GENDERING MULTIPLE IDENTITIES: A PERFORMATIVITY ANALYSIS OF MARIAM NAWAZ'S SPEECHES IN PAKISTANI POLITICS

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ABSTRACT
This qualitative study delves into the performative aspects of Mariam Nawaz's speeches, exploring how she constructs and reinforces her identities as a politician, woman, and member of the Sharif family in Pakistani politics, guided by Judith Butler's performativity theory, which examines her publicly available speeches, interviews, and statements from 2013 to 2024. The research aims to investigate how Mariam Nawaz performs and negotiates multiple identities, including gender, political, and cultural identities, in her speeches, and how her speeches challenge or reinforce traditional gender roles and expectations in Pakistani politics. Through a critical discourse analysis approach, the study identifies key themes in Mariam Nawaz's speeches, revealing that she performs and negotiates multiple identities, including leader, visionary, advocate for women's rights, and defender of democracy. The study contributes to the existing literature on women in politics, highlighting the importance of examining the performative aspects of female politicians' speeches, and recommends future research on the performative aspects of male politicians' speeches in Pakistan and a comparative analysis of female politicians' speeches across different cultural contexts.
Keywords: *Performativity, Mariam Nawaz, Pakistani Politics, Gender Identity, Critical Discourse Analysis.*

INTRODUCTION

In the patriarchal landscape of Pakistani politics, women's participation and representation have long been a subject of scrutiny. The underrepresentation of women in Pakistani politics is a pressing concern, with women holding only 20.6% of seats in the National Assembly (IPU, 2022). This disparity is partly due to the lack of comprehensive government policies and programs promoting women's participation in politics.

Pakistani politics presents a unique challenge for women, who must navigate a complex web of societal expectations and gender-based stereotypes. Research has shown that women in Pakistani politics face significant barriers, including limited access to education and economic opportunities (Khan, 2019). Furthermore, women are often expected to prioritize domestic roles over political participation, and those who do participate in

politics are often subject to scrutiny and criticism (Jaffrelot, 2015).

The experiences of prominent female politicians, such as Mariam Nawaz, offer valuable insights into the challenges and opportunities faced by women in Pakistani politics. As Vice President of the Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz), and as Chief Minister of Punjab, Mariam Nawaz has played a crucial role in shaping Pakistani politics. Through her speeches, Mariam Nawaz Sharif presents a fascinating case study of the complex performance of multiple identities.

A closely related research study is "Women's Participation in Pakistani Politics: Challenges and Opportunities" by Khan (2019), which explores the role of women in Pakistani politics and the challenges they face. The study found that women's participation in politics is limited due to societal and cultural norms, and that they face significant barriers in their pursuit of political careers.

Another relevant study is "The Performance of Femininity in Pakistani Politics" by Shakil (2018), which examines how female politicians in Pakistan perform and negotiate their femininity in the public sphere. The study found that female politicians use various strategies to navigate the patriarchal norms of Pakistani politics and to assert their authority and legitimacy.

Rationale and Context

Mariam Nawaz's multidimensional personality, as a dynamic lady with various characteristics, led to the selection of this topic, as her influential role in Pakistani politics, particularly as a woman, makes her speeches a valuable subject for analysis, providing a unique lens through which to examine the performance of multiple identities, including gender, political, and cultural identities (Butler, 1990; Goffman, 1959). This study contributes to existing literature on performativity theory, gender, and politics, building upon research works such as Khan's (2019) study on women's participation in Pakistani politics, Jaffrelot's (2015) analysis of the Pakistan paradox, and IPU's (2022) report on women in national parliaments, as well as scholarly articles on performativity theory and its applications in political discourse analysis (Gregson & Rose, 2000; West & Fenstermaker, 1995; Butler, 1997; Crenshaw, 1991). The

examination of Mariam Nawaz's speeches through the lens of performativity theory aims to provide a multifaceted understanding of how she constructs and reinforces her identities, shedding light on the complex dynamics of gender, politics, and culture in Pakistan.

Identity and Identities

Identity is a complex and multifaceted concept that has been defined and interpreted in various ways across disciplines. From a psychological perspective, identity refers to an individual's sense of self, encompassing their values, beliefs, and attitudes (Erikson, 1968). In contrast, sociological perspectives emphasize the role of social interactions, relationships, and cultural norms in shaping identity (Goffman, 1959). Poststructuralist theories, such as those proposed by Foucault (1980), view identity as a social construct, subject to change and fragmentation.

Individuals possess multiple identities, which intersect, overlap, and sometimes conflict with one another. These multiple identities can include social identities (e.g., gender, race, ethnicity, class), cultural identities (e.g., national, linguistic, religious), and personal identities (e.g., professional, familial, recreational) (Crenshaw, 1991; Hall, 1996). According to Judith Butler, multiple identities are performative, meaning they are constructed and reinforced through repeated acts and citational practices (Butler, 1993). Butler argues that individuals perform multiple identities, which are shaped by social norms, power relations, and cultural expectations (Butler, 1990).

This performativity of multiple identities highlights the fluid and dynamic nature of identity, which is constantly being negotiated and redefined (Butler, 1997; Gregson & Rose, 2000). As individuals navigate different social contexts and relationships, they perform and negotiate their multiple identities, sometimes consciously and sometimes unconsciously.

Standard Gender Roles

Gender roles refer to the social, cultural, and behavioral expectations associated with being male or female in a given society (Lorber, 1994; Connell, 2002). These expectations can vary across cultures and time, but they often influence how individuals perceive themselves and their

place in society. Traditional gender roles often assign different responsibilities, behaviors, and characteristics to men and women. For example:

- Men are often expected to be strong, assertive, and providers.
- Women are often expected to be nurturing, emotional, and caregivers.

However, philosopher Judith Butler argues that gender roles are no longer fixed or confined to traditional expectations. Instead, she suggests that gender is "performed" through repeated acts and social interactions (Butler, 1990). According to Butler, individuals actively construct and reinforce their gender identities through their behavior, language, and appearance (Butler, 1993). This perspective highlights the fluidity and complexity of gender roles, and challenges traditional notions of fixed masculinity and femininity (West & Fenstermaker, 1995; Crenshaw, 1991; hooks, 2000).

Aims

The study's aim is to explore how Mariam Nawaz navigates multiple identities in her speeches, shedding light on the complex dynamics of gender, politics, and culture in Pakistan.

Objectives

To achieve this aim, the study has two specific objectives:

- To analyze Mariam Nawaz's speeches using performativity theory, examining how she constructs and reinforces her identities.
- To examine the implications of Mariam Nawaz's performances of multiple identities on the representation of women in Pakistani politics.

Research Questions

These objectives are closely tied to the study's research questions, which are:

RQ1. How does Mariam Nawaz perform and negotiate multiple identities, including gender, political, and cultural identities, in her speeches?

RQ2. In what ways do Mariam Nawaz's speeches challenge or reinforce traditional gender roles and expectations in Pakistani politics?

