# Discursive Strategies in Imran Khan's Address to the United Nations General Assembly: Ideological Square Model Perspective

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#### Abstract

Critical discourse analysis unearths the ideologies, beliefs, and principles embedded in spoken and written discourse. Imran Khan's addresses to national and international forums gained the attention of the discourse analysts. The current study explored the discursive strategies used by ex-prime minister of Pakistan in his address to the 74<sup>th</sup> session of the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA). The present study utilized a mixed-method research design by employing Van Dijk's Ideological Square Model analytical framework. The data of the study and the transcribed text of the speech were gleaned through internet sources. The text of the speech was analyzed through the content analysis approach. Furthermore, the quantitative section looked at the frequency of the discusrive strategies like description of actor burden, and authority all presented through frequency tables and percentages. The findings revealed that actor description (42%), authority (27%), and burden (18%) were the most frequently employed strategies, indicating Khan's deliberate use of persuasive devices to reinforce ideological positioning at both textual and socio-cognitive levels. These strategies helped enhance the persuasiveness of his speech.

Keywords: critical discourse analysis, discursive strategies, discourse, ideological square model, politics, conflict.

#### 1. Introduction

Language evolved from the urge to communicate. Whether written or spoken, language is an essential part of existence and used for varied purposes (Ali et al., 2025). It appears in a number of situations, and the intentional use of language, whether written or spoken, is known as discourse (Johnstone & Andrus, 2024). According to Brown and Yule (1983), discourse can be defined simply as language in use. Thus, discourse analysis refers to the practice of assessing language in use. Discourse analysis explores how language is utilized in a certain context. Similarly, Jones (2024) sees discourse analysis as a collection of attempts to investigate the organization of language in order to analyze bigger linguistic entities such as spoken words or written texts. Critical discourse analysis is a widely used approach of investigation under the umbrella of discourse analysis. The purposes of CDA are to uncover the existing sociopolitical inequalities and power relationships deep-rooted in political, religious, cultural, and economic contexts (Suppiah et al., 2025). While explaining the objectives of CDA Van Dijk (2015) posits that it is analytical research and focuses on the way social power abuse, inequality, and dominance are enacted, resisted, and reproduced by text and talk in the social and political settings. Likewise, a special method to examine talk as well as text that arises from any peculiar language form is called CDA (Prendergast & Zambrana, 2021). In other words, CDA analyzes any political and social discourse emerging from contexts (Van Dijk, 2015). One of the branches that analyzes political language is political discourse, and it only focuses on political situations. Political discourse emphasizes power exploitation, domination, and political influence achieved through style, rhetoric, grammar, structure, and finally pragmatic and discursive strategies (Hassan, 2024). Political discourse plays a vital role in the realm of international relations, shaping global dynamics and influencing diplomatic efforts (Emelie, 2022). Research has shown that political leaders' speeches are crucial in constructing national identities, negotiating meanings, and shaping international relations (Abrahamyan, 2025; Charteri-Black, 2013). The United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) provides a prominent platform for world leaders to articulate their visions; address pressing issues and engage in diplomatic efforts. In September, 2019 Imran Khan, the then Prime Minister of Pakistan, addressed the 74<sup>th</sup> session of the UNGA, presenting a significant opportunity for Pakistan to reposition itself on the global stage. While Imran Khan's address at UNGA garnered significant attention globally, there is a need for a deeper understanding of the discursive strategies employed by him to position Pakistan within the international community. Specifically, there is a lack of research that applies the Ideological Square perspective to analyze Khan's language use and rhetorical devices and how they reinforce or challenge dominant ideologies in the global political landscape. This knowledge gap necessitates a critical discourse analysis of Khan's address to uncover the ways in which language is used as a tool of power and politics in international

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relations and to contribute to a deeper understanding of the complex dynamics of global governance.

#### 1.1 Rationale of the Study

The aims of the study are to delve into the discursive strategies employed by Imran Khan in his address to the 74<sup>th</sup> session of the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) through the lens of the Ideological Square perspective. The research objectives of the current study are to identify and categorize the linguistic and rhetorical devices used by Imran Khan to convey his message and persuade the audience.

This study is relevant because it provides insights into Pakistan's foreign policy objectives and position in the world political arena. It uses the Ideological Square approach to understand how political leaders use language to support or contradict ideologies, aiming to advance knowledge of the intricate relationships between politics, language, and power in international relations. The study also aims to contribute to the growing corpus of work on political discourse analysis, particularly in global governance and international relations, by examining the speech of Pakistani ex-Prime Minister, Imran Khan. This study examines Imran Khan's discursive methods to understand how political leaders use language to influence public opinion, form coalitions, and achieve their political objectives.

