Men to learn from Women's Manliness in Response to COVID-19: A Feminist post-structuralist Discourse Analysis

Abstract:	This study is a multiperspectival analysis using Critical Discourse Analysis in combination with feminist poststructuralist discourse analysis and framing theory to trace the construction of gender identities in an article titled "Leadership Matters: The PM should take his cue from women leaders" (Khan, 2020) published in the daily Dawn on 18.4.2020. in the COVID-19 context. The theoretical framework was drawn from Fairclough's latest revised model (2017) for critique in combination with feministic poststructuralist discourse analysis and the Frame Problem Tool of Gee (2014). The results revealed that the article writer juxtaposes male and female heads of states through four frames namely: strength vs. weakness; decisiveness vs. indecisiveness; action vs. procrastination and narcissism vs. altruism/magnanimity. Ironically for the conventional audience, but keeping with the poststructuralists' stand of identities being fluid, the author ascribes three of the stereotypical manly qualities to the female statesmen and one to male leaders in view of their respective responses to the crisis. This study proposes that this discourse was initiated due to some extraordinary responses of the male and female leaders with a purpose to inform men, especially the Pakistan Prime Minister, of the right course of action. The analysis also presents recommendations for action.

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Men to learn from Women's Manliness in Response to COVID-19: A Feminist Post-structuralist Discourse Analysis

Abstract

The current study is a multiperspectival (Baxter, 2003; Baxter, 2008) analysis using Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) in combination with feminist poststructuralist discourse analysis (CDA) and framing theory to find out how gender identities are constructed through framing in an article titled "Leadership Matters: The PM should take his cue from women leaders" (Khan, 2020) published in the daily Dawn on 18.4.2020. in the context of COVID-19 Pandemic and some male and female political leaders' response to it. The theoretical framework was drawn from Fairclough's latest revised model (2017) for critique in combination with feministic poststructuralist discourse analysis (Baxter,2003) for tracing multiple discourses and the Frame Problem Tool of Gee (2014) for investigating the working of frames. The results of the study revealed that the article writer juxtaposes male and female heads of states through four frames namely: strength vs. weakness; decisiveness vs. indecisiveness; action vs. procrastination and narcissism vs. altruism/magnanimity. Ironically for the conventional audience, but keeping with the poststructuralists' stand of identities being fluid and shifting, the author ascribes three of the stereotypical manly qualities- strength, decisiveness and action- to the female statesmen and one i.e., narcissism, that is proving counterproductive in the pandemic context, to male leaders in view of their respective responses to the crisis. This study proposes that this discourse was initiated due to some extraordinary responses of the male as well as female leaders under discussion with a purpose to inform men, especially the Pakistan Prime Minister Imran Khan, of the right course of action following the footsteps of their female counterparts who are acting right in the situation. In the light of the analysis, this study also presents some recommendations for future action to change the existing state of affairs.

Key Words: Critical Discourse Analysis, Feminist Post structuralist Discourse Analysis, Framing, Gender identities, COVID-19, Identity construction

1.Introduction

The world is faced with a pandemic named COVID-19 since December 2019 when its first known case was discovered in Wuhan, China.COVID-19 stands for coronavirus disease 2019.It is caused by severe acute respiratory syndrome coronavirus 2 (SARS-CoV-2). The World Health Organization declared the disease to be a Public Health Emergency of International Concern on 30 January 2020(World Health Organization), and a pandemic on 11 March 2020 (WHO Director-General's opening remarks at the media briefing on COVID-19 - 11 March 2020). A pandemic is a large-scale epidemic that spreads throughout the globe (Taylor, 2019). An influenza like pandemic was anticipated by virologists (Taylor, 2019), with potential devastating consequences in the absence of vaccination. A cure or vaccination has yet to be discovered. By 19 April 2020, more than 2.35 million cases of COVID-19 have been reported in 185 countries, causing more than 162,000 fatalities (Johns Hopkins CSSE, 2020). Though more than 600,000 infected people have recovered, there may be a possibility of recurring of the disease.

As of 19.4.2020, the number of confirmed cases in Pakistan are 7993, with 159 casualties and 1868 recoveries according to the Government of Pakistan Official Portal (2020). The first patient of COVID-19 in Pakistan was detected in March 2020 when it had already affected thousands of people in more than 120 countries. Such a situation called for a very quick response, strategies and intervention by any government to minimize the possible harm caused in terms of the number of casualties and affected patients.

In this backdrop, the role of the leadership is very important which calls for timely and informed decision making. There are many sources of inspiration for such action e.g., guidance from health care professionals, observation, learning from history and other leaders' success stories, literature including books, history of pandemics, media and journalism, and reviewing one's routine policies and strategies, among others.

The present study analyses an article published in the daily Dawn in this milieu. Dawn, according to Qazi & Shah (2018), is a representative of Pakistan's liberal readership. The article chosen for the present study was selected for two reasons: it is insightful and can inform the leadership of the right course of action through juxtaposition; secondly, it is discourse produced to construct nonconventional identities for men and women by challenging the stereotypical perception about both in the Pakistani society specifically and around the world generally. In this way, it supports that identities, though social and political constructions are multiple and fluid, not fixed (Cooper and Brubaker, 2000).

