
A Critical Discourse Analysis of Imran Khan's Speech at UNGA

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Abstract

The purpose of this research is to find out the ideology behind Imran Khan's speech which he has delivered in UNGA. Both qualitative and quantitative paradigms have been used in this research. The speech has been analyzed through Fairclough three-dimensional model of Critical discourse analysis who said that through language people express their ideologies and power -relations and there is a relation between text, ideology and power. The result of study shows that Imran Khan has tried his best to present positive image of Islam and Pakistan and he has also presented problems of Kashmiri people and remembered UNGA members their duties in the matter of Kashmir. He also has presented the negative face of Modi in front of UNGA. The significance of this research is that it will help people to understand the hidden ideology of a political leader which he represents through the use of linguistic devices in his speech.

Key words: Critical Discourse Analysis, UNGA, ideology, Textual analysis, Modality

Introduction:

Imran Khan is the 22nd and current Prime Minister of Pakistan and the chairman of the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf. Before entering politics, Khan was an international cricketer and captain of the Pakistan national cricket team, which he led to victory in the 1992 Cricket World Cup. The purpose of this research is to analyze Imran Khan's speech with the help of CDA model. Fairclough's model has been used in this research. He says that ideologies reside in the text that it is not possible to read off ideologies from text because

According to Halliday (1978), language is a social activity and people use language to setup relation with other people in society, so there is a relation between society and language. Language expresses our identity. Through language and linguistics resources political leaders promote their ideologies. Critical discourse analysis helps us to find out hidden ideologies. Systemic functional grammar is the basis of CDA. Van Dijk says that someone can find through CDA how language is used to achieve social purposes and to affect people because CDA is the study of a text in its social, historical and political context.

Fairclough examines the relationship between discourse and power from a political point of view. Brown & Yule (1983) say that Discourse analysis is an investigation of language usage in a text or context above the sentence level. Van Dijk (2000) CDA is a kind of analysis which represents the way through which the social power abuse, dominance and inequality are totally incorporated and reproduced in text or certain contexts such as the social and political contexts. Different topics such as racism, sexism, politics, immigration, crime and many others can be analyzed by CDA. The importance of CDA is that it helps to analyze a text from social, historical and political context.

The purpose of this research is to find out the ideology behind Imran Khan's speech through textual, grammatical] and ideological analysis of speech.

Fairclough Three dimensional Model:

Fairclough (1989) says that ideologies reside in the text that it is not possible to separate ideologies from text. He has described three stages for the analysis of any text. These stages are Description, Interpretation and Explanation. In the first stage, the features or properties of a text are analyzed such as grammar, figure of speech, word choice etc. The second stage is concerned with the relationship between text and interaction viewing the text as the product of a process of production and as a resource in the process of interpretation. In the last stage, we analyze the relationship between interaction and social context and examine how the text is interpreted to see its social effects.

Statement of Problem:

In this world every political leader delivers his speech before or after election or on some events to persuade and to attract people towards himself and gives people his opinion about a truth and situation. People of every country like to hear speech of his/her political leader. The problem is that politicians have different agendas behind their speeches which they try to promote and to get favor of people through different persuasive tactics or vocabulary which a common man cannot understand. This research has been conducted to find out ideology through ideological analysis, personal pronoun and modality in Imran Khan's speech.

Research Questions:

1. What is the ideology behind Imran Khan's Speech?
2. Which type of vocabulary has been used by Imran Khan to make his speech more affective?

Research Objectives:

1. To find out ideology behind Imran Khan's speech.
2. To find out which type of vocabulary has been used by Imran Khan to make his speech more affective,

Literature Review:

Fairclough says "Discourse is a process of social interaction in which text is just a part which is affected by other linguistic components such as speakers and audience." Van Dijk (2004) said that ideologies are represented through text and to find these hidden ideologies and persuasive tactics CDA is best for analysis of a context. Critical discourse analysis has attracted the attention of researchers and many researchers have done their researches on the analysis of political leader's speeches through CDA.

