

A Form Of Neoliberalism: A CDA Of Political Speeches Of Imran Khan

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Abstract

The CDA model was used to evaluate Imran Khan's speeches as the Chairman of the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaaf. A researcher compared news articles from Dawn, The New York Times, and The Express Tribune to the speeches of each speaker. The speeches examined were given in Sialkot, Lahore, and Islamabad on June 7, 2014, September 28, 2014, and November 30, 2014, respectively. The following days, June 8, September 29, and December 1, 2014, all nine items were published on the top pages of their respective journals: June 8, September 29, and December 1, 2014. A researcher analysed and summarised the contradictions between the numerous sources at the conclusion of each speech. There are many ways newspapers respond to Imran Khan's words, and this is what is shown.

This research was significant in terms of helping the general public of Pakistan to know the meaning that language transmits in order to understand their leader in terms of the concept of power. The remarks were evaluated on three levels of discourse: textual, discursive, and societal. The research method applies thematic analysis and utilises Fairclough's three-dimensional model (1989) as a data-analysing tool. The speeches were analysed by considering the textual, discursive, and societal levels of discourse. The key findings in the case of power within discourse include that the speaker used the pronoun „I in order to show his power, and by using the pronoun „we, he gained the support of the audience in order to win their hearts and reflect this power back to the rulers. The speakers explained in detail the unjust rule of the government by using different linguistic tools like modal verbs, vocabulary, transitivity, inter-discourse etc. The study concludes that exclusion was a significant aspect of the reporting style of Pakistani publications. Furthermore, quotations were employed as a powerful instrument in political reports to change or create

perceptions. Overall, the variance in reporting on the same subject confirms that newspaper methods promote diverse perceptions of various political leaders and/or parties.

Keywords: Critical discourse analysis, Imran khan speeches, Neoliberalism, Power within discourse, Political discourse.

Introduction

The introduction of Neoliberalism by political leaders of different parties in Pakistan changed the political scenario during the 1990's and onwards. Jan Blommaert and Chris Bulcaen (2019). Neoliberalism was considered to be a salient factor in today's political leverage in the nation of Pakistan, and it has been recognised by Pakistan's political leaders since the 1990's to have gained political success from it. Jan Blommaert and Chris Bulcaen (2019). In the early 1990's, neoliberalism was emerging as a framework to gain mileage in various political aspects of Pakistani society. Neoliberalism was first introduced in 1898 by the French economist Charles Gide; this term was used in the economic sector and was an integral part of numerous "market-related" reform policies. Later, neoliberalism evolved into an agenda of economic reform policy under Nasir. H.S. Bukhari, Dr. Wang Xiaoyang, (2018) The sole purposes of this reform are as follows:

- To eliminate the regulation of price control.
- Deregulating the capital market.
- Lowering trade barriers.
- Introduction of provocation in the economy.

This charted agenda provides firm ground for a certain class of people to control the economic sector of any given state or country. Ruth Wodak (2020). Moreover, neoliberalism was related to the economic sector of any nation or country, so the Pakistani nation suffered economically. Different funds related to their relief, education, and health were not delivered to them, and gradually, they lagged behind other countries. Shiryayeva, T. A. et al. (2020).

The main objectives of this study is to find out:

- a) To linguistically analyze the speeches of Imran khan: Lexical and syntactic analysis of speeches with regard to development of political ideology.
- b) To evaluate the effect of political speeches with regard to arousing political sympathy.
- c) To unveil the nurturing of neoliberalism through political leverage gained through speeches

1. Research Questions:

From the above objectives, this study seeks to address the following research questions that were enumerated below:

- 1.1 How linguistically the political speeches of Imran Khan were designed with regard to lexical and syntactic analysis?
- 2.1 How political sympathy was achieved through speeches?
- 3.1 How neoliberalism was nurtured through political mileage attained via speeches?

