Ideological Framing and Polarization in Imran Khan's Speech at UNGA on 27th September 2019: A Political Discourse Analysis

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The aim of this study is to critically analyze the components of the speech given by Imran Khan, the 22nd Prime Minister of Pakistan, during the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) on September 27, 2019. Van Dijk's (1997) Political Discourse Analysis framework was employed to examine how politicians persuade their audience, propagate their ideologies, and construct in-group and out-group divisions in their speeches. The study sought to achieve its objectives by analyzing both macro and micro structures in the speech and exploring the underlying agenda behind the utilization of these discourse structures. The qualitative data consisted of the English transcript of the speech, totaling approximately 2,577 words. NVIVO software and Dijk's Political Discourse Analysis framework were employed for the analysis of the speech. The findings of the study revealed that the macro elements in the speech provided an overview of national, regional, and global issues such as climate change, money laundering, Islamophobia, and the Kashmir conflict. Through the use of microstructural elements, the speaker effectively expressed his ideological and political beliefs regarding these aforementioned issues. In summary, this research examined Imran Khan's UNGA speech through the lens of discourse structures, shedding light on the macro and micro elements utilized by the speaker to convey his perspective on various socio-political topics .

Keywords: political discourse, ideology, macro & micro elements, Islamophobia

Examining political speeches and language used by politicians is a complex task due to the hidden ideologies, manifestos, objectives, and motives inherent in political discourse. While politicians may strive for clarity when addressing the public, their language is often intricate, featuring double meanings, implicit structures, and elusive connotations. According to Van Dijk (2005), "political ideologies are primarily acquired, expressed, learned, propagated, and contested through discourse. In this verbal battlefield of political discourse, conflicting groups, power dynamics, struggles, and interests collide." Politicians and parties commonly present themselves in a positive light while portraying opponents negatively

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through various mediums like speeches, conferences, campaigns, and social media, leading to polarization and the division between "Us" and "Them."

The term "Us" refers to members of an in-group, representing their own group, while "Them" designates the out-group, seen as potentially threatening to the in-group. This division between in-group and out-group is prominently observed in political discourse. It is essential to highlight the strategies or tactics employed by politicians to construct or maintain these in-group and out-group identities and boundaries.

While there are numerous studies utilizing Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), it is worth noting that several of these studies have specifically examined Imran Khan's speeches. For instance, Nusrat et al., (2020) conducted research on Imran Khan's protest speeches during the Dharna in 2014, exploring the correlation between the usage of pronouns "I" and "We" and power dynamics within his speeches. Additionally, Rehman et al., (2021) conducted a Fairclough-based study that focused on Imran Khan's 74th speech. When examining political discourses, such as a speech delivered by a global leader, researchers have found van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) framework to be insightful (Javaid et al., 2022; Pratiwi & Refnaldi, 2018; Komaruddin, 2014).

Previous researches on Khan's 2019 speech (Javaid et al., 2022; Mushtaq et al., 2021; Ahmed et al., 2020; Imtiaz, 2020) have either employed different models of Critical Discourse Analysis or focused on some specific aspects of is speech. However, no one has conducted a comprehensive analysis of entire speech using Van Dijk's Political discourse analysis model in conjunction with NVivo software. Previous researches have also suggested that CDS can benefit from a more comprehensive approach, involving both micro-level and a macro-level critical perspective (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002; Stamou, 2018). This distinctive approach in the analysis is noteworthy as it combines the theoretical framework suggested by Van Dijk (2005) in the form of Political Discourse Analysis with the utilization of NVivo software to reveal underlying ideologies within the speech.
This research addressed the following research questions:
1. How do politicians employ language to disseminate their ideologies?
2. How do politicians utilize diverse linguistic strategies to categorize and position various individuals or groups within the social realm?
3. How is the concept of positive self-representation and negative portrayal of others deliberately constructed in political speeches?

Literature Review
Discourse refers to any form of spoken or written communication that goes beyond individual sentences to convey meaning. It encompasses both simple and complex segments of speech and can be applied to various contexts (Johnstone, 2018; Mumby & Clair, 1997). For example, discussions between a teacher and students would be considered discourse.

Different studies have been done by focusing different discourse like Folklores (Khan & Nusrat, 2020), and poems (Sardaraz & Nusrat, 2019). Discourse Analysis (DA) involves critically examining written, spoken, or gestural language. It is a method used to study language in its social context, aiming to understand how discourse is employed in real situations. Researchers can analyze different types of data to uncover the meaning beyond individual sentences. DA encompasses both written and spoken language, with the written form often being more complex (Van Dijk, 1985; Potter & Edwards, 1996).

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), as proposed by Van Dijk (1998), is a tool used to analyze written and spoken materials, with a focus on uncovering biases, power dynamics, and underlying agendas. Fairclough (1992) further emphasized that CDA critically examines various types of discourse, including political speeches and dialogues. Political leaders and influential figures have been the subject of numerous studies applying the Fairclough model to identify power dynamics, hidden agendas, and the use of language for persuasion (Fairclough, N., & Wodak, R., 1997).

The concept of Critical Linguistics (CL), proposed by literary theorists and linguists such as Kress and Fowler (1979), emerged in the late 1970s. CL, building on Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics, aimed to isolate ideology in discourse and understand how it shapes societal practices. Fairclough (1995) and Fowler (1991) emphasized the three functions of language in CL: ideational, relational, and textual. Language serves to comprehend the world, establish connections between speakers and audiences, and convey information. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) aligns with CL, focusing on the social act of language and its connection to practice.

In summary, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) investigates the ideologies and visions conveyed through language, with a focus on power dynamics, biases, and hidden agendas. Language is viewed as a social practice that shapes and is shaped by society. CDA is employed to scrutinize social and political discourses and analyze the language used to legitimize specific events, beliefs, individuals, and more. It also enables the study of prevailing ideological divisions and conflicts. CDA highlights how certain events reinforce ideological beliefs, potentially widening societal gaps.

