Analysis of Political Leader's speeches in Socio-Political perspective: A study of Critical Discourse Analysis

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Abstract
This study has taken political leader's speeches which were delivered as a focal pointto explore and manipulate the power and to influence the audience to understand their leader through the use of language. For this purpose, Fairclough's three dimensions theory is applied as a theoretical framework. These dimensions are Textual analysis, Social Political analysis, and Discursive analysis. It is a qualitative approach. Data has been taken from randomly selected linesof political leader speeches on YouTube. From the analysis of speeches, it can be analyzed that power within the discourse, the speaker has used the pronoun 'I', 'We', to influence the audience that he is standing with them and to win their hearts. The speaker has explained the unjustrules of Government in his speeches by using some linguistic tools such as vocabulary, pronouns,modality, cohesion, etc. From the findings, it can be concluded that the speaker explored the powerwithin and behind the discourse in their speeches. And the power of the West and Islam have alsobeen discussed speeches.
Keywords: Speeches, Critical discourse analysis, political discourse, power within discourse, the power behind the discourse

1. Introduction

Language is the main source of communication with others. Language helps to perform in society and present thoughts and ideas in front of others. Language offers different functions in society such as education, politics, religion, institutions and many other areas. Language is used so naturally, that it becomes difficult to specify how many functions a language performs in society. In a certain context, the language of action is called discourse. Discourse is used to give an analysis of language beyond the sentence level. Tischer (2000) says that discourse is a very vast term that ''integrates a whole pallet of meaning''. For conveying the beliefs and ideas public is approached by limited members in public discourse. Van Dijk (1997) says public discourse is one of the most important resources that is shared by representatives of elites, such as writers, intellectuals, politicians etc., by using talk or text to influence the public from news stories, articles, TV shows, parliamentary discussions, advertisements and so on. Van Dijk highlights that public discourse is used for the social reproduction of power that helps politicians to reproduce their political power.

Political discourse is the best medium to express the opinions of the general public in public discourse. According to Fairclough (2003), the person who can shape public opinion can access the power structures. The language which is used in political discourse has certain qualities that show the ideological position of politicians through which the reader's ideological position is generated. Political discourse is concerned with the political context not only the political text structure. According to Van Dijk (1997), Political speech is generally used to perform politics.it is used for the hidden analysis of the speaker's statements. In political speech, language is used to control political action and to influence the audience. Language is the tool that is used in political speech to encourage the audience and attracts them. Political speech can produce and reproduce ideologies, ideas and opinions.

Critical discourse analysis (CDA)is used for the analysis of the hidden agenda that is present in the language. Critical discourse analysis is also used for the analysis of different forms of languages. It helps us to analyze the hidden meaning behind the language. Fairclough (1992) offers a theory that is composed in the combined study of social theories and language. In 1970, the term critical discourse analysis is introduced. The basic purpose of CDA is to investigate how social power is implicated through language.CDA also focus to investigate how text is used, represented and resist other powers in the political and social context. Fairclough (1992) offers a 3-dimensional theory that is used in this research paper. This theory consists of three dimensions:1 texts (speech, images, writings etc) 2: Discursive practice (involves the production of text) 3: Social practice (standards of the society). This research paper investigates language as an effective source of power. The political speech of Imran Khan's Dharna which is held in 2014 is critically analyzed in this research paper. Imran Khan is the political leader and the head of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI). PTI is the most powerful and successful party in Pakistan. The basic purpose of this research paper is to analyze Imran Khan's 2014 Dharna speeches by using Fairclough 3d model from a socio-political perspective.

1.1. Objectives of the study

- To explore and uncover power in political leader's Dharna speeches through language.

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- To explore the power within and behind the discourse in political Dharna speeches by Fairclough critical discourse analysis.
- To search out the display of power at discursive, textual and societal levels.

1.2. Research Questions:
- How the discourse of Imran khan speech is displaying power at the textual level in terms of cohesion: (grammar, pronoun and lexical items)?
- How the discourse of political leader's Dharna speech is displaying power at the discursive level in terms of intertextuality and interdiscursively?
- How the discourse of political leader's Dharna speech is displaying power at societal level in terms of order of discourse?

