

# A Critical Discourse Analysis of Prime Minister of Pakistan Imran Khan's First Public Address

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## 1. Abstract

The critical Discourse analysis is often applied to political discourse analysis including the public speech (J.Wang, 2010) that views language as a social practice. The objective of current study is to highlight the discourse which has been worked behind the first speech delivered by Imran Khan after taking oath of premiership, and examine his political maturity. Imran Khan was once a renowned cricket celebrity and now he has become the head of leading political party (PTI) in Pakistan that has won majority of seats in the recent held general election 2018 in the country. The stance he has maintained in his political career is "the fair play and justice". The same has been reiterated in his median speech as the prime minister of Pakistan. The discourse has been analyzed according to Fairclough's tri-phased model. He developed the concept of synthetic personalization to account for the linguistic effects providing an appearance of direct concern and contact with the individual listener in mass-crafted discourse phenomena (Language & Power, 1989). The data has been observed from the textual version of PM Khan Speech with a benchmark approach. The current study explores how he carries various phases to control the mind of masses as language is the basic tool for constructing individual and group relationship and (R.Fowler) discourse analysis studies attempt to elaborate this relationship.

**Keywords:** Discourse , fair play , challenges , ideology , power , control

## 2. Introduction

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is a special approach to the study of text and talk emerging from critical linguistics and in general from socio-politically conscious and oppositional way of investigating language, discourse and communication (Van dijk 1995). Whereas the critical discourse analysis which deals with the reproduction of political power, power abuse and dominance refers to Political Discourse analysis. It pays attention to all levels of dimensions of political discourse: the grammar, rhetoric, style, schematic organization, speech acts, pragmatic strategies and its interaction among masses and impact on society. In similar vein Fairclough(1993) defines CDA as It is a systematic approach to explore the opaque relationships of causality and determination between discursive practices ,events and texts and on other hand wider range of social and cultural structures. It also investigates how these practices ideologically shaped by the relation of power and struggles over power to control the mind of masses and maintain hegemony (p.135). The current study aims to analyze the discourse propounded by the Prime Minister Khan in his speech delivered after taking oath of premiership.

Mr. Imran Khan , the 22<sup>nd</sup> Prime Minister of Pakistan has become a very prominent political figure of world politics . He is a former cricket captain who won world cup cricket in 1992. He is also chairman Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) and remained member o National Assembly of Pakistan From 2002 to 2007 and again 2013 to 2018. Mr Khan was a renowned cricketer and philanthropist who played cricket at international level or two decade and developed social project as Shokat khanam Memorial Cancer Hospital & Research centre NAMAL college. In April 1996 he founded Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf and started his political struggle against corruption and malpractices by raising the slogan o justice and fair play . He served as an opposition leader and rendered a very tough time to the Nawaz Shrif government during his regime. The result of general election 2018 in Pakistan ensued in his political party and he has been elected as 22<sup>nd</sup> prime minister of the country. During his political career he successfully succeeded to maintain his stance of fair play and justice which has played a vital role in winning the favour of masses and controlling their mind His talk to the public during election campaign and ab initio fully uphold his vision and conspicuously bridle the public opinion. The present research systematically proves the hegemony and the stance he maintains during his interaction with general masses.

In fact, politics stands for an effort to gain power for putting social and economic ideas into practical application. In this connection, language plays a vital role as social practice for the implementation of political ideas and controlling the mind of masses. Critical theory of language sees the use of language as social practice (Hilary Janks). Whereas all social practices are linked to specific historical context because of these relations new social relations are produced, contested and different interests are served. It is the question pertaining to the interests that relate discourse to relations of power. How the text or talk formulate these interest or negate the interests? What are the consequences of this formulation? Where analysis seeks to understand how discourse is implicated in relation of power it is all envisaged in the realm of critical discourse analysis.

Fairclough(1995) model of CDA consists of three interrelated phases of analysis which are linked to three correlative dimensions of discourse i-e textual , interpretational and social levels ,each level requires a diferent kind of analysis:

- I. Text analysis (description)
- II. Processing analysis (interpretation)
- III. Social analysis (explanation)

What is useful about this approach is that it enables the analyst to focus on the signifiers that make up the text, the selection specific linguistic items their usage and manipulation.