Various approaches within Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Critical Discourse Studies (CDS) encompass disciplines such as Social Semiotics, and Halliday's salient work on Systemic-functional linguistics (e.g., Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000; Halliday, 1978; Rashidi & Souzandehfar, 2010; Shabani et al., 2019). However, among the prevailing CDS theories used today, the three most influential ones are Fairclough's framework based on socio-cultural (2016), Ruth Wodak's prominent work as discourse-historical approach (Wodak, 2009), and van Dijk's theory based on socio-cognitive perspectives (2005, 2016).

The next section provides an overview of these three frameworks with a specific focus on Van Dijk's theory of CDA which is taken as the basis to provide certain information and serve as the main theoretical framework to be used in this study. According to Fairclough (2018), Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) involves a dialectical reasoning approach that combines discourse critique and discourse explanation. Discourse critique addresses how to change reality while explaining the relationship between discourse and various aspects of reality. This dual focus on critique and explanation constitutes the core of critical discourse analysis.

Fairclough (2018) views discourse as a social practice that both reproduces and is shaped by knowledge, identities, and power relations. His three-stage model of critical discourse analysis includes description, focusing on formal features like vocabulary, grammar, and textual structures; interpretation, which examines text production and comprehension in relation to context and intertextuality; and the explanatory stage, analyzing how discourse and social practices interact and influence each other, shaping power relations.

Ruth Wodak introduced the "discourse historical approach" in critical discourse analysis, emphasizing the importance of historical and socio-political context in discourse analysis. The approach views discourse as a macro-topic generating sub-topics through intra-

discursivity and intratextuality, analyzing interconnected "fields of actions" that shape discourses. It is interdisciplinary, problem-oriented, and eclectic, incorporating various theories and methods, including elements of ethnography or fieldwork. The approach explores intra-textual and intra-discursive relationships, considering historical contexts alongside discourses. Discursive strategies, such as nomination, prediction, argumentation, perspectivization, and mitigation or intensification, are outlined in Wodak and Reisigl's work "Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis." Wodak's model integrates socio-political and historical circumstances to understand changes in discourse genres over time.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) encompasses various approaches, with the "self-other schema" being a significant focus. In the analysis of political discourse, politicians utilize linguistic strategies to persuade and shape ideologies. They highlight their positive attributes while downplaying negative ones and use language to accentuate negative portrayals of opponents while diminishing their positive qualities. Van Dijk's ideological square model is a vital framework for analyzing these linguistic strategies, exploring the dynamics of "us versus them" within socio-political groups. This approach examines how politicians construct favorable self-portrayals while dehumanizing the "other," serving as a potent narrative for legitimizing ideological beliefs, practices, and sentiments. The Socio-cognitive model of ideology analysis combines discourse, social, and cognitive analyses (Rashidi & Souzandehfar, 2010; Alhumaidi, 2013).

At the micro-level, discourse analysis focuses on textual and conversational structures, including elements like vocabulary, study of meaning, and systematic structures. At the macro-level, social analysis delves into societal structures, institutional/organizational structures, group relations, and group structures, highlighting power dynamics and inequality between social groups.

Van Dijk's socio-cogitive model of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) serves as the foundation for his 2005 framework to analyze political discourse, which is rich in ideology and presents various ideological perspectives. This comprehensive framework blends argumentative, meaning and techniques of politics at the lower-level and employs an ideological dichotomy at the macro-level to reveal how language is used to favor in-group members and disadvantage out-group members.

Political discourse involves a polarization structure due to differing ideologies adopted by various political groups. The discourse represents competing or conflicting group memberships, and the mental models of "*us versus them*" influence the content of political discourse, leading to polarization in terms of in-group or out-group affiliation. Van Dijk's (2005) framework of discourse related to politics, including the "*ideological square,"* is a valuable tool to analyze ideological polarization in political discourses, making it a comprehensive analytical approach widely acknowledged by researchers in the field.

- Emphasize positive aspects of 'US'
- Emphasize negative aspects of 'THEM'
- Deemphasize negative things about 'US'
- Deemphasize Positive things about 'THEM'

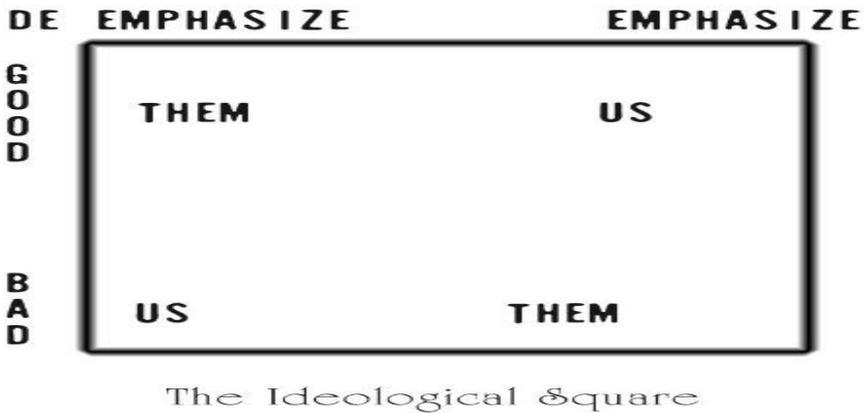These four above mentioned characteristics make this model a square.

Figure 1. Ideological Square (Van Dijk, 1993)

Figure 1 describes ideological square which is a "fundamental dichotomy" that focuses on 'Positive Self-representation' and 'Negative Other-representation.' It polarizes actors into in-groups and out-groups, with in-groups projecting positive attributes while downplaying negatives, and vice versa for out-groups. Political discourse often emphasizes topics favorable to 'our' group while associating opponents with negative themes. These macro-strategies serve face-keeping, impression management, and the exclusion of opponents from the in-group. At the micro-level, linguistic elements like lexical items, syntax, and discursive devices are used to instill favorable ideologies in the public's mind. In addition to the dichotomy, Van Dijk introduced the following 25 discursive devices as general strategies for ideological discourse production and useful tools for analyzing political discourse.