2. Literature Review

Shakeel Ahmad (2012) has done stated that critical research work on the political speeches of ousted Prime Minister Nawaz Shareef. The qualitative study had been done on this research paper and data is collected from some audio speeches from YouTube and Daily motion. The researcher has used Van Dijk's framework of critical discourse analysis (CDA) as a theoretical framework. This research aims to analyze and uncover the hidden ideology which is present in Ex-PM's speeches. Ex-PM has discussed the reasons for strikes of mass and convinced them to stop it. Because these strikes are relevant to the sovereignty of the nation and the murder of innocent people.

Habib Gowhary *et al.*, (2013) have done the research paper on CDA Electoral talks of Iranian Presidential Candidates in 2013. This research paper consists of significant events of Iran and the Middle East on 14 June 2013. This research is about the study of speeches of two nominees of two parties: Hassan Ruhani and Mohammad Bagher Ghalibaf. The researchers have selected one of their speeches on the election for the analysis of data. The theoretical framework is done by using Fairclough's 3D model of Critical discourse analysis. The findings of this research paper show that the two nominees take opposite stands on the same events. Because they have used the language for the promotion of their own political, social and personal interests for a power struggle. The researchers have used the qualitative study on this research paper.

Kuldip Kaur *et al.*, (2013) have stated that critically analyzed the beauty advertisements in local English Magazines by using critical discourse analysis (CDA). Their research work aims to analyze how language is used in beauty advertisements and how advertisers influence their customers. Fairclough's three-dimensional theory is used as a theoretical framework in this work. They have focused on demonstrating how the idea of Beauty is produced and reproduced in local English women's magazines. They have done qualitative research on beauty product advertisements in local English magazines. The result shows that advertisers have the power to influence their customers by using language within and behind the discourse.

Muhammad Munir (2014) suggested has done the research work on critical discourse analysis (CDA) in 2014. Their research paper aims to critically analyze the selected speeches of Benazir Bhutto. The significance of their research paper is to analyze how Benazir Bhutto generates her ideology when many other ideologies are against them. The researcher has used Fairclough's critical discourse analysis method as a theoretical framework in which the hidden meaning and persuasive strategies are analyzed. The researcher has done the qualitative research by using the Fairclough method.

Massoud Sharififar & Elahe Rahimi (2015) has done the research paper on the speeches of Obama and Rouhani which they held in 2013 at the UN. They critically analyzed their speeches. The purpose of this paper is to analyze how these political leaders maintain their power through speeches. Halliday's systemic functional linguistics is used as a theoretical framework in this paper. The analysis is conducted by transitivity and modality system to recognize how language plays its role in speeches to form an ideology and power. The researchers have done the quantitative analysis to make the comparison between Obama and Rouhani's language usage. The researcher is finally concluded that both leaders used a personal pronoun to influence the audience through their language.

Amna Iqbal (2015) Stated that this is critically analyzed the prominent politician's speeches. This study aims to find out the rhetorical devices from elections speeches of prominent political leaders. The researcher is used both qualitative and quantitative research to find out the persuasive devices and their implications before and after the elections. The researcher has signified this research to analyze how politicians use rhetorical devices to maintain their power.

Muhammad Imran Shah & Rafia Alyas (2019) has done the research paper on Imran Khan speech at the Global Peace and Unity Forum. They critically analyzed their speech with critical discourse analysis (CDA). This research paper aims to show how language is fruitful to construct the ideology of political leaders. How political leaders display the power within and behind the discourse in their speeches. The researchers have used Halliday's ideational metafiction as a theoretical framework to investigate how political leaders influenced the audience through their

