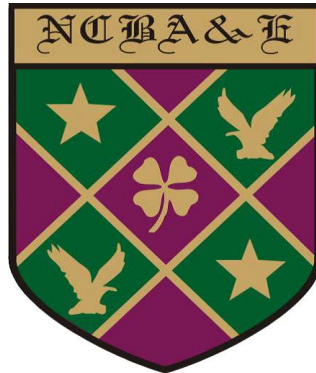


**A COMPARATIVE SYUDY OF SPEECHES BY IMRAN KHAN AND  
NAWAZ SHRIF AT THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY  
FROM CDA PERSPECTIVE**



**MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY  
IN  
ENGLISH LINGUISTICS**

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## **ABSTRACT**

This thesis uses Fairclough's 3D model and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as theoretical frameworks to provide a thorough examination of the political discourse of two well-known Pakistani politicians, Imran Khan and Nawaz Sharif. The research investigates the language and rhetorical techniques used by Ex-Prime Ministers Imran Khan and Muhammad Nawaz Sharif of Pakistan to sway public opinion, rally support, and forward their political objectives through a close analysis of their speeches. Text analysis, discourse practice analysis, and socio-cultural practice analysis are the three primary facets of the research that shed light on the function of language, ideology, and power in political communication. Both leaders, albeit in different ways, successfully communicate with their respective audiences by using a variety of rhetorical strategies, including metaphors, repetition, and analogies. The results shed light on the subtleties of political discourse in Pakistan by highlighting the intricate interactions between language, politics, and society. In the end, this research adds to our knowledge of the dynamics of political communication and governance in Pakistan and provides insightful information to academics, decision-makers, and the general public. The analysis of speeches highlights the use of fifteen major linguistic techniques by them respectively. Alliteration, allusion, analogy, anaphora, hyperbole, humour, irony, imagery, invective, metaphor, propaganda, proverb, personification, parallelism and satire are the devices used by both the leaders. There are a few points which seem quite common in the speech of both the leaders such as injustice, violation of rights and inequality; Nawaz sharif has specifically raised the point of sovereignty to talk of running the government according to Islamic code of conduct

whereas Imran Khan talks about Islamophobia and raises the issue of misconduct being done with Muslims.

**Keywords:** United Nations General Assembly, Political speeches, Religious , Ideology, Linguistics techniques

## **DEDICATION**

To,

First, I am thankful to Allah Almighty and without Allah I was not able to do my work completely. This document is dedicated to my parents and teachers for their unconditional encouragement and help in shaping me into true professionals throughout my lives.

## **ACKNOWLEDGMENT**

I am thankful to ALLAH THE ALMIGHTY for the completion of my M.Phil. Thesis. You are to work hard to complete it. It seems rather impossible without the guidance of a benefactor. In this regard, I feel very lucky that many people were there to support me in the whole of this journey. Unfortunately, I can't mention all of my supporters in this whole span. So, I apologise to my dear ones whom I am unable to mention here. Now, it's time to mention those who had been a helping hand to me throughout. I extend my heartfelt gratitude to Dr. Faiqa Abdul Khaliq for her invaluable guidance and unwavering support throughout my thesis journey. Her patience, kindness, and understanding were instrumental in overcoming challenges and completing this work. I am truly thankful for her mentorship and encouragement. I am deeply thankful to my beloved family for their unwavering encouragement and unwavering support throughout my research journey. Their understanding and belief in my abilities provided the motivation needed to overcome obstacles and reach this milestone. Additionally, I extend my gratitude to my friends for their companionship, understanding, and occasional moments of respite amidst the rigors of academic pursuit. Their camaraderie enriched my experience and added joy to this endeavor.

## DECLARATION

I, Beenish Anwar, D/O Muhammad Anwar Malik, a student of “M.Phil. English Linguistics”, at “Department of English”, National College of Business Administration And Economics (NCBA&E), Lahore, hereby declare that this thesis titled, **“A Critical Discourse Analysis of Speeches by Imran Khan and Nawaz Sharif at the United Nations General Assembly”** is my own research work and has not been submitted, published, or printed elsewhere in Pakistan or abroad. Additionally, I will not use this thesis for obtaining any degree other than the one stated above.

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Co-Supervisor’s Name

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## CERTIFICATE OF EXAMINERS

It is certified that the research work contained in this thesis titled “**A Critical Discourse Analysis of Speeches by Imran Khan and Nawaz Sharif at the United Nations General Assembly**” is up to the mark for the award of “Master of Philosophy in English Linguistics”.

Internal Examiner

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Date: \_\_\_\_\_

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External Examiner:

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Date: \_\_\_\_\_

**Dean/HOD**

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National College of Business Administration and Economics (NCBA&E) Lahore.

Signature: \_\_\_\_\_

Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

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## **CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION**

This chapter presents the thesis by outlining the necessity of using Fairclough's 3D Critical speech Analysis (CDA) model to examine political speech. The model gives a complete framework to investigate how political discourse functions at three levels: the textual elements of the discourse, the discursive practices in its creation and reception, and the larger socio-political practices it reflects and shapes. This chapter explores language choices, communication environment, and the influence on social structures to show why political speech matters in shaping readers' opinions and perceptions.

An analysis of the main components of powerful political speech and how they affect the audience highlights the importance that language plays in upholding or undermining power dynamics. The research challenge, which focuses on comprehending the mechanisms of impact in political communication, is also identified in this chapter. It leads the reader from the introduction to the research framework that organizes the thesis, highlighting the importance of the study in demonstrating how language impacts political reality.

### **1.1 Background of the study**

Language, serving as a vital communication tool, not only conveys an individual's current ideas and thoughts but also reflects their cultural, political, and religious identity. Discourse, defined as the language in use within a specific context, constitutes tangible data that plays a crucial role in exploring diverse meanings within sociological and psycholinguistic concepts. The terms "discourse" and "discourse

analysis" are commonly employed in linguistic discussions, often with fuzzy boundaries. In linguistics, discourse encompasses any formal or informal communication that can be systematically studied. It can manifest in both spoken and written forms. Titscher (2000), as cited in Bayram (2010), conceptualizes discourse as an umbrella term with various dimensions and layers of meaning, covering aspects of linguistics, sociology, and philosophy. Cook (1992) defines discourse as language use in communication. Consequently, discourse analysis is an investigative process exploring how language elements, situated within their complete-textual, social, and psychological contexts, emerge as meaningful and cohesive for their users. Moving beyond, critical discourse analysis (CDA) integrates discourse analysis with other fields for a comprehensive analysis, aiming to draw valid conclusions. Critical Discourse Analysis extends its scope beyond language studies to encompass areas such as media discourse, public discourse, organizational studies, and political discourse. Numerous researchers have proposed models and theories for conducting CDA, with Fairclough's 3D Model standing out as a notable contribution.

Discourse analysis involves the examination of language, a crucial element in human communication that encompasses speeches, texts, and creative writings. Language serves as a vehicle for transferring socio-cultural codes and norms, encapsulating every aspect of life. Beyond conveying ideas and social norms, individuals utilize language to influence and achieve specific purposes. Notably, influential figures like religious scholars or political leaders wield language to establish followership and submission. The roots of discourse analysis can be traced back to key works and thinkers who contributed to its evolution. J.L. Austin's "How to Do Things with Words" (1962) introduced the speech-act theory, a foundational

concept in discourse analysis. This theory underscores the performative nature of language, highlighting its ability to not only describe but also enact acts, shape social realities, and impact human behavior.

The concept of power holds significance in both societal interactions and critical discourse analysis. Foucault (1972) stated that Power signifies the display of authority by individuals over those under their influence. Language serves as the thread weaving together societal elements through communication, evaluating whether authority is responsibly wielded and obligations are fulfilled (Demetrius, 2022). Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) employs a multidisciplinary approach to examine language as a social practice, transcending traditional disciplinary boundaries. The aim of CDA is to uncover and analyze how text and spoken language are used in social and political contexts to wield power, perpetuate inequalities, and either uphold or challenge supremacy. This study delves into the complexity of political discourse analysis within the context of two prominent political leaders, Mr. Imran Khan and Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif. By analyzing a significant speech from each leader, the study explores how language is strategically employed for political advantage and its role in shaping social realities. The focus of this study is on the intersection of language and power in political discourse, falling under the purview of critical discourse analysis. Understanding the role of power is crucial in comprehending politics and the influence wielded by political figures through their speeches. Drawing upon the theoretical framework of Norman Fairclough, a renowned expert in Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), this study employs a structured lens to thoroughly examine linguistic features embedded in the speeches of Khan and Sharif. Fairclough's three-dimensional model, particularly in the realms of religious ideology,

popular perception, and decision-making, offers insights into the subtle ways in which language shapes and alters socio-political reality.

The term "discourse" pertains to communicative expressions that are both comprehensible and perceptible, whether conveyed verbally or in written form. Its purpose varies based on the target audience, serving to communicate messages to a general readership as well as specific groups. Examining discourse as a distinct area within linguistics facilitates the analysis of diverse speech forms, documentaries, and similar modes of communication. Discourse analysis evolved from works in different disciplines in the 1960s and early 1970s, including linguistics, semiotics, anthropology, psychology and sociology. Some of the scholars and the works that either gave birth to, or helped in the development of discourse analysis include the following: J.L. Austin who's *How to Do Things with Words* (1962) introduced the popular social theory, speech-act theory. The term "text" holds a pivotal role in discourse analysis. Within this context, a text encompasses detailed written segments that can be contextualized based on the historical background they encapsulate. This underscores the importance of understanding language within the broader sociocultural framework and how texts can convey, reinforce, or challenge existing norms and ideas. Text is any passage, which is in written form, comprehensive, and can be explained concerning the background discussed in it. On the political level, the textual words are quite different from that of social views. The principal part of a book exclusive of front and back matter (Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary, 1999) To investigate the precise ways in which the speeches of Imran Khan and Nawaz Sharif influence religious ideology in Pakistan. Nawaz Sharif and Imran Khan have different political histories that have influenced how they have progressed in

Pakistani politics. The Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) party was founded in the 1990s by former cricket star Imran Khan, who thereafter entered politics. His populist, anti-corruption, and social justice philosophies appeal to middle-class and urban voters who are fed up with the status quo and the political establishment. Khan's rise to prominence culminated with his election as Pakistan's prime minister in the 2018 general elections. However, Nawaz Sharif is a member of a political family and started his career during General Zia-ul-Haq's military rule in the 1980s. After becoming well-known as Punjab's chief minister, Sharif formed the Pakistan Muslim League (N) and had three terms as prime minister. During his administration, there were attempts to enhance infrastructure and liberalize the economy; nevertheless, there were also accusations of corruption and conflicts with the military establishment. Given that both leaders have had a major influence on Pakistani politics, their divergent origins serve as a reflection of the country's diversified political environment.

In Pakistan, a democratic nation, considerable significance is placed on the influential and persuasive statements made by leaders. However, these speeches can either reflect reality or create illusions, depending on their content. The increasing frequency of such issues over time has prompted the initiation of this research project. Influential individuals, particularly religious scholars and political leaders, utilize language to persuade and garner followers. Linguists, being the first to scrutinize the rhetorical strategies embedded in language, shed light on both its nuanced processes and embellishments. As language-related challenges continue to escalate, the researcher was motivated to delve into the realm of political speeches. Two prominent politicians, Mr. Imran Khan and Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif, were meticulously

selected for this investigation. According to Van Dijk (2004), critical discourse analysis focuses primarily on how text and spoken language are employed to wield social authority, establish dominance, and perpetuate or challenge inequality in social and political contexts. Critical discourse analysis (CDA), as part of a multidisciplinary research movement, incorporates various theoretical and methodological approaches to studying language (Johnson & McLean, 2020). Within the realm of politics, political discourse analysis explores decision-making processes at both individual and group levels. This analysis often scrutinizes grammar, style, systematic structure, and speech acts as it delves into the dynamics of political power, its potential for abuse, and the perpetuation of dominance. Political discourse analysis extends the notion that politics significantly influences the shaping of a population's ideologies.

## **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

The primary objective of this research is to analyze and evaluate the speeches of Imran Khan and Nawaz Sharif, focusing on the veracity of their statements and the presentation of their public personas. This study aims to decipher potential implicit meanings embedded within their speeches, examining the role of their language in shaping public perceptions and constructing versions of reality. Understanding this linguistic influence is imperative in enhancing information comprehension in an era inundated with vast amounts of data.

## **1.3 Objectives**

To investigate the precise ways in which the speeches of Imran Khan and Nawaz Sharif influence religious ideology in Pakistan.

- *To identify and analyze the specific linguistic techniques employed by Imran*

*Khan and Nawaz Sharif in their UNGA's speeches.*

- *To examine how these identified linguistic techniques significantly shape public perception and influence decision-making in Pakistan.*
- *To evaluate how Imran Khan's and Nawaz Sharif's speeches of UNGA directly shape religious ideology within Pakistan.*

#### **1.4 Research Questions**

- *What specific linguistic techniques are employed by Imran Khan and Nawaz Sharif in their UNGA's speeches?*
- *How do Imran Khan and Nawaz Sharif's speeches of UNGA impact religious ideology in Pakistan?*
- *How do these linguistic techniques significantly shape public perception and influence decision-making in Pakistan?*

#### **1.5 Significance of Study**

This research makes a substantial contribution to the area of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) by using Fairclough's 3D model to analyze the speeches of Nawaz Sharif and Imran Khan. It adds to the current CDA framework by offering a thorough examination of the ways in which political figures strategically employ language to create and communicate ideological meanings, with an emphasis on abstract ideas such as corruption, honesty, patriotism, and loyalty. This research provides fresh insights into the persuasive techniques used by political personalities in Pakistan and how these techniques affect public perception and ideological ideas by linking

language elements to social power dynamics.

Furthermore, by critically evaluating the legitimacy of political speech and its conformity to social reality, the study fills in research gaps on political discourse in Pakistan today. By closely tying the three goals—ideological influence, framing of important ideas, and rhetoric authenticity—to these gaps, the study contributes to our knowledge of how political speech works to maintain power relations and impact public opinion. This viewpoint is essential for illuminating how language shapes political reality in Pakistan's sociopolitical context.

### **1.6 Delimitations of the Study**

The focus on political speeches, the historical period, the analysis language, and the methodological technique used all serve to define this study. These boundaries provide the research concentration and clarity, but they may also make it less applicable to larger contexts or different analytical approaches.

### **1.7 Thesis Structure**

The importance of political discourse analysis in comprehending political communication is covered in the introductory chapter. The chapter opens with an overview of how political language shape's public opinion, influences policy choices, and mobilizes support for political objectives. The necessity to investigate the discursive techniques used by Pakistani political leaders is highlighted as the research challenge. The study's goals are rather explicit; among them is the examination of speeches by Imran Khan and Nawaz Sharif in order to pinpoint important ideas, rhetorical devices, and discursive techniques. The study's parameters are established, with an emphasis on speeches made in particular historical eras and political

environments.

A thorough overview of the body of research on political discourse analysis is given in the chapter 2. Discussion is held about pertinent theoretical frameworks for the subject, such as critical discourse analysis and Fairclough's three-dimensional model. A review of earlier studies on political speech in Pakistan is conducted, emphasizing the main conclusions and research methodology. In political discourse, concepts like identity, power, and ideology are examined; these provide a theoretical basis for the study carried out in the following chapters.

The research approach used for the study is described in depth in the chapter 3. The study design is explained, along with how speeches were chosen for analysis and the justification for selecting particular political figures. The criteria used to identify major themes and discursive tactics are outlined, as well as data gathering techniques including transcribing and coding. The analytical approach is described, emphasizing the use of qualitative methods to analyze and contextualize the data. It draws on both textual and discursive analysis. In order to maintain the validity and integrity of the study, ethical issues like informed consent and confidentiality are also covered.

The main focus of chapter 4 is on the political discourse analysis of Nawaz Sharif and Imran Khan's speeches. The leaders' main ideas and discursive devices—such as metaphor, rhetoric, and persuasive language—are noted and examined. While discursive analysis looks at the larger socio-political environment in which the discourse is located, textual analysis looks at the speeches' substance. The conclusions are exemplified by examples drawn from the speeches, which provide light on Pakistani political leaders' rhetorical strategies.

The thesis's conclusion, derived from the analysis of political speech, is

presented in the last chapter. The study's primary conclusions are outlined, emphasizing the major ideas and rhetorical devices used by Imran Khan and Nawaz Sharif. The study's contributions to knowledge are discussed, along with how they may affect our comprehension of political communication in Pakistan. The study's delimitations and limits are acknowledged, and suggestions for more research are made. The last section of the chapter provides an explanation of the most important findings from the political discourse analysis, highlighting the value of discourse analysis in understanding the dynamics of political discourse.

## **CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW**

The data analysis is based on essential theories, significant ideas, and other functional terms, because it relies on critical discourse analysis. This study will examine subjects including discourse analysis, its methods, and terminology. Additionally, the already finished work on the UNGA addresses by Imran Khan and Nawaz Sharif will be discussed. This section will clarify the research gap that inspired this investigation and that, in this case, needs to be filled. A theoretical overview of the background being used for this research is also provided in this chapter. The multidisciplinary discipline of critical discourse analysis (CDA) studies the language and strategies of communication used by political actors to sway public opinion, impact legislative choices, and uphold or undermine power structures in societies. The knowledge of the function of language in politics and governance has been enhanced during the last several decades by researchers from a variety of fields, including sociology, political science, communication studies, and linguistics. In the study of political speech, this literature review offers an overview of important ideas, theoretical frameworks, and methodological techniques.

The dynamic and multidisciplinary area of political discourse analysis provides insightful knowledge on the function of language in politics and government. Through the examination of language characteristics, discursive tactics, and rhetorical devices utilized in political speech, scholars can reveal latent power structures, ideological conflicts, and disparities in society. It is imperative that researchers in the discipline carry on improving theoretical frameworks, creating novel methodological strategies, and addressing ethical issues in their work going ahead. This literature

review's part consists the previous works about Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), highlighting its underlying ideas, diverse applications, and critical purpose. Discourse analysis is an interdisciplinary subject that focuses on the convergence of language and social life to understand the complex ways that language determines society dynamics and influences human interactions. Critical discourse analysis (CDA), a theoretical framework that examines language as a tool for power negotiation, ideology propagation, and social formation, is at the center of this investigation. In this context, political leaders' speeches are rich language resources that provide insights into power structures, ideological foundations, and persuasive techniques. This thesis takes a trip through the field of discourse analysis, paying close attention to speeches made by Pakistan's former Prime Ministers Imran Khan and Nawaz Sharif.

Researchers have looked at a wide range of topics and challenges in the field of political speech analysis, such as political propaganda, media manipulation, election rhetoric, and government communication tactics.

