” has been used by Indira Gandhi to describe women’s education in the world and to make her audience who are women understand that getting education as a women is challenging but if they are educated, they will be capable of handling issues that are happening not only in their homes but in the country. She also used the word “world” to describe the world’s perception about education and career and how people can make a difference to the world even if they do not have high-flung career. The use of “world” repeatedly shows connection with her aims of creating awareness among her audience on education and how it could change the perspective of people around the world on India.

Indira Gandhi also used repetition on the word “society” especially in creating oneness among her audience so that they understand that they need to be one as a society in contributing to the growth of the country.

1. (L1) *An ancient Sanskrit saying says, woman is the home and the home is the basis of society.*
2. (L22) *Now, we have got education and there is a debate all over the country whether this education is adequate to the needs of **society** or the needs of our young people.*
3. (L55) *Here in India, we seem to want to project the worst side of **society**.*
4. (L150-153) *In our **society**, we allow lots of smaller explosions because we think that that will guard the basic stability and progress of **society** and prevent it from having the kind of chaotic explosion which can retard our progress and harmony in the country.*

Text Box 4.48: Use of Lexical Repetition

The word “society” has appeared as terminal, random and instant repetition in the speech. Indira Gandhi has made powerful connection of the word “society” with the message she intended to give. The word “society” has been repeated to project on the importance of the society in a country. She explains the needs and expectations of the society in the country and how it can be achieved together through education. The word “society” has been repeated to re-enforce the importance of a society being one in unity to achieve greater growth for the country.

Indira Gandhi used repetition for the word “India” in her speech. The words were repeated to show connection between her audience who are people of India and the context of her speech which is education for women in India and also the growth of India economically.

1. (L55) *Here in **India**, we seem to want to project the worst side of society.*
2. (L64) *This country, **India**, has had remarkable achievements to its credit, of course in ancient times, but even in modern times, I think there are a few modern stories, success stories, which are as fascinating as the success story of our country.*
3. (L157) *I think this is the special responsibility of the women of **India**.*
4. (L158) *We want to do a great deal for our country, but we have never regarded **India** as isolated from the rest of the world.*

Text Box 4.49: Use of Lexical Repetition

The word “India” has appeared as terminal and random repetition in the speech. Indira Gandhi has used the word to describe India economically and also to talk about the changes that India can see with the help and commitment of her audience. She emphasises on the needs of India as a country rich in culture and resources in making full use of the diversity in developing the country. She persuades women of India to take education seriously so that they would not be left out education wise and so that they would be able to contribute vastly to the growth and development of the country. Indira Gandhi’s use of the word “India” is significant to the speech as the speech revolves around the people of India and her aim is to make a change in the lives of Indian women who in turn would be able to contribute to the country.

4.4.1.3 Julia Gillard

Julia Gillard has used the lexical repetition in several occasions:

Lexical Repetition	Frequency
Opposition	51
Leader	49
Parliament	19
Offended	16
Sexism	11
Total lexical items repeated	146/2267
Overall repetition in percentage against the number of words in speech.	6.44%

Table 4.3: Use of Lexical Repetition – Julia Gillard

The data above shows that six lexical items have been repeatedly used in the speech. Julia Gillard has used the word “opposition” the most number of times with a frequency of 51, followed by the word “leader” with a frequency of 49, “parliament” with a frequency of 19, “offended” with a frequency of 16, and “sexism” with a frequency of 11. The total frequency of repeated lexical items, all combined is 146. The percentage of repetition that has occurred against the overall number of words in the speech is 6.44%. The above repeated lexical items

are significant to the purpose of the speech and repeating the lexical items act as constant emphasis to the audience while reinforcing the purpose of the speech.

Julia Gillard has used repetition on the word “Opposition” in her speech. The word has been repeated to show reference to the intended audience who is the main reason the speech. The word “Opposition” is preceded by “Leader of the”.

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|----|----------|--|
| 1. | (L1) | <i>Thank you very much Deputy Speaker and I rise to oppose the motion moved by the Leader of the <u>Opposition</u>.</i> |
| 2. | (L12-16) | <i>We are now supposed to take seriously that the Leader of the <u>Opposition</u> is offended by Mr Slipper’s text messages, when this is the Leader of the <u>Opposition</u> who has said, and this was when he was a minister under the last government.</i> |
| 3. | (L44) | <i>I was offended when the Leader of the <u>Opposition</u> stood next to a sign that described me as a man’s bitch.</i> |
| 4. | (L58) | <i>Well this kind of hypocrisy must not be tolerated, which is why this motion from the Leader of the <u>Opposition</u> should not be taken seriously.</i> |

Text Box 4.50: Use of Lexical Repetition

The word “Opposition” has appeared as random and instant repetition. It is preceded by the word “Leader of the”. The main use of word is to refer to the person who takes the position as the Leader of the Opposition in the Parliament. Julia Gillard used the word “Opposition” to highlight the negative issues caused by the Opposition party. By repeating the word instead of referring to him by name, she is emphasising on the Opposition party.

Julia Gillard also used repetition on the word “leader”. The word leader has been repeated to show reference to the Opposition party’s head hence is followed by the word “of the Opposition”.

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|----|-------|--|
| 1. | (L60) | <i>And then second, the <u>Leader</u> of the Opposition is always wonderful about Walking into this Parliament and giving me and others a lecture about what they should take responsibility for.</i> |
| 2. | (L73) | <i>Instead of course, it was all viewed as good fun until it was run in a Sunday newspaper and then the <u>Leader</u> of the Opposition and others started ducking for cover.</i> |

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|----|------------|---|
| 3. | (L77) | <i>Third, Deputy Speaker, why the <u>Leader</u> of the Opposition should not be taken seriously on this motion.</i> |
| 4. | (L108-111) | <i>Well, with respect, I'd say to the <u>Leader</u> of the Opposition after a long personal association including attending Mr Slipper's wedding, it would be interesting to know whether the <u>Leader</u> of the Opposition was surprised by these text messages.</i> |

Text Box 4.51: Use of Lexical Repetition

The word “leader” has appeared as random and instant repetition in the speech. It precedes the word “of the Opposition” and is used to make reference to the head of the Opposition party. The word has been repeated because Julia Gillard was making points that were related to the Leader of the Opposition party. By repeating the word “leader”, it is emphasised and the audience are kept reminded of the acts by the Leader of the Opposition party. The repetition also acts as a form of amplification in telling the audience that choosing the Opposition party is not wise and the leader should not be given the opportunity in the Parliament.

Julia Gillard also used repetition on the word “Parliament” in her speech. The word “Parliament” occurs as repeatedly because Julia Gillard made references on leadership and repeating the word “Parliament” emphasises leadership roles and qualities.

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|----|--------|--|
| 1. | (L42) | <i>I was offended when the Leader of the Opposition went outside in front of the <u>Parliament</u> and stood next to a sign that said, “Ditch the witch.”</i> |
| 2. | (L94) | <i>I believe that the <u>Parliament</u> will be well-served by the team which will occupy the chair in this chamber.</i> |
| 3. | (L132) | <i>But I also believe, in terms of this <u>Parliament</u> making a decision about the leadership, that this <u>Parliament</u> should recognise that there is a court case in progress.</i> |
| 4. | (L156) | <i>His double standards should not rule this <u>Parliament</u>.</i> |

Text Box 4.52: Use of Lexical Repetition

The word “Parliament” has appeared as random, instant and terminal repetition in the speech. The word “Parliament” has been used by Julia Gillard to tell the audience the importance of choosing the right leader to be part of the Parliament because that is where

decisions on the country and the citizens are made and by choosing the right leader would mean that the country and people will have a better life. Her use of the word “Parliament” emphasises on leadership values, ethics and decision making and the decision of who becomes the member of the parliament lies in the hands of the audience.

Julia Gillard also used repetition on the word “offended” in her speech. The word has been repeated to show her anger and dissatisfaction towards the Leader of the Opposition who made sexist remarks of her and the women of Australia.

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|----|--------|--|
| 1. | (L30) | <i>I was very offended personally when the Leader of the Opposition, as a Minister of Health, said and I quote, “Abortion is the easy way out.”</i> |
| 2. | (L45) | <i>I was offended by those things.</i> |
| 3. | (L125) | <i>I am offended by their content.</i> |
| 4. | (L126) | <i>I am offended by their content because I am always offended by statements that are anti-woman.</i> |

Text Box 4.53: Use of Lexical Repetition

The word “offended” has appeared as random and instant repetition in the speech. The word “offended” has been repeated to show anger, disappointment and resentment towards the Leader of the Opposition and the remarks he has made. By doing so, she is projecting negative emotions that are capable of invoking the emotions of the audience. By repeating the words, she is reminding her audience of the sexist remarks made by the Leader of the Opposition and that they should react against him. The use of repetition on the word “offended” further amplifies the message of the speech which is to terminate the roles of the Leader of the Opposition from the Parliament by questioning his abilities as a leader who does not respect the women of Australia.

Julia Gillard also used repetition on the word “sexism” in her speech. The word “sexism” has been repeated because the speech to emphasise on the remarks made by the Leader of the Opposition

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|----|-------|--|
| 1. | (L2) | <i>I will not be lectured about <u>sexism</u> and misogyny by this man.</i> |
| 2. | (L11) | <i>Let's go through the Opposition Leader's repulsive double standards, repulsive double standards when it comes to misogyny and <u>sexism</u>.</i> |
| 3. | (L29) | <i>This is the man from whom we're supposed to take lectures about <u>sexism</u>.</i> |
| 4. | (L45) | <i>Misogyny, <u>sexism</u>, every day from this Leader of the Opposition.</i> |

Text Box 4.54: Use of Lexical Repetition

The word “sexism” has appeared as random and terminal repetition in the speech. Julia Gillard has repeated the word to emphasise on the Leader of the Opposition’s remarks about Australian women. By doing so, she is constantly reminding her audience about the negative remarks made by the Opposition Leader. By repeating the word “sexism”, Julia Gillard is projecting herself as an anti-sexist who would stand up for the rights of women.

4.4.1.4 Hillary Rodham Clinton

Hillary Rodham Clinton has used the lexical repetition in several occasions:

Lexical Repetition	Frequency
Rights	72
People	64
LGBT	29
Women	11
Dignity	11
Total lexical items repeated	187/3745
Overall repetition in percentage against the number of words in speech.	4.99%

Table 4.4: Use of Lexical Repetition – Hillary Rodham Clinton

The data above shows that there has been five lexical repetition in the speech. Hilary Rodham Clinton has repeated the word “rights” the most number times with a frequency of 72, followed by the word “people” with a frequency of 64, “LGBT” with a frequency of 29, “women” and “dignity” with a frequency of 11. The total frequency of repeated lexical items, all combined is 187. The percentage of repetition that has occurred against the overall number of words in the speech is 4.99%. The above repeated lexical items are significant to the purpose

of the speech and repeating the lexical items act as constant emphasis to the audience while reinforcing the purpose of the speech.

Hillary Clinton has used the repetition on the word “rights” in her speech to emphasise on the freedom of rights and human and rights. Most of the word “rights” is preceded by the word “human”.

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|----|--------|--|
| 1. | (L3) | <i>This weekend, we will celebrate Human <u>Rights</u> Day, the anniversary of one of the great accomplishments of the century.</i> |
| 2. | (L16) | <i>All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and <u>rights</u>.</i> |
| 3. | (L57) | <i>Some have suggested that gay rights and human <u>rights</u> are separate and distinct:, but in fact, they are one and the same.</i> |
| 4. | (L253) | <i>Those who advocate for expanding the circle of human <u>rights</u> were and are on the right side of history, and the history honors them.</i> |

Text Box 4.55: Use of Lexical Repetition

The word “rights” appeared as random, instant and terminal repetition in the speech. The word “rights” mostly is preceded by the word “human” to indicate human rights or “gay” to indicate “gay” rights. Hillary Rodham Clinton repeated the word “rights” to show emphasis on human and gay rights, to state the importance of respecting and accepting the freedom of rights. By emphasising the word, she is planting the message that everyone deserves to be given the rights to be who they want to be. She equals gay rights with human rights and by repeating the word, she is re-enforcing the importance of respecting the individuals’ rights.

Hillary Rodham Clinton also used repetition for the word “people” in her speech. The word “people” has been repeated generally to talk about the minority group and also about the audience.

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|----|-------|--|
| 1. | (L5) | <i>Beginning in 1947, delegates from six continents devoted themselves to drafting a declaration that would enshrine the fundamental rights and freedoms of <u>people</u> everywhere.</i> |
| 2. | (L28) | <i><u>People</u> fought and organised and campaigned in public squares and private spaces to change not only laws, but hearts and minds.</i> |

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|----|--------|--|
| 3. | (L77) | <i>And it is a violation of human rights when life-saving care is withheld from people because they are gay, or equal access to justice is denied to people because they are gay, or public spaces are out of bound to people because they are gay.</i> |
| 4. | (L120) | <i>For many of us, religious belief and practice is a vital source of meaning and identity and fundamental to who we are as people.</i> |

Text Box 4.56: Use of Lexical Repetition

The word “people” has appeared as initial, random, instant and terminal repetition. The word “people” has been repeated to emphasise on oneness. Hillary Clinton used the word “people” to generally speak about the minority group as well as the audience and by repeating the word, the emphasis is on shared responsibility as people of The United States. It shows that there should be team work in acting towards accepting the minority group. It re-enforces shared responsibility among them. The repetition also shows that the people are important, what they think and feel is important hence, their decision is importance in bringing peace and unity.

Hillary Rodham Clinton also used repetition on the word “LGBT” because the speech was about them and to make reference about them. She did not use the word lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender because it is too long and using “LGBT” is a much easier way.

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|----|------------|---|
| 1. | (L49) | <i>Now, raising this issue, I know, is sensitive for many people and that the obstacles standing in the way of protecting the human rights of LGBT people rest on deeply held personal, political, cultural and religious beliefs.</i> |
| 2. | (L99) | <i>Costs are incurred whenever any group is treated as lesser or the other, whether they are woman, racial or religious minorities, or the LGBT.</i> |
| 3. | (L220-225) | <i>Building on efforts already underway at the State Department and across The government, the President has directed all U.S Government agencies Engaged overseas to combat the criminalisation of LGBT status and conduct, to enhance efforts to protect vulnerable LGBT refugees and asylum seekers, to ensure that our foreign assistance promotes the protection of LGBT rights, to enlist international organisations in the fight against discrimination, and to respond swiftly to abuses against LGBT persons.</i> |

4. (L243) *There is little doubt in my mind that support for **LGBT** human rights will continue to climb.*

Text Box 4.57: Use of Lexical Repetition

The word “LGBT” has appeared as random, instant and terminal repetition. The word “LGBT” has been repeated many times because the speech is about them and for Hillary Clinton, using the abbreviation “LGBT” is easier than reading out lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender. By repeating the word “LGBT”, the importance of accepting LGBT people is re-emphasised throughout the speech and becomes a constant reminder to the audience that the speech is about the LGBT people. By repeating the word “LGBT”, she is showing her concern and respect towards the minority group while making it less taboo for her audience to hear those words. Repetition has the potential to make the listener get used to a particular word hence repeating LGBT which is somewhat taboo among the audience, helps them get used to the word.

Hillary Clinton also used repetition on the word “women” in her speech to emphasise the privileges and rights that were stripped off when women deserve to be treated equally to men which is similar to that of the minority group.

1. (L25) *In many places, racist laws have been repealed, legal and social practices that relegated **women** to second-class status have been abolished, the ability of religious minorities to practice their faith freely has been secured.*
2. (L99) *Costs are incurred whenever any group is treated as lesser or the other, whether they are **women**, racial, or religious minorities, or the LGBT.*
3. (L108) *But violence towards **women** isn't cultural, its criminal.*
4. (L204) *And finally, to LGBT men and **women** worldwide let me say this:*

Text Box 4.58: Use of Lexical Repetition

The word “women” has appeared as random repetition in the speech. The word “women” has been repeated in the speech to make connection between women and LGBT in terms of privileges and rights. Hillary Clinton emphasised that women in the past were not

given the privileges and rights that they deserve but over the years, mind-set and culture have changed and people have started accepting women's rights and privileges. By giving examples as such, Hillary Clinton is emphasising on the rights of the minority group which is part of human rights. She used the word "women" in the examples to re-enforce her stance on the importance of accepting the minority group.

Hillary Clinton also used repetition for the word "dignity" in her speech. She has used the word to persuade her audience to respect the dignity of the LGBT people.

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|----|--------|---|
| 1. | (L16) | <i>All human beings are born free and equal in <u>dignity</u> and rights.</i> |
| 2. | (L80) | <i>No matter what we look like, where we come from, or who we are, we are equally entitled to our human rights and <u>dignity</u>.</i> |
| 3. | (L245) | <i>All people deserve to be treated with <u>dignity</u> and have their human rights respected, no matter who they are or whom they love.</i> |
| 4. | (L256) | <i>As it has happened so many times before opinion will converge once again with the truth, the immutable truth, that all persons are created free and equal in <u>dignity</u> and rights.</i> |

Text Box 4.59: Use of Lexical Repetition

The word "dignity" has appeared as random and terminal repetition in the speech Hillary Clinton has used the word "dignity" in her speech repeatedly to emphasise on the importance of respecting the pride and dignity of the minority group. By repeating the word, Hillary Clinton is re-enforcing her stance to protect the dignity of the minority group and persuade the audience indirectly to do the same. The repeating of the word "dignity" makes her audience realise that as much as they want their dignity to be respected, they should do the same to others and that includes the minority group.

4.4.1.5 Aung San Suu Kyi

Aung San Suu Kyi has used the lexical repetition in several occasions:

Lexical Repetition	Frequency
Oxford	18
World	17
Burma	14
Student	11
Best	11
University	10
Different	10
Total lexical items repeated	91/1936
Overall repetition in percentage against the number of words in speech.	4.70%

Table 4.5: Use of Lexical Repetition – Aung San Suu Kyi

The above data shows that there has been seven lexical items that have been repeated in the speech. Aung San Suu Kyi has used the word “Oxford” the most with a frequency of 18, followed by the word “world” with a frequency of 17, Burma with a frequency of 14, “student” and “best” with a frequency 11, “university” and “different” with a frequency of 10 each. The total frequency of repeated lexical items, all combined is 91. The percentage of repetition that has occurred against the overall number of words in the speech is 4.70%. The above repeated lexical items are significant to the purpose of the speech and repeating the lexical items act as constant emphasis to the audience while reinforcing the purpose of the speech.

Aung San Suu Kyi has used repetition on the word “Oxford” in her speech. The speech narrates the story of her student life in Oxford University hence the use of “Oxford” appears repeatedly. It also is usually preceded by the word “University of” to describe it as a university.

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|----|--------|---|
| 1. | (L5) | <i>During the most difficult years I was upheld by memories of <u>Oxford</u>.</i> |
| 2. | (L14) | <i>When I see <u>Oxford</u> now, when I see the student of <u>Oxford</u> now, when I met some of them at St. Hugh's yesterday, I saw myself again as a young student.</i> |
| 3. | (L74) | <i><u>Oxford</u> is a place of tremendous broad-mindedness.</i> |
| 4. | (L126) | <i>I am no different now to the young student who was at <u>Oxford</u> so many year before.</i> |

Text Box 4.60: Use of Lexical Repetition

The word “Oxford” has appeared as initial, random, instant and terminal repetition. The word “Oxford” has been repeated in the speech because Aung San Suu Kyi is making reference to the place where she received her education. She repeats the word when she talks about Oxford and the way the university has transformed her. The repetition shows emphasis of Oxford University to re-enforce the notion that the university has made her a better person and creates an impression among her audience that Aung San Suu Kyi is proud of the university and by doing that, she is imparting the message that she would want the same for her people in Burma.