ideology. For analyzing the data, the researchers have used the quantitative approach.
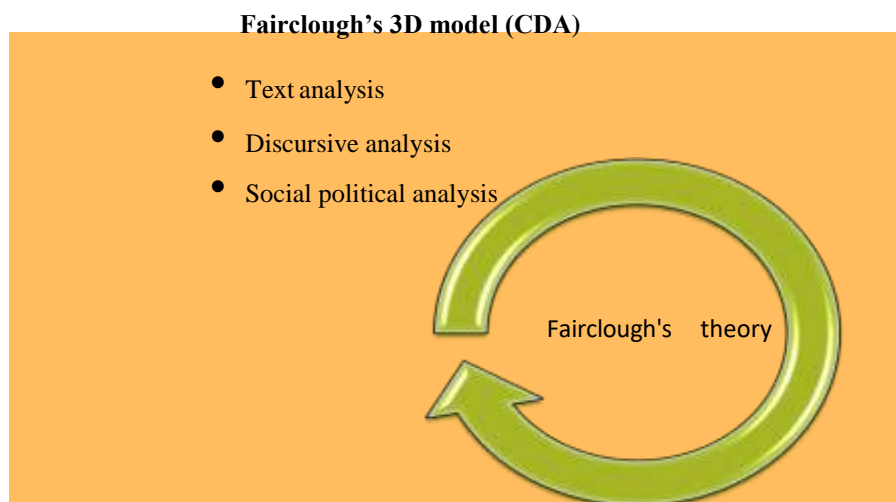
Khalil Ur Rehman et al (2019) have done the research paper on critical discourse analysis (CDA) of Imran Khan's UNGA speech. Their research paper aims to explore the ideologies of political leaders by displaying the power of language. The researchers have analyzed the speech to reveal the ideologies and thoughts which is functioned behind the speech. The researchers have done a qualitative study which is based on the Fairclough model. Political leaders use the language to influence their audience and make their power within and behind the discourse. Many key points such as word choices, context, words repetition is discussed in data analysis. The researchers are concluded that political leaders use language as a power to convince their audience and to follow their ideologies.

Patricia Natasya & Rhea Sudarna (2021) have done the critical discourse analysis of the short story ''Magic'' which is composed by Katherine Anne Porter in 1928. The purpose of their research paper is to find social disorders such as inequality and social injustice and find some possible ways to sort out these problems. They have done qualitative research for this purpose. The text of the short story is taken for textual analysis. Fairclough three-dimensional theory and appraisal theory has been used as a theoretical framework. The findings show through effect, judgement and appreciation. The final results show that there are some social disorders which are happened in society.

Saleha Aftab et al (2021) have done research work on critical discourse analysis (CDA) on linguistic features of billboards. Their study aims to analyze how advertisements manipulate and alter the basic ideologies, creeds and philosophies of the common people. The researchers have attempted to analyze the uncover and hidden meaning which resides in the eye-catching and glamorous commercials. They have used Fairclough's critical discourse analysis method as a theoretical framework. A qualitative study has been done on the billboards advertisements by using Fairclough's theory of critical discourse analysis (CDA). The result shows that there is hidden meaning behind the advertisement and the discourse is also present in commercials.

3. Research Methodology

This research is conducted on the speeches of political leader's Dharna which is delivered in Pakistan. The purpose of their speeches is to influence the audience with his language and realize the unjust rules of the Government. The descriptive qualitative method is employed in this research paper to describe the persuasive language and to describe its discourse. The researcher selects some lines of political leader's speech on Dharna from YouTube. All the speeches of political are not available on Google. This research aims to find out the power within and behind the discourse from the speech. The researcher collects the data from the speech of political leader's Dharna. Data is analyzed through Fairclough's 3D model for critical discourse analyses of the speech.

Fairclough's 3D model (CDA)
- Text analysis
- Discursive analysis
- Social political analysis

Fairclough's theory

This figure shows Fairclough's 3D model. These three dimensions are given as:
➢   Text (linguistic description of the text, speeches, writings, images etc)
➢   Discursive practice (interpretation of the text)
➢   Social- practice (explanation of the relationship between discursive process and social process)
➢   The data is analyzed by applying the Fairclough 3D model for critical discourse analysis of the speech.
This method gave the base for analyzing variables like cultural, social and ideology in Imran Khan speech.

4. Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework is the building block pattern that demonstrates the whole structure of any research paper. It also provides the main idea to the researcher and interprets the whole data. Asia Nusrat, Dr Sardaraz Khan & Shaista (2020), write a research paper on political leader's Dharna speeches from a socio-political perspective. They use the speeches of political leader's which is held for data analysis. They use the Fairclough 3D model as a theoretical framework to analyzethe speeches. Their research paper is most similar to this research paper and also gave many concepts and ideas which are helpful to this research paper. The researcher is followed their research paper as a guideline paper.

The researcher has used in this paper the Dharna speeches of political leader's for analyzing the data. Fairclough's (2001) three-dimensional theory is used as a theoretical framework. These dimensions have consisted of text, discursive practice and social practice. The main purpose of this research paper is how language creates within and behind the discourse. The researcher gives the analysis of political leader's Dharna speeches from a socio-political perspective within the study of critical discourse analysis (CDA). This method gave the base for analyzing variables like cultural, social and ideology in political speech speech.