Literature Review

Current state of Neoliberalism:

The researchers were in the midst of a global authoritarian shift. Even though Trump is no longer in power in the United States, authoritarian governments still rule several countries, including Turkey, Egypt, Brazil, Hungary, and the Philippines. The policies of Trump, Sisi, Bolsonaro, Orban, and Duterte can all be characterised as authoritarian developmentalism. While these leaders were elected democratically, they are undermining many of democracy's core principles. While their policies are framed in nationalist terms and advocate for state strengthening, they could equally be viewed as a continuation of the existing neoliberal global system. This introduction to a special issue finishes with a discussion of the conditions needed to launch effective anti-authoritarian developmentalism resistance movements, as well as the larger question of restoring post-neoliberal democracies. The political economy perspective espoused by these politicians, or, in other words, the developmentalist policies that are necessary to their manufactured nostalgia and (therefore) empty claims to resuscitate national pride, has received less attention. "The papers in this special issue deal with the global conception of development in order to help us get a better sense of the shifting geography of capitalism, the movements of people and ideas, and the political projects that affect our lives today."

They do so by examining case studies from a number of countries that highlight the neoliberal-authoritarian developmentalism relationship, including Brazil, Egypt, Turkey, the Philippines, Hungary, India, and the United States. This special issue draws conclusions about the new stage of neoliberalism, as researchers assert, by bringing together nations with a range of income levels from both the "North" and the "South." M. J. Ashraf et al. (2019).

a) Neoliberalism as concept

Neoliberalism was everywhere, but at the same time, nowhere. It was held to be the dominant and pervasive economic policy agenda of our times, a powerful and expansive political rationality of class domination and exploitation, the manifestation of "capital resurgent", an overarching dystopian zeitgeist of late-capitalist excess. Perry Anderson describes it as "the most successful ideology in world history." Anderson (2000: 17). Since the 1980s, the use of the term "neoliberalism" has expanded manifold, both in terms of absolute incidence and also in the

diversity of theoretical and disciplinary contexts where it has been adopted and adapted. Between 2005-09, there were more than 5,600 Google Scholar entries in English with the term "neoliberal" or "neoliberalism" in the title, almost double that of the previous five-year period of 2000-04, and a ten-fold increase over 1990-94.

Yet neoliberalism has been a victim of its own success. A growing tide of conceptual critiques has begun to probe and question its usage and meaning. Did neoliberalism imply a contraction of the state vis-à-vis the market, or just a different kind of state that promotes and works at the behest of the markets? Was neoliberalism a depoliticized and technocratic fetishization of the market or a deeply political agenda of class rule and neo-colonial domination? Was it a Leviathan that bludgeons its way around the world, or was it a far more subtle, mutating, and localized contingent force that works by transforming individual subjectivities? Was neoliberalism an absolute final state of being, or was it a relative category, describing a direction of travel? Did it represent a radical, "paradigmatic" departure, or was it a far more modest recalibration of state-market relations with more continuities than discontinuities? Has the rise of "third-way" politics in the developed world and the rise of the poverty agenda in developing countries served to dethrone and moderate neoliberalism, or to extend and expand it more insidiously? Did China's extraordinary economic growth represent a neoliberal triumph or defeat? Finally, can neoliberalism, as a broad, catch-all term, adequately serve so many different phenomena and theoretical conceptualizations?

Largely as a result of these problems, neoliberalism is now widely acknowledged in the literature as a controversial, incoherent, and crisis-ridden term, even by many of its most influential deplorers. Critics describe it as "an oft-invoked but ill-defined concept." Mudge (2008), that is, "omnipresent and promiscuous." Clarke (2008), whose meaning "seems to alter its shape from paper to paper" and Castree (2006), such that "What it stands for and what it explains is both confused and confusing." Turner (2008:2). It appears to be plagued by "a perplexing mix of overreach and under specification" (Brenner et al., 2009:2) and was used as a "constant master category that can be used both to understand and to explain all manner of political programmes across a wide range of settings." Rose et al. (2006). In a content analysis of journal articles in Comparative Politics, Human Geography, and Development Studies, neoliberalism was routinely found to be left undefined even when it was a key dependent or independent variable in empirical research. (2009) Boas and Gans-Morse