# 1.2 Research Objectives

- To explore and investigate discursive strategies found in Imran Khan's political discourse
- To observe the efficacy of these stragegies in achieving the desired political objectives

#### 1.3 Research Questions

- What are the discursive strategies used by Imran Khan in his speech at the UN Assembly?
- What Impact does these strategies have on the public?

#### 2. Literature Review

# 2.1 Critical Discourse Analysis

Language converys mearning through various paths ((Ali et al., 2025). So, the interpretation of language is equally importnce as the utterance. CDA relates to the analysis and study of written or spoken discourse in order to disclose power, existence, inequality, and dominance. It shows the relationship of existence to historic, social, and political situations. Moreover, CDA also aims at making vivid linkages amongst social practice, structure, and discourse (Sari et al., 2025). CDA investigates the social situation to cuddle the political and social contexts that contour discourse and examine the structures of power and their construction. It means that it can also be used to describe, interpret, analyze, and critique social life that is reflected in speech (Tongkai, 2025; Amer, 2017). Similarly, political discourse analysis is a communicative performance of the participants in which they strive to place relevant meanings on the influence of people. Moreover, political discourse analysis is a strategy used by political personalities to manipulate language to achieve their ideological and political goals. It involves speeches, hearings, debates, and talks (Amaghlobeli, 2018).

#### 2.2 Discursive Strategies

Discursive strategies are part and parcel of the speeches, and there is concrete evidence regarding the considerable use of discursive strategies and devices in various contexts. Van Dijk (2015) found out a series of stratagems that are helpful in constituting ideologies in discourse. Some of their strategies were actor description, irony, hyperbole, polarization, positive self and negative other representation, victimization, etc. In discourse, discursive strategies are primarily quite important, as they are the regulation's tool, resistance point, initiating point, and also point of transmission. By these strategies, the transmission and reproduction of ideological power in any discourse is actually produced and presented. Furthermore, discursive strategies help to expose or undermine the hidden message.

# 2.3 Discursive Strategies in Political Speeches

In political speeches, discursive strategies are influential in representing ideology and the persuasion of the people. These strategies shape political communication by enabling the leaders to frame the issues by the position of their ideologies and identity construction (Al-Azzawi, Rezvani, Al-Jameel, & Hadian, 2024). Fear-based appeals and populist framing serve as persuasive systems that channelize and mobilize public support and result in polarizing the audiences (Jesudas & Mohammed, 2025). Further, the adversarial and emotional discourse like, threat or victimization has been the dominating part of political speeches. These elements build media narratives and sentiments of the public (Prahallad & Mamidi, 2025). In any geopolitical context, leaders tactically employ pragmatic strategies like accusatory, emotional rhetoric and diplomatic neutrality to develop the international public opinion (Kareem, Sadeghi Barzani, Adai Al-Mamoory, & Rezvani, 2024). Furthermore, delegitimization discourse, often manifested through symbolic attacks and negative other-presentation, has intensified in recent years, reflecting the increasing reliance on discursive strategies to weaken opponents' political legitimacy (Irfan & Krishnasamy, 2024; Rivlin-Angert & Mor-Lan, 2025).

# 2.4 Related Studies

There are some studies that talk about discursive practices, like the study conducted by Akinwotu (2014), which focused on economic and political discourse and examined the discursive strategies in the interviews in the media. The outcomes revealed that specific rhetoric and opinions were used by government officials to convey their message. Likewise, Zainon et al. (2018) conducted their study on the identity construction of homosexuality in men in a Malay context. This investigation explored the discursive strategies used in the negotiation, establishment, and construction of the identities of those men. The outcomes stated that the discursive strategies have some similarities

and identical patterns in their identity construction. Igwebuike (2018) investigated the reporting of the news in the Peninsula using strategies like representational and discursive for the portrayal of actions, events, and people. Using the van Dijk model, it was found that various discursive strategies were used in the different news headlines and leads. Similarly, Afzal (2019) performed a study on the discursive strategies in media conflicts and representation, i.e., the major policies of important newspapers in Pakistan. The results showed that certain conflicts were promoted by the news media, and some themes like horror, democracy, and protests were used positively. The study also showed that opinions can be made and manipulated by using specific discursive strategies. Similarly, Zulqarnain (2024) has analyzed the ideological polarization of meaning-making processes in the multimodal data of defamatory political cartoons in Pakistani print media from the time span of 2022. The study has used the theoretical underpinnings of Kress and Van Leeuwen's Theory of Visual Grammar (2002) and Van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach (2017) to explore the cartoonists' manipulation of the meaning-making processes to control the cognitive perception of the readers of the multiple discourses of political cartoons. The study has found that cartoonists tend to instill their subjective ideologies by using violated and manipulated modes of communication according to their political agenda. The present research study also explores the discursive strategies utilized by Pakistani Prime Minister Imran Khan to control the social cognition of his listeners at the United Nations in the year 2019.

