Critical Discourse Analysis of PM Imran Khan and Shahbaz Sharif's Speeches at UNGA

Farooq Ahmed[a*], Sehrish Shafi[b], Nabeela Khalid[c], Ramisa Arif[d]

[a]Lecturer, Department of English, Mirpur University of Science and Technology (MUST). [b]Assistant Professor, Department of English, Mirpur University of Science and Technology (MUST). [c]Lecturer, Department of English, Mirpur University of Science and Technology (MUST). [d]Department of English, Mirpur University of Science and Technology (MUST).

*Email: farooq.eng@must.edu.pk

Abstract: This research endeavors to analyze two political speeches delivered by two Pakistani prime ministers Imran khan and Shahbaz Sharif in the 74th and 77th session of UN General Assembly. With the Van Dijk model of Critical Discourse Analysis as an analytical framework the current study examines two political speeches by two prime ministers of Pakistan at both Micro and Macro level to gain insight into their diverse political agendas, use of language, distinct perceptions and unalike intentions due their personal world view and unlike political background. The current study combines the micro level text analysis with the macro level focusing on the dichotomy of 'Us versus Them'. This study investigates the significant difference in the usage of Micro and Macro structures in political speeches. Given study analyses different discursive devices used by both of them at micro level while at macro level as well positive self-representation and negative others representation. Then the section of discussion shows the difference in the usage of macro and micro structures. Findings are explained within the CDS framework of political discourse.

Keywords: Critical discourse analysis, Pakistani political discourse, UN general Assembly addresses, Micro and macro analysis, Representation of Pakistan at UNGA.

1. Introduction

All languages have different ways of communication. Words are always connected to politics, race, money and society. Language is the main feature of human that differentiate them from other creatures on the earth. It is utilized for communication and aids in forming and strengthening the ties of cooperation among the members of community (Miller, 1951). Language has the ability to create relationships, alter worldview, create narratives and dominate different social groupings. To persuade audiences for their advantages, politicians, the media and business organizations use language manipulation. The practice of controlling someone over whom there is a conflict of interest might be describes as 'language manipulation' (Rudyk, 2007). Through the creation of a dominating ideology for which language is the primary medium, the connection of power inequality is developed through language manipulation (Post, 2009). The exchange of values in social life and the transformation of power into right and obedience obligation are facilitated by language. It might both generate power and turn into a place

where power is used (Bayram, 2010). Critical discourse analysis helps to analyses language to uncover hidden intentions or motives. It helps us to study different aspects of language. Fairclough asserts that language is a type of social practice. It concentrates on discourses that are social, political and media related and critically examines different kinds of speeches (Fairclough, 1989). The approach developed by Van Dijk to analyze political discourse looks at political discourse as a realm where language and society interact. To participate in political abuse, support their political claims, and gain public acceptance, politicians also generate or refresh political discourse (Bello, 2013&Bayram, 2010). The groundbreaking work Politics, Ideology and Speech by Van Dijk (2006) provided a paradigm for evaluating political speech. According to Van Dijk (2006), ideological alliances, differences, and similarities underlie the social organization of politics and political groupings, which depicts political speech as being the most ideological (Van Dijk, 2006). Political ideologies strive to both comprehend and recreate political discourse in addition to incorporating it. Discourse is essentially the sole source that conveys and formulates beliefs in an explicit manner. Other political practices such as discrimination based on political, racist, and sexist ideas, inevitably disclose or test ideologies. The political discourse analysis model developed by Van Dijk (2006) is a comprehensive analytical tool for spotting this kind of ideologies in political discourses (Van Dijk, 2006). This study analyses and interprets speeches of Imran Khan and Shahbaz Sharif, which they delivered at UNGA in 74th and 77th sessions. Researcher analyzed and interpreted two speeches by using Van Dijk political discourse analysis model mainly focused on Macro and Micro structures. At micro level analysis this study researches on discursive devices used in both speeches while at Macro level our main focus is on thematic analysis of speeches and positive and negative representation of in and out groups. Therefore, using critical discourse analysis, it is possible to examine how politicians employed diplomatic language and strategies to further their particular goals and beliefs. Micro level analysis mentions all these strategies that they use to achieve their goals. In addition, Macro level analysis shows how they both clearly try to catch the attention of world by using tactful language and political strategies.