Critical discourse analysis was carried out in order to study how language exercises its power in a society. CDA is primarily concerned with discourse and the people of society. have to know about the identification of people and how they act, think, and speak (Taiwo, 2007). CDA refers to the ways of understanding the social world as drawn by critical theory. Dijk (2009) describes how CDA reveals how the discursive sources are maintained and reproduced within social, political, and historical contexts. Furthermore, the letter "C" in CDA stands for the critical investigation of hidden links and causes between language, power, and ideology. It is an explanation of how unequal power relationships are produced and naturalised in discourse. However, the link between

discourse and society is not directly proportional; rather, it depends on the cognitive process. People use their cognitive abilities to analyse discourse, and it is because of this that people can produce discourse. Gadavani, (2002). As the term suggests, Critical Discourse Analysis is the analysis of discourse in a critical way. According to Richardson (1987), the word "critical" was important because to read innocently, non-analytically, was to be manipulated and mystified. Being critical was not always synonymous with being negative. According to Kendall (2007), the term critical means that, through the procedures, dense arrangements of power relations and ideology manifest. As follows, Van Dijk (2001) summarised the aims of CDA as follows: a) CDA highlights societal and political issues. b) It analyses discourse in the form of power. c) CDA and DA have different interpretations of discourse. d) CDA explains how the structure of discourse affects society. That is why, in the current study, CDA's framework was used to analyse the speeches in this research. Fairclough, 3D Model In his work "Language and Power", Fairclough (1989) presented a three-dimensional model of CDA. This model is intended to be an interdisciplinary approach to the study of discourse because it views "language as a form of social practice" (Fairclough, 1989, p. 20) and focuses on the ways in which "text and talk" exercise social and political dominance in discourse. Moreover, the three-dimensional model highlights the processes of the production and reception of a "discourse fragment" in a particular context. Fairclough (1989) identifies three dimensions to critical discourse analysis. The first dimension represents the discourse fragment, a "text" that could be any object of analysis, including verbal, visual, or verbal and visual texts. The second dimension of „discursive practices can be described in terms of the production and reception of a „text in a particular „context. The context was situational as well as intertextual. Situational context deals with the time and place of text production, whereas intertextual context is related to the producers and receivers of the discourse. The third dimension of discourse could be described as power behind discourse or as social practices functioning behind the entire process and governing the power relations in discourse. Al-Haq and Al-Sleibi (2015) analysed three speeches by the Iranian Prime Minister to find out the relationship between discourse and power. At the first level, the three speeches were investigated, coaching with the main principles of CDA, which are the descriptions of the text, discourse as discursive practice, and discourse as social-practice. At the second level, in order to determine how King Abdullah II frames the core issue in his speeches, four persuasive strategies of political discourse were employed. These strategies are creativity, reference, circumlocution, and intertextuality. They found that King Abdullah used these strategies, which are actually powerful in his discourse, in terms of employing them to deliver his messages. The researcher uses creative expressions to show reality as it was, i.e., the bad image of the current state of affairs and the potential good image of the future, which is the use of power in his discourse. Negma (2015) studied literary discourse as a context for power to be resisted and challenged from a new perspective: the conflictual strategies of power. It has been shown that discourse is not only a context for power to be enacted, exercised, and maintained, but also a context for power to be questioned, challenged, contested, and resisted. The researcher took into account the discursive practices. Whereas in the present study, the discourse which was selected was political as well as

textual, the discursive and social practises of the 3D model are taken into consideration. In another study, Iqbal (2015) studies the pre and post-election speeches of political leaders in Pakistan. The purpose of the study was to analyse the rhetorical devices: repetition, modality, and positive self-presentation, negative self-presentation, ethnicity, figurative speech (metaphor, simile, and personification), and power in discourse in the pre and post-election speeches of relatively popular political leaders in Pakistan. The paper investigated the linguistic implications of these rhetorical devices. A qualitative content analysis of the data (collected from a sample of fifteen prominent politicians) was undertaken to address the underlying research questions. The findings uncover that politicians exploit persuasive devices to foster consent, demonstrate ideologies and assert power. The use of rhetorical devices seemed more or less context-dependent.