There are numerous studies that have examined the political discourse of political leaders, usually by applying the three-dimensional model by Fairclough, which focused on ideological power, linguistic strategies, and the construction of construction or by Va Dijk's socio-cognitive framework. Sarwat et al. (2024) applied Fairclough's framework alongside Aristotle's persuasion theory to look at Tayyip Erdoğan's UNGA speech. They identified the use of figurative language, pronouns, and modal auxiliaries for motivating the audiences and to embed the ideological power. Sajjad et al. (2025) utilized van Dijk's model in their study by adopting a broader socio-cognitive perspective on Pakistan's diplomatic positioning, but they did not focus on textual and macro-level strategies. The present research addresses this gap by applying van Dijk's Ideological Square Model to dissect the 74th UNGA address, revealing rooted ideologies of resistance to global inequalities and contributing to the evolving impacts on political discourse in international relations, and also by broadening the application of the model to investigates discursive strategies like topicalization, polarization, lexicalization, and populism. In the Pakistani context, there is a scarcity of research on discursive strategies, particularly when it comes to the analysis of any political speech by any political figure. The present research therefore analyzes the speech made by Imran Khan, the prime minister of Pakistan, at the UN. Applying Van Dijk's Ideological Square Model with objectives to explore the discursive strategies in the speech. The sole narrator of the text is Imran Khan, and the text holds various aspects of his ideology, interests, and vision as the head of the Islamic state but also as a global leader.

# 3. Method

The research design supports the researchers in realizing the study's aims. Normally, researchers utilize three study designs: quantitative, qualitative, and hybrid approaches. The current study adopted a hybrid approach (quantitative and qualitative) since the goal is to have an in-depth understanding of Imran Khan's historic address delivered on the eve of the 74<sup>th</sup> session of UNGA. hybrid research designs offer a higher possibility of truly understanding any topic about which little is knownthis method is appropriate because it provides a sense of following step-by-step models as well as content analytical rules rather than quick assessment (Kim et al., 2025).

The mixed-method research design in this study employs a descriptive-interpretive approach to analyze Imran Khan's address at the 74th UNGA session, utilizing van Dijk's Ideological Square Model to uncover embedded ideologies and discursive strategies (van Dijk, 2015). For the qualitative section, context analysis was performed, whereas quantitative content analysis was employed to complement the interpretive findings. Each discursive strategy identified through Van Dijk's Ideological Square Model was coded, counted, and tabulated. The purpose of this step was not only to highlight the presence of discursive strategies but also to determine their relative prominence within the speech. By converting discursive features into numerical values, the analysis demonstrates which strategies were emphasized most frequently, thereby reinforcing the persuasive intent of the speaker. Palma and Angelini (2025) shared that data collection, a very crucial step in any research process, entails gathering, recording and organizing information on variables of interest. The present study gleaned the transcription of the speech through internet sources. https://www.brecorder.com/news/524851/full-transcript-of-prime-minister-imran-khans-speech-at-the-unga. The speech was delivered at the critical juncture of the Indo-Pak relations when India turned the occupied Kashmir into an open jail by imposing an inhuman curfew.

Data, consisting of the transcribed speech text sourced from reliable internet archives, is subjected to content analysis to identify linguistic and rhetorical devices, such as actor description, authority, and burden, at both textual and socio-cognitive levels (van Dijk, 2017). This methodology facilitates an in-depth exploration of how language constructs power dynamics and ideological positions within the global political context, contributing to the understanding of Pakistan's diplomatic discourse.

# 3.1 Model of Analysis

# 3.1.1 Van Dijk's Ideological Square Model

Van Dijk's Ideological Square Model (2011) falls under the umbrella of the Socio-cognitive Approach to Critical Discourse Analysis, where the social cognition of the common social realities is ideologically violated. Speakers or writers tend to associate positive or negative ideologies with people on the basis of social group differentiation in the positive US vs. negative Them dichotomy. People tend to embed ideologies into the text and talk levels of discourse for controlling the cognitive abilities of the readers and listeners. Language encapsulates ideologies that can be controlled semantically and pragmatically. Van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach divides it into two

levels of analysis: macro (deals with the broader aspects of the pragmatic context or situation of the text and talk scenarios) and micro (deals with the semantic aspects of discourse) levels of analysis.