The first speech of the prime Minister of Pakistan delivered by him on 26<sup>th</sup> July 2018 was ingeniously analysed by using the Faieclough model of CDA in which structure of the text has been analyzed according to the narrative analysis model of Stanzal (1995) and Jahn(1996). The tri-phased narrative analysis highlights the focalization, tellability and mode of narration. Imran Khan is precursery author of the text and is overt narrator of this text. The narration is holding many facts of the nation and is representing the perspective, view point of our new Prime Minister about his nation and is showing His keen intrest in building new and progressed country. In the phase of interpretation, Mr. khan has referred to many historical events conspicuously to control the mind of masses and develop his discourse. Lastly, the final phase i-e the social analysis fully reveals the strong social impacts of the wording manipulated by the Prime minister to formulate a successful general public opinion and win the favour of masses. The whole analysis vividly exposes how a renowned cricked celebrity has achieved a powerful political impact as Prime Minister through the discourse his developed during his public talk.

### 3. Data Collection

The data has been collected from the translated version of Prime Minister Imran Khan's first speech after taking oath of premiership available on internet:

<https://dunyanews.tv/.../453434-Prime-Minister-Imran-Khan-first-address-complete-sp...>

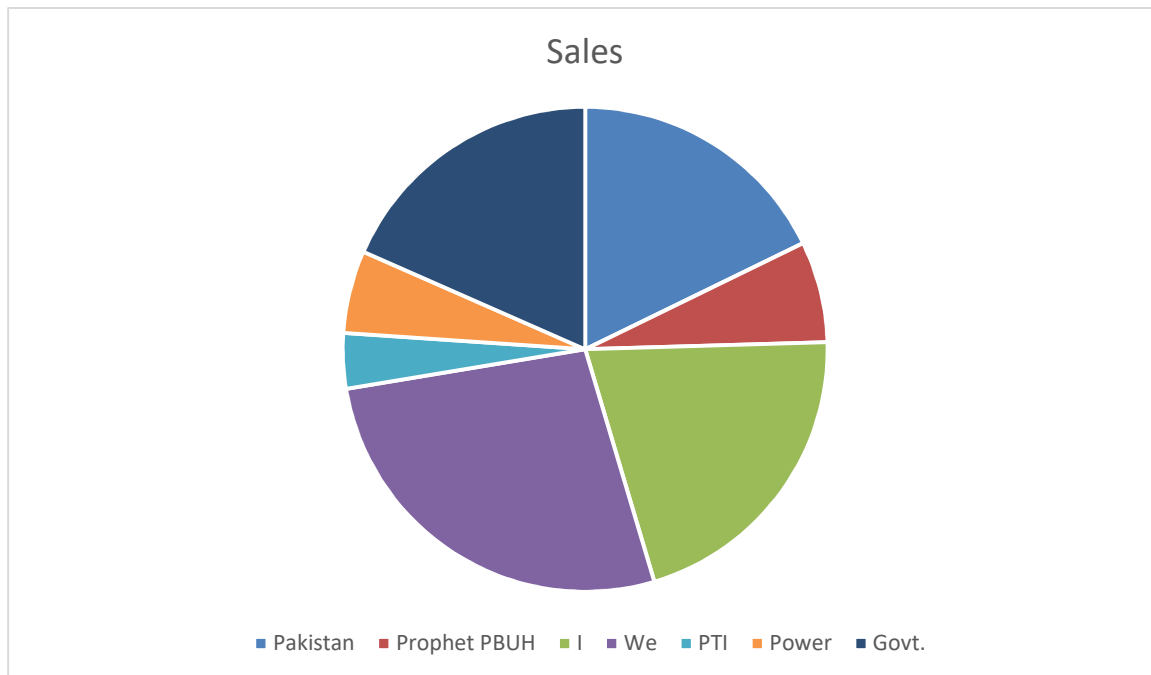
### 4. Methodology

Both the qualitative and quantitative methods have been used for complete comprehension of the speech. Qualitative research is actually an exploratory research. It is applied to have complete understanding of underlying facts, opinions and motives whereas quantitative research of the text provides us with the numerical analysis of the terms, references and allusions to form a solid ground of Discourse and narrative analysis.

The words used in this address appear to be very near to the idea of 'Local Semantics' as presented by Van Dijk(1993); the utilization of terms that are simply clear to the nation of a specific background. Khan has utilized pronouns like 'I', 'we', 'they' etc. Further notably, when he speak regarding himself. He applies the expressions like 'I intend and I struggled hard'. Words utilized in his talk, not only show Khan's leadership quality but also speak about his self confidence.