Aung San Suu Kyi also used repetition on the word “world” in her speech when she speaks about something in general.

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|----|-------|---|
| 1. | (L20) | <i>We were not afraid – there was no reason for us to be afraid – and this opened us to the <u>world</u>.</i> |
| 2. | (L29) | <i>The <u>world</u> was shaped differently.</i> |
| 3. | (L62) | <i>To be able to stand at the threshold of full adult in full confidence that they will be able to do their best for the <u>world</u> and in the belief that the <u>world</u> also wants to do the best for them.</i> |
| 4. | (L92) | <i>And that we will need your help and the help of others all around the <u>world</u> to make sure that it leads to where we want our country to go.</i> |

Text Box 4.61: Use of Lexical Repetition

The word “world” appeared as random, instant and terminal repetition in the speech. Aung San Suu Kyi used the word “world” to make reference to general statements. She wanted her audience to look at the bigger picture of the challenges in the world and how she has overcome it with the help of Oxford University and by using the word “world”, she is making her audience focus on the points from a wider perspective.

Aung San Suu Kyi also used repetition on the word “Burma” in her speech. She is the leader of her country, Burma hence the word appeared repeatedly especially when she talks about her country’s development.

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|----|------------|--|
| 1. | (L51) | <i>I have often thought that the saddest thing about Burma over the last few decades has been the lack of campus life for our university students.</i> |
| 2. | (L81) | <i>Burma is at the beginning of a road.</i> |
| 3. | (L102) | <i>I would like a little bit of Oxonian Shangri-La Burma.</i> |
| 4. | (L106-110) | <i>And I mention it because I would like all our friends, all our well-wishers, to remember that investing in Burma should be done with a sense of responsibility and to remind those who are thinking of making use of the new opportunities that Burma is offering to remember that we have, the people of Burma, need to benefit from these investments as much as investors themselves.</i> |

Text Box 4.62: Use of Lexical Repetition

The word “Burma” has appeared as initial, instant, random and terminal repetition in the speech. By repeating the word, Aung San Suu Kyi is emphasising on the importance of education for the young students of Burma and the opportunities of developing the country. By repeating the word, she is re-enforcing the importance of growth for the country and showing that she cares about her country’s and people’s welfare. She encourages the audience to help by investing in the country and through repetition, she is indirectly persuading the audience to act in the development of her country.

Aung San Suu Kyi also used repetition on the word “student” in her speech. She used the word to describe herself as a student and to relate her experiences as a student. She also used it to compare herself with the young students in Burma.

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|----|-------|---|
| 1. | (L16) | <i>We were nice, the <u>students</u> now are nice.</i> |
| 2. | (L51) | <i>I have often thought that the saddest things about Burma over the last few decades have been the lack of campus life for our university <u>students</u>.</i> |
| 3. | (L55) | <i>University life has been shattered because of a perceived need to keep <u>students</u> in order.</i> |
| 4. | (L67) | <i>And all my friends were non-Burmese – of course English <u>students</u>, but <u>students</u> from all over the world, from Ghana, from India, from Thailand, from Sri Lanka from all over the world.</i> |

Text Box 4.63: Use of Lexical Repetition

The word “students” has appeared as random, instant and terminal repetition in the speech. She repeated the word “students” because she feels that they are the important phase in life where they become who or what they want to become with proper education and encouragement. By her repeating the word “student”, Aung San Suu Kyis is emphasising on them and how they would be able to contribute to the country and the world because when Aung San Suu Kyi was a student, she learnt many things and became the person she is because she was given the opportunity to polish her talents and abilities in a place that showed appreciation to it.

Aung San Suu Kyi also used repetition on the word “best” in her speech as an adjective to describe things.

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|----|--------|---|
| 1. | (L40) | <i>The most important thing for me about Oxford was not what I learnt in terms of set texts and set books we had to read, but in terms of a respect for the <u>best</u> in human civilisation.</i> |
| 2. | (L62) | <i>To be able to stand at the threshold of full adulthood in full confidence that they will be able to do their <u>best</u> for the world and in the belief that the world also wants to do the <u>best</u> for them.</i> |
| 3. | (L116) | <i>Moving because I have found that the past is always there, it never goes away, but you can select what is <u>best</u> from the past to help you go forward to the future.</i> |
| 4. | (L131) | <i>But Oxford, I know, expects the <u>best</u> of its own.</i> |

Text Box 4.64: Use of Lexical Repetition

The word “best” appeared as random and instant repetition in the speech. Aung San Suu Kyi used the word “best” to describe the quality that is needed for the development and growth of every country. By repeating the word “best”, she is instilling among her audience, the best attitudes, the best values that are needed to help a country grow and to become better individuals.

Aung San Suu Kyi also used repetition on the word “university”. She spoke of her experiences in the university while she was a student and the word was repeated to make reference to it.

1.	(L51)	<i>I have often thought that the saddest thing about Burma over the last few decades has been the lack of campus life for our <u>university</u> students.</i>
2.	(L55)	<i><u>University</u> life has been shattered because of a perceived need to keep students in order.</i>
3.	(L59)	<i>And I would be so grateful if my old <u>university</u>, the <u>University</u> of Oxford, could help to bring this about once again.</i>
4.	(L78)	<i>And that’s why throughout the years when I was struggling for human rights in Burma, I felt I was doing something of which my old <u>university</u> would have approved.</i>

Text Box 4.65: Use of Lexical Repetition

The word “university” has appeared as initial, random and instant repetition in the speech. Aung San Suu Kyi used the word while describing her experiences in the university as a student. The use of repetition puts emphasis on the word “university” because Aung San Suu Kyi feels that it is an important place and phase of life that transformed her and she wants her audience to remember the fact that the university that she was educated in has made her the person she is and how important university life is in shaping and moulding an individual.

Aung San Suu Kyi also used repetition on the word “different” in her speech to highlight the differences in each individual and no matter how different people are individually, they are one in the university.

- | | | |
|----|-------|--|
| 1. | (L24) | <i>It is not fair that even knees are <u>“different”</u>.</i> |
| 2. | (L30) | <i>We learned how to cope with the <u>different</u> problems that we would have to face.</i> |
| 3. | (L70) | <i>And I never felt that they were <u>different</u> from me.</i> |
| 4. | (L74) | <i>Nobody discriminates against anybody else because he or she may be <u>different</u>, or may not have achieved as much as others.</i> |

Text Box 4.66: Use of Lexical Repetition

The word “different” has appeared as random and terminal repetition. Aung San Suu Kyi highlights with the repetition that being one in heart and mind is the most important thing to achieve something greater and bigger in life. Not everyone is the same culturally, physically and even financially but if they are one in mind, they will be able to become better individuals. The repetition of the word also emphasises the difference between the lives of those living in Oxford and those of Burma and how she would like to make those differences dissipate.

4.4.2 Repetition of Structure

In this subsection, the researcher intends to identify the strategy employed by female leaders of the past and present in enacting power and leadership through the use of various types of repetition of structure.

4.4.2.4 Margaret Thatcher

Margaret Thatcher has used the repetition of structure in several occasions:

- | | | |
|----|----------|---|
| 1. | (L22-25) | <i><u>They remind us</u> that men and women were born for high ideals and noble purposes.</i> |
| | | <i><u>They remind us,</u> too, that the world which so many now take for granted was won by struggle. And Ron had to struggle.</i> |

Text Box 4.67: Use of Repetition of Structure – Margaret Thatcher

The above shows that Margaret Thatcher has used the repetition of structure in making emphasis on the words “They remind us.” The word “they” in the sentence refers to “the words of Ronald Reagan” and by putting emphasis on the words, Margaret Thatcher highlights the importance of his beliefs and teachings. It is cohesive in nature as it forms a flow to the following sentence. The use of repetition as an emphasis also affects the audience emotionally as they are reminded of Ronald Reagan’s words and teachings.

2. (L47-52) **Do you remember** *how he was told that the only way to deal with Soviet advances was to negotiate arms control?*
- Do you remember** *how they said that toughness in dealing with the Soviets would only help the hard-liners in the Kremlin? And then came Gorbachev, and then an end to the Evil Empire itself!*
- And **do you remember** how much they mocked an old man’s obsession with Star Wars?*

Text Box 4.68: Use of Repetition of Structure – Margaret Thatcher

The above shows that Margaret Thatcher has used the repetition of structure in making emphasis on the words “Do you remember”. The use of repetition of structure directly to the audience also reflects strong emotions that are able to convince the audience on the good side of Ronald Reagan and the bad side of those who were against him. The use of repetition also puts emphasis on each of the three points mentioned by Margaret Thatcher. This enables her audience to reflect on all three points.

Margaret Thatcher used repetition of structure in putting emphasis on the points that she has elaborated. By doing so, her audience is able to picture the points individually rather than as a whole. Her use of repetition of structure also shows the involvement of strong emotions that are aggressive and convincing. It can be concluded that Margaret Thatcher has used repetition of structure to emphasise on certain points that are able to stir the emotions of the audience as well as to persuade them to act upon the right thing.

4.4.2.5 Indira Gandhi

Indira Gandhi has used the repetition of structure in several occasions:

1. (L44) ***It is rich in*** culture, ***it is rich in*** many old traditions.

Text Box 4.69: Use of Repetition of Structure – Indira Gandhi

The above shows that Indira Gandhi has used the repetition of structure to emphasise the word “It is rich in”. The word “it” refers to the country, India. Indira Gandhi could have used “and” to combine both sentences however, she used repetition instead to put emphasis on her country, India. By doing so, she is also emphasising two difference points which are “culture” and “old traditions.” Her use of repetition in this sentence is to create awareness on the richness that the country, India has which in turn helps her audience realise the importance of such cultural and traditional values in helping the country grow.

2. (L45) *Of course, it has a lot of ***bad things*** too and some of the ***bad things*** are in the society.*

Text Box 4.70: Use of Repetition of Structure – Indira Gandhi

The above shows that Indira Gandhi has used the repetition of structure to emphasise the word “bad things”. The word can be substituted with “it” however, she used the repetition instead to re-inforce the word “bad things” because it helps the word stand out and the audience are able to capture the meaning of “bad things” which has been part of the society that has caused the downfall of the country.

3. (L56) *Before anybody does anything, ***he has to*** have, of course, knowledge and capability, but along with it ***he has to*** have a certain amount of pride in what he or she is doing.
He has to have self-confidence in his own ability.*

Text Box 4.71: Use of Repetition of Structure – Indira Gandhi

The above shows that Indira Gandhi has used the repetition of structure to emphasise on the word “He has to”. By using the repetition, Indira Gandhi is able to point out on individual points which are the knowledge and capability, pride and self confidence in his own ability,

the three elements which are vital in strengthening oneself. The use of repetition gives emphasis to each point and acts to advise and bring awareness to her audience.

- | | |
|-----------|--|
| 4. (L125) | <i>Some people think that only by taking up very high jobs, <u>you are doing</u> something important or <u>you are doing</u> national service.</i> |
|-----------|--|

Text Box 4.72: Use of Repetition of Structure – Indira Gandhi

The above shows that Indira Gandhi has used the repetition of structure for the word “you are doing”. The use of repetition in the above sentence is to put emphasis on individual audience. By repeating the word, Indira Gandhi is emphasizing on the importance of each individual in contributing to the nation despite the kind of job they do. By doing so, she is creating an emotional bonding as she shows acceptance towards everyone with no preference of higher status individuals.

Indira Gandhi used repetition of structure to put emphasis on words that helps her audience focus on individual points. The repetition is used to show that each point in a particular sentence is equally important in creating a wholesome result. By using repetition, Indira Gandhi also creates a non-hierarchical bond between herself and her audience. It can be concluded that Indira Gandhi has used the repetition of structure to place emphasis on her points as well as to connect to her audience emotionally.

4.4.2.6 Julia Gillard

Julia Gillard has used the repetition of structure in several occasions.

- | | |
|-----------|--|
| 1. (L2-5) | <i>And in so doing I say to the Leader of the Opposition <u>I will not</u> be lectured about sexism and misogyny by this man. <u>I will not</u>. And the Government <u>will not</u> be lectured about sexism and misogyny by this man. Not now, not ever.</i> |
|-----------|--|

Text Box 4.73: Use of Repetition of Structure – Julia Gillard

The above shows that Julia Gillard has used the repetition of structure for the word “I will not”. The use of repetition for the word is to show emphasis of her strong opinion that is overpowered by emotions. By using repetition, she is emphasising on her opinion towards

sexism and misogyny. The use of repetition also displays a firm opinion that indirectly shows her beliefs as a feminist.

2. (L11) *Let's go through the Opposition Leader's **repulsive double standards, repulsive double standards** when it comes to misogyny and sexism.*
(L30-35) ***I was very offended** personally when the Leader of the Opposition, as Minister of Health, said, and I quote, "Abortion is the easy way out." **I was very personally offended** by those comments. **I was also very offended** on behalf of the women of Australia when in the course of this carbon pricing campaign, the Leader of the Opposition said...*

Text Box 4.74: Use of Repetition of Structure – Julia Gillard

The above shows that Julia Gillard has used repetition of structure for the word “repulsive double standards” as well as for “I was also very offended”. Her use of repetition projects her disappointed and anger, negative emotions. By using such repetition, she is re-enforcing her emotions which in turn is able to stir the emotions of her audience to act towards her beliefs and actions.

3. (L85) *that the Liberals preselected Mr Slipper for the 1993 election, **then the** 1996 election, **then the** 1998 election, **then for** the 2001 election, **then for** the 2004 election, **then for** the 2007 election and **then for** the 2010 election.*

Text Box 4.75: Use of Repetition of Structure – Julia Gillard

The above shows that Julia Gillard has used the repetition of structure for the word “then the” and “then for”. Both of it is used for the same purpose, to put emphasis on specific year. By doing so, she is showing that each of those years are important as it made a whole lot of difference in the political arena and the rules and regulations that have been imposed upon the citizen. By emphasising on the years, she is reminding her audience on the consequences of wrong choices that keeps repeating.

4. (L115) *Every day the Prime Minister stands in this Parliament to defend this Speaker will be **another day of shame for** this Parliament, **another day of shame for** a government which should already have died of shame.”*

Text Box 4.76: Use of Repetition of Structure – Julia Gillard

The above shows that Julia Gillard has used the repetition of structure for the word “another day of shame”. The use of repetition on the word emphasise the wrong-doing that leads to another day of shame in the Parliament. By doing so, she is invoking negative emotions among her audience so that they would realise the situation that is going on.

Julia Gillard used repetition of structure in her speech to put emphasis on certain words that could invoke the emotions among her audience. By doing so, she is creating awareness in the need for a change of mindset especially on the roles and responsibility of women. She also used repetition to emphasise on her own thoughts and beliefs even when displaying anger and disappointment. As a conclusion, it can be said that Julia Gillard expressed and emphasised her emotions aggressively and strongly through repetition.

4.4.2.7 Hillary Rodham Clinton

Hillary Godhan Clinton has used the repetition of structure in several occasions:

1. (L19) *Because we are human, we therefore **have rights.** And because we **have rights,** governments are bound to protect them.*

Text Box 4.77: Use of Repetition of Structure – Hillary Rodham Clinton

The above shows that Hillary Clinton has used the repetition of structure on the word “have rights” to show emphasis on the rights that each individual have. The emphasis is important because it helps the audience realise the importance of it and the things that they can do because of the rights they have.

2. (L23) *Step by step, barriers that once prevented people from enjoying **the full** measure of liberty, **the full** experience of dignity, and **the full** benefits of humanity have fallen away.*

Text Box 4.78: Use of Repetition of Structure – Hillary Rodham Clinton

The above shows that Hillary Clinton has used the repetition of structure on the word “the full” to show emphasis on the individual points such as “measure of liberty”, “experience of dignity” and the “benefits of humanity”. By doing so, each individual element is highlighted and appears stronger than if it is combined into one sentence with commas and the word “and”.

3. (L69-78) **It is violation of human rights when** people are beaten or killed because of their sexual orientation, or because they do not conform to cultural norms about how men and women should look or behave. **It is a violation of human rights when** governments declare it illegal to be gay, or allow those who harm gay people to go unpunished. **It is a violation of human rights when** lesbian or transgendered women are subjected to so-called corrective rape, or forcibly subjected to hormone treatments, or when people are murdered after public calls for violence toward gays, or when they are forced to flee their nations and seek asylum in other lands to save their lives. **And it is a violation of human rights when** life-saving care is...

Text Box 4.79: Use of Repetition of Structure – Hillary Rodham Clinton

The above shows that Hillary Clinton has used the repetition of structure on the word “It is a violation of human rights when”. By doing so, she is putting emphasis on the word and reminding her audience that it becomes a violation of human rights when certain things are done and is able to create awareness in their minds.

Hillary Rodham Clinton has used the repetition of structure in her speech mainly to place emphasis on certain points. By doing so, she is indirectly re-enforcing her stands and beliefs repeatedly among her audience and acts as a form of persuasion.

4.4.2.8 Aung San Suu Kyi

Aung San Suu Kyi has used the repetition of structure in several occasions:

1. (L1-2) **The years that I spent** as a student at St Hugh’s; **the years I spent** in Park Town as a wife and mother; **the years I spent** under house arrest.

Text Box 4.80: Use of Repetition of Structure – Aung San Suu Kyi

The above shows that Aung San Suu Kyi has used the repetition of structure on the words “the years that I spent” to show emphasis on what has happened in certain phases of her

life. The use of repetition on the word shows that those moments have impacted her greatly and those are important messages to her audience and she wants her audience to not miss each moment of it therefore by repeating it, it places a force that reminds her audience of her experiences.

2. (L14) ***When I see*** Oxford now, ***when I see*** the students of Oxford now, when I met some of them at St Hugh's yesterday, I saw myself again as a young student:

Text Box 4.81: Use of Repetition of Structure – Aung San Suu Kyi

The above shows that Aung San Suu Kyi has used repetition of structure on the word “When I”. The use of repetition in the above statement shows emphasis on the events of her life that sums up to her seeing herself as a student once again. As she sees herself as a young student once again, she recalls the experiences and lessons learnt and emphasises on the importance of nurturing an individual from young.

3. (L43) ***It is not limited to*** Oxford; ***it is not limited to*** Burma; ***it is not limited to*** any other country.
- (L81-84) *Burma is at the beginning of a road. ***It is not*** the sort of road that you find in England: ***it is not*** smooth; ***it is not*** well-maintained; in fact, it is not yet there. It is a road that we will have to carve out for ourselves. This is a road that we will have to build as we go along.*

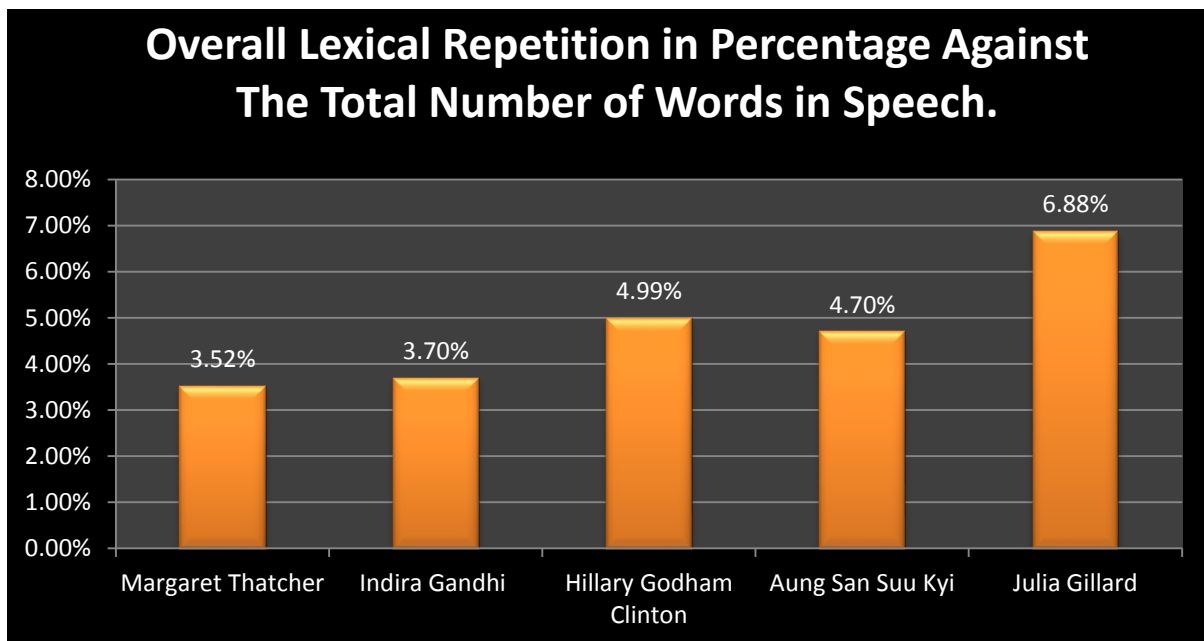
Text Box 4.82: Use of Repetition of Structure – Aung San Suu Kyi

The above shows that Aung San Suu Kyi has used repetition of structure on the word “It is not limited to” and “it is not smooth” to show emphasis on each individual words that follow the word. In the first sentence, by doing so, her audience better understands her statement that the best in human civilisation is not confined to only a certain place but it can be found in every part of the world. In the second sentence, “it” refers to Burma and by repeating the word, she keeps emphasising on the difference between Burma and Oxford. This has a sentimental effect as her audience would start picturing the image of Burma which is far from less compared to what they have in Oxford.