Macro levels of analysis propose four functions of the discourse by categorizing the participants of the text and talk scenarios into two groups: in-group (supported with a positive 'us' function) and out-group (demoted with negative characteristics) members.

- 1. Highlights the positive qualities of the in-group participants (us
- 2. Highlights the negative qualities of the out-group participants (them).
- 3. Demotion of the positive characteristics of the out-group participants (them)
- 4. Demotion of the negative characteristics of the in-group participants (us)

The microlevel of analysis deals with the analysis of the linguistic features of the discursive strategies utilized in the production of the discourse. Discursive strategies deal with the conceptualization of linguistic practices to persuade the readers or listeners to comprehend the language as it is delivered. Van Dijk (2011) has presented twenty-seven discursive strategies that can be utilized by the author or speaker to influence the audience. The discursive strategies are as under:

Table 1. Micro Level Discursive Strategies

Sr. No.	Discursive Strategies	Sr. No.	Discursive Strategies	Sr. No.	Discursive Strategies
1	Actor Description	10	Evidentiality	19	Negative other-presentation
2	Authority	11	Example/Illustration	20	Norm expression
3	Burden	12	Generalization	21	Number game
4	Categorization	13	Hyperbole	22	Polarization
5	Comparison	14	Implication	23	Populism
6	Consensus	15	Irony	24	Positive self-presentation
7	Counterfactual	16	Lexicalization	25	Presupposition
8	Disclaimer	17	Metaphor	26	Vagueness
9	Euphemism	18	National self-glorification	27	Victimization

The second element is discursive practice or interpretation. Interpretation means the relation of interpretation with text, while viewing text as the outcome of interpretation. At this level, the connection between the construction and use of discourse should be explained. So, this means that, along with linguistic features' assessment, discursive practices are also important, as these elements connect the context to the text. This facet works in two dimensions, i.e., as a process of editorial and also through discourse (Douglass, Scott & Anderson, 2024).

Social cognition at macro and micro levels of discourse deals with the association of social context and interaction, i.e., the methods of interpretation, production, and social impact. Furthermore, the exploration of the social practice of explanation can be directed to social, cultural, and historical contexts. News and speeches are a type of social practice that is embedded in linguistic, social, and cultural elements. In other words, social practices are sociocultural practices (Beazer, Walter, Eldridge, & Palicki, 2025).

# 4. Results

Data analysis is the procedure through which the researchers scrutinize, clean, transform, and model data to obtain useful and related information (Alem, 2020). The researchers of the present study also applied this procedure on the transcript of Imran Khan's speech, considered as the data of the study. The results gleaned through data analysis were presented in a structured manner, aligning with Van Dijk's Ideological Square Model. Excerpts from the text of the speech were shared to illustrate the speech at macro and micro levels. According to Hsieh and Shannon (2005) organized categorization method is used for featuring as well as identifying themes in any context of the text or talk.

The objective of the study was to analyze the text of Imran Khan's address to the 74th session of UNGA. In order to realize the objective of the study, Van Dijk's Ideological Square Model was used as a theoretical framework for data analysis. The data, the transcribed text of the speech, were analyzed and discussed at the textual level and socio-cognitive level.

#### 4.1 Quanatitative Analysis

Table 2. Frequency of Discursive Strategies in Imran Khan's 74th UNGA Address

Sr	Discursive Strategy	Frequency (n)	Percentage (%)
1	Actor Descrition	35	43
2	Authority (appeal to power)	25	28
3	Burden (assigning responsibility)	13	17
4	Macro Socio-Cognitive Strategies	09	12
	Total	82	100

# 4.1.1 Interpretation

The quantitative analysis provided the frequency of the terms used in the text. It can be seen that actor description (43%) reflects as the most frequently employed strategy, indicating Khan's effort to define key players in the global political arena. Authority appeals (28%) ranked second, suggesting a reliance on institutional legitimacy to support his claims. Burden strategies (17%) highlighted attribution of responsibility, particularly in matters of terrorism and global justice. Finally, macro socio-cognitive strategies (12.5%) were less frequent

but central in framing broader ideological dichotomies such as "us versus them."