Van Dijk (2006), for example, looks at how language affects social views and public opinion, concentrating on the dishonest strategies political players employ to sway public opinion. He contends that speech plays a key role in the construction and spread of ideological views and values, which, in turn, impact political behavior and decision-making processes. In accordance with this viewpoint, the present study intends to evaluate the UNGA speeches of Khan and Sharif, highlighting the rhetorical subtleties and strategic choices they deploy to mold public opinion and achieve their political goals. We intend to learn new things about political communication and the relationships between language, power, and society by

analyzing these speeches. The foundation of our strategy is Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) theory. This section clarifies CDA's definition, methods, and several theoretical perspectives.

**Theoretical Foundations of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA):** are crucial in setting the stage. Works by Norman Fairclough, Teun A. van Dijk, and Ruth Wolak should be reviewed to understand how language serves as both a cultural and control mechanism that leaders use to assert power and influence. These foundational theories explore how discourse shapes, and is shaped by, social structures and power dynamics, which is essential for analyzing political speeches.

**i. Interdisciplinary Approaches:** that integrate insights from sociology, linguistics, and political science can enrich the analysis. Applying Michel Foucault's concepts of power and knowledge to the discourse of political leaders at an international forum helps illustrate the dynamics at play in global governance contexts.

**ii. Leadership Communication and Political Rhetoric:** research can help dissect the speeches for strategies that aim to influence, persuade, and construct political identities. The study of charismatic versus pragmatic leadership styles in communication, as discussed in various scholarly works, offers insights into the rhetorical approaches used by Khan and Sharif.

**iii. Cultural Influences on Political Communication:** should also be considered, incorporating theories like those proposed by Geert Hofstede, which might explain how cultural dimensions influence communication styles and leadership in a Pakistani context.

**iv. UNGA Speeches and Their Impact:** on international relations is another critical

area. Thematic and frequency analyses of UNGA speeches can show common themes and how these have shifted over time, providing a backdrop against which Khan and Sharif's speeches can be analyzed. Research focusing on rhetorical strategies used in diplomatic speeches, such as appeals to different types of reasoning and emotional engagement, are particularly relevant.

**v. Case-Specific Analyses:** of Khan and Sharif's speeches could provide a deeper understanding of each leader's discourse tactics. Research that connects the domestic and international political contexts with the rhetorical choices made in their speeches would be particularly informative. This can illustrate how internal issues like economic conditions and political instability are projected onto the international arena.

**vi. Comparative Studies:** that look at how different countries or leaders address the UNGA can contextualize Khan and Sharif's approaches within a broader international dialogue. Cross-national comparisons or studies that examine changes in Pakistani leadership discourse over time can illuminate shifts in political priorities and rhetorical strategies.

**Evaluations of Speech Impact:** on policy and public opinion both internationally and domestically would also be beneficial, such studies would help to assess the effectiveness and reception of the messages delivered by Khan and Sharif. It is providing a critical perspective on the role of UNGA speeches in shaping international policy and national identity.

By weaving together these various strands of literature, the review will provide a comprehensive backdrop to a critical discourse analysis, highlighting how the speeches of Pakistani leaders at the UNGA use language to navigate complex global

dynamics, assert national identity, and engage with both international and domestic audiences. This approach ensures a rich, multidimensional understanding of their political communication at a significant global forum

### ***Discourse***

Van Dijk (2019) argued that Discourse is the process by which meaning is created in social circumstances through language use in communication. The term 'discourse' is frequently used and has different definitions in various academic domains, especially in the social sciences. Discourse, according to Foucault (1972), is a group of statements arranged in a certain way. Two main interpretations of the term "discourse" exist: on the one hand, it refers to written or spoken language; on the other hand, it also encompasses broader domains like public discourse, media discourse, racial discourse, political discourse, and discussions on issues like gender roles in the workplace, unemployment, and the law and medical discourse. It includes not just the words themselves but also the patterns, structures, and techniques used to sculpt interactions and communicate ideas (Fairclough, 2003). 'Discourse' will be used interchangeably with the notions of oral and textual communication throughout this research.

### **2.1 Discourse Analysis**

A qualitative field known as discourse analysis studies the ways in which language and social interaction shape social behaviors. It looks into how academic research, media, conversations, texts, and words shape public opinion and behavior. Discourse in this context includes both written and spoken tasks. It upholds societal norms, perspectives, understandings, and attitudes that are often supported by influential people who have access to media outlets, like academics, legislators, and

journalists. Discourse is also important in framing activities; some are defended and promoted as morally righteous and practical, while others are condemned as impractical or immoral (Burnham, Lutz, Grant & Henry, 2008).

## **2.2 Foundational Principles of CDA**

Fairclough, a renowned academic, defines Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) concisely, emphasizing the unique meaning of the term 'critical' in this framework. 'Critical' in CDA refers to the process of revealing hidden links, especially those pertaining to speech, power dynamics, and ideology (Fairclough, 2001, p. 4).

Blommaert and Bulcaen (2000) offer a critical assessment of the discipline of Critical Discourse Analysis, emphasizing both its advantages and disadvantages. They contend that although CDA provides insightful information on the interplay of language, power, and ideology, there are issues with the theoretical depth and methodological rigor of the approach. Blommaert and Bulcaen advocate for increased interdisciplinary cooperation as well as increased reflexivity and openness in CDA research. In addition to theoretical and methodological problems, scholars in political discourse analysis face ethical and practical challenges. The ethical ramifications of researching discourses of racism, prejudice, and anti-Semitism are examined by Reisigl and Wodak (2001). They contend that although it's critical to identify and disprove discriminatory beliefs and behaviors, academics also need to be aware of the possible harm that their findings may do to underrepresented groups. Reisigl and Wodak support a moral discourse analysis methodology that puts social justice and human rights first.

## **2.3 Critical Analysis of Language Use**

The process of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) entails examining language use critically in a variety of texts and circumstances (Fairclough, 1995). This entails past language's surface level to find discourse's underlying power dynamics, meanings, and social ramifications (Van Dijk, 1998). The goal of CDA is to expose underlying ideologies, hegemonic structures, and unequal power relations in society by examining how language is used to create and communicate meaning (Fairclough, 1995). For example, a CDA might look at how certain word choices in media articles or political speeches either support or contradict the power structures that are in place.

#### **2.4 Interdisciplinary Approach**

According to Van Dijk (1998), CDA takes an interdisciplinary approach, incorporating ideas and methods from political science, sociology, linguistics, and cultural studies. CDA researchers can examine discourse from a variety of perspectives thanks to this multidisciplinary approach, taking into account linguistic traits, social settings, and larger ideological frameworks (Fairclough, 1995). According to Van Dijk (1998), for example, CDA might integrate sociological theories of power with textual linguistic analysis to comprehend how language both reflects and reproduces social hierarchies.

#### **2.5 Social Justice Orientation**

The dedication to advancing social justice and combating oppression and prejudice is one of the main driving forces behind CDA (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). The goal of CDA is to expose the ways in which language can be used to maintain dominant ideologies, strengthen uneven power relations, and exclude particular

groups (Fairclough, 1995). Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) seeks to empower underrepresented voices, increase awareness of social inequities, and facilitate transformative change by exposing these injustices through critical analysis (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). For example, in order to expose prejudices and preconceptions and advance a more inclusive and equitable dialogue, CDA may examine how gender or race are portrayed in the media. In terms of methodology, political discourse analysis scholars utilize a variety of qualitative and quantitative approaches to examine language use in political settings. In their 2009 paper, Wodak and Meyer explore a number of methodological approaches to CDA, such as corpus linguistics, critical ethnography, and discourse-historical analysis. They stress how crucial it is to integrate social theory with language research in order to understand the underlying power relationships and ideological conflicts present in political speech.

## **2.6 Approaches in CDA**

According to Resende (2009) and Wodak & Meyer (2009), critical discourse analysis (CDA) is a multidisciplinary field that draws from a variety of theoretical and analytical perspectives. Wodak & Meyer's argued (p. 27) that CDA is not a single empirical methodology but rather a collection of approaches with theoretical similarities and particular research questions show this diversity. CDA takes a comprehensive approach to analysis, frequently depending on systematic grammar and emphasizing category and idea identification. Its ability to accommodate a range of perspectives is a result of its drawing from a variety of theoretical frameworks, such as social, socio-psychological, discourse, and linguistic theories (Van Dijk, 2001, p. 96). Despite the absence of a singular approach, CDA scholars engage in deductive or

inductive methodologies, depending on their research objectives. Some may validate assertions using a small dataset and a few descriptive examples, but others may use larger datasets and lengthy case studies. However, all approaches in CDA have certain things in common, like a focus on contextual importance, a reliance on empirical data, and a dedication to problem-oriented, multidisciplinary analysis with the goal of exposing the power dynamics and ideologies ingrained in discourse. In the theoretical framework of CDA, three notable approaches emerge: the discourse-historical approach (DHA) developed by Ruth Wodak, the socio-cognitive approach (SCA) proposed by Van Dijk, and the socio-discoursal approach (SDA) advocated by Norman Fairclough. These approaches enrich the complex and versatile structure of CDA, demonstrating its continual evolution and capacity to address various research contexts.

## **2.7 Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA)**

The Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA), as defined by Ruth Wodak and associates, is one of the main methods used in Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). This method's distinguishing feature is how it incorporates a historical viewpoint into discourse analysis (Wodak & Meyer, 2001). Wodak's methodology is described and discussed in a number of ways in the publications of Reisigl (2008), Reisigl & Wodak (2009), Wodak (2002, 2009), and Leeuwen & Wodak (1999). Wodak & Meyer (2001) argued that DHA emerged from political science research, especially historical research, with the goal of creating a theoretical framework for examining political discourse. The idea that speech is fundamentally historical, dependent on prior knowledge, and entwined with ideology and power relations is at the heart of DHA. A

strong theory, in the opinion of Wodak and Meyer (2009), is needed to be based on historical experience and represent the normative values of its historical setting. This viewpoint also applies to writings, which are seen as historical relics that capture the dominant philosophies and hierarchies of their respective eras. According to Wodak and Busch (2004), DHA is especially linked to multidisciplinary studies on topics like racism, sexism, and anti-Semitism. DHA separates "text" as actual spoken or written statements and "discourse" as organized forms of knowledge and social practice memory (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p. 6). Particularly, DHA analyzes and interprets dialog at different levels while meticulously including all relevant background information. Wodak and Meyer (2009) contend that historical context is essential for discourse analysis, emphasizing power and ideology.

Discourse interpretation and criticism heavily depend on context, which is mostly understood in a historical sense. Context and historical background are crucial for comprehending discursive actions in DHA. It differs from other CDA techniques due to its multi-methodological approach and multidisciplinary nature. By examining how discourse genres change over time and incorporating social theories to contextualize discourse, DHA enables a methodical, clear, and transparent investigation of the historical aspect of discursive activities (Wodak, 2011, p. 7). It is crucial to remember that DHA is a subfield of CDA that sets itself apart from other CDA techniques by bringing a historical perspective to discourse analysis. Politics in DHA is understood to encompass a range of domains of activity, such as utilizing arguments to shape public opinion and attitudes (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009). In politics, debates can be used to either support or oppose a specific course of actions.

## **2.8 Social Cognitive Approach (SCA)**

The Socio-Cognitive Approach (SCA) is a well-known technique in Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), frequently linked to the well-known CDA practitioner Teun A. Van Dijk. Discourse, cognition, and society are integrated by SCA, creating a theoretical trinity inside the CDA framework (Dijk, 2009). Critical Discourse Studies (CDS) is the term that Van Dijk favors above CDA (Dijk, 2009). SCA is centered on the psychology of text processing and highlights how discourse, cognition, and society interact within the framework of CDA (Dijk, 2001). Discourse, according to Van Dijk (1988), is a complex communicative event involved inside a social environment, involving participants, production, and reception processes (p. 2). It is not just a textual or dialogic structure. The Socio-Cognitive Approach places a strong emphasis on cognition because it is the main area of interest for CDA, which regulates social power (Dijk, 2009). According to Van Dijk (p. 64), cognition is a collection of mental processes that include thought, perception, and representation. In this sense, cognition is quite similar to the idea of mental models, which include ideologies, norms, and values. According to Dijk (2001, p. 98), society as understood by SCA includes a variety of socioeconomic and political structures, group dynamics, movements, institutions, and social processes. This method holds that the misuse of power is directly related to the availability or management of powerful resources, such as media and public discourse, which are generally possessed by public leaders, writers, journalists, politicians, and ideologues (Dijk, 2006). The triangular model of Van Dijk's SCA, which emphasizes the idea of the ideological square, shows how various social groups project negative images of other groups while projecting favorable images of themselves (Ramanathan & Hoon, 2015). This idea clarifies how media

outlets frequently emphasize the positive traits of in-groups while downplaying their negative traits, and the opposite is true for out-groups. In socio-political contexts of social conflicts, van Dijk's concept of the ideological square is particularly relevant for evaluating ideological interpretations in discourse (Dijk, 1998). Speakers with conflicts of interest frequently depict one group favorably while criticising other groups (Dijk, 2005). The present research explores how certain political speeches convey helpful self-representations and negative portrayals of others in ideological disputes using Van Dijk's idea of the ideological square. This idea clarifies how these speeches encourage readers to develop conceptual frameworks and attitudes by admiring their own characteristics and making fun of rival groups.

## **2.9 Social Discoursal Approach (SDA)**

Fairclough (1992) proposed the Socio-Cultural Approach (SDA), which has played a vital role in the field of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) for the past two and half decades. SDA's primary goal is to raise awareness of exploitative social interactions by highlighting the significance of information (Fairclough, 1989). The approach centers on the discursive event, perceiving it as an expression of language usage that can be examined from multiple perspectives, such as text, discursive practice, and social practice (Fairclough, 1993). SDA is based on a dialectical link between discursive practices and broader areas of action, which include contextual, institutional, and social structures. The systemic functional linguistic theory established by Holliday serves as the foundation for Fairclough's dialectical theory of discourse, which also incorporates ideas from other critical social theories such as Foucault's discourse order theory and Gramsci's hegemony thought. Fairclough offers a triangle method for discourse analysis to help clarify the complex relationship

between language and social and political ideas. Discourse as text, which focuses on linguistic aspects and organization, discourse as discursive practice, which looks at how discourse is created, disseminated, and consumed, and discourse as sociocultural practice, which looks at its larger societal and cultural contexts, are all examined within this framework. The Socio-Cultural Approach, taken as a whole, provides a thorough framework for discourse analysis, emphasizing discourse's complexity and important role in forming and reflecting social reality and power relations.

### **2.10 Discourse as Text**

The first component of the Socio-Cultural Approach (SDA) in Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is concerned with discourse as text and entails a careful analysis of the structure of propositions and linguistic elements. This textual analysis explores a number of topics, such as writing systems, phonology, sentence structure, semantics, and lexicon. This level of analysis, according to Fairclough (1995), goes beyond conventional linguistic analysis to include textual organization, such as coherence and the format of newspaper articles or interviews. The focus of textual analysis under CDA is not only the text's linguistic structure and content, but also how these components work together to influence and convey meaning. According to Richardson (2007), traditional language analyses are investigated for their role in supporting or challenging ideological and social power systems. Textual analysis is concerned with features including information sequencing, grammatical patterns, sentence structure, and word choice. A stylistic investigation of linguistic resources and instruments is part of this dimension. For its fundamental operationalization, CDA primarily relies on linguistic categories, however themes and substance are not

ignored. This involves, among other things, taking into account the actors, method, time, tension, and reasoning (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). The Socio-Cultural Approach's analysis of speech as text essentially involves a close look at language categories and features, with a focus on how they are used to transmit ideologies and maintain social power structures.

## **2. 11 Discourse as Discursive Practice**

Fairclough changed the emphasis from text-based analysis to discourse-based investigation when he developed the Socio-Cultural Approach (SDA) as a study of discursive practices. Discourse is seen at this level as a product that is produced, shared, and consumed by members of the community. This level of analysis links texts to their larger context by taking into account speech acts, coherence, and intertextuality (Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000). Fairclough created the concept of intertextuality and divided it into two categories: constitutive intertextuality (texts made up of different features such as discourse characteristics and generic conventions) and manifest intertextuality (texts that overtly reference other texts) (Fairclough, 1995). In order to clarify the relationship between text and its producers, analysis at this level aims to reveal the underlying social realities, relationships, knowledge, and conceptions generated within discourse (Fairclough, 1989). Understanding the relationships between the production, distribution, and consumption of speech is the focus of this study. The analysis also explores the platform or medium used to produce political texts, at their intended meaning and effect. Discourse topics are vehicles via which writers and presenters deliver information that they believe to be important; the media outlet's ideologies are reflected in the topics chosen. Thus,

intellectual control is used to the Topicalization process (Fairclough, 1989). This study examines into a range of subjects and publications that are used to contest and disprove concepts found in journals published nowadays. These disciplines cover a vast array of issues, such as nationalism, literature, culture, religion, and the economics. This analysis provides focus on the discursive techniques used by various media outlets, revealing their ideological stances and methods for influencing public discourse.

## **2.12 Discourse as Socio-Cultural Practice**

The Socio-Cultural Approach (SDA) emphasizes the wider societal and cultural consequences of discourse by viewing it as a sociocultural practice at its third level of analysis. According to Fairclough (1995), Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) can cover a wide range of abstractions, from particular incidents to more general social frameworks. This research takes into account the political, cultural, and economic aspects of the sociocultural environment of communication events (Sheyholislami, 2009). Understanding the socio-political, cultural, and economic factors that affect discourse production and interpretation is necessary for examining sociocultural practices, especially in light of Pakistan's ideological disputes. It emphasizes how crucial it is to take into account regional and international settings when forming discourse inside Pakistan's state and society, such as the dynamics of the Cold War and the competition between the capitalistic and socialist blocks. Additionally, All three approaches—Fairclough's SDA, Van Dijk's SCA, and Wodak's DHA—emphasize the role that discourse plays in bridging ideologies and social systems. Van Dijk's SCA emphasizes the function of cognition and mental modes in

this mediation, whereas Fairclough's SDA concentrates on discursive practices as mediating between discourse and social structure (Fairclough, 2012). According to Fairclough and Wodak, language both forms and manifests social practices, and ideology is essential to the process of meaning-making. Because Fairclough's approach places more of an emphasis on the sociocultural environment of speech, it is thought to be more appropriate for this research. In general, the integration of Van Dijk's ideological square and Fairclough's SDA provides a thorough comprehension of the ideological processes involved in the political discourse and speeches.