Aung San Suu Kyi used the repetition of structure in her speech to put emphasis on the repeated word as well as the word that follows the repeated word. By doing so, she is reinforcing her stands and her beliefs. She also used repetition to emotionally engage her audience. By doing so, she is able to gain their attention and her audience do not lose focus on the speech. As a conclusion, it can be said that Aung San Suu Kyi used the repetition of structure to emphasise on the repeated word and the words that followed after the repeated word as well as to get her audience emotionally engaged into the speech.

4.4.3 Analysis of Use of Lexical Repetition in Enacting Power and Leadership in the Past and Present

Hillier (2004), Cockcroft & Cockcroft (2005) and McCroskey (2006) argue that the repetition of certain words and phrases can be used in political speeches as a rhetorical device. The above data shows that there has been significant use of lexical repetition in the speeches of the female leaders of the past and present. The data also concludes that the present female leaders are using more lexical repetition in their speeches in comparison to the past female leaders. The graph below shows the difference of percentage between female leaders of the past and present in the use of lexical repetitions.



Graph 4.1: Overall Lexical Repetition in Percentage against the Total Number of Words in Speech

The graph shows that female leaders of the past only used lexical repetition within the Range of 4% of the overall number of words in the speech however, the present female leaders have used lexical repetition more than 4% and less than 7% of the overall number of words in the speech. This shows that there has been significant increase in the use of lexical repetition among the female leaders of the present time. The use of repetition as a rhetorical device is increasing in presidential speeches and it is quite similar to male political leaders' speech styles as can be seen on speeches by President George Bush (example: The Operation Iraqi Freedom 2003), President Abraham Lincoln The Gettysburg Address 1863) and President Barack Obama .

The study also shows that all female political leaders have used the initial, instant, random and terminal repetition in their speeches. The words appear as repetition to either place emphasis, re-enforce the message and more apparent in this study is that repetition appeared or simply to show reference because it cannot be substituted with another word.

Example:

(L53): *To be able to stand at the threshold of full adult in full confidence that they will be able to do their best for the world and in the belief that the world also wants to do the best for them.*

(L50): *And I would be so grateful if my old university, the University of Oxford, could help to bring this about once again.*

The above example of lexical repetition is used to make reference to a particular thing or simply because the word cannot be substituted with another word. This happens particularly with instant repetition when the word is repeated in the same sentence. The word “world” in the first example cannot be substituted with another word because it would not provide an accurate meaning. Similarly, in the second sentence, the word “university” has to be repeated to make reference to a particular university.

Repetition of words throughout the speech acts as a constant reminder to the audience on the topic and purpose of the speech. Therefore, when a particular word/lexical item that is significant to the speech is repeated over time, the message of the speech is reinforced in the minds of the audience. In a way, audience are not lost in the midst of the speech and do not lose concentration. The emphasis of a particular word helps leaders empower themselves as leaders through words that are meaningful to the audience, words that are capable of capturing the attention of the audience. In the past, the use of lexical repetition as rhetorical devices were considerably lower compared to its use now perhaps due to the gender studies that has negatively portrayed women who repeat as nagging and boring. However, over the years, more positive studies have been done and women are free from these labels. Apart from that, female leaders these days are also imitating male leaders and their discursive patterns boldly with no fear of being discriminated. Therefore, it can be concluded that discursive patterns in this area has certainly evolved.

4.4.4 Analysis of Use of Repetition of Structure in Enacting Power and Leadership in the Past and Present

The data above shows that leaders of the past and present have employed the repetition of structure strategy through their speeches in enacting power and leadership. There are similarities in the use of repetition of structure among the female leaders of the past and present. Their speeches show evidence that the all five female leaders have used the repetition to either place emphasis on the repeated word or the word/phrase that follows the repeated word. The words are repeated to show emphasis on their stands or beliefs and even their emotions.

Margaret Thatcher and Julia Gillard posed almost similar traits when they used the repetition of structure to emphasise negative emotions such as anger and disappointed. However, in expressing their negative emotions, Julia Gillard has been more straight forward and direct compared to Margaret Thatcher. They also used emotive repetitions to stir the emotions of audience. By doing so, they are creating an emotion that is with that of their own so that they are likely to gain their attention and approval. Indira Gandhi, Hillary Rodham Clinton and Aung San Suu Kyi are more mellow in their tone of repetition. They do not show signs of aggressiveness while using the repetition of structure in their speeches. Mainly, they used the repetition to place emphasis on their points. The emphasis could be either on the word that is repeated or the words/phrases that comes after the repeated word.

The data above does not indicate any hesitational repetition that shows lack of certainty. Decades ago, women who used repetition, pause or interjection were said to have posed uncertainty and lack of confidence. (ref. chapter 2.3.1) The use of repetition between the past and present leaders shows a vast increase as women these days have employed this strategy more to emphasise on their points as do male political leaders. The repetition of structure that carries emotions is a strategy used to stir the emotions of audience.

The data shows that female leaders of the past and present have used the repetition of structure strategy in their speeches to enact power and leadership. When the leaders use repetition to put emphasis on words/phrases, the audience are tuned to take note of these points which reflects their beliefs and thoughts. The audience tend to focus and remember the points better. Cohesive repetitions were used mainly to add on information and by using the cohesive repetition, the phrase/sentence appears more effective as it sounds poetic and able to grab the attention of the audience. The flow that cohesive repetition brings makes it simpler for the audience to comprehend hence helps the female political leaders to enact power and leadership more effectively. Cohesion is defined by Hoey as a grammatical or lexical part of the text that connects sentences to other sentences in the 20 text (Hoey, 1991, p. 266). Halliday and Hasan explain that cohesion can be achieved partly through grammar and partly through vocabulary (Halliday, Hasan, 1980, p. 5).

Apart from that, the female political leaders also used emphatic repetition in their speeches especially in expressing their emotions. Margaret Thatcher from the past and Julia Gillard from the present used repetition of structure on phrases that have negative tones which expresses negative emotions. By doing so, they are telling their audience indirectly how they feel about certain actions and by using emphatic emotions, it is able to stir the minds and emotions of the audience. According to Persson, emphatic repetitions have emotive connotations. He also points out that the emotions aroused via repetition are natural and considered as a “linguistic universal” (Persson, 1974, p. 166). Persson explains that emphatic repetition “reinforces or draws extra attention to a concept” (Persson, 1974, p. 50). Emotive repetition acts as a tool that connects the emotions of the speakers as well as the audience, creating an effect that enables the audience to understand the speaker deeper. As such, by using emphatic repetitions, the leaders are letting the audience know of their negative emotions and

channeling it to them so that the audience would be able to understand the leader. This enables the leaders to enact power and leadership.

The study shows that female leaders of the past and present have used the cohesive and emphatic repetition of structure. Repetition is no longer viewed as lack of confidence or certainty or even subject fillers instead, it is commonly used on purpose by male political leaders in their speeches to connect to their audience emotionally as well as to put emphasis on sentences/phrases. Female leaders also have used this strategy in the past and are still using it in present time and by using the repetition, they are strengthening their voice to show power and leadership.

4.5 Analysis of Story-telling

Storytelling, as it is defined here, is a linguistic activity that is educative because it allows individuals to share their personal understanding with others, thereby creating negotiated transactions (Egan, 1995 & 1999). This section will discuss the use of story-telling in the female leaders' speeches before going on to a discussion of how story-telling influence the enactment of power and leadership in the speeches of female leaders of the past and present.

4.5.1 Story-telling as Linguistic Strategy

Story telling creates the maximum impact because it has the power of rhetoric, facts and statistics without the downside of concealing data (Draper, 2010). In this study, it identifies the use of story-telling in creating linguistics strategies that are able to help the female political leaders enact power and leadership.

4.5.1.1 Margaret Thatcher

Margaret Thatcher has used the story-telling in several occasions:

1. (L5-7) *Ronnie and I got to know each other at a time when we were both in Opposition, and when a good many people intended to keep us there. They failed, and the conservative 1980s were the result.*
2. (L8-11) *But in a certain sense, we remained an opposition, we were never the establishment. We were opposed to big government, to fashionable opinion within the belt-way, and to endless round of so-called liberal solutions to problems the liberals themselves had created.*

Text Box 4.83: Use of Story-telling – Margaret Thatcher

The above extract shows that Margaret Thatcher has used the story-telling strategy in her speech to relate to her audience the friendship that she has had with Ronald Reagan and how both of them shared the same insight into political approaches and beliefs. She used the story-telling strategy on the things that Ronald Reagan has done for his country and how it is seen exemplary in the political arena.

By using the approach, Margaret Thatcher is able to gain her audience's attention on what is perceived as good political attributes and how she can practice those attributes since she shares the same thoughts and beliefs of Ronald Reagan. Through this, she is able to build trust among her audience as they have seen and witnessed the outcome of Ronald Reagan's political practices. As she speaks about Ronald Reagan and her friendship, she is connecting to her audience emotionally because Ronald Reagan is close to the hearts of the audience. By speaking about the new political ideologies that she and Ronald Reagan shared, she is also able to facilitate unlearning of the old political ideologies that she and Ronald Reagan perceived as conservative.

4.5.1.2 Indira Gandhi

Indira Gandhi has used the story-telling in several occasions:

- | | |
|-------------|--|
| 1. (L12-18) | <i>I remember what used to happen here. I still remember the days when living in old Delhi even as a small child of seven or eight. I had to go out in a doli if I left the house. We just did not walk. Girls did not walk in the streets. First, you had your sari with which you covered your head, then you had another shawl or something with which you covered your hand and all the body, then you had a white shawl, with which everything was covered again although your face was open fortunately. Then you were I n the doli, which again was covered by another cloth.</i> |
|-------------|--|

Text Box 4.84: Use of Story-telling – Indira Gandhi

The extract above relates the story of Indira Gandhi’s past life which is culturally inclined. She tells her audience that she has been the person that culture and society have created however, she is able to relive her life as an educated woman in the modern world.

By using the story-telling strategy, Indira Gandhi is able to connect to her audience who are young women, emotionally. She is able to build trust among them by sharing her experiences as a cultured Indian girl among a culturally stricken society, hence understands the background of her audience. She becomes an inspiration and a guide to her audience hence is capable of emotionally capturing her audience’s heart. Through story-telling, Indira Gandhi educates her audience to be educated while being culturally inclined. She is able to make her audience understand the complexity of culture in modern society and how they can become better individuals while surviving their cultural believes and norms.

4.5.1.3 Julia Gillard

Extract	Explanation
Nil	Nil

Text Box 4.85: Use of Story-telling – Julia Gillard

Julia Gillard did not use the story-telling strategy. She is straight to her points as she wants her audience to know exactly how she feels about the Leader of the Opposition. Her points are single point of view hence by using story-telling, her audience may not be able to perceive the intended message. By being straight forward though, she is able to connect to her audience by stating her emotions and thoughts.

4.5.1.4 Hillary Rodham Clinton

Hillary Rodham Clinton has used the story-telling in several occasions:

1. (L5-21) *Beginning in 1947, delegates from six continents devoted themselves to drafting a declaration that would enshrine the fundamental rights and freedoms of people everywhere. In the aftermath of World War II, many nations pressed for a statement of this kind to help ensure that we would prevent future atrocities and protect the inherent humanity and dignity of all people. And so the delegates went to work. They discussed, they wrote, they revisited, revised, rewrote, for thousands of hours. And they incorporated suggestions and revisions from governments, organizations, and individuals around the world. At three o'clock in the morning on December 10th, 1948, after nearly two years of drafting and one last long night of debate, the president of the UN General Assembly called for a vote on the final text. Forty-eight nations voted in favor; eight abstained; none dissented. And the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted. It proclaims a simple, powerful idea: All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. And with the declaration, it was made clear that rights are not conferred by government; they are the birthright of all people. It does not matter what country we live in, who our leaders are, or even who we are. Because we are human, we therefore have rights. And because we have rights, governments are bound to protect them.*

Text Box 4.86: Use of Story-telling – Hillary Rodham Clinton

The above extract shows that Hillary Rodham Clinton has used the story-telling strategy in her speech. She related the story of delegates from six continents fighting for the rights and freedom of people. It was hard work but something that was worth working for because humans are individuals who deserve to be treated right. Her use of story-telling in the extract above is to make her audience understand that human rights are birth rights and each individual being should be given the rights to live their lives.

Hillary Rodham Clinton used the story-telling strategy to make complex ideologies simple to understand. By using the story-telling strategy to make the audience understand the complex ideology of rights, religion and culture, she is also capable of connecting it to them emotionally. The fact that human rights have been given to the society, they live in the mental frames that shaped them to be against the minority group which does not live up to cultural and religious norms. Through story-telling strategy, they are able to unlearn these practices and view the issue from a wider dimension hence accepts the minority group.

4.5.1.5 Aung San Suu Kyi

Aung San Suu Kyi has used the story-telling in several occasions:

1. (L22-28) *I remember small things. I remember so often going in a bus, with my very dear friend Ann Pasternak-Slater, sitting side by side, in a bus on the Banbury Road, our four denim-clad knees next to each other; and Ann looked down, and said: 'It's not fair, even knees are different.' And it was true. I'm not sure quite which way it was, but one set of knees was pointed, and one set of knees was round. These were the sort of things we noticed as students, and talked about, and built a whole philosophy on this little fact that we had different sets of knees, our knees were shaped differently.*
2. (L94-97) *My first trip abroad in 24 years but not really this one to Europe, but to Thailand, towards the end of May. And I stayed in a hotel called the Shangri-La. And I think every Oxonian, or most every, knows that in Lost Horizon Shangri-La was described as "something a little like Oxford".*

Text Box 4.87: Use of Story-telling – Aung San Suu Kyi

The extract above shows that Aung San Suu Kyi has used the story-telling strategy in her speech. She used the story-telling strategy to speak about her experiences as a student in Oxford University and how it has shaped her to become the person she is. Aung San Suu Kyi used story-telling because she is able to relate her experiences with her audience as they share a common experience, the Oxford. She is able to connect to them emotionally and build trust among them because she is able to convince them through her stories that she is on the same

wave length as her audience. She speaks of Oxford as the place to be and how she would like to see that in Burma hence gain her audience's attention.

Aung San Suu Kyi used story-telling as a way of connecting to her audience emotionally through sharing of interest and building of trust.

4.5.2 Analysis of Use of Story-telling in Enacting Power and Leadership in the Past and Present

The above data shows that story-telling strategy has been used by female leaders of the past and present but not by everyone. The female leaders who have used the story-telling strategy in their speech are Margaret Thatcher, Indira Gandhi, Hillary Rodham Clinton and Aung San Suu Kyi. Margaret Thatcher used the story-telling strategy to persuade her audience to accept new political ideologies through the sharing of thoughts and beliefs on political practices with Ronald Reagan. By doing so, she is facilitating unlearning of old conservative political habits and building trust among her audience that she is capable of stirring the government in a direction that would better serve the country with new political ideologies. She is connected to them emotional as she shared her friendship with Ronald Reagan.

Indira Gandhi has used story-telling strategy to make her audience understand the importance of education among women and how women are able to change the country economically. However, due to culture and religion, women are often down sided. Her story-telling strategy breaks the walls of barrier between women, culture and education because the audiences are able to picture the intended message from a wider and clearer dimension. She is also able to connect to them emotionally because the story-telling reveals her identity and shows that she and the audience share a common background thus builds trust among her audience. Prusak (Denning, 2001) argues that stories powerfully convey norms and values across generations within the organisation. These norms and values derive from the

organization's past but also can describe its future. Similarly, Aung San Suu Kyi used the story-telling to expose her past experiences and how it has shaped her. She connects to her audience by sharing a common understanding and interest. Stories can communicate the competencies and commitments of oneself and others. Revealing personal stories can expose one's own competence and commitment to issues, as well as signal one's trust in and willingness to be vulnerable to others (Chasin et al, 1996). Hillary Rodham Clinton used the story-telling to create a sense of awareness among her audience so that they would be able to understand the meaning of human rights which also includes LGBT rights. By doing so, she is facilitating unlearning of cultural and religious beliefs/norms that has created certain practices that should be altered for the better. Seely Brown (Denning, 2001) argues that accelerating environmental transformation requires organisations not just to learn but also to unlearn, to rethink how and even why they undertake certain activities.

Story-telling strategy is also able to bring the leaders and audience closer as they share a topic of interest which involves emotions. It fosters emotional relationship between the leader and the audience, thus making it simpler to picture them as one with the audience and not just as a leader. While story-telling is also interesting and keeps the audience focused to the speech, story-telling strategy also helps the audience remember the intended message for a longer time thus helps the leaders enact power and leadership.

Julia Gillard on the other hand did not use the story-telling strategy. Her speech is straight forward and reflected a single point of view. By using story-telling, it may not be compelling to their audience. The context of her speech has more effect when it is more direct.

Story telling strategies are usually employed to draw the attention of audience, stir their imaginations and emotions while sharing past experiences with the audience. This also engages the audience to the speaker, while bringing them closer to each other. Denning (2002) notes that stories have the inherent capacity to engage our emotions because they are about the

irregularities in our lives, about things and situations that catch our attention by being different from what is expected. Stories of the unexpected prompt emotional responses because they suggest the potential threat of not being in control of our lives, but simultaneously offer a way of understanding and responding to our futures. This emotional response makes knowledge “sticky” (Szulanski, 1996; Damasio, 2000), meaning that it can be easier to retrieve in future situations. Through story-telling, the audience are able to relate the female leader’s background to the motive of the speech and how it would impact them. Apart from that, the audience are able to ponder on their own past experiences and draw a comparison between theirs and the speakers, thus developing a certain kind of trust between themselves and the leader. Stories can communicate the competencies and commitments of oneself and others. Revealing personal stories can expose one’s own competence and commitment to issues, as well as signal one’s trust in and willingness to be vulnerable to others (Chasin, et al, 1996). Denning, argues that stories powerfully convey norms and values across generations within the organisation. These norms and values derive from the organisation’s past but also can describe its future. (2001) Buckler and Zien (1996) argue that a key leadership role is to offer a compelling context and robust vision and that this can be accomplished through stories that emphasise the more empowering aspects of an organisation’s past and place them in context for the future, thus facilitating the identification of future opportunities.