# 4.2 Qualitative Analysis

# 4.2.1 Textual Analysis

The analysis of the speech, in terms of discursive practices, suggests that Imran Khan has divided the participants into two groups on the basis of his ideological position to defend his own narrative by utilizing various discursive strategies in his speech. These strategies are:

#### 4.2.2 Actor Description

Imran Khan, in his speech, has described multiple actors (out-group participants) negatively and supported in-group participants according to his ideological position. Out-group members are criticized, while in-group participants are positively illustrated. The Indian Prime Minister, his political party BJP, and the Hindu nationalist volunteer paramilitary organization RSS have been negatively described. Their treatment of the Muslim and Kashmiri communities has been criticized for illuminating their negative characteristics, which devalue their act of well-being and prosperity for minorities.

Mr. Modi is a "life member" of RSS

The hate ideology .... to butcher 2000 Muslims.

Arrogance .... PM Modi and BJP.

The way Kashmiris .... animals in homes. (Khan, 2019).

These extracts depict the negative ideologies associated with Prime Minister Narendra Modi and the Indian RSS. Only mentioning the contentions that happened with the minorities of India is a subjective discursive technique of negative other representation. These negative actor descriptions were employed to control the cognitive abilities of listeners worldwide.

# 4.2.3 Categorization

The discursive strategy of 'categorization' has been employed to categorize India and the Western world negatively on the basis of ideological group differentiation. India has been categorized as the nation that failed to provide security to minorities, and its prime minister has been labeled as the 'Butcher of Gujarat'. The Western world has been categorized as the silent supporter of brutal Indian acts of killing Muslims and causing complications in Indian-occupied Kashmir. Additionally, the Western world has been negatively illustrated as being proponents of Islamophobia.

#### 4.2.4 Comparison

Imran Khan has exploited Van Dijk's discursive strategy of comparing the in-group (us-Pakistan) with the out-group (them, India/the Western world) to represent Pakistan (us) positively, claiming to be innocent, and portraying other countries, particularly India, negatively. He clarifies Pakistan's standing over the Pulwama attacks and also on the issue of Kalboshan Yadav's terrorist activities in the area of Baluchistan. The discursive strategy of comparison has been employed while addressing the issue of Islamophobia. He has compared the in-group ideology of Muslims with the out-group ideology of the Western philosophy of radical Islam.

# 4.2.5 Consensus

The unity and agreement 'consensus' have been utilized as a discursive strategy. While addressing in-group participants (Pakistan, Muslims, and his government), Imran Khan has used the personal pronoun 'we.'

There is no God but Allah. We will FIGHT!

We have faced Islamophobia....

We retaliated. We captured their pilot.... (Khan, 2019).

The personal pronoun has also been executed to address the people sitting in the United Nations session, i.e., we could spend it on human development; we must address this. (Khan, 2019). In this sentence, 'we' refers to the people sitting in the UN session. Imran Khan has used the consensus strategy to urge the sitting members to grapple with challenges of climate change, money laundering, corruption, Kashmir, and Islamophobia together. He has used language expression to provoke the world communities to put forth their energies to resolve these worldwide common issues.

# 4.2.6 Counterfactual

The discursive strategy of 'counterfactual' has been implemented to validate his arguments by mentioning the counter situation by executing the 'If' strategy. How something could be different if the circumstances faced were different.

If we retrieve ... human development. (Khan, 2019).

Imran Khan has employed the discursive strategy of counterfactual to produce the narrative of retrieving the plundered money for the amelioration of poor countries.

If the poor .... crisis soon. (Khan, 2019).

Khan has operationalized the counterfactual strategy to make the world cognizant of the upcoming crisis. If the poor get poorer and the

rich get richer, the outcome would not be different, and the world is going to face another humanitarian crisis soon. A counterfactual strategy has been used to provoke the authorities of the different countries to formulate policies against money laundering and corruption, which are the root causes of the financial turbulence of the poor countries.

#### 4.2.7 Disclaimer

Imran Khan has used the discursive strategy of 'disclaimer' to positively support the issue of climate change being discussed by multiple leaders at the UN, but the denial of their narrative has been committed by using 'But' because they have not yet realized the acuteness of the problem. He says, "But I don't see world leaders really realizing the urgency of the situation." After highlighting the urgency of the situation, he positively presents his idea to tackle the issue as a face-saving act by stating that we have a lot of ideas, but as they say, ideas without funding are mere hallucination. (Khan, 2019). By using the discursive strategy of 'disclaimer', Khan has persuaded world leaders to address climate change on a priority basis due to the exigency of the circumstances.