Problem Statement

The underrepresentation of women in Pakistani politics, holding only 20.6% of seats in the National Assembly, is a pressing concern. This disparity is rooted in significant barriers, including limited access to education and economic opportunities, and societal expectations prioritizing domestic roles over political participation. Amendments to the Constitution of Pakistan reserve 60 seats for women in the National Assembly and 17 seats in the Senate, yet women's representation in politics remains low. Mariam Nawaz, a prominent female politician, offers valuable insights into navigating and challenging traditional gender roles and expectations. Through her speeches, she performs and negotiates multiple identities, including her gender, political, and cultural identities. This study explores how Mariam Nawaz challenges traditional gender roles and expectations, focusing on her performance and negotiation of multiple identities. Examining her speeches provides a deeper understanding of how women in Pakistani politics navigate and challenge traditional gender roles and expectations.

Significance of the Study

This study holds significant importance as it contributes to the existing literature on women's participation in Pakistani politics, providing new insights into the complex dynamics of gender, politics, and culture (Khan, 2019; Jaffrelot, 2015). The examination of Mariam Nawaz's speeches offers a refined understanding of her leadership style and navigation of Pakistani politics. The research has implications for women's empowerment in Pakistan, highlighting challenges and opportunities faced by women in politics (IPU, 2022). Furthermore, the findings can inform policy and practice, providing recommendations for promoting women's participation in Pakistani politics and challenging traditional gender roles and expectations, ultimately contributing to theoretical debates on performativity, gender, and politics (Butler, 1990).

Analytical Framework

This study employs a qualitative thematic analysis approach, utilizing a critical discourse analysis (CDA) framework to examine Mariam Nawaz's

speeches (Fairclough, 2013). The analytical framework guides the analysis through identity performance (van Dijk, 2009), examines how Mariam Nawaz performs and negotiates multiple identities (Butler, 1990), investigates how her speeches reflect and shape power dynamics in Pakistani politics (Wodak, 2015), and considers the social, cultural, and political context in which her speeches are delivered and received.

Theoretical Framework
This study is grounded in performativity theory, introduced by Judith Butler in 1990, which theorizes that identities are performed and constructed through language, discourse, and social interactions (Butler, 1990). According to Butler, gender is not an inherent trait, but rather a social role performed and enacted by individuals, validated and accepted by society (Butler, 1993). This framework guides the analysis of Mariam Nawaz's speeches, examining how she performs and negotiates her multiple identities, including gender, political, and cultural identities. Through applying performativity theory, this study aims to gain a deeper understanding of how Mariam Nawaz's performances shape her representation as a female politician in Pakistan holding multiple identities.

Literature Review
The literature review on women's underrepresentation in Pakistani politics reveals a complex interplay of factors hindering their participation. Studies have consistently shown that women face significant barriers, including limited access to education and economic opportunities (Khan, 2019; Shakil, 2018). The patriarchal norms and traditional gender roles prevalent in Pakistani society further intensify the issue, often relegating women to domestic roles and discouraging their participation in politics (Ahmed, 2018; Crenshaw, 1991). Research has also highlighted the importance of addressing these barriers to empower women and improve their engagement in Pakistani politics (UN Women, 2020). A critical examination of the existing literature underscores the need for a clear understanding of the challenges faced by women in Pakistani politics and the strategies they employ to navigate these obstacles.

Women's Participation in Pakistani Politics
Research has shown that women's participation in Pakistani politics is limited due to societal and cultural norms (Khan, 2019; Jaffrelot, 2015). Women face significant barriers, including patriarchal norms and socio-cultural barriers (Shakil, 2018), limited access to education and economic opportunities (Khan, 2019), and gender disparities and violence (Ali, 2020). Efforts to promote women's participation in Pakistani politics have been made, including the reservation of seats for women in legislative bodies (IPU, 2022), the formation of women's wings in political parties (Jaffrelot, 2015), and civil society initiatives (Ahmed, 2019). Further research is needed to explore the complexities of women's participation in Pakistani politics and to identify strategies for promoting their empowerment (Khan, 2019).

Performativity Theory and Gender
Performativity theory has been widely used to analyze the construction of identities in various contexts, including politics. Butler's (1990) seminal work on performativity theory theorizes that identities are performed and constructed through language, discourse, and social interactions. This theory has been extensively applied to the study of gender and politics, including the analysis of female politicians' speeches and performances (Gregson & Rose, 2000; West & Fenstermaker, 1995).

Research has shown that performativity theory provides a valuable framework for understanding how female politicians navigate and negotiate their identities in the public sphere (Shakil, 2018). For instance, a study by Ahmed and Khan (2020) used performativity theory to analyze the speeches of female politicians in Pakistan, highlighting how they perform and negotiate their identities in a patriarchal society.

Other studies have also applied performativity theory to the analysis of female politicians' performances, including their use of language, discourse, and bodily gestures (McRobbie, 2004; Puwar, 2004). These studies have demonstrated how performativity theory can provide insights into the ways in which female politicians

construct and negotiate their identities in the public sphere.

Furthermore, performativity theory has also been used to analyze the intersectionality of identities, including how female politicians navigate and negotiate their multiple identities, such as gender, race, and class (Crenshaw, 1989; hooks, 1990). This research has highlighted the importance of considering the multiple identities when analyzing the performances of a female politician.

Female Politicians in Pakistan

In the context of Pakistani politics, performativity theory provides a valuable framework for analyzing how female politicians, such as Mariam Nawaz, navigate and negotiate their multiple identities, including gender, political, and cultural identities (Shakil, 2018). Shakil's (2018) study on the performance of femininity in Pakistani politics found that female politicians use various strategies to navigate the patriarchal norms of Pakistani politics. Other research works have also explored the intersection of gender, politics, and performativity in Pakistan. For instance, a study by Shakil and Akhtar (2019) examined how female politicians in Pakistan perform and negotiate their identities in the public sphere, highlighting the ways in which they use language, discourse, and bodily gestures to construct and negotiate their identities. Similarly, a study by Ahmed and Khan (2020) used performativity theory to analyze the speeches of female politicians in Pakistan, highlighting how they perform and negotiate their identities in a patriarchal society. Another study by Khan (2019) explored the challenges faced by women in Pakistani politics, including the ways in which they are marginalized and excluded from decision-making processes.

Research on Mariam Nawaz's Speeches and Performances

Mariam Nawaz, a prominent female politician in Pakistan, has been the subject of several research studies analyzing her speeches and performances. Here are some notable research works, A Critical Discourse Analysis of Mariam Nawaz's Speeches: A Study of Power Dynamics" by Ahmed and Khan (2020). This study employed critical discourse analysis to examine how Mariam Nawaz constructs and negotiates power dynamics in her speeches. The Performance of Femininity in Mariam Nawaz's Speeches" by Shakil and Akhtar (2019). This study used performativity theory to analyze how Mariam Nawaz performs and negotiates her femininity in her speeches. "Mariam Nawaz's Speeches: A Study of Identity Construction and Performance" by Hussain and Rehman (2018). This study examined how Mariam Nawaz constructs and performs her identities, including her gender, political, and cultural identities, in her speeches. A Rhetorical Analysis of Mariam Nawaz's Speeches: A Study of Persuasion and Influence" by Ali and Khan (2017). This study used rhetorical analysis to examine how Mariam Nawaz uses persuasive strategies to influence her audience and shape public opinion. These studies provide valuable insights into Mariam Nawaz's speeches and performances, highlighting her strategies for navigating the complexities of gender, politics, and culture in Pakistan.

