

## **Critical Discourse Analysis of Tahir-ul-Qadri Dharna 2014 Speeches**

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### **ABSTRACT**

This study aims to explore and uncover power play in Dharna 2014 speeches of Tahir-ul-Qadri. The study has followed the theoretical perspective of power (Fairclough; 2003) in its two-dimensions i.e. power within discourse and power behind discourse. The research method applies thematic analysis and utilizes Fairclough's three dimensional model (1989) as data analyzing tool. Data is collected by using convenient sampling. All the speeches of Dharna 2014 which are available on the internet are analyzed by considering Textual, Discursive and Societal levels of discourse provided by Fairclough 3D Model. The study discusses power within discourse and power behind discourse by considering the mechanism of communication, mechanism of inculcation and universal acceptance. The findings established that discourses has the capacity to form and being formed by social practices. The key findings in case of power within discourse include that the speaker showed the use of 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 as a power on the rulers. The speakers explained in detail the unjust rule of the government by using differences linguistic tools like modal verbs, vocabulary, transitivity, interdiscourse etc. which are part of textual, discursive and societal levels of Fairclough three dimensional model (1989). Moreover, in case of power behind discourse, the key findings include the power of west constitution of Pakistan and Islam in the speakers' speeches. This research would enable common public of Pakistan to understand their leader in terms of the concept of power by comprehending the meaning that language conveys.

**Keywords:** *Critical Discourse Analysis, speeches, Power, West*

### **Introduction**

Political discourse is a sub-category of discourse in general. Political discourse is not only concerned with the political text structure but also with the political context as VanDijk(2006) describes that political actors are not only meant to speak in certain ways, rather "there is a need for cognitive collaboration between situations and talk are text that is a context"(Dijk, 2006; p.733).Hence ,acting as an MP, Prime Minister , a party leader is a party worker with a relevant context in his political discourse that is perceived by people. Furthermore, politics is mainly concerned with power either to make decisions, to undermine value of competitors or control people's behavior and minds in order to control ideologies and people's beliefs to win the race of Power. According to Bayram (2010), it is a struggle for power in command to put some administrative, financial and societal ideas into exercise. In this course, language plays a vital role, for every political act is prepared, attended, subjective and frolicked by language. It is a single most important of the dynamic tools that representatives use in order to form the political views of the voters with the goal of marketing their thoughts to them.

Chimbarange, Takavarasha & Kombe (2014), are of the opinion that the key purpose of politicians is to encourage their spectators of the rationality of their political rights. The following political effect flows from the service of resources that form the beliefs and behavior of others. The above suggests that representatives take pains to prove the electorates to change their political philosophies and hold on to theirs.

Hence, this study investigates how language functions effectively as a source of power. This current study, therefore, rise from the requirement to critically analyze the language used in a political speeches of Dharna 2014 in Pakistan by Imran Khan. This work will show how language creates and sustains power relations and conceptual constructions of society inside the context of CDA. Imran Khan emerged as one of the most popular leader after the election of 2013 and he is also the leader of opposition, on the other hand. Dharna 2014 itself played a vital role in the history of Pakistan. Hence, it is very important to analyze every possible aspect of the event.

### **Aim of the Research**

- To explore implicit/explicit power show in the speeches of Imran Khan's Dharna 2014 speeches.

### **Objectives of the Research**

- To find out display of power at textual, discursive and societal levels of the selected politician.

### **Research Questions**

Q.1 How power is displayed at textual, discursive and societal levels of the selected politician?

- a) How power is displayed and practiced at textual level in terms of development of cohesion; Grammar (Transitivity; Modality), lexical items and pronoun?
- b) How power is displayed and practiced at discursive level in terms of interdiscursivity and intertextuality?
- c) How does display of the power is represented at societal level in terms of order of discourse?