#### 4.2.8 Evidentiality

In his speech, Imran Khan has manifested evidentiality as a discursive strategy to validate his arguments by providing evidence along with facts and figures to envision the negative characteristics of outgroup members.

We lost 70,000 ... war, 150 billion ... our economy.

We had actual proofs ... terrorist attack.

We even .... Kulbhushan Yadav.

locks up 8 million people?

100,000 Kashmiris .... women raped. (Khan, 2019).

The discursive strategy of evidentiality makes the arguments valid, credible, and substantiated. Providing facts and figures as evidence against the out-group participants supports his claims of Indian disruption against Pakistan and the minorities of India. It portrays the negative light against the outgroup (them) and positive self-image.

# 4.2.9 Example/Illustration

Throughout his speech, Khan emphasized the in-group positively by enhancing the credibility and validity of his claims by giving examples from real life. By giving an example, one may portray a positive self and a negative other image. Irrespective of providing unrealistic and unnecessary information, Imran Khan has utilized the discursive strategy of example and illustration to substantiate his statements. To combat Western Islamophobia, he has quoted Islamic examples from the Holy Quran and the life of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). He has highlighted the negative characteristics of the Western community by giving an example of the Western book ridiculing the Prophet and comparing Islamophobia with the Holocaust. To certify his claims of intervention in Baluchistan, he has explored the case study of the spy Kulbhushan Yadav, who has admitted his crimes. Khan has accentuated the negative illustration of the Western world as they managed the Muslim community after the 9/11 attack by giving a positive example of the fourth Caliph of Islam who lost the court case against a Jew.

The 4th caliph of Medina lost a court case against a Jewish citizen.

In Western society, the Holocaust is treated with sensitivity....

One of the reasons for Islamophobia..... maligning, ridiculing our Prophet (PBUH). (Khan, 2019).

In another example, he attempts to remove the apprehensions and misconceptions of Western countries about Islam argumentatively. He says:

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Muslim women...Hijab.... problem. I.... weapon. A woman can take off ...... cannot put more on?
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There is radical ..... justice.

I hear such strange things .... and minorities. The state of Medina .... of their skin. (Khan, 2019).

Imran Khan exposes the dual standards of the Western world. He holds that the hijab has become a problem for the West. He argues about how strange it seems that taking off clothes by women is accepted while putting on more clothes by them is a problem. This represents the unfair attitude of the Western world towards women. The speaker argues that Islamophobia has increased since 9/11. Muslims have been marginalized and termed radicals in Western countries generally and in America particularly. Suicide bombings have been associated with Muslims. He contends that no one blamed religions when the Tamil Tigers and Japanese kamikaze committed suicide attacks. He asks why Islam has been equated with suicide bombing. He asserts that there is no radicalism in Islam. There is only one Islam, i.e., the Islam of the Holy Prophet (PBUH). He wants to make the world realize that any society may have radical elements. On the basis of these radical elements, religion cannot be blamed because every religion preaches justice and sympathy. He has posed a strong argument against the misconception that Islam is against women and minorities. The speaker argues that Islam is the only religion that takes responsibility for women, widows, and the poor in the state of Medina. He further claims that it was Islam that held that all humans are equal, irrespective of color, caste, and creed.

# 4.2.10 Generalization

By utilizing the discursive strategy of 'generalization', Imran Khan has associated the negative out-group act of caging Kashmiris by enforcing curfew in the region. He generalizes the situation with the animals, as he said: "The way Kashmiris are caged like animals in homes." On the basis of the example of holding Pakistan responsible for the Pulwama attack, he extrapolates Kashmir's reaction in response to Article 370 with further radicalization. He hypothesizes, we fear another Pulwama incident. And for that, India will again blame Pakistan. (Khan, 2019).

# 4.2.11 Hyperbole

In the hyperbole technique of propaganda, the speaker overstates the achievements or wrong acts of his political adversary. The speaker may also overdo his good acts or achievements. In his speech, Imran Khan utilized the discursive strategy of 'hyperbole'/ exaggerated expressions to make the world aware of the seriousness and intensity of the tension with India. The use of the hyperbolic expression in his speech highlights the urgency of the issue to be tackled, and he provokes the Western world communities and the regional powers to resolve the Kashmir issues, or else it may lead to adverse consequences. He argues that the Indian government's wrong policies are leading the world towards a conventional war. He informs the world that the conventional war between two nuclear powers may turn into a nuclear war. He categorically says that he is not threatening the world; rather, he is informing them that the situation has become grim. He argues that the United Nations was created to resolve such disputes. Hence, Kashmir is a test case for it. It has itself given the right to self-determination to the people of Kashmir. It should intervene and resolve the issue of durable peace in South Asia.