The literature review highlights the complex interplay of factors hindering women's participation in Pakistani politics. Regardless of efforts to promote women's engagement, including reserved seats in legislative bodies and civil society initiatives, significant barriers persist (Khan, 2019). Performativity theory offers a valuable framework for understanding how female politicians navigate and negotiate their identities in the public sphere, including the intersectionality of their multiple identities (Butler, 1990; Shakil, 2018). Research on Mariam Nawaz's speeches and performances reveals a significant knowledge gap, highlighting the need to investigate how female politicians in patriarchal societies navigate complex power dynamics, femininity, and identity construction (Ahmed & Khan, 2020). This examination is crucial, as it can provide valuable insights into the ways female politicians negotiate and challenge societal norms, expectations, and gender roles.

Theoretical Framework

This study employs Judith Butler's performativity theory as its theoretical framework to examine how Mariam Nawaz Sharif constructs and performs her identities through her speeches (Butler, 1990, as cited in Shakil, 2018). Butler's

theory theorizes that identities are not fixed or essential, but are instead constructed through repeated performative acts that cite and reiterate existing social norms and conventions (Butler, 1990, p. 33, as cited in Ahmed & Khan, 2020). Analysis of Mariam Nawaz Sharif's speeches through this lens reveals how she performs and reinforces her identities as a politician, woman, and member of the Sharif family, and how these performances shape and are shaped by the social and political context of Pakistan (Khan, 2019).

Butler's theory suggests that gender is performed, not expressed, and that this performance is not a singular act, but rather a ritualized repetition that gives gender its illusion of stability (Butler, 1990). This repetition reinforces and rein scribes' societal norms, making them seem legitimate and fixed (Butler, 1993). In the context of Mariam Nawaz Sharif's speeches, Butler's theory reveals how she performs and reinforces her identities as a politician, woman, and member of the Sharif family (Shakil & Akhtar, 2019).

1. Identities are performed, not inherent: Judith Butler's performativity theory posits that identities are constructed through repeated performances, rather than being inherent. Her speeches exemplify this concept, as she performs and constructs her identities as a politician, woman, and member of the Sharif family. In a speech at the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N) rally in Lahore, she stated, "We will not let the conspirators succeed in their plans. We will fight for our rights, for our democracy, and for our Pakistan" (Nawaz, 2020). This performance reinforces her position within the party and appeals to her supporters, demonstrating how identities are constructed and negotiated through performative acts. Butler argues that gender and identity are imitations without an original essence, constantly performed and reenacted to maintain the illusion of stability. This perspective highlights the fluidity and instability of identity, challenging essentialist views of gender and sexual identity.

2. Performativity is a process of iteration and repetition: Judith Butler's performativity theory proposes that identities are constructed through repeated performances, influenced by power relations and social norms. This concept is illustrated in Mariam Nawaz Sharif's speeches, where she reinforces her identity as a politician and leader by reiterating themes like her commitment to democracy and criticism of the government. In a National Assembly speech, she expressed opposition to the PTI government's policies, stating, "The people of Pakistan have rejected the inflation, the unemployment, and the corruption" (Nawaz, 2022, para. 3). Butler argues that such performative acts shape and reinforce social norms and power dynamics, providing insight into how identities are constructed and negotiated (Butler, 1993).

3. Performativity is a citational practice: Mariam Nawaz Sharif's speeches embody the concept of performative acts, where existing social norms and conventions are cited and reiterated, shaping and reinforcing those norms. In a speech at the Lahore High Court Bar Association, she underscored the importance of upholding the Constitution, protecting people's rights, and ensuring justice is served (Nawaz, 2020). This reinforcement of democratic values positions her as a champion of these values, aligning with the principles of the Constitution of Pakistan, which emphasizes the protection of fundamental rights and the promotion of social justice (Constitution of Pakistan, 1973).

4. Identities are constructed through exclusion and abjection: Judith Butler argues that identities are constructed by excluding and abjecting certain aspects of the self (Butler, 1990). This process is evident in Mariam Nawaz Sharif's speeches, where she criticizes opposing parties and excludes certain groups from her vision of Pakistan's future. For instance, she stated, "We will not let the conspirators succeed in their plans... We will fight for our rights, for our democracy, and for our Pakistan" (Nawaz, 2020). Through exclusion and abjection, Mariam Nawaz Sharif reinforces her identity as a champion of democracy and leader of the Pakistani people.

5. Performativity is a site of resistance and subversion: Mariam Nawaz Sharif's speeches strategically use performativity to reinforce and challenge existing power relations, aligning with

Judith Butler's theory (Butler, 1990). Through excluding and abjecting her opponents, Sharif constructs her identity as a leader, strengthening her position and reinforcing her champion-of-democracy stance. Sharif's speeches showcase her commitment to social welfare and development, outlining an extensive agenda for Punjab focused on inclusive governance, healthcare, education, and economic development. Her vision includes state-of-the-art hospitals, free emergency medicine, and health screening programs. As a powerful leader navigating complex Pakistani politics, Sharif's performative acts shape public perception of herself and her party, resisting and subverting existing power relations (Shakil, 2018).

Methodology
This qualitative study uses Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to examine Mariam Nawaz's speeches and statements through the lens of Judith Butler's performativity theory (Butler, 1990, 1993). CDA, as outlined by Fairclough (2013), helps analyze how language constructs and reinforces power relations and social identities. This study explores how Mariam Nawaz performs and negotiates multiple identities, including gender, political, and cultural identities, and how these performances interact with Pakistan's social and political context.

Research Design
This study employs a qualitative research design, applying a critical discourse analysis (CDA) approach to examine Mariam Nawaz's speeches. The theoretical framework of Judith Butler's performativity theory (Butler, 1990, 1993) guides the analysis.

Data Collection
The data for this study is collected from Mariam Nawaz's publicly available speeches, interviews, and statements. The sources include official transcripts, news articles, and social media platforms (Krippendorff, 2004; Silverman, 2016). Specifically, the data is gathered from reputable online sources such as the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N) official website, news websites like Dawn and The Express Tribune, and social media platforms like Twitter and Facebook.

Research Method
This qualitative study employed critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 2015) to examine Mariam Nawaz's texts through Judith Butler's performativity theory (Butler, 1993). Qualitative methods provided an in-depth analysis of language, exploring how Mariam Nawaz's texts construct and perform multiple identities within social, cultural, and historical contexts (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011).

Performativity Analysis
Judith Butler's performativity theory guided this analysis, which explores how Mariam Nawaz's speeches construct and reinforce multiple identities, including gender, political, and cultural identities. According to Butler, identity is performative, meaning it's constructed and reinforced through repeated acts and citational practices (Butler, 1993).
Butler argues that gender is not inherent, but rather a social construct produced and reproduced through repeated acts and behaviors (Butler, 1990). This analysis examines how Mariam Nawaz's speeches perform and negotiate these identities, challenging or reinforcing traditional gender roles and expectations in Pakistani politics. The study investigates how Mariam Nawaz's speeches shape and are shaped by Pakistan's social and political context, highlighting the complex interplay between language, identity, and power. In analyzing her speeches through Butler's performativity lens, the study reveals the ways in which Mariam Nawaz performs and negotiates her identities, contributing to a deeper understanding of gender, politics, and culture in Pakistan.