This study analyses this article in the backdrop of the society and its discursive practices to explore and interpret the frames it employs to position men and women and to impact perceptions and manufacture the opinions of readers.

2. Theoretical Underpinnings

In view of the multiperspective approach of this study, this section will provide some theoretical background of CDA, FPDA and Framing theory under separate heads and then a rationale for the choice of this approach.

2.1. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

Critical Discourse Analysis, as propounded by Fairclough and practised by his school of thought, draws upon Althusser's theory of ideology, Bakhtin's genre theory, the philosophies of Gramsci, Foucault and the Frankfurt School and Hallidayan systemic functional linguistics (Wodak 2000, 144). Foucault (1998) considers language to be a powerful tool for constructing identity. Critical discourse analysis (CDA) exposes the manipulative strategies employed in discourse for the construction of identity, ideology, ethnicity, gender and cultural differences, to name a few. It considers language as a social practice. Inspired by Critical Linguistics(Halliday,1978), CDA assumes a macroanalytical (Baxter, 2011) view of the world as it exposes overt or covert (Fairclough, 1995, 747)inequalities in socio culturally and historically constituted (Fairclough and Wodak 1997, pp. 271–280) and ideologically loaded

discourse (Fairclough, 1989) affecting and affected by social and ideological practice(Fairclough 1998). Discourses thus help produce and reproduce unequal power relations between different ages , genders, ethnicities, social classes, and professional groups (Van Dijk, 1993, pp. 249–250). Describing CDA as "analysis with an attitude" of opposition, Van Dijk (2001, 96) points to its committed, emancipatory and political agenda (Habermas, 1984; Wodak,1999) mediating between two binary opposite position bearers. CDA is concerned with targeting and deconstructing masculinist discourses on behalf of 'oppressed' social groups such as women (Lazar, 2005).

Working from a top-down perspective (Baxter, 2003; van Dijk,1993) and starting from the 'prevailing social problems, CDA picks the standpoint of 'those who suffer most, and critically analyses the powerful, the responsible, and those having the means and the opportunity to solve such problems' (van Dijk, 1993). CDA draws upon a 'solid linguistic basis' (van Dijk, 2001: 97) and it places such microanalysis within a 'critical perspective', and within the contextual frame of the 'production' and 'consumption' of discourses. This indicates a dialectical relationship between a particular reading of a text and its context, social structure or the institution that frames this reading (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997). Thus, an analysis finds traces of both interdiscursivity and intertextuality in texts. CDA is concerned about unravelling how binary power relations establish subject positions, identities and interactions in discourses, and thus generate social inequalities.

As Wetherell (2001: 395) has it, the top-down approach of CDA is unable to 'explain how their perspective might apply to what is happening right now, on the ground, in this very conversation', but their research results in higher level demonstrating of social and linguistic processes (Wodak, 2001; van Dijk, 2001), in preference to data-centered studies. This fact justifies complementing our analysis with an FPDA perspective.

2.2. Feminist Poststructuralist Discourse Analysis (FPDA)

The recent approach to language and identity is provided by poststructuralism.

Poststructuralist standpoints challenge the conformist "dichotomies in applied linguistics

between subject and object, discourse and materiality, structure and agency, conformity and

resistance, power and politics, and micro-and macro-analysis", proposing that these are

interdependent but mutually contesting (Baxter, 2016). Originating from Post-structuralist

Discourse Analysis (Baxter, 2007) and theoretically connected with feminist CDA by Lazar

(Baxter 2008), Feminist Post-structuralist Discourse Analysis (FPDA) also originated from

Discourse Analysis approaches but it entirely draws from post-structuralist theory (e.g.

Bakhtin, 1981; Foucault, 1972) instead of Marxist social theory as CDA does (Fairclough and

Wodak, 1997). Its pursuit is epistemological rather than ideological (Baxter, 2008). Inspired

by Bakhtin's (1981) formalism; Foucault's (1980) and Derrida's (1987) poststructuralism in

relation to discourses, knowledge and power; and Weedon (1997) and Walkerdine's (1998)

feminist work, Baxter (2003, 2008) defines FPDA as an approach to analyzing

undersexualized discourses in spoken text that draws upon the poststructuralist principles of

plurality, ambiguity, recognition, connection, textual playfulness, functionality, diversity, and

transformation .It deems gender distinction to be a dominant discourse among competing

discourses e.g., religion, race, ethnicity, regional background, age, class, etc. (Baxter, 2008:

245; Walkerdine, 2012). FPDA evolved as a result of Baxter's (2003) ethnographic study of

school children's talk in a British classroom where she discovered that the interplay of four

ethnographically identified, dominant 'discourses' viz., gender differentiation; fair play; and a

model of collaborative talk, and peer and staff approval; impacted teacher's evaluation of

students . These four discourses 'positioned' individual students in competing ways,

sometimes as relatively powerful, and sometimes as relatively powerless. According to Baxter

(2008), the FPDA approach to micro-analysis (Baxter, 2003) works on two levels: denotative

and connotative (Barthes, 1977). The first level aims to non-evaluatively explain the verbal

and non-verbal behavior of a group. The second level aims to interpret how speakers are

constantly competing for positions of power through undersexualized competing discourses.