2. Literature Review

Critical discourse analysis, also known as discourse analysis, is a technique used for investigating written or spoken language and its relationship to the surrounding social environment. The objective is to comprehend the application of language in practical circumstances. It helps us to understand why we use different kinds of language and how it affects us. Ways to communicate that are accepted by a certain culture. How people share their ideas, thoughts and opinions about what they believe and how they see the world. Discourse analysis is a way of researching in subjects like language, society, and culture. It explores how people use language and how it affects their thinking and behavior.

2.1 Micro and Macro Level Analysis

Van Dijk (1980) proposes a theoretical construct known as the "Macro Structure" that refers to the overall significance conveyed by a text. The term "macro structure" pertains to the superior-level semantic or conceptual frameworks that serve to arrange and systematize the individual elements on a localized scale (known as the micro structure). According to the source under consideration (Ibid: 41), it can be inferred that, the macro structure of a written work serves to convey the overarching subject matter and focus of the discourse. Macrostructures are semantic in nature and represent the global semantic (meaning) structure of a text or a part thereof. They provide a global understanding of the context and text-meaning (Van Dijk, 1980, pp. 41-44). All macrostructures must fulfil the requirements for semantic connection, as should the microstructures. The theory of macrostructures explains HOW we arrive at the respective macrostructures putting it in simple words this level of discourse analysis centers on the nature of information and content as well as the overall structural organization of such content. The underlying proposition postulates that these assumptions. The concept of notions cannot be sufficiently explicated by means of contemporary logical and linguistic frameworks.

The micro approach pertains to the linguistic components of a written work, encompassing grammatical features such as verb tenses, sentence structures, and types of pronouns utilized. The use of personal pronouns and prepositions, as well as reflexive and relative pronouns, is essential in academic writing. It is important to choose the appropriate pronoun and preposition to accurately convey the intended meaning. The micro units contained

within a text are representative of its local-level attributes. The micro-level analysis pertains to the immediate examination of lexical, syntactic, and semantic elements within text. The rhetorical interrelations present in any form of textual expression. Phraseology, syntax, and semantics of an individual unit of language, including words, phrases, and sentences, to the overall meaning and purpose of the entire text.

Van Dijk's (2006) model encompasses a set of twenty-five discursive devices that serve as comprehensive strategies for the formation of an ideological discourse. As such, this model represents a suitable finding for conducting a critical analysis of political discourse and its underlying ideological dimensions (Van Dijk, 2006). The PDA framework put forward by Van Dijk in 2006 outlines the discursive devices and rhetorical devices in the following manner.

2.1.1 Actor Description
The following discourse pertains to the depiction of an actor's characteristics. There is a widespread employment of actor descriptions in all discussions concerning human individuals and actions (Van Dijk, 2006).

2.1.2 Burden
The term 'burden' denotes the adverse impact on a community, regardless of its size, in terms of either financial or human detriment, with the intention of victimization or emotional manipulation of the audience, as per Van Dijk (2006).

2.1.3 Authority
Authority refers to the power or right to make decisions, enforce rules, and control others. Numerous individuals, including parliament speakers, commit the error of using references to reinforce their stance (Van Dijk, 2006).

2.1.4 Categorization
The act of organizing or classifying items into distinct groups based on shared characteristics is commonly known as categorization (Van Dijk, 2006).

2.1.5 Euphemisms in Discourse
The use of euphemism involves the substitution of less offensive or abrasive language in place of derogatory or overtly direct terminology, as exemplified by the replacement of the term 'death' with 'decease' (Van Dijk, 2006).

2.1.6 Evidentially in Discourse Analysis
It refers to the grammatical means through which speakers or writers express their degree of certainty or uncertainty regarding the veracity of a statement (Van Dijk, 2006).

2.1.7 Hyperbole in Conversation
Hyperbole is a rhetorical figure of speech that involves the use of exaggeration to convey a point. It is often employed in literature, as well as in everyday speech and writing, to add emphasis to a statement or to evoke strong emotions in the listener or reader (Van Dijk, 2006).

2.1.8 Process of Lexicalization
The process of lexicalization involves the creation and incorporation of new words or phrases into a language. This can occur through borrowing from other languages, the creation of neologisms, or the evolution of words or phrases from existing language elements (Van Dijk, 2006).