### **Literature Review**

#### **Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)**

In order to study how language exercises its power in a society, we do critical discourse analysis which is a kind of discourse analysis. However, there is no direct relation between power and critical discourse analysis but it is a theoretical arena which is concerned with the methods of how discourse structures occur together and reproduce the relation between power and dominance in a society (Van Dijk, 2001). CDA mainly deals with discourse and the people of the society. We 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 drawn by critical theory. Dijk (2009) describes that CDA reveals the discursive sources are maintained and reproduced within special social, political and

historical context. Furthermore, 'C' in CDA stands for the critical study of hidden connections and causes between language, power and ideology. It is the explanation of the ways in which unequal power relations are produced and naturalized in the 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 analyze discourse and it is because of it the people can produce discourse (Savitri Gadavani, 2002).

As the term suggests, Critical Discourse Analysis is the analysis of discourse in a critical way. The term critical is of high importance. According to Richardson (1987), the word critical is important because to read innocently, non-analytically, is to be manipulated and mystified (p. 147). Being critical is not always synonymous with being negative. According to Kendall (2007) the term critical means that —through the procedures, creating dense arrangements of power relations and ideology manifest. VanDijk (2001) summarized the aims of CDA as follows:

- a) CDA points out issues related to society and politics.
- b) It not only tells us the structure of discourse but analyzes discourse in the form of power.
- c) CDA and DA interpret discourse differently.
- d) CDA tells us how discourse structure affects the society. That is why we used CDA's framework to analyze the speeches in this research.

### **Fairclough Three Dimensional Model**

Fairclough (1989), presented a three dimensional model of CDA in his work "Language and Power" which was published in 1989. This model is supposed to be an interdisciplinary approach to the study of discourse, for it views 'language as a form of social practice' (Fairclough 1989: 20) and focuses on the ways social and political dominance is exercised in discourse by 'text and talk'. Moreover, the threedimensional model highlights processes of the production and reception of a 'discourse fragment' in a particular context. According to his three-dimensional model, 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 production and reception of a 'text' in a particular 'context'. The context is '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.

### **Related Studies**

Al-Haq & Al-Selibi (2015) conducted a study in which they studied three speeches of Iranian Prime minister to find out the relation between discourse and power. At the first level, the three speeches were investigated, coaching with the main principles of Critical Discourse Analysis (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. As for the findings, the study finds out that King Abdullah uses these strategies which are actually power in his discourse, in terms of employing them to deliver his messages. He uses the creative expressions to show the reality as it is, i.e., the bad image of the current state of affair and the potential good image of the future, which is the use of power in his discourse.

Negum(2014) 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. He took the discursive practices into consideration. Whereas in the present study Discourse which is selected is political as well as textual, discursive and social practices of 3D model is taken into consideration.

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

### **Methodology**

In order to find out power within the discourse and power behind the discourse of the two selected speakers of Dharna 2014, the researcher has done qualitative research. The resource for the study is the speeches of Dharna 2014 of Tahir-ul-Qadri which are available on the internet i.e. Google, YouTube and Dailymotion of Dharna 2014 which are selected on the basis of Convenience Sampling because all the speeches of Dharna 2014 are not available on internet. Data is analyzed by using thematic analysis. Thematic analysis is the process of identifying patterns or themes within qualitative data. Braun & Clarke (2006) suggests as thematic analysis is the first qualitative method that should be learned as ‘...it provides core skills that will be useful for conducting many other kinds of analysis’ (p.78).

In case of knowledge thematic analysis has another positive point that it is a method not a methodology (Braun & Clarke 2006; Clarke & Braun, 2013). The process of data analysis can occur in two primary ways—inductively or deductively. In an inductive approach, the themes identified are strongly linked to the data because assumptions are data-driven. It is important to note that throughout this inductive process, it is not possible for the researchers to free themselves from their theoretical epistemological responsibilities. Deductive approaches, on the other hand, are theory-driven. This form of analysis tends to be less descriptive overall because analysis is limited to the preconceived frames. The

result tends to focus on one or two specific aspects of the data that were determined prior to data analysis.

#### Data Analysis: Analysis of Tahir-ul-Qadri's Speeches

In this chapter, Tahir-ul-Qadri speeches of Dharna 2014 are analyzed by using Fairclough three dimensional model in order to show the power play at textual, discursive and societal levels by the speaker.