4.1. Data Collection

Data collection is a technique that has been used for the collection of data for the analysis of the material. In this research, data has been collected from political leader's speeches. All the speeches of political leader's about Jalsa's are not available on Google. So,the data is collected from YouTube, Google and Daily motion. The researcher randomly selects some lines of political leader's and analyze them from Fairclough theory.

5. Data Analysis

In this research paper, a linguistic analysis of data from the speeches of political leader's about speech is done. Linguistic analysis of the data is given as:

5.1. Linguistic Analysis

Linguistic analysis of data is based on Fairclough (2001) critical discourse analysisapproach. It has three dimensions that are given:

➢ Textual analysis
➢ Discursive analysis
➢ Social practice analysis

5.2. Textual Analysis

Textual analysis is concerned with linguistic properties and features of the text suchas cohesion, modality, pronoun, and transitivity.

5.3. Use of Pronoun

The pronoun is the replacement of Noun. The speaker has used pronouns in theirspeeches like 'We', 'I', 'Their', 'Our', 'Them', 'He' for referring to himself and others.

Extract# 1:

'Pakistani Qaom ap ny or hum nay ahtjaj karna hai kiyou kay yeh paisa apka hai 'The Pakistani nation, you and I have to protest because this money belongs to us.

5.4. Analysis

In this example, the speaker has used pronouns 'You' and 'I' to emphasize to the audience what they will do in future. The phrase 'You and I have to protest' shows the power of the speaker that the speaker has the power to protest against the opposite party and fulfil the rightsof the public.

Extract# 2:

'InshaAllah apko apka paisa wapas laa kar dain gain'
'InshAAllah we will return the money to you'

5.5. Analysis

Here, the speaker has used the pronoun 'We' and 'You' to give a positive image of himselfin front of the audience. That the speaker is very kind-hearted and he is standing with you againstoppression. The speaker has used these pronouns here to explore the power of himself and convince the audience for changing the Government and unjust rules in society.

Extract# 3:

'Hum aagy kia karny lagy hain'
'What are we going to do next.'

5.6. Analysis

Here, the speaker has used the pronoun 'we' to refer himself to the audience and win their hearts. Speaker has used

this pronoun because he wanted to show that he is standing with you at every step and encourage them with the power of language.

5.7. Use of Cohesion

Some random lines are selected from the speech of Imran Khan about Dharna for critical discourse analysis of cohesion.

1: Extract in Urdu	English Translation
'*Hum apka muqabla karain gyn,aap ny hamara haq roka hum apka muqabla karain gain.*'	*We will fight you, you have deprived us of ourrights, we will fight you.*

5.8. Analysis

This table shows that the speaker has used the epiphoric term for cohesion analysis by combining the clauses. He repeats the last part of the clauses 'we will fight you' to create curiosityin the audience and lay stress on his sentence for threatening the opposition leaders that we will fight you.

2: Extract in Urdu	English Translation
Or phir wohi karain gain,phir tiyari karain gain,agli Election chori krain gain, paisa churain gain,phir Election Commission ko khareedain gain,phir dhandli karain gain.	*And then they will do the same, then they will prepare for the next Election, then they will steal money, then they will buy the Election Commission, then they will rig.*

5.9. Analysis

By combining the clauses, the speaker has used the epiphoric reference in this table. The speaker repeats the last part of the clause 'then they will' to lay stress on his sentence and to convince the audience that he is standing with them. Speaker wants to realize public that the opposition party is the corrupt party and they always play with their votes. Speaker also combinesthese clauses to emphasize that the opposition leader is a corrupt party and they violated the publicrights and they rigged during elections.

5.10. Use of Modality

According to Jorgensen et al (2002), the term Modality is 'Focus on the speaker's degree of affinity with or affiliation to her or his statement.' The Chairman of PTI Imran Khan has used modality in his speeches. He used the modal verb 'will' in his speeches many times for showing the degree of affinity. Sometimes, he used the objective degree of affinity and sometimes the subjective degree of affinity to display the power in his discourse.