### **2.13 Critical Terms in CDA**

According to Leeuwen (1993), the main goal of critical discourse analysis (CDA) is to comprehend discourse as a weapon of influence and power. According to Dijk (1993), researchers have a common interest in grappling with ideas like power, domination, hegemony, inequality, and the discursive processes that enable, conceal, legitimize, and replicate them. The intricate mechanisms by which language creates consent, modifies perceptions, and encourages resistance and challenge are of great interest to many scholars (Dijk, 1993, p. 132). This section explores some of the fundamental terms—power, voice, language, hegemony, domination, and ideology—that are necessary to analyze power interactions. The main point of interest is how print media gives underrepresented voices and ideologies a forum to participate in conversation and question established social structures and dominant ideologies.

- ***Power***

According to Fairclough (1995), power in discourse is defined as the unequal ability to govern the creation, dissemination, and consumption of texts within certain sociocultural contexts as well as the asymmetry between participants in discourse

events (pp. 1-2). Extending this idea, Wodak (1996) defines power as discursive control, which includes access to different kinds of speech and the capacity to decide who can speak to whom, when, and what (p. 66). Similar to this, Dijk (1993) defines power as involving control, in which one group limits the freedom and shapes the perceptions of another by influencing their actions and cognition (p. 254). According to CDA, power is defined as the illegitimate use of authority that results in the abuse of dominance and power. Social power and language are intertwined; language shapes, indicates, and perpetuates power relations. Though language is not the source of power, it can be used to contest, subvert, and redistribute power in the short and long terms (Wodak, 2001, p. 11). The use of language is a tool for challenging power dynamics in Pakistani politics and media discourse. Most people think of politics as the struggle for power, which includes making decisions, controlling resources, and forming opinions and ideals. By influencing important institutions like the media, education, and religion, powerful organizations and prevailing ideologies try to legitimate their discourse (Blommaert, 2005). Thus, powerful social groupings and dominant ideologies' discourse allies govern a variety of public discourses, from politics and journalism to academia and health (Dijk, 2001).

- *Ideology*

The theories of de Tracy, Bonaparte, Marx, and Mannheim are the sources of the concept of ideology. Two definitions of ideology exist: a relativist definition sees it as a set of ideas, norms, attitudes, and practices; a critical definition sees it as a structure that upholds unequal power relations and advances the objectives of particular social classes or cultural groups (Weiss & Wodak, 2003). Ideology is important in the framework of critical discourse analysis (CDA) because discourse

incorporates ideological presuppositions. Ideologies are reality constructions and signifiers that are integrated into different discursive practices that aid in the establishment, maintenance, and modification of dominance relations, according to Fairclough (1992) (p. 87). According to Gramsci (1983), ideologies are tools used in political societies to secure the support of the majority. Their social impacts are prioritized over their inherent values (Fairclough, 1995, p. 76). Discourse analysts concentrate on how language mediates ideology across social institutions because they are interested in power relations (Wodak, 2001, p. 10). Ideology, according to Dijk (1998), is a political framework of principles and beliefs that unifies, coordinates, and validates collective behavior. A person's language use reflects their ideology, which shapes their moral, social, and cognitive habits. Blommaert (2005) makes a distinction between two categories of ideology: those linked to specific people or institutions and those that are exact collections of symbolic representations. Eagleton (1994) defines ideology as belief systems that justify dominating political power. Through discourse analysis, CDA seeks to reveal the underlying meanings of ideologies and their function in creating social reality. According to Fairclough (2003), texts have causal effects that influence changes in behavior, beliefs, social interactions, and the physical world (p. 8). CDA sheds light on the ideological representations found in political texts and how they affect discourse.

"Ideologies are representations of aspects of the world which can be shown to contribute to establishing, maintaining, and changing social relationships of power, domination, and exploitation" (Fairclough, 2003, page 9). Ideology and discourse have a symbiotic relationship in the context of this study, with ideology permeating discourse. This study looks at basic ideologies in the way that political magazines that

represent various ideological groups in Pakistani media discourse depict ideological conflict, taking into account how these publications depict the conflict between ideological groups both internally and externally.

- *Voice*

A key idea in Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is voice. "How people manage to make themselves understood or fail to do so" is Blommaert's (2005) definition of voice (p. 68). It stands for people's ability to use language resources in various social and physical contexts (p. 69). Within the framework of this research, "voice" refers to the medium through which disadvantaged and helpless people—like regular citizens—can engage in debate. Voice is a term used to describe the agency, authority, and identity of persons or groups in conversation, as well as its presence or absence. Voice is a key idea in CDA for comprehending social inequality and power relations. Marginalized voices may be disregarded or muted, yet dominant voices maintain power over the conversation. According to Wodak (2001), the distribution of voice is a reflection of larger power dynamics in society, with favored groups frequently controlling the narrative and marginalizing opposing viewpoints. The goal of the study is to determine whether regular people's voices—which are frequently heard through political newspapers or editor's letters—are heard and whether they influence ideological disputes. Through an examination of these voices' presence and influence, the research seeks to offer light on how political periodicals engage their readership by influencing their ideas.

- *Language*

In CDA, language is understood as more than just a means of communication; it is also understood as a site of construction, negotiation, and contestation of power

dynamics, social identities, and ideologies. According to Fairclough (2001), language is intrinsically political since it both reflects and upholds social power relations. Language is examined for its underlying meanings as well as its surface meanings, including how it influences perceptions, validates particular discourses, and marginalizes opposing ideas. In CDA, language is very important since it is a basic idea for people to communicate and engage with each other. Chilton (1998) emphasizes language's crucial function in fostering connections by defining it as "the universal capacity of humans in all societies to communicate" (p. 20).

According to CDA, language is seen as an essential part of social interaction and is closely related to other aspects of social life (Fairclough, 2003, p. 2). It is viewed as a weapon for building and shattering reality, as well as a means of establishing power and control and enabling the advancement of particular ideologies and interests (Wodak, 2001). Consequently, language and social life are inextricably linked in forming discourse and society dynamics, as evidenced by this. Power and ideology interact in political speech to influence the creation, transmission, and reception of messages. By carefully framing topics in ways that appeal to their intended audience, political actors utilize language to establish authority, rally support, and forward their objectives (Fairclough, 2001). Discourse techniques like framing, persuasion, and silencing are examples of how power conflicts take shape when dominant voices try to keep control of the narrative and marginalize opposing points of view. By means of discourse analysis, scholars reveal the manners in which power and ideology are implemented and disputed in political discourse, providing insight into the processes by which political agendas are formulated, validated, and confronted. Language and voice are crucial in the political discourse because they help

create and spread ideologies, influence public opinion, and give political agendas legitimacy. Politicians and other actors deploy rhetorical devices, persuasive methods, and discursive strategies to strategically use language to persuade, control, and mobilize audiences in order to promote their goals. CDA exposes the underlying power dynamics, ideological prejudices, and social injustices present in political communication by analyzing language and voice in political speech.

#### **2.14 Previous Research Works**

Researchers looked closely at many of Imran Khan's speeches, using a variety of discourse analytic techniques to assess his rhetoric. Asia Nusrat, for example, examined Imran Khan's power discourse, which was especially clear in remarks he made during the Dharna demonstrations. Nusrat's work is important because it adds to the body of knowledge and helps Pakistanis understand how their leader uses language to exert power. Fairclough's three-dimensional model (1989) served as a foundation for data interpretation in Nusrat's theme analysis methodology. Important conclusions from the textual, discursive, and sociological research of Khan's speech emphasized the purposeful use of pronouns like "I" to establish authority and "we" to win over the audience.

The researchers found a study vacuum about Imran Khan's linguistic and persuasive abilities after undertaking a thorough review of the literature that included articles, theses, newspapers, and political speeches broadcast by news networks. Khan uses language methods to effectively enforce his ideas, but occasionally, his emotional outbursts take away from his intended message and could have a negative effect on the audience (Ghilzai et al., 2018). The close relationship between language and society is highlighted by academics like Halliday and Matthiessen (2014), who also

point out how writers, journalists, and politicians use language in social contexts to strategically communicate their beliefs to the intended audience. This implies that language, with its varied expressions to portray diverse ideologies, is crucial in influencing listeners or readers about a specific viewpoint (Ghannam, 2011; Mahmood et al., 2011). Furthermore, Fairclough (2015) asserts that by analyzing figurative language employed in social contexts, discourse analysis assists in revealing the explicit and implicit agendas present in texts (as mentioned in Hassan, 2018). Van Dijk (1988) goes on to say that different ideologies can be communicated through discourse construction, highlighting the value of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) in determining how language shapes social and political situations (Gopang & Bughio, 2015). CDA examines how language creates meanings and strengthens social ties in addition to examining the complex interaction between language and society (Mullet, 2018; Aazam et al., 2019). As a type of discourse, speech is an effective tool for widespread persuasion and communication (Gopang & Bughio, 2015). It allows people to communicate ideas directly or indirectly to the public, influencing and persuading large numbers of people (van Dijk, 1988, 1993, 1995, 2001, as cited in Gopang & Bughio, 2015). Thus, a grasp of speech and discourse dynamics is essential to understanding how people, especially political figures like Imran Khan, use language to further raise their agendas and influence public opinion.

Farid, Nawaz and Tariq (2020) argued that Discourse studies continues to be dominated by the political sphere, especially when examining the statements of politicians like Imran Khan. Many studies in the field of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) have examined political discourse and the "Us vs. Them" split from a CDA standpoint.

Advanced discourse analysis, or CDA, sheds light on the ways in which language exerts power and shapes society (Dijk, 2001; Farid, Tariq & Nawaz, 2020). Within CDA, the relationship between identity, power, and ideology is crucial (Van Dijk, 2006; Fairclough, 1989, as quoted in Farid, Tariq & Nawaz, 2020). According to Van Dijk (2006), ideology includes a set of values, a dominant force, a stabilizing element, and a part of a group's identity. In analyzing discourse, Fairclough (1989), as referenced in Tariq & Nawaz (2020), highlights the relationship between ideology and power by differentiating between power that is expressed in speech and power that underlies discourse. CDA examines how language, which is frequently characterized by the "Us vs. Them" dichotomy, is used to express power relations, shape identities, and maintain power imbalances (Singh, 2004, as referenced in Farid, Nawaz and Tariq 2020). An excellent place to study discourse practices is political speeches (Sharififar & Rahimi, 2015; Iqbal, 2015; Naz, 2012; Ahmad, 2014, as cited in Farid, Nawaz and Tariq 2020). To understand how language is used to assert power and ideology, researchers have examined the speeches of a number of political leaders, including Imran Khan (Sharififar & Rahimi, 2015; Iqbal, 2015; Naz, 2012; Ahmad, 2014, as referenced in Farid, Nawaz and Tariq 2020). Imran Khan urged for group action to bring about peace and harmony in his 2019 speech to the UN General Assembly. He covered important global concerns such as money laundering, terrorism, climate change, Islamophobia, and the Kashmir dispute. They conclude that Imran Khan, the 22nd prime minister of Pakistan, addressed the 74th session of the UN General Assembly in New York on September 28, 2019, and the analysis clearly showed divisions between "Us" and "Them" in every section of his speech. The four main topics that the prime minister addressed were Kashmir, Islamophobia, Money

Laundering, and Climate Change. He outlined the differences between "Us" and "Them" in each subject, emphasized the necessity of finding a solution, and made a commitment to the politically and economically.

Imran Khan's September 27, 2019, UN General Assembly speech, with a focus on Islamophobia, was the subject of a different study conducted by Amir, Ahmed, and Ahmad (2020). Their investigation focused on the several kinds of speech acts that Khan used in the speech, as well as any overlaps and direct or indirect forms. The researchers performed both qualitative and quantitative studies using the Speech Act theory put forward by Austin and Searle as their analytical framework. The results showed that Khan's discourse was primarily composed of expressive and representative behaviors, however there were also some significant examples of direct speech. The survey found that Khan's presentation of the facts, instructional material, and upbeat tone typified his discussion on Islamophobia. Uzma, Islam, Saima, and Furwa (2013) carried out research on the deceptive language strategies used by political figures to spread their beliefs. The speech given by Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) chairman Imran Khan from Shaukat Khanum Hospital two days before the 2013 general elections was the subject of the critical critique. The researchers sought to clarify the underlying ideas that were present in the speech that was being offered. Using Fairclough's 1995 analytical framework and additional instruments like word choice, repetition, positive self-representation, negative other representation, and referential strategies, a qualitative analysis of the chosen speech was carried out to investigate the ways in which particular linguistic components shape people's opinions and political positions. The study found that political vocabulary is purposefully constructed to obliquely communicate particular ideas throughout the conversation.

Politicians also use a variety of linguistic strategies to influence public opinion in support of their hidden agendas. According to studies, it is essential for the general public to comprehend the codes and symbols used in political discourse in order to facilitate public comprehension. The speech acts used in Imran Khan's July 26, 2018, inaugural speech as prime minister of Pakistan were examined by Hussain, Shahwar, and Basit (2020). The objective of the paper was to classify the speech acts that Khan used, evaluate the occurrence of overlapping actions, and distinguish between direct and indirect speech acts. According to their analysis, Khan's speech included directive acts (25%) and commissive acts (39.583%) among the total data reviewed. Representative acts made up 27.083%, expressive acts (1.041%), declarative acts (7.291%), and directive acts (7.591%).

Khan and Malik (2017) conducted an in-depth analysis of Pakistani political speeches, including Imran Khan's, to investigate the use of rhetorical devices and persuasive strategies. They analyzed the vocabulary and organization of these speeches using discourse analysis to find trends and tactics politicians employed to sway public opinion. Their research exposed the deft use of linguistic devices including metaphorical language, repetition, and appeals to values and beliefs, underscoring the nuanced nature of political discourse. The study's findings highlight the value of critical analysis in identifying persuasive tactics in political discourse and how language affects public perception and political communication. Overall, by offering insightful information on the mechanics of political communication, Khan and Malik's research advances our knowledge of how rhetoric shapes political debate in Pakistan. Siddiqui and Ahmed (2016) analyzed Pakistani political leaders' rhetoric in an effort to better understand how language shapes public opinion and aids in the

formation of political ideology. Their qualitative examination of political speeches revealed the nuanced discursive techniques politicians use to establish authority and legitimacy. The researchers shed insight on how political leaders construct narratives and frame issues to win support and uphold their power by language patterns and rhetorical tactics. Their research emphasizes the role that language plays in forming political discourse and the intricate relationship that exists in the Pakistani setting between rhetoric, power relations, and public opinion. Siddiqui and Ahmed provide insightful information on how speech shapes political environments and promotes social understanding through their painstaking study.

Hussain and Ahmed (2018) conducted a thorough study of Pakistani political leaders' discursive practices, focusing on the language features and rhetorical devices that were used in their speeches. The researchers used critical discourse analysis to uncover the complex power relationships and ideological frameworks present in political speech. Their research shed light on the ways speech is used to uphold power, sway public opinion, and advance ideological goals by closely examining the language choices, narrative structures, and persuasive techniques used by political actors. The study conducted by Hussain and Ahmed makes a substantial contribution to our knowledge of how language is used in Pakistan to spread ideologies and manipulate politics. Imran Khan's and other well-known Pakistani politicians' political speeches were carefully compared and examined by Khattak and Rahman (2019). In order to find similarities and differences in discursive methods used by politicians of different political ideologies, their research examined the language patterns and persuasive approaches employed by these politicians. Khattak and Rahman illuminate the rhetorical strategies used by public leaders to further their goals and garner support

by applying this comparative perspective. Their research provides insightful information about the various ways that language is used in Pakistani politics to communicate and persuade.

The impact of political speech on public opinion and political conduct in Pakistan was investigated in-depth by Ali and Hussain (2015). Through the use of surveys and content analysis of political speeches, their study explored the complex ways in which politicians manipulate language to influence public opinion and voting behavior. Ali and Hussain sought to understand how language influences voters' beliefs and behavior by closely examining the language and substance of political speeches. Their research offers insightful information about the complex interactions that occur between public opinion development and political communication in the Pakistani setting. Khalid and Mahmood (2020) carried out a thorough investigation on the function of metaphor in political discourse, paying particular attention to how Pakistani politicians such as Imran Khan employed it. Their study sought to clarify the ways in which metaphors are used to define political narratives, create identities, and impact public discourse by utilizing metaphor analysis methodologies. By examining the subtle yet potent ways that metaphors change beliefs, alter perceptions, and influence the larger socio-political scene in Pakistan, Khalid and Mahmood shed light on the nuances of metaphorical language in political speeches.

The study conducted by Abbas and Khan (2014) examined the rhetorical strategies used by Pakistani political leaders, with a particular emphasis on the use of persuasive language and rhetorical appeals in their speeches. Using discourse analysis techniques, the researchers aimed to reveal the complex tactics politicians use to build support and inspire supporters. Abbas and Khan offered insightful analyses of the

language quirks and persuasive strategies woven into political speech, shedding light on the ways in which politicians sway public opinion and galvanize their supporters. H.Ali and Raza (2015) conducted a thorough analysis of the rhetorical function in Nawaz Sharif's political discourse, emphasizing its ability to convince and mobilize followers. In order to expose the rhetorical techniques and persuasive methods used by Sharif to maintain his political relevance and influence public opinion, their study used discourse analysis as its main approach. Through a close examination of the language and communication strategies that Sharif employed in his speeches, Ali and Raza want to shed light on the ways in which political figures interact with their listeners and win over people to their causes. This study advances our knowledge of rhetoric's ability to persuade in political discourse, especially in light of Nawaz Sharif's leadership in Pakistan.

Khan and Ahmed (2016) conducted a comparative analysis of the rhetorical techniques used by Nawaz Sharif and other prominent Pakistani politicians. By carefully dissecting Sharif's language and persuasive efforts, the researchers aimed to identify the similarities and differences in discursive strategies used by different political ideologies. Khan and Ahmed sought to shed light on the subtle strategies used by politicians to effectively express their thoughts and influence public opinion by closely examining Sharif's language in comparison to those of other notable leaders. This comparative study sheds light on the subtle differences in persuasive communication tactics used by various political players, which advances our knowledge of the rich variety of rhetorical devices used in Pakistani political discourse. Qureshi and Abbas (2017) analyzed Nawaz Sharif's discursive practices, paying close attention to the language characteristics and rhetorical strategies he used

in his talks. The researchers used critical discourse analysis to uncover the hidden power structures and ideological frameworks that are woven into Sharif's political rhetoric. Through close examination of Sharif's language and rhetorical devices, Qureshi and Abbas aimed to reveal the nuanced processes by which political beliefs are expressed and power is exercised in Pakistani politics. This research adds to our understanding of Sharif's discursive strategies by illuminating the complex interactions that shape political discourse between language, power, and ideology.