> *actor description (meaning), authority (argumentation), burden (topos), categorization (meaning), comparison (meaning, argumentation), consensus (political strategy), counterfactuals (meaning, argumentation), disclaimers (meaning), euphemism (rhetoric, meaning), evidentiality (meaning, argumentation), example/illustration (argumentation), generalization (meaning, argumentation), hyperbole (rhetoric), implication (meaning), irony (meaning), lexicalization (style), metaphor (meaning, rhetoric), national self-glorification (meaning), norm expression (normalization), number game (rhetoric, argumentation), polarization; US-Them categorization (meaning) populism (political strategy), presupposition (meaning), vagueness (meaning), and victimization (meaning). (p. 735-36)*

Numerous research studies have been conducted to examine the opaque meanings, ideologies, and agendas of politicians. For instance, Javaid et al., (2022) employed Van Dijk's Ideological Square Model to analyze Imran Khan's speech at the UNGA, focusing specifically on Islamophobia. The study explored micro and macro-level strategies within the model, revealing that Khan, instead of challenging the Us versus Them schema prevalent in Islamophobia, employed the same schema to highlight ideological differences between the West and Muslims.

Mehboob and Alvi (2021) conducted an analysis of hate speech tweets targeting women in the Pakistani context using van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach. Their study aimed to

investigate how discourse, social cognition, and social conditions collectively contribute to the creation of a social system that discriminates against women. The tweets under scrutiny were directed at influential women in Pakistan, including journalists, politicians, and actresses. The researchers conducted a two-fold analysis, starting with a discursive level examination of the tweets, followed by an assessment at the cognitive level, focusing on social cognition and mental models. The research by Mehboob and Alvi (2021) utilized a qualitative approach, involving non-numerical data analysis. The current study also employs a qualitative approach. In another research study, Rehman et al., (2021) conducted a Critical Discourse Analysis of Imran Khan's UNGA speech, utilizing Fairclough's model. The study examined how different linguistic tools and rhetorical devices were employed to achieve political goals and objectives.

Nasih and Abboud (2020) conducted another study, employing a socio-cognitive analysis of Iraqi politicians' speeches. The primary goal was to uncover the underlying ideologies and attitudes conveyed through the speeches and how politicians utilized their discourse to influence the community. The analysis was conducted at the micro-level, with a focus on examining lexical choices, semantics, syntax, and context within the speeches. The researchers interpreted the speeches from the perspective of positive self-representation and negative other representation.

The study utilized a mixed-method approach, encompassing both qualitative and quantitative analyses. Alongside the qualitative examination of the discourse's underlying ideologies, the researchers performed a quantitative analysis to study the frequency of 25 discursive devices present in the speeches. The current study also employs a micro-level analysis of Khan's discourse with ideological polarization as the main focus.

Shah (2018) conducted a mixed-method research study analyzing Imran Khan's first public address. The study employed Fairclough's tri-phased model, as well as narrative analysis models, to shed light on the structure and content of the speech, revealing Imran Khan's hidden ideologies and beliefs. Khalil et al., (2017) conducted a research study focusing on Imran Khan's election speech, aiming to highlight how political leaders convey their ideologies through intentional language use and employ different linguistic strategies to achieve political interests. The study emphasized that politicians utilize language as a weapon to portray opponents negatively while presenting themselves in a positive light. Fairclough's three-dimensional model, along with other CDA strategies, was employed to analyze the speech and uncover hidden ideologies.

In the context of Pakistan, few studies have explored Imran Khan's 2019 UNGA speech. For instance, Javaid et al., (2022) employed Van Dijk's Ideological Square Model to analyze Imran Khan's speech at the UNGA, focusing specifically on Islamophobia. The study explored micro and macro-level strategies within the model, revealing that Khan, instead of challenging the Us versus Them schema prevalent in Islamophobia, employed the same schema to highlight ideological differences between the West and Muslims. Ahmed et al., (2020) analyzed speech acts related to Islamophobia using Austin and Searle's framework of Speech Act Theory. Mushtaq et al., (2021) investigated the transitivity process in the speech using the ideational meta-function of Halliday's systemic functional linguistics (SFL). Imtiaz (2020) utilized Referential Strategies to examine how language was employed to create in-group and out-group distinctions.

Previous studies on Khan's speech have not thoroughly examined it. Some have utilized different frameworks, while others have focused on macrostructural elements of Dijk's (1980) model or explored specific aspects of his speech. However, there appears to be a lack of extensive research based on Political discourse framework.

This study aims to address this gap by employing van Dijk's (1980) ideological square model, with a specific emphasis on microstructural elements. To gain a comprehensive understanding of the speech and uncover its political and ideological agenda, the researchers have also utilized NVivo software.

By applying a socio-cognitive analysis to Imran Khan's 2019 speech, the current study offers a more comprehensive insight into the underlying dynamics and implications present in the speech, filling the gap in previous research on this topic.

Theoretical Framework

The study utilizes Van Dijk's (2005) socio-cognitive approach to political discourse analysis, a component of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). This framework considers cognition, society, and discourse as key elements. Originally designed for media and political discourses, it examines both written and spoken communication, viewing discourse as a complex communicative event embedded in a social context involving participants and their characteristics. The analysis involves three levels: discourse level (micro-level), social level (macro-level), and cognitive level (interface between the two). At the macro-level, the social analysis focuses on power inequalities represented among group members in society. A significant aspect of this model is the "us versus them" dimension, wherein one's own group is positively portrayed (positive self-representation), while other groups are depicted negatively (negative other-representation). Van Dijk (2005) has guided in terms of providing 25 various discursive devices to make an examination at the lower-level (Van Dijk, 2005, p. 735-736), which this article employs. These indicators are defined below.

Definition of devices
Actor Description

Named after its function, actor description serves as a discursive tool used to elucidate the attributes of individuals, objects, or locations, as well as their roles within the social and political framework. Employed in discourse, this device showcases the involvement of these entities in either a favorable or unfavorable manner. According to van Dijk (2006), the ideologies held by the discourse producer influence how actors are described in the discourse, leading to the downplaying of negative traits in between different group members since depending on the negative features of out-group.