Inspired by performativity theory (Butler, 1990), FPDA shares with CDA a number of features viz., the concept of discourse as social practice; the language-power relation; the value of researcher's self-reflexivity; intertextuality; and deconstruction (Baxter 2007, 2011). The differences lie in FPDA not having an emancipatory agenda(Elliott, 1996: 19; Baxter 2008,2011, Fairclough, 2013, p. 5), but a 'transformative quest' thus avoiding having a ' will to truth' and hence 'a will to power', and being a 'grand narrative' (Foucault, 1972). It rather supports bottom-up, small-scale and localized social transformations (Baxter, 2003, 2008) necessary for the greater pursuit of challenging dominant discourses. FPDA also enables one to analyze the multivocal dimensions of written discourse, though it is yet an under researched area in the field (e.g., Warhol, 2007; Kamada, 2009b) and lesser so on written discourse. This study hence is a step toward filling this gap. Secondly, FPDA challenges the binary thinking, structuring views in oppositional pairs, positioning one term over the other like CDA does (Baxter, 2007). FPDA contends that that gender identities are multiply located and complex, consistently shifting between subject positions of powerlessness and powerfulness, and that a great majority of women is not helpless victim of patriarchal oppression. Thirdly, FPDA draws upon an interplay between both micro and macro level of analysis. Hence, FPDA simultaneously complements and undermines other methods of analyses including CDA. Kamada (2009a) opines that FPDA has, thus, proved to have an application wider than just gender studies and can fulfil the theoretical and methodological needs of a variety of social sciences in the field of research.

2.3. Framing

Most of the discourse, especially media discourse, is framed. Goffman (1974) was among the scholars who developed the concept of framing. He calls frames the ''schemata of interpretation.'' Framing and positioning both theories incorporate the general notion of

intertextuality (Bakhtin1986), i.e., all utterances and texts are related to other utterances and

texts (Gordon, 2015). Entman (1993) defines framing as the act of selecting some aspects of the reality and making them more prominent in a text, and thus promoting a particular definition of the problem, moral evaluation, causal interpretation, along with recommendation for the things or phenomena described. In other words, frames highlight some aspects of reality at the exclusion of others (Druckman, 2001, p. 230). Many scholars (McLeod & Detenber, 1999; Valkenburg, Semetko, & de Vreese, 1999) posit that it is impossible to manipulate a frame without altering some of the facts.

Media personnel frame the received information. Leeper & Slothuus (2019) propound that frames entail 'information' and/or 'emphasis' to impact opinion on a given issue (Chong & Druckman, 2007; de Vreese ,2005; Scheufele, 1999; Scheufele, 2000) i.e., frames either inform or emphasize or do both. As Gordon (2015) posits, framing as a theoretical framework investigates how people construct their social worlds, negotiate and generate meanings, identities and relationships through linguistic and paralinguistic means which Gumperz (1982) termed "contextualization cues" that help recipients to make sense of the utterances.

For Bateson (1972), frames are psychological, contributing to sense-making, and for Goffman (1974: 10), frames are "definitions of a situation" established by interlocutors. Discourse analysts developed a linguistic understanding of framing. Fairclough (2015, p. 169) explains frame as a "representation of whatever can figure as a topic, 'referent', or 'subject matter' within an activity". Lakoff's (2004) definition explains frames as "mental structures that shape the way we see the world".

Incorporating intertextuality, framing, like positioning theory, holds that selves and social situations are flexible, and hence views interaction as constructed moment by moment (Gordon, 2015). This is similar to FPDA's stance on identities and roles that are fluid and dynamic. Reese (2007) contends that frames are not merely story topics. There has been a lot

of research in media studies on framing. However, linguists have started utilizing this framework recently.

Entman (1993) opines that frames can be traced at numerous locations viz., the text, the communicator, the recipient, and the culture. These components are vital to a framing process that consists of different stages viz., "frame-building, frame-setting and individual and societal level consequences of framing" (Scheufele, 2000; de Vreese, 2005). A constant interface between journalists and elites (Gans, 1979; Tuchman, 1978) and social movements (Snow & Benford, 1992) gives rise to frame-building. Consequently, frames are manifested in the text. Cappella and Jamieson (1996) opine that frames 'define problems', 'make moral judgments', 'diagnose causes', and 'suggest remedies' (Entman, 1993).