I am not threatening here about a nuclear war; it is a worry....

*If a conventional war ..... anything could happen.* (Khan, 2019).

Another hyperbolic expression is used with the theme of climate change, where he exaggerated the information to provoke his audience to work urgently on the said issue.

80 percent of our water ...... a huge catastrophe. (Khan, 2019).

In the example taken from the speech, the speaker is emphasizing the achievement of his own government by stating that in KP they planted a billion trees in 5 years. Critics of the PTI government do not acknowledge that they planted numerous trees in their last tenure in KP as provincial government. So, it seems he has employed the hyperbole technique of propaganda here.

We planted .... in 5 years. Now .... 10 billion trees. (Khan, 2019).

#### 4.2.12 Metaphor

By operationalizing the discursive strategy of metaphor, a comparison has been made between things of different qualities without using 'like' and 'as'.

Materialism has triumphed over humanity. (Khan, 2019).

In this example, Khan has compared two different things, i.e., materialism and humanity, to awaken the Western world to the fact that they have overridden humanistic values for materialistic gain.

# 4.2.13 National Self-Glorification

Imran Khan has employed the national self-glorification discursive strategy to emphasize the portrayal of the in-group (us) positively by illuminating the achievements of his government in the province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. He has admired and glorified the projects launched by his government and taken credit for contributing in refining the climate.

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We planted ...... 10 billion trees. (Khan, 2019).
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While addressing the strained ties with India, he particularly concentrated on the good gestures posed by the Pakistani government after catching an Indian pilot who violated Pakistani airspace. By prioritizing national self-glorification, the speaker implicitly criticizes the out-group participants, holding them responsible for the escalation of the situation. He says;

We captured their pilot; .... the situation to escalate. (Khan, 2019).

#### 4.2.14 Norm Expression

The discursive strategy of 'norm expression' has been used to ask for guidelines to overcome the multiple issues: climate change, the Kashmir issue, Islamophobia, and the tension with India. By utilizing this expression, Khan urged the international community, particularly the USA, to mediate in the matter and make efforts to resolve the issues. While addressing the issue of Kashmir, he says:

This is the time .... self-determination! (Khan, 2019).

# 4.2.15 Number Game

By utilizing the discursive strategy of the 'number game', Imran Khan has made his claims substantiated, credible, and validated. His speech is full of numeric expressions of facts and figures: 5000 glaciers, 1.3 billion Muslims, since 9/11, 70,000 people, 150 billion dollars, butcher 2000 Muslims, 8 million people, Article 370, 100,000 Kashmiris, 900,000 troops, 500 terrorists, etc.

#### 4.2.16 Polarization

Imran Khan has employed the discursive strategy of 'polarization' to represent the ideologies of in-group participants (Us-Pakistan)

positively and out-group members (India and Western countries) negatively. He has used some personal pronouns like we, us, and ours to represent in-group participants in Pakistan and the Muslim community, but sometimes refers to the people sitting in the UN session.

We have a lot of ideas;

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we did not..... to escalate.
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We realized .... FATF blacklist....

Modi ...... travel to the US. (Khan, 2019).

# 4.2.17 Populism

The populism discursive strategy has been employed to share the feelings and emotions of the common people to maintain his popularity among a wide audience. He says,

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And my belief ...... We will FIGHT! (Khan, 2019).
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# 4.2.18 Presupposition

Imran Khan presupposes the outcome of the tense situations in Kashmir and the escalation between Pakistan and India by using the discursive strategy of presupposition on the basis of his ideological position towards the out-group participants. Khan anticipated his worries about the retaliation of the Kashmiris who have been besieged and whose autonomous status has been changed. He fears another Pulwama-type attack in response to the Indian subjugation, and following a similar pattern, Pakistan would be blamed again. He hypothesized a bloodbath and bombing by saying,

Pakistan will be blamed....

```
There .... another Pulwama incident......
```

they will ..... bomb us again.

I fear ..... a bloodbath. (Khan, 2019).

#### 4.2.19 Victimization

The discursive strategy of victimization has been used to portray the in-group (Pakistan and Muslims) as the victims of the out-group (India and the Western communities). During his speech, his language use depicts that Pakistan has been suffering from Indian violence and terrorism. Muslims in the world were the victims of Islamophobia after the 9/11 attacks. Minorities in India and Muslims in Kashmir are the victims of Indian policies.

```
"Try to bomb us again."
```

```
We lost 70,000 .... war, 150 .... our economy.
```

Islamophobia ...... it is alarming. (Khan, 2019).