Authority

In order to support own argument, claim or statement people make use of authorities. Such authorities include the institutions, organizations and people who are experts and scholars etc. For instance, scholars, courts, church or international organizations such as United Nations can be referred as authority in the discourse.

Burden (Topos)

It is related with the human or financial loss of a group (the group can be small or large), in order to portray them as victims or to stimulate the feelings/emotions of the audience.

Categorization

People are categorized or classified on the basis of their perspectives and actions. Also they are attributed positively or negatively.

Comparison

Comparison involves analyzing and contrasting the likenesses or distinctions between two entities, be it individuals, objects, or locations. In the context of discourse, as van Dijk (2006) points out, comparisons are often made between in-group and out-group members, with in-group members being favorably compared while out-group members are subjected to negative comparisons.

Consensus

Generally some sort of unity and agreement is called consensus but according to Van Dijk, consensus is "cross-party or national" which means it is related with the solidarity of all the in-groups against the threats and issues caused by out-groups.

Counterfactuals

As per van Dijk (2006: 736), counterfactuals serve as a persuasive and argumentative device that seeks empathy from the audience. In essence, counterfactuals illustrate how something or someone would be different if specific circumstances had not occurred, aiming to sway the audience in favor of the discourse producer's argument.

Disclaimer

Disclaimer is a discursive device in which firstly some entity's positive point or attribute is mentioned and then its denial is presented by using the words but, yet, and however etc. According to Dijk (2006), disclaimers are a face-saving device that initially emphasizes the positive attributes of "Us" and then proceeds to solely concentrate on the negative characteristics of the "Other."

Euphemism

Euphemism is the practice of using more gentle or mild words to describe a particular entity instead of using harsh or direct language. Dijk (2006) categorizes euphemism as both a rhetorical device and a semantic maneuver, which serves to soften negative portrayals of out-group members and negative actions by in-group members. This discursive approach is frequently utilized to describe immigrants within the discourse. Thus, euphemisms are not only employed for ideological reasons but also fulfill contextual requirements, such as maintaining politeness strategies and adhering to interactional norms (2006: 736).

Evidentiality

Solid facts and figures are provided to support the claims, opinions, ideas and beliefs of speaker. Facts and figures can make something reliable and credible. They are also used to present the members of in-group positively and out-group negatively.

Illustration/Example

By providing illustrations and appropriate examples people make their statements more understandable and reliable for their audience.

Generalizations

People make generalizations by attaching or associating negative or positive characteristics of a person or a small group with the larger group or entire population.

Hyperbole

Hyperbole is a linguistic tactic or strategy which is related with the exaggeration of language. People make use of 'hyperbole' in order enhance the meaning or to put stress on something.

Implication

Implication is basically the awareness or understanding of something which is not explicitly addressed by the speaker. Sometimes implication is used as a tactic to avoid the truth and to deduct some information.

Irony

Irony is basically the use of language, a contrast or a dissimilarity between what the speaker said and what is his/her intention, and it is humorous.

Lexicalization

Lexicalization is a discursive device which is related with the choice or selection of words. People make use of different lexical items for the people of in-group and out-group to portray them positive or negative respectively.

Metaphor

Metaphor is basically the comparison of two things, which do not have same identity to relate the characteristics among themselves.

National self-glorification

This device is used for glorification and positive representation of own country or nation through certain positive references.

Norm-expression

In 'norm expression' certain norms or guidelines are provided on how something should and should not be followed and what somebody should or should not do.

Number game

Number game is usually used for gaining the authenticity and credibility by providing statistics and numbers.

Polarization

Polarization is a discursive device which is used to separate or divide people in two distinct groups; in-group and out-group. People of in-group are characterized/ attributed positively and out-group negatively.

Populism

It is a political strategy, in which political leadership or members show that they represent the common people.

Presupposition

It is a political tactic or strategy, by which people use language to get their political benefits and fulfill their agendas without evidence or proof. Dijk stated that "Presuppositions are used to assume the truth of some proposition when such truth is not established at all".

Vagueness

Vagueness occurs when people do not clearly express or state something or there is some uncertainty or ambiguity. Dijk added that vague expressions are used in delicate issues; they are also used to maintain 'face' in certain situations, vague expressions are those which lack definite referents.

Victimization

By employing victimization strategy, the out-group is portrayed negatively. And the members of in-group are showed as the victims of unjust and unfair treatment of the members of out-group. The analysis is done at the lower level of meaning by focusing the use of 25 discursive devices suggested by Dijk (2005) to disclose if the speech can be considered to be related to "*Fundamental Dichotomy*" (Rashidi & Souzandehfar, 2010, p. 69) of '**Positive Self-representation**' and '**Negative Other-representation**' postulated by Dijk, V. (2005). Based on the theoretical foundations mentioned above, this study investigated Khan's speech using Van Dijk's model.

Method

This research employs a qualitative approach to analyze a specific speech by Prime Minister Imran Khan at the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) on September 27, 2019. The speech focuses environmental change, transferring money by using unlawful methods, Islamophobia, and the issue related to Kashmir. Using Dijk's (2005) model, the researchers aim to identify ideological conflicts and the creation of an "*Us vs. Them*" dichotomy in the discourse. They utilize NVivo software for analysis, providing visualization of data. The speech was sourced from the official UNGA website, cleaned, and filtered. Word frequency and word cloud functions in NVivo were employed to identify commonly used words.

Various discourse elements, such as hyperbole, lexicalization, number game strategies, presuppositions, victimization, and consensus, were studied and marked in the speech. The analysis of the data provides insights into the key aspects of Prime Minister Imran Khan's speech, which are presented in the research's data analysis section.

Data Analysis

The data for the analysis, which was Imran Khan's speech at UNGA in 2019, was collected from the official website of the UNGA speeches. The quality and accuracy of the scripts was confirmed and then the text was analyzed by the researchers.
Initially, NVivo was used to analyze the speech and this computer assisted analysis yielded some significant results.