2.1.9 National Self-Glorification
The phenomenon of national self-glorification can be observed within various contexts and is characterized by a tendency to extol or promote one's own nation or country in a highly favorable manner (Van Dijk, 2006).

2.1.10 The Process of Numerical Games

The utilization of statistical data or numerical information by a communicator in debate aimed at bolstering the validity of their perspectives or concepts is commonly referred to as the practice of "number game"(Van Dijk, 2006).

2.1.11 Process of Polarization
The phenomenon of polarization, characterized by the categorization of individuals and groups into opposing "us-them" categories, is a topic of interest in academic discourse (Van Dijk, 2006).

2.1.12 Victimization
It refers to the experience of impact resulting from actions of another person or a group of individuals, ranging from physical or psychological harm to financial loss or damage to property (Van Dijk, 2006).

2.1.13 Comparison in Language
The act of comparing two or more items or ideas can be deemed as a comparison. Typically, a comparison is employed to elucidate the commonalities and distinctions inherent in two distinct entities, which may include individuals, locations, procedures, occurrences, and objects (Van Dijk, 2006).

2.1.14 Consensus
Consensus is defined as a general agreement or consensus among a group of individuals. A group of people come to a mutual agreement by discussing and evaluating various ideas and viewpoints through a process (Van Dijk, 2006).

2.1.15 Counterfactual Device in Discourse
Counterfactual statements are used to describe hypothetical situations that did not actually occur. These statements typically involve the use of the word "if" to set up a scenario that is different from what actually happened (Van Dijk, 2006).

2.1.16 Disclaimer
Statements denying or limiting liabilities or responsibilities. A way in which entities such as individuals, groups or objects can display their positive traits is through the use of a disclaimer (Van Dijk, 2006).

2.1.17 Generalization
The process of generalizing involves drawing broader conclusions from specific examples or observations. It is a crucial tool in developing theories and understanding trends in various fields of study (Van Dijk, 2006).

2.1.18 Examples
The utilization of example/illustration in discourse aims to bolster one's perspective and enhance believability by providing the audience with either authentic or fictional instances (Van Dijk, 2006).

2.1.19 Irony
Irony is a literary technique that involves contradictory or unexpected situations or statements. It often involves a discrepancy between what is said and what is actually meant or between what is expected to happen and what actually happens (Van Dijk, 2006).

2.1.20 Metaphor
The employment of figurative language that involves the comparison of two seemingly unrelated concepts for the purpose of highlighting certain qualities or traits of the subject is termed as a metaphor (Van Dijk, 2006).

2.1.21 Norm Expression in Discourse

The concept of Norm Expression is commonly utilized in the communication of norms pertaining to appropriate or inappropriate behaviors, as well as the expectations for individual conduct (Van Dijk, 2006).

2.1.22 Populism
Populism is a political approach that seeks to appeal to the concerns and interests of ordinary people, rather than to those of the elite or privileged classes (Van Dijk, 2006).

2.1.23 Presupposition
It refers to a cognitive process through which individuals make certain assumptions about the context in which they are communicating, based on factors such as shared experiences, knowledge, and cultural norms (Van Dijk, 2006).

2.1.24 Vagueness
The concept of vagueness can be defined as an ambiguous or imprecise quality in language or thought. In academic discourse, vagueness is often examined as a linguistic phenomenon that can influence the effectiveness of communication and reasoning (Van Dijk, 2006).

2.1.25 Notion of Implication
In succinct terms, the notion of implication pertains to discerning unarticulated aspects within dialogic exchanges written or oral (Van Dijk, 2006).

3. Research Methodology
The study employed the descriptive qualitative method to gather data and works on comprehending the meaning without numerical explanation (Holosko, 2010). This method sheds light on the context and situation of content for the interpretation of meanings. In this study, qualitative research is implemented to see the qualitative description of speeches through Critical Discourse Analysis under the framework of Van Dijk's (2005) Socio-cognitive Approach. This framework is especially used in the context of media and political speeches or discourse. This is the textual analysis of the text. This approach facilitates analyses at three levels that are Micro, Macro and Meso but our focus here is on first two that are Micro and Macro level analysis. The research that is qualitative in nature is based on the model of critical discourse analysis provided by Van Dijk. This method critically analyzes the speeches of Imran khan and Shahbaz Sharif at UNGA. The transcript of single address by both of them at UNGA is analyzed by using van Dijk model's (2006) twenty-five discursive devices at Micro level and thematic analysis, positive self-representation and negative others representation using another level of analysis that is Macro level.

