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TÍTULO: Un análisis crítico del discurso de Imran Khan en Islamabad el 30 de noviembre del 2014.

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RESUMEN: El objetivo del estudio es descubrir la ideología que funcionó detrás de este discurso y también examinar la madurez política de Imran Khan, enriquecer las posesiones lingüísticas y su objetivo de posición democrática en Pakistán. Se han utilizado técnicas cualitativas y cuantitativas para interpretar cómo Imran Khan señaló las locuras, los inconvenientes, y las deficiencias en temas como la economía, el desempleo y la escasez de electricidad y la corrupción que se realice en mayo del año 2013, elecciones del gobierno actual (primer ministro Nawaz Shareef) y por el ex presidente (Zardari). El estudio tiene sus implicaciones teóricas y prácticas. ¿Puede Khan detener el descenso del país e impedir que se convierta en un estado fallido?

PALABRAS CLAVES: discurso, ideología, elecciones amañadas, corrupción, poder.

TITLE: A critical discourse analysis of Imran Khan's speech at Islamabad on November 30th, 2014.

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ABSTRACT: The objective of the study is to uncover the ideology which worked behind this speech and also to examine Imran Khan's political maturity, enriched linguistic possessions and his aim for democratic position in Pakistan. Qualitative and quantitative techniques have been used to interpret how Imran Khan pointed out the follies, drawbacks, shortcomings in the issues such as the economy, unemployment and electricity shortage and corruption that has been done in May,2013 election by the current government (prime minister Nawaz Shareef) and by the ex-president (Zardari)". The study has its theoretical and practical implications. Can Khan halt the country's descent and prevent it from becoming a collapsed state?

KEY WORDS: discourse, ideology, rigged elections, corruption, power.

INTRODUCTION.

Imran Khan is a renowned former cricketer and head of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI), one of the most emerging political parties in Pakistan. Born on November 25, 1952, to a Niazi Pashtun family in Lahore, he attended Aitchison College in Lahore before moving to Keble College, Oxford

University where he studied Philosophy, Politics, and Economics and completed his graduate in 1975.

Actually, Politics is an effort for power in order to put certain political, economic and social ideas into practical application. In this purpose, language plays a vital and most important role, for every political action is accompanied, influenced and delivered by language.

In similar vein, *Fairclough (1993) defines CDA as “Discourse analysis which aims to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a)discursive practices, events and texts ,and (b)wider social and culture structures ,relations and processes; to explore how such practices ,(events and texts arise out of and are ideologically formed by relations of power and struggles over power ;and to explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony”* (p.135).

This research paper seeks to analyze Imran Khan’s speech, which he delivered during the election campaign on 30th November 2014. This speech seems to carry his ideology and the stated manifesto of “*Tabdeeli*” (*change*) and “*Naya Pakistan*” (*New Pakistan*)” *Insaff* (*Justice*) *Azadidharna* (*independent strike*). In this way, the main concerning is to analyze the manners in which a political leader tries to propagate his ideology by using language. It will also investigate whether the politicians tactfully employ persuasive strategies to indoctrinate their ideas or it happens spontaneously under genuine impulse.

CDA can help by theorizing transformations and creating an awareness “*of what is, how it has come to be, and what it might become, on the basis of what people may be able and to remark their lives*”. As Imran persuades the people in such way, “*I want to make you all aware of what is happening with my #Pakistanis, how did they rig the elections*”. “*If we go back to our homes now,*

than there will be no value of your vote, as all the elections will be rigged". In reality, by using such words "you all aware", if we go back" no value of your vote", he emphasizes his idea that public know very well that present government and (Ex)government fixed the match of general election of May, 2013, may be everybody does not have any idea about it. He also encourages the people not to go back home until they have achieved their aim.

Politicians often instrumentalize language as an insight into an effective use of language which can provoke people to change the existing reality by breaking the conventions of hegemony. Hence, with the help of CDA, it will be observed how and to what extent language could be meticulously used by a politician to mediate a specific ideology.

The purpose of current study is to analyze the speech of Imran Khan according to Fairclough's (1995) model of CDA that consists of three dimensions of discourse i-e textual, interpretational and social levels, each level requires a different kind of analysis:

1. The object of analysis (comprising verbal and visual texts).
2. The processes by means of which the object is produced and received (writing/ speaking, designing and reading, listening) by human subjects.
3. The socio-historical conditions which govern these processes.