Wang (2010) did analysis on Barak Obama's speeches. His research was based on systemic functional grammar to find transitivity and modality which help to express power and ideology. The results of transitivity showed that he used material process (a process of doing) more frequently to describe works which government had done for the betterment of people. In this way, he built confidence among American people. The analysis of modality showed that he made his speech understandable for his people through the use of simple tense, modal verbs and personal pronouns. The use of personal pronoun "we" showed that he tried to create relation with people. Ahmed (2012) conducted his research on Political TV talk shows of Pakistan to find out ideologies behind these shows because there was relationship between language and ideology. His research was based on Van Dijk's model. Both qualitative and quantitative paradigm had been used in this research. The result showed that these shows used various strategies to promote their ideologies and to manipulate listeners' emotion.

Aqeel (2013) did a research on Nawaz Sharif's speech to find out ideology and also political technique he had used for the development of Pakistan. Qualitative paradigm of research had been used in that speech. This analysis was based on Fairclough's model. The results showed that he used different devices to make his speech more interesting. He used Islamic references to attract people and to show that he wanted to make country a peaceful place. Uzma (2013) conducted her research on Imran Khan's Election Speech. The purpose

of this research was to find out rhetoric devices in Imran Khan’s speech. She used Fairclough model in her research. The results of her research showed that Imran Khan used rhetoric devices such as “Positive Self-presentation” and “Negative Other-presentation” in order to get people’s sympathy and to promote his ideology.

Sharndama (2015) conducted his research on critical discourse analysis of the speech of Muhammadu Buhari. The aim of this research was to find out the ideology behind his speech which he expressed through the use of language. He used three dimension model of Fairclough to analyze speech. The results showed that in his speech he tried to convince government to do work for the development of country. Shazia (2017) conducted her research on critical analysis discourse of Imran Khan’s first speech in parliament. The purpose of her research was to find out rhetoric device in Imran Khan speech and ideology of his party. The result of this research showed that the speech of Imran Khan was full of linguistics devices such as he used the word “Tabdeeli” and “Islamic reference” to attract people attention and to create his positive image among people. Nnamdi-Eruchalu (2017) conducted his research on Muhammad Buhari’s speech. The purpose of his research was to find out the relationship between language and ideology because every leader had an ideology behind his speech which he expressed through the use of language. He used three- dimensional model of Fairclough to analyze speech. The results of analysis showed that his speech reflected his military ideology and military background. Hassan (2018) conducted his research on Pakistani News Bulletin Headlines. Fairclough model had been used in his research. Both qualitative and quantitative paradigm of research had been used. The purpose was to find the role of media in ideological construction. The result of research showed that the role of media was not neutral but it played an important role in creating different ideologies among people through presenting a different world for them.

Anwar (2019) did his research on Quaid-e- Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah’s speech in the first Constituent Assembly of Pakistan. The purpose of his research was to find out which linguistics devices had been used by Quaid-e-Azam to promote his ideology. The results showed that he used such vocabulary which promoted justice and equality among the whole nation. The analysis of grammatical features showed that he used imperative sentence to tell political agent their responsibilities.

This research has been conducted to find out hidden ideology in Imran Khan’s speech through Fairclough model of CDA.

Methodology:

Both qualitative and quantitative paradigms of research have been used in this research. Qualitative paradigm has been used for description while Quantitative method has been used to give the frequency of personal pronouns in Pakistani English newspapers. AntConc software has been used to find out the frequency of personal pronouns and model verbs in speech of Imran Khan speech. For data analysis, Fairclough three-dimensional model has been used.

For analysis Speech Imran Khan Speech has been selected. The speech consists of 2,596 words.

Speech sample for data Analysis	Total words
Imran Khan speech at UNGA	2,596

Data Analysis:

This research has been conducted to find out ideology in Imran Khan’s speech through textual, grammatical and ideological analysis because all these linguistic resources help us to find out how language is used to present ideology and to show power. Fairclough’s model has been used for analysis of speech. This section has been divided into four parts.