Hassan and Malik (2018) conducted a thorough analysis of the political speeches made by Pakistan's previous Prime Minister, Nawaz Sharif. The primary objective of their research was to examine the rhetorical and persuasive skills employed by Sharif to effectively communicate his political message. The researchers' analytical approach was discourse analysis, with the goal of revealing the complex ways in which Sharif used words to advance his political agenda and influence public opinion. Hassan and Malik aimed to shed light on the fundamental processes by which political figures like Sharif interact with the public and shape public opinion by analyzing the language subtleties and rhetorical tactics used in his speeches. This study clarifies the function of language in communication and makes a substantial contribution to our knowledge of Sharif's strategies for communication. Mahmood and Haider (2019) conducted a study to investigate how Nawaz Sharif's political rhetoric affects public opinion and electoral behavior in Pakistan. Using a combination of surveys and speech content analysis, the researchers examined the ways in which Sharif's discourse influenced public opinion and shaped voting behavior. Mahmood and Haider sought to clarify the relationship between Sharif's language and its influence over public opinion and electoral dynamics by analyzing

the linguistic components and rhetorical devices woven throughout his discourse. This research adds to a more complex understanding of how Pakistan's socio-political environment has been shaped by Sharif's political communication. The literature analysis concluded by delving into a wide range of research that examined the speech patterns of notable Pakistani politicians, including Imran Khan and Nawaz Sharif. Scholars have utilized many approaches, such as discourse analysis, content analysis, and rhetorical analysis, to examine the language and persuasive tactics utilized by these influential figures in their orations. Scholars have endeavored to explain the complex relationship among language, power dynamics, and ideological conceptions in political speech by critically analyzing their rhetoric. The results of these research highlight the role that language plays in influencing voting behavior, organizing support, and forming public opinion. Furthermore, the literature emphasizes the necessity of conducting more study to examine how Pakistani political communication is changing and what it means for democratic administration. Future research initiatives can help to a more thorough knowledge of the function political speech plays in forming Pakistan's socio-political environment by expanding on the insights gained from previous studies.

## **CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODS**

This chapter analysis the speeches made by two important political personalities, Imran Khan and Nawaz Sharif, with a special emphasis on their presentations to the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA). The study employs Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) approaches, primarily focusing on Norman Fairclough's 3D model. The description, interpretation, and explanation elements of Fairclough's framework offer a thorough lens through which to look at the language and discursive techniques these leaders employ. This research attempts to clarify the complex interactions between language, ideology, and power as they appear in political discourse by closely examining their speeches. Political language is used to express and justify specific ideas and power structures. Imran Khan's and Nawaz Sharif's UNGA addresses are excellent resources for this analysis. This chapter employed Fairclough's method to evaluate the speeches of both leaders, offering insights into their framing strategies, rhetorical devices, and underlying ideologies. This research aims to enhance comprehension of political communication dynamics, especially in international arenas such as the UNGA, by carefully studying the language and discourse utilized by Imran Khan and Nawaz Sharif.

### **3.1 Fairclough 3'D Model**

In the discipline of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), Fairclough (1995) and Churiaraki and Fairclough (1999) have put out an important theoretical framework that is well known for its pioneering contributions. The objective of Fairclough's framework is to identify and understand the manipulative social relations that are ingrained in language, emphasizing the crucial role that language plays in determining

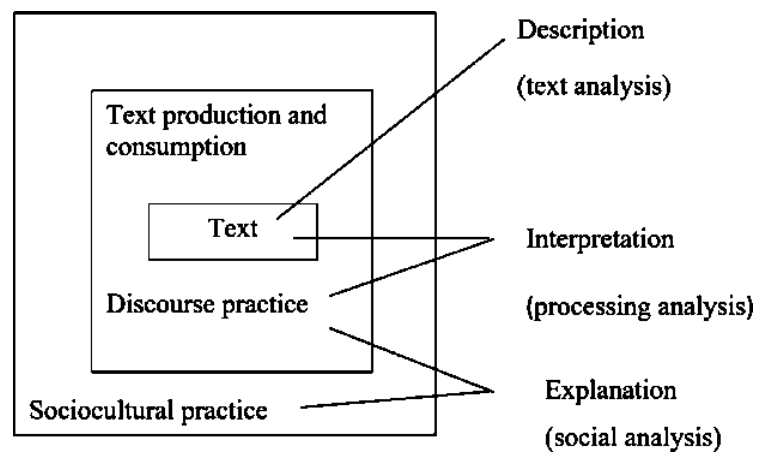
the power dynamics in society (Fairclough, 1989). The foundation of CDA is this theoretical approach, which has been further developed in later studies (Chuliarki & Fairclough, 1999; Fairclough, 1992, 1993, 1995). It makes it easier to examine language and discourse in larger socio-political circumstances. Fairclough's three-dimensional model clarifies the complex interactions between language, discourse, and social power systems. It was built upon his earlier work, which is frequently seen as a critical analysis of language and discourse (Fairclough, 1989). This model provides a thorough framework for examining linguistic and discursive phenomena. It consists of three components: text, discourse practice, and sociocultural practice (Fairclough, 1995; Churiaraki & Fairclough, 1999). These interconnected and complimentary aspects provide a number of analytical methods that are crucial for comprehending the intricacies of discourse. Applying Fairclough's three-dimensional model and related analytical tools is made easier by the speeches made by Imran Khan and Nawaz Sharif at the United Nations General Assembly. This study attempts to clarify the rhetorical devices and ideological foundations seen in their speech by utilizing Text Analysis, Processing Analysis, and Social Analysis. This would help to illuminate the intricate link between language, ideology, and power in political communication. The remarks by Khan and Sharif may be analyzed using these analytical framework not just as textual artifacts but also as representations of larger socio-cultural practices and power relations.

According to Fairclough's model, three types of analysis—text analysis (description), processing analysis (interpretation), and social analysis (explanation)—are essential for investigating linguistic and discursive phenomena within socio-political contexts (Fairclough, 1995; Churiaraki & Fairclough, 1999). A sophisticated

grasp of the role language plays in forming and reflecting social power relations is made possible by these analytical techniques, each of which corresponds to a different facet of the model. Three distinct types of analysis, which are prerequisites for these three processes, are;

- *Text Analysis (description)*
- *Processing Analysis (interpretation)*
- *Social Analysis (explanation)*

To clarify and emphasize the linkages in various dimensions, the best way to present this framework is diagrammatically.



**Figure 3.1: Fairclough's 3D Model**

- ***First Dimension (Description)***

This dimension entails analyzing the speeches' language elements, such as lexical selections, grammatical constructions, and rhetorical strategies. Textual analysis sheds light on the ways in which language is employed to define political concerns, create identities, and deliver certain messages. The textual elements of political discourse are broken down by scholars using linguistic theories and techniques like speech act theory and metaphor analysis to uncover underlying meanings and persuasive techniques.

The first step in Fairclough's technique is to identify the object of analysis, which might be verbal, visual, or a combination of both forms of text within a specific context. This dimension concentrates on examining the text's characteristics and utilizes descriptive analysis.

- ***Second dimension (Interpretation)***

The second part explores how language is utilized in social interactions and institutional contexts, with a focus on the creation and consumption of discourse. Discourse practice analysis looks at the discursive techniques used by political actors to sway public opinion and create social norms, including framing, persuasion, and legitimation. Scholars analyze the ways in which speeches are made, communicated, and understood by different audiences, politicians, and the media.

In Fairclough's paradigm, the process by which social subjects create, disseminate, and consume the object (text) is the second dimension of analysis. This dimension interprets discursive activities, which encompass a range of modalities such as writing, speaking, seeing, listening, and designing.

- ***Third Dimension (Explanation)***

This section addresses the larger sociopolitical and cultural circumstances within which discourse functions. The historical, institutional, and ideological influences on language usage and speech patterns are taken into account in sociocultural practice analysis. Scholars investigate the ways in which prevailing ideologies, power dynamics, and social hierarchies impact the creation and reception of political speeches. Researchers can better understand the underlying power dynamics and hegemonic structures that control political communication by placing speech within its sociocultural context. The third analytical element is social practices, which encompass the socio-historical circumstances that resulted in the formation of these products and processes. It also emphasizes the social interactions that take place in the wider context of the subject matter. By using Fairclough's 3D model, scholars may analyze political speeches in a methodical way and learn more about the intricate relationships that exist between language, power, and ideology. Researchers can better understand how political both changes discourse and reflects larger social and political processes by using a multidimensional approach to discourse analysis.

### **3.2 Data Collection**

The primary data used in this study was gathered from publically accessible sources, including statements made by Nawaz Sharif from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA) and Imran Khan at the UN General Assembly (UNGA). For Imran Khan's UNGA address, the data gathering procedure entailed accessing and obtaining the speech transcripts via internet search engines, such as Google Chrome, and for Nawaz Sharif's speech, via the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' official website. These sites provide users immediate access to trustworthy transcripts of the leaders' speeches on global forums. Since the speeches are official recordings of important diplomatic

encounters, using these routes guaranteed their validity and veracity. This study ensures transparency and credibility in its data gathering process by utilizing credible sources, which allows for an in-depth study of the linguistic and discursive elements found in the speeches given by Imran Khan and Nawaz Sharif on the international arena.

### **3.3 Data Analysis**

Fairclough's Three-Dimensional (3D) model, which provides a thorough framework for comprehending the linguistic and discursive elements of the speeches, was used to analyze the collected data. This approach was applied to analyze and understand different parts of the text, offering insights into the dynamics that underlie it. Imran Khan and Nawaz Sharif's textual characteristics, linguistic decisions, and rhetorical devices were analyzed using text analysis to identify their communication methods. The understanding of how these language components support persuasion and meaning-making in the conversation was made easier by Processing Analysis. Ultimately, the Social Analysis phase examined the power structures, ideological frameworks, and societal discourses that were incorporated into the speeches by delving into the speeches' larger sociocultural background. This research used Fairclough's 3D model to provide light on the complex relationship between language, discourse, and socio-political power dynamics that was present in both leaders' UNGA speeches.

### **3.4 Characteristics of the text**

The basic characteristics of the text pointed out through Fairclough's 3D model are given below;

- **Alliteration**

Alliteration is when two words that are near to each other start with the same consonant sound. Alliteration can be used in political speeches to strengthen rhetorical effect, establish a distinctive rhythm, and highlight important ideas. Take the sentence "peace, prosperity, and progress," for instance. The audience is reminded of the interconnection of these principles and their significance by the repeated use of the letter 'p'.

- **Analogy**

To make difficult ideas understandable or elicit strong feelings, analogies compare and contrast various ideas or circumstances. Analogies can be used in political speeches to familiarize topics and utilize association to convince the audience. A leader may, for instance, compare the state of the economy to a "ship navigating stormy seas," implying that in order to overcome obstacles and arrive to calmer beaches, solid leadership and teamwork are required.

- **Anaphora**

Anaphora is the practice of starting subsequent clauses or phrases with the same word or phrase. Anaphora can highlight important topics, provide a rhythmic cadence, and support the speaker's points of contention in political debate. A politician may say, for example, "We believe in equality. Justice is something we believe in.

- **Allusion**

Allusion is the term for oblique allusions to literary works, historical events, or cultural icons. Allusions in political speech can elicit common cultural or historical knowledge, build rapport, and succinctly communicate difficult concepts. To rally

support for their own policies or vision, a politician can, for example, use "the spirit of Lincoln" to conjure ideas of freedom and democracy, relying on the historical heritage of a famous leader.

- **Humour**

Humor is one of the best literary methods for entertaining and making readers laugh. By using a range of techniques, such as linguistic play, puns, sarcasm, exaggeration, and more, humor relieves monotony and boredom in the audience and acts as a calming agent. It serves as an engrossing tool that stimulates interest, forges connections with the discourse, gives characters life, and defuses tense circumstances in the narrative.

- **Satire**

The word "satyr" is the source of satire. It's a long-standing literary device employed by authors to attack an individual or a social class. Satire is a tool writers employ to call out the transgressions of their rivals. Satire is described as "a literary work in which vices, follies, stupidities, abuses, etc., is held up to ridicule and contempt" by Webster's New World Dictionary (Neufeldt, 2002).

- **Irony**

Gray (1960) defined irony as a figure of speech that is inherently connected to contrast. It is an indirect kind of communication that is characterized by discrepancies between what is said and what is intended to be said, as well as between appearance and reality and expectation and truth (Schaeffer, 1975). A common use in ordinary language and literature, irony expresses complex meanings and provokes deeper thinking. Its nuanced interaction between apparent and actual meaning gives it a powerful rhetorical impact.

- **Imagery**

Imagery is the use of vivid words to arouse the audience's senses and conjure up mental pictures. Using imagery in political speeches may strengthen persuasive appeal, appeal to emotions, and communicate difficult concepts. A leader may, for instance, build a striking image of perseverance and national unity in the face of difficulties by describing "a nation rising from the ashes of adversity, its people united in purpose and resilience."

- **Hyperbole**

Hyperbole is the use of exaggerated assertions or statements for rhetorical impact rather than with the intention of being accepted seriously. Hyperbole is a tool that political discourse uses to influence public opinion or highlight the importance of a certain topic. A politician can, for example, claim that a certain legislation will "transform society overnight," exaggerating its apparent impact in an attempt to garner support from the audience.

- **Personification**

Personification is the process of giving abstract ideas, objects, or things human characteristics. Personification helps humanize difficult problems in political speeches, increasing the audience's emotional resonance and relatability. One way a leader personifies the notion of "justice" is by presenting it as a force that "demands accountability" and "stands against oppression," giving it moral agency and urgency.

- **Parallelism**

To produce symmetry and rhythm in speech, parallelism entails repeating grammatical patterns or structures. Parallelism can be used in political discourse to list

action points, draw attention to differences, or highlight important concepts. Using parallel structure, a politician can, for example, proclaim, "We will fight for better education, we will fight for healthcare reform, and we will fight for economic justice," outlining their policy goals and enlisting the audience's support.

- **Ridicule**

Janes and Olson (2000) define ridicule as a kind of comedy that is meant to make fun of or humiliate someone. Ridicule, which is often characterized by harsh and aggressive rhetoric, relies on making negative generalizations or referring to opponents in an insulting manner. Ridicule, in contrast to more generic satire, usually adopts a more personal attitude, concentrating more on criticizing individual targets than condemning whole communities (Wilson, 1979). Ridicule may also target institutions or cultural norms.

- **Invective**

An invective is a strong-worded expression used to insult, criticize, or vilify a person, idea, or group of people. Words or writings intended to provoke criticism, contempt, or shame against another person or group are referred to as invective language. "A railing speech or expression" is how the American Dictionary of the English Language defines it (Webster, 1828). Reproof can originate from a position of care and be intended for the benefit of the recipient; invective, on the other hand, generally comes from an adversary and is meant to damage or create pain.

- **Metaphor**

According to Ben-Amos (1999), metaphor is the process of "perceiving one thing in terms of another" (i.e., transferring meaning from one semantic domain to another). It serves as a rhetorical technique by drawing attention to a shared characteristic—

often subtly—between two distinct entities through an implied comparison (Guthrie, 1980).

- **Proverb**

A proverb is a well-known, brief saying that encapsulates a universal truth that is drawn from experience or conventional knowledge. According to Bryant (1945), the term "proverb" originates from the Latin "proverbium," where "pro" means "for" and "verbium" means "word." This suggests that a proverb substitutes for a particular phrase. Proverbs are sometimes called the "wrecks and ruins of ancient philosophy" because of their wisdom and comedy (Bryant, 1945, p. 4).

- **Propaganda**

The United States Institute of Propaganda Analysis (USIPA) defines propaganda as "an expression of opinion or action by an individual or group deliberately designed to influence opinions or actions of individuals concerning predetermined ends."

- **Rhetoric**

According to Huckin, Andrus, and Clary-Lemon (2012), rhetoric is a linguistic technique employed in both written and spoken discourse that shows how one may use language to influence, persuade, and convince an audience on certain public issues.

- **Intertextuality**

The idea that texts cannot be examined or comprehended in a vacuum is reinforced by intertextuality, which is because texts are neither generated nor consumed in a vacuum. Instead, writings are related to one another in both historical and contemporary contexts. This connection is shown in a number of ways, including

overt allusions to certain themes or people, evocations of connected incidents, and the passage of important concepts from one work to another. Intertextuality is the process of bringing components from one text into different contexts, and contextualization is essential to this process. Since meanings are generated by their usage within multiple contexts, this process of de-contextualization and subsequent re-contextualization gives these elements new meanings (Wodak, 2009).

### **3.5 Analyzing Imran Khan's and Nawaz Sharif's Speeches Using Fairclough's 3D Model**

- ***Analysis of First Dimension***

The first dimension of analysis is textual study, in line with Norman Fairclough's methodology. In order to better understand the speeches made by Imran Khan and Nawaz Sharif at the UNGA, this research analyzes a range of textual features, such as irony, satire, humor, ridicule, and invective. Proverbs, metaphors, and similes are a few other rhetorical elements that are examined in the speeches. The goal of the study is to offer a thorough comprehension of the text by investigating the use of rhetoric and propaganda strategies in it.

- ***Analysis of Second Dimension***

According to Fairclough's model, text interpretation is the second dimension. The way that this study interprets is by examining the intertextuality that may be seen in the speeches of Imran Khan and Nawaz Sharif. Through careful analysis of quotations, allusions, and relationships to other texts, this study aims to clarify the deeper levels of meaning present in the speeches given by Khan and Sharif.

- ***Analysis of Third Dimension***

The third phase in the research approach used for this study is social analysis,

which attempts to provide an explanation for the text. The power dynamics and dominance structures present in the speeches of Imran Khan and Nawaz Sharif are clarified by means of this research. This study aims to clarify the underlying power dynamics at work in the speeches by placing the material within larger socio-political contexts. The three-dimensional critical discourse analysis (CDA) model developed by Fairclough is the basis for the study of political speech, and it is thoroughly explained in the research methods chapter. The research intends to explore the complex dynamics of language, power, and ideology in political speeches by utilizing this theoretical framework. The three components of Fairclough's model—text analysis, discourse practice analysis, and sociocultural practice analysis—are described in this chapter along with an explanation of how each one advances our knowledge of political communication. This chapter establishes the groundwork for a thorough analysis of linguistic elements, discursive techniques, and sociocultural factors in political speech by applying CDA methodically. Furthermore, it emphasizes how important it is to use a multifaceted strategy in order to reveal the complexity that is present in political communication. All things considered, the methodology chapter establishes the foundation for the study that follows by offering a strong framework for investigating the discursive behaviors of political figures and their social ramifications.