According to Fairclough, each of these dimensions has need of a different kind of analysis:

- a. Textual analysis (description).
- b. Processing analysis (interpretation).
- c. Social analysis (explanation)

DEVELOPMENT.

Literature review.

Discourse is a broad term with many definitions; one is discourse "integrates the whole palettes of meanings" (Titscher et.al.1998:42), ranging from linguistics, through sociology, philosophy, and other existing social sciences disciplines.

Fairclough (1993) holds the opinion that "discourse" refers to the whole process of social interaction, the interaction between speaker and addressee or between writer and reader. Therefore, discourse reflects the social interaction between the information sender and receiver. According to Fairclough (1989), discourse refers to the whole process of social interaction of which a text is just a part (p. 24).

Martin and Nakayama (2010) explain discourse as to language in use, which means that all discourse is social. Besides, the language used the words and the meanings that are communicated – depends not only on the context but also on the social relations that are part of that interaction (p. 233).Critical discourse analysis is not much a direction, school, or specialization text to the many other "approaches" in discourse studies. Rather it aims to deal a unique "mode" or "perspective" of theorizing analysis, and application throughout the complete field.

Van Dijk is of the view that CDA is particularly concerned with the analysis of any discourse whether written or spoken from the perspective of discursive practices in a society like hegemony, domination, inequality of basic rights and racial discrimination. Van Dijk(1998a) believes that one who wants to make transparent such an ideological dichotomy in discourse necessities to analyze discourse within the following ways that (1998b, pp.61-63): Examining the context of the discourse: historical, social and political background of a conflict and its main participants.

For Fairclough (1995), the purpose of CDA is to explore how the relationships of causality and determination that function between discursive practices, events and texts, and the relationships of causality and determination functions between wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes. The "critical" in CDA has two meanings: first, it refers to the analysis of social inequality; second, this type of analysis is different from the traditional analysis as the latter does not give an analysis of social inequality. Besides, critical discourse analysis aims to investigate how events and texts are generated and ideologically shaped by relations of power. Also, he says that the opacity of relationships between discourse and society can have the function of securing power and hegemony (Fairclough, 1995).

Fairclough has described (1993) CDA as a discourse analysis which systematically unearths often blurred relationships between discourse practice, texts and contexts, and the broader socio-cultural patterns, connections and operations; it also tries to evaluate as to how all these discursive phenomena are formed out of ideology, power, and the practical links between them (ideology and power); it further involves the investigation as to how the relationship between society and discourse is itself a tool to attain power and hegemony (p. 135).

Van Dijk (1998c), CDA makes a connection between the textual analysis of language and the social practice analysis. It stresses explaining the cause of discourse from the aspect of social structure and analyzes the hidden power behind language, to disclose the role of language in social change and the constraining of social institution to discourse. It studies the relationship between language, text and social structure.

CDA is, therefore, a framework designed for not only determining but also clarifying the possible syntheses and analyses of socio-discursive patterns-and-practices from socio-political and psychological points of view within a given society.

The objective of CDA is intricate language use as social practice. The speakers of a language don't operate in isolation, however inset of culture, social and psychological structures. CDA accepts these social contexts and comprehend the connections between textual structures and takes this social context into consideration and explores the relations between textual structures and their function in interaction with the society.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is a special approach to the study of text and talk evolving from critical linguistics and normally from socio-politically conscious and oppositional way of investigating language, discourse and communication (Van dijk 1995). 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 interests 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.

Van Dijk (1998a) holds that Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) refers to a method which studies and analyzes written as well as spoken language/texts to discover the issues related to power, potency, variances and bias, associations, and other possible propaganda in a specific discourse. It investigates the maintenance and reproduction of these factors in relevant socio-political environment and in its conventional frames. CDA addresses social problems, power relations are

discursive, discourse constituent's society and culture, discourse does ideological work, discourse is historical, the link between text and society is mediated, discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory and discourse is a form of social action. However, Fairclough presented a three-layered framework wherein he identified the relationship between three interrelated dimensions of discourse (sociocultural practice, discourse practice, text) and three interrelated processes of analysis (description, interpretation, explanation). These properties can be applied to analyze how politicians structure their discourse to persuade the people in order to fulfill their specific goals or political agendas.