1. Analysis of Ideological Underpinnings:

i) Positive Image of Islam and Pakistan:

Certain western leaders equated Islam with terrorism. And so; in their eyes Islam was an intolerant religion. I hear such strange things about Islam that it is against women and minorities. The state of Medina was the first that took responsibility of women; the widows, the poor. State announced all humans were equal; whatever the colour of their skin. Again; with minorities. In Islam, it was a sacred duty to protect places of worship of all religions.

In this paragraph, Imran Khan tries to say that western countries have a bad image of Islam and Pakistan. Firstly, in their eyes, Islam is an intolerant religion and only Muslims are responsible for terrorism in the world and secondly, they believe that Islam does not give any freedom to women and also against minorities' rights. But it is not true Islam is a peaceful religion. In fact, Islam is the first religion which gives freedom to women, the poor and Children. Islam has given equal rights to minorities because it believes on equality of human not on racial superiority. The purpose of Imran Khan is to change the mind set of western countries about Islam and creates positive image of Islam in western countries.

(ii) India and Terrorism:

I told India to give us any proof and we'd act. We had actual proofs of Indian intervention in some terrorist attacks in our Balochistan province. We even caught their spy Kulbhushan Yadav who admitted to crimes. Instead of sharing proofs of any Pakistani's alleged involvement in Pulwama attack, they tried to bomb us. We retaliated. We captured their pilot; but returned him the next day because we did not want the situation to escalate.

In this paragraph, Imran Khan tries to draw attention of UNGA about terrorism issue. He wants to say that India is responsible for terrorism in the world rather than Pakistan but it always blames Pakistan for bomb blast and gives threats. He also wants to prove Pakistan a peaceful country as he has said in speech that we caught their pilot but relived him because Pakistan does not make situation bad and does not want to create disorderness. Imran Khan's purpose in this paragraph is to prove India as terrorist country as he has said in his first sentence to India to give us proof for our involvement in terrorism if they have any proof but on the other hand, we have proof for India's involvement in terrorism.

iii) Responsibility of Western Countries:

The rich countries must show political will; they cannot allow this flight of capital from poor countries through corruption. How can poor countries meet the United Nations SDG's when money for human development can easily leave our countries? Mr. President; every year billions of dollars leave poor countries & go to rich countries. Billions of dollars siphoned by corrupt politicians to tax havens, expensive properties bought in western capitals. It is devastating to the developing world.

In this paragraph Imran Khan draws attention towards corruption and responsibility of western countries. He says that corrupt leaders loot the money from poor people of the developing countries and deposit this money in western countries and makes buildings in the western countries and due to the loss of these moneys poor countries become poorer and cannot do any development in any field of life. He says that it is the responsibility of western countries to show their will in catching these culprits. The purpose of Imran Khan is to realize western countries of their duties in eradicating corruption in developing countries.

IV) The Failure and Ineffectiveness of UNGA about Kashmir Issue:

I picture myself in Kashmir, locked up for 50 days. Hearing about rapes, the Indian army going around. Would I live with this humiliation? You (UNGA) are forcing people towards radicalization. When people lose the will to live, they pick up guns. A movie "Death Wish" beings, pushing them, you are leading to

radicalization. This is why you came into being in 1945. This is the time when you, the United Nations, must urge India to lift the curfew; to free the 13,000 Kashmiris who have disappeared meanwhile and this is the time when the UN must insist on Kashmir's right to self-determination!

Kashmir is a world-wide issue. Kashmiris are facing troubles such as their women are raped and killed by Indian army. They have no rights; they are locked up in their homes and are treated like animals. Through these lines Imran Khan tries to draw attention of UNGA towards Kashmir issue that it came into being in 1945 to solve world issues. It is the duty of its member to force India to leave Kashmir and let them to live with freedom and if UNGA does not take any action against India and does not stop them from this tyranny then it means that this organization is also responsible for spreading of radicalization in the world. The purpose of Imran Khan behind these statements is to remember that UNGA is not taking Kashmir issue seriously and it is responsible for radicalization in the world.