b) Background of Critical Discourse Analysis and Fairclough model

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is a relatively new branch of discourse analysis concerned with power and inequality in language. CDA makes a point of openly incorporating social-theoretical ideas into discourse analysis and of advocating for social commitment and interventionism in research. The key thematic characteristics and areas of inquiry of CDA were explored, with a focus on one of the field's most famous researchers, Norman Fairclough's, efforts at theory building. Another part discusses the origins and development of CDA as a field, and elaborates on some recent critical responses to it, situating it within the broader context of a new critical paradigm emerging in a number of language-oriented (sub) disciplines. Ideology, inequality, and power all play a major role in this critical paradigm, and many academics make fruitful attempts to integrate social-theoretical ideas into the study of language. (Wodak, Ruth, 2020)

CDA's objective was to examine "opaque as well as transparent structural connections of dominance, discrimination, power, and control reflected in language." More precisely, "[CDA] investigates authentic, and often prolonged, examples of social interaction that take on a (partially) language form. "The critical method was unique in its perspective on (a) the connection between language and society and (b) the interaction between analysis and the behaviours under examination." The CDA asserts that speech is both socially constitutive and socially constrained. Additionally, discourse is an impenetrable object of power in contemporary cultures, and CDA seeks to make it more visible and transparent. Ruth Wodak, (2020): The above study was intended to demonstrate that CDA, as an innovative and exciting research field, should be placed within a broader context of shared issues, questions, and methods emerging across a much larger academic community. Simultaneously, CDA may benefit from the critical potential of these linked advances in order to address some of its theoretical and methodological shortcomings, particularly those pertaining to CDA's handling of context. The latter was most likely the most significant methodological challenge that CDA faced. At the micro level, specific examples of speech or text could be better judged if a more dynamic concept of context, called contextualization, was used.

Advances in linguistic anthropology, which studies contextualization processes and contextualization, and textualization, may provide fertile ground for the development of a dynamic

concept of context. In general, more emphasis on ethnography as a resource for contextualising data and as a theory for data interpretation may alleviate some of the CDA's present contextual and interpretational difficulties. At the macro-level, CDA seems to pay little consideration to distribution issues and the resultant patterns of availability and accessibility of linguistic-communicative resources. Only the writings themselves become subjects of political economy; the circumstances of their creation, and more precisely, the manner in which the resources used to create the texts are controlled in societies, are rarely addressed. E. Kahu and M. Morgan (2018)

Research Conceptual Framework:

This study was applying Critical discourse analysis on political speeches through Fairclough model. Ma, J., & Stahl, L. (2020)

Fairclough Model:

This study was applying critical discourse analysis to political speeches through the Fairclough model. Ma, J., & Stahl, L. (2020)

- Dimension 1
- Dimension 2
- Dimension 3

Categories in the Fairclough model are named as dimensions. Each dimension specifies an analysis at a different level.

i. Dimension 1:

Dimension 1, considered as the essential and most basic level of discourse analysis of any given event, this category consists of basic text, which further can be in multiple forms, such as:

- Speech
- Writing material
- Images.

At this level of analysis, the attitude of the subject under analysis was derived from the pronouncing and behavior of words.