The data shows that the story telling was not employed by all the female political leaders. This shows that the story telling strategy is not an old one and has been in use in the past years and is still in use now.

4.6 Intertextual Reference

This study aims to investigate the intertextual reference used by the female political leaders in the past and present and how it is able to help them enact power and leadership among their audience.

4.6.1 Intertextual Reference as linguistics strategy

Intertextual references are often used as persuasive tools that are capable of capturing the audience's attention while imparting a certain message effectively. Intertextuality points to how texts are produced and can transform prior understandings, restructure existing ideas and generate new ones (Fairclough, 2008).

4.6.1.1 Margaret Thatcher

Margaret Thatcher has used the intertextual reference in several occasions:

- | | | |
|----|-------|--|
| 1. | (L11) | <i>As Ron once put it: the nine most dangerous words in the English language are "I'm from the government, and I'm here to help". As usual, he was right.</i> |
| 2. | (L39) | <i>When liberals doubted if Americans were willing to master events and make sacrifices, he replied (and I quote): "No weapon in the arsenals of the world is so formidable as the will and moral courage of free men and women".</i> |
| 3. | (L85) | <i>Echoing both Bismarck and Churchill, President Reagan once remarked: "future historians will note that a supreme fact of this [twentieth] century was that Great Britain and the United States shared the same cause: the cause of human freedom"</i> |

Text Box 4.88: Use of Intertextual Reference – Margaret Thatcher

Margaret Thatcher quoted Ronald Reagan's words to talk about the government system and their empty words. The quote is sarcastic and ironic in nature hence it is able to capture the audience's attention. She also quoted other significant leaders who have stamped quality in their leadership to promote human rights and freedom. The extracts above show that Margaret

Thatcher is a great follower of powerful leaders and that their words, thoughts, and actions in their leadership has impacted her greatly hence she would ultimately practice those qualities in her leadership. This shows that her understanding about politics has been greatly affected by great male leaders of the past and that although she is a woman, she is capable of masculine roles and ideologies.

- | | |
|-----------|--|
| 1. (L137) | <i>The thought is memorably expressed by the poet Byron: 'Eternal spirit of the chainless mind! Brightest in Dungeons, Liberty! Thou art, For there thy habitation is the heart – The heart which love of thee alone can bind; And when thy sons to fetters are consigned – To fetters, and the damp vault's dayless gloom, Their country conquers with their martyrdom, And Freedom's fame finds wings on every wind'</i> |
|-----------|--|

Text Box 4.89: Use of Intertextual Reference – Indira Gandhi

The extract above shows that Margaret Thatcher has used direct quotation to quote the words of poet Byron to explain freedom. She quoted a male poet who looks at freedom as an essential element in one's life to achieve happiness. This shows that she is a fighter of freedom and she wants to provide that for her people and her country.

Margaret Thatcher used direct quotations in her speech to instill her ideologies that have been built around the words and ideologies of previous masculine figures. By doing so, she is projecting herself very masculine and thoughts that are not as conservative and stereotypical as people have perceived. She has been labeled the Iron Lady and a person who is not what society perceive women should be. Nevertheless, she has established herself as a powerful leader who has made remarkable changes. By using masculine role models that were seen as strong leaders, she is able to enact power and leadership because she is just like the male leaders except that she is a woman.

4.6.1.2 Indira Gandhi

Indira Gandhi has used the intertextual reference in several occasions:

- | | |
|---------|---|
| 1. (L1) | <i>An ancient Sanskrit saying says, “Woman is the home and the home is the basis of society.”</i> |
|---------|---|

Text Box 4.90: Use of Intertextual Reference – Indira Gandhi

Indira Gandhi used an ancient Sanskrit direct quotation to begin her speech. The direct quotation implies that women are the reason that makes people the way they are. Her audiences are young women in college and she approached them to talk about the importance of education for women because educated women can bring positive change to India and make it a better country. She used an ancient Sanskrit saying because people of India are culturally and religion inclined hence their thoughts and actions very much portrays these values. Apart from that, the stereotypical Indian women’s role also hinders many young talented women from having the rights to be educated. They also share a common understanding and background of a typical Indian woman among the community of India. By using the direct quotation, Indira Gandhi places women on an important position and is educating her audience how to be cultured but at the same time educated because without education, the culture will not change and the country too will remain the same.

4.6.1.3 Julia Gillard

Julia Gillard has used the intertextual reference in several occasions:

- | | |
|----------|---|
| 1. (L17) | <i>He has said, and I quote, in a discussion about women being under-represented in institutions of power in Australia, the interviewer was a man called Stavros. The Leader of the Opposition says “If it’s true, Stavros, that men have more power generally speaking than women, is that a bad thing?”</i> |
| 2. (L21) | <i>And then a discussion ensues, and another person says “I want my daughter to have as much opportunity as my son.” To which the Leader of the Opposition says “Yeah, I completely agree, but what if men are by physiology or temperament, more adapted to exercise authority or to issue command?”</i> |

3. (L25) *Then ensues another discussion about women's role in modern society, and the other person participating in the discussion says "I think it's very hard to deny that there is an underrepresentation of women," to which the Leader of the Opposition says, "But now, there's an assumption that this is a bad thing."*
4. (L29) *This is the man from whom we're supposed to take lectures about sexism. And then of course it goes on. I was very offended personally when the Leader of the Opposition, as Minister of Health, said, and I quote, "Abortion is the easy way out." I was very personally offended by those comments. You said that in March 2004, I suggest you check the records.*
5. (L34) *I was also very offended on behalf of the women of Australia when in the course of this carbon pricing campaign, the Leader of the Opposition said "What the housewives of Australia need to understand as they do the ironing..." Thank you for that painting of women's roles in modern Australia.*

Text Box 4.91: Use of Intertextual Reference – Julia Gillard

Julia Gillard in her speech used quotations by the Leader of the Opposition with the aims of mocking him. She used the exact words that were uttered by the Leader of the Opposition to talk about leadership qualities and men such as him are not appropriate in the Parliament. She portrays herself as a strong feminist who fights for the rights of women. She wants people to embrace the change of women's role in the modern world because women these days are no longer the kind that has been shaped by the society. By using direct quotations of the Leader of the Opposition, she is able to validate her points strongly and make her country know that although she is a feminist, she projects masculinity and these are the attributes that are needed to bring change to her country in thoughts and actions. Her use of direct quotations imply that women in the modern world are capable of taking bigger roles and responsibilities similar to that of men and women should not be confined to the culturally perceived gender roles.

4.6.1.4 Hillary Rodham Clinton

Hillary Rodham Clinton has used the intertextual reference in several occasions:

- | | | |
|----|--------|---|
| 1. | (L15) | <i>And the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted. It proclaims a simple, powerful idea: All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights.</i> |
| 2. | (L246) | <i>There is a phrase that people in the United States invoke when urging others to support human rights: “Be on the right side of history.”</i> |

Text Box 4.92: Use of Intertextual Reference – Hillary Rodham Clinton

Hillary Clinton used direct quotations in her speech to bring into attention human rights among her audience. The speech talks about freedom of rights among the LGBT minority group hence states that LGBT minority rights are also human rights which should be protected. Although people are shaped in their own religious and cultural ideologies or norms, they have to embrace the fact that the minority group are also human beings hence deserve to have the human rights whether or not they are LGBT or straight. She emphasises that being gay is not a Western trend but it is human reality whereby people are born in such condition and do not have a choice. They should be allowed to be what they are designed to be and that is human rights. First, the audience have to understand human rights and change their perceptions on LGBT minority rights and only then can they understand and accept the LGBT minority group.

4.6.1.5 Aung San Suu Kyi

Aung San Suu Kyi has used the intertextual reference in several occasions:

- | | | |
|----|-------|---|
| 1. | (L24) | <i>...and Ann looked down, and said: ‘It’s not fair, even knees are different.’ And it was true.</i> |
| 2. | (L96) | <i>And I think every Oxonian, or most every, knows that in Lost Horizon Shangri-La was described as “something a little like Oxford”.</i> |

Text Box 4.93: Use of Intertextual Reference – Aung San Suu Kyi

Aung San Suu Kyi used quotations in her speech to explain how different lives, worlds and background can be brought together to think alike. She explained that Oxford has made

her a different individual and that she would want the same for her country Burma. She has been influenced by Oxford that has made her become a powerful leader and fighter for her country. Her speech is about bringing change to her country Burma and she hopes that she could transform it to become a little like Oxford. Her approach of bringing investment to her country by people of Oxford is a way of transforming Burma into a place like Oxford. Although there is a huge difference between Oxford and Burma and the differences are what that will make the change in Burma even stronger.

4.6.2 Analysis of Use of Intertextual Reference in Enacting Power and Leadership in the Past and Present

The data above revealed that all female political leaders have used the intertextual reference in their speeches. The intertextual references act as the base for the points that the female leaders speak on. It helps them generate ideas that are powerful enough to enact power and leadership.

The female leaders of the past and present have used intertextual reference on famous leaders, culture and religious values and practices and object of interest to create their ideologies. By doing so, they are telling their audience that they have similarities and share a common interest and are able to connect with each other. Because they share a common interest, it is more likely for the audience to be fond of the female leaders and when there is an emotional connection, it is simpler for the leader to enact power and leadership.

Margaret Thatcher used quotations from famous male political leaders such as Ronald Reagan, George Bush and Saddam Hussein as the basis of her ideas. By doing so, she is projecting a male's perspectives and showing that she is capable of performing such duties even though she is a female. She lets her audience know that she is a believer and follower of

those great leaders and gives an indirect assurance that she would work towards providing her people what she believes in.

Indira Gandhi used quotations that are culturally inclined. Her audience share the same culture hence is able to understand her ideologies. The use of quotations that links them to the same culture gives her audience a sense of belonging, that they share the same background hence Indira Gandhi is trustworthy. She also used quotations that reflected the education of women. By giving examples and using such quotations, she is able to better relate her points on education and the rights to obtain education for the benefit of oneself and the country.

The two female leaders of the past have used the intertextual reference to elaborate on their points and ideologies. Besides being the basis of their ideas, the intertextual references also act to substantiate their points and bring justification to their thoughts hence it is easier to gain the approval of the audience.

Julia Gillard in her speech used the quotations of the Leader of the Opposition in stating her points. She made direct reference to whatever the Leader of the Opposition has said to fight against sexist remarks and to show that she is a strong female who is capable of becoming a powerful leader. By using direct quotations, she is able to substantiate her points positively while projecting herself as a bold individual.

Hillary Rodham Clinton used quotations from various established organisation in her speech to talk about the basis and fundamental of human rights. By doing so, she is educating her audience what human rights are and is able to help the minority group gain acceptance among the society because gay rights are also human rights. By using such quotations, she is able to make her audience understand that the minority group is also human beings hence are eligible for human rights. Her thoughts and ideas are very much shaped by the belief that everyone deserves to be given the rights for freedom of choice. She compared human rights with the rights of women and stated that similar to women's rights which were once

unacceptable and taboo, minority group's rights are also the same and need consideration and a lot of change in the mindset in order to be accepted. By doing so, she is able to instill in them the values of human rights and respect for every human being.

Aung San Suu Kyi also used quotations in her speech. Her quotations constituted of ideas that supported Oxford as a place that transformed her into the person she is and she would like the same for people from Burma. Her use of quotations indicates that her audience and her have a similar understanding of Oxford.

Intertextuality refers to how each media text exists in relation to others. Texts are framed by other texts and (as many argue) are constructed more by their intertextuality than by their authors. It is the literal and effective presence in a text of another text. Intertextual references show the basis of a person's thoughts and action. In this study, it is revealed that female political leaders have used the intertextual references to create their own thoughts and ideas, to enact power and leadership. Margaret Thatcher has used intertextual references to show that her ideas are formed by the thoughts and actions of powerful male political leaders. In turn, she shows that she is capable of playing such roles and responsibilities as a leader and acts as a form of persuasion by building trust. This helps her enact power and leadership. Indira Gandhi used intertextual references that are culturally inclined to persuade her audience to embrace change through education that will help the country to develop. Her use of intertextual reference connects her emotionally to her audience as they share the same cultural values and beliefs and they are able to relate their experiences with that of hers. Emotional connection acts as a form of persuasion that helps Indira Gandhi enact power and leadership.

Similarly, among the present female political leaders, there has been wide use of intertextual reference among them. Julia Gillard used direct quotations to reflect her opinions on great leadership skills and values as opposed to the Leader of the Opposition whom she has quoted. Her use of direct quotations shows that she is against the words of the Leader of

Opposition. By doing so, she is establishing her own ideologies on women as well as leadership. Through this, she is enacting power and leadership because she projects herself as a fighter of women's rights to show that women are capable individuals and also a great leader who believes in a set of leadership rules and values. Hillary Rodham Clinton used intertextual reference to fight for the freedom of choice and human rights of LGBT minority group. By using the notion of human rights as the foundation to her points, she is able to establish her points of view and persuade her audience to embrace change in the mindset so that the LGBT minority group is accepted in the society. Aung San Suu Kyi used intertextual references to state her opinions on the reality of life and how different lives from different background can work together as one to bring about change. Her thoughts were shaped by the experiences that she had gained over the years in her life which were very much a practice of Oxford and by using quotes that she has heard while she was in Oxford shows that her perceptions and ideas have been formed by the values and cultures practices in Oxford. This helps her enact power and leadership among her audience as they are people of Oxford, of the same mindset and draws a connection between them and her.

The data above shows that all five female political leaders have used the intertextual reference as the basis of their ideologies to gauge the audience's attention and to establish their own perspectives. The intertextual references act as a form of persuasion to change the audience's beliefs and mindset thus helping the leader establish themselves as powerful leaders.

4.7 Summary

The findings above indicate that female political leaders have used linguistic strategies such as use of pronoun, positioning, metaphors, repetition, storytelling and intertextual reference in their speech to influence their enactment of power and leadership in the form of solidarity, emphasis and emotional connection which makes persuasion easier.

The female political leaders have used the pronoun “we” and pronoun “you” to show solidarity. It is a form of persuasion that helps the female political leaders enact power and leadership through building of rapport and trust that brings them together as one in achieving a goal. The use of pronoun “I” shows personal involvement that helped the female political leaders create a sense of security and emotional connection among their audience.

The positioning strategy has also been used by the female political leaders as a form of persuasion. Through this strategy, the female political leaders are able to give their audience a sense of assurance that they are capable of performing their leadership duties while being considerate to the many lives’ situation. There is also emotional connection that binds the female leaders with their audience because positioning themselves in different positions open the door for the audience to get connected on different levels with the leaders.

Metaphors have been used by female political leaders to create an emotional stir that is capable of instilling different perspectives among the audience. Positive and negative metaphors are strong device that are capable of changing existing beliefs and perceptions of audience. It is a play of words that is capable of captivating the audience while making them reflect on its meaning while persuading them to act accordingly.

The female political leaders have also used repetition in their speeches. The lexical repetition is used by female political leaders to put emphasis on words that are significant to the content of the speech. By doing so, the reiterated words act as a reminder to the audience on the content of the speech thus make the speech more effectively communicated. Placing emphasis also shows that importance hence the word ingrains in the mind of the audience. The study also revealed that the female political leaders of the present have used the lexical repetition more than the female political leaders of the past. Repetition of structure also has been used by the female political leaders in their speech. The idea of this strategy is also to place emphasis on certain words/structures. However, the form of emphasis is accompanied by

deep tone of emotions, either positive or negative tone which is capable of influencing the emotions of the audience.

Storytelling strategy has also been used by the female political leaders in their speech. While storytelling has the capacity of making the speech less boring and more interesting, storytelling also plays with the emotions of the audience. The female political leaders are able to captivate the emotions of the audience by sharing a story or life's experiences that are similar to the audience hence create a non-hierarchical bond and solidarity between them. This also eventually persuades the audience to act according to the female political leaders' ideas and thoughts.

Finally, the female political leaders have also used the intertextual reference in their speeches. By using direct quotes from a strong public figure, established organisation or traditional cultural beliefs help the audience understand the notion of their speech better while giving them confidence that their ideas are from a larger constitution. The intertextual reference are direct quotes that are understandable by the audience because of shared knowledge/interest hence it helps the leaders establish a bond. With this bond, the female political leaders are able to further persuade the audience to act according to their ideas.

This study shows that female political leaders have adopted the male political leaders' linguistic strategies in the enactment of power and leadership. However, female political leaders use these linguistic strategies to emotionally connect to their audiences which make persuasion easier.

This goes to show that feminine attributes which have been mocked in the past as being emotional and not suitable for leadership roles have used the feminine emotional side in enacting power and leadership and it has proven successful in the demeanour. Apart from that, female political leaders are also not afraid to use the aggressive masculine attributes associated with male roles in enacting power and leadership.

CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

This chapter discusses the summary of findings and concludes the research. In chapter 4, the researcher is able to identify the reasons behind the use of these strategies. In this chapter, the researcher will discuss the influence of these strategies that help these female political leaders enact power and leadership.

5.1 Summary of Findings

Female leaders of the past and present have used strategies similar to their male counterparts that influenced their enactment of power and leadership. Margaret Thatcher, Indira Gandhi, Julia Gillard, Hillary Rodham Clinton and Aung Sang Suu Kyi have used pronouns, positioning, metaphors, repetitions and intertextual references in their speeches as a way to connect and engage their audience to respond towards them. Below is a discussion on the strategies used by the female political leaders and how it has influenced the enactment of power and leadership.

5.1.1 The Use of Pronouns that Influences the Enactment of Power and Leadership

The study shows that all the female political leaders of the past and present have used pronouns in their speeches. The study focused on three pronouns which are the pronoun “we” that is further divided into two which are the inclusive “we” and exclusive “we”, pronoun “I” and pronoun “you”. This chapter will discuss how the use of these pronouns influenced the enactment of power and leadership among these female leaders of the past and the present.

5.1.1.1 The Use of Pronoun “We”

Inclusive “We”

The study reveals that the female leaders of the past and present have used the inclusive “we” to show solidarity between themselves and the audience. By using the inclusive “we”, the female political leaders are avoiding the hierarchical barrier and bringing themselves closer to their audience. This helps them build trust and rapport among the audience (re. chapter 2.2.1) (Halmari, 2004).

The use of inclusive “we” also shows that the female political leaders and the audience share a common interest on a particular issue. The leaders are able to connect to the audience emotionally as they have a common understanding of a particular subject matter. By doing so, the female political leaders are able to build a sense of closeness and emotional connection with their audience.

Apart from that, the female political leaders use the inclusive “we” to call upon action. The female political leaders use the inclusive “We” to bring the audience together as one to work towards a particular motive (ref. chapter 2.2.1) (Beard, 2000: 45). This means that the use of inclusive “we” shows shared responsibility between the female political leaders and the audience (Halmari, 2004). Sharing of responsibility also makes the audience feel a sense of belonging and worthiness because in a way, they are given due power and their strengths are recognised by the leaders (Danbin. C, 2010).

The use of inclusive “we” indirectly acts as a form of persuasion that pushes the audience to act according to the female political leaders’ stance. When the female political leaders are able to steer their audience towards their side, this shows that the strategies employed by the female political leaders have influenced the enactment of power and leadership among their audience.

This study shows that Aung San Suu Kyi did not use the inclusive “we” in her speech because she used a direct approach in seeking help from her audience (who are not her countrymen) for the benefits of her people and country.

Exclusive “We”

The study reveals that the female leaders of the past and present have used the exclusive “we” in their speeches. All female leaders have used the exclusive “We” to share their thoughts and opinions which are in line with a bigger constitution. This is to show that their thoughts and beliefs are not made up on their own merits but it has been a reflection of a bigger authority and a stronger constitution. It is a sharing of interest between the female political leaders and a different party who are not direct audience. By doing so, the female political leaders are able to connect themselves to a more established organisation and create trust among their audiences.