Figure 2. Word cloud of most-frequently used terms in Khan's speech.

Figure 2 provides a visual representation of the frequently used terms in Prime Minister Khan's speech. The image clearly illustrates that in addition to the prominent use of words like Muslims, India, Islam, Pakistan, Prophet, Modi, and Kashmir, Khan also incorporates terms associated with radical Islam, suicide, money, attacks, Indians, terrorists, and terrorism. Notably, Khan repeatedly employs terms such as minorities, Islamophobia, terrorism, communities, and suicide attackers, which are used for the portrayal of Muslims worldwide.

Table 1 illustrates a visual representation of high-frequency words in Prime Minister Khan's speech. It is notable that the word "Muslim/Muslims" appears most frequently, being repeated 22 times. This reflects Khan's deliberate effort to portray the Muslim community in a positive light during his address. Additionally, the term "India" is used 15 times, with a particular emphasis on highlighting the struggles faced by the people of Kashmir. Furthermore, the word "Kashmir" is repeated 9 times, serving as a significant element in shedding light on the atrocities committed by India in the region. Notably, "Pakistan" and "Islam" are both repeated 12 times, as Khan aims to present a favorable image of Pakistan on the global stage.

Table 1

Frequency of the most repeated terms in the speech.

Word	Frequency	Weighted percentage
World	16	1.19
India	15	1.11
Countries	13	0.97
Islam	12	0.89
Muslim	12	0.89
Pakistan	12	0.89
One	11	0.82
People	11	0.82
Muslims	10	0.74
Kashmir	9	0.67

To conduct a micro-level analysis, the researchers thoroughly examined the script of Imran Khan's speech, carefully identifying the usage of Dijk's discursive devices and documenting their frequency within the speech.

The analysis of the discursive devices revealed that Prime Minister Imran Khan utilized a wide range of these devices in his UNGA speech. One of the discursive devices employed by Khan was "consensus." He used this device for multiple purposes throughout his speech. Firstly, when discussing Islamophobia, he stated, "*We have faced Islamophobia ……………. address this*" (Khan, 2019). In this sentence, the first "*we*" represents Muslims, while the second "*we*" refers to the people at the United Nations.

Secondly, Khan employed the device of "consensus" when addressing the plight of Kashmiri Muslims and the potential nuclear conflict between Pakistan and India. He emphasized the responsibility of the United Nations in resolving the issue, stating, "*This is ………….. being in 1945!*" (Khan, 2019). He urged the United Nations to lift the curfew in the areas of Kashmir, release the kidnapped Kashmiris, and emphasize on Kashmiris right to gain independence.

Thirdly, the discursive device of "consensus" was employed to seek assistance from international bodies such as the IMF, the Asian Bank, and the World Bank in combating money laundering. Khan highlighted the potential crisis arising from increasing poverty and inequality, stating, "*The world is changing............. to stop this plunder*" (Khan, 2019).

Lastly, the device of "consensus" was used to invoke the United Nations to play a leading role in addressing climate change. Khan mentioned the successful tree plantation efforts in the province of KP in Pakistan and emphasized the need for a collective global effort, stating, "*In KP, ……… effort of the world*" (Khan, 2019). He expressed his optimism and urged the United Nations to lead in harnessing the collective will of humanity.

The aforementioned examples clearly demonstrate how Imran Khan utilized the device of "consensus" to garner international support in addressing crucial matters such as climate change, money laundering, Islamophobia, and Kashmir. Through the strategic use of this device, Khan effectively conveyed his ideas in a neutral and balanced manner, devoid of personalization or extreme language. Overall, the analysis of discursive devices highlighted the strategic use of "consensus" by Prime Minister Imran Khan in his UNGA speech to address various issues and advocate for his positions.

The discursive device of "illustration/example" is extensively employed by former Prime Minister Imran Khan, with a frequency of approximately 67 instances in his speech. According to Dijk (2005), "illustration/example" serves as a compelling technique in argumentation, as it provides concrete examples or anecdotes to support and enhance the speaker's general point. These illustrations/examples possess persuasive power, evoke strong emotional responses, and are more memorable than abstract arguments alone.

Utilizing illustrations/examples enables individuals to substantiate their statements and enhance their credibility. By incorporating illustrations, individuals can bolster their positive self-image and present negative portrayals of out-group members. Imran Khan adopts a rational and persuasive approach by employing examples/illustrations instead of relying on unrealistic and far-fetched explanations.

For instance, Khan states, "*We had actual proofs ………. caught their spy Kulbhushan Yadav who admitted to crimes*" (Khan, 2019). By providing the concrete example/illustration of Kulbhushan Yadav, Khan aims to demonstrate that India, not Pakistan, bears responsibility for the region's unrest and terrorism. Similarly, he cites specific examples to convince the audience about the importance of respecting all religions and avoiding offense towards their followers. He asserts, "*In western society, ………. maligning our Holy Prophet (PBUH). That is all we ask*" (Khan, 2019).

In his speech, Prime Minister Imran Khan addressed Islamophobia and dispelled misconceptions about Islam. He cited historical examples, particularly from the state of Medina, to demonstrate the religion's promotion of women's rights and equality among all individuals.

Khan emphasized Islam's value of minority rights, using an example of Hazrat Ali (RA) to illustrate equality within the religion. He stressed that mistreating minorities goes against the fundamental teachings of Islam. Recognizing the significant global Muslim population, Khan attributed the rise of Islamophobia to the events of 9/11. He criticized the misuse of terms like "radical Islam," clarifying that there is no such concept within the religion.

Khan highlighted that no religion should be judged based on the actions of a few individuals with evil mindsets, citing the unrelated heinous acts of the Tamil Tigers. He underscored the negative role played by the Western world in perpetuating Islamophobia, emphasizing that Islam signifies peace by definition.

The discursive device of 'hyperbole' is employed to downplay negative attributes of within-group members or it can be the positive attributes of out-group and vice versa (Dijk, 2005). Hyperbolic terms often consist of complex structures and words, which align with the overall language used by Khan.