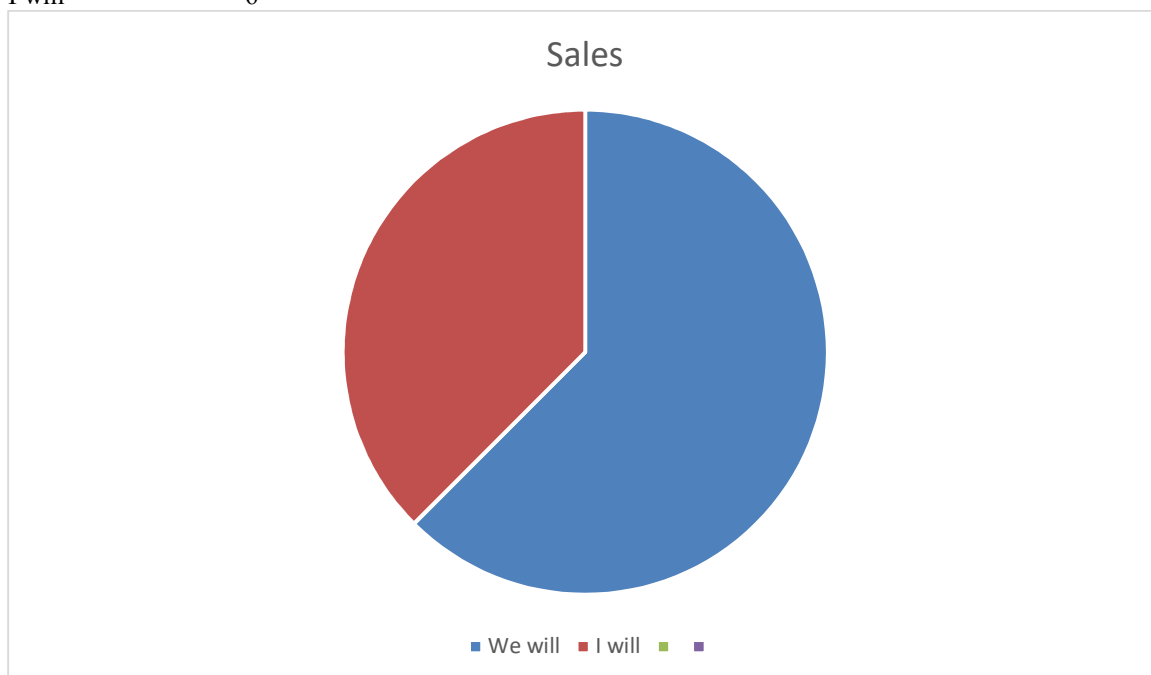
#### 4.1 Repeated words and phrases

Pakistan	29
Prophet PBUH	11
I	34
We	44
PTI	6
Power	9
Govt.	30



**4.2 Figure**  
**Phrases**

we will	10
I will	6



**4.3 figure**

Figur 4.1 and 4.2 provides the authentic information to the readers about the usage of the key terms and first person pronun phrases which help to establish a solid ground for the whole discourse analysis at textual level.

## 5. Data Analysis

### 5.1. Background of the study

Pakistan was created out of the partition of British India in 1947. Hundreds of thousands die in widespread communal violence, and millions are made homeless (BBC, 17 August 2018). Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the

founding leader of the country was selected as first governor general of Pakistan. He died due to broken health shortly after the establishment of the nascent state that was still suffering from a countless problems. Since then the Pakistani nation has been suffering from internal and external conspiracies and economic setbacks. The country has faced three long duration of martial law regimes and gone through the Indian assaults resulted into bloody wars of 1948, 1965, 1971 and 1999. Nevertheless, the nation has merged as world champion and 7<sup>th</sup> state of nuclear power. The country has successfully been experiencing democratic phase of its life for the one decade only because of the strengthening efforts of Peoples Party regime in 2008. The two political parties i-e PPP & PML (N) have completed their ruling duration from 2008 to 2018. Now the emerging political party under the dynamic leadership of former cricketer and world cup winner captain Mr. Imran Khan has won the favour of general masses and come to form the central and provincial governments in the country. Mr. Khan has taken the oath as 22<sup>nd</sup> Prime Minister of the country. He has very successfully developed his discourse of corruption free and economically strong Pakistan. His speech has been analyzed by using the models of discourse and narrative analysis. Particularly, Fairclough famous model of CDA has been applied to high light the explicit as well as implicit motives of the Prime Minister made by his in his speech.