This indirectly acts to persuade her audience to act according to the beliefs and thoughts of the female political leaders who are in line with a bigger and more established constitution. (ref. chapter 2.2.1) (Bramley, 2001: 76).

Julia Gillard did not use the exclusive “we” in her speech because her speech revolved around the Members of the Parliament who were also her direct audience. She did not use the exclusive “we” because her opinions and thoughts were her personal views and does not involve a larger constitution.

Aung San Suu Kyi used the exclusive “we” to talk about her people in her country Burma and she used the exclusive “we” to call for action from her people to help her country’s economic growth. Her use of exclusive “we” shows solidarity between herself and her people of Burma because she puts herself on par with them. By doing so, she is connecting herself emotionally with them thus gaining their trust and cooperation to work together in achieving her dreams of making Burma a more advanced country.

5.1.1.2 The Use of Pronoun “I”

The study shows that Margaret Thatcher, Indira Gandhi, Julia Gillard, Hillary Rodham Clinton and Aung San Suu Kyi have used the pronoun “I” in their speeches. Commonly, the pronoun “I” has been used to express personal opinions, thoughts and beliefs in which have shaped them to be the leaders they are today. Their personal voice acts to convey the identity that the female political leaders carry and how these identities are able to make a change among the citizens’ life (Bramley, 2001: 28). The use of pronoun “I” may or may not reveal the similarities in experiences and background shared by the female political leaders and this can be a convincing act in persuading their audience.

The personal voice behind the statement also shows personal commitment and involvement which helps in building rapport among the audience (ref. chapter 2.2.1) (Wilson, 1990). It also helps in building a personal connection with the audience because of its personalised nature. The use of pronoun “I” shows that the female political leaders are bold in taking actions and making a decision, making them more trustable among the audience.

Pronoun “I” however has not been used by the female political leaders to show personal responsibility on a particular agenda (Pennycook, 1993: 3) although Hillary Rodham Clinton and Aung San Suu Kyi have used the pronoun as direct persuasion to urge their audience into action. The persuasion on a personal note especially when the female political leaders put themselves as one with the audience makes their plea stronger.

5.1.1.3 The Use of Pronoun “You”

The study shows that Margaret Thatcher, Indira Gandhi, Hillary Rodham Clinton and Aung San Suu Kyi have used the second person plural pronoun “You” in their speeches. The second person plural “you” is used by Margaret Thatcher as a question form, not with the aim of seeking an answer but merely as a call for action. The question form acts to stir the mind of

the audience and the answers could be subjective depending on the audience's personal experiences and background on the particular issue.

The second person plural "you" is also directed towards the audience to call for action. Although it is plural in nature, but when it is heard by the audience, it has an effect of a second person singular "you" which affects each individual. The use of second person plural "you" shows shared responsibility between the female political leaders and the audience and deliberately calls for action from the audience.

The use of pronoun "You" also breaks the leader audience barrier, making the speech more informal where audience are able connect with leaders better. Hence, the female political leaders are able to penetrate their audience to get full response from them. (ref. chapter) (pp. 24-25) (Sacks 1992: 163 and 568).

The use of second person plural "you" which has the effect of second person singular "you" is another act of persuasion which calls the audience to action and if the audience response to it, then the use of pronoun "you" has influenced the enactment of power and leadership among the audience.

Unlike the other female political leaders, Julia Gillard in her speech has used the second person singular pronoun "You" towards a particular individual in the crowd to address his actions. The impact is directly upon the individual and calls for action from the particular person. Her use of second person singular pronoun "you" is straight forward and she used it to quote and discriminate the Leader of the Opposition Party.

As a conclusion, the study shows that the use of various pronouns in the speech has different impact on the audience. However, the use of pronoun in the speech very much acts as a form of persuasion that stirs the minds and emotions of audience into acting according to the leaders' stance. The use of pronouns among female political leaders is similar to the use of pronouns

by male political leaders. It influences the enactment of power and leadership in the form of emotional connection that is capable of persuading the audience.

5.1.2 The Use of Positioning that Influences the Enactment of Power and Leadership

The study shows that all the female political leaders have used the positioning strategy in their speeches. Female political leaders of the past have positioned themselves in two different positions whereas female political leaders of the present have positioned themselves in three and four different positions. This shows that female political leaders of the present are capable of handling more positioning because of their current nature, job scope and responsibilities which have multiplied over time.

If in the past, female political leaders were confined to only certain roles and responsibilities, today they are taking more roles and responsibilities which has widen their perceptions. This also displays their management skills because they are capable of juggling more roles and responsibilities.

When female political leaders position themselves in multiple roles, they give their audience a sense of assurance that they are strong and capable leaders who are able to handle the many facets of leadership and management. This further encourages the audience to support these female leaders.

Apart from that, when female political leaders position themselves in various positions, it shows that they are capable of viewing the lives of the audience from various perspectives. They appear considerate and understanding because they are able to position themselves not just as leaders but also as many other directly impacted or non-impacted people.

The positioning strategy is another form of persuasion that encourages the audience to believe what they hear. When the leaders position themselves in various positions, the audience are emotionally drawn towards the leader. The audience believe that the leader has been in a

position as they have and that the leaders understand their situations. Hence, this gives them trust and build a sense of security among the audience which in turn influences the enactment of power and leadership.

As a conclusion, the study reveals that positioning helps the female political leaders attract their audience and connect to them emotionally. Through emotional connection, the female political leaders are able to persuade their audience.

5.1.3 The Use of Metaphors that Influences the Enactment of Power and Leadership

The study shows that all the female political leaders have used the metaphors in their speeches. The metaphors used in the speeches have a particular theme that is designed negatively or positively to give an impact to the audience. In the past, Margaret Thatcher has used metaphors that are related to the political arena of the past and how she would like to see changes in the current politics. The metaphors used to describe past political experiences were negatively connoted but the present political experiences are positively connoted. However, she presented metaphors of her friendship with Ronald Reagan in a positive tone. Indira Gandhi has used negatively connoted metaphors that are culturally and religiously related and tied it with economic system and growth in the country. She also used metaphors as words of encouragement to her audience which are positively connoted. Metaphors have a way of conveying message that is subjective which means different people perceive metaphors differently.

In the present, Julia Gillard has used metaphors that are sarcastic in nature to discriminate the Leader of the Opposition Party. There are no positively inclined metaphors. Hillary Rodham Clinton used metaphors that are positive in nature to encourage and urge her audience to act accordingly. She also used metaphors that are related to actions now that could impact the future to create awareness among her audience. Aung San Suu Kyi used metaphors

on a positive note to describe her life in Oxford as a journey and experience that shaped her to be an individual that she is. She also used metaphors to encourage and advise her audience while making an attempt to seek for help for her country.

Female political leaders tend to use metaphors that are either negatively or positively inclined to convey a message that is indirect. They do not discriminate directly but by using metaphors, the audience derive the meaning on their own based on their own experiences to the related issue.

The use of metaphors that surrounds a particular theme makes it easier to stay in the minds of the audience longer and becomes a more effective way to disseminate a particular message. Metaphors which are catchy in nature tend to be an attention getter and audience are better engaged towards the leaders (ref. chapter. 2.4).

The use of metaphors is able to stir the emotions of the audience. Metaphors which consist of play of words are powerful device that is capable of altering existing perceptions or further refining it because it tends to make the audience ponder deeper than just focusing on the surface. When the female political leaders use negatively connoted metaphors, they are building a negative feel among the audience and similarly, when they use a positively connoted metaphor, they build a positive feel among the audience.

The female political leaders have all used metaphors that are easily understood by their audiences because of the similarities in background. They have a common sharing of interest hence understands the metaphors that are related to their background and past experiences and this influences their enactment of power and leadership.

5.1.4 The Use of Repetition that Influences the Enactment of Power and Leadership

The study shows that all female political leaders have used repetition in their speeches. In this study, two types of repetition have been the focus which is the lexical repetition and repetition

of structure. For lexical repetition, the study identifies the occurrence of words 10> in the speech and how it has the potential benefit of emphasising certain message. Based on the average percentage of lexical repetition, there is also a significant result in the overall usage of lexical repetition in the past and present. As for the repetition of structure, the researcher identifies the types of repetition that occurs in the speeches and its impact on the audience.

5.1.4.1 Lexical Repetition

The study shows that Margaret Thatcher, Indira Gandhi, Julia Gillard, Hillary Rodham Clinton and Aung San Suu Kyi have used the lexical repetition in their speeches.

All female political leaders have used the lexical repetition to place emphasis on the words because they are significant to the speech. Margaret Thatcher spoke on her friendship with President Ronald Reagan and his significant contribution to America. Hence, the repeated words revolved around the notion of Ronald Reagan and the country that he served. Indira Gandhi spoke on the importance of education and how it can help her country grow economically. Hence, the repeated words revolved around the notion of education and her country. Julia Gillard spoke on her views about the Leader of the Opposition Party and the repeated words revolved around it. Hillary Rodham Clinton spoke on LGBT rights and the repeated words involved it. Aung San Suu Kyi spoke on her experiences in Oxford hence the repeated words revolved around the notion of Oxford and her life as a student. By repeating the words, the female political leaders are putting emphasis on the words which will remain in the minds of the audience. Repetition of words that revolve around the message of the speech is an effective way for listeners to stay focused and remember it better for a longer time.

This is another strategy that influenced the enactment of power and leadership among the audience because when they hear the words uttered outside of the political sphere, the audience will tend to remember the speech delivered by the female political leader.

Apart from that, the female political leaders have also used the lexical repetition on words that are not able to be substituted by other words. Hence, repetition becomes necessary not only for the sake of emphasis but merely as word reference.

The study also implies that the use of lexical repetition has increased significantly in comparison to the past and present where female leaders of the present tend to use more lexical repetition compared to those in the past. (ref. chapter 4.4.1).

5.1.4.2 Repetition of Structure

The study reveals that all female political leaders have used the repetition of structure in their speeches. The main use of repetition of structure is to place emphasis but there are two types of emphasis found in the analysis. One is emphasis on the repeated structure and the other is emphasis placed on the words/phrases that appears after the repeated structure. Most female political leaders use the cohesive repetition. Cohesive repetition gives a flow in their speech and helps the female political leaders generate their points. This helps the audience understand the flow of the speech better while staying focused to it.

The female political leaders' places emphasis on these structures to either stir the emotions of the audience or connect to them emotionally. When the structures are given emphasis, it strongly affects the minds and emotions of the audience and tends to draw the attention of the audience. It is one way to capture the audience's concentration and bring them back to the speech. (Persson, 1974, p. 166) Margaret Thatcher and Julia Gillard showed similarity in their tone of repetition of structure whereby they used the emotive repetitions. By doing so, they place emphasis on their emotions which is then channeled to the audience. By using emotive repetition, the female political leaders are able to enact power and leadership through emotional connection.

5.1.5 The Use of Story-Telling that Influences the Enactment of Power and Leadership

The study reveals that all female political leaders have used the story-telling strategy except for Julia Gillard. The story telling technique is used by female political leaders because of its captivating nature. It is able to draw the audience's attention and keep them focused on the speech making it longer lasting and easily retrievable in the minds of the audience (Szulanski, 1996; Damasio, 2000).

Through storytelling, the audiences are able to relate to the experiences and background of these female political leaders (Brueggemann, 1978; Sarbin, 1995; Bradt, 1997; Peterson, 1999; Peterson, 1999). Through storytelling, the female political leaders are able to penetrate their audiences emotionally thus connect to them deliberately because audience are able to see the level of commitment the female political leaders put in (ref. chapter 4.5.2) (Chasin, et al., 1996).

Story telling may be of true or made up. But in this study, the stories used by the female political leaders are true stories that reflect their life's experiences and how it has affected their thoughts and beliefs. The stories are also related to their speech and the message that the female political leaders intend to convey. When the audience listens to these stories, they reflect on their own experiences and relate it to the female political leaders hence establish a sense of connection with them. To say that story-telling moves us, transports us, carries us away or helps us escape the oppressiveness of our real lives, is to recognise that stories change our experience of the way things are (McAdams, 1993:5).

5.1.6 The Use of Intertextual Reference that Influences the Enactment of Power and Leadership

The study shows that all female political leaders have used the intertextual reference in their speech. The intertextual reference revolves around the topic of the speech. Margaret

Thatcher spoke on her friendship with Ronald Reagan and also on politics hence the intertextual reference were based on those points. Indira Gandhi spoke on the importance of education among women and how women are responsible for the growth of the country hence the intertextual references were based on those points. It is similar for Julia Gillard, Hillary Rodham Clinton and Aung San Suu Kyi. The intertextual reference provides a base for their speech and helps the female political leaders establish and generate their basis of their beliefs and practices (Fairclough, 2008).

The use of intertextual reference indicates that the female political leaders are followers of a great leader or organisation and that their ideas of politics are very much based on them. This gives the audience a perception that the female political leaders beliefs and ideas are of established ones and is able to create trust among their audience. The idea of using direct quotes that are inspired by individual, organisations or cultural beliefs that are shared by the female political leaders and the audience (shared knowledge/interest) makes it simpler to penetrate the audience hence the female political leaders are able to enact power and leadership through common understanding and emotional connection.

Intertextual reference also acts as a form or persuasion. When the female political leaders use direct quotes from powerful individuals and organisations, it works as an inspiration for the audience to act according to them. As Miller, (1980) said, “We limit the definition of persuasion to all linguistic behaviour that attempts to either change the thinking or behaviour of an audience, or to strengthen its belief, should the audience already agree.”

Intertextual reference also makes it easier for the audience to understand certain political concepts or notions, ideas that are being conveyed by the female political leaders. Some words and phrases may only be understood with reference to the language surrounding them; An utterance conceptualizes an author’s completed thought and pulls its meaning from

multiple locations at once (Bakhtin, 1935/1981, 1979/1986). With intertextual reference, the female political leaders are able to disseminate their message more effectively.

Julia Gillard is the only female political leader who used direct quotes of the Leader of the Opposition who also happened to be the audience for the purpose of discriminating and making a relevant point.

5.1.7 Similarities and Differences in Speech Styles between Female Leaders of the Past and Present

The research shows that there are many similarities and a slight difference in speech styles between female leaders of the past and present. All female leaders of the past and present have used the selected linguistics strategies (pronouns, positioning, metaphors, repetition and intertextual reference) in their speeches as a way of enacting power and leadership.

5.1.7.1 Similarities in Speech Styles between Female Political Leaders of the Past and Present

The study shows that all female political leaders have used the linguistic strategies in their speeches to enact power and leadership. All the female political leaders have used the pronoun “we” in their speech to show solidarity or to call for action as one. The pronoun “I” is used to state opinions, express views, beliefs and also commitment. All female political leaders have used the pronoun “you” in a plural form except for Julia Gillard who has used it in a singular form (ref. chapter 5.2.7.2). It is used to address the audience and to call for action as a team.

The female political leaders have also used positioning in their speeches. The use of positioning reflects their ability to put themselves in the shoes of various different characters and roles. This makes them better leaders as they are able to analyse situations from a wider

perspective. Apart from that, the use of positioning also gives the audience the assurance and builds trust among them. The study revealed that all female political leaders have positioned themselves as a leader in their speeches. This is important as this helps them reiterate the fact that they are the leader. It also gives the audience the confidence that the leader is capable.

The female political leaders have also employed the use of metaphors in their speeches. The metaphors are used either in a negative way or positive way (ref. chapter 5.1.3). Indira Gandhi, Hillary Rodham Clinton and Aung San Suu Kyi has used the metaphors in a positive way whereas Margaret Thatcher and Julia Gillard have used it in a negative way.

The female political leaders also used the repetition strategy in their speeches to emphasise on certain words and sentences that are significant to the audience and the context of the speech. The research shows that Margaret Thatcher and Julia Gillard had similarities in their use of repetition. They have both employed the emotive repetition in their speeches. Indira Gandhi, Hillary Rodha Clinton and Aung San Suu Kyi have all used the cohesive repetition.

The female political leaders also used story-telling in their speeches. While the story-telling strategy keeps the audience interested to listen further to their speech, it also gives the audience an insight to their life and background. This again enables the building of trust between the leaders and the audience because based on the stories that are told, the audience are able to draw a certain expectation about the leader.

The female political leaders have also used the intertextual references in their speeches. The intertextual reference are used to form the basis of their speech. The intertextual reference enables the speakers to stay focused on the objective of their speech. Intertextual reference is used by the female political leaders to share their ideology. Using quotations of past leaders, or culturally inclined quotes gives the audience an impression that the leaders carry on such attributes in them. Besides that, if the audience are of the same belief, then this builds the bond between the leaders and the audience.

5.1.7.2 Differences in Speech Styles between Female Political Leaders of the Past and Present

There are a number of differences in the use of linguistic strategies between female political leaders of the past and present.

Julia Gillard is the only female political leader who has used the pronoun “you” in a singular form to address the Leader of the Opposition Party. She was direct with the use of the pronoun “you” to highlight his behaviour, remarks etc. This takes away the call for action from the audience hence places it solely on the person addressed in the speech.

The research also notes that the positioning strategy employed by female political leaders of the past and present, although holds strong similarities, also has a number of differences. Female political leaders of the past position themselves only in two different positions most whereas female political leaders of the present have taken on more than two positions. This shows that female political leaders of the present are able to understand and carry on more roles because of the change in culture and change in the notion of women’s role. The research also shows that female political leaders of the past have never positioned themselves as a citizen of the country whereas, female political leaders of the present have clearly positioned themselves as a citizen. This puts them on par with the audience who are citizens of the country hence give the audience a sense of certainty that the leaders will understand them.

The study reveals that Julia Gillard did not use the story-telling strategy. Her speech was directed particularly to one audience which is the Leader of the Opposition and being straight forward shows that she is bold. This strengthens her as a strong leader who stands firm on her beliefs.

The research also reveals that Julia Gillard is the only female political leader who has used the intertextual reference by quoting the Leader of the Opposition who was also one of

her audience. The act is done to justify her standing because it opposes the beliefs and remarks of the Leader of the Opposition. The diagram below is a summary of use of strategies that influenced the enactment of power and leadership.