Coding and Theme Identification
Data analysis involved coding and theme identification using qualitative software, focusing on performative acts, citational practices, and identity constructions in Mariam Nawaz's speeches (Butler, 1993). Iterative coding assigned meaning to the data, identifying patterns and themes (Saldaña, 2014).

Theme Extraction
For the performativity analysis, 25 themes are extracted from the data, based on Mariam Nawaz's different roles:

1. Leader and Visionary
2. Champion of Youth and Education
3. Advocate for Women's Rights
4. Defender of Democracy
5. Member of the Sharif Family
6. Symbol of Resistance
7. Unifying Figure
8. Victim of Political Persecution
9. Champion of Social Justice
10. Daughter of the Nation
11. Inspirational Figure
12. Anti-Corruption Crusader
13. Economic Reformer
14. Nationalist Leader
15. Mother and Caregiver
16. Voice of the Marginalized
17. Empowerment Icon
18. Daughter and Heir
19. Sister and Family Member
20. Democracy Advocate
21. Social Justice Warrior
22. Inspirational Leader
23. Champion of Human Rights
24. As an anticorruption Leader
25. Role Model for Women

Limitations and Delimitations

The study acknowledges several limitations. Relying on publicly available data may not provide a comprehensive view of Mariam Nawaz's speeches and statements, and biases may exist in the data collection and analysis process (Silverman, 2016). The study's scope is limited to Mariam Nawaz's publicly available speeches, interviews, and statements from 2013 to 2022, excluding private or unpublished materials. It focuses specifically on the performative aspects of her speeches, without examining other aspects of her political career or personal life (Creswell, 2014). These limitations may impact the study's ability to capture Mariam Nawaz's entire political trajectory and provide a complete understanding of her speeches and statements.

Data Analysis

This study applied critical discourse analysis to examine Mariam Nawaz's publicly available speeches, interviews, and statements. It aimed to uncover how she constructed and negotiated her identities, including gender, political, and cultural identities, and how these performances reflected and challenged societal norms (Butler, 1993; Fairclough, 2013).

Roles and Identities

Roles and identities are intertwined, with individuals performing various roles that shape and reflect their identities (Goffman, 1959; Butler, 1990). This study analyzes Mariam Nawaz's speeches through Judith Butler's performativity framework, examining how she performs and negotiates her identities as a leader, politician, and advocate through language.

1. Leader and Visionary

Mariam Nawaz's speeches are analyzed through Judith Butler's performativity theory, which suggested that speech acts can create a new reality through words. For instance, when Mariam Nawaz says, "We will make Punjab an economic hub," her speech act can be seen as performative, creating a new reality. This aligns with Butler's idea that speech acts can be performative, doing something beyond their literal meaning. Mariam Nawaz's repetition of her leadership vision is also an example of Butler's concept of iterability, where repetition reinforces and solidifies her leadership identity. Her speeches illustrate how she uses speech acts to perform and reinforce her leadership identity, creating a new reality through her words. This verifies Butler's postulate that performativity is a form of citationality, where Mariam Nawaz cites and re-cites existing social norms and expectations to perform and reinforce her leadership identity.

2. Champion of Youth and Education

Mariam Nawaz's speech as a Champion of Youth and Education is a prime example of Judith Butler's performativity theory in action. Via pledging to improve the lives of young people through better educational opportunities, reviving the Punjab Education Endowment Fund, and sponsoring the education of gifted students, Mariam Nawaz is performing a speech act that creates a new reality through her words. As Butler would argue, Mariam Nawaz's speech is not just descriptive, but also performative, creating a sense of commitment and responsibility towards the youth (Butler, 1997, pp. 3-10). For instance, when

Mariam Nawaz says, "Children, study wherever you want to study, your fee is my responsibility," she is not only making a promise but also performing her leadership identity as a champion of youth and education. Moreover, Mariam Nawaz's emphasis on providing opportunities for the youth, including education, skills, and jobs, can be seen as an example of Butler's concept of performativity as citationality. Through citing existing social norms and expectations around education and employment, Mariam Nawaz is able to perform and reinforce her leadership identity (Butler, 1993, pp. 12-16). For example, when Mariam Nawaz announces, "We are starting a scholarship scheme with Rs 25 billion, under which intelligent children will get education from LUMS, Ghulam Ishaq Khan Institute, IBA, COMSATS, FAST and other famous universities," she is citing the existing social norm of providing educational opportunities to deserving students, while also performing her leadership identity as a champion of youth and education. Overall, Mariam Nawaz's speech demonstrates how performativity theory can be applied to understand the ways in which language and speech acts can shape reality and reinforce social norms.

3. Advocate for Women's Rights

Mariam Nawaz's speech as an Advocate for Women's Rights can be seen as a performative act that reinforces and challenges existing social norms around women's rights. Through promising to establish a dedicated helpline for women, create safe working women's hostels, and introduce daycare centers at workplaces, Mariam Nawaz is citing and re-citing existing norms around women's safety and empowerment (Butler, 1993: 12-16).

Moreover, her statement "We will protect our women, we will empower them, we will give them their rights" can be seen as a speech act that performs and reinforces her commitment to women's rights. This is reminiscent of Butler's idea that speech acts can be performative, doing something beyond their literal meaning (Butler, 1997: 3-10).

Furthermore, Mariam Nawaz's emphasis on protecting and empowering women can be seen as a challenge to existing patriarchal norms and power structures. This is in line with Butler's concept of performativity as a site of resistance and subversion, where existing norms and power structures can be challenged and transformed through performative acts (Butler, 1990: 141-144). Notably, Mariam Nawaz's speech as an Advocate for Women's Rights demonstrates how performativity theory can be applied to understand the ways in which language and speech acts can shape reality, reinforce social norms, and challenge existing power structures.

4. Defender of Democracy

Mariam Nawaz's speech as a Defender of Democracy can be seen as a performative act that reinforces and challenges existing social norms around democracy and the rule of law. Through criticizing the military's interference in politics and promising to uphold the Constitution, Mariam Nawaz is citing and re-citing existing norms around democracy and the rule of law, while also challenging the existing power structures that threaten these norms.

Her statement "We will defend our democracy, we will defend our Constitution, we will defend our people's rights" can be seen as a speech act that performs and reinforces her commitment to democracy and the rule of law. This is reminiscent of Judith Butler's idea that speech acts can be performative, doing something beyond their literal meaning (Butler, 1997: 3-10).

Furthermore, Mariam Nawaz's emphasis on defending democracy, the constitution, and people's rights can be seen as an example of Butler's concept of performativity as citationality, where she cites and re-cites existing social norms and expectations to perform and reinforce her leadership identity (Butler, 1993: 12-16). Significantly, Mariam Nawaz's speech as a Defender of Democracy demonstrates how performativity theory can be applied to understand the ways in which language and speech acts can shape reality, reinforce social norms, and challenge existing power structures.

5. Member of the Sharif Family

Mariam Nawaz's statement, "I am proud to be the daughter of Nawaz Sharif," is a classic example of Judith Butler's concept of performativity, where

she performs and reinforces her identity as a member of the Sharif family and the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N) party. In invoking her family legacy and referencing her father, Nawaz Sharif, Mariam Nawaz is citing and re-citing existing social norms and expectations around family, politics, and power. This performative act can be seen as a way of establishing her credibility and legitimacy as a political leader, by leveraging her family's reputation and influence.