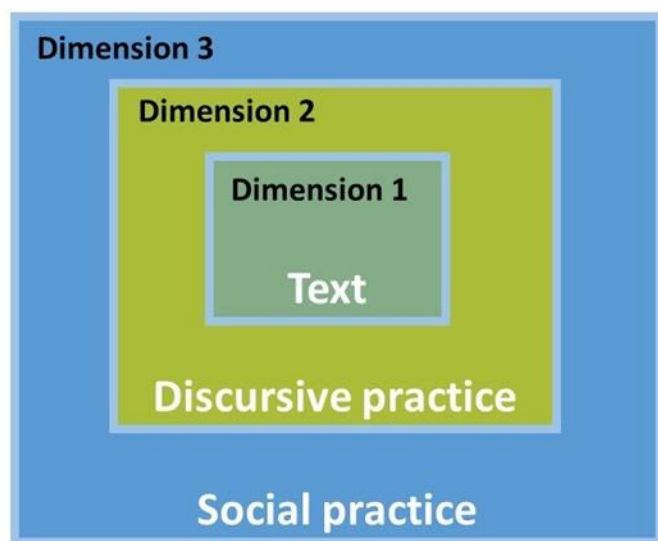
ii. Dimension 2:

Dimension 2 is considered the second category of the Fairclough model. It is also known as "Discursive Practice." In this Fairclough category, discourse analysis was performed on the

production of various types of text, or constitutional text. Core level in this category, analysis takes place at the text level.

iii. **Dimension 3:**

Analysis in this category takes place at a broad level compared to the other two dimensions of the Fairclough model. This analysis also includes the social relationships of the subject. It is also known as Social Practice Analysis



Fairclough – Critical Discourse Analysis

Methodology

The researcher had done qualitative research in order to find power within the discourse and power behind the discourse of selected speakers. The researcher delimited only the data concerning the speeches of Imran Khan delivered in 2018 which are available on the internet, i.e., Google, Data were analysed using Fairclough's 3D model and framework, which included three aspects in a society: text, socio-cultural, and discursive practices. This framework provides the basis for analysing variables like social, cultural, and ideology in Imran Khan's speech. Results Data analysis included the analysis at three levels: textual, discursive, and societal. Textual Analysis In textual analysis, cohesion, modality, vocabulary, transitivity, and pronouns are focused on. Cohesion In Cohesion, the use of conjunctions and references is analyzed. References include epiphoric, anaphoric, and cataphoric. Epiphoric references are replications of the last part of the phrase, and anaphoric is the repetition of the starting part of the phrase, whereas cataphoric is the word that takes reference from the previous words. The other political characters in this research were represented by the speeches of the leaders of one major political party. The population of this study was the speeches of Imran Khan. Choosing a particular political speech was superfluous.

The speeches included in this research were chosen because of their relevance to the topic:

- His address at public gathering at Sialkot on 7th of June, 2014
- His address at public gathering at Lahore, Minar-e-Pakistan, on 28th September, 2014
- His address at public gathering at Islamabad, D-Chawk, on 30th of November, 2014

Newspaper was chosen as the study's major source of information. After the selection of speeches the researcher took three major newspapers Dawn, The News and The Express Tribune for sampling

Data Collection Sources:

Data was collected primarily from mainstream media and social media outlets. The speeches and statements are available on the media, which includes news channels and social media platforms, comprising both Youtube and Instagram. This was used to augment the data and give the analysis material.

Instrumentation and data analysis:

The study opts for the critical discourse analysis of speeches made by famous political leaders. I applied the famous Fairclough 3D model of CDA to the speeches. The analysis was carried out at three levels according to the model. The first level was text (lexical and syntactic analysis); the second level was discursive practise (text producers and text consumers); and the third level was social practise (development of an ideology). The first level was gone for the analysis at the word level and sentence level. It encompasses the word choices and statements in the speeches. The second level would venture into the analysis of text as a whole in the form of speeches; speech producers would include one political leader (Imran Khan) and speech consumers would be the people. The third level involved an attempt to analyse the construction of a political ideology through speeches.