Gee (2014) recommends looking beyond the immediate and "obvious" contextual frame, broadening the context till the story/analysis seems nearly complete. The Frame Problem proposes that after one is done with an analysis, one should look at the context again and include all aspects of the context that can be relevant in the meaning making of the data. If observing more context does not alter our meaning of the language, we can be content, that our analysis is in the right direction, even though it might always be falsified later. If, however, it alters what we think, we need to push the analysis further. Gee (2014) recommends pushing one's knowledge of the context to the farthest range so as to include all aspects of the context that are relevant to the understanding of text meaning. This enables the analyst and readers to see the data as "less than the whole story, not completely true, as ignoring or effacing important issues". This broadening of the contextual frame is a way of conducting a politically committed discourse analysis and engaging in a ''resistant'' reading and/or listening, resisting the contextual limits to meaning imposed onto listeners or readers through text construction by the speaker or writer in a given context.

3. Methodology

The present study is a multiperspectival analysis of a newspaper article titled "Leadership Matters: The PM should take his cue from women leaders" published in Dawn on 18.4.2020. The study integrates the framework of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) for critique of discourse (Fairclough, 2015, p.9); FPDA for tracing multiple voices and discourses at play in the data and framing theory and frame problem tool by Gee(2014) to provide a broader understanding of the meaning of the data under analysis through a discussion of frames these articles build for construction of gender identities.

3.1. Data

The data chosen for this study is the article "Leadership Matters: The PM should take his cue from women leaders" published during the COVID-19 outbreak on 19th April, 2020 in an elite newspaper Dawn. The selection of article was done on the basis of its relevance, currency and significance for informing public and policy in the present context of a pandemic that is impacting the whole world badly.

3.2. Aims and objectives of the research

The purpose of the current study is to investigate the role of framing for the construction of male and female gender identities in the article chosen for analysis. It also explores how these identities are portrayed as shifting and fluid and juxtaposed through the article. The author ascribes the otherwise manly qualities to females and the feminine qualities to male leaders that are discussed in her article except for one quality that is a stereotype for men i.e., narcissism.

Keeping this main aim in mind, the smaller objectives of the study can be stated as follows:

- To analyze and critique the projection of gender identity through a feminist post structuralist perspective applying Fairclough's Three-Dimensional Model.

- To investigate the role of frames employed for gender construction in the article under

study.

3.3 Research Questions

1. What are the different frames employed by the article writer to juxtapose men and women?

2. How is framing utilized for gender representation in the article under study?

3. How does the selected article's discourse construct male and female leaders' identities?

3.4. Theoretical Framework

As Bhatia (2004,155) has it, how the text influences the recipients of discourse is a growing concern of text analysis. In a way, this paper studies a discourse that is likely to impact upcoming discourses and actions too, and hence the way it is written is worthy of analysis.

The current study is a qualitative critical discourse analysis of the article chosen. The theoretical framework employed is Fairclough's 4th and recent version of CDA framework as dialectal reasoning (2017) (First version being the Three-dimensional model constituting Text, Discursive practices and Social practices) from a poststructuralist feminist perspective (Baxter, 2008). For tracing and analyzing frames used to construct identities, the Frame Problem Tool given by Gee (2014) is employed along with framing theory as a theoretical foundation. Focusing on the relation between "critique, explanation and action", CDA as dialectal reasoning is argumentation with three premises: Circumstantial which presents the existing state of affairs; Goal specifying an alternate state of affairs on the basis of Value premise; and a means-Goal premise claiming that the advocated line of action in the conclusion is a means to achieving the goal(Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012). Fairclough (2017) mentions four steps to carry out CDA as dialectal reasoning:

1. Normative critique of discourse.

2. Explanation of normatively criticized discourse in terms of features of the existing state of affairs (existing social reality).

3.Explanatory critique of the existing state of affairs.

4.Advocating action to change the existing state of affairs "for the better."
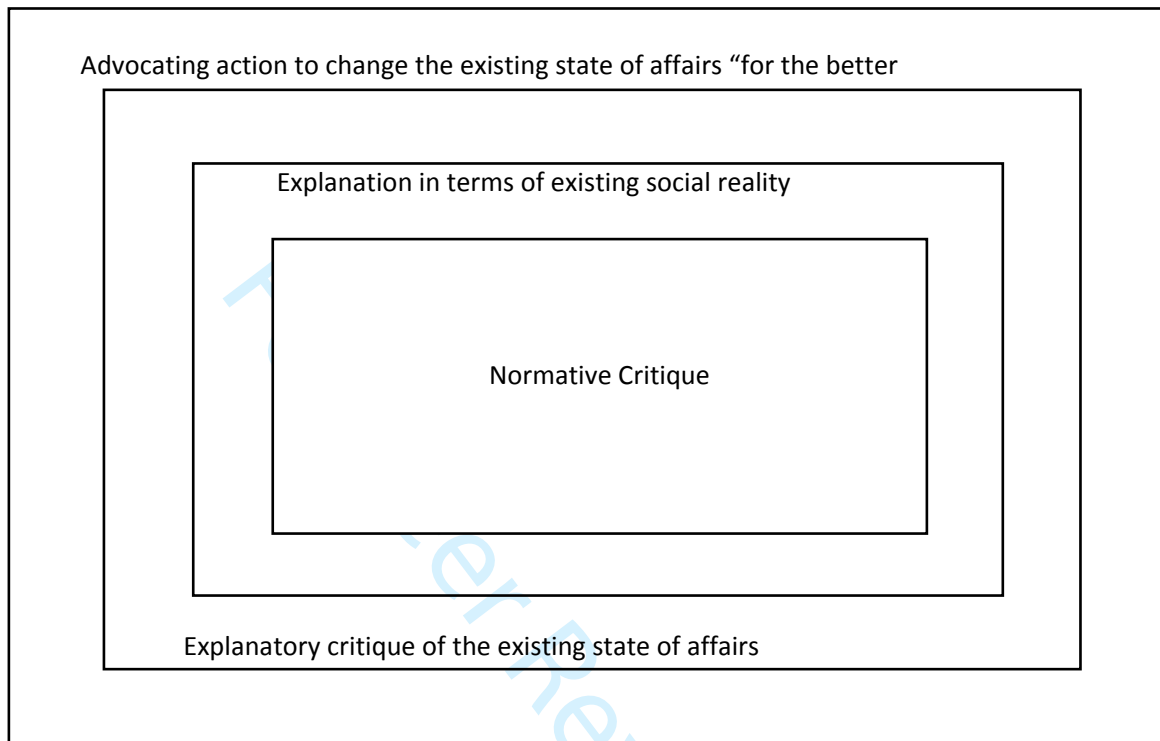