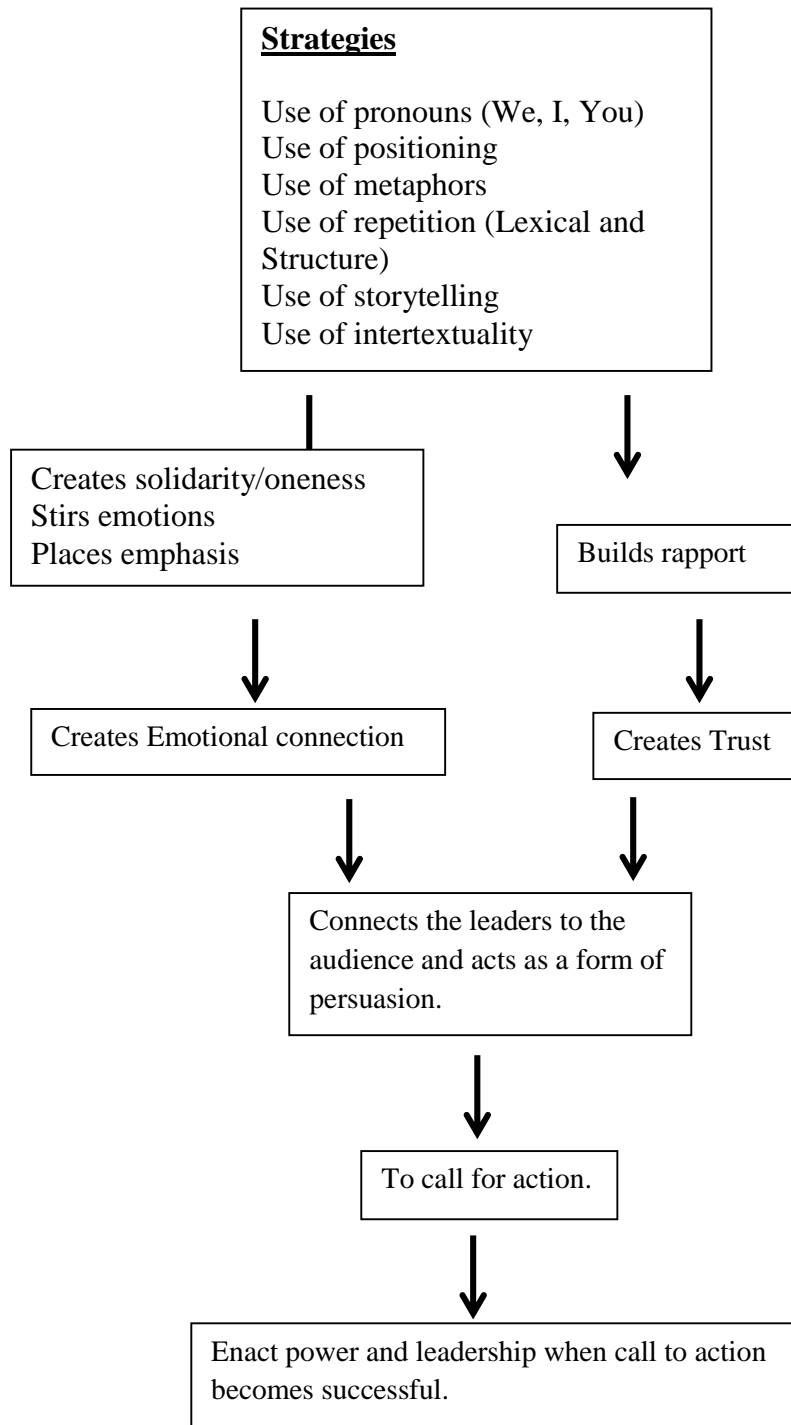


Chart 5.1: Ways in which Female Political Leaders Enact Power and Leadership

5.2 Summary

In this study, the researcher managed to answer the two research questions. The researcher has identified the ways in which linguistics strategies have been used in the female political leaders' speeches and how it has influenced the enactment of power and leadership among the audience.

It can be concluded that female political leaders used linguistic strategies similar to that of male political leaders to influence the audience by creating solidarity/oneness, stirring of emotions and by placing emphasis which creates a sense of emotional connection and also by building rapport which then creates a sense of trust. The two elements are essential as it helps the leaders connect to their audience hence acts as a form of persuasion which makes it simpler to call for action. Leaders are able to enact power and leadership when the call for action is successful.

This study shows that the once feminine attribute (soft, emotional, etc) which lacked leadership qualities has become favourable among the audience. The sense of compassion and solidarity which eliminates the hierarchical status and emotional connection which was once seen as a distractive quality among women which tends to deviate rationale thinking is now a quality that has become a trend among female leaders that is able to gain trust from their audience thus enact power and leadership.

The study also shows that there are similarities and differences between female political leaders of the past and present although there is no comparative historical change throughout the four decades.

5.3 Implication of Study

The study implies that speech styles among female political leaders in the past and present bears a lot of similarities as well as differences. In the past, aggressive speech styles

when used by female political leaders, were seen negatively by society as it opposes the stereotypical notion of women as in the case of Margaret Thatcher. However, in the present generation, the same speech style is acceptable and seen as bold and powerful as in the case of Julia Gillard.

Similarly, in the past, the use of speech styles that lures emotional connection was seen as powerless because the society connects emotions with irrational thinking. However, in the current society, emotional connection is a powerful tool that engages audience with the leaders. The implication of the study is, it is not the speech styles or characteristics of female political leaders that has taken a change but it is the mind set of society that has changed in line with the change of gender roles. Hence, the society is now able to accept the female gender as their leaders because the female gender is now seen equal in the leadership front.

5.4 Suggestion for Future Studies

Future studies can focus on comparison between female and male political leaders to distinguish similarities and differences in discursive patterns and what makes either the female and male leaders appear strong on the leadership front. Studies can also be done on changes in gender stereotypes that contributes to leadership among female political leaders.

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APPENDICES

Margaret Thatcher Speech - Tribute to Ronald Reagan

1 Mr Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:

2 It is an honour to join so many friends this evening in a tribute to freedom and a tribute
3 to the President whose name is synonymous with it – Ronald Reagan.

4 Ronald Reagan – Conservative

5 Ronnie and I got to know each other at a time when we were both in Opposition, and
6 when a good many people intended to keep us there. They failed, and the conservative
7 1980s were the result.

8 But in a certain sense, we remained an opposition, we were never the establishment.
9 We were opposed to big government, to fashionable opinion within the belt-way, and
10 to the endless round of so-called liberal solutions to problems the liberals themselves
11 had created. As Ron once put it: the nine most dangerous words in the English language
12 are “I’m from the government, and I’m here to help”. As usual, he was right.

13 Ronald Reagan helped America – and so America could help the world - because he
14 rejected that approach. He believed, and he never stopped proclaiming, that the talents
15 of a nation, not the wisdom of bureaucracy, forge a country’s greatness. Let our
16 children grow tall – he urged - then they can reach out to raise others higher too.

17 For our opponents, there are always a hundred reasons why the government must
18 intervene to plan its children’s lives. For us, there’s one overwhelming reason why it
19 shouldn’t – because men and women are born to be free.

20 The world isn’t much used to hearing that kind of message now. We live in an era of
21 sound bites and spin doctors, of false sentiment and real cynicism. That’s why just
22 reading – or hearing as we shall - the words of Ronald Reagan is so refreshing. They
23 remind us that men and women were born for high ideals and noble purposes.

24 They remind us, too, that the world which so many now take for granted was won by
25 struggle. And Ron had to struggle. The fact that he kept his composure and lifted us
26 all with his humour testified to his inner strength, not to a life without hardship. And
27 it also testified, as he never failed to add, to the boundless, enfolding love of Nancy.

28 Reagan’s Achievement

29 Ronald Reagan’s achievements can be summed up like this: he made America great
30 again, and he used that greatness to set the nations free. Either of these achievements
31 would qualify a President for the political pantheon: but to have succeeded in both
32 marks out President Reagan as one of America’s very greatest leaders.

33 All his policies were of a piece, and all reflected his own distinctive philosophy. He
34 believed in America, and he believed in people.

35 When the academics foretold American decline, he replied that there was nothing this
36 nation couldn't do, once given the chance.

37 When the economists denounced his policies of tax cuts as simplistic, he didn't mind
38 if his answers were simple because they were true.

39 When liberals doubted if Americans were willing to master events and make sacrifices,
40 he replied (and I quote):

41 "No weapon in the arsenals of the world is so formidable as the will and moral courage
42 of free men and women".

43 But nor did Ron ignore those arsenals of weapons. His build-up of American military
44 might, sustained by a revived economy, was the decisive factor in winning the Cold
45 War for the West and Liberty.

46 But how they mocked him!

47 Do you remember how he was told that the only way to deal with Soviet advances was
48 to negotiate arms control?

49 Do you remember how they said that toughness in dealing with the Soviets would only
50 help the hard-liners in the Kremlin? And then came Gorbachev, and then an end to the
51 Evil Empire itself!

52 And do you remember how much they mocked an old man's obsession with Star Wars?
53 Well now we know, from the mouths of ex-Soviet officials no less, that SDI was crucial
54 in forcing them to renounce military competition and to end the Cold War. And now
55 President Reagan's vision is the starting point for the world's most necessary military
56 programme – I mean, of course, Ballistic Missile Defence.

57 Reagan's Legacy and the World Today

58 Missile Defence is just one example of the continuity between the world which Ronald
59 Reagan and I faced in the 1980s and the world we know today. Now, as then, it is
60 crucial to keep our defences strong and up-to-date. It's particularly vital to ensure that
61 America maintains its lead in military technology, which gives us mastery of the
62 battlefield.

63 But Missile Defence also illustrates how the world has changed since those Cold War
64 years. No longer do two nuclear superpowers confront each other around the globe.
65 Rather, we face threats from numerous different quarters – threats less potentially
66 catastrophic it's true, but grave... and graver still because all but impossible to predict
67 and deter.

68 Ronald Reagan's political legacy is one where the captive nations have been freed,
69 where democracy is dominant, where the march of capitalism is unchecked. The world
70 is freer, fairer and richer.

71 But yesterday's conservatives never imagined that the end of the Soviet Union would
72 usher in an end to danger – only the liberals, wrong now as in the past, thought that.
73 Those liberals were all too influential. The West cut back its defences too far. It
74 weakened its intelligence effort. It succumbed to the fatal illusion that government's
75 role is to make us comfortable, rather than to keep us safe. And so it was that those
76 who hate America, fear liberty and attack progress, were able to prepare their wicked
77 assault on this nation that fateful Tuesday last September.

78 Since then the world has watched, with growing admiration and a rebirth of hope, how
79 America has taken swift and devastating action against the West's sworn enemies. This
80 was an extraordinary feat of arms. It was also an inspiring example of leadership. What
81 we have seen proves beyond doubt that America is in truth, not just name, the
82 unrivalled global superpower. And it proves too that another great American President
83 sits in the White House.

84 I am pleased and proud that Britain, once again, has made an important contribution to
85 this struggle against evil. Echoing both Bismarck and Churchill, President Reagan
86 once remarked: "future historians will note that a supreme fact of this [twentieth]
87 century was that Great Britain and the United States shared the same cause: the cause
88 of human freedom". My friends: in the continuation of the War Against Terror our
89 countries must again stand firm.

90 For as President Bush has reminded us, though a great battle is over, the war itself is
91 not. Our purpose must be to strike the other centres of Islamic terrorism wherever they
92 are. And we must act equally strongly against those states which harbour terrorists and
93 develop weapons of mass destruction that might be used against us or our allies.

94 The recent shameful European reaction to President Bush's State of the Union Speech
95 reminds me of nothing so much as that which greeted President Reagan's words two
96 decades ago. Americans shouldn't take too much notice. Fear masquerading as caution,
97 pique posing as dignity, words substituting for thought – we have been there many
98 times before. Whatever the protests of the faint-hearts, it is high time to take action
99 against the Rogue States which are arming against us.

100 In particular, Saddam Hussein constitutes unfinished business. And he now needs to
101 be finished – for good. First rate intelligence, the support of opposition elements within
102 Iraq, and overwhelming force will probably all be required. But the risks of not acting
103 far outweigh those of allowing Saddam to continue developing his weapons of war. I
104 hope and trust that Britain will support to the hilt the action your President decides to
105 take.

106 Trust America

107 America today is not just the only global superpower. She enjoys a superiority over
108 any other power or combination of powers greater than any nation in modern times.
109 This also places on her shoulders an awesome responsibility. For the United States, as
110 for any country, national interest must come first – and without apology. But
111 America's interests are so vast that no region lies beyond them. This, my friends, has
112 three implications – each full of significance for the future.

113 On the first I have touched already. America must remain strong. She must again, as
114 under Ronald Reagan, rebuild, reshape and modernise her defences. President Bush's
115 military budget and Secretary Rumsfeld's visionary plans demonstrate that this lesson
116 has already been heeded.

117 The second implication is that America needs trustworthy allies in every region.
118 America is mighty, but no democracy will tolerate becoming the whole world's
119 policeman. My advice is: pick your allies wisely, support and reassure them – and then
120 insist that they fulfil their promises and commit their resources.

121 Third – and here may I step just over the line of political even-handedness – America
122 will know that particularly in times like these the Leader of the Free World must be
123 seen by your friends and foes alike to speak with unqualified authority. The world does
124 not much understand the doctrine of the Separation of Powers. But it respects America
125 more when it knows that the promises and warnings of the US Commander-in-Chief
126 are endorsed by the other main organs of elected government. That message is
127 powerful politics – and it has the still greater merit of being true.

128 Liberty

129 My friends, one further golden thread connects Ronald Reagan with the Republican
130 Party today – the love of liberty. So it is doubly fitting that this should be your theme
131 tonight.

132 President Reagan didn't just abhor communism, mistrust socialism and dislike
133 bureaucracy, he truly loved liberty – he loved it with a passion which went far beyond
134 anything else in his political life. It was what brought moral grandeur to his vision of
135 America and to his dreams for a better world. It was directed not mainly at earthly
136 powers and principalities but rather at the infinitely precious, utterly unique human
137 being, wherever he or she was yearning to breathe free. The thought is memorably
138 expressed by the poet Byron :

139 'Eternal spirit of the chainless mind! Brightest in Dungeons, Liberty! Thou art, For
140 there thy habitation is the heart – The heart which love of thee alone can bind; And
141 when thy sons to fetters are consigned – To fetters, and the damp vault's dayless gloom,
142 Their country conquers with their martyrdom, And Freedom's fame finds wings on
143 every wind'

144 My friends, God Bless Ronnie - and God Bless America!

Indira Gandhi - What Educated Women Can Do

1 An ancient Sanskrit saying says, woman is the home and the home is the basis of
2 society. It is as we build our homes that we can build our country. If the home is
3 inadequate -- either inadequate in material goods and necessities or inadequate in the
4 sort of friendly, loving atmosphere that every child needs to grow and develop – then
5 that country cannot have harm ony and no country which does not have harmony can
6 grow in any direction at all.

7 That is why women's education is almost more important than the education of boys
8 and men. We -- and by "we" I do not mean only we in India but all the world -- have
9 neglected women education. It is fairly recent. Of course, not to you but when I was a
10 child, the story of early days of women's education in England, for instance, was very
11 current. Everybody remembered what had happened in the early days.

12 I remember what used to happen here. I still remember the days when living in old
13 Delhi even as a small child of seven or eight. I had to go out in a doli if I left the house.
14 We just did not walk. Girls did not walk in the streets. First, you had your sari with
15 which you covered your head, then you had another shawl or something with which
16 you covered your hand and all the body, then you had a white shawl, with which every
17 thing was covered again although your face was open fortunately. Then you were in
18 the doli, which again was covered by another cloth. And this was in a family or
19 community which did not observe purdah of any kind at all. In fact, all our social
20 functions always were mixed functions but this was the atmosphere of the city and of
21 the country.

22 Now, we have got education and there is a debate all over the country whether this
23 education is adequate to the needs of society or the needs of our young people. I am
24 one of those who always believe that education needs a thorough overhauling. But at
25 the same time, I think that everything in our education is not bad, that even the present
26 education has produced very fine men and women, specially scientists and experts in
27 different fields, who are in great demand all over the world and even in the most
28 affluent countries. Many of our young people leave us and go abroad because they get
29 higher salaries, they get better conditions of work.

30 But it is not all a one-sided business because there are many who are persuaded and
31 cajoled to go even when they are reluctant. We know of first class students, especially
32 in medicine or nuclear energy for instance, they are approached long before they have
33 passed out and offered all kinds of inducements to go out. Now, that shows that people
34 do consider that they have a standard of knowledge and capability which will be useful
35 any where in the world.

36 So, that is why I say that there is something worthwhile. It also shows that our own
37 ancient philosophy has taught us that nothing in life is entirely bad or entirely good.
38 Everything is somewhat of a mixture and it depends on us and our capability how we
39 can extract the good, how we can make use of what is around us. There are people who
40 through observation can learn from anything that is around them. There are others who
41 can be surrounded by the most fascinating people, the most wonderful books, and other
42 things and who yet remain quite closed in and they are unable to take anything from
43 this wealth around them.

44 Our country is a very rich country. It is rich in culture, it is rich in many old traditions
45 -- old and even modern tradition. Of course, it has a lot of bad things too and some of
46 the bad things are in the society -- superstition, which has grown over the years and
47 which sometimes clouds over the shining brightness of ancient thought and values,
48 eternal values. Then, of course, there is the physical poverty of large numbers of our
49 people. That is something which is ugly and that hampers the growth of millions of
50 young boys and girls. Now, all these bad things we have to fight against and that is
51 what we are doing since Independence.

52 But, we must not allow this dark side of the picture which, by the way, exists in every
53 country in the world. Even the most rich country in the world has its dark side, but
54 usually other people hide their dark sides and they try to project the shining side or the
55 side of achievement. Here in India, we seem to want to project the worst side of society.
56 Before anybody does anything, he has to have, of course, knowledge and capability,
57 but along with it he has to have a certain amount of pride in what he or she is doing.
58 He has to have self-confidence in his own ability. If your teacher tells, "You cannot do
59 this," even if you are a very bright student I think every time you will find, it will be
60 more and more difficult for you to do it. But if your teacher encourages saying, "Go
61 along you have done very good work, now try a little harder," then you will try a little
62 harder and you will be able to do it. And it is the same with societies and with countries.

63 This country, India, has had remarkable achievements to its credit, of course in ancient
64 times, but even in modern times, I think there are a few modern stories, success stories,
65 which are as fascinating as the success story of our country. It is true that we have not
66 banished poverty, we have not banished many of our social ills, but if you compare us
67 to what we were just about 27 years ago, I think that you will not find a single other
68 country that has been able to achieve so much under the most difficult circumstances.

69 Today, we are passing through specially dark days. But these are not dark days for
70 India alone. Except for the countries which call themselves socialist and about which
71 we do not really know very much, every other country has the same sort of economic
72 problems, which we have. Only a few countries, which have very small populations,
73 have no unemployment. Otherwise, the rich countries also today have unemployment.
74 They have shortages of essential articles. They have shortages even of food.

75 I do not know how many of you know that the countries of Western Europe and Japan
76 import 41 per cent of their food needs, whereas India imports just under two per cent.
77 Yet, somehow we ourselves project an image that India is out with the begging bowl.
78 And naturally when we ourselves say it, other people will say it much louder and much
79 stronger. It is true, of course, that our two per cent is pretty big because we are a very
80 big country and we have a far bigger population than almost any country in the world
81 with the exception of China. We have to see and you, the educated women, because it
82 is great privilege for you to have higher education, you have to try and see our problems
83 in the perspective of what has happened here in this country and what is happening all
84 over the world.

85 There is today great admiration for certain things that have happened in other countries
86 where the society is quite differently formed, where no dissent is allowed. The same
87 people who admire that system or the achievements of that system are the ones who
88 say there is dictatorship here even though, I think, nobody has yet been able to point
89 out to me which country has more freedom of expression or action. So, something is
90 said and a lot of people without thinking keep on repeating it with additions until an
91 entirely distorted picture of the country and of our people is presented.

92 As I said, we do have many shortcomings, whether it is the government, whether it is
93 the society. Some are due to our traditions because, as I said, not all tradition is good.
94 And one of the biggest responsibilities of the educated women today is how to
95 synthesise what has been valuable and timeless in our ancient traditions with what is

96 good and valuable in modern thought. All that is modern is not good just as all that is
97 old is neither all good nor all bad. We have to decide, not once and for all but almost
98 every week, every month what is coming out that is good and useful to our country
99 and what of the old we can keep and enshrine in our society. To be modern, most
100 people think that it is something of a manner of dress or a manner of speaking or certain
101 habits and customs, but that is not really being modern. It is a very superficial part of
102 modernity.

103 For instance, when I cut my hair, it was because of the sort of life that I was leading.
104 We were all in the movement. You simply could not have long hair and go in the
105 villages and wash it every day. So, when you lead a life, a particular kind of life, your
106 clothes, your everything has to fit into that life if you are to be efficient. If you have to
107 go in the villages and you have to bother whether your clothes are going to be dirty,
108 then you cannot be a good worker. You have to forget everything of that kind. That is
109 why, gradually, clothes and so on have changed in some countries because of the
110 changes in the life-style. Does it suit our life-style or what we want to do or not? If it
111 does, maybe we have to adopt some of these things not merely because it is done in
112 another country and perhaps for another purpose. But what clothes we wear is really
113 quite unimportant. What is important is how we are thinking.