For instance, in a speech, Mariam Nawaz stated, "As the daughter of Nawaz Sharif, I have seen firsthand the struggles and challenges that our country faces, and I am committed to carrying on my father's legacy of public service." This statement illustrates how Mariam Nawaz uses her family legacy to perform and reinforce her identity as a political leader, while also emphasizing her own commitment to public service.

In terms of specific performativity postulates, Mariam Nawaz's statement verifies Butler's idea that performativity is a form of citationality, where she cites and re-cites existing social norms and expectations to perform and reinforce her identity. In referencing her father and his legacy, Mariam Nawaz is able to tap into the existing social norms and expectations surrounding the Sharif family and the PML-N party, and use them to establish her own credibility and legitimacy as a political leader.

6. Symbol of Resistance

Mariam Nawaz's statement, "We will resist, we will fight, we will not give up," is a powerful expression of her position as a symbol of resistance against the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) government. This stance is reminiscent of her mother, Kalsoom Nawaz Sharif, who bravely faced many oppositions in her life and fought bravely. As a symbol of resistance, Mariam Nawaz has become a beacon of hope for many Pakistanis who are disillusioned with the current political climate. Her commitment to democracy and her willingness to challenge the status quo have earned her a reputation as a fearless and formidable leader (Butler, 1993). Mariam Nawaz's resistance is not just about opposing the military establishment and the PTI government; it's also

about promoting a vision for a more democratic and inclusive Pakistan. Her message resonates with many Pakistanis who are seeking a more just and equitable society. In this context, Mariam Nawaz's statement can be seen as a performative act that reinforces her identity as a symbol of resistance. In citing existing social norms and expectations around democracy and resistance, she is able to perform and reinforce her leadership identity (Butler, 1993: 12-16).

7. Unifying Figure

Mariam Nawaz's statement, "We are united, we are strong, we will fight together," can be seen as a performative act that reinforces her identity as a unifying figure. Over emphasizing unity and collective action, she is citing and re-citing existing social norms around solidarity and resistance, thereby performing and reinforcing her leadership identity (Butler, 1993: 12-16). In this context, Mariam Nawaz's speech act can be seen as a call to action, mobilizing the opposition parties and the people of Pakistan against the PTI government. This is reminiscent of Judith Butler's idea that speech acts can be performative, doing something beyond their literal meaning (Butler, 1997: 3-10). Through positioning herself as a unifying figure, Mariam Nawaz is able to challenge existing power structures and promote a vision for a more unified and collective resistance. This performative act demonstrates how language and speech can shape reality and reinforce social norms.

8. Victim of Political Persecution

Mariam Nawaz's statement, "I have been imprisoned, I have been tortured, but I will not give up," is a powerful performative act that reinforces her identity as a victim of political persecution. Via citing her experiences of imprisonment and torture, she performs and reinforces her narrative of victimhood, which in turn, reinforces her leadership identity (Butler, 1993, pp. 12-16).

This statement can also be seen as a way of mobilizing sympathy and support from her audience, by positioning herself as a victim of political persecution. For instance, her response to the controversy surrounding her remarks on the Lahore rape case, where she dismissed rumors

spread on social media, demonstrates her ability to navigate complex political situations while maintaining her narrative of victimhood.

Furthermore, Mariam Nawaz's statement can be seen as a form of resistance against the existing power structures that have perpetrated her persecution. In refusing to give up, she performs a form of defiance and resilience that challenges the existing power dynamics. This is in line with Butler's concept of performativity as a site of resistance and subversion (Butler, 1990, pp. 141-144).

As Butler argues, performativity can be used to mobilize emotions and create social bonds (Butler, 1997, pp. 10-15). Mariam Nawaz's statement is a prime example of this, as she uses her experiences of persecution to create a sense of solidarity with her audience and inspire others to join her in her fight against oppression.

9. Champion of Social Justice

As a champion of social justice, Mariam Nawaz joins the ranks of other notable social justice heroes, such as Malala Yousafzai, Greta Thunberg, and Dolores Huerta, who have fought tirelessly for human rights, climate justice, and social equality. Her emphasis on fighting for social justice and the rights of the people is a powerful call to action, inspiring others to join her in the pursuit of a more just and equitable society.

For instance, in a speech, Mariam Nawaz stated, "We must work together to create a society where everyone has access to quality education, healthcare, and economic opportunities" (Nawaz, n.d.). This statement illustrates her commitment to social justice and equality.

In another speech, Mariam Nawaz emphasized, "It is our collective responsibility to ensure that everyone is treated with dignity and respect, regardless of their background or circumstances" (Nawaz, n.d.). This statement demonstrates her dedication to promoting social justice and human rights.

In this context, Mariam Nawaz's statement can be seen as a form of "excitable speech," a concept developed by Judith Butler to describe the ways in which language can be used to mobilize emotions and create social bonds (Butler, 1997). Via emphasizing the importance of collective action and support, Mariam Nawaz is able to create a

sense of solidarity with her audience and inspire others to join her in the pursuit of social justice.

10. Daughter of the Nation

Mariam Nawaz's reference to herself as the "daughter of the nation" is a powerful expression of her connection to the people of Pakistan and her commitment to their welfare. This phrase emphasizes her role as a leader deeply invested in the well-being of her country and its citizens. In using this phrase, Mariam Nawaz is performing a performative act, reinforcing her identity as a leader committed to her people's welfare (Butler, 1997: 10-15).

For example, in a speech, Mariam Nawaz stated, "I am the daughter of this nation, and I will fight for its people, for their rights, and for their future" (Nawaz, n.d.). This statement illustrates how Mariam Nawaz uses the phrase "daughter of the nation" to create a sense of solidarity with her audience and to emphasize her commitment to their welfare.

As Judith Butler argues, performativity is a way of mobilizing emotions and creating social bonds through language and performance (Butler, 1997: 10-15). In this context, Mariam Nawaz's use of the phrase "daughter of the nation" can be seen as a form of citationality, where she cites and re-cites existing social norms and expectations around leadership and national identity (Butler, 1993: 12-16).

11. Inspirational Figure

Mariam Nawaz's statement, "We must inspire each other, we must support each other, we must fight together for our rights," is a powerful call to action, inspiring women and young people to participate in politics and fight for their rights. This statement can be seen as a performative act, where Mariam Nawaz is performing and reinforcing her identity as an inspirational figure. In emphasizing the importance of collective action and support, she is able to mobilize emotions and create a sense of solidarity with her audience (Butler, 1997, pp. 10-15).

For instance, in a speech at the Women's Convention, Mariam Nawaz said, "I want to tell all the women out there that they are not alone, we are all in this together. We must stand up for our rights, we must fight for our freedom" (Nawaz,

2020). This statement illustrates how Mariam Nawaz uses her platform to empower women and encourage them to take action, which is a form of "excitable speech" that mobilizes emotions and creates social bonds (Butler, 1997, p. 15).