Fairclough's 3D model is particularly appropriate for this study because it offers a comprehensive framework that allows for the analysis of political discourse across multiple dimensions: textual features, discursive practices, and social context. Unlike other approaches, such as discourse-historical or socio-cognitive methods, Fairclough's model integrates both the linguistic analysis of texts and the broader

socio-political structures within which these texts are produced and interpreted. This makes it particularly suited to analyzing the complex interplay between language, power, and ideology in political speeches.

The discourse-historical approach focuses heavily on historical context and intertextual relationships, which may not fully capture the dynamics of how political language operates in current socio-political contexts to sustain power. Similarly, Van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach primarily emphasizes mental models and cognitive processes of interpretation. While useful, it may not offer the same depth of analysis of the broader socio-political structures and their impact on discourse production and distribution. Fairclough's 3D model, by combining textual, discursive, and social analyses, provides a more holistic framework for understanding the ideological influence and the power relations embedded in the speeches of political leaders like Imran Khan and Nawaz Sharif.

## **CHAPTER FOUR: ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS**

This chapter applies the well-known 3D model developed by Fairclough to examine the different divisions of discourse, which include the aspects of text, discourse practice, and sociocultural practice. The focus moves to a comprehensive look and critique of Nawaz Sharif and Imran Khan's UNGA speeches. This research endeavors to unveil the underlying ideologies, power structures, and discursive strategies employed by the two leaders throughout their UNGA addresses to portray their respective points of view. The current study uses a qualitative research approach and methodology to look into the details of both points of interest. In order to clarify the ideas, power structures, and communication tactics employed, the research employs critical discourse analysis (CDA), while also acknowledging the importance of the remarks made by Nawaz Sharif and Imran Khan. The research paradigm acknowledges the subjectivity that penetrates the process of constructing meaning and stresses the influence of social environment on the formation and perception of speech by adopting a constructivist framework. The methodological approach entails utilizing a combination of contextual interpretation and methodical text analysis to examine the speeches' use of rhetorical devices, linguistic traits, and religious ideology to shape public perception. Triangulation approaches, which integrate several data sources and viewpoints, are employed to enhance the study's validity and dependability. This chapter uses Fairclough's 3D model for analyzing speeches in an attempt to provide insight on the intricacies of modern political discourse and its function in shaping public opinion and societal norms in Pakistan.

### **4.1 Analyzing Prominent Rhetorical Devices**

The researchers has carefully chosen fifteen rhetorical strategies to improve comprehension of Fairclough's 3D-model. Alliteration, personification, proverbs, parallelism, comparison, anaphora, imagery, allusion, similes, metaphors, exaggeration, humor, satire, irony, mockery, invective, and propaganda are some examples of these literary devices. Every tool has a specific function in influencing communication, be it making people laugh, drawing attention to social injustices, implying deeper meanings, or using hyperbolic phrases. Analyzing the text's use of these strategies can provide important insights into their function in discourse analysis and how communication dynamics are affected. With regard to interpreting the text within Fairclough's three-dimensional paradigm, the selection of fifteen rhetorical devices offers a rich framework. Every technique, from propaganda to alliteration, has a specific function in influencing speech and forming communication. Alliteration, for example, improves the rhythm and flow of words, while personification gives inanimate objects human characteristics—both of which pique the interest of the audience. Proverbs and analogies use cultural knowledge to succinctly communicate difficult concepts, whereas parallelism uses structure and repetition to highlight important ideas. The text's significance is enhanced by the use of allusion, anaphora, and imagery, which conjure up strong mental images and cultural allusions. Similes and metaphors make comparisons easier to make, allowing for more nuanced interpretation and the tangible expression of abstract ideas. While comedy, satire, irony, mockery, and vitriol introduce emotional appeal and critique, provoking thought and discussion, hyperbole adds emphasis and exaggeration. Finally, propaganda aims to influence and convince, frequently by playing on people's emotions and providing false facts. We may better comprehend these rhetorical

devices' function in discourse analysis and their influence on audience perception and comprehension by examining how they are used in the text.

## 4.2 Analysis of Speeches

### *Textual Analysis of Discourse (Description)*

#### *Overview*

This section addresses the first dimension of Fairclough's model. The text is described by the initial dimension of the triangle that makes up the model. The text will be examined for the sake of this description at several points, including those involving humor, satire, irony, ridicule, metaphor, simile, proverb, propaganda, and rhetoric. This chapter's comprehensive empirical data highlights the significance of the preceding chapters by going into further depth on how the aforementioned categories were used. Each component has been explained in detail independently. In this way, the goal of the model's first dimension of application has been realized.

## 4.3 Textual Analysis of Imran Khan Speech

In his speech of 76<sup>th</sup> session of UNGA Imran Khan made the use of following rhetorical devices.

- **Alliteration**

Imran Khan has used this phrase twice, most notably in the phrases "peace with Pakistan" and "fight for the liberation." In this instance, Pakistan's peace and freedom are being demanded through the repeated use of consonant sounds.

- **Allusion**

The speech's illusory components are evident when Ronald Reagan's name is called out, as in "President Ronald Reagan invited them to the White House in 1983." This reference transports us back to the White House visit by Mujahideen in 1983

following 9/11. Khan's speech is powerful and appealing because these literary methods and figures of speech, which also help him express his point clearly and emotionally.

- **Analogy**

In stating, "What the East India Company did to India, the crooked ruling elites are doing to the developing world," Imran Khan offered a poignant contrast. Imran Khan has explained the tendency of imperialism, colonialism, and post-colonialism by drawing comparisons between historical and contemporary circumstances.

- **Anaphora**

Imran Khan's speech is characterized by a broad variety of succeeding sentences that are repeated, such as in "One, reverse its unilateral... Two, give up oppressing it... Three: stop and undo the demographic shifts. At this stage, the word "reverse" has importance.

- **Hyperbole**

The phrase "a reign of terror" and "a reign of fear and violence" are two instances in which it has been employed to emphasize a point. It concerns the suffering-ridden region of Kashmir.

- **Humor**

Although the speech mostly deals with serious topics, Khan's depiction of the reaction of powerful nations to violations of human rights has a lighthearted touch. In this comment, "Such double standards are the most glaring in case of India, where this RSS-BJP regime is being allowed to get away with human rights abuses with

complete impunity," he indirectly mocks the selective attitude taken by powerful nations in addressing infractions by their allies.

- **Irony**

Imran Khan uses irony that has its own meaning since it perfectly accomplishes his goal of denouncing the underappreciation of Pakistan's efforts during times of terror and war. He says, "The only reason we suffered so much was because we became an ally of the US." The irony here is that working with the US has its drawbacks, including having to deal with terrorism in Pakistan as a result.

- **Imagery**

When he uses phrases like "a reign of terror by an occupation force" and "mob lynching by cow vigilantes," the speech's creative environment is descriptive in nature. Once more, the concept of horror and dread is exaggerated.

- **Invective**

Khan used invective to attack the Indian government's policies, notably in relation to how it treats Muslims and what it does in Jammu and Kashmir. He calls their philosophy "fascist" and characterizes the activities of the Indian government, for example, as a "plunder of the developing world by their corrupt ruling elites". A good example is this one: "The hate-filled 'Hindutva' ideology, propagated by the fascist RSS-BJP regime, has unleashed a reign of fear and violence against India's 200 million strong Muslim community."

- **Metaphor**

Khan uses metaphor two times in this speech. His use of metaphors to explain difficult concepts is evident in statements like "the gap between the rich and the poor

countries is increasing at an alarming speed," which draws attention to the growing economic divide.

- **Propaganda**

Imran Khan used propaganda tactics in his speech, characterizing Pakistan's efforts to limit the Covid epidemic as effective and crediting the government's use of "smart lockdowns" and social protection initiatives like Ehsaas for this achievement. His assertion that "Pakistan has been successful so far in containing the Covid pandemic is evidence of this, by the grace of Almighty Allah."

- **Proverb**

Imran Khan underlines the significance of acknowledging Pakistan's sacrifices in the context of the War on Terror by using a rhetorical tactic comparable to a proverb, though he does not declare it explicitly: "Imagine how we feel when we are blamed for the turn of events in Afghanistan." Here, he makes an implicit reference to a proverb while appealing to the audience's sense of justice and understanding.

- **Personification**

Imran Khan is the only one who has used personification. When he uses phrases like "the virus does not discriminate between nations and people" when discussing viruses. Imran Khan has discussed COVID-19 and its overall effects on individuals in this passage.

- **Parallelism**

Imran Khan (in "Reverse its unilateral and illegal measures instituted since 5th August 2019; stop its oppression and human rights violations") once used grammatical constructions repeatedly for rhetorical effect. Here, the tyranny that

existed in occupied Kashmir is brought up once more.

- **Satire**

Imran Khan uses satire to expose the rich countries' hypocrisy over money laundering from underdeveloped nations. He makes a case for the eventual fallout for affluent nations by drawing comparisons between past exploitation and contemporary economic inequities. This is apparent in his speech; "What the East India Company did to India, the crooked ruling elites are doing to the developing world - plundering the wealth and transferring to western capitals and offshore tax havens."

#### **4.4 Interpretative Analysis of Discourse (Interpretation)**

In the second section, we use Fairclough's triangular model to analyze the discursive strategies used in Nawaz Sharif and Imran Khan's speeches. First, we look at intertextuality, paying particular attention to how they support their claims with in-text citations. They compare the accomplishments of their respective governments for the benefit of the public using references from a variety of fields, such as historical occurrences and the deeds of their enemies. This tactical move strengthens their argument's persuasiveness. We then do a discursive analysis, focusing on how they topicalized their remarks. We may learn more about the underlying discursive methods used by both leaders by closely examining subjects like nationalism, Islam, culture, literature, democracy, and capitalism.

#### **4.5 Interpretive analysis of Imran Khan's speech**

- **Intertextuality**

Intertextuality in Imran Khan's speech is evident in several instances where he references historical events, cultural contexts, and global narratives to convey his

message:

- ***Historical Events***

Khan highlights the ways in which Pakistan is still affected by historical events, such as Pakistan's involvement in the Afghan conflict in the 1980s.

- ***Cultural Backgrounds***

He makes use of cultural allusions, such as calling on Allah at the opening of his speech, to connect with his listeners and represent Pakistan's Islamic identity.

- ***Global Narratives***

Khan highlights the interdependence of these problems by placing Pakistan's problems within larger global themes, like as the COVID-19 pandemic and climate change.

- ***Topic Analysis***

Khan addresses a variety of subjects throughout his speech, many of which are important regional and global issues:

- ***Global Challenges***

He highlights Pakistan's reaction to the triple difficulties of the COVID-19 epidemic, the economic crisis, and climate change while outlining potential solutions for international cooperation.

- ***Pakistan's Attitude***

Khan presents Pakistan as a responsible global actor and peace champion by outlining the nation's perspective on matters like terrorism, climate change, and regional conflicts.

- ***Human Rights***

He raises awareness to the suffering of the Kashmiri people on a global scale and speaks out against violations of human rights in the region.

- ***International Affairs***

In his discussion of Pakistan's ties to the US, its participation in the fight against terrorism, and its initiatives to bring about peace in Afghanistan, Khan emphasizes the need of honoring Pakistan's sacrifices.

- ***Discursive Analysis***

Khan uses a variety of discursive devices in his speech to create meaning and influence debate, including:

- ***Power Dynamics***

In his assertion of Pakistan's place in international affairs, he portrays it as a major actor with insightful observations and contributions to make.

- ***Ideological Stance***

Khan presents Pakistan as a voice for justice and peace while outlining the nation's ideological positions on human rights, terrorism, and regional crises.

- ***Rhetoric Strategies***

Khan used rhetorical devices to convince his audience and support his points throughout the speech, including repetition ("Mr. President"), emotional appeal (highlighting Pakistan's sacrifices), and comparison (comparing present issues to historical events).

- ***Cultural and Social Context***

The speech is set in Pakistan's social and cultural framework, highlighting Pakistan's identity and establishing a connection with the audience through religious

and cultural allusions.

In conclusion, Khan's speech effectively utilizes intertextuality, topic analysis, and discursive analysis to address global challenges, articulate Pakistan's position, and advocate for international cooperation and action on pressing issues.

#### **4.6 Socio-Cultural Analysis of Imran Khan's Speech**

- **Discourse Analysis**

- 1.1 Socio-Cultural Practice*

Khan frequently addresses socio-cultural activities that are part of Pakistani society in his lectures. For example, in order to connect with his audience and support his points, he often uses cultural allusions in his talks, like as passages from Islamic texts or allusions to Pakistan's past battles. His talk to the UN General Assembly on Islamophobia demonstrates this cultural resonance.

- *Structures of Ideological Polarization*

Imran Khan often draws attention to ideological differences and presents his party as the agent of good change by drawing comparisons between the policies and acts of his government and those of past governments in his speeches. His numerous addresses to the country, in which he criticizes political rivals and positions his party's platform as a radical break from the established quo, demonstrate this ideological division.

- *Descriptive and Discursive Levels*

Imran Khan frequently uses both levels of description and discourse in his lectures. For example, in his August 18, 2021, speech to the nation, he gave a thorough account of the successes and difficulties faced by his administration and

offered insights on the status of the country.

#### **4.7 Contextual Factors**

- ***Language***

Imran Khan uses a lot of vocabulary in his speech to express his viewpoint on a number of international topics. He emphasizes his position on human rights breaches, for example, by using terms like "campaign to destroy mosques," "reign of fear and violence," and "criminal enterprise" to characterize the predicament faced by Muslims in India. Khan also emphasizes certain issues in his word choice, such as the effects of terrorism and the fallout from geopolitical actions. He attempts to elicit strong emotional responses and bring attention to these concerns by using language like "pernicious phenomenon" to describe Islamophobia and "forcible snatching of mortal remains" to illustrate human rights crimes in Kashmir.

- ***Voice***

As Pakistan's prime minister, Imran Khan has a position of authority and influence that gives him a significant voice on the international scene. His address serves as a representative of Pakistan's position on a range of global topics, including as terrorism, climate change, and violations of human rights. Khan also gives voice to underrepresented communities, such as Muslims in India who are subjected to prejudice and the oppressed people of Kashmir. Khan hopes to raise awareness of these communities' predicament and bolster support for their cause by providing a voice to them.

- ***Ideology***

Imran Khan's statement is indicative of his government's worldview, which places emphasis on matters like social justice, human rights, and peace. His focus on

the necessity for human rights protection, inclusive government in Afghanistan, and a settlement to the Kashmir dispute is consistent with the administration's ideological position. Khan's ideological position against discrimination, extremism, and inequality is also shown in his condemnation of Islamophobia, terrorism, and economic injustice.

- ***Power***

Imran Khan has considerable political clout and influence due to his roles as both the prime minister of Pakistan and a well-known international figure. During his address, he w argued for global policy reforms and state Pakistan's viewpoint on important international problems. Khan draws attention to the power dynamics at work in international relations and the effects of past actions on the current state of affairs by referencing geopolitical events such as the Soviet-Afghan conflict and the US-led coalition in Afghanistan. Overall, discourse analysis uses Imran Khan's speech as an example of how language, voice, ideology, and power interact. Through this perspective, we may analyze his speech and learn more about the ways rhetoric is utilized to advance political goals, promote social justice, and defend national interests abroad.

#### **4.8 Textual analysis of Nawaz Sharif's speech**

It was made in 68<sup>th</sup> session of UNGA

- **Alliteration**

Alliteration means "Pakistan upholds international law and promotes international consensus." The phoneme "p" appears again in the words "Pakistan," "upholds," "promotes," and "international."

"Islam is a religion of peace, compassion, and brotherhood." (The "p" sound is

repeated in the words "peace," "compassion," and "brotherhood.")

Alliteration gives a speech rhythm and emphasis, which helps to make some sentences more memorable and powerful. It gives the language a more lyrical feel and enhances the discourse's overall impact.

- **Allusion**

An allusion is when a well-known someone, thing, or text is mentioned. "Just as our founding fathers envisioned a prosperous Pakistan, we must continue their legacy." The phrase "founding fathers" refers to the founders of the Pakistani independence struggle and references their goals and aspirations for the nation.

- **Analogy**

To draw attention to similarities between two dissimilar items, an analogy is used. "We must nurture our nation, just as a gardener tends to his garden." This analogy highlights the need for care and attention by drawing a comparison between the task of tending a garden and that of nourishing the country.

- **Anaphora**

The repetition of a word or phrase at the start of subsequent clauses or sentences is known as anaphora. "We'll do our best. We're going to do well. We're going to flourish." The speaker emphasizes their dedication and resolve by using anaphora, which is demonstrated by the repeated usage of "We will" at the start of each sentence (clause).

- **Hyperbole**

The overstatement uses strong contrasts to highlight the tenacity and fortitude of the Pakistani people. By expressing that their perseverance is "stronger than

mountains" and their dreams are "brighter than the sun," the speaker employs hyperbole to generate an emotional effect. The goal of this striking artwork is to uplift the viewer by depicting the people as having nearly superhuman fortitude and hope. It emphasizes the nation's unwavering spirit in the face of enormous hardships, inspiring feelings of pride and unanimity in the country.

- **Humor**

Not mentioned specifically in the speech. Without using any comedy, the lecture addresses important issues pertaining to diplomacy and international affairs.

It's important to remember that, despite the speech containing some of these literary devices, others might not be as obvious because of the discourse's formal and diplomatic tone. Rhetorical techniques are the main tool used in the speech to successfully communicate its message to the audience.

- **Irony**

There is no ironic phrase in this speech. When anything is expressed ironically, it goes against expectations or intentions. Even while Nawaz Sharif's speech might not have many overtly ironic moments, there are definitely several situations where the tone or context allude to sardonic undertones.

- **Imagery**

The use of vivid language to elicit sensory sensations is known as imagery. "Our nation stands tall, like a mountain, unwavering in the face of adversity." This imagery creates a striking picture of strength and consistency by equating the nation's resiliency with that of a lofty, unshakable mountain.

- **Invective**

"Those who perpetrate terrorism are enemies of Muslims and Islam itself."

(Utilizing forceful words to denounce terrorists as Islam's foes).

- **Metaphor**

"I extend an invitation to him to engage with us to address all outstanding issues between our two countries and Prime Minister Singh's response was positive."

Using the metaphor of extending an invitation to describe diplomatic interaction on an International level.

- **Propaganda**

"Pakistan is an ardent supporter of the United Nations, which is an anchor of peace and a beacon of hope for all nations." (Utilizing persuasive language to advance Pakistan's UN backing.)