114 Sometimes, I am very sad that even people who do science are quite unscientific in
115 their thinking and in their other actions -- not what they are doing in the laboratories
116 but how they live at home or their attitudes towards other people. Now, for India to
117 become what we want it to become with a modern, rational society and firmly based
118 on what is good in our ancient tradition and in our soil, for this we have to have a
119 thinking public, thinking young women who are not content to accept what comes from
120 any part of the world but are willing to listen to it, to analyse it and to decide whether
121 it is to be accepted or whether it is to be thrown out and this is the sort of education
122 which we want, which enables our young people to adjust to this changing world and
123 to be able to contribute to it.

124 Some people think that only by taking up very high jobs, you are doing something
125 important or you are doing national service. But we all know that the most complex
126 machinery will be ineffective if one small screw is not working as it should and that
127 screw is just as important as any big part. It is the same in national life. There is no job
128 that is too small; there is no person who is too small. Everybody has something to do.
129 And if he or she does it well, then the country will run well.

130 In our superstition, we have thought that some work is dirty work. For instance,
131 sweeping has been regarded as dirty. Only some people can do it; others should not do
132 it. Now we find that manure is the most valuable thing that the world has today and
133 many of the world's economies are shaking because there is not enough fertilizer -- and
134 not just the chemical fertilizer but the ordinary manure, night-soil and all that sort of
135 thing, things which were considered dirty.

136 Now it shows how beautifully balanced the world was with everything fitted in with
137 something else. Everything, whether dirty or small, had a purpose. We, with our
138 science and technology, have tried to -- not purposely, but somehow, we have created
139 an imbalance and that is what is troubling, on a big scale, the economies of the world
140 and also people and individuals. They are feeling alienated from their societies, not

141 only in India but almost in every country in the world, except in places where the whole
142 purpose of education and government has to be to make the people conform to just one
143 idea. We are told that people there are very happy in whatever they are doing. If they
144 are told to clean the streets, well, if he is a professor he has to clean the streets, if he is
145 a scientist he has to do it, and we were told that they are happy doing it. Well, if they
146 are happy, it is alright.

147 But I do not think in India we can have that kind of society where people are forced to
148 do things because we think that they can be forced maybe for 25 years, maybe for 50
149 years, but sometime or the other there will be an explosion. In our society, we allow
150 lots of smaller explosions because we think that that will guard the basic stability and
151 progress of society and prevent it from having the kind of chaotic explosion which can
152 retard our progress and harmony in the country.

153 So, I hope that all of you who have this great advantage of education will not only do
154 whatever work you are doing keeping the national interests in view, but you will make
155 your own contribution to creating peace and harmony, to bringing beauty in the lives
156 of our people and our country. I think this is the special responsibility of the women
157 of India. We want to do a great deal for our country, but we have never regarded India
158 as isolated from the rest of the world. What we want to do is to make a better world.
159 So, we have to see India's problems in the perspective of the larger world problems.

160 It has given me great pleasure to be with you here. I give my warm congratulations to
161 those who are doing well and my very good wishes to all the others that they will also
162 do much better. This college has had a high reputation but we must always see that we
163 do better than those who were there before us. So, good luck and good wishes to you.

Julia Gillard - A Speech to the Leader of the Opposition

1 Thank you very much Deputy Speaker and I rise to oppose the motion moved by the
2 Leader of the Opposition. And in so doing I say to the Leader of the Opposition I will
3 not be lectured about sexism and misogyny by this man. I will not. And the
4 Government will not be lectured about sexism and misogyny by this man. Not now,
5 not ever.

6 The Leader of the Opposition says that people who hold sexist views and who are
7 misogynists are not appropriate for high office. Well I hope the Leader of the
8 Opposition has got a piece of paper and he is writing out his resignation. Because if
9 he wants to know what misogyny looks like in modern Australia, he doesn't need a
10 motion in the House of Representatives, he needs a mirror. That's what he needs.

11 Let's go through the Opposition Leader's repulsive double standards, repulsive
12 double standards when it comes to misogyny and sexism. We are now supposed to
13 take seriously that the Leader of the Opposition is offended by Mr Slipper's text
14 messages, when this is the Leader of the Opposition who has said, and this was when
15 he was a minister under the last government – not when he was a student, not when
16 he was in high school – when he was a minister under the last government.

17 He has said, and I quote, in a discussion about women being under-represented in
18 institutions of power in Australia, the interviewer was a man called Stavros. The
19 Leader of the Opposition says “If it’s true, Stavros, that men have more power
20 generally speaking than women, is that a bad thing?”

21 And then a discussion ensues, and another person says “I want my daughter to have
22 as much opportunity as my son.” To which the Leader of the Opposition says “Yeah,
23 I completely agree, but what if men are by physiology or temperament, more adapted
24 to exercise authority or to issue command?”

25 Then ensues another discussion about women’s role in modern society, and the other
26 person participating in the discussion says “I think it’s very hard to deny that there is
27 an underrepresentation of women,” to which the Leader of the Opposition says, “But
28 now, there’s an assumption that this is a bad thing.”

29 This is the man from whom we’re supposed to take lectures about sexism. And then
30 of course it goes on. I was very offended personally when the Leader of the
31 Opposition, as Minister of Health, said, and I quote, “Abortion is the easy way out.”
32 I was very personally offended by those comments. You said that in March 2004, I
33 suggest you check the records.

34 I was also very offended on behalf of the women of Australia when in the course of
35 this carbon pricing campaign, the Leader of the Opposition said “What the
36 housewives of Australia need to understand as they do the ironing...” Thank you for
37 that painting of women’s roles in modern Australia.

38 And then of course, I was offended too by the sexism, by the misogyny of the Leader
39 of the Opposition catcalling across this table at me as I sit here as Prime Minister, “If
40 the Prime Minister wants to, politically speaking, make an honest woman of
41 herself...”, something that would never have been said to any man sitting in this chair.
42 I was offended when the Leader of the Opposition went outside in the front of
43 Parliament and stood next to a sign that said “Ditch the witch.”

44 I was offended when the Leader of the Opposition stood next to a sign that described
45 me as a man’s bitch. I was offended by those things. Misogyny, sexism, every day
46 from this Leader of the Opposition. Every day in every way, across the time the
47 Leader of the Opposition has sat in that chair and I’ve sat in this chair, that is all we
48 have heard from him.

49 And now, the Leader of the Opposition wants to be taken seriously, apparently he’s
50 woken up after this track record and all of these statements, and he’s woken up and
51 he’s gone “Oh dear, there’s this thing called sexism, oh my lords, there’s this thing
52 called misogyny. Now who’s one of them? Oh, the Speaker must be because that suits
53 my political purpose.”

54 Doesn’t turn a hair about any of his past statements, doesn’t walk into this Parliament
55 and apologise to the women of Australia. Doesn’t walk into this Parliament and
56 apologise to me for the things that have come out of his mouth. But now seeks to use
57 this as a battering ram against someone else.

58 Well this kind of hypocrisy must not be tolerated, which is why this motion from the
59 Leader of the Opposition should not be taken seriously.

60 And then second, the Leader of the Opposition is always wonderful about walking
61 into this Parliament and giving me and others a lecture about what they should take
62 responsibility for.

63 Always wonderful about that – everything that I should take responsibility for, now
64 apparently including the text messages of the Member for Fisher. Always keen to say
65 how others should assume responsibility, particularly me.

66 Well can anybody remind me if the Leader of the Opposition has taken any
67 responsibility for the conduct of the Sydney Young Liberals and the attendance at this
68 event of members of his frontbench?

69 Has he taken any responsibility for the conduct of members of his political party and
70 members of his frontbench who apparently when the most vile things were being said
71 about my family, raised no voice of objection? Nobody walked out of the room; no-
72 one walked up to Mr Jones and said that this was not acceptable.

73 Instead of course, it was all viewed as good fun until it was run in a Sunday newspaper
74 and then the Leader of the Opposition and others started ducking for cover.
75 Big on lectures of responsibility, very light on accepting responsibility himself for the
76 vile conduct of members of his political party.

77 Third, Deputy Speaker, why the Leader of the Opposition should not be taken
78 seriously on this motion.

79 The Leader of the Opposition and the Deputy Leader of the Opposition have come
80 into this place and have talked about the Member for Fisher. Well, let me remind the
81 Opposition and the Leader of the opposition party about their track record and
82 association with the Member for Fisher.

83 I remind them that the National Party preselected the Member for Fisher for the 1984
84 election, that the National Party preselected the Member for Fisher for the 1987
85 election, that the Liberals preselected Mr Slipper for the 1993 election, then the 1996
86 election, then the 1998 election, then for the 2001 election, then for the 2004 election,
87 then for the 2007 election and then for the 2010 election.

88 And across these elections, Mr Slipper enjoyed the personal support of the Leader of
89 the Opposition. I remind the Leader of the Opposition that on 28 September 2010,
90 following the last election campaign, when Mr Slipper was elected as Deputy
91 Speaker, the Leader of the Opposition at that stage said this, and I quote.

92 He referred to the Member for Maranoa, who was also elected to a position at the
93 same time, and then went on as follows: “And the Member for Fisher will serve as a
94 fine complement to the Member for Scullin in the chair. I believe that the Parliament
95 will be well-served by the team which will occupy the chair in this chamber. I
96 congratulate the Member for Fisher, who has been a friend of mine for a very long
97 time, who has served this Parliament in many capacities with distinction.”

98 The words of the Leader of the Opposition on record, about his personal friendship
99 with Mr Slipper, and on record about his view about Mr Slipper's qualities and
100 attributes to be the Speaker.

101 No walking away from those words, they were the statement of the Leader of the
102 Opposition then. I remind the Leader of the Opposition, who now comes in here and
103 speaks about apparently his inability to work with or talk to Mr Slipper. I remind the
104 Leader of the Opposition he attended Mr Slipper's wedding.

105 Did he walk up to Mr Slipper in the middle of the service and say he was disgusted
106 to be there? Was that the attitude he took? No, he attended that wedding as a friend.

107 The Leader of the Opposition keen to lecture others about what they ought to know
108 or did know about Mr Slipper. Well with respect, I'd say to the Leader of the
109 Opposition after a long personal association including attending Mr Slipper's
110 wedding, it would be interesting to know whether the Leader of the Opposition was
111 surprised by these text messages.

112 He's certainly in a position to speak more intimately about Mr Slipper than I am, and
113 many other people in this Parliament, given this long personal association.

114 Then of course the Leader of the Opposition comes into this place and says, and I
115 quote, "Every day the Prime Minister stands in this Parliament to defend this Speaker
116 will be another day of shame for this Parliament, another day of shame for a
117 government which should already have died of shame."

118 Well can I indicate to the Leader of the Opposition the Government is not dying of
119 shame, my father did not die of shame, what the Leader of the Opposition should be
120 ashamed of is his performance in this Parliament and the sexism he brings with it.
121 Now about the text messages that are on the public record or reported in the – that's
122 a direct quote from the Leader of the Opposition so I suggest those groaning have a
123 word with him.

124 On the conduct of Mr Slipper, and on the text messages that are in the public domain,
125 I have seen the press reports of those text messages. I am offended by their content. I
126 am offended by their content because I am always offended by sexism. I am offended
127 by their content because I am always offended by statements that are anti-women.

128 I am offended by those things in the same way that I have been offended by things
129 that the Leader of the Opposition has said, and no doubt will continue to say in the
130 future. Because if this today was an exhibition of his new feminine side, well I don't
131 think we've got much to look forward to in terms of changed conduct.

132 I am offended by those text messages. But I also believe, in terms of this Parliament
133 making a decision about the speakership, that this Parliament should recognise that
134 there is a court case in progress. That the judge has reserved his decision, that having
135 waited for a number of months for the legal matters surrounding Mr Slipper to come
136 to a conclusion, that this Parliament should see that conclusion.

137 I believe that is the appropriate path forward, and that people will then have an
138 opportunity to make up their minds with the fullest information available to them.

139 But whenever people make up their minds about those questions, what I won't stand
140 for, what I will never stand for is the Leader of the Opposition coming into this place
141 and peddling a double standard. Peddling a standard for Mr Slipper he would not set
142 for himself. Peddling a standard for Mr Slipper he has not set for other members of
143 his frontbench.

144 Peddling a standard for Mr Slipper that has not been acquitted by the people who have
145 been sent out to say the vilest and most revolting things like his former Shadow
146 Parliamentary Secretary Senator Bernardi.

147 I will not ever see the Leader of the Opposition seek to impose his double standard
148 on this Parliament. Sexism should always be unacceptable. We should conduct
149 ourselves as it should always be unacceptable. The Leader of the Opposition says do
150 something; well he could do something himself if he wants to deal with sexism in this
151 Parliament.

152 He could change his behaviour, he could apologise for all his past statements, he could
153 apologise for standing next to signs describing me as a witch and a bitch, terminology
154 that is now objected to by the frontbench of the Opposition.

155 He could change a standard himself if he sought to do so. But we will see none of that
156 from the Leader of the Opposition because on these questions he is incapable of
157 change. Capable of double standards, but incapable of change. His double standards
158 should not rule this Parliament.

159 Good sense, common sense, proper process is what should rule this Parliament. That's
160 what I believe is the path forward for this Parliament, not the kind of double standards
161 and political game-playing imposed by the Leader of the Opposition now looking at
162 his watch because apparently a woman's spoken too long.

163 I've had him yell at me to shut up in the past, but I will take the remaining seconds of
164 my speaking time to say to the Leader of the Opposition I think the best course for
165 him is to reflect on the standards he's exhibited in public life, on the responsibility he
166 should take for his public statements; on his close personal connection with Peter
167 Slipper, on the hypocrisy he has displayed in this House today.

168 And on that basis, because of the Leader of the Opposition's motivations, this
169 Parliament today should reject this motion and the Leader of the Opposition should
170 think seriously about the role of women in public life and in Australian society
171 because we are entitled to a better standard than this.

Hillary Godham Clinton – Fight for the Rights of LGBT

1 Good evening, and let me express my deep honor and pleasure at being here. I want to
2 thank Director General Tokayev and Ms. Wyden along with other ministers,
3 ambassadors, excellence's, and UN partners. This weekend, we will celebrate Human
4 Rights Day, the anniversary of one of the great accomplishments of the last century

5 Beginning in 1947, delegates from six continents devoted themselves to drafting a
6 declaration that would enshrine the fundamental rights and freedoms of people
7 everywhere. In the aftermath of World War II, many nations pressed for a statement
8 of this kind to help ensure that we would prevent future atrocities and protect the
9 inherent humanity and dignity of all people. And so the delegates went to work. They
10 discussed, they wrote, they revisited, revised, rewrote, for thousands of hours. And
11 they incorporated suggestions and revisions from governments, organizations, and
12 individuals around the world. At three o'clock in the morning on December 10th, 1948,
13 after nearly two years of drafting and one last long night of debate, the president of the
14 UN General Assembly called for a vote on the final text. Forty-eight nations voted in
15 favor; eight abstained; none dissented. And the Universal Declaration of Human Rights
16 was adopted. It proclaims a simple, powerful idea: All human beings are born free and
17 equal in dignity and rights. And with the declaration, it was made clear that rights are
18 not conferred by government; they are the birth right of all people. It does not matter
19 what country we live in, who our leaders are, or even who we are. Because we are
20 human, we therefore have rights. And because we have rights, governments are bound
21 to protect them.

22 In the 63 years since the declaration was adopted, many nations have made great
23 progress in making human rights a human reality. Step by step, barriers that once
24 prevented people from enjoying the full measure of liberty, the full experience of
25 dignity, and the full benefits of humanity have fallen away. In many places, racist laws
26 have been repealed, legal and social practices that relegated women to second-class
27 status have been abolished, the ability of religious minorities to practice their faith
28 freely has been secured. In most cases, this progress was not easily won. People fought
29 and organized and campaigned in public squares and private spaces to change not only
30 laws, but hearts and minds. And thanks to that work of generations, for millions of
31 individuals whose lives were once narrowed by injustice, they are now able to live
32 more freely and to participate more fully in the political, economic, and social lives of
33 their communities. Now, there is still, as you all know, much more to be done to secure
34 that commitment, that reality, and progress for all people. Today, I want to talk about
35 the work we have left to do to protect one group of people whose human rights are still
36 denied in too many parts of the world today. In many ways, they are an invisible
37 minority. They are arrested, beaten, terrorized, even executed. Many are treated with
38 contempt and violence by their fellow citizens while authorities empowered to protect
39 them look the other way or, too often, even join in the abuse. They are denied
40 opportunities to work and learn, driven from their homes and countries, and forced to
41 suppress or deny who they are to protect themselves from harm.

42 I am talking about gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender people, human beings born
43 free and given bestowed equality and dignity, who have a right to claim that, which is
44 now one of the remaining human rights challenges of our time. I speak about this
45 subject knowing that my own country's record on human rights for gay people is far

46 from perfect. Until 2003, it was still a crime in parts of our country. Many LGBT
47 Americans have endured violence and harassment in their own lives, and for some,
48 including many young people, bullying and exclusion are daily experiences. So we,
49 like all nations, have more work to do to protect human rights at home. Now, raising
50 this issue, I know, is sensitive for many people and that the obstacles standing in the
51 way of protecting the human rights of LGBT people rest on deeply held personal,
52 political, cultural, and religious beliefs. So I come here before you with respect,
53 understanding, and humility. Even though progress on this front is not easy, we cannot
54 delay acting. So in that spirit, I want to talk about the difficult and important issues we
55 must address together to reach a global consensus that recognizes the human rights of
56 LGBT citizens everywhere.

57 The first issue goes to the heart of the matter. Some have suggested that gay rights and
58 human rights are separate and distinct; but, in fact, they are one and the same. Now, of
59 course, 60 years ago, the governments that drafted and passed the Universal
60 Declaration of Human Rights were not thinking about how it applied to the LGBT
61 community. They also weren't thinking about how it applied to indigenous people or
62 children or people with disabilities or other marginalized groups. Yet in the past 60
63 years, we have come to recognize that members of these groups are entitled to the full
64 measure of dignity and rights, because, like all people, they share a common humanity.