4. Data Analysis
Both the speeches were analyzed at two levels such as Micro and Macro levels. First micro level analysis was conducted.

4.1 Use of Discursive Devices in the Speeches
This section analyses the number of devices used in the speeches of both prime ministers.

4.2 Burden
Both used this device to show the loss of people in Kashmir. Both of them mentioned the human and economic loss of Pakistan due to wars and terrorism. Shahbaz Sharif also mentioned financial and human loss due to flood in Pakistan.

4.3 National Self-Glorification
Both PM use this device in their speeches as given in examples. However, it is more prominent in the speech of Shahbaz Sharif. They did so in order to show the positive image of their own country. Imran Khan tried to show the efforts that Pakistan had made towards the betterment of climate and to bring peace in the region.

4.4 Number Game
Both of the Prime Ministers uses this device to display objectivity. However, Imran Khan used it more frequently. Imran Khan utilized this technique to communicate his opinion on the issue of climate change, its consequences and the actions being implemented by Pakistani government. Shahbaz used this device to show the effects of flood in Pakistani community.

4.5 Hyperbole
Both of them used it but Shahbaz Sharif used it more frequently. Imran used hyperbole to intensify the effects of corruption in any society. On the other hand, Shahbaz employed it to show the pain of nation he has in his heart and to show the effects of flood in Pakistan. He also exaggerated by saying that he visited and spend time in every corner. He used it to create a desired effect on audience.

4.6 Victimization
Both of them portray their Nation as victim and also the unfair treatment with Muslims in other parts of world. Imran Khan also highlighted the victims of corruption and terrorism. He described the traumatic experience of Kashmiri people. While Shahbaz Sharif mentioned the victims of climate change. Also talked about the violation of human rights in Kashmir, Yemen and Syria.

4.7 Evidentiality
Both employed this device in order to reflect the objective reality about the suffering of people in Kashmir and other Muslims in other parts of world. Shahbaz also provided the circumstantial information about the devastating effects of flood.

4.8 Counterfactual
Both of them use it. Shahbaz Sharif used it for a single time but it is more prominent in the speech of Imran Khan as he indicated that if certain actions will not be taken then this would be happening like if money were not retrieved then how we work? What India and Kashmir can do? If no action is taken for the peaceful resolution, then this will happen etc. Shahbaz used it, as this situation will not stay in Pakistan etc.

4.9 Metaphor
Shahbaz used it for a single time by saying why only we are suffering from drastic results of global warming. It is more prominent in the speech of Imran Khan. Imran Khan used it by comparing the Muslims and non-Muslims women as non-Muslims can be undress but Muslims cannot add an additional cloth. He also compared the Jews with Kashmiris as what would happen if curfew is imposed on Jews. He also describes the treatment with Muslims and Hindus in India. He also compared poor and elite class of society. One of the best phrases he used, as a metaphor is that are we the children of lesser God? The behavior of the West towards non-Muslims and us.

4.10 Categorization
Shahbaz and Imran both employed it in their speech and also mention the categorization of Muslims according to west. Imran Khan said that western leaders equated Islam with terrorism and beliefs. They categorize Muslims as moderate and radical. He also mentioned the categories of classes in society. Shahbaz categorized the victims of flood as refugees and migrants of climate change. People of Afghanistan who came into Pakistan as immigrants. He also mentioned different categories of terrorist groups in Afghanistan.

4.11 Authority
Both of them used this technique to appeal the attention of world leaders towards human rights violation in Kashmir. Imran khan urged the United Nation to take action against violation of rights against Muslims in world. He urged IMF to stop the plunder of money laundering. On the other hand, Shahbaz Sharif appeal funds for flood victims in Pakistan, to do something on the right violation in Kashmir, Yemen, and Syria.