2. Textual Analysis:

Textual analysis is one of the main components in the critical discourse analysis. The first stage in the analysis is the description of linguistic resources (modality, vocabulary, grammar and figures of speech). In textual analysis the following linguistic devices are analyzed:

- (i) Use of Repetition
- (ii) Use of Formal words
- (iii) Use of Model verbs
- (IV) Use of personal pronoun
- (V) Use of figurative language

i) The use of Repetition:

Repetition is one of the strategies used by political leaders to attract attention of audience or to motivate the audience or listeners. Repetition is also used by political leaders to highlight some specific words. In Imran Khan speech's, the word "Kashmir" has been used 17 times to point out Kashmir issue, the word "India" has been used 22 times to point out that India is creating issue for Pakistan and Kashmir, the word "Islam" has been used 22 times to create a good image of Islam in front of UNGA that Islam never allows terrorism and the word "Pakistan" has been used 15 times to attract attention of audience towards Pakistan issues. "RSS" and "Modi" have been used 12 times to attract UNGA attention towards that Modi, who is a member of that organization and is a big supporter of radicalization.

ii) The use of Formal Vocabulary:

It is common that political leaders use formal vocabulary in their speeches. In his speech, Imran Khan has also used formal vocabulary to show manners and politeness. Such as, he has used this sentence in the start of his speech "I stand here at this forum of world leaders where we have a chance to discuss the problems the world is facing" to show manners and respect.

iii) The use of Model Verbs:

Politicians use model verbs to show their judgment, attitude or opinion towards a situation or events. In speeches, model verbs are used more persuasively rather than main verbs so it is possible to find out high percentage of model verb in spoken form rather than written one. The percentage of the model verb in the Imran Khan's speech is shown in the follow table:

Table # 1

Model verbs		Frequency	Percentage
Positive	Negative		
Can, could	Can't, couldn't	18	3.0
Must	Must not	10	1.6
Will, would	Would not	36	6.0
Should		3	0.5

According to statistics, “will/would” has been used more frequently by Imran Khan to show his intention or statement or opinion about future situation. These are following examples of the use of model verbs in Imran Khan’s speech:

Examples:

1. There **must** be a deterrent; the corrupt ruling elite **must** not be allowed to take money out and park it in tax havens.

In this example, Imran Khan has used model verb to give emphasize on that corrupt people will never be allowed to take away people’s money and to put it in tax haven.

2. What **will** happen when the curfew is lifted? Modi says this is done for the prosperity of Kashmir. But what **will** happen when 8 million Kashmiris come out of a lockdown and face 900,000 troops? I fear there **will** be a bloodbath.

In this example Imran Khan has used model verb to give his opinion or statement about Modi’s action to treat Kashmiri people badly and also to indicate that what will happen in future if there is lockdown and tyranny in Kashmir.

3. The rich countries **must** show political **will**; they **cannot** allow this flight of capital from poor countries through corruption. How **can** poor countries meet the United Nations SDG's when money for human development **can** easily leave our countries?

In this example, in first clause Imran Khan has used **must** to focus and to give emphasize that the rich countries must show their will to help poor countries and in the last two sentences, Imran Khan has used model verb “**can**” to show his opinion and attitudes about rich and western countries that they should help poor countries and save them from corrupt people.

IV) The Use of Personal Pronouns:

Personal pronouns have many functions in different contexts as Bramely (2001) said that personal pronoun “**I**” can be used to express power or authority or to give opinion about an event or situation. Similarly, personal pronoun “**we**” can be used to minimize the difference or it can be used by a person as a representative of a group. Similarly, “**they**” can be used for revival group or in general.

(i) Personal Pronoun “we”:

Personal pronoun “**We**” can be used in different contexts as Bramely (2002) said that “**we**” can be used to avoid responsibility as an individual and as a representative of whole group.

Example:

I told India to give us any proof and we'd act. We had actual proofs of Indian intervention in some terrorist attacks in our Balochistan province. We even caught their spy Kulbhushan Yadav who admitted to crimes.
In this example, Imran Khan has used “we” to avoid from taking responsibility of his statement individually and also as a representative of Pakistani nation to say that has India any proof to prove Pakistani nation as terrorist. Pakistan has evidence to prove India’s involvement in terrorism.