### 5.2 Textual Analysis

The first phase of Fairclough's three part model is text that includes linguistics analysis in terms of morphology, semantics and syntax, the sound system and cohesion organizations above the sentence level (Fairclough 1995, p.57)

The translated version of PM Khan speech comprises of more than forty-seven thousand words. This long text can contextually be bifurcated into three parts including the gratefulness of PM for his workers, the socio-economic problems being faced by the nation due to wrong policies of previous government and the last one is the solutions of these grave concerns.

The sentence structure is declarative and argumentative in which he imparts authentic information through facts and figure to make his speech more powerful and persuasive:

*(Pakistan's Prime Minister has 524 workers, 80 cars, of which 33 are bullet proof. The price of each is more than Rs.5 crore; helicopters, aeroplanes; the Prime Minister House is spread over 1100 canals, we have Governor Houses, Rest Houses, Chief Ministers' Houses they have cars, Secretaries 100 have 2/3 cars.)*

He has uses first person narrative including "I" for 34 times and "we" for 44 times that shows his collective approach towards formulating the opinion of general masses.

He has conspicuously used references of Holy Quran, The pious caliphs, the great Quaid and Allama Iqbal to make his words more persuasive and cast a powerful and successful impact to control the mind of people listening to him.

He has very tactfully used the transitive verbs and discourse markers as "First of all" to maintain the coherence and keep his audience in touch with him. He has compared the economic policies with that of USA and the golden precedents laid by the holy prophet and the pious caliph and that of the former regimes PPP and PML(N) to make people realize that they have been shamefully misguided and economically mutilated by them.

Mister Prime Minister has mostly used SOV structure; however, he has also used the conditional sentences like "We will have to change our thinking. we will have to invoke kindness in our hearts as half our population cannot even get 2 times meals. We cannot feed 45% of Pakistan's children. If we do not change our way of thinking what will become of our 2.5 billion out of school children. If our population continues to increase and we cannot educate our children then obviously they will not be able to get livelihood, if conditions remain so, who will solve the water issue". The verbal phrase "have to" is intentionally used to provoke a sense of action that might bring about the desire socio-economic change.

### 5.3 Processing Analysis

Discourse Practice, as propounded by Fairclough (1995, p 58-59), have two phases: institutional process (editorial procedures) and discourse process (changes the text goes through in production and consumption). For Fairclough, "discourse practice straddles the division between society and culture on the one hand and discourse, language and text on the other" (p.60).

The intertextual analysis, according to Fairclough focusses on the borderline between text and discourse practices in the analytical frame work which is looking at text from the perspective of discourse practice, looking at the traces of the discourse practice in the text.(p.16) He also defines it as "manifest intertextuality" and "Constitutive intertextuality".

In the phase of processing analysis, it has been observed that formal and contextual links have been used to make the text cohesive. The PM has ingeniously used transitional signal as "first of all" and "secondly" etc the excessive use of interrogative pronouns also serve as discourse marker to grab the attention of the listeners as "Why do they go abroad? Where does this money go? The budget of Speaker National Assembly was 16 crores; what do they do?"

Both types of links promote “inter-textuality” in the present text. Constitutive inter-textuality is visible as the present discourse is tied together and one paragraph has link with the other. The speech has attained its independent identity. Manifest inter-textuality is the drawing upon other texts within a text.

#### 5.4 Social Analysis

In this final phase of Fairclough(1995 ,p.62) model of CDA, the text has been analysed in the socio-cultural context of communicative events: economic (i.e. economy of media), political (i.e. power and ideology of the media), and cultural (i.e. issues of value).

PM Khan started his speech with a profound expression of gratitude to those who remained with him during his political struggle that is the formal commencement of every political leader’s speech. Then he ventured his entity, which never pursued politics as career or profession but a mission. It is the general proclamation of political leader to show their utter sincerity to hold the public opinion.

Religion affects people and politics, in this manner, PM has cited numerous references with respect to religious thoughts; they are for inspiration, motivation and to the removal of wrong acts. As Imran Khan asserted with Islamic point of view that our prophet Hazrat Muhammad reformed the world's history by making territory of Madinah and to make an Islamic nation. He additionally utilized the references of Quran; Allah likewise says in the Quran that “He does not change the condition of a nation if it does not make an effort itself.” Furthermore, he cited cases of Hazrat Muhammad PBUH, Hazrat Ali and hazrat Umer regarding education and justice. Being a Muslim we have trust in Allah and we need to follow all His commands. That’s why Imran khan let the general population review the lessons of Islam. Bound somebody to the religion is an approach to get him or her in the right way.