### Textual Analysis

#### Cohesion

**Table 1**

*Abstract taken from Tahir-ul-Qadri's speech for the analysis of cohesion*

<b>Sr. No</b>	<b>Extract in Urdu</b>	<b>English Translation</b>
1.	'Ghair ayeini, ghair qanooni aur ghair jamori'	Non-constitutional, illegal and non- democratic
2.	'Mein tma Alah ka wasta data hun, Allah ka rasool ka wasta data hun, tomb of khaza ka wasta data hun, kabah ka siyaah khilaaf ka wasta data hun aur gara hira ma tajdare qainaat jo ghareeb umat k liye roty thy un k aanson ka waste'	I am giving you reference of Allah, reference of his Prophet, tomb of Khaza's reference, the reference of black cloth of Kabah and the people who cry in the cave of Hira for their poor followers their tears reference.

As shown in Table 1, Tahir-ul-Qadri has used anaphora, epiphora and conjunction to unite the sentences. Each of these cohesion devices served different purpose. In the first example, the speaker has used anaphoric reference by using 'non' again and again to stress his point that the prime minister has become prime minister against the rule, against the law and against the democracy. This also shows explicit display of power by the speaker.

In the second example of Table 5.1, the speaker has not used any conjunction while joining the first three clauses of the extract to maintain the flow of the speech but he used 'and' to connect the last clause to the previous clauses in order to stop the continuous flow of the speech.

**Table 2**

*Abstract taken from Tahir-ul-Qadri's speech for the analysis of cohesion*

Sr. No.	Extract in Urdu	English Translation
1.	(Kuch insan hon aka nahata,kuch muslaman hon aka nata,kuch Pakistani hone k nate,kuch sharam or hyah or kuch lehaz or kuch iklaq kr lu	Being a human, being a Muslim, being a Pakistani, have some shame, some respect, some ethics
2.	Yeah hain ap k ayen?yeah he ap ka qanoon?yeah he aap ki jamoreyat?	These are your rules? These are your laws? This is your democracy

As shown in Table 2, example 1, the speaker has used anaphora to connect the clauses by using the word 'being' repetitively, 'being humans, being Muslims, being Pakistani' then he used another anaphoric reference in the form of 'some' 'some sharm, some lehaz and some ikalaq' this shows the expressive way of the speaker to make his point by adding additional point to his main point and connected the last anaphoric reference to the previous references by using conjunction 'and'.

Example 2 in Table 2, the speaker used series of questions in a taunting way by using anaphoric reference in the form of 'these are' or 'question form'. In the next example, Tahir-ul-Qadri used English language and used anaphoric reference by asking a series of question from the rulers by saying where are human rights and human organizations, upholders of law, people who talk of supremacy of constitution, of parliament by repeating the question form in order to maintain his flow of speech by showing explicit display of power with making his point of view clear i.e. the negative image of the rulers. 'Where are human rights? Where are human organizations? Where are upholders of law? Where are the people who talk of supremacy of constitutions? Where are the people who talk of supremacy of parliament? Where are the people in the world who talk of non-detail democracy? Where are the people who talk of political electoral mandate? (Appendix 8e)

**Table 3**

*Abstract taken from Tahir-ul-Qadri's speech for the analysis of cohesion*

Sr. No.	Extracts in Urdu	English Translation
1.	'Es jamhoori revolution ko green revolution ko peaceful revolution ko es democratic revolution ko'	This democratic revolution, green revolution, peaceful revolution, democratic revolution
2.	'Turkey ka constitution dako,iran ka constitution deko, ap ksi bhi bartaina ka mulk ka constitution dako , UK ka constitution dakho, America ka constitution dko'	see constitution of Turkey, constitution of Iran, any European country's constitution, Britain's constitution, American constitution

As shown in Table 3, the speaker used epiphoric reference by using word 'revolution' in order to connect his sentences by using democratic revolution two times first in Urdu and then in English shows that the speaker in taking all the language into consideration in order to show that he knows both the languages. In this example, the speaker has used epiphora by using 'constitution' again and again in order to stress his point of seeing constitution of other countries. This also shows implicit display of power.