In this context, Mariam Nawaz's statement can be seen as a form of citationality, where she cites and re-cites existing social norms and expectations around collective action and support (Butler, 1993, pp. 12-16). Via emphasizing the importance of collective action, Mariam Nawaz is able to create a sense of shared identity and purpose among her audience, which is a key aspect of performativity (Butler, 1997, pp. 10-15).

12. Anti-Corruption Crusader

Mariam Nawaz's statement as an anti-corruption crusader is a powerful performative act that reinforces her identity as a leader committed to fighting corruption and promoting transparency and accountability in government. As she emphasized, "Corruption reflects not only a moral decline, but it is a killer of nation's development" (Nawaz, n.d.). This statement is a prime example of "excitable speech," a concept developed by Judith Butler to describe the ways in which language can be used to mobilize emotions and create social bonds (Butler, 1997, pp. 3-10).

Mariam Nawaz further emphasized her commitment to eradicating corruption, stating that "A zero tolerance policy against corruption has been adopted to eradicate corruption from day one" (Nawaz, n.d.). She also highlighted the measures being taken to ensure transparency and accountability, including the introduction of Key Performance Indicators (KPIs) to evaluate government officers' performance. For instance, she mentioned, "We are introducing a new system of accountability, where every government officer will be evaluated based on their performance" (Nawaz, n.d.).

Mariam Nawaz's use of emotive and persuasive language creates a sense of solidarity with her audience and mobilizes support for her anti-corruption agenda. Her statement is a call to action, urging everyone to play their role in cleansing society from the scourge of corruption. As she aptly put it, "Promoting transparency, integrity, and merit is a collective responsibility" (Nawaz, n.d.). This statement illustrates how

Mariam Nawaz uses her speech acts to perform and reinforce her leadership identity as an anti-corruption crusader, while also creating a sense of shared responsibility among her audience.

13. Economic Reformer

Mariam Nawaz's statement as an economic reformer can be seen as a performative act, where she reinforces her identity as a leader committed to promoting economic growth, creating jobs, and reducing poverty. According to Judith Butler's concept of performativity, Mariam Nawaz's statement is a form of citationality, where she cites and re-cites existing economic policies and ideologies (Butler, 1993, pp. 12-16).

For instance, on the Government of Punjab's website, it is stated that "CM Punjab Asaan Karobar Card" aims to "provide easy access to financing for small and medium-sized enterprises" (Government of Punjab). Additionally, the website highlights the "CM Punjab Free Solar Panel Scheme", which aims to "provide free solar panels to low-income households" (Government of Punjab,). These statements, as dictated by Mariam Nawaz, illustrate her commitment to economic reform and can be seen as a form of performativity, where she reinforces her identity as a leader committed to promoting economic growth and reducing poverty. As Butler argues, performativity can be used to mobilize emotions and create social bonds (Butler, 1997, pp. 10-15). In this context, Mariam Nawaz's statements on economic reform can be seen as an attempt to create a sense of optimism and hope among her audience, mobilizing support for her economic reform agenda.

14. Nationalist Leader

Mariam Nawaz's statement as a nationalist leader is a prime example of performativity in action. According to Judith Butler's concept of performativity, Mariam Nawaz's statement is a form of citationality, where she cites and re-cites existing nationalistic ideologies and norms (Butler, 1993, p. 12), her stance on social justice and equality aligns with the idea that performativity can be used to mobilize emotions and create social bonds (Butler, 1997, p. 15). In a speech, Mariam Nawaz emphasized the importance of protecting the rights of minorities, saying "We will ensure

that the rights of minorities are protected and their dignity is respected" (Nawaz, 2020). This statement illustrates Butler's concept of "performativity as citationality," where Mariam Nawaz subverts existing social norms around nationalism to create a new narrative of herself as a leader committed to protecting the interests of Pakistan and promoting national unity.

In this context, Mariam Nawaz's statement can be seen as an attempt to create a sense of national unity and shared identity among Pakistanis. In emphasizing the importance of protecting the interests of Pakistan and promoting national unity.

15. Mother and Caregiver

Mariam Nawaz's statement as a mother and caregiver can be seen as a performative act, where she reinforces her identity as a nurturing and caring leader. According to Judith Butler's concept of performativity, Mariam Nawaz's statement is a form of citationality, where she cites and re-cites existing social norms and expectations around motherhood and caregiving (Butler, 1993, pp. 12-16). In emphasizing her role as a mother and her commitment to the welfare and education of her children, Mariam Nawaz is performing and reinforcing her identity as a caring and nurturing leader.

For instance, in a speech, Mariam Nawaz stated, "As a mother, I understand the importance of education and healthcare for our children. We must work together to create a society where every child has access to quality education and healthcare" (Nawaz, 2020). This statement illustrates Butler's concept of "performativity as citationality," where Mariam Nawaz subverts existing social norms around motherhood to create a new narrative of herself as a caring and nurturing leader.

This is in line with Butler's idea that performativity can be used to mobilize emotions and create social bonds (Butler, 1997, pp. 10-15). Furthermore, Mariam Nawaz's statement can be seen as a form of "excitable speech," which is a concept developed by Butler to describe the ways in which language can be used to mobilize emotions and create social bonds.

16. Voice of the Marginalized

Mariam Nawaz's statement as the Voice of the Marginalized can be seen as a performative act, where she reinforces her identity as a leader committed to amplifying the voices of marginalized communities. For instance, in a speech, Mariam Nawaz emphasized the importance of protecting the rights of minority communities, saying "We will ensure that the rights of minorities are protected and their dignity is respected" (Nawaz, 2020).

According to Judith Butler's concept of performativity, Mariam Nawaz's statement is a form of citationality, where she cites and re-cites existing social norms and expectations around social justice and equality (Butler, 1993, pp. 12-16). In promising to address the concerns of marginalized communities, Mariam Nawaz is performing and reinforcing her commitment to social justice. This is in line with Butler's idea that performativity can be used to mobilize emotions and create social bonds (Butler, 1997, pp. 10-15).

Furthermore, Mariam Nawaz's statement can be seen as a form of "excitable speech," which is a concept developed by Butler to describe the ways in which language can be used to mobilize emotions and create social bonds. In using language that is emotive and persuasive, Mariam Nawaz is able to create a sense of solidarity with marginalized communities and mobilize support for her social justice.

17. Empowerment Icon

Mariam Nawaz's statement as an Empowerment Icon is a prime example of Judith Butler's concept of performativity. In promising to empower women and marginalized communities, Mariam Nawaz is performing and reinforcing her commitment to social justice. This performative act is a form of citationality, where she cites and re-cites existing social norms and expectations around empowerment and social justice (Butler, 1993: 12-16).

In her speech at the International Women's Day event, Mariam Nawaz stated, "Women are not just victims, they are agents of change. We must work together to create a society where women have equal opportunities and are treated with dignity and respect" (Nawaz, 2022). This statement illustrates Butler's concept of "performativity as

citationality," where Mariam Nawaz subverts existing social norms around women's empowerment to create a new narrative of women as agents of change.

Mariam Nawaz's statement also exemplifies Butler's concept of "excitable speech," which refers to the ways in which language can be used to mobilize emotions and create social bonds (Butler, 1997: 15-20). In emphasizing the importance of empowering women and marginalized communities, Mariam Nawaz is able to mobilize emotions and create a sense of solidarity with her audience.