While grappling with the issues of money laundering and corruption, he confronts how poor countries are becoming the victims of launderers, rich countries are getting richer, and poor countries are getting poorer. He provoked international organizations to pass sound legislation against money laundering. He called for action by the international organizations of the IMF, World Bank, and Asian Development Bank to devise strategies to eradicate corruption and money laundering in poor countries, which have already been raised to an alarming level. He says,

```
If the poor ...... to a major crisis. (Khan, 2019).
```

# 4.3 Socio-cognitive Analysis

According to Van Dijk (1997), context assumes a greater significance in the process of understanding a discourse. Imran Khan was aware of the oppressor, the oppressed, and the arbitrators. Therefore, he created related discourse, which left an impression on the minds of the audience. Mr. Khan greeted the members of

Van Dijk's (1995) concept of mental representation, in the socio-cognitive approach, articulates positive terms for one group(s) and negative terms for other group(s). Imran Khan has developed this two-dimensional cognition in the minds of the audience through the use of pronouns like "I, we, our, us" and "they, their, them." He portrayed in-group participants positively and out-group adherents negatively. In-group participants include his own political party, Pakistan, Pakistanis, Kashmiris, and Muslims while out-group members include his opponents, the Indian PM, Indians, RSS, and the Western world. In order to persuade the audience, he alludes to the good deeds of the in-group participants as well as the bad deeds of the out-group members.

Imran Khan, in his speech, has described multiple actors (out-group participants) negatively and supported in-group participants according to his ideological position. Out-group members are criticized, while in-group participants are positively illustrated. The Indian Prime Minister, his political party BJP, and the Hindu nationalist volunteer paramilitary organization RSS have been negatively described. Their treatment of the Muslim and Kashmiri communities has been criticized for illuminating their negative characteristics, which devalue their act of well-being and prosperity for minorities.

The speech also contained the traces of historical, social, and political backgrounds of the existing conflicts. He gives the background of a

social problem called poverty in developing countries. According to him, money laundering is the main reason for the miserable condition of people belonging to developing nations. *Every year billions of dollars...in Western capitals. It is devastating to the developing world* (Khan, 2019). In his speech he gives the historical background of the war against terror. "*We joined the war... they turned against us*" (Khan, 2019). While highlighting the political issue of Kashmir facing an inhuman curfew, he informed the world about the background of Mr. Modi, who is a life member of RSS. He also explains the history and ideology of RSS. The ideology of RSS is to create racial superiority of Hindus.

The text of Imran Khan's address possesses formal lexical choices and syntactic structures categorically emphasizing "us" and de-emphasizing "Them". Through the use of Van Dijk's critical approaches of socio-cognition analysis, the real-time problem has been represented. It has not only helped us to describe the phenomena but also provided a sense of contemplation and presuppositions about climate change, Indo-Pak relations, and Islamophobia.

#### 5. Conclusion

The results of the study revealed that, like other politicians, Imran Khan employed various discursive strategies in his speech delivered at the UNGA forum. He provided macrostructure and organization to his speech. Prime Minister Imran Khan has utilized multiple discursive strategies of actor description, populism, consensus, comparison, illustration/example, evidentiality, hyperbole, positive self-representation, national self-glorification, negative other representation, number game, polarization, counterfactual, disclaimer, presupposition, metaphor, norm expression, generalization, and victimization. These discursive strategies have been used to emphasize the negative features of the outgroup and the positive characteristics of the ingroup according to the differential made on the basis of associated social ideologies for the particular group. The current study has been delimited in different ways owing to restricted time and resources. Imran Khan has delivered a number of speeches at international forums, but for the present study, one of his speeches delivered at UNGA has been chosen as data. There are different critical discourse analysis approaches used for analyzing a piece of text. For the current study, only Van Dijk's Ideological Square Model has been used. Further research regarding the CDA of political speeches delivered by Pakistani or Muslim leaders at international forums is deemed necessary. Even Imran Khan's speeches made at world forums can be used as a corpus for a future in-depth investigation.

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#### Authors' contributions

Dr. Muhammad Mooneeb Ali conceptualized, organized and did the write-up of the study. He was involved in data collection and data analysis of qualitative and quantitative side with Dr Mahwish and Amir Saeed and Wael Alharbi who were managing the study research gap, literature review and quantitative area, formatting of the article and eliminating for grammatical mistakes along with Yasir Ahmed Ali.

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# Data sharing statement

No additional data are available.

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