Extract # 1

Extract in Urdu	English Translation
'*Aik syllabus lay kar aain gain Pakistan main,Deen bhe prhayn gain,dunyawi taleem Bhidain gain*'	'*Will bring a syllabus to Pakistan, will also teach religion, will also give seculareducation.*'

5.11. Analysis

Here, the speaker is used the modal verb 'Will' to show the implicit power of his speechthrough language. He used the objective degree of affinity as he will bring changes in Pakistan. And he will make the proper education system. And he also discussed that the current Governmentis not focused on Education. So, we will improve the education system of Pakistan.

Extract # 2:

Extract in Urdu	English Translation
'*Police ki hum tankhwa barhain gain*''*Hum gurbat ka khatma karain gain*'	*We will increase the salary of the Police.We will end poverty.*
'*InshaAllah main in say har zulm ka badlaloon ga.*'	*InshaAllah I will take revenge on them forevery injustice.*

5.12. Analysis

The speaker is used the modal verb 'will' in these sentences. He is used both the objective and subjective degree of affinity to display the implicit power of speech. Speaker gives the hidden meaning in their sentences that Police has faced the low-income issue so, they use illegal way forsurviving. And the public is become poor more and more due to lack of Government responsibilities. The speaker is convinced by the poor public that he will take revenge

for every injustice. He attracts the audience through the power of his speech and tries to win their hearts.

5.13. Use of Vocabulary

Vocabulary is the main tool for making ideologies. Speakers use both positive and negative vocabulary in their speeches to convey their ideologies to the audience. The vocabulary which is used in Imran Khan's Dharna speeches are given as:

Extract #1:

> *'Bary daakwon ko qi puchta tak nahin'*
> *'No one even asks the big robbers'.*

5.14. Analysis

Imran Khan has used the word 'Robbers' for Nawaz Shareef and Asif Ali Zardari. He has used the negative vocabulary for the present Government. The main ideology behind this wordis that the Prime Minister of the Government is a robber and corrupted man.

Extract # 2:

> *'Chor Chor ka ahitesab nahin kar sakta'*
> *The thief cannot be held accountable.*

5.15. Analysis

Here, Imran Khan has used the word 'Thief' for corrupt Prime Minister Nawaz Shareef. The speaker has used this word to show the unfairness of the rulers with his public. Speaker displays his power by using language in his discourse. Speaker attracts the audience with his language within and behind the discourse.

Extract # 3:

> *'Jab tak takatwar mujrim ko saza nahi mily gi tab tak Curroption khatam nahi ho sakti'*
> *Corruption cannot be eradicated unless a powerful criminal is punished.*

5.16. Analysis

The speaker is used the vocabulary 'Powerful Criminal' to show the power of his speech. The speaker has influenced the audience and tries to attract them towards himself. He has used thisnegative vocabulary for creating the negative image of powerful criminals such as Nawaz Shareefand Asif Ali Zardari.

5.17. Discursive Analysis

Discourse analysis is concerned with the production and distribution of the text.It is beneficial in uncovering the purpose behind the text. It studies the underlying meaning of thetext. The discourse analysis of the text from selected sentences of speeches:

Extract #01:

> *'Hum nay aik falahi riyasat bnani hai jis trah Madinah ki riyasat thi,Hum nay Pakistan maininsaniyat ka nizaam lay kar ana hai.'*
> *'We have to create a welfare state like the state of Madinah. We have to create a system ofhumanity in Pakistan.'*

5.18. Analysis

The speaker has done the Islamic discourse into the political discourse. The speaker gives the logical reason that Madinah riyasat is based on reality and followed the proper laws. They give equal rights to poor and rich people. They have appreciated the person for doing a good deed andsent the sinners into jails and punished them. According to the speaker's point of view, Pakistan is opposite from laws. In Pakistan, powerful criminals are sit in the assemblies and the needy poorpeople live in Jails. There are no equality and justice system in Pakistan. So, the speaker says we have to create a system of humanity in Pakistan. And another reason for using Islamic discourse in political discourse is that majority of the peoplein Dharna are Muslims and they have believed in Islam. So, the speaker has used Madinah Riyasatterm to wins the hearts of the audience with his discourse.