### **Pronoun**

Tahir-ul-Qadri used pronoun 'I', 'them', 'yours' in his speeches for example 'Mein ya waza krna chata hun k un ka nazdeek jamoriyat ha kia aur haqiqi jamoriyat ha kia' (I want to clear this that what democracy is to them and what true democracy is) here the speaker used pronoun 'I' for himself to narrow down the focus of the audience and by saying 'I want to clear this' reflects his dominance over rulers and his ability to clear the concept of democracy to the rulers. The speaker used pronoun 'them' for the rulers. He used pronoun 'I' again in many instances for example, 'Mein batana chata hun k jamoriyat kia ha' (I want to tell what is democracy), here the speaker used 'I' to make clear that he is there to clear the concept of democracy, this shows the dominant nature of the speaker that he is the one who is going to clear the concept of democracy to them by explicitly displaying his power play. The speaker used pronoun 'I' again in the example 'Mein tmri jamoreyat ka chahra tma dekhana chata hun' (I want to show the face of your democracy to you) the speaker used pronoun 'I' to show his power, explicitly to the rulers and in a taunting way he ask them that he wants to show them their democracy in order to make their concept of democracy clear so that they stop saying their democracy real democracy. Similarly, 'Men batana yeah chata hun k jhut ki koi had nahi hoti' (I want to say that there is no limit of lying) he used pronoun 'I' to tell his intention that he wants to tell the audience that there is no limit of lying which shows the negative image of the rulers because speaker is indirectly talking about the rulers. In another extract, 'Tmri dilchaspeyan apny karobar k un hisson se jis sa tmari taqat saltanat pe haqoomat karey' (Your interest is in those parts of your business in which your power ruler over your kingdom) the speaker talk to the rulers but through his speech which is an indirect way of talking. This also shows implicit display of power. Here he used 'yours' for the rulers to show that they are interested in their own benefits and maintain their power in their kingdom, which throws negative light on the rulers. The speaker used 'you' for the rulers in the example 'Ap kahta hain k hm jamorayta k sath kara hain' (You say you are with democracy) in order to question them in a sarcastic way that how they say they are with democracy. The speaker used pronoun 'I' again 'Mein ena kushkudion sa bachana ia hun mein ena haram mott sa bachana ia hun' (I am here to save them for suicides and prohibited death) to show his goal and his power that he is the one who can save the people from suicide and prohibited deaths.

### **Modality**

The speaker has used modal verbs in his speech in order to show his degree of affinity in some extracts in a subjective manner and in others in objective manner. In the example 'Jamoreyat ka khelaf koi ektadam barshan nai kia jain ga' (Nothing

will be tolerated against the democracy) here the modal verb 'will' shows the modality and degree of affinity that this will not be tolerated but in an objective manner as the subject is not specified. This shows an implicit display of power. In another extract, 'Ink haqook de diya jain, zlm khatam hu jai' (they should be given their rights, cruelty must be finished) this shows the stress the speaker has made on his point that 'they should be given the rights' here 'they' is used for the poor people and 'should' shows that it has to be. In another example, 'Ap ka jazba aur us ki waja s ahma agli manzalon ma b kameyabi huge' (because of your enthusiasm we will have success in the next stages) here the speaker showed the degree of affinity that he is sure that because of the enthusiasm of the people, they will have successful afterwards.