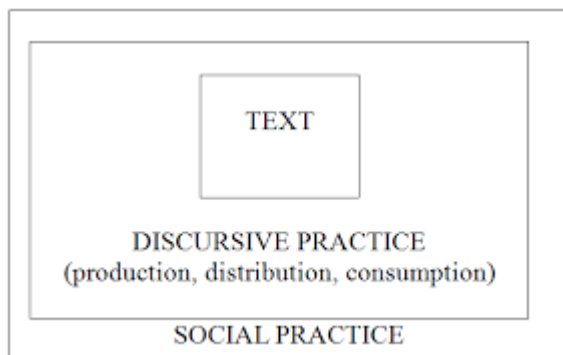Figure1: Fairclough's (2017) four steps to carry out CDA as dialectal reasoning

Figure2: Fairclough's Three-Dimensional Model (1992)

3.5. Rationale for choosing a multiperspectival approach

This approach was chosen for the present study because: first, the data under analysis is

dialectal in nature; secondly, the male and female leaders' characteristics are not only

juxtaposed in the article under study but are portrayed as shifting also, hence the integration

of FPDA with CDA; thirdly, feminism and its agenda are commonly misunderstood by many

as a conflict against the men or societal norms or moral values but the fourth wave is of the

view that women can be concern for the bigger causes of humanity, too and speak up and act

for such causes; fourthly, the data under analysis does not talk negatively of any of the

genders as the victimized one but compares their leadership styles that have a great effect on

the fate of their people which is a larger cause; fifthly, as Baxter (2008) points out, in

linguistics, a multiperspectival approach combining different methodologies in a pragmatic

way according to the task has special significance as it provides more open-ended, multiple

readings of a piece of analysis and some such studies have been found to be of practical

significance, too sociologically, ethnically and politically.

Combining CDA and FPDA has its own justification since CDA offers a foundational

framework for critique (Fairclough 2015) and FPDA offers a methodological approach to

gender and language study in because: it attends to the provisional, constructed nature of all

research and to its status as a textualising and fictionalising practice; it extends the range of

possible meanings by giving space to varied accounts of experience and contesting voices;

FPDA explores the differences between girls/women including their experiences of the

ambiguities of power; it aims to support specific, localized, action-driven, functional and

temporary transformative feminist processes; and FPDA provides a 'supplementary' approach

to the 'grand narratives' developed by CDA and CA and Interactional

Sociolinguistics(Baxter, 2008).

 For this study, integrating both CDA and FPDA with framing was considered appropriate

because the discourse in the article under study is constructed around some very important

frames. Moreover, framing has impacts on individuals and the society in the form of

transformed attitudes about a problem based on exposure to certain frames and political

socialization and decision-making respectively. Highlighting these frames can positively

impact decision making by male leaders, specifically Imran Khan, and in turn lives of

millions of people faced with the COVID-19

4. Analysis and Discussion

This section presents a critical discourse analysis of the article from a poststructuralist

feminist outlook. The very title and subtitle of the article: "Leadership Matters: The PM

should take his cue from women leaders" (Khan, 2020) set the stage for a juxtaposition by

drawing attention to the fact that all that matters is leadership. "Matters" is fact can be

interpreted in two senses: as a verb, it indicates that all that matters in handling any

countrywide crisis or situation is good leadership; as a noun, plural form of 'matter', it

implies that the article contains what constitutes good leadership. The sub title following this

clearly states the purpose or message of the article i.e.,

"The PM should take his cue from women leaders."