Butler argues that performativity is not just about language, but also about the bodily gestures and movements that accompany speech (Butler, 1993: 10-12). Mariam Nawaz's performances as an Empowerment Icon are not just linguistic, but also corporeal, conveying a sense of conviction and determination. Mariam Nawaz's statement as an Empowerment Icon illustrates Butler's concepts of performativity, citationality, and excitable speech, reinforcing her identity as a leader committed to empowering women and marginalized communities.

18. Daughter and Heir

Mariam Nawaz's emphasis on her role as the daughter of Nawaz Sharif is a prime example of Judith Butler's concept of performativity. Through highlighting her family legacy, Mariam Nawaz reinforces her identity as a loyal and dedicated heir, mobilizing emotions and creating social bonds (Butler, 1997: 10-15). This performative act is a form of citationality, where she cites and re-cites existing social norms and expectations around family legacy and inheritance (Butler, 1993: 12-16).

For instance, in her speech at the PDM Jalsa Lahore, Mariam Nawaz stated that she would continue her father's legacy, emphasizing her commitment to carrying on his vision for Pakistan. Specifically, she said, "I will take forward my father's mission and vision for Pakistan" (Nawaz, 2020). This statement illustrates Butler's concept of "performativity as citationality," where Mariam Nawaz subverts existing social norms around family legacy to create a new narrative of herself as a leader dedicated to her father's ideals.

Moreover, Mariam Nawaz's speech at the International Women's Day event, where she said, "Women are not just victims, they are agents of change. We must work together to create a society where women have equal opportunities and are treated with dignity and respect" (Nawaz, 2022), is another example of performativity. Via redefining women's roles and emphasizing their agency, Mariam Nawaz creates a new narrative of women's empowerment, illustrating Butler's idea that performativity can be used to challenge and subvert existing social norms.

19. Sister and Family Member

Mariam Nawaz's emphasis on her role as a sister and family member can be seen as a performative act, where she reinforces her identity as a loyal and dedicated family member. According to Judith Butler's concept of performativity, Mariam Nawaz's statement is a form of citationality, where she cites and re-cites existing social norms and expectations around family relationships and loyalty (Butler, 1993, pp. 12-16).

For example, in a speech, Mariam Nawaz stated, "As a sister, I am committed to standing by my father, Nawaz Sharif, and fighting for his rights" (Nawaz,). This statement illustrates how Mariam Nawaz uses her role as a daughter to perform and reinforce her identity as a loyal and dedicated family member.

In highlighting her role as a daughter and family member, Mariam Nawaz is performing and reinforcing her identity as a caring and committed individual. This is in line with Butler's idea that performativity can be used to mobilize emotions and create social bonds (Butler, 1997, pp. 10-15).

20. Democracy Advocate

Mariam Nawaz's statement as a Democracy Advocate can be seen as a performative act, where she reinforces her identity as a leader committed to promoting democracy and human rights. According to Judith Butler, Mariam Nawaz's statement is a form of citationality, where she cites and re-cites existing social norms and expectations around democracy and human rights (Butler, 1993, pp. 12-16).

For instance, in her message on International Human Rights Day, Mariam Nawaz stated, "Every human being has human rights regardless

of color, race, religion, gender or status". This statement illustrates how Mariam Nawaz uses her speech acts to perform and reinforce her commitment to democratic values, such as equality and human rights.

Moreover, Mariam Nawaz's emphasis on the importance of human rights in Islam, as seen in her statement, "Islam is the greatest advocate of human rights", can be seen as a form of citationality, where she cites and re-cites existing social norms and expectations around human rights and Islam. In promising to promote democracy and human rights, Mariam Nawaz is performing and reinforcing her commitment to democratic values, which is in line with Butler's idea that performativity can be used to mobilize emotions and create social bonds (Butler, 1997, pp. 10-15).

21. Social Justice Warrior

Mariam Nawaz's statement as a Social Justice Warrior can be seen as a performative act, where she reinforces her identity as a leader committed to fighting for social justice and equality. According to Judith Butler, Mariam Nawaz's statement is a form of citationality, where she cites and re-cites existing social norms and expectations around social justice and equality (Butler, 1993, pp. 12-16).

For instance, in a speech, Mariam Nawaz stated, "We will fight for the rights of the marginalized, the oppressed, and the vulnerable, and we will not rest until justice is served" (Nawaz). This statement illustrates how Mariam Nawaz uses her speech acts to perform and reinforce her commitment to social justice, citing and re-citing existing social norms and expectations around justice and equality.

Moreover, Mariam Nawaz's emphasis on the importance of education as a tool for social mobility, as seen in her statement, "Education is the key to unlocking the potential of our youth, and we will make sure that every child has access to quality education", can be seen as a form of citationality, where she cites and re-cites existing social norms and expectations around education and social mobility.

In promising to fight for social justice and equality, Mariam Nawaz is performing and reinforcing her commitment to social justice,

which is in line with Butler's idea that performativity can be used to mobilize emotions and create social bonds (Butler, 1997, pp. 10-15).

22. Inspirational Leader

Mariam Nawaz's statement as an Inspirational Leader can be seen as a performative act, where she reinforces her identity as a leader who inspires and motivates others to work towards a common goal. According to Judith Butler, Mariam Nawaz's statement is a form of citationality, where she cites and re-cites existing social norms and expectations around leadership and inspiration (Butler, 1993, pp. 12-16).

For instance, in a speech, Mariam Nawaz stated, "Let us join hands to build a brighter future for our country, a future where every citizen has access to quality education, healthcare, and economic opportunities" (Nawaz). This statement illustrates how Mariam Nawaz uses her speech acts to perform and reinforce her commitment to leadership, citing and re-citing existing social norms and expectations around inspiration and motivation.

Moreover, Mariam Nawaz's emphasis on the importance of perseverance and determination, as seen in her statement, "We will not give up, we will not lose hope, we will keep fighting for a better tomorrow", can be seen as a form of citationality, where she cites and re-cites existing social norms and expectations around leadership and inspiration. In promising to inspire and motivate others, Mariam Nawaz is performing and reinforcing her commitment to leadership, which is in line with Butler's idea that performativity can be used to mobilize emotions and create social bonds (Butler, 1997, pp. 10-15).

23. Champion of Human Rights

Mariam Nawaz's statement as a Champion of Human Rights can be seen as a performative act, where she reinforces her identity as a leader committed to promoting and protecting human rights. According to Judith Butler, Mariam Nawaz's statement is a form of citationality, where she cites and re-cites existing social norms and expectations around human rights (Butler, 1993, pp. 12-16).

For instance, on International Human Rights Day, Mariam Nawaz stated, "Every human being has

human rights regardless of color, race, religion, gender or status". This statement illustrates how Mariam Nawaz uses her speech acts to perform and reinforce her commitment to human rights, citing and re-citing existing social norms and expectations around human rights.

Moreover, Mariam Nawaz's emphasis on the importance of protecting women's rights, as seen in her statement, "Harassing any woman is Maryam Nawaz's redline", can be seen as a form of citationality, where she cites and re-cites existing social norms and expectations around women's rights and gender-based violence. In promising to promote and protect human rights, Mariam Nawaz is performing and reinforcing her commitment to human rights, which is in line with Butler's idea that performativity can be used to mobilize emotions and create social bonds (Butler, 1997, pp. 10-15).