The topics discussed in Imran Khan's UNGA speech warranted the use of hyperbolic terms. For instance, when addressing money laundering, he used the hyperbolic term *'billions of dollars*,' stating, "*Every year billions of dollars leave poor countries and go to rich countries*" (Khan, 2019). Another example is the use of the hyperbolic term *'worst periods*' in *"Joining the war on terror, Pakistan went through one of its worst periods"* (Khan, 2019) when describing the hardships faced by Pakistan during the war on terror (Khan, 2019).

While discussing the environmental issues, he used *'hyperbole'* to warn the world about rapid climate change. There are two examples of hyperbolic term *'a huge catastrophe'* in *"If nothing is done, we fear humans are facing a huge catastrophe."* and *'an alarming pace'* in *"80 percent of our water comes from the glaciers and these are melting at an alarming pace."* (Khan, 2019).

Dijk (2005) stated that, *'polarization'* is a semantic strategy created a division of people between us and them. Usually, in-group people are attributed positively and out-group people in a negative way. According to Dijk (2005, p. 738) "Polarization may also apply to 'good' and 'bad' subcategories of out-groups, as is the case for friends and allies on the one hand and enemies on the other. Note that polarization may be rhetorically enhanced when expressed as a clear contrast, that is, by attributing properties of 'us' and 'them' that are semantically each other's opposites."

Imran Khan has used 'polarization' to present Pakistan and its people positively and the enemies of Pakistan negatively. Personal pronouns 'we', 'our' and 'us' have been used frequently in his UNGA speech. This frequent use of these personal pronouns has helped him to

present his politically charged viewpoint not as his personal but as an accepted point of view of Pakistan, its people and the entire Muslim world. The following examples taken from his speech clearly show that how Imran Khan has used this technique of polarization to create a positive image of in-group members and a negative image of others. "*We ....Muslim communities.*" "*I told India .... we did not want the situation to escalate.*" (Khan, 2019)

'Lexicalization' as a discursive device can be used to represent others negatively or delegitimize the action of others" (Dijk, 2005). This is done through "the selection of (strongly) negative words to describe the actions of the Others" (Dijk, 1995, p. 154). Imran Khan has used Lexicalization for a significant self-representation and to show negative side for others. As for example "*Why would ...... bomb us again*" (Khan, 2019). Use of lexical items like "*their own cruelty, blame, no other narrative left for India*" (Khan, 2019) present a negative image of India.

Lexicalization along with victimization strategy has been used in phrases and sentences like "*try to bomb us again*" and "*Pakistan went through one of its worst periods*". "*We lost 70,000 people to the war, 150 billion dollars to our economy*" to present Pakistan as a victim of Indian's violence and what Pakistan has suffered after joining the war on terror. Another lexicalization usage is '*further increase cruelty on the people of Kashmir*' which actually presupposes that India is treating the people of Kashmir with cruelty leading to a negative Indian presentation.

During his speech, Prime Minister Imran Khan frequently employed the strategy of 'victimization,' portraying the in-group as victims of unjust treatment caused by the out-group. He addressed the issue of money laundering, highlighting how powerful individuals from developing countries buy expensive properties abroad with funds taken from their own poor citizens. Khan emphasized that developing countries are victims of money laundering and corruption due to their inability to afford such practices. He proposed that western countries should implement laws to allow developing nations to repatriate their money for national development, calling for action from international organizations like the IMF, World Bank, and Asian Development Bank. Additionally, Khan depicted Kashmiri Muslims as victims of inhumane treatment by the Indian armed forces and the Modi government, providing evidence of the cruelties and raising rhetorical questions to draw attention to their plight in the conflict. "*How would .... children of a lesser God?*" (Khan, 2019).

He said the whole world should play its role in forcing India to lift the curfew and making Kashmir a suitable place for the Muslims. And Kashmiris should be given the right of self-determination. In his speech Imran Khan has used a number of phrases and sentences which are manifestations of 'evidentiality' strategy. He has provided the evidences of what India has done through lexicalization of the phrases like "*to butcher 2000 Muslims*", "*locks up 8 million people*", "*100,000 Kashmiris killed, thousands of women raped*", "*This ideology of hate murdered Mahatma Gandhi*", "*70,000 Pakistanis lost their lives*". (Khan, 2019).

In the concept of 'Evidentiality,' facts and figures are used to support the speaker's claims and opinions, often presenting the in-group positively and the out-group negatively.

In his speech, Imran Khan provided evidence to explain the reasons behind atrocities, citing Modi's affiliation with RSS, which promotes Hindu superiority in India, leading to the suppression of others' freedom. He questioned the silence of world leaders, including the UNGA, suggesting economic interests may overshadow concerns for human lives. Khan used

hypothetical examples, like the treatment of animals, to highlight the lack of action in addressing the suffering of Kashmiri people.

Additionally, Khan presented evidence of an Indian spy, Kulbhushan Yadav, confessing to India's involvement in terror attacks in Pakistan. By presenting such evidence, Khan aimed to enhance the credibility and reliability of his statements.

In his speech, Imran Khan employed the 'comparison' strategy around 17 times, comparing in-groups and out-groups to present the in-group (Pakistan) in a positive light and the out-group (India) in a negative manner. He used this strategy to demonstrate Pakistan's innocence in the Pulwama incident and highlight India's aggressive actions.

Khan pointed out that India failed to provide evidence of Pakistan's alleged involvement in Pulwama and instead attempted to carry out bombings in Pakistani airspace. Despite capturing an Indian pilot, Pakistan chose to return him as a gesture of peace, showing their commitment to de-escalation.

Through comparisons, Khan emphasized how Pakistan's treatment of the Indian pilot was contrasting with India's actions towards Pakistan, aiming to glorify Pakistan's efforts while criticizing India. He also cited evidence of an Indian spy, Kulbhushan Yadav, who confessed to his involvement in terror attacks in Baluchistan, further supporting Pakistan's innocence in the Pulwama incident.