Any audience of the heading and subheading can thus anticipate what the article is going to

be about, i.e., some tips about leadership styles following the examples of some women

leaders that can inform the Pakistan Prime Minister, Imran Khan, in his policy making and

planning a strategy. This, through breaking the stereotypes of the Pakistani society, is enough

to compel the reader to read on till the end of the article. This also refers to what can be

expected in the article, i.e., the detail of what is there to be learnt from women leaders, how to

set priorities in the wake of a pandemic.

4.1. Major frames in the article

A thorough, in-depth reading of the article leads one to the following major frames

permeating the data:

- Strength vs. weakness

- Decisiveness vs. indecisiveness

- Action vs. inaction/procrastination

- Narcissism vs. altruism/magnanimity

The article elaborates on these frames at length with illustrations and examples. It is noteworthy that at some places in the article under investigation, we witness a mixing or overlapping of two or more of these frames. Moreover, the gender frame is concurrent throughout the data. It is in keeping with Fisk & Ridgeway's (2018) argument that most social interactions have gender as the primary frame because people instinctively sex categorize each other, and thus arouse stereotypical cultural beliefs about both the genders investing men with more influence in small groups. This puts men at an advantage and solidifies the already prevailing gender inequality from home to workplace. Gender differences persist due to overreliance on gender as a primary frame for understanding people which rewrites similar beliefs on new activities. The article writer challenges the stereotypical gender binaries by ascribing manly qualities to women and womanly qualities to men. This way, she challenges the masculinity of the male leaders nudging them to learn manly qualities of leadership from their female counterparts.

The article writer in the data is powerful in the sense that in this context, she is invested with the power to manufacture public opinion on the issue under discussion, that is, some male leaders' delayed response to the emergency situation caused by the COVID-19 pandemic. She tries to inform them through the framing technique. This paper will now analyse the frames represented through this article one by one:

4.1.1. Strength vs. weakness

The author starts with explaining the concept of "stronger." According to her, it is referred to when making a comparison of men with boys. She goes on the explain that in the context of corona virus management worldwide, it would be apt to compare men with women. What is implied here ironically is, while men are stronger in a men-boys comparison, women leaders are proving themselves to be stronger in the men-women comparison in the COVID-19 milieu. According to the article writer, Khan (2010), the most outstanding countries in this context have been Germany, New Zealand and Taiwan. These countries have coincidentally

women as their heads running them viz., Angela Merkel, the German chancellor; Jacinda

Ardern, the New Zealand Prime Minister; and the Taiwan President Tsai Ing-wen. This

implies that women are acting more strongly in the face of this global emergency. This,

though a breach of the stereotypical notion of men as stronger, is in keeping with the

poststructuralist notion of identities being everchanging. Women displaying the

characteristics otherwise generally ascribed to men raises a question/doubt about the strength

of men as heads of states, or challenges their masculinity. According to the author, thus, the

success of these three countries in curbing the quick spread of the disease is owing to the

promptness of these women. She poses a question to the audience in the first paragraph:

"Is it a coincidence that all three are currently run by women?"

It implies that men are, in comparison, displaying weakness in handling the emergency.

4.1.2. Decisiveness vs. indecisiveness

The German chancellor, Angela Merkel is a scientist by training (Khan, 2020). Germany and

Italy are in stark contrast as far as fatality rates are concerned despite the fact that both have a

huge ageing population. Germany has one of the lowest rates of fatality i.e., 1.6 percent while

Italy has 12 per cent. This according to the writer is due to Merkel's

"informed and rational decision-making"

in this time of crisis.

All three women leaders "communicated clearly and did not backtrack" on their words. This

won them their public's trust so much so that they strictly followed the instructions they

issued. This point by the author obliquely refers to the U-Turns, backtracking and confusing

and fleeting statements that have been characteristic of the three male leaders discussed in

comparison with these by the article writer viz., Pakistan Prime Minister Imran Khan; the US

President Donald Trump and the UK Prime Minister Boris Johnson since the very onset of the

pandemic.

In the beginning, Boris Johnson has been "rejecting the idea of a lockdown" or social

distancing. His stance was rather baselessly in favor of 'herd immunity' which could be more

fatal if practised for long. He heartlessly informed the citizens that they will "lose loved ones". Johnson made a U-turn on his policy of herd-immunity after a lot of causalities. This happened when epidemiologists stressed that unless a vaccine is prepared, herd immunity isn't possible. In the meanwhile, many people from Johnson's close circle and Johnson himself had been tested positive and hospitalized. This, according to the article writer, happened due to the indecisiveness of the leader of the state.

Displaying a similar confusion and indecisiveness marked with more irresponsibility and non-seriousness, President Trump kept comparing the virus with simple, not-so-contagious flu which was followed by many people worldwide till mid of March 2020. The writer remarks: "By making wrong comparisons and being indecisive about testing and social-distancing measures, he has managed to make the US the epicentre of the virus, with the largest number of recorded cases of any country."