Extract #02:

> *'Agar Pakistan ka Insaaf ka nizaam mujhy insaaf nahi day rha to Pakistaniyo yaad rakho,yehhamara jamhuri haq hai pur aman ahtejaj karna,qi nahi rok sakta isko.'*
> *'If Pakistan's justice system is not giving me justice then Pakistanis remember this is ourdemocratic right to protest peacefully, no one can stop it.'*

5.19. Analysis

The analysis of these lines is that the Pakistan Judiciary system is not correct. They havenot given the rights of poor

people. All Judicial system is involved in corruption. So the speaker tells that if the judiciary does not give our rights, then we have right the two peaceful protest againstthem. And obtain our rights. Because in a democratic system it is our right to protest them if theydo not give our rights. Speaker motivates the audience with his language discourse and prepared them for protest against corruption. Because he finds that they have not obtained their rights easily without any protest.

Extract #03:

' Jab Pakistan ki awam samny ati hai to Nawaz Shareef dar jata hai.'

When the people of Pakistan come forward, Nawaz Sharif gets scared.

5.20.   Analysis

The analysis of this lines is that Nawaz Sharif is a scared man. Speaker has used this word for Nawaz Sharif because he knows that he is a very coward man. And he looted Pakistan and hidemoney in abroad countries. Therefore, he does not face the public of Pakistan. Speaker motivatesthe audience with his language to display the power and to realize them they are very strong. Theyhave taken the step for their rights and eliminated all the bad things from society. The speaker usesthe language in his discourse to manipulate the power and convince the audience too far away Nawaz Sharif from Government**.**

5.21. Social Practice analysis

In this level of Fairclough (2001) critical discourse analysis approach thebackground knowledge of society's situation, customs and ideologies for the text is provided.

Extract #01:

'Main nawaz Sharif or Ishaaq Daar aap dono ko keh raha hun yeh jo harkatyn ap kar rhy hainapko mehangi paryn gi,kiyo kay is bar agar ap ny mera haq cheena to mera haq hai puraman ahtijaaj karna,jisko ap rok rahy hain is kay bad intishar ka ap khud zimadar hon gyn.'

I am telling you both Nawaz Sharif and Ishaaq Daar that what you are doing will cost you dearlybecause this time if you snatch my right then my right is to protest peacefully which you are stopping then you will be responsible for this.

5.22. Analysis

Here, one political Leader's has used the discourse to directly mention on other political parties. He says they will try to stop him from obtaining his rights. One political party has been directly threatened to other, they will be responsible for all the mess. He says, they will never stop him fromawake the public from the truth. Speaker threatens them that if they want to snatch my right, I willnever do them. I protest against them and stopped all their plantings. Political leaders say I warn you that you will be responsible for all problems if you try to snatch my rights. Speaker has used the discourse to threaten them and conveyed the message to them.

Extract #02:

'Khalid Bin Waleed duniya ki tareekh ka sab say bra General tha,khud lead karta tha,khud agyjata tha,darta nahi tha bohat dalair tha.'

Khalid Bin Waleed was the greatest general in the history of the world, he led himself, he wentahead, he was not afraid he was very brave.

5.23. Analysis

The lines show the social-political analysis. Imran Khan has used the Islamic discourse also in their political discourse. Because the majority of the audience in Dharna are Muslims. Theyhave the Islamic religion. So, the speaker has used the example of Khalid Bin Waleed who was thegreatest general in the history of the World. He has used their example to realize the audience thattheir political leader shall be brave like them. But Nawaz Sharif is a very coward man. He alwaysplays in the backside. Speaker wants to understand to the audience that Government should have brave, justice and truth. The speaker washes the brain of the audience with his language discourse.

6. Conclusion

From the Critical discourse analysis (CDA) of the language used in speeches, it can be concludedthat political speeches use many linguistic features. This paper shows the power within a discoursewhich is shown by the speaker at discursive, textual and societal levels of the discourse. The Urdu language is used in the speeches of political leader because it is reduced the distance between the audience and the speaker. Most of the population of Pakistan has considered the Urdu language ascomprehensible for communication with each other. The key findings of this research are that thespeaker has used the pronoun in his speeches 'I', We', 'You' for displaying the power and to influence the audience with his speeches and to win their hearts. Speaker has discussed the unjustrules of the Government with the use of linguistic tools such as vocabulary, cohesion, modal verbsintercourse etc. This paper has also shown the display of power by using discursive analysis and social-political analysis. Political leader has

dominated the power of the west and Islam in his speeches. It has been concluded that the speaker displayed power explicitly in his speeches. The speaker has to explore the power within and behind the discourse.

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