In his speech, Imran Khan employed the 'actor description' strategy to portray Indian PM Narendra Modi and his party negatively, associating them with RSS and critiquing their ethnocentric mindset and treatment of minorities. Khan highlighted evidence of Modi's actions and decisions that negatively affected Muslims and Kashmiris.

He also emphasized Pakistan's role in peacebuilding and combating terrorism, presenting a positive image of his government's commitment to promoting peace in the region. Throughout the speech, Khan created a dichotomy between 'us' (in-group, Muslims, and people of Kashmir) and 'them' (out-group, Modi, and his party), using contrasting vocabulary to reinforce this division. The 'actor description' strategy contributed to the polarization and division evident in the discourse.

'Populism' is a political strategy, in which political leaders or members show that they represent the common people. While talking about the plight of Kashmiri Muslims he has employed 'populism' strategy, for instance *"Don't you think that 180 Million …….. Kashmiri Muslims".* (Khan, 2019).

'National self-glorification' device is used many times in the speech. In this strategy, own country or nation is glorified or is admired through the discourse. While addressing the issue of climate change, Imran khan has used this strategy. Former PM highlighted and glorified the efforts of his country in order to minimize the aftermaths of climate change by saying that *"we planted a billion trees in 5 years".*

Imran khan has used the device 'Number game' frequently. Number game is usually used for gaining the authenticity and credibility by providing statistics and numbers etc. His speech was loaded with facts and figures, he used such numerical figures to support his point of view, to make audience believe in what he was saying and to make his stance more reliable and authentic.

Some examples from the speech where Imran khan has used this strategy are *"to free the 13,000 Kashmiris", "a country 7 times smaller", "article 370", "100,000 Kashmiris killed", "70,000 Pakistanis lost their lives"* and *"post 9/11"* etc. (Khan, 2019).

Former Prime minister also used 'Counterfactuals' device in his speech. For example, *"If we retrieve …………….. worth millions of dollars."* (Khan, 2019).

In his speech, Imran Khan addressed the issue of money laundering and its impact on developing countries. He aimed to evoke empathy and sympathy from the world, emphasizing that developing nations lack the resources to effectively combat money laundering and retrieve their assets. Khan called on powerful countries to take action for the better economic future of developing nations.

Additionally, Khan used the 'disclaimer' strategy in his speech, presenting positive points followed by denials using words like "but," "yet," and "however." While talking about the climate change and the response of the world leaders he said that *"First let me talk about climate change………….mere hallucination."* (Khan, 2019).

Firstly, he mentioned that many leaders are talking about the issue of climate change, and then he uttered that 'but' they do not have a realization of this thing that this matter is very urgent and it should be prioritized. This is how he made use of the strategy of 'disclaimer'.

In his speech, the former PM Imran Khan frequently employed the strategy of 'Presupposition' regarding Pak-India conflicts, highlighting India's habit of blaming Pakistan without providing evidence. He stated, "*We fear another Pulwama incident. And for that, India will again blame Pakistan.*" Here, he presupposed that there would be another attack, and India would thoughtlessly blame Pakistan. Khan expressed concern about the situation in Kashmir, anticipating severe consequences and a potential bloodbath once the curfew is lifted. He said, "*What will ……… 900,000 troops? I fear there will be a bloodbath.*" He aimed to draw attention to the revocation of Kashmir's special status by India, which he ideologically opposed.

Furthermore, Khan negatively assumed that India would hold Pakistan accountable for any future wrongs in Kashmir, showing a lack of trust in India. He said, "*There will be ………... us again.*"

Generally, metaphor is a figurative device, in which comparison is made without using 'like' or 'as'. Here metaphors are used to portray something or someone positively or negatively. While pointing out the issue of 'Islamophobia' Imran khan highlighted the main cause of this issue by drawing a difference between what actually religion mean to Muslims and the western countries. He said that, *"The west could not ……….. a watershed."* (Khan, 2019).

In his speech, Imran Khan highlighted the different perspectives of Muslims and the Western world towards Islam. He pointed out that the Western world views Islam as intolerant, leading to a division between the two. He stated, "*But the world did…… triumphed humanity.*" Here, he criticized the world for prioritizing economic interests over the plight of Kashmiri people suffering under Indian rule.

Imran Khan used the device of 'Norm expression' to suggest guidelines for overcoming crucial issues. He urged the United Nations to fulfill its duty of giving Kashmiris the right to self-determination, stating, "*This is the time ……….. self-determination*!"

Additionally, he employed the discursive device of 'Categorization' to urge the world to intervene in the Kashmir issue. He emphasized the dire situation of 8 million Kashmiri Muslims, comparing it to how the world would respond if 8 million animals were treated similarly. He urged the world to see the people of Kashmir as humans and take action to stop India's cruelty in the region.

Generalizations are basically wide/vast statements which are derived from specific/particular instances. He said that *"There are radical fringes in every society, but the basis of ALL religion is compassion and justice."* Through generalization he is clearing the concept that no religion preaches terrorism, and black sheep exist in every society. And on the basis of such black sheep whole religion cannot be blamed. All religions teach peace and love. In portraying the negative character of people of out-group, generalization was also incorporated. Imran khan said that *"I picture myself in Kashmir……… towards radicalization."* (Khan, 2019). He is portraying that how people in Indian Occupied Kashmir are living in such circumstances, how a human can be treated like this. He cannot imagine himself being in such situation.

Vagueness occurs when something is not clearly expressed or stated or there is some uncertainty or ambiguity. It is normally done unintentionally or unconsciously. For instance, he said that *"Rich countries ……. held accountable."* (Khan, 2019). In this utterance, he has not mentioned the names of rich countries that are responsible for causing harm to climate so this statement is a bit vague.

Vagueness can be seen when Imran khan has mentioned the issue of money laundering, he explained that corrupt politicians of poor/developing countries sent billions of dollars to rich/developed countries, developing world face consequences due to this issue. Here Imran khan has not mentioned the names of politicians who are involved in the corruption and money laundering; He has also not mentioned the name of rich countries and the poor countries too who are supporting this process. So, this statement is somehow vague and ambiguous.