Analysis

During the research for this study, it was discovered that news reports' attitudes toward national issues differed from their attitudes toward political matters. Newspapers are given special consideration when it comes to projections of national issues. As a result, our study demonstrates that newspaper coverage of national topics can be a rich source of in-depth information. The usage of quotations in media content is another area of research that can help with public understanding. The way Urdu literature is translated and quoted in print media in English can reveal some unseen patterns in media discourse. Political leaders give speeches either in front of a national audience or in front of a popular audience. Whether they are in government or not, they use a variety of ways to exploit and manipulate language. Politicians use this strategy to obtain political advantage

and power. In fact, while politicians seek power through the use of language, the media reflects this reflection by using its own discourse power.

The headlines of the reports show a lot of discussion, and different newspapers covered the news in different ways depending on their interests. The following are the headlines:

The News: Imran criticises courts for not delivering "justice"

Dawn: PTI's Summer of Discontent Peaks

The Express Tribune: Imran blames a typing error for the poll outcome.

The details of the address were ignored by the Express Tribune, which has presented practically all of the important aspects of the speech. In terms of grammatical analysis, none of the three reports used modals, nominalization, or passive voice, with the exception of The Express Tribune. They had all used clauses that allowed for elaboration and extension. In contrast to the other two reports, the news has utilised ideologically contentious words and strong adjectives. Furthermore, The News has avoided using ambiguous language, whereas Dawn and The Express Tribune have done so. Metaphors were employed in all of the reports. In all of the reports, there is a discursive interplay in the text with examples of mitigation and intensification. Arguments are positioned to meet the hidden goals. The News has made no use of quotations or reported speech, whereas Dawn has made only a handful, and The Express Tribune has made the most of it. In all of the reports, there were only a few examples of logical linkages. The news article attempted to stifle the speaker's image through discursive practices, but Dawn's story developed and promoted a normal and prodemocracy image of the speaker, and placed its weight behind this political activity as the right demand. Aside from portraying the speaker as one of the victims of election rigging, the piece in The Express Tribune has created a powerful image of him. The news seems to portray Imran Khan, the PTI's leader, as unstable and impetuous. The study of the headline, the usage of lexical choices and syntax structures, the selection and placement of arguments, the selection and placement of quotations, and the selection and placement of local meanings all point to this conclusion. According to the study, the reports cited contradictory statements and over-emphasized the speaker's voice through repetition. Remarks that were critical of national institutions The Jalsa discussion on participant strength was also provided unnecessarily.

Conclusion

The CDA model was used to evaluate Imran Khan, the Chairman of the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaaf. A researcher compared news articles from Dawn, The New York Times, and The Express Tribune to the speeches of each speaker. The speeches examined were given in Sialkot, Lahore, and Islamabad on June 7, 2014, September 28, 2014, and November 30, 2014, respectively. The following days, June 8, September 29, and December 1, 2014, all nine items were published on the top pages of their respective journals: June 8, September 29, and December 1, 2014. A researcher analysed and summarised the contradictions between the numerous sources at the

conclusion of each speech. There are many ways newspapers respond to Imran Khan's words, and this is what is shown.

Neoliberalism was used in the economic sector and was an integral part of numerous "market-related" reform policies. Later, neoliberalism evolved into an agenda of economic reform policy. Neoliberalism was emerging as a framework to gain mileage in various political aspects of Pakistani society. Neoliberalism evolved into an agenda of economic reform policy. The sole purposes of this reform are as follows: To eliminate the regulation of price control, deregulating the capital market, lowering trade barriers, and the introduction of provocation into the economy.

The study showed a number of instances where the display of power was shown by the speakers at textual, discursive, and societal levels, which were power within discourse. The use of the Urdu language has decreased the distance between the speaker and the audience, which was comprehensible for most of the population of Pakistan. The key findings include the speakers' use of the pronoun "I" to demonstrate their power and dominating status, the pronoun "we" to gain the audience's support and win their hearts, and reflect this as a power on the rulers. The speakers explained in detail the unjust rule of the government by using different linguistic tools like modal verbs, vocabulary, transitivity, inter-discourse etc. The study also showed the display of power at the discursive and societal levels. The power of the west and Islam were more dominant in the speeches of Imran Khan. As a result, it was decided that the leader clearly demonstrated power in his speeches.

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