Recently, many studies have been conducted on Imran Khan Speeches as Persuasion and Political Discourse: A Critical Discourse Analysis of Imran Khan's Election Speech (2013) (*Uzma Khalil, Muhammad Islam, Saima Akhtar Chattha, Farwa Qazalbas*). In this paper, Imran Khan's style of choosing words, art of persuasion, repetition rewording and other points have been mentioned. As the text has been used, this research paper seeks to analyze Imran Kha's speech, which he delivered during the election campaign on May 9, 2013. This speech seems to carry his ideology and the stated manifesto of "Tabdeeli" (change) and "Naya Pakistan" (New Pakistan)".

The other research has been conducted by *Shahid Javed Burki*, in the paper "*Imran Khan's Political Rise*" in which he is compered by Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, as" He has thrown an open challenge to the governing Pakistan People's Party (PPP) founded four and a half decades ago by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, another populist leader who created the same kind of excitement as Khan is doing today.

An important research has also been conducted by *Shazia Akbar Ghilzai*, *Ayazud din, Muhammad Asghar* in the famous article, "*A Critical Discourse Analysis of Imran Khan's First Speech in the Parliament*".

With a desire to contribute to CDA studies in Pakistan, this study examines how a popular Pakistani political leader, Imran Khan exploits various linguistic techniques and strategies to represent his ideology as fair and democratic. The research has been conducted using Fairclough's three-dimensional framework along with an array of analytical strategies "referential strategies", "repetition", "word choice", "modality", "positive self and negative other representation", etc.

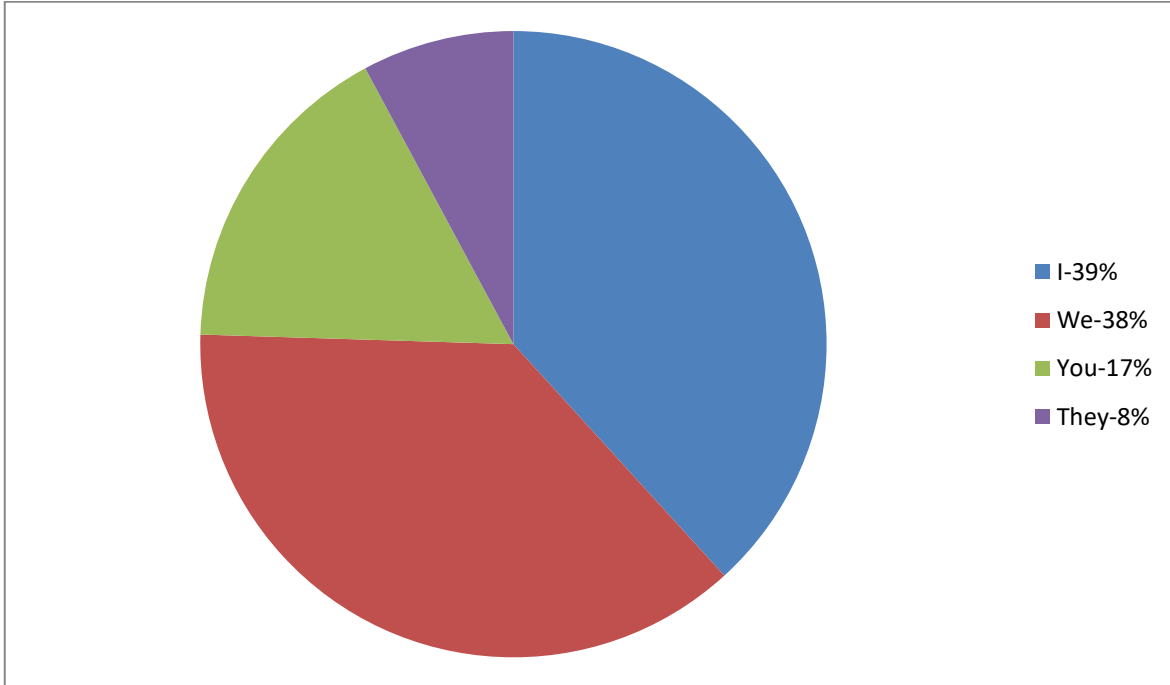
Data collection.