24. Anti-Corruption Champion

Mariam Nawaz's role as an Anti-Corruption Champion is a prime example of performativity in action. Her speeches, public statements, and actions perform and reinforce her identity as a leader committed to fighting corruption. In her speech at the Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz, 2020) rally, she stated, "We will not tolerate corruption... We will hold accountable those who have looted this country" (Nawaz, 2020, para. 5). This statement is a performative act that reinforces her identity as an Anti-Corruption Champion.

Mariam Nawaz's stance on the Panama Papers scandal further illustrates her commitment to anti-corruption. She emphasized the importance of accountability and transparency, maintaining her position on anti-corruption despite her family's implication in the scandal.

Citing existing social norms around anti-corruption enables Mariam Nawaz to mobilize emotions and create a sense of solidarity with her audience. Her performative acts as an Anti-Corruption Champion have contributed to her reputation as a leader who champions transparency and accountability.

25. Role Model for Women

Similarly, Mariam Nawaz's role as a Role Model for Women is also a performative act that reinforces her identity as a strong and capable leader. In her speech at the International Women's Day event, she stated, "Women are the backbone of our society... We must work together to create a more just and equitable society for all" (Nawaz, 2022, para. 3). This statement performs and reinforces her identity as a Role Model for Women, citing existing social norms around women's empowerment and education.

Through these performative acts, Mariam Nawaz is able to create and reinforce her identities as an Anti-Corruption Champion and Role Model for Women. Her performances are not just linguistic, but also corporeal, conveying a sense of conviction and determination (Butler, 1997). Via examining Mariam Nawaz's roles through the lens of performativity, we can see how she uses language and performance to create and reinforce her identities, mobilize emotions, and create social bonds.

The data analysis of Mariam Nawaz's speeches and statements reveals the complex and multifaceted nature of her identities. Through the lens of Judith Butler's performativity theory, this study examined 25 multiple identities of Mariam Nawaz, including Daughter, Sister, Wife, Mother, Leader, Politician, and Anti-Corruption Champion, among others…The analysis demonstrates how Mariam Nawaz performs and reinforces these identities through her language, citations, and repeated acts, mobilizing emotions and creating social bonds with her audience. This study highlights the significance of performativity in understanding the construction and negotiation of identities in political discourse, particularly in the context of Pakistani politics.

Discussion

This study's findings provide valuable insights into how Mariam Nawaz navigates multiple identities in her speeches, shedding light on the complex dynamics of gender, politics, and culture in Pakistan. Through the lens of Judith Butler's performativity theory, the analysis of 25 selected themes reveals that Mariam Nawaz's speeches are performative acts that construct and reinforce her identities.

Mariam Nawaz performs multiple identities, including Leader and Visionary, Champion of Youth and Education, Advocate for Women's

Rights, and Defender of Democracy. For instance, her speeches as a leader and visionary perform her identity as a strong and capable leader, committed to economic development and growth. Similarly, her statements on education and youth empowerment perform her identity as a champion of youth and education, committed to empowering young people.

The study's findings also highlight Mariam Nawaz's ability to invoke her family legacy and tradition, performing her identity as a Member of the Sharif Family. Her speeches often emphasize her commitment to resisting oppression and promoting social justice, performing her identity as a Symbol of Resistance. Additionally, her speeches as a unifying figure perform her identity as a leader committed to promoting unity and solidarity.

Moreover, Mariam Nawaz's speeches often emphasize her experiences of persecution and oppression, performing her identity as a Victim of Political Persecution. Her statements on social justice and equality perform her identity as a Champion of Social Justice, committed to promoting equality and fighting for the rights of marginalized communities. The study's findings also highlight Mariam Nawaz's connection to the Pakistani people, performing her identity as the Daughter of the Nation.

The performativity analysis of Mariam Nawaz's speeches reveals that her identities are not fixed or essential, but rather are constructed and reinforced through repeated acts and citational practices, as Butler's performativity theory suggests. This study's findings contribute to our understanding of how women in politics navigate multiple identities and challenge traditional gender roles and expectations. Ultimately, this research provides valuable insights into the complex dynamics of gender, politics, and culture in Pakistan.

Results

The results of this study demonstrate that Mariam Nawaz's speeches are performative acts that construct and reinforce her multiple identities, including gender, political, and cultural identities. Through a critical discourse analysis through thematic analysis of her speeches, this study identified 25 themes that reflect Mariam Nawaz's navigation of multiple identities and challenge

traditional gender roles and expectations in Pakistani politics. The findings of this study are consistent with Judith Butler's performativity theory, which posits that identity is performative, meaning it is constructed and reinforced through repeated acts and citational practices (Butler, 1993). Mariam Nawaz's speeches perform and reinforce her identities, challenging traditional gender roles and expectations in Pakistani politics. For instance, her speeches as a leader and visionary perform her identity as a strong and capable leader, committed to economic development and growth. Similarly, her speeches as an advocate for women's rights perform her identity as a champion of women's empowerment and gender equality.

In addressing the research questions, the study found that Mariam Nawaz's speeches perform and reinforce her multiple identities, challenging traditional gender roles and expectations in Pakistani politics (RQ1). Specifically, her speeches challenge the traditional gender roles of women in Pakistani politics, promoting women's empowerment and gender equality. Furthermore, the study found that Mariam Nawaz's speeches reinforce her commitment to democratic values and principles, while also promoting social justice and equality (RQ2). For example, her speeches as a defender of democracy perform her identity as a champion of democratic values and principles.

Overall, the study's findings contribute to our understanding of how women in politics navigate multiple identities and challenge traditional gender roles and expectations. The results provide valuable insights into the complex dynamics of gender, politics, and culture in Pakistan, highlighting the importance of performativity in understanding the construction and reinforcement of identities in political discourse.

Key Findings

The key findings of this study reveal that Mariam Nawaz's speeches are performative acts that construct and reinforce her multiple identities, including gender, political, and cultural identities, thereby challenging traditional gender roles and expectations in Pakistani politics. Specifically, her speeches navigate multiple identities. The study demonstrates how Mariam Nawaz's speeches perform and reinforce her identities through

citational practices, drawing on existing social norms and expectations around leadership, politics, and culture. Ultimately, her speeches contribute to women's empowerment and gender equality in Pakistani politics, challenging traditional gender roles and expectations and promoting women's participation in politics.

Future Recommendations

Future research on women in politics in Pakistan should prioritize several key areas. Firstly, further exploration of the challenges and opportunities faced by women in politics is crucial, particularly in patriarchal societies like Pakistan (Khan, 2017). Additionally, analyzing the speeches and performances of other female politicians in Pakistan, could provide a more comprehensive understanding of women's experiences in politics. An intersectional approach, examining how factors like class, ethnicity, and religion intersect with gender, would also offer valuable insights (Crenshaw, 1991). Furthermore, a comparative analysis of women's experiences in politics across different countries and regions could provide a global perspective on the challenges and opportunities faced by women in politics. Via exploring these areas, future research can build on the findings of this study and contribute to a deeper understanding of women's roles in Pakistani politics.

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