(ii) Personal pronoun “I”:

Personal pronoun “I” can be used by a speaker to express his opinion about some matter, situation or it can be used to express authority or power. It can be used to take responsibility by a speaker.

Example:

1. Mr. President; **I** have to explain what the RSS is. Mr. Modi is a “life member” of RSS.

In this example, Imran Khan has used personal pronoun “I” to express his power and to call Modi a person who believes on racial superiority.

2. *What **I** know of the west, they wouldn't stand for 8 million animals to be locked up. These are humans.*

In this example, Imran Khan has used personal pronoun “I” to show his opinion about western countries .In this sentence, the word “animal” has been used as metaphor for Kashmiri peoples to say that western countries wouldn’t stand against lockup for 8 million Kashmiri people although they say that they are humans and believe on the equality and freedom of people.

(iii) Personal pronoun “You” and “They”:

Personal pronoun can be used to point out a person or it can be used generally. It can be used for a rival party or person. Similarly personal pronoun “they” can be used for rival group for its negative representation

Example:

1. **You** think Kashmiris will accept a new status quo under revocation of Article 370. 100, 000 Kashmir is killed, thousands of women raped.

2. *If **you** are doing this to human beings, pushing them, you are leading to radicalization*

In this example, personal pronoun “you” has been used to point UNGA members that if they think that they will never speak against tyranny of India in Kashmir and will not stop India from doing this then they are responsible for radicalization in the world.

3. *There will be another Pulwama incident because of their own cruelty in Kashmir, **they** will blame us and try to bomb us again.*

In this example, Imran Khan has used “they” for Indian politicians to say that they are responsible for pulwana attack because of their cruelty in Kashmir but rather than accepting their crimes they will blame Pakistan and will try to destroy us through bomb attack. By the use of “they” Imran Khan has tried his best to represent a negative face of India in front of UNGA.

Table # 3

Personal pronouns	Frequency	Possessive pronouns	Frequency
we	89	My	13
I	28	You	15
They	16	Our	28
you	15	its	3
Total	145	Total	59

This table shows that first person has been used frequently. Imran Khan has used “*We*” as a representative of whole Pakistani nation. Personal pronoun “*I*” has been used by Imran Khan to express power and to give opinion or statement about different situations in world. “*You*” has been used for UNGA and in some example in general. Personal pronoun “*They*” has been used for Indian politician Modi, for his negative representation.

(V) The use of Simile:

Simile is used by a speaker to make comparison of two things. Political leaders use it to point out and to highlight something by making its comparison with a thing which is familiar among listeners. Imran Khan has used simile in his speech:

Examples:

1. About Suicide attacks; because the 9/11 bombers did suicide attacks, all sorts of theories came out like those about virgins in heaven.
 2. The way Kashmiris are caged like animals in homes.
- In this example, Imran Khan has used simile of animal for Kashmiri peoples to highlight the fact that they are treated like animals and lockup in their homes. They have no right of freedom and development.

3. Grammatical Analysis:

i) The use of Active Voice:

Active voice is used to minimize the vagueness of a sentence. In Imran Khan’s speech active voice sentences have been used pervasively in order to remove any confusion and vagueness in conversation and to make speech understandable. Examples of active voice sentences in Imran Khan’s speech are the following:

1. If nothing is done, we fear humans are facing a huge catastrophe.
2. Corruption is impoverishing the developing world
3. Islamophobia has grown since 9/11 and it is alarming.
4. We have faced Islamophobia while travelling abroad.

ii) The Use of Declarative Mode:

The function of a declarative sentence is usually to make a statement. But, sometimes it can be used to ask a question, give a command or even express an emotion. This speech shows the use of declarative phrases and sentences by Imran Khan in his speech. He gives information based on practical experience and stresses the inevitability to take action. He has used such sentences:

1. I said to Modi let’s work our differences, leave our past behind & our main priority should be our people as we have similar problems; poverty & climate change.
2. This is the time when you, the United Nations, must urge India to lift the curfew; to free the 13,000 Kashmiris.