- **Proverb**

Although Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif's speech contains language and sentences that communicate wisdom or common views, it does not contain any specific proverbs. Proverbs are usually short, ancient sayings that express a universal truth or provide guidance. Even though the speech doesn't explicitly use proverbs, it does communicate certain common sense ideas and concepts. For example;

"Democracy needs constant vigilance and strong institutions." (Implying the importance of diligence in maintaining democratic systems.)

"More importantly, it is not promises, but good governance that sustains democracy." (Highlighting the importance of effective governance over mere promises.) "The suffering of the people cannot be brushed under the carpet, because of power politics." (Emphasizing the idea that the plight of the people cannot be ignored, especially for political reasons.) Although these statements are not traditional proverbs,

they reflect principles that are often encapsulated in proverbs or wise sayings.

- **Personification**

The following quote from Nawaz Sharif's speech is an example of personification

"Pakistan has endured many challenges, but we have always emerged stronger." In this instance, Pakistan is shown as overcoming obstacles and growing stronger, giving the nation human characteristics.

- **Parallelism**

Applying attention to comparable linguistic structures or phrases is known as parallelism. "Peace is something we must work for. Prosperity is what we have to aim for. We have to work for advancement." By saying "We must strive for" repeatedly, parallelism is created, highlighting the significance of each objective.

- **Satire**

Not mentioned specifically in the speech. The entire speech is delivered in a serious, diplomatic tone; no sarcasm is used for amusement or critique.

#### **4.9 Interpretive analysis of Nawaz Sharif's speech**

- ***Intertextuality***

The act of citing or incorporating other texts into one's own work to add levels of meaning or make links to larger literary or cultural contexts is known as intertextuality. Intertextuality might not be immediately apparent in Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif's speech because it mostly focuses on diplomatic discourse and addressing global challenges. However, we may still find situations where the speech may depend on broader cultural or political contexts:

- ***Historical Events***

The speech makes reference to historical occurrences, such as the 1948 UN Security Council presentation of the Kashmir dispute. This alludes to a particular historical occurrence as well as the current war over Kashmir, which plays a vital role in the politics and history of the area.

- ***Cultural Background***

The mention of the 1999 Lahore Accord between Pakistan and India alludes to a particular diplomatic accord between the two countries. This agreement acts as a benchmark for further discussions and diplomatic endeavors.

- ***Global Narratives***

The UN's importance in preserving peace and tackling global issues is frequently mentioned throughout the speech. These allusions rely on the larger background of global cooperation and diplomacy inside the framework of the United Nations. The speech delivered by Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif draws on larger historical, political, and diplomatic settings that enhance its intertextual complexity even if it may not explicitly include literary works or cultural allusions in the conventional sense.

#### **4.10 Topic Analysis**

- ***Democracy***

The Prime Minister highlights the value of democracy as the cornerstone of Pakistani administration. He talks on the nation's fight for democracy and how maintaining it requires ongoing attention to detail. In order to maintain democracy, Sharif emphasizes the need of robust institutions, an impartial court, unrestricted

media, and a thriving civil society.

- ***International Relations***

It is noted that Pakistan supports the UN as a venue for international collaboration and peacekeeping operations. The Prime Minister urges changes to the UN in order to improve its efficacy and representation. The speech discusses Pakistan's position on local matters, such as the situation in Kashmir and the necessity of finding a peaceful settlement by communication and respect for international law.

- ***Terrorism***

Sharif denounces terrorism in all of its manifestations and emphasizes Pakistan's resolve to oppose extremism by means of national discussion and consensus. The speech discusses how terrorism has affected Pakistan and emphasizes the costs paid by security and civilian troops in the war on terror.

- ***Socio-Economic Development***

The Prime Minister discusses Pakistan's economic objectives and obstacles, such as the country's energy scarcity and the requirement for structural changes. As part of Pakistan's attempts for socio-economic development, initiatives for social justice, education, healthcare, and the empowerment of women and minorities are explored.

- ***Regional issues***

The speech discusses a number of regional issues, including as the situation in Afghanistan and the Kashmir dispute, and it calls for dialogue and diplomatic solutions. Concerns are also expressed over the Syrian crisis and the requirement for international cooperation to solve humanitarian issues.

- ***Nuclear Policy***

Pakistan asserts its security interests in the area while highlighting its commitment to disarmament, non-proliferation, and the peaceful use of nuclear energy.

#### **4.11 Discursive Analysis**

- ***Power Dynamics***

The speaker promotes peace, collaboration, and communication while portraying Pakistan as a responsible member of the global community. In the address, Pakistan's economic objectives, difficulties, and programs for social justice, healthcare, education, and empowerment are described. In addition to reiterating Pakistan's security objectives and promoting peace, collaboration, and discussion, the prime minister strategically presents Pakistan as a responsible player in the international arena.

- ***Ideological Stance***

The prime minister highlights the value of democracy and how it contributes to accountability, stability, and sound government. The speech discusses Pakistan's position on a range of global problems, including as calls for reform, regional cooperation, and support for the United Nations. In addition to denouncing terrorism in all its manifestations, Prime Minister Sharif emphasizes Pakistan's efforts to counter extremism via discourse and national unity. The speaker upholds Pakistan's sovereignty and security interests while presenting Pakistan as a responsible member of the international community and promoting harmony, collaboration, and communication.

- ***Rhetorical Strategies***

The discourse is distinguished by its courteous, statesmanlike tone and formal, diplomatic vocabulary. Rich language and intricate sentence constructions are used to successfully communicate the speaker's point. A variety of rhetorical strategies, including parallelism, similes, and metaphors, are employed to highlight important ideas and influence listeners. Pakistan uses persuasive language and reasoning to support its interests and advance its position on global problems.

- ***Cultural and Social Context***

The discourse is enhanced by the speaker's use of historical events, diplomatic agreements, and international organizations to support and legitimize their points of view. Pakistan's diplomatic arguments are given validity and context by allusions to diplomatic agreements and historical occurrences.

#### **4.12 Socio-Cultural Analysis of Discourse (Explanation)**

Fairclough's 3D model's third section examines speech as a socio-cultural practice. This section focuses on how discourse both forms and is shaped by larger socio-cultural phenomena. This feature of the model draws attention to the complex interactions between language, culture, and society that are present in the rhetoric of Nawaz Sharif and Imran Khan.

This facet clarifies how Nawaz Sharif's rhetoric is ingrained in Pakistan's sociocultural milieu in his speech. For example, he uses historical allusions and proverbs as cultural allusions to make his political point more relatable to his audience. In a similar vein, his appeals to identification and national pride mirror larger sociocultural themes that are pervasive in Pakistani culture. In contrast, the examination of Imran Khan's speeches shows how he deliberately uses socio-cultural issues to further elaborate his political goals. Khan's rhetoric, whether it be applying

Islamic precepts to global concerns or drawing similarities between past battles and present challenges, is firmly ingrained in Pakistan's socio-cultural fabric. Furthermore, his focus on issues like social justice and nationalism is a reflection of larger sociocultural trends influencing the nation's political debate. Overall, the analysis of Nawaz Sharif and Imran Khan's speeches using Fairclough's 3D model sheds important light on how discourse works as a socio-cultural practice that shapes and reflects Pakistani society's dynamics. We can better comprehend the intricate socio-political environment in which these leaders function by at how language, culture, and society interact in their discourse.

#### **4.13 Socio-Cultural Analysis of Nawaz Sharif's Speech**

##### **1 Discourse Analysis**

- ***Socio-Cultural Practice***

In the framework of international politics and diplomacy, the speech represents more general socio-cultural practices. It illustrates how language functions in the sociocultural setting to create meaning, manage power relations, and mold conversation.

- ***Structures of Ideological Polarization***

The speech displays patterns of ideological polarization, in which some concepts or ideals are highlighted at the expense of others. For instance, decries of terrorism and declarations of national sovereignty.

- ***Descriptive and Discursive Levels***

The discourse is both discursive and descriptive in nature, forming narratives, viewpoints, and interpretations while explaining policies, events, and concerns.

#### 4.14 Contextual Factors

- *Language*

The speech makes use of formal, diplomatic, and convincing language. It displays the customs of diplomatic discourse as well as the speaker's effort to persuade the audience of Pakistan's viewpoint on a range of international topics.

"I stand here today before this Assembly, soon after my country has seen a new dawn." The formal and elegant language used by the Prime Minister to address the United Nations General Assembly is reflected in this statement, which accentuates its importance.

- *Voice*

In his advocacy of Pakistan's interests, beliefs, and viewpoints on the international scene, Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif speaks for his country in this address.

"I am working toward a national inclusive approach."

Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif is speaking through this statement, which demonstrates his dedication to inclusive leadership and governance for Pakistan.

- *Ideology*

The address is based on a number of ideological tenets, such as the interests of the nation, democracy, peace, and sovereignty. The speaker's arguments and priorities are shaped by these ideological stances, which also define the speech.

"Strong institutions and ongoing vigilance are necessary for democracy."

The Prime Minister's ideological position is reflected in this remark, which highlights the value of democracy and the necessity of strong institutions to uphold it.

- *Power*

Pakistan asserts its sovereignty and security interests in the address while also

presenting itself as a responsible member of the international community, reflects power dynamics in the global arena.

"Pakistan is a staunch supporter of the UN."

By endorsing foreign programs and organizations, Pakistan is positioned as a major player in the international arena, demonstrating its strength and clout. The highlighted statements provide an example of how Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif's speech embodies each contextual aspect, influencing its substance and significance within the larger socio-cultural framework of international politics and diplomacy. In Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif's address to the UN General Assembly, formal language, an authoritative voice, ideological concerns, and power dynamics all function within the socio-cultural framework of international diplomacy and politics. The Prime Minister presents Pakistan as a responsible global actor by outlining the nation's positions on democracy, peace, sovereignty, and socioeconomic growth using convincing speech and elegant language. The Prime Minister's voice as the head of Pakistan is reflected in the speech, which upholds national interests while abiding by ideological standards and negotiating power dynamics on the international scene. Ultimately, the discourse analysis demonstrates how the intersections of language, voice, ideology, and power influence the content and impact of the speech and contribute to the larger socio-political dynamics of international relations.

#### **4.15 Comparison the Both Speeches**

- ***Description***

Imran Khan and Nawaz Sharif both discuss world affairs and share their opinions on a range of sociopolitical and economic topics. While Imran Khan's address emphasizes issues with human rights, terrorism, and geopolitical conflicts,

Nawaz Sharif's speech concentrates on topics like democracy, governance, and accountability. Imran Khan's speech is distinguished by a stronger and combative tone, especially when he tackles topics like terrorism, Islamophobia, and violations of human rights. He advocates for international collaboration to address these issues and condemns the behavior of other countries, especially India. A more conventional political narrative is reflected in Nawaz Sharif's speech, which emphasizes the value of democratic ideals and sound government. He talks on the difficulties Pakistan's democratic institutions face and urges changes to bolster democracy and encourage accountability.

- ***Interpretation***

Imran Khan presents himself as a defender of justice and human rights and views world affairs through a prism of moral urgency. His speech is marked by a feeling of urgency and a need for swift action to solve urgent issues including terrorism, Islamophobia, and geopolitical disputes.

Nawaz Sharif's statement might be seen as supporting the maintenance of current political procedures and norms, with a focus on institutional changes and democratic ideals. He positions himself as an advocate for consistency and stability, pushing for little adjustments within the current political system.

- ***Explanation***

Imran Khan calls for swift action to address global injustices and inequality in a more strong and combative manner. Criticizing the conduct of other countries, especially India, he advocates for global collaboration to tackle urgent problems like terrorism and violations of human rights. In order to overcome Pakistan's issues, Nawaz Sharif argues that institutional strengthening and gradual transformations are necessary. He places a strong emphasis on maintaining democratic ideals and values,

encouraging accountability and openness, and protecting the rule of law. Overall, while Imran Khan and Nawaz Sharif both discuss related topics in their speeches, they approach them from different angles and employ distinct rhetorical devices. Imran Khan's rhetoric is more strong and combative, advocating for swift action and international collaboration to solve urgent concerns, whereas Nawaz Sharif's discourse is more moderate and focused on gradual transformation within current political structures.

#### **4.16 Justification of Research Questions**

- ***What specific linguistic techniques are employed by Imran Khan and Nawaz Sharif in their speeches?***

The first research question is about the linguistics techniques used by Imran Khan and Mr. Nawaz Sharif in their speeches. The analysis of speeches highlights the use of fifteen major linguistic techniques by them respectively. Alliteration, allusion, analogy, anaphora, hyperbole, humour, irony, imagery, invective, metaphor, propaganda, proverb, personification, parallelism and satire are the devices used by both the leaders.

- In the speech of Imran Khan the repeated sound of “P” to ask for peace and freedom is used while Nawaz Sharif’s alliteration also highlights the repetition of consonant “P” here with a more vivid *description* as the words like “Pakistan, upholds, promotes” all contain alliteration.
- Imran Khan has used the allusion 1983 when they made a visit at Whitehouse. The allusion by Nawaz Sharif takes us towards the creation of Pakistan as he

*allusionized* the founding fathers of our country.

- Khan's analogy is a contrast between East India Company of past and developing world ruling at present. The analogy of Sharif presents two concepts one of gardening and other one of nurturing the nation. He states that both stand equal as both are meant for productivity.
- Anaphoric sentence by Khan contains the successive use of one, two, three with the *prominancy* of word "reverse". Sharif's anaphoric sentence is about the act of performance. He repeats the statement such as we'll do our best, we are going to do well, we are going to flourish. All are about the future possibilities of being successful.
- Khan has used hyperbole at two points once while mentioning "a region of terror" and on the other hand, talking about a "region of fear and violence". Nawaz Sharif has also made twice used of hyperbolic statement first while discussing his third victory as P.M of Pakistan and secondly while throwing light on ever ending terrorism.
- The speech of Khan is *necessessarily* about serious topics still it also contains light hearted touch of humor through the words;  
  
"Such double standards are the most glaring in case of India, where this RSS-BIP regime is being allowed to get away with human rights abuses within complete impurity." Humor is not specifically found in the speech of Nawaz Sharif as it only contains some serious strands.
- Imran Khan has used Irony while stating the dual standards of appreciation as

Pakistan was not appreciated on allying us meanwhile others are really apprehended on their little efforts. In Nawaz Sharif's speech there is not found any specifically used statement for serving ironic purpose but still at time his tone moves towards it.

- The use of imagery by Imran Khan is found twice in phrases like "Region of terror by an occupation force" and mob lynching by cow vigilantes" to magnify the effect of the scene of oppression. Nawaz Sharif has once made the use of imagery while discussing about his nation, the nation stands tall, like a mountain unwavering. *Mountainious* determination is being imagined here for the struggle of nation.
- Invective by Khan is an attack on Indian government. The word "*fascist*" has been used by Imran Khan against oppression done by Indians. Nawaz Sharif used invective stands against terrorism.
- Twice use of metaphor is found in Imran Khan's speech for the explanation of rather tough concepts. His basic concentration here is on the ever increasing gap found between rich and poor. Metaphor and simile both have been used under the same head by Nawaz Sharif. Metaphor is about comparison of Muslim populations with others.
- Imran Khan has *propagated* his government's effort by describing the way it dealt with covid by "small lockdowns" and introducing "Ehsaas programme." Nawaz Sharif has made the use of propaganda by speaking of Pakistan's support for UN and backing it up.

- Khan's use of rhetorical tactic which makes it stand in comparison to a proverb really beautifies his statement such as: "Imagine how we feel when we are blamed for the turn of events in Afghanistan". Turn of events is a proverbial rhetoric pointing towards the happenings in Afghanistan. Nawaz Sharif has thrice used proverbs first about democracy and democratic implementation, second about effective governance and third one is about the sufferings of common public.
- The personification of Khan is quite vivid and well elaborated in his statement "the virus does not discriminate between nations and people". Nawaz Sharif's speech only once contains the use of personification. Sharif has given human qualities to Pakistan by stating its ability against the face of difficulties.
- The use of grammatical constructions in enhancing the effect of rhetoric is the technique employed by Khan for discussing parallelism. This parallelism once again discusses the injustice being done on Kashmiris. Nawaz Sharif has once created the effect of parallelism while describing peace and prosperity both at the same time and in similar end for progress.
- The hypocrisy of rich countries is the target of satire by Khan. He explains how western world is exploiting East by economic inequities. Nawaz Sharif's speech does not contain the use of satire in a specific content as it is in rather serious tone.
- ***How do Imran Khan and Nawaz Sharif's speeches impact religious ideology in Pakistan?***

Imran Khan and Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif both play their respective role in forming the ideological stance of Pakistani public especially with regard to the religious aspects. There are a few points which seem quite common in the speech of both the leaders such as injustice, violation of rights and inequality; they refer to these prevailed cruelties happening with the Muslims especially with Pakistani in an international level. They are maltreated as their dignity is exploited. By speaking on such topics the leaders have tried to strengthen the religious rights of Muslims most importantly Pakistanis. Apart from similar points discussed by both the leaders the analysis also come up at a distinguishing level. As far as Imran Khan's speech is concerned he has especially raised the issue of Islamophobia to ask for the protection of Muslims worldwide. On the other hand, Nawaz Sharif has specifically raised the point of sovereignty to talk of running the government according to Islamic code of conduct. In this way, the question of formulation of religious ideology on part of both the leaders is justified.

- ***How do these linguistic techniques significantly shape public perception and influence decision-making in Pakistan?***

The linguistics techniques can really formulate the opinion of public and bring about diversified change in their thinking. Some of which are quite vivid one. Such as analogy of Khan contrasting present and past shape the opinion of public while Sharif's analogy describes the process of growth and formulation of any nation. The use of hyperbole is also very significant Khan hyperbolically describes the fear and horror being faced by Kashmiris to raise awareness of public on the issue of Kashmiri while Sharif exaggerates terrorism to awaken public against it. Khan humorously makes public think of oppression being done by Indian Army and a great silence of us

on it. Once again the irony of Khan is also meant for change in public opinion as it asks for justice by us referring to the Alliance when Pakistan lost lives of many nationalists but still did not get any appreciation. The imagery of Khan also awakens the public towards terror and violation of human rights. Then, Khan's invective is against fascism while Nawaz Sharif's invective once again leads towards terrorism. Then comes the proverbial statements Khan's proverb goes straight to the happening of terrorism in Afghanistan and asks why Pakistan was blamed for it as Pakistan had nothing to do with it while Sharif's proverb is about double standard of so called democracy. Last one is the use of satirical statement by Khan to describe how western countries are being *hypocratic*. In this way, the linguistic techniques of both the leaders affect in shaping public perception.