4.12 Generalization

Both of them in their speech at UN use this device but Imran Khan employed it in a dual way. Firstly, he demonstrates how the west tend to stereotype and depict Muslims as whole in a negative manner. Secondly, he makes a sweeping statement about the west and its leaders, assigning them joint culpability for their inability to limit the prevalence of Islamophobia. Shahbaz Sharif uses it in single way like how the world is reacting on the issue of Kashmir, Yemen, Syria and also on Islamophobia.

4.13 Polarization

Shahbaz Sharif mostly used face saving strategies and do not openly ascribe negative attributes to the powerful nation and organizations. He only uses this strategy while talking about India and their barbaric acts on innocents Kashmiris. While Imran Khan openly talk about the behavior of non-Muslims towards Muslims and also the role of west in creating Islamophobia. He clearly draws a polarization between Indians and Kashmiris. He also polarized the liberty of women in west and how they are treated on the bases of their religions.

4.14 Presupposition

Both prime ministers presuppose some beliefs but Imran Khan is more dominant in using presupposition. Like his concerns about climate change and its effects. We can spend money for the development if we retrieve them. There will be crisis soon if poor get poorer. There will be bloodbath in Kashmir after curfew. India would blame Pakistan for every attack. While Shahbaz Sharif employed it by saying that, the condition in Pakistan will not stay in Pakistan. He also presupposed the effects of flood that will appear in future.

4.15 Lexicalization

Both used this to present themselves positively and others negatively but Imran Khan Use both things like positive and negative equally and Shahbaz Sharif used the strategy of face saving except in the case of India. Khan employed it as that he personally like India, commit to resolve issues and negative representation of India as hatred for Muslims also the hatred of West towards Muslims. Their perspective about the dresses of Muslims. Also mentioned that west do not respect our religious personalities. Shahbaz used strategy of positive representation of himself and country like I myself visited affected areas and spent time there, we want a positive resolution of Kashmir, Syria, Yemen. Request to restore the fund of Afghanistan. We made a lot of efforts to end terrorism and made sacrifices. We have no contribution in global warming. He uses negative representation of only India in case of Kashmir.

4.16 Macro Analysis

Macro level Analysis concerned with the topic, main theme and the gist of the text. At the larger scale level, the investigation of setting evaluates the relationship between the content and broader social forms and philosophies. Macro level discourse analysis looks at the big groups of people and how they talk about peace, conflict and violence. It focuses on the kinds of information they share and how it is organized. This way of looking at things is helpful for comparing countries or states and for understanding how big groups of people are connected (Van Dijk 2002, p738).

4.17 Positive Self Representation and Negative Others Representation

Both prime ministers employed positive self-representation and negative others representation. However, Imran khan used this strategy more directly in presenting the negative representation even about the most powerful nations while Shahbaz used it only in the case of India.

4.18 Positive Self-Representation

Khan and Shahbaz employed the strategy of presenting the positive self-image. Here are some examples.
 Examples of Positive Self Representation in the speech of Imran Khan. He presents the positive image of not only his nation and country rather as a Muslim he tried to show the positive attitude of his religion and its followers and

defend his religion. He expresses that Islam is a religion of peace and does teach to murder anyone. He gives the examples of Holy Prophet that how he created the most tolerated and just society in the history of world. These statements glorify the positive image of his religion.

Then he comes to the positive representation of his country. He elaborates the positive side of Pakistan by using different devices as explicitly described in micro analysis such as national self-glorification, victimization, metaphor, lexicalization and polarization. He says that they planted a billion trees in Pakistan and have a goal to plant more. He shows the positive attitude of Pakistan to cope with climate change. He clarified that no Pakistani is involved in terrorist attacks. This statement represents positive image of Pakistan. He further glorifies the positive side of his nation by saying that we are committed for peaceful resolution of Kashmir. He elaborates positive image of Pakistan by using this fact that they tried and sacrificed a lot in order to bring peace. He said we provided our troops on the demand of America in order to prevail peace in this region. He uses this strategy for himself, as he loves to go India.

4.19 Examples of Positive Self Representation

Shahbaz Sharif presents the positive representation of his nation by saying that Pakistani nation is the strongest nation in the world as they are facing huge catastrophe as a result of flood. He tried to describe the positive side of Pakistan by mentioning the contribution of nation in the eradication of terrorism. He shows the concerns of Pakistani nation for the economic condition of Afghanistan that is an example of positive self-representation. He also mentions that we are worried about the human rights violation in Kashmir, Syria and Yemen. This shows the positive image of Pakistan as we have pain of others in our hearts.