In fact, as the news had it, Trump's statement about chloroquine being effective in the disease caused some fatalities in another country, too when people tried to take it without prescription. Pakistan is also witnessing people taking the virus lightly on social media and around the roads and many are debating about the effectiveness or otherwise of chloroquine. Along with the leaders' non seriousness, some conspiracy theories in circulation on social media are also responsible for people's taking it non seriously or doubting its existence or otherwise. Pakistan, having been affected later, could take advantage of learning from other countries and could have learnt from the good leadership qualities displayed by the women who had been successful in combating it effectively but, Prime Minister Imran Khan displayed the indecisiveness and procrastination following the footsteps of other men leader viz., Trump and Johnson. His first address to the nation on the pandemic was as late as March 17 which had the effect of people taking it lightly which in turn played a role in its further spread. The address too was devoid of any "clear plan" as he discussed no tangible measures but in fact encouraged the people not to panic by his typical catchphrase *"ghabrana nhi."*.

4.1.3. Action vs. procrastination/inaction

Germany, according to the author ensured an efficient management of this public health emergency from the outset by making available the essential resources like test kits, ventilators and extra beds. Germany has been so successful that now it is accommodating and helping critically sick patients from other European countries, too. Similar promptness was displayed by Taiwan in making the use of face masks mandatory and implementing travel restrictions. Thus, it has helped in keeping their infected cases as low as 400 or less despite the fact that it has no access to the WHO and its facilities due to its tensions with China. Jacinda Ardern, the New Zealand Prime Minister, promptly issued orders of shutting borders despite being the leader of a tourism dependent economy. In this sense, Arden prioritized public health over economy which is still under discussion or confused debate by men leaders like Imran Khan and Donald Trump.

Similarly, the dexterous leadership of President Tsai Ing-wen has now enabled Taiwan to donate masks to Europe.

The author juxtaposes this action-inaction frame thus:

"In January and February, while other countries were debating whether or not to take the coronavirus threat seriously, Germany, Taiwan and New Zealand, were acting decisively."

In New Zealand, where 11 deaths have been reported thus far and the number of recoveries exceeds new infections. In Pakistan, however, this lack of preparedness and indecisiveness has led to doctors and paramedics' protests at various locations including Baluchistan due to not having been provided with protective kits till around the end of March 2020 despite being assigned duties to take care of the corona effected patients. With this, a federal-provisional debate and blame game is also in progress as if the federal and provincial governments are in a sort of competition with one another. Instead of concerted efforts, that is the need of such a situation, the politicians are point scoring. This is a result of the PM not being ready to listen to the opposition or other politicians. He displayed this silo building in the All Parties

conference, too when he made his speech and walked out just as per his routine. Keeping in

view the fact that he is having the PMs responsibility for the first time in life, and a majority

of the nation is facing this kind of a pandemic first time in their lives, there is no harm in

taking counsel from the whole cabinet. When all countries are declaring different things as the

new norms, this taking everybody on board can also be adopted by the PM as the new norm

which, otherwise a norm everywhere, has not been a norm in his case.

4.1.4. Narcissism vs. altruism/magnanimity

Instead of wasting time on "downplaying the threat posed by this deadly virus" or "blaming

predecessors", the women leaders remained truthful, realistic and honest and displayed "an

emotional intelligence found lacking among the male leadership" (Khan, 2020). Giving the

examples of Trump and Kahn, the author rightly states that despite being the men leaders of

"traditionally powerful countries", they have "blundered profusely amidst the crisis" because

they have been talking over-confidently of the virus as an enemy that they can defeat easily

and not a disease that has to be prevented with proper, scientific, strategic planning and

preparation because its cure is yet not discovered and it is multiplying exponentially due to

carelessness.

To make the situation worse, Trump turns on the journalists in a "narcissistic style" when

they question about his failings. By comparison, women leaders are very less concerned about

self-congratulation or their own image. They are rather "far more willing to work seriously in

these testing times". This frame in these article project women's gender identity as mother-

like nurturers and caretakers, not bothering about their image or ego. Seeing the discourse

from the point of view proposed by Lakoff's(2004) notion of the family model, women's

identity is portrayed here is in keeping with the Nurturant Parent Model as opposed to men

who are behaving in a typical egotistical and self-centered fashion not paying heed to what

other might suggest, be it the opposition or the journalists or researchers or medical health

practitioners. This narcissistic tendency could also be compared with the realistic stance of

Justin Trudeau, the Canadian leader, who is talking the nation on regular basis about the

practical steps being taken and is taking advice from health care professionals and researchers in designing policy. But since the main frame of the author is gender, she has restricted herself to discussing the female leaders.

The women leaders, according to the author, are not concerned about being seen as "cult figures worshipped by their supporters, or appearing macho as Boris Johnson" when he claimed to be shaking hands with even the coronavirus patients'.

In his earlier press conferences, Imran Khan appeared inspired by Boris Johnson's approach of "taking it on the chin" which is causing an increase in the death toll every passing day. Here, it is noteworthy that the official *"darna nhi, larna hy"* (Don't fear, but fight) slogan might be one of the causes of people taking the virus lightly and venturing outside without any protective measures like masks or social distancing. In this scenario, the *'darna nhi, bchna hy'* (Don't fear, but protect yourself) introduced by Jazz in their advertisement seems more appropriate.