These sentences have been used by Imran Khan to convince UNGA and India to resolve Kashmir and Pakistan and India disputes.

iii) The use of Collective Noun:

Imran Khan has used collective noun such “*We*” instead “*I*” in first sentence “where we have a chance to discuss the problems the world is facing” in order to convince UNGA to solve problem of Kashmir and to maintain relationship.

4. Connectivity and Cohesiveness:

Cohesive devices are used to connect previous sentence with the new one. These devices are Collective Nouns,

Substitution Devices, Anaphoric References, Cataphoric References, and Synonyms. . Cohesive devices are important components of CDA. Through analysis of these devices, someone finds out how language is used to make text more effective. In Imran Khan's speech, these devices have been used. Imran Khan has used anaphoric reference in his speech such he has used "you" a lot of time for "UNGA" and "We" for Pakistani nation. Imran Khan has used linker words such "however" and "and" to link new sentence to another with the previous.

Results and Discussion:

This section will answer the question of this research. The aim of this research is to find out ideology behind Imran Khan's speech which he has delivered in UNGA through textual and ideological analysis. There two questions in this research the first is about ideology. The results of this research have showed that Imran Khan has many purposes behind his speech; the first is that he wants to change the mindset of western countries about Islam as he says in his speech "I hear such strange things about Islam that it is against women and minorities. The state of Medina was the first that took responsibility of women; the widow and the poor". Through these sentences, he wants to say that western world has misconception about Islam that Islam is against women's freedom and right, in fact, Islam is the first religion which has given them equal rights and removes racialism. The second purpose of Imran Khan is to present positive image of Pakistan by saying that Pakistan is never involved in pulwana attack or any other terrorism attack but India always blames Pakistan for terrorism in the world. On the other hand, he says that we have proof of Indian involvement in terrorism as we have caught one of Indian person in Pakistan who was involved in terrorism in Pakistan. Thirdly, he wants to realize UNGA that it is not serious in the matter of Kashmir and says that he came into being in 1945 to solve the issue of world so; it is its responsibility to force India to leave Kashmir. Second question is about which type of vocabulary has been used to make his speech effective. The analysis shows that Imran Khan has used personal pronoun "I" to give his opinion and to show power, "we" has been used for Pakistani people, "you" for UNGA to remember them their duties, and "they" has been used for India nation. Imran Khan has used modal verbs to express his opinion "must" and "should" to give emphasize on Kashmir issue. The use of personal pronoun "we" shows that he tried to create relation between himself and people. Similarly, Imran Khan has used declarative to emphasize on some issue which are necessary to be solved quickly and active sentence to make his speech understandable as Wang (2010) said through the use of simple tense political leaders make his speech understandable. He has used simile and repetition devices in his speech. Through the use of formal vocabulary, active and declarative tenses, a figurative language and repetition device Imran Khan has made his speech more affective.

Conclusion:

This research was conducted to find out ideology behind Imran Khan's speech through textual, ideological, and grammatical analysis. The analysis is based on Fairclough's three-dimensional model. The result of research shows that ha has many ideologies behind his speech. Firstly, he wants to prove Islam a religion of prosperity and peace which is against terrorism and radical superiority. Secondly, he wants to prove Indian involvement in terrorism and to highlight that India is creating issues for Kashmiris. In this way, he presents a bad face of India in UNGA. Thirdly, he wants to show that UNGA is not taking Kashmir issue serious. He says that UNGA must stop India from that cruelty. The analysis shows that Imran Khan has used personal pronoun, modality, cohesive devices, and repetition devices to make his speech more fruitful and affective. Much research has been conducted on Critical discourse analysis of politician's speeches but only few researches have been conducted on TV talk shows and on written genre. That's why there is a need of further researches on both written genre and spoken such as on Newspaper, Magazine, poem and TV talk shows to find out their ideologies.

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