4.20 Negative Others Representation

Negative other representation is more dominant and direct in the speech of Imran Khan against world most powerful authorities. Shahbaz Sharif mostly used the strategy of face saving in case of powerful nations of the world. He mentioned them implicitly not explicitly. He does not mention the name of any powerful authority of world. However, in case of India both of them clearly show the negative, violent and brutal face of India to the world. This is the example of negative representation of others.

On the other hand, Imran Khan clearly highlights the negative attitude of West towards Islam. He says that they are prejudice against Muslims. West sees the dress of Muslims as a weapon. Americans are marginalizing Muslims as moderate and radical. The troops we trained on the behest of America against Soviet Union is called as terrorist after using them in war by America. This is the direct negative representation of American's attitudes. A lot of leaders just talk about the climate change but no one takes serious action in this respect. This is also a negative other representation. Role of rich countries and elites in money laundering and corruption is also an example of negative representation of powerful countries and powerful people. We get zero response from India whenever we try to resolve Kashmir issue and build good relation with India. India is also trying to put our country on the FATF blacklist as they never been our well-wisher. Kashmir is facing the worst curfew in the history. India is killing their young boys, raping their women and kidnaping their leaders. They are being treated as caged animals. All these statement shows the negative representation of India.

4.21 Discussion

This section discusses the finding of two speeches i.e. Imran Khan and Shahbaz Sharif at UNGA. The findings show that both uses positive self-representation and negative others representation, as proven in the studies of Meesam Javed et.al (2022) that Imran khan used positive self-representation and negative others. Therefore, the findings are aligned with the claim made by Meesam et.al (2022). Since as was mentioned that no study was conducted to examine the speech of PM Shahbaz Sharif so the current study also focused on his speech exclusively. This might be a universal feature of political discourse to show the positive traits of self and negative traits of others (Edelman, 1985). The purpose behind such strategies is to present themselves as more following of standard as compared to others. In addition to that the study also found the individual differences while using macro strategies by politicians due to their diverse political agendas (Van Dijk, 2006). According to Asad Hashmi (2021), Imran Khan is known for having more anti west sentiments this study also found similar sentiments in his speech at

UNGA. Moreover, the study also found that Imran khan is working for restoring the self-respect of Pakistan. On the other hand, Shahbaz Sharif is more moderate politician who is known for his Western friendly sentiments (Thomson Reuters, 2022). Due to their diverse political agendas, as both are leading two different parties consequently there is discrimination in the usage of macro strategies by both of them (Kayvan and Veronika, 2021). As the talk of Shahbaz Sharif reveals that, he has used more positive representation of Pakistan than the negative representation of other unjust powers. While Imran khan openly talked about the negative role of West and others powers relating it with the current situation of Pakistan and role of Pakistan against war of terrorism, by highlighting the positive role of Pakistan. He maintained the balance in positive representation of self and negative representation of others even against the most powerful nations of the world.

The micro level analysis of speeches shows that both of them widely employed the discursive devices of Van Dijk, as it is an adequate tool of analyzing diverse political contexts (Van Dijk, 2006). There are also some similarities as well difference in the usage of these devices. The devices which were frequently used by both of them is Burden, National self-glorification, Number game, hyperbole, victimization, evidentiality, categorization, authority, generalization, presupposition, lexicalization and polarization. Imran khan used some others like metaphor, counterfactual at a higher frequency. Prominent differences also investigated in the usage of devices like polarization, victimization, generalization that are used to represent positive self-traits and negative others. However, both used them in a different way. Imran khan used these in the same way as it is mentioned in their definitions while Shahbaz Sharif used them only to show positive self-traits.

5. Conclusion

The study concludes that as a prime minister both Imran khan and Shahbaz Sharif had different political agendas that have been observed in their speeches. There are number of variations in the utilizations of discursive devices at micro level. However, some similarities have also been observed. While at macro, level there is a clear difference in the portrayal of positive self and negative others' traits. Both of them use the strategy of positive self-representation while in case of negative representation of others there are some variations as Imran khan explicitly expose the 'Unjust Powers' of the World. While Shahbaz Sharif uses this strategy only in unrevealing the brutal face of India.

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