Following Trump's example, Khan downplayed the threat by referring to it as equal to flu and suggesting baselessly strengthening the myth that warmer weather may dissipate it, a perception that is yet to be proven right or wrong through evidence.

"Self-absorbed and prone to blaming his predecessors for healthcare inadequacies, he seems as unconvinced as Trump when suggesting a lockdown, thus making it less likely for others to abide by the restrictions."

Near the conclusion of the article, the writer suggests that Khan would better take his cue from the women leaders of Germany, New Zealand and Taiwan in prioritizing effective strategies and measures, acting decisively and thus winning the trust of the people.

4.2. Normative critique in terms of existing social reality

In the spirit of Fairclough's (2017) revised model for CDA as dialectal reasoning, this section will present a critique of the article from a poststructuralist feminist perspective. Moreover, it will also present an explanation of the competing discourses that this article is reflective of in order to explain and analyse the stance of the writer in a more detailed way.

On the basis of the above analysis, it is obvious that the columnist has constructed different frames through which, she has demonstrated her ideology and also constructed gender identities through juxtaposition. The most common frame occurring throughout the column is the gender frame as she keeps contrasting the male traits being displayed by female leaders suggesting to their male counterpart ruling Pakistan to learn from their example. The stereotypical feminine traits of indecisiveness, confusion, procrastination, lack of action being demonstrated by male leaders including Khan are resulting in delayed action that is causing fatalities in the countries being run by them. Hence, they need to learn the manly qualities of prompt decision making, proactive action, realistic thinking from women counterparts keeping their self-consciousness or egos aside. It is time for practical action and not point scoring, saving image or doing politics. Only rational thinking and learning from better examples around can save the lives of people. As Trudeau says "Abnormal is the new norm", he has promptly prioritized the construction of ventilators in bulk. He declared that even if its production exceeds their home demand, he intends to give it to the other countries. In contrast, Imran Khan is talking of opening the construction industry in the pandemic when all the resources need to be diverted to the construction of medical facilities and equipment. The frames used sparingly in the article are thus used to contest the existing state of affairs ad inform future course of action for a better tomorrow.

5. Conclusion

This section will present a conclusion and an explanatory critique of the existing state of affairs (Fairclough, 2017). Looking at the Pakistani society, and its situation in the current medical emergency, this study concludes that the pandemic has been understood differently

by different people of the Pakistani society including the premier and the public and these perceptions keep shifting still. This can be owing to the PM's lack of experience as a head of state, the emergency being one of its kind faced by the world after decades or centuries, his non-scientific background (unlike the German chancellor) and his refusal to listen to the opposition or people having different points of view. Khan(2020),the author of the article under study, attempts to shake men to action, decisiveness and rationalistic truthfulness ignoring all political issues and their self-image .In this aspect, he needs to look up to his women counterparts as role models having manly leadership qualities, the leaders of Germany, New Zealand and Taiwan, and prioritize his strategies accordingly in this time of pandemic. True to the spirit of the fourth wave of feminism, the writer of the article emphasizes taking timely action for the citizens' health and wellbeing as an imperative. Instead of playing victim or showing lack of will or displaying weak nerves, the women leaders in the article are portrayed as role models of prompt decisiveness, timely action, and realistic rationality, leadership qualities necessary in the face of a pandemic. The title clearly suggests that the PM Pakistan needs to learn from women leaders and its content warns him against following Trump and Johnson which he seems to be doing till recently. Keeping the ego aside, he needs to learn these leadership qualities from women in this global health emergency that have helped them to combat the situation more effectively than others. In other words, Kahn and the other male leaders need to change their role models. The sooner they learn, the better it is for the citizens of their countries.

6. Recommendations

 The article writer (Khan, 2020) has thus raised her voice for the genuine cause of humanity i.e., health using gender related frames, suggesting to Khan to focus all priorities and resources towards timely health care interventions like the women leaders have done. In adding recommendations, this section will advocate action to change the existing state of affairs "for the better." The study suggests, like the article writer, learning from successful leaders and keeping aside the trivial, routine issues at least during this crisis. It also recommends learning from the history of pandemics and how they were handled. There are

books written in anticipation of upcoming pandemics too like Taylor (2020) which can inform

policy. It also recommends taking on board advice and suggestions from health care

practitioners, researchers and opposition leaders before making a policy regarding the

handling of the pandemic. Only then, a leader can change the existing state of affairs. There is

a lot to be learnt from the most popular Canadian leader, Justin Trudeau, who addresses the

public virtually everyday through 'Justin Trudeau Live' on social media and tells them the

tangible steps being taken by the Canadian government for handling the situation with facts

and figures, boosts the morale of the public, the front line workers and even kids who have to

display the patience to stay at home during these trying times. It is also recommended that

leaders need to prepare speeches beforehand on this sensitive issue as leaders' words matter

just as leadership matters.

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