The data transcript of Imran Khan's speech at Islamabad #AzadiJalsaPTI, 30th November 2014 is taken from internet: www.unewstv.com/32292/pti-chairman-imran-khan-completespeech-in-islamabad-jalsa-30th-november-2014

Actually, this speech was delivered at Islamabad #AzadiJalsaPTI, strike which continued for 126 days. This speech was delivered when Imran Khan's demand to recounting the votes in 4 constituencies for audit was not accepted. Therefore, this speech has a significant role in Pakistani politics and Imran Khan's political party's future phases in government's democracy.

Methodology.

Both paradigms: qualitative and quantitative, researches are used for complete understanding of Imran Khan's Discourse. Qualitative research is predominantly exploratory research. It is accustomed to gain an understanding of underlying reasons, opinions and motivations". Quantitative methods emphasize objective measurements and the statistical, mathematical or numerical analysis of data collected through polls, questionnaires, and surveys or by manipulating pre-existing statistical data using computational techniques. AntConc software has been used to search the quantity of pronouns. As in this chart frequency has been shown:



Now, if we examine this statistical analysis as a qualitative perspective, this chart shows that ‘I and We pronouns’ have been used extensively that represent the idea by using “I” he wants to make dominant himself and by using “We” pronoun, he wants to grab the attention of masses that are present in dharna or not. He also uses pronoun “You” less instead of “us” to make address the public. “They” pronoun to call the opposition party especially (Nawaz Shareef and Zardari) has been less used to make submissive to the opposition.

Data analysis.

Background and Description of the text.

Since the day of independence, Pakistani political system has been confronting several problems and issues. As a matter of fact, economic development, prevalence of peace and progress of any country largely depends on its political leadership.

According to Khan (2013), since the last two or three decades, Pakistan's political system has been in the hands of corrupt politicians, and people are still looking for a change or an opportunity for a better life. Due to the ineffective political system, Pakistan is lagging behind in many fields of life and is still considered to be a developing country. After the general elections of 2013, Imran Khan was not satisfied with the results of the elections. He gave petition to reopen the 4 constituencies for audit. He also blamed Nawaz Shareef and Zardari for the corruption. As he declares: "*Nawaz Shareef & Zardari are the most corrupt persons of Pakistan*" "*Zardari & Nawaz Shareef, both fixed the match of general elections of May, 2013*". He also inspires the public to raise voice against them and also encourages them to recognize the worth of their votes because they are living in a democratic country. He also uses rhetorical technique to give inspiration that the public voices can only change the future of Pakistan. As he defines, "*If we go back to our homes now, then there will be no value of your vote, as all the elections will be rigged*".

Textual Analysis.

The first analytical attention of Fairclough's three-part model is text. Exploration of text includes linguistic analysis in relations of morphology, syntactic, semantics, the sound system and cohesion-organization above sentence level (Fairclough, 1995b, p.57). According to Fairclough, any sentence in a text can be analyzed in terms of articulation of these functions which have been relabeled by him as representations, relations and identities (Fairclough, 1995b, p.58).

Khan associated certain stereotypes with PML-N and PPP and these stereotypes are realized using language. Use of words as positive –self presentation and negative other presentation. Use of words for him and for party, (*I want to make you all aware, I want nothing except Insaff, I thank our youth, extremely thankful to journalists, our dharna educated people, we do not put people in difficulty, etc.*), while on the other hand, he uses such words for opposition leaders (*most corrupt*

people of Pakistan, they are using public money, both fixed the match, shut down Pakistan with the petrol crisis gullus, the bullets were fired on Rana Sanaullah's orders, Nawaz Shareef and his Darbaaris, etc.). By examining such words, he represents himself and his party's innocence and the opposition as a corrupt party. Code mixing has also been used to grab the attention of the audience like, (*Insaff, dharna, azadi jalsa, durbaaris, gullus, etc.*). Modal verbs (*can, shall, will, may*) have been used excessively not only to show the future but also to show his intention like "*I can clearly see a NayaPakistan being made*". Argumentative, declarative, imperative and exclamative clauses have also been used to show the different functions as, Argumentative, Shameem a lady who came in her wheelchair every day. Through heat cold rain. She is here today. As declarative, "*I just demanded 4 constituencies for audit*". As imperative, "*Time limit for accepting my demands is 4 to 6 weeks only*". As exclamative, *Faisal Javed felt the same too!* These clauses have been used to give order, to show inner feelings and give statements.