Discussion

The analysis of Imran Khan's UNGA address showed that he employed positive self-representation and negative other-representation at the macro-level, a common characteristic in political discourse found in various studies. (Alemi et al., 2017; Darweesh & Muzhir, 2016; Rashidi & Souzandehfar, 2010; Sardabi et al., 2014; Wahyudi, 2012). This suggests that positive self-representation and negative other-representation are universal characteristics of political discourse. The use of positive self-representation allows politicians to legitimize their policies, ideologies, actions, and decisions, while the negative representation of others serves to delegitimize these same aspects in political opponents. The analysis at the micro-level revealed Imran Khan has extensively utilized Van Dijk's (2005) twenty-five discursive devices. These findings affirm the effectiveness of Van Dijk's paradigm in analyzing political discourses across various contexts and backgrounds.

The most frequently employed devices in the speech of Imran Khan were lexicalization, The dominance of lexicalization as a micro-device was not only evident in our study but also in numerous earlier research, indicating its universal presence in political discourse. From Osama Bin Laden (Al Saaidi, et al., 2016) to Hilary Clinton (Abdel-Moety, 2015), lexicalization seems to govern political speech across different times, geographical locations, and ideological

perspectives. As an ideologically-driven way of referring to events, lexicalization serves as a "signifier" of ideologies; any ideology necessitates specific lexical items in its surface representation (Van Dijk, 1995).

Lexicalization stood out as one of the most frequently employed devices in his speech. The significant use of negative lexicalizations enabled Imran Khan to create multiple negative other-representations at the macro level.

Presupposition represents a concealed and unspoken aspect of meaning, presumed to be known, understood, and accepted. It forms a part of the shared "general sociocultural knowledge" (Van Dijk, 2005, p. 739), crucial for constructing the representation of "us." Additionally, it has been recognized as a means of establishing socio-political dominance making it widely employed in politics regardless of the specific political platform, as demonstrated by the examples from Khan's speech, who used a high number of presuppositions.

In the realm of political discourses, the utilization of numerical data as a strategy aims to enhance the credibility and factual basis of arguments (Nasih & Abboud, 2020; Unvar & Rahimi, 2013). Khan has employed specific numbers and statistics (e.g., 70,000 people, 150 billion dollars) to express his discontent and unhappiness regarding the human and economic losses endured by Pakistan as a consequence of its involvement in the war on terror, which he perceived as unnecessary.

Actor Descriptions are verbal expressions influenced by ideological and political perspectives, wherein members of the in-group are portrayed positively, while those outside the group are depicted negatively (Van Dijk, 2005, p. 735). These descriptions directly contribute to the macro-level representation of positive self and negative other and were present in Imran Khan's speech. This study aligns with prior critical research (Makarova & Shakoury, 2021; Masroor et al., 2019), affirming that diverse discursive strategies are utilized in political discourses to create positive self-representations and negative portrayals of others.

Imran Khan employed the "consensus" approach to secure global backing in tackling vital issues like climate change, money laundering, Islamophobia, and Kashmir. By skillfully utilizing this method, Khan adeptly conveyed his ideas impartially and equitably, avoiding personal biases or overly emphatic language.

In the realm of politics, vagueness is often employed by speakers to shield themselves from criticism when addressing controversial issues or to avoid explicitly referring to out-group characteristics or in-group positive traits that are taken for granted (Gruber, 1993). Vagueness in political discourse is motivated by factors like political necessity, self-interest, power dynamics, and the preservation of personal reputation (Obeng, 1997). This approach allowed him to outline his position without directly antagonizing any specific state leaders, using vagueness at the micro-level to mitigate negative other-representations at the macro-level.

Consensus is a widely employed political strategy, particularly in situations where the country faces external threats, such as outside attacks (Van Dijk, 2005, p. 736). Imran Khan has used this strategy to promote his ideological stance of moderation, negotiation, and compromise.

Hyperbole serves as a tool to intensify or exaggerate meaning, commonly employed in political discourse to achieve specific goals and gain or maintain support. Both left and right

politicians utilize hyperbole to either praise their own actions (positive self-representation) or criticize the actions of others (negative other-representation), making it unrelated to any specific political stance (Van Dijk, 2005, p. 737). Imran Khan has used hyperboles several times in his speech while talking about different issues. Consistent with earlier critical research (Makarova & Shakoury, 2021; Masroor et al., 2019), this study corroborates the use of varied discursive strategies in political discourses to construct positive self-representations and negative depictions of others.

Illustration (example) is recognized as a potent tool in argumentation, as concrete examples are better remembered and have a more emotional impact (Van Dijk, 2006, p. 737). He has illustrated many of his points with concrete examples.

Polarization, as described by Van Dijk (2005, p. 738), serves as a tool to emphasize the contrast between in-group and out-group representations, thereby contributing to macro strategies of positive self and negative other-representations. Imran Khan utilized this polarization technique to present Pakistan and its people in a favorable light while portraying its adversaries in a negative manner. These findings align with previous studies conducted on political discourse in diverse contexts and languages, which have shown that politicians widely employ polarization to achieve "political domination and legitimization of political actions by controlling public opinion" (Masroor et al., 2019).

Conclusion
The study analyzes former Prime Minister Imran Khan's political discourse at the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) 2019 using Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) framework. The aim was to understand how Khan utilized discursive strategies to convey his ideology. The analysis focused on micro-level (25 discursive devices) and macro-level (positive self-representation and negative other-representation) aspects of the speech. Khan promoted his ideologies, associating positive attributes with the in-group and negative attributes with the out-group. The analysis ensured impartiality to avoid personal biases. However, it focused solely on semantic aspects, excluding grammatical and syntactic features. Future studies can use similar frameworks to assess ideological inclinations, incorporating diverse data sources to gain a comprehensive understanding of Khan's political perspectives.

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