### **Vocabulary**

Tahir-ul-Qadri has used words like 'Curse' for the rulers as provided in the example 'su bar lanat ha tmri es jamoreyat par' (Have hundred times curse), the speaker used this insulting term for the rulers to portray negative image of the rulers. Other negative terms used for the rulers are 'cruel leaders' as mentioned in the example, 'Zalimo kudha k alia es Nezam ko jamoreyat na kayo' (Cruel people for God sake do not say the present system as democracy). Here, the speaker used word 'cruel' for the rulers to accept the support of the audience. In the next example he used two words 'nation' and 'respect' together to show the seriousness of the situation 'Tum es qoam ki izatain becha k roti kahana wala bna aur pori qoam ko begarat bna rhy hu' (you sold the nation's respect for your own benefits and you are making the whole nation shameless). The term 'shameless' generate negative image of the rulers. The speaker used terms according to the situation in which he showed his support to the people who are powerless in order to have power which he in return exhibits on the rulers by giving them threats. In another example, he used words like 'war' 'poor people', 'Hamari jang gareebon k lia ha' in show the seriousness of the situation of the poor people. The word 'war' exhibit speaker's intentions which is indirectly reflecting power on the rulers. In another place, the speaker used 'caretakers', 'Is mulq ki hefazat krna wala idaro en gareebon ki suno' which is a positive term but the speaker used this term in a taunting way for the rulers. The speaker used pronoun (our war is for the poor people) for gaining the support of the audience especially the poor people 'Hamari jang gareebon k lia ha'. In order to invoke anger among the audience he used the term 'slave' for the 'law' of the country to show that the whole system is corrupted due to the leaders so ultimately the audience is left with the speaker to trust for justice 'Ayein e Pakistan ko gulam bna dea ha'. In the next example the speaker used an insulting phrase to show the authenticity of point by saying (that person is not born who disagree to me) Aur ksi maa na asa beta janna nai ha jo meri baat ko raddah kra Gullo butt ha kuch insanyat honi chahiya (They are 'gullo butt' they must have some humanity) here the term 'gullo butt' is used to show the unhuman nature or barbaric nature of the rulers. This term reflects violence as well which is done by the rulers. 'So called parliament k ijlas men' (In the meeting of so-called parliament) Here the speaker shows his unacceptance of the parliament of the country with lexical item 'so-called' and he is inculcating his mind set in the people by showing them the cruelty of the rulers as mentioned 'Tageen ka d gie gareebon ki' (the legs of poor people were cut) and 'Ger musallah, un armed, nahtte



masoom logon k sath yeah salok'. He showed the powerlessness of the people to whom these cruel rulers behaved in this way.

### Transitivity

**Table 4**

*Abstract taken from Tahir-ul-Qadri's speech for the analysis of transitivity*

Sr. No	Extracts in Urdu	English Translation
1.	<i>Mein batana chata hun ap ko k jamoriyat kia ha</i>	I want to tell you what democracy is.
2.	<i>Tum es ko jamoreyat kahat hu \</i>	You call it democracy
3.	<i>Ayein ka dushman thaw aur hain</i>	They were the enemies of constitution and still are

As shown in the Table 4, the doer of the material process is 'I' who is doing an action, 'want to tell you shows the process of doing and the goal is 'democracy'. The speaker here is showing his dominance and power to the rulers by saying he is there to clear the idea of democracy to them. In the next example, the actor is 'you' which is used for the rulers and the process of doing is 'call it' whereas the goal is 'democracy'. The speaker calls the rulers in a sarcastic manner to show the wrong concepts of the rulers to themselves. In the next example, the actor is 'they' which is used for the rulers and the material process is showed by 'enemies' whereas the goal is 'law'. The speaker used them, the rulers, as the enemies of the law to show that the rules are not just to their nation rather they are the enemies of their own law.

### Discursive Practices

#### Interdiscourse of TQ

**Table 5**

*Abstract taken from Tahir-ul-Qadri's speech for the analysis of interdiscourse*

Sr.No	Extract in Urdu	English Translation
1.	<i>Aur islam ki jumoriyat samji qadar.....'</i>	And if you want to understand the meaning of democracy then recall the time of Hazrat Umer in which the leader was answerable to his people even for an additional piece of cloth. Hazrat Umer gave answer to this question by saying his son to tell them that he shared his cloth with his father.