Conditional sentences have also been used like, "*If Nawaz Shareef doesn't accept our demands, than we will give our next plan & you corrupt people would be unable to bear it*" for showing the demands. SVO structure has been used mostly but sometimes uses the OSV structure to convey his meaning. Khan's presentation of positive self-image is also obvious from his excessive use of the personal pronoun "I." For example, he says *I can, I think, I said* etc. Repetition of the words *dharna, thank you all* etc.; this repetition of phrases and words indicates that Khan urged people to play their role for a political change in the country. Mental process (*I think, I want etc.*) has also been used excessively to show his mental condition. Copula verbs have been also used (*is, are, am, has, etc.*) to build the relations.

Khan's use of this strategy seems to be motivated by his desire to persuade people to follow his political ideology.

Discourse Analysis.

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

According to his view: Intertextual analysis focuses on the borderline between text and discourse practice in the analytical framework. Intertextual analysis states a text from the perception 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*".

During the editorial procedure formal as well as contextual links are used for creating the text cohesive. Several cohesive devices used by the writer can be pin-pointed. As, if I don't get Insaf, even said it from hospitals, Pakistan but I am extremely thankful. These cohesive devices are used to interlink the notions. "The" as a determiner has been used as (The media, the number of people etc.), for making something special. Cataphoric references have been used as firstly the names of 'Nawaz Shareef' and 'Zardari' have been used and then references have been used. As, "*Zardari & Nawaz Shareef, both fixed the match of general elections of May,2013*". "They are using public's money for campaign against me". These references are used to not repeat name again and again. Coordination has also been used, as a fathered. These show the authenticity of the text. Grammatical questions have also been used to grab the attention as, what should I know? etc.

Both kinds of links promote “inter-textuality” within 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.

Social Analysis.

For Fairclough (1995b, p.62), analysis during this dimension pertains to three aspects of the socio-cultural contexts of a communicative event: economic (i.e. economy of media), political (i.e. power and ideology of the media), and cultural (i.e. issues of value).

Although, the speech of Imran Khan has many positive points as a social perspective, yet it cannot be considered fully true. The positive points that he highlights the importance of women of casting vote and participate in other activities. As he describes, *I am here to thank you, especially the women. There were days when there were more women than men at the dharna. When a woman of a household is awakened, there is no turning back.*

He also points out that peaceful and healthy environment is necessary and also shows his religious mind, as he describes; “cleanliness is an important part of our religion”.

He also promotes that education is also necessary, as he describes, “We should spend money on brains of this great nation”.

The negative points may be according to The Dawn News: partnering with a bond of problems, like cooperation of such politicians who has left the other parties as, Pervez Khattak, Shah Mehmood Qureshi.

Demanding too much too early, because his position is not so strong that he challenge the present government directly: as he says “Time limit for accepting my demands is 4 to 6 weeks only”; “If

Nawaz Shareef doesn't accept our demands, than we will give our next plan & you corrupt people would be unable to bear it".

Playing the civil disobedience card: this strike was not legal because the capital of Pakistan has been shut down for many days and he could never fulfill his demands by force as he says: *"Time limit for accepting my demands is 4 to 6 weeks only"*. So, this speech has positive as well as negative points.

CONCLUSIONS.

According to Imran *Insaff* khan since last three years Pakistani political system has been in the hands of corrupt people that is the reason why cannot expect (justice) *Insaff* from these corrupt people if they are re-elected in the general elections of 2013.

In his speech, Khan shows his dissatisfaction with the results of previous election. He has used negative expressions for two political leaders (Nawaz Sharif & Asif Ali Zardari). He is optimist and inspired from the Pakistani youth who have helped his cause in raising voice against the corrupt system and corrupt political leaders of Pakistan.

Khan has been observed enticing them to stay in the sit-in by saying "if we go back to our homes now, then there will be no value of your vote, because we cannot expect justice from these corrupt people". He tactfully expresses own mission that "we will build new Pakistan and we shall spend money and resources on the brain of this great nation". He widely used discourse markers to grab the attention of people. He has been successfully controlling the mind of people so that nation follows his ideology.

This study has revealed how language can be used to spread awareness among people about the existing political system which has failed to deliver so far. This research can help future researchers who aim to explore linguistic tools used in Pakistani political speeches and may provide them with a design to analyze the discourse of politicians who claim to bring change in the country.

There is a need to interpret the discourse of Pakistani politicians more critically as it may include hidden ideologies. This may make Pakistani political discourse more understandable for common people.

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