The prime minister then proceeded towards the history of Pakistan’s economy and challenges, and later spoke about how these issues can be resolved. Knowing that a country's history is the best weapon for any leader to run a system in a smooth way. therefore he gave examples from history of Medina and other countries, as well as examples of great leaders like Allama Iqbal. In such a which politics work for the betterment of the system. A man ought to have the methodologies, which are in view of past failure results, and could be consolidated precisely later on.

Khan has indicated the distinction in the ways of life of Pakistan's rich and that of the poor. He accepts to exchange the power to minimal levels for well and suitable outcomes in the advancement field. He likewise guaranteed to change the criteria for enrollment of high authority posts. The interests of these issues is splendid. It is his political enthusiasm that he has the attention to each vital piece of political framework or government. He is motivating the general population by giving examples as given earlier and saying that change our fate as 'change' is the slogan of PPP. Furthermore , he used the term zakat for getting money which is also an Islamic reference that is the trick of politicians to get support of people.

Then Khan discussed about merit. Without merit nothing can be done. The duties of the rulers involve that they are *sadiq* and *ameen*. They must be honest . They can have no conflicts in their motives. The west has these laws. Here again he is comparing Pakistan with west just to realize the real picture of Pakistan in the world and to make people responsible for their destiny. He is starting this effort from his ownself to be the role model of others. .

On reforming the financial sector, PM Khan explained that instead of getting external loans for the betterment of economic sector, his government will try its best to fulfill its needs from inner resources and assists. As he stated that “you need to realize that when these people give us money, they attach conditions to it.” Khan used such emotional statements to get sympathy as well as money of people to change Pakistan and to make it a peaceful country.

PM Khan very tactfully invited overseas Pakistanis to invest in the country and help to rebuild the economy. "I have a special message for overseas Pakistanis. We are trying our best to create a good investment environment for you. We want that you bring your money to Pakistan and park it in Pakistani banks as we are short of foreign exchange. Send your money through official accounts. We need your help." This message shows Imran Khan’s leadership power that how he invoked overseas Pakistanis to get money for Pakistan.

He talked about Rooting out corruption, Revamping the judiciary, KP police model to be implemented in Punjab, educational reforms, Healthcare reforms, Dams to be built to end water crisis, Civil service reforms, Devolution of power, Plan for the youth ,Environmental issues ,Compassion for the underprivileged , "The Madina model" and Take ownership. It seems a very sensible speech where he talked about issues of Pakistan at one hand; he gave solutions as well on the other hand. PM said.”This is my idea for Pakistan. This is the Pakistan I want to see.” So in his speech he talked about all the changes, his dreams and thoughts about Naya Pakistan which motivates the youth to be the part off this effort.

PM said,”It’s my thought for Pakistan; this is what I want to see.” So in his address he discuss regarding all the evolution, his mission and ideas about New Pakistan, which encourage the young generation to do efforts. Khan associated various concepts with PML-N and PPP and these concepts are identify by using language. He showed “we have observed two turns of both parties in the province and in the center, and it was found that if we

had to go with them, then the country has no future". By using of predictional methodology, Khan laments that if Pakistan will select these parties once more, it won't have any better resources for better future. This is a representative concept, which is cultivated by law-maker in which they showed other law-maker groups to achieve their goals. Reisigl and Wodak (2001) declared that such strategies are utilized to ascribe different standards, normally uncooperative or prejudice, to civic artist in local government talk.

## 6. Conclusion

All of the afore-mentioned description highlights the need of elucidate the discourse developed by the newly elected prime minister of Pakistan after general election 2018 and the hidden ideologies for the formulation of the discourse. The structure of the narrative is horizontal, in which the PM very tactfully capture the attention of general masses and successfully maintain his stance while controlling the mind of the people. As his straight allusion to Quaid-e-Azam may also have a diplomatic purpose as people have an psychological bond with founder of Pakistan. He has said that present Pakistan is not the one the Quaid-e-azam had dreamt of. On other side, it showed an honest, modest and brave face for public approval with the sensitive use of language, he has imparted the general masses with facts and figure to make them realize the economic follies of the previous government to pave his way for the future planning.

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