By using Fairclough's 3D discourse analysis model is used to the study of Nawaz Sharif and Imran Khan's speeches, some important conclusions about their communication preferences and subjects of importance may be drawn. Though they employ different rhetorical strategies, both presidents address important sociopolitical and economic issues that Pakistan and the larger international community are currently experiencing. A more conventional political narrative is reflected in Nawaz Sharif's speech, which places a strong emphasis on institutional transformation within preexisting frameworks, governance, and democratic values. On the other hand, Imran Khan's speech is distinguished by a moral clarity and feeling of urgency, as he advocates for swift action to tackle urgent problems including terrorism, human rights violations, and geopolitical conflicts. We may learn a great deal about the varied agendas and points of view held by Pakistan's political leaders as well as the larger sociocultural and ideological backgrounds that influence their discourse by contrasting

and analyzing these speeches.

## **CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION**

The analysis of Nawaz Sharif and Imran Khan's speeches using Fairclough's 3D model gives a thorough comprehension of Pakistani political leaders' discursive methods. These lectures provide insightful analyses of the ideological tenets, rhetorical devices, and sociopolitical processes that characterize Pakistani discourse. Subsequent investigations might examine the ways in which these discursive practices impact public opinion, policy development, and Pakistan's larger socio-cultural environment. Future research might also look at how well certain rhetorical strategies handle important socioeconomic issues and further national development objectives. In general, this research advances our knowledge of how discourse shapes public views and political discourse in Pakistan.

### **5.1 Discussion**

This thesis, which focuses on the speeches of Nawaz Sharif and Imran Khan, provides a detailed understanding of the discursive strategies used by political leaders in Pakistan. This study has examined the textual, intertextual, and socio-cultural aspects of their speeches using Fairclough's 3D model of discourse analysis. By doing so, it has shed light on the rhetorical devices, ideological foundations, and socio-political contexts that influence political discourse in Pakistan. It was clear from the study that Imran Khan and Nawaz Sharif both use language as a potent instrument to express their political goals, rally support, and sway public opinion. Being a major politician who is well ingrained in Pakistani politics' institutional structure, Nawaz Sharif frequently uses rhetoric about democratic principles, governance changes, and economic development in his speeches. However, Imran Khan's speech has a more

populist and morally changed tone, focusing on national sovereignty, social justice, and fighting corruption. His lectures, which present political issues as moral imperatives demanding immediate action, frequently play on feelings of national pride and group identity. The intertextuality study also demonstrates how both leaders use allusions to history, culture, and religion in order to establish their authority and place themselves in larger sociocultural narratives. Invoking Pakistan's historical foundations, democratic values, and economic accomplishments, Nawaz Sharif frequently uses them to support his political legitimacy and convey a feeling of continuity with the nation's history. As a defender of the people against entrenched political elites, Imran Khan, on the other hand, often exploits Islamic beliefs, anti-colonial fights, and populist rhetoric to pander to nationalist feelings. The investigation revealed how language, power, and ideology interact intricately to shape political discourse in Pakistan on a sociocultural level. Reflecting larger socio-cultural dynamics throughout Pakistani society, Nawaz Sharif and Imran Khan both traverse a socio-political terrain characterized by ideological division, power conflicts, and conflicting narratives. In addition to reflecting these underlying processes, their statements reinforce power hierarchies and ideological divisions by helping to create and maintain them.

Finally, this thesis has illuminated the discursive tactics Imran Khan and Nawaz Sharif have used to further discuss their political goals and negotiate Pakistan's intricate socio-political environment. This study has shed important light on the textual, intertextual, and socio-cultural aspects of political discourse in Pakistan by using Fairclough's 3D model to analyze the speeches. In order to have a better knowledge of how discourse shapes political dynamics and sociocultural change,

further study may be done in the future to examine how these discursive practices affect public opinion, policy formulation, and democratic governance in Pakistan.

## 5.2 Justification of Research Objectives

- ***To specific linguistic techniques are employed by Imran Khan and Nawaz Sharif in their speeches.***

The first research objective is concerned with linguistic techniques adopted by Mr. Imran Khan and Mian M. Nawaz Sharif. The research analysis make us meet the answer as fifteen highlighted techniques including alliteration, allusion, analogy, anaphora, hyperbole, humor, irony, imagery, invective, metaphor, metaphor, propaganda, proverb, preposition, parallelism, and satire were selected for the analysis. However, the results described their uses in respective ways although differentiate the style of usage. As far as detailed discussion is concerned both used alliteration, allusion, analogy, anaphoric statements, hyperbole, imagery, invective, metaphor, propaganda, proverbs, personification and parallelism at times once, twice or thrice. However, the use of satire, irony and human was there in Khan's speech while, Nawaz Sharif is not found making the use of such devices. Hence, the research elaborately highlights the use of mentioned literary devices by both the leaders.

- ***To do these linguistic techniques significantly shape public perception and influence decision-making in Pakistan.***

Second research objective was about the impact of linguistic techniques in shaping public perception and influencing decision making in Pakistan. The results showed

that these techniques vehemently shaped public opinions such as analogy of Khan made the public compare present and past while Sharif's analogy made them think of growth. The exaggerative language of both the leaders surrounded the situation of terror and horror as well as injustice happening in Kashmir. Khan reminded the people of the wrongs carried out by the Indian army while urging them to stand out for their rights in a wry yet hilarious manner. He also gave a striking account of human rights abuses. The invective of Khan gave a glimpse of fascism while Nawaz Sharif invective raised the issue of terrorism. Not only these devices but such as proverbial statements were also meant to be targeted towards the ideology of public and formulation of public perception as Khan talked about terrorism in Afghanistan while Nawaz Sharif raised the issue of double standards of democracy. Hence, the linguistics techniques adopted by both of them appeared to be quite strong in shaping perception.

- ***To evaluate how Imran Khan's and Nawaz Sharif's speeches directly shape religious ideology within Pakistan.***

Imran Khan has regularly spoken out against Islamophobia on a global scale and promoted the defense of Muslims everywhere. For instance, Khan discussed the impact of Islamophobia on Muslims throughout the world and its increasing tide during his 2019 speech to the UN General Assembly. By bringing up this subject again and time again, Khan not only highlights the difficulties that Muslims encounter but also strengthens the idea of Muslim solidarity and togetherness, influencing Pakistani religious thought.

Nawaz Sharif frequently highlights the need of maintaining sovereignty and running the government in accordance with Islamic law. He regularly brings up the

necessity for Pakistan to preserve its sovereignty and carry out laws that are consistent with Islamic teachings in his talks. For example, when he was prime minister, Sharif supported efforts to bring Pakistan's legal system into line with Islamic values and highlighted the importance of Sharia law in administration. By using such language, Sharif shapes public opinion about religious rule and upholds Pakistan's status as an Islamic nation. Researchers can find overlapping topics in Imran Khan and Nawaz Sharif's speeches such as injustice, human rights violations, and inequality—that both leaders emphasize in order to reinforce Islamic doctrine among Pakistanis. For instance, by often denouncing injustices that Muslims endure, both leaders locally and globally encourage a feeling of religious identification and solidarity among the general public. Researchers can also examine the different rhetorical techniques used by each leader to influence religious ideology, such as Sharif's emphasis on Islamic administration and Khan's emphasis on Muslim unity worldwide.

## CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION

### 6.1 Conclusion

Imran Khan, who is renowned for his captivating speeches, frequently uses a variety of rhetorical strategies to get his point across. Khan regularly uses metaphors and analogies in his presentations to help his views become more remembered and relevant. For example, to highlight the seriousness of the situation in Kashmir, Khan compared a nuclear conflict between India and Pakistan to a "climate catastrophe" in his speech to the UN General Assembly on September 27, 2019 (The New York Times, 2019). The listener is drawn in and the seriousness of the problem is emphasized by this use of figurative language. Furthermore, Khan frequently employs parallelism in his remarks, which is the repetition of sentences or grammatical structures for emphasis. Khan reaffirmed his commitment to combating corruption and assisting the underprivileged in his victory address following the 2018 general elections, saying, "We will not spare anyone who looted this country" (Al Jazeera, 2018). This alternative organization speaks to Khan's fans and supports his accountability attitude with his wealth of political experience, Nawaz Sharif's speeches usually have a more formal, statesmanlike tone. He frequently uses policy specifics and statistical evidence to support his claims. For instance, Sharif emphasized the project's success in his statement during the Metro Bus Service's inauguration in Lahore on February 10, 2013, by providing particular data on the number of passengers and journey times (Dawn, 2013). Sharif's story gains credibility through the utilization of factual material, which also highlights his emphasis on development projects.

Sharif also occasionally uses rhetorical strategies to improve the cadence and rhythm of his remarks, such as repetition and alliteration. Sharif reaffirmed his commitment to accountability and openness in his speech to the country on April 5, 2016, the day after the Panama Papers were leaked. He said, "I have never indulged in corruption, nor have I ever taken a kickback" (Geo News, 2016). Sharif's message is bolstered by the repetition of identical sounds and words, which also serves to support his innocence. Nawaz Sharif and Imran Khan both employ rhetorical strategies to effectively get their points across, although they do it in different ways. As a political outsider and reformer leader, Khan's speeches are frequently distinguished by vivid imagery, emotive appeals, and populist rhetoric. Sharif's remarks, on the other hand, are often more balanced and policy-focused, emphasizing accomplishments and matters of governance. Additionally, the political and sociocultural background of each leader's statements affect their use of rhetoric. Khan's statements frequently strike a chord with marginalized groups in society and stoke public dissatisfaction with the political elite. However, Sharif's remarks, which appeal to a more conventional base of followers, reflect his expertise as a seasoned politician and statesman. In general, despite the fact that Imran Khan and Nawaz Sharif use distinct rhetorical strategies and approaches in their speeches, both leaders exhibit a command of persuasion and an ability to successfully engage their audiences. Their lectures illustrate the interaction between language, power, and ideology and offer insightful analyses of the intricate dynamics of political discourse in Pakistan.

In conclusion, this study used Fairclough's 3D model to analyze speeches given by two well-known political figures in Pakistan, Nawaz Sharif and Imran Khan,

in order to examine the complexities of political discourse in that country. Through an analysis of the linguistic characteristics, discursive techniques, and socio-cultural settings of these speeches, important new understandings about the ways in which language is used for ideological contestation, identity creation, and political persuasion have been obtained. The examination exposed the use of a number of rhetorical strategies, including emotional appeals, metaphors, and intertextual allusions, to shape political narratives and sway public opinion. Furthermore, the study emphasized the importance of sociopolitical and cultural aspects, such as power dynamics, ideological polarization, and the media's role in mediating political communication, in creating discourse. In order to promote a better knowledge of political discourse in Pakistan and its consequences for democracy, governance, and social change, it is critical that future research address the limits of this study and build upon its results.

## **6.2 Limitation of this Research**

There are a number of limitations to this study. The first limitation on the findings' comprehensiveness might be the small sample number of speeches studied. The interpretation of political speech may be impacted by contextual elements that are not fully reflected in the research, such as audience demographics, media coverage, and sociopolitical events. Additionally, there is a chance of interpretative bias since the analysis may be influenced by the researcher's viewpoints and presumptions. Political speech may be difficult to analyze and comprehend due to its complex language structure, which includes rhetorical techniques and cultural allusions. Finally, it's possible that the results can only be applied to the particular political environment of Pakistan. It is important to recognize many limits of this research,

despite the fact that it provides insightful information on the discursive strategies used by Pakistani political figures. First of all, the research is based on a small sample size and only includes a few of Nawaz Sharif and Imran Khan's remarks. A larger sample size that includes a greater variety of speeches and political contexts may provide a more thorough understanding of their discursive techniques. Second, the interpretation and efficacy of political speech may be impacted by contextual elements that are not completely taken into consideration, such as audience demographics, media coverage, and sociopolitical events. Furthermore, there's a chance of interpretative bias because the analysis might be skewed by the researcher's personal beliefs and viewpoints. To address this, using several analysts or triangulation procedures may improve the validity of the conclusions. Moreover, complex language elements are frequently present in political speech and might be missed or misunderstood in transcriptions or translations. Furthermore, although the results provide valuable perspectives on the particular situation of Pakistan, their applicability to other political environments or cultural contexts could be restricted. Lastly, the absence of longitudinal analysis makes it impossible to look at how discursive practices have evolved or changed over time. Longitudinal research might yield more detailed insights into the development of Pakistani political discourse. In order to get a deeper understanding of the factors driving political communication and governance in the nation, it is imperative that future study address these constraints.

### **6.3 Suggestions for Upcoming Researchers**

In light of the knowledge acquired and the constraints noted in this study, a number of suggestions are made for further research in Pakistani political discourse analysis. First and foremost, the sample size must be increased by include a wider

range of speeches made by political leaders in various circumstances. This method would make it easier to understand discursive patterns and techniques more thoroughly. Second, multimodal analysis approaches, which look at nonverbal cues like gestures and visual aids used during political communication in addition to textual transcripts, might be beneficial to future study initiatives. Taking a comprehensive approach would help us better understand how political messages are created and communicated.

Furthermore, it is necessary to investigate how various audience groups understand and react to political speech in order to better understand audience reception. By using techniques like focus groups and surveys, one might learn more about the opinions and responses of the audience. In order to monitor changes in discursive techniques over time and gain insight into the development of political discourse in Pakistan and its consequences for political dynamics, longitudinal studies are also advised. Additionally, comparative research might be done to find underlying cultural and ideological impacts by contrasting Pakistani political speech with that of other areas. The results of study might guide proposals for policies that improve political communication and governance in Pakistan; however, researchers should also take ethical considerations into account, especially with regard to permission and privacy, as well as the possible effects on legislators and society dynamics. These suggestions can help future studies improve our knowledge of Pakistani political discourse and its role in influencing public opinion, political processes, and the results of government.

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## **APPENDIXES**

### **Speech of Imran khan made in 76<sup>th</sup> session of United Nations General Assembly**

Mr. President, I congratulate you on assuming the presidency of the 76th session of the General Assembly. I also wish to express appreciation for the significant achievements of your predecessor, Volkan Bozkir, who guided the Assembly skilfully under the difficult circumstances imposed by the Covid-19 pandemic. Mr. President, The world is facing triple challenge of the Covid-19, the accompanying economic crisis, and the threats posed by climate change. The virus does not discriminate between nations and people. Nor do the catastrophes imposed by uncertain weather patterns. The common threats faced by us today not only expose the fragility of the international system; they also underscore the oneness of humanity. By the grace of Almighty Allah, Pakistan has been successful so far in containing the Covid pandemic. Our calibrated strategy of ‘smart lockdowns’ helped save lives and livelihoods and kept the economy afloat. Over 15 million families survived through our social protection programme of Ehsaas. Mr. President, 2 Climate change is one of the primary existential threats that our planet faces today. Pakistan’s contribution to global emissions is negligible. Yet we are among the 10 most vulnerable countries to the effects of climate change in the world. Being fully aware of our global responsibilities, we have embarked upon gamechanging environmental programmes: reforesting Pakistan through our 10 billion tree tsunami; preserving natural habitats; switching to renewable energy; removing pollution from our cities; and adapting to the impacts of climate change. To address the triple crisis of covid pandemic, economic downturn, and climate emergency, we need a comprehensive strategy that should include: One, vaccine equity: everyone, everywhere, must be vaccinated against Covid, and as soon as possible; Two, adequate financing must be made available to developing countries. This can be ensured through comprehensive debt

restructuring; expanded ODA; redistribution of unutilized SDRs, and allotment of a greater proportion of SDRs to developing countries; and finally, provision of climate finance; and Three, we must adopt clear investment strategies which help alleviate poverty, promote job creation, build sustainable infrastructure, and of course bridge the digital divide. I propose that the Secretary-General convene an SDG summit in 2025 to review and accelerate implementation of Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Mr. President, Because of the plunder of the developing world by their corrupt ruling elites, the gap between the rich and the poor countries is increasing at an alarming speed. 3 Through this platform, I have been drawing the world's attention towards the scourge of illicit financial flows from developing countries. The Secretary General's High-Level Panel on Financial Accountability, Transparency and Integrity (FACTI) has calculated that a staggering 7 trillion dollars in stolen assets are parked in the financial "haven" destinations. This organized theft and illegal transfer of assets has profound consequences for the developing nations. It depletes their already meagre resources, accentuates the levels of poverty especially when laundered money puts pressure on the currency and leads to its devaluation. At the current rate, when the FACTI Panel estimates that a trillion dollar every year is taken out of the developing world, there will be mass exodus of economic migrants towards the richer nations. What the East India Company did to India, the crooked ruling elites are doing to developing world - plundering the wealth and transferring to western capitals and offshore tax havens. And Mr. President, retrieving the stolen assets from the developed countries is impossible for poor nations. The rich countries have no incentives, or compulsion, to return this ill-gotten wealth, and this ill-gotten wealth belongs to the masses of the developing world. I foresee, in the not-too-distant future

a time will come when the rich countries will be forced to build walls to keep out economic migrants from these poor countries. I fear a few “wealthy islands” in the sea of poverty will also turn into a global calamity, like climate change. The General Assembly must take steps meaningfully to address this deeply disturbing, and morally repugnant, situation. Naming and shaming the ‘haven’ destinations and developing a comprehensive legal framework to halt and reverse the illicit financial flows are most critical actions to stop this grave economic injustice. And at a minimum, the recommendations of Secretary General's FACTI panel should be fully implemented. 4

Mr. President, Islamophobia is another pernicious phenomenon that we all need to collectively combat. In the aftermath of 9/11 terrorist attacks, terrorism has been associated with Islam by some quarters. This has increased the tendency of right-wing, xenophobic and violent nationalists, extremists and terrorist groups to target Muslims. The UN Global Counter Terrorism Strategy has recognized these emerging threats. We hope the Secretary-General’s report will focus on these new threats of terrorism posed by Islamophobes and right-wing extremists. I call on the Secretary-General to convene a global dialogue on countering the rise of Islamophobia. Our parallel efforts, at the same time, should be to promote interfaith harmony, and they should continue.