65 This recognition did not occur all at once. It evolved over time. And as it did, we
66 understood that we were honoring rights that people always had, rather than creating
67 new or special rights for them. Like being a woman, like being a racial, religious, tribal,
68 or ethnic minority, being LGBT does not make you less human. And that is why gay
69 rights are human rights, and human rights are gay rights. It is violation of human rights
70 when people are beaten or killed because of their sexual orientation, or because they
71 do not conform to cultural norms about how men and women should look or behave.
72 It is a violation of human rights when governments declare it illegal to be gay, or allow
73 those who harm gay people to go unpunished. It is a violation of human rights when
74 lesbian or transgendered women are subjected to so-called corrective rape, or forcibly
75 subjected to hormone treatments, or when people are murdered after public calls for
76 violence toward gays, or when they are forced to flee their nations and seek asylum in
77 other lands to save their lives. And it is a violation of human rights when life-saving
78 care is withheld from people because they are gay, or equal access to justice is denied
79 to people because they are gay, or public spaces are out of bounds to people because
80 they are gay. No matter what we look like, where we come from, or who we are, we
81 are all equally entitled to our human rights and dignity. The second issue is a question
82 of whether homosexuality arises from a particular part of the world. Some seem to
83 believe it is a Western phenomenon, and therefore people outside the West have
84 grounds to reject it. Well, in reality, gay people are born into and belong to every
85 society in the world. They are all ages, all races, all faiths; they are doctors and
86 teachers, farmers and bankers, soldiers and athletes; and whether we know it, or
87 whether we acknowledge it, they are our family, our friends, and our neighbours. Being
88 gay is not a Western invention; it is a human reality. And protecting the human rights
89 of all people, gay or straight, is not something that only Western governments do.
90 South Africa's constitution, written in the aftermath of Apartheid, protects the equality
91 of all citizens, including gay people. In Colombia and Argentina, the rights of gays are
92 also legally protected. In Nepal, the Supreme Court has ruled that equal rights apply to
93 LGBT citizens. The Government of Mongolia has committed to pursue new legislation

94 that will tackle anti-gay discrimination. Now, some worry that protecting the human
95 rights of the LGBT community is a luxury that only wealthy nations can afford. But in
96 fact, in all countries, there are costs to not protecting these rights, in both gay and
97 straight lives lost to disease and violence, and the silencing of voices and views that
98 would strengthen communities, in ideas never pursued by entrepreneurs who happen
99 to be gay. Costs are incurred whenever any group is treated as lesser or the other,
100 whether they are women, racial, or religious minorities, or the LGBT. Former President
101 Mogae of Botswana pointed out recently that for as long as LGBT people are kept in
102 the shadows, there cannot be an effective public health program to tackle HIV and
103 AIDS. Well, that holds true for other challenges as well. The third, and perhaps most
104 challenging, issue arises when people cite religious or cultural values as a reason to
105 violate or not to protect the human rights of LGBT citizens. This is not unlike the
106 justification offered for violent practices towards women like honor killings, widow
107 burning, or female genital mutilation. Some people still defend those practices as part
108 of a cultural tradition. But violence toward women isn't cultural; it's criminal. Likewise
109 with slavery, what was once justified as sanctioned by God is now properly reviled as
110 an unconscionable violation of human rights. In each of these cases, we came to learn
111 that no practice or tradition trumps the human rights that belong to all of us. And this
112 holds true for inflicting violence on LGBT people, criminalizing their status or
113 behavior, expelling them from their families and communities, or tacitly or explicitly
114 accepting their killing. Of course, it bears noting that rarely are cultural and religious
115 traditions and teachings actually in conflict with the protection of human rights.
116 Indeed, our religion and our culture are sources of compassion and inspiration toward
117 our fellow human beings. It was not only those who've justified slavery who leaned
118 on religion, it was also those who sought to abolish it. And let us keep in mind that our
119 commitments to protect the freedom of religion and to defend the dignity of LGBT
120 people emanate from a common source. For many of us, religious belief and practice
121 is a vital source of meaning and identity, and fundamental to who we are as people.
122 And likewise, for most of us, the bonds of love and family that we forge are also vital
123 sources of meaning and identity. And caring for others is an expression of what it
124 means to be fully human. It is because the human experience is universal that human
125 rights are universal and cut across all religions and cultures. The fourth issue is what
126 history teaches us about how we make progress towards rights for all. Progress starts
127 with honest discussion. Now, there are some who say and believe that all gay people
128 are paedophiles, that homosexuality is a disease that can be caught or cured, or that
129 gays recruit others to become gay. Well, these notions are simply not true. They are
130 also unlikely to disappear if those who promote or accept them are dismissed out of
131 hand rather than invited to share their fears and concerns. No one has ever abandoned
132 a belief because he was forced to do so. Universal human rights include freedom of
133 expression and freedom of belief, even if our words or beliefs denigrate the humanity
134 of others. Yet, while we are each free to believe whatever we choose, we cannot do
135 whatever we choose, not in a world where we protect the human rights of all. Reaching
136 understanding of these issues takes more than speech. It does take a conversation. In
137 fact, it takes a constellation of conversations in places big and small. And it takes a
138 willingness to see stark differences in belief as a reason to begin the conversation, not
139 to avoid it.

140 But progress comes from changes in laws. In many places, including my own country,
141 legal protections have preceded, not followed, broader recognition of rights. Laws have
142 a teaching effect. Laws that discriminate validate other kinds of discrimination. Laws

143 that require equal protections reinforce the moral imperative of equality. And
144 practically speaking, it is often the case that laws must change before fears about
145 change dissipate. Many in my country thought that President Truman was making a
146 grave error when he ordered the racial desegregation of our military. They argued that
147 it would undermine unit cohesion. And it wasn't until he went ahead and did it that we
148 saw how it strengthened our social fabric in ways even the supporters of the policy
149 could not foresee. Likewise, some worried in my country that the repeal of "Don't Ask,
150 Don't Tell" would have a negative effect on our armed forces. Now, the Marine Corps
151 Commandant, who was one of the strongest voices against the repeal, says that his
152 concerns were unfounded and that the Marines have embraced the change. Finally,
153 progress comes from being willing to walk a mile in someone else's shoes. We need to
154 ask ourselves, "How would it feel if it were a crime to love the person I love? How
155 would it feel to be discriminated against for something about myself that I cannot
156 change?" This challenge applies to all of us as we reflect upon deeply held beliefs, as
157 we work to embrace tolerance and respect for the dignity of all persons, and as we
158 engage humbly with those with whom we disagree in the hope of creating greater
159 understanding.

160 A fifth and final question is how we do our part to bring the world to embrace human
161 rights for all people including LGBT people. Yes, LGBT people must help lead this
162 effort, as so many of you are. Their knowledge and experiences are invaluable and
163 their courage inspirational. We know the names of brave LGBT activists who have
164 literally given their lives for this cause, and there are many more whose names we will
165 never know. But often those who are denied rights are least empowered to bring about
166 the changes they seek. Acting alone, minorities can never achieve the majorities
167 necessary for political change. So when any part of humanity is side-lined, the rest of
168 us cannot sit on the side-lines. Every time a barrier to progress has fallen, it has taken
169 a cooperative effort from those on both sides of the barrier. In the fight for women's
170 rights, the support of men remains crucial. The fight for racial equality has relied on
171 contributions from people of all races. Combating Islam phobia or anti-Semitism is a
172 task for people of all faiths. And the same is true with this struggle for equality.
173 Conversely, when we see denials and abuses of human rights and fail to act, that sends
174 the message to those deniers and abusers that they won't suffer any consequences for
175 their actions, and so they carry on. But when we do act, we send a powerful moral
176 message. Right here in Geneva, the international community acted this year to
177 strengthen a global consensus around the human rights of LGBT people. At the Human
178 Rights Council in March, 85 countries from all regions supported a statement calling
179 for an end to criminalization and violence against people because of their sexual
180 orientation and gender identity. At the following session of the Council in June, South
181 Africa took the lead on a resolution about violence against LGBT people. The
182 delegation from South Africa spoke eloquently about their own experience and
183 struggle for human equality and its indivisibility. When the measure passed, it became
184 the first-ever UN resolution recognizing the human rights of gay people worldwide. In
185 the Organization of American States this year, the Inter-American Commission on
186 Human Rights created a unit on the rights of LGBT people, a step toward what we
187 hope will be the creation of a special rapporteur. Now, we must go further and work
188 here and in every region of the world to galvanize more support for the human rights
189 of the LGBT community. To the leaders of those countries where people are jailed,
190 beaten, or executed for being gay, I ask you to consider this: Leadership, by definition,
191 means being out in front of your people when it is called for. It means standing up for

192 the dignity of all your citizens and persuading your people to do the same. It also means
193 ensuring that all citizens are treated as equals under your laws, because let me be clear
194 – I am not saying that gay people can't or don't commit crimes. They can and they do,
195 just like straight people. And when they do, they should be held accountable, but it
196 should never be a crime to be gay. And to people of all nations, I say supporting human
197 rights is your responsibility too. The lives of gay people are shaped not only bylaws,
198 but by the treatment they receive every day from their families, from their neighbours.
199 Eleanor Roosevelt, who did so much to advance human rights worldwide, said that
200 these rights begin in the small places close to home – the streets where people live, the
201 schools they attend, the factories, farms, and offices where they work. These places
202 are your domain. The actions you take, the ideals that you advocate, can determine
203 whether human rights flourish where you are.

204 And finally, to LGBT men and women worldwide, let me say this: Wherever you live
205 and whatever the circumstances of your life, whether you are connected to a network
206 of support or feel isolated and vulnerable, please know that you are not alone. People
207 around the globe are working hard to support you and to bring an end to the injustices
208 and dangers you face. That is certainly true for my country. And you have an ally in
209 the United States of America and you have millions of friends among the American
210 people. The Obama Administration defends the human rights of LGBT people as part
211 of our comprehensive human rights policy and as a priority of our foreign policy. In
212 our embassies, our diplomats are raising concerns about specific cases and laws, and
213 working with a range of partners to strengthen human rights protections for all. In
214 Washington, we have created a task force at the State Department to support and
215 coordinate this work. And in the coming months, we will provide every embassy with
216 a toolkit to help improve their efforts. And we have created a program that offers
217 emergency support to defenders of human rights for LGBT people. This morning, back
218 in Washington, President Obama put into place the first U.S. Government strategy
219 dedicated to combating human rights abuses against LGBT persons abroad. Building
220 on efforts already underway at the State Department and across the government, the
221 President has directed all U.S. Government agencies engaged overseas to combat the
222 criminalization of LGBT status and conduct, to enhance efforts to protect vulnerable
223 LGBT refugees and asylum seekers, to ensure that our foreign assistance promotes the
224 protection of LGBT rights, to enlist international organizations in the fight against
225 discrimination, and to respond swiftly to abuses against LGBT persons. I am also
226 pleased to announce that we are launching a new Global Equality Fund that will
227 support the work of civil society organizations working on these issues around the
228 world. This fund will help them record facts so they can target their advocacy, learn
229 how to use the law as a tool, manage their budgets, train their staffs, and forge
230 partnerships with women's organizations and other human rights groups. We have
231 committed more than \$3 million to start this fund, and we have hope that others will
232 join us in supporting the women and men who advocate for human rights for the
233 LGBT community in hostile places, some of whom are here today with us, are brave
234 and dedicated, and deserve all the help we can give them. We know the road ahead
235 will not be easy. A great deal of work lies before us. But many of us have seen first-
236 hand how quickly change can come. In our lifetimes, attitudes toward gay people in
237 many places have been transformed. Many people, including myself, have experienced
238 a deepening of our own convictions on this topic over the years, as we have devoted
239 more thought to it, engaged in dialogues and debates, and established personal and
240 professional relationships with people who are gay. This evolution is evident in many

241 places. To highlight one example, the Delhi High Court decriminalized homosexuality
242 in India two years ago, writing, and I quote, “If there is one tenet that can be said to be
243 an underlying theme of the Indian constitution, it is inclusiveness.” There is little doubt
244 in my mind that support for LGBT human rights will continue to climb. Because for
245 many young people, this is simple: All people deserve to be treated with dignity and
246 have their human rights respected, no matter who they are or whom they love. There
247 is a phrase that people in the United States invoke when urging others to support human
248 rights: “Be on the right side of history.” The story of the United States is the story of a
249 nation that has repeatedly grappled with intolerance and inequality. We fought a brutal
250 civil war over slavery. People from coast to coast joined in campaigns to recognize the
251 rights of women, indigenous peoples, racial minorities, children, people with
252 disabilities, immigrants, workers, and on and on. And the march toward equality and
253 justice has continued. Those who advocate for expanding the circle of human rights
254 were and are on the right side of history, and history honors them. Those who tried to
255 constrict human rights were wrong, and history reflects that as well. I know that the
256 thoughts I’ve shared today involve questions on which opinions are still evolving. As
257 it has happened so many times before, opinion will converge once again with the truth,
258 the immutable truth, that all persons are created free and equal in dignity and rights.
259 We are called once more to make real the words of the Universal Declaration. Let us
260 answer that call. Let us be on the right side of history, for our people, our nations, and
261 future generations, whose lives will be shaped by the work we do today. I come before
262 you with great hope and confidence that no matter how long the road ahead, we will
263 travel it successfully together. Thank you very much.

Aung San Suu Kyi – A Tribute to Oxford

1 Today, many strands of my life have come together. The years that I spent as a student
2 at St Hugh’s; the years I spent in Park Town as a wife and mother; the years I spent
3 under house arrest - when my university, the University of Oxford, stood up and spoke
4 up for me.

5 During the most difficult years I was upheld by memories of Oxford. These were
6 among the most important inner resources that helped me to cope with all the
7 challenges I had to face.

8 The memories were in fact very simple ones. Some are days like these, when I went
9 on the Cherwell with friends in a punt, or sat reading on the lawn at St Hugh’s, or in
10 the library - not looking at a book, but out of the windows.

11 But these were very precious memories – because I had lived a happy life. And this
12 made me understand so much better the young people of Burma – who wanted to live
13 a happy life and who had never been given an opportunity to lead one.

14 When I see Oxford now, when I see the students of Oxford now, when I met some of
15 them at St Hugh’s yesterday, I saw myself again as a young student: carefree, happy,
16 nice. We were nice, the students now are nice. They have been given a chance to be
17 nice.

18 It's a very simple word, but it's an important one. When you look at their faces, you
19 don't see any hidden agenda there. They were so open, as we were open – because we
20 had been given a chance to be open. We were not afraid – there was no reason for us
21 to be afraid – and this opened us to the world.

22 I remember small things. I remember so often going in a bus, with my very dear friend
23 Ann Pasternak-Slater, sitting side by side, in a bus on the Banbury Road, our four
24 denim-clad knees next to each other; and Ann looked down, and said: 'It's not fair,
25 even knees are different.' And it was true. I'm not sure quite which way it was, but one
26 set of knees was pointed, and one set of knees was round. These were the sort of things
27 we noticed as students, and talked about, and built a whole philosophy on this little
28 fact that we had different sets of knees, our knees were shaped differently.

29 The world was shaped differently. But we were not afraid of it. The differences meant
30 that we were all the stronger. We learned how to cope with the different problems that
31 we would have to face.

32 I have to mention one of my fellow honorands at this time, because when I was under
33 house arrest I was also helped by the books of John le Carré. They were an escape - I
34 won't call it an escape, they were a journey into the wider world. Not the wider world
35 just of other countries, but of thoughts and ideas. And these were the journeys that
36 made me feel that I was not really cut off from the rest of humankind. I was never
37 alone, because there were many, many avenues to places far away from where I was.

38 And all this I was able to do to a great extent because of the years I spent at Oxford,
39 the friends I made there.

40 The most important thing for me about Oxford was not what I learnt there in terms of
41 set texts and set books we had to read, but in terms of a respect for the best in human
42 civilisation.

43 And the best in human civilisation comes from all parts of the world. It is not limited
44 to Oxford; it is not limited to Burma; it is not limited to any other country. But the fact
45 that in Oxford I had learned to respect all that is the best in human civilisation helped
46 me to cope with what was not quite the best.

47 Because what is not yet quite the best may still, one day, become the best; it may be
48 improved. It gave me a confidence in humankind. It gave me a confidence in the innate
49 wisdom of human beings – not given to all of us, but given to enough of us for the rest
50 of the world to share, and to make use of it for others.

51 I have often thought that the saddest thing about Burma over the last few decades has
52 been the lack of campus life for our university students. Campus life means a life in
53 which young people can create their own world – or make the world their own. They
54 have the freedom and the facilities to do so. Our young people in Burma have not had
55 this freedom for the last few decades. University life has been shattered because of a
56 perceived need to keep students in order. That's not possible: everybody knows that
57 students can't be kept in order! So we shouldn't spend our time on such a futile and
58 really undesirable mission. I would like to see university life restored to Burma in all

59 its glory. And I would be so grateful if my old university, the University of Oxford,
60 could help to bring this about once again.

61 I would like our young people to know what it is to feel that the world belongs to them
62 and they belong to the world. To be able to stand at the threshold of full adulthood in
63 full confidence that they will be able to do their best for the world and in the belief that
64 the world also wants to do the best for them.

65 Oxford taught me to value humankind, because when I was in Oxford I was the only
66 student from Burma. I think I was the only Burmese person resident in the university
67 for the first couple of years. And all my friends were non-Burmese – of course English
68 students, but students from all over the world, from Ghana, from India, from Thailand,
69 from Sri Lanka, from all over the world.

70 And I never felt that they were different from me. We were all the same: we were all
71 students of this university, which has some magic that makes us feel that nothing
72 separates us - neither religion, nor race, nor nationality, nor even different levels of
73 excellence in academic affairs.

74 Oxford is a place of tremendous broad-mindedness. Nobody discriminates against
75 anybody else because he or she may be different, or may not have achieved as much
76 as others. Every human being is expected to have a value and a dignity of her kind or
77 his kind.

78 And that's why throughout the years when I was struggling for human rights in Burma
79 I felt I was doing something of which my old university would have approved. And to
80 feel the approval behind me has helped me a great deal.

81 Burma is at the beginning of a road. It is not the sort of road that you find in England:
82 it is not smooth; it is not well-maintained; in fact, it is not yet there. It is a road that we
83 will have to carve out for ourselves. This is a road that we will have to build as we go
84 along.

85 Too many people are expecting too much from Burma at this moment. They think that
86 the road where we are standing is like one of those highways on which I travelled from
87 London to Oxford – and almost got carsick! – very straight and very smooth. Too
88 smooth and too straight perhaps for me, because I not used to such smoothness.

89 But our road is one which is, as I said, one we have to build for ourselves, inch by
90 difficult inch. And I hope that you will all be with us while we are doing this. I hope
91 that you will understand that this road is there in our hearts and minds, but not actually
92 there yet in real fact. And that we will need your help and the help of others all around
93 the world to make sure that it leads to where we want our country to go.

94 And where do I want my country to go? My first trip abroad in 24 years but not really
95 this one to Europe, but to Thailand, towards the end of May. And I stayed in a hotel
96 called the Shangri-La. And I think every Oxonian, or most every, knows that in Lost
97 Horizon Shangri-La was described as “something a little like Oxford”.

98 So where do we want to go to? Where I want to go to, where I want our people to go
99 to, is a place which will enable them to see for themselves how wide open the world
100 can be, and how to find our own place in the world - which is also open enough and
101 wide enough for everybody to be included.

102 I would like a bit of Oxonian Shangri-la in Burma.

103 This is what I would like to work towards: very practical, because it's based on hard
104 work, and knowledge, and modern research, and of course funding. We mustn't forget
105 funding, which is a very important part of building any kind of successful institution
106 these days. And I mention it because I would like all our friends, all our well-wishers,
107 to remember that investing in Burma should be done with a sense of responsibility,
108 and to remind those who are thinking of making use of the new opportunities that
109 Burma is offering to remember that we, the people of Burma, need to benefit from
110 these investments as much as investors themselves.

111 Please help us to make sure that all investments in Burma – business, development,
112 humanitarian, all these in a sense are investments – that these investments are
113 democracy-friendly and human rights-friendly. That these investments will help to
114 promote in our country the kind of values for which you stand – the kind of values that
115 you taught me.

116 Today has been a very moving day for me. Moving because I have found that the past
117 is always there, it never goes away, but you can select what is best from the past to
118 help you go forward to the future. In my college, my old college St Hugh's, I found
119 that I could recognise every bit of it: even though there were very many new buildings,
120 yet they had merged in with the old. It was such a harmonious picture of the old and
121 the new standing together as a promise for the future.

122 I was very proud to be back in my old college, and warmed by the reception given to
123 me and my team by the principal of the college and his family, and by the students.
124 The warmth of the students was wonderful.

125 I felt that I was back again in my young student days. I didn't feel any different to
126 them. And in a sense I am no different now to the young student who was at Oxford
127 so many years before. But also I am different, because I've had to face different
128 experiences.

129 But I bring all these experience back to me here at Oxford, and I find that Oxford is
130 big enough and broad enough to contain my new experiences as well.

131 The road ahead, as I said, is not going to be easy. But Oxford, I know, expects the best
132 of its own. And today, because they have recognised me as its very own, I am
133 strengthened to go forward to give of my very best in meeting the new challenges that
134 lie ahead.