Mr. President, The worst and most pervasive form of Islamophobia now rules India. The hatefilled ‘Hindutva’ ideology, propagated by the fascist RSS-BJP regime, has unleashed a reign of fear and violence against India’s 200 million strong Muslim community. Mob lynching by cow vigilantes; frequent pogroms, such as the one in New Delhi last year; discriminatory citizenship laws to purge India of Muslims; and a campaign to destroy mosques across India and obliterate its Muslim heritage and history, are all part of this criminal enterprise. New Delhi has also embarked on what

it ominously calls the “final solution” for the Jammu and Kashmir dispute. It has undertaken: - a series of illegal and unilateral measures in Occupied Jammu and Kashmir since 5th August 2019; - it has unleashed a reign of terror by an occupation force of 900,000; - it has jailed senior Kashmiri leadership; - imposed a clampdown on media and internet; - violently suppressed peaceful protests; 5 - abducted 13,000 young Kashmiris and tortured hundreds of them; - it has extra-judicially killed hundreds of innocent Kashmiris in fake “encounters”; and - imposed collective punishments by destroying entire neighbourhoods and villages. We have unveiled a detailed dossier on gross and systematic violations of human rights by the Indian Security Forces in Occupied Jammu and Kashmir. This repression is accompanied by illegal efforts to change the demographic structure of the occupied territory, and transform it from a Muslim majority into a Muslim minority. Indian actions violate the resolutions of the UN Security Council on Jammu and Kashmir. The resolutions clearly prescribe that the “final disposition” of the disputed territory should be decided by its people, through a free and impartial plebiscite held under the UN auspices. India’s actions in Occupied Jammu and Kashmir also violate International Human Rights and Humanitarian Laws, including the 4th Geneva Convention, and amount to “war crimes” and “crimes against humanity.” It is unfortunate, very unfortunate, that the world’s approach to violations of human rights lacks even-handedness, and even is selective. Geopolitical considerations, or corporate interests, commercial interests often compel major powers to overlook the transgressions of their “affiliated” countries. Such double standards are the most glaring in case of India, where this RSS-BJP regime is being allowed to get away with human rights abuses with complete impunity. The most recent example of Indian barbarity was the forcible

snatching of the mortal remains of the great Kashmiri leader, Syed Ali Shah Geelani, from his family, denying him a proper Islamic funeral and burial, in accordance with his wishes and Muslim traditions. 6 Devoid of any legal or moral sanction, this action was even against the basic norms of human decency. I call on this General Assembly to demand that Syed Geelani's mortal remains be allowed to be buried in the "cemetery of martyrs" with the appropriate Islamic rites. Mr. President, Pakistan desires peace with India, as with all its neighbours. But sustainable peace in South Asia is contingent upon resolution of the Jammu and Kashmir dispute, in accordance with the relevant United Nations Security Council resolutions, and the wishes of the Kashmiri people. Last February, we reaffirmed the 2003 ceasefire understanding along the Line of Control. The hope was that it would lead to a rethink of the strategy in New Delhi. Sadly, the BJP government has intensified repression in Kashmir and continues to vitiate the environment by these barbaric acts. The onus remains on India to create a conducive environment for meaningful and result-oriented engagement with Pakistan. And for that, it must do: One, reverse its unilateral and illegal measures instituted since 5th August 2019; Two, stop its oppression and human rights violations against the people of Kashmir; and Three, halt and reverse the demographic changes in the occupied territory. It is also essential to prevent another conflict between Pakistan and India. India's military build-up, development of advanced nuclear weapons, and acquisition of destabilising conventional capabilities, can erode mutual deterrence between the two countries. And now Mr. President, I want to talk about Afghanistan. For the current situation in Afghanistan, for some reason, Pakistan has been blamed for the turn of events, by politicians in the United States and some politicians in Europe. 7 From this platform, I want them all to know, the country that

suffered the most, apart from Afghanistan, was Pakistan, when we joined the US War on Terror after 9/11. 80,000 Pakistanis died. \$150 billion dollars were lost to our economy. There were 3.5 million internally displaced Pakistanis. And why did this happen? In the 1980s, Pakistan was a front-line state in fighting against the occupation of Afghanistan. Pakistan and the United States trained Mujahideen groups to fight for the liberation of Afghanistan. Amongst those Mujahideen groups was AlQaeda, various groups from all over the world. There were Mujahideen, Afghan Mujahideen. These were considered heroes. President Ronald Regan invited them to the White House in 1983. And according to a news item, he compared them to the founding fathers of the United States. They were heroes. Come 1989, the Soviets leave, and so do the Americans - abandoning Afghanistan. Pakistan was left with 5 million Afghan refugees. We were left with sectarian militant groups which were never existed before. But the worse cut of it was, that a year later Pakistan was sanctioned by the US. We felt used. Fast forward 9/11, Pakistan is needed again by the US, because now the US-led coalition was invading Afghanistan, and it could not happen without Pakistan providing all the logistical support. What happened after that? The same Mujahideen that we had trained, that fighting foreign occupation was a sacred duty, a holy war or jihad, turned against us. We were called collaborators. They declared jihad on us. Then all along the tribal belt bordering Afghanistan - Pakistan's semi-autonomous tribal belt - where no Pakistan army had been there since our independence, people had strong sympathies with the Afghan Taliban, not because of their religious ideology but because of Pashtun nationalism, which is very strong. Then there are three million Afghan refugees still in 8 Pakistan all Pashtoons, living in the camps. 500,000 in the biggest camp, 100,000 camps. They all had affinity and

sympathy with the Afghan Taliban. So, what happened? They too turned against Pakistan. For the first time we had militant Taliban in Pakistan. And they too attacked the Government of Pakistan. When our Army went into the tribal areas first time in our history - whenever an army goes into the civilian areas, there is collateral damage - so, there was collateral damage, which multiplied the militants to seek revenge. But not just that. The world must know that in Pakistan there were 480 drone attacks conducted by the US. And we all know that the drone attacks are not that precise. They cause more collateral damage than the militants they are targeting. So, people whose relatives had been killed sought revenge against Pakistan. Between 2004 and 2014, there were 50 different militant groups attacking the State of Pakistan. At one point, people, people like us were worried, that will we survive this? There were bombs going all over Pakistan. Our capital was like a fortress. Had it not been for one of the most disciplined army in the world and one of the best intelligence agencies in the world, I think Pakistan would have gone down. So, when we hear this at the end. There is a lot of worry in the US about taking care of the interpreters and everyone who helped the US. What about us? The only reason we suffered so much was because we became an ally of the US - of the Coalition - in the war in Afghanistan. There were attacks being conducted from the Afghan soil into Pakistan. At least there should have been a word of appreciation. But rather than appreciation, imagine how we feel when we are blamed for the turn of events in Afghanistan. After 2006, it became clear to everyone who understood Afghanistan and its history that there would be no military solution in Afghanistan. I went to the US, I spoke to thinktanks, I met the then Senator Biden, Senator John Kerry, Senator Harry Reid – I tried to explain to them that there would not be any 9 military solution, and political

settlement was the way forward. No one understood then. And unfortunately, in trying to force a military solution is where the US went wrong. And if today, the world needs to know why the Taliban are back in power, all it has to do is to do a deep analysis of why a 300,000 strong well equipped Afghan army – and remember Afghans are one of the bravest nations on earth - gave up without a fight. The moment a deep analysis of this is done, the world would know why the Taliban came back to power and it is not because of Pakistan. Mr. President, Now the whole international community should think what is the way ahead. There are two paths that we can take. If we neglect Afghanistan right now, according to the UN half the people of Afghanistan are already vulnerable, and by next year almost 90% of the people in Afghanistan will go below the poverty line. There is a huge humanitarian crisis looming ahead. And this will have serious repercussions not just for the neighbours of Afghanistan but everywhere. A destabilized, chaotic Afghanistan will again become a safe haven for international terrorists - the reason why the US came to Afghanistan in the first place. Therefore, there is only one way to go. We must strengthen and stabilize the current government, for the sake of the people of Afghanistan. What have the Taliban promised? They will respect human rights. They will have an inclusive government. They will not allow their soil to be used by terrorist. And they have given amnesty. If the world community incentivises them, and encourages them to walk this talk, it will be a win-win situation for everyone. Because these are the four conditions that the US-Taliban dialogue in Doha was all about. 10 If the world can incentivise them to go this direction, then this twenty-year presence of the coalition forces in Afghanistan would not be wasted after all. Because the Afghan soil would not be used by the international terrorists. I end Mr. President, by urging everyone that this is a critical time for

Afghanistan. You cannot waste time. Help is needed there. Humanitarian assistance has to be given there immediately. The Secretary General of the United Nations has taken bold steps. I urge you to mobilize the international community, and move in this direction. Thank you.

## **Speech of Nawaz Sharif made in 68<sup>h</sup> session of United Nations General Assembly**

Mr. President, I stand here today before this Assembly, soon after my country has seen a new dawn. I come before this house in all humility, as the elected Prime Minister of Pakistan, for the third time. I feel exonerated, as my supporters and I stood firm in our struggle and resolve for democracy. I am happy to inform the distinguished delegates that we now have a strong Parliament, an independent judiciary, a free media and a vibrant civil society. But there is no room for complacency. We cannot lower our guard. Democracy needs constant vigilance and strong institutions. It needs careful nurturing. More importantly, it is not promises, but good governance that sustains democracy. My Government has put people at the centre. We will work to give them peace and security, an environment of growth and development. I am pursuing an inclusive approach for the entire nation. Mr. President, Pakistan is an ardent supporter of the United Nations, which is an anchor of peace and a beacon of hope for all nations. The United Nations' universal character provides a forum to discuss, evolve and implement global responses to pressing problems of our times. Pakistan upholds international law and promotes international consensus. The security of our world is assured and reinforced by friendly relations between nations and respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity of states. The United Nations needs reform. But it should be a reform that reflects the interests of all; not the ambitions of a few. We believe that the Security Council's composition should be made more representative,

democratic and equitable; and its work more effective, transparent and accountable. The intended reforms must however plan for a dynamic future, not entrench or replicate outdated historical patterns, based on privileges. The role and authority of the General Assembly must be fully restored and revitalized. In the past few years, the General Assembly has regained influence in responding to challenges in regard to peace and security, development and climate change. It is becoming a platform of choice. Yet, it has to go a long way to acquire its full authority. Mr. President, To save the world from the scourge of war, we have to continue to strive for a fair and just international order, based on rule of law. Festering disputes must be resolved. In this regard, the United Nations has to play a critical role. The United Nations must continue to remain attentive to the issue of Jammu and Kashmir and the full realization of the right to self-determination of its people. The suffering of the people cannot be brushed under the carpet, because of power politics. As in the past, Pakistan calls upon the international community to give an opportunity to the Kashmiris to decide their future peacefully, in accordance with the United Nations Security Council resolutions. The issue of Jammu and Kashmir was presented to the Security Council in January 1948; and yet the issue remains unresolved after nearly seven decades. I have an aspiration for regional peace and stability. I have shared this vision with leaders in our neighborhood. Shortly after assuming office, I received a message of goodwill from the Prime Minister of India, Dr. Manmohan Singh. I extended an invitation to him to engage with us to address all outstanding issues between our two countries and Prime Minister Singh's response was positive. Our two countries have wasted massive resources in an arms race. We could have used those resources for the economic well-being of our people. We still have that opportunity. Pakistan and India can prosper together; and the entire region would benefit from our cooperation. We stand ready to

re-engage with India in a substantive and purposeful dialogue. I am looking forward to meeting Prime Minister Manmohan Singh here in New York to make a new beginning. We have a solid basis to do that. We can build on the Lahore Accord signed in 1999, which contained a road map for the resolution of our differences through peaceful negotiations. I am committed to working for a peaceful and economically prosperous region. This is what our people want and this is what I have long aspired for. Mr. President It gave me great pleasure to welcome President Karzai in Islamabad last month. We reaffirmed our shared goal of a peaceful, stable and united Afghanistan. The people of Afghanistan are and should remain masters of their own destiny. We support an inclusive, Afghan-led and Afghan-owned peace process, leading to national reconciliation. I assured President Karzai that we do not wish to interfere in Afghanistan's internal affairs; nor do we have any favorites in that country. In fact, we have an earnest hope that the Afghans themselves will unite for peace, prosperity and development of their great country. Pakistan encourages United Nations' efforts for the stabilization of Afghanistan. We will work together with Afghanistan for regional and economic cooperation that would establish and reinforce regional trade, energy and communication corridors. A manifestation of our solidarity with the Afghan people has been our willingness to host millions of Afghan refugees in Pakistan for many decades. International support for their repatriation as well as reintegration in Afghanistan is indispensable. We also look forward to UN support in addressing other trans-regional challenges, including the flow of narcotics. Mr. President, Last year, Palestine was given the status of non-member observer state by this Assembly. We hope that soon Palestine will join this body as a full member state. We are glad that the stalled peace process has started again. It should lead to the consolidation of an independent, viable and contiguous state of Palestine, based on the pre-1967 borders, with Al Quds Al

Sharif as its capital. Pakistan will continue to demonstrate its solidarity with the people of Palestine. Mr. President, Even as we meet here, Syria is in turmoil, with Syrians killing Syrians. We appeal to the Syrian Government and opposition groups to move to the negotiating table in Geneva to prepare a road map for national reconciliation and the necessary political transitions. More war will lead to more killings that need to be stopped. As party to the Chemical Weapons Convention, Pakistan remains opposed to the use of chemical weapons. We condemn its use in the strongest terms. We welcome the agreement reached between the United States and Russia and supported by the other permanent members of the Security Council to secure and destroy chemical weapons in Syria. This crucial step has facilitated consensus within the Council to adopt a resolution which will not only address the issue of chemical weapons but start the stalled political process in Syria that would lead to national reconciliation and solutions that are acceptable to the people of Syria. Pakistan will support that resolution. Acceptance of the Geneva – I document and a decision on the dates for the convening of the Geneva – II documents will be a big step in ending the crisis in Syria. I call on all forces to invest their political will and capital in diplomacy to bring peace to Syria. Mr. President, As a responsible nuclear weapon state, we will continue to pursue the goals of disarmament and non-proliferation and adhere to the policy of Credible Minimum Deterrence, without entering into any arms race. We would not, however, remain oblivious to the evolving security dynamics in South Asia, nor would we agree to arrangement that is detrimental to our security and strategic interests. Our position on the proposed Fissile Material Treaty is determined by our national security interests and the objective of strategic stability in South Asia. Safe, secure and peaceful use of nuclear energy, without discrimination, is essential for economic development. Pakistan qualifies for full access to civil nuclear technology for peaceful purposes, to

meet its growing energy needs, for continued economic growth. By the same token, as a mainstream partner in the global non-proliferation regime, Pakistan has impeccable credentials to join the multilateral export control regime, including the Nuclear Suppliers Group. Pakistan will continue to participate constructively in the Nuclear Security Summit (NSS), which is a laudable initiative. Mr. President, As a country that has suffered grievously for the past many years, we condemn terrorism, in all its forms and manifestations. In the past twelve years, we have given huge sacrifices, in blood and resources. We have lost 40,000 precious lives of men, women and children, which include 8,000 defense and security personnel. There have been colossal damages to social and physical infrastructure as well. Our economy has been denied the opportunity to grow fully. This must change now. I have tried to forge national consensus on a cohesive policy to eliminate terrorism from our soil. For that purpose, I convened an all Parties Conference, which spoke unanimously against terrorism. We are resolved to oppose the forces of terrorism, by all means at our disposal. At the same time, we have offered dialogue to end violence, wean young extremists off extremism, and integrate all segments of our society into the national mainstream. Winning hearts and minds, of the youth, is as important as using guns to deter terrorism. But dialogue should not be seen as a sign of weakness or a tool of appeasement. Mr. President, The war against terrorism must be waged within the framework of international law. The use of armed drones in the border areas of Pakistan is a continued violation of our territorial integrity. It results in casualties of innocent civilians and is detrimental to our resolve and efforts to eliminate extremism and terrorism from Pakistan. I have urged the United States of America to cease these strikes, so that we could avert further casualties and suffering. Mr. President, Terrorism knows no borders. It has no religion or creed, which is why maligning a whole people or a religion on this account, is unfair

and unwise. Islam is a religion of peace, compassion and brotherhood. And yet most insidious form of contemporary racism in the name of religion is on the rise. Peaceful Muslim communities are profiled and subjected to discriminatory practices. Their faith, culture, Holy personalities and scriptures are under attack. Stereotyping of Muslims as extremists and terrorists must stop. We must all use the influence and reach of the United Nations to avert a clash of civilizations and promote harmony among followers of diverse religions, all around the world. Terrorism negates Islam's humanistic outlook and noble values. Those who perpetrate terrorism are enemies of Muslims and Islam itself. Mr. President, Pakistan is the largest troop contributor to UN peacekeeping. Since 1960, we have contributed 150,000 troops. One hundred and thirty five of our peacekeepers have lost their lives in service of peace. This is our most tangible assistance to the United Nations efforts to maintain international peace and security. We fully support the United Nations' effort to finalize and implement a single, coherent post-2015 Development Agenda that identifies benchmarks for poverty alleviation, sustainable development and social inclusion. More importantly, we should prepare ourselves to respond effectively to save our planet from the ravages of climate change. Mr. President, Our Government has undertaken an economic revolution in Pakistan so that it too, can become part of the emerging markets. We have all the fundamentals and human and natural resources for such a transformation. In the immediate future, our challenge is to overcome a volatile security environment, correct structural imbalances in the economy and bring an end to energy shortages. We are building a new Pakistan with a robust economy. From the international community, we do not seek aid, but enhanced trade, market access, investment and strong economic partnerships. We are creating a new framework for change to provide equal opportunities and social justice for everyone, eliminate exploitation of the poor,

harness our human resources and restore the dignity of our citizens. We intend to use education as a key driver of socio-economic development of Pakistan. We are introducing a National Health Service across Pakistan with the participation of private sector. We have also made eradication of polio in Pakistan a matter of great importance for my Government, as we are determined to make Pakistan a polio free country. It is our strong resolve to promote full participation of women in national development, while protecting their political, social and cultural rights as agents of change. More than 63 percent of our population is under the age of 25. By investing in their education and skills, we aim to tap into this demographic dividend. Minorities are equal citizens of Pakistan. They not only have complete freedom to worship, but have full protection of their rights to education, employment and full political participation. We are deeply saddened by the recent terrorist attack on the members of a minority community in Peshawar. This heinous attack has united the entire Pakistani nation in support of our brothers and sisters of all faiths in Pakistan. We share their grief and declared three days of mourning. This attack has been carried out by the same elements who have attacked mosques, shrines, innocent citizens, and members of our security forces. However, this attack has further strengthened my Government's resolve to deal with terrorism and extremism in a resolute and comprehensive manner, as I had reiterated in my very first speech at the National Assembly of Pakistan. Mr. President, Mr. President, In conclusion, I wish to emphasize to this august Assembly that Pakistan is a strong supporter of multilateral diplomacy, convinced that it is the most legitimate, ultimate guarantor of peace and security, economic and social development, and respect for universal human rights. As a non-permanent member of the Security Council, Pakistan has been making every effort to strengthen the role of diplomacy to resolve conflicts and to help build states in post-conflict situations. In all instances, we

have upheld the primacy of the Charter. We need multilateral diplomacy so that we continue to respect diversity while reaching decisions that impact our fate as members of the international community. Towards this end, the United Nations – the virtual world parliament – is our best hope. I thank you, Mr. President.