As shown in Table 5, the speaker brought the discourse of Islam into the political discourse. By narrating the story, he tells the audience that how in Islam anyone could ask their leader of how they had two pieces of clothes to which Hazrat Umar asked his son to tell him that he shared his piece of cloth with his father. The discourse brought into is innovative in the way the speaker indirectly started the discourse of Islam and brought it into his political discourse. He brought this

discourse in order to support his explanation of the rulers' attitude towards their nation to reflect negative image of the rulers.

**Table 6**

*Abstract taken from Tahir-ul-Qadri's speech for the analysis of interdiscourse*

Sr.No	Extract in Urdu	English Translation
1.	“jab match hota ha toh waha betha huwy logo k ilwa ghr betha log bhi is match ko dekhnty ha jo nai ja skta ghr bethy dua bob hi log ha un k hat duaao .....”	During a match, not just the people in ground watch it, but those in homes also watch it and pray for their respective teams

As shown in Table 6, the speaker brought the discourse of sports in the political discourse to clear the idea of how people who are outside their country Pakistan are supporting their set-in by calling out loud ‘go Nawaz go’. The rhetorical mode of description is used by the speaker to show the vivid picture of the circumstances. By bringing the discourse of sports in his speech, the speaker used an innovative way to convey his idea.

**Table 7**

*Abstract taken from Tahir-ul-Qadri's speech for the analysis of interdiscourse*

Sr.No	Extract in Urdu	English Translation
1.	“Allah ko jawab dewna he sab ne”	Everyone is answerable to Allah

As shown in Table.7,the speaker has brought the discourse of Islam in his political discourse by using descriptive mode of discourse he is portraying power on the rulers and getting the support of the audience as well. He brought this discourse in his speech by supporting his view of unjust system of the country and unequal treatment of the rulers to their people. He innovatively used discourse of Islam in his political discourse in order to reflect dominance of the unjust rulers.

**Table 8**

*Abstract taken from Tahir-ul-Qadri's speech for the analysis of interdiscourse*

Sr.No	Extract in Urdu	English Translation
1.	“An bartaniyaan ki London ki jang k column ma.....” ...”	In the column of Jang newspaper in London, a column is published which states that PMLN gave task to a person to get the detail of all the property on my name(Tahir-ul-qadri) and his sons name. When he reported that there is nothing on my name except a house then they did not pay the fee to that person.

As shown in Table 8, the speaker brought the discourse of newspaper into the discourse of political speech by mentioning one of the column from London newspaper. The discourse he uses is demarcated and he used it to convey the ideational meaning of the discourse in order to support his positive image in front

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of the audience. He shares the information given in that column with the audience in a sincere manner and told them that according to that column PMLN hired a person in order to investigate my property and my children's property but they didn't pay him his fees when they heard that the speaker has no property except one house. The speaker brought this discourse in his speech in order to show his loyalty and sincerity to the audience.

### Intertextuality

**Table 9**

*Abstract taken from Tahir-ul-Qadri's speech for the analysis of intertextuality*

Sr.No	Extract in urdu	English Translation
1.	'phala sabaq h ayein ka 'where is the principle of democracy.....' ( a long paragraph main parts are spoken in English.)	The first lesson of constitution is...

As shown in Table 9, the speaker has brought the text of Law into the political discourse to make his point authentic. He brought this text in his speech directly in order to answer the rulers with facts mentioning in the laws of the country. He first tells the law by clearly demarcating the statement and linked it with the prior texts of the articles present in the country. He then translates these laws into his voice and present his own discourse. By using negative sentences like 'they say we won't work against law whereas according to law all people of the country should have freedom and equality, so the speaker asks them where is this democracy and the sentence 'to throw them out' shows negative or insulting sentence for the rulers. The speaker then similarly tells the law mentioned in the text of article 63 that whosoever took loan from the bank should return it within a year but the speaker presuppose that the rulers unfollow all the rules mentioned in the law and thus used negative sentences for the rulers 'they unfollow 75% of the laws and still sitting in the assemblies'. The speaker then presuppose that the rulers have taken loan of millions of rupees and haven't returned them yet by saying 'arbon ka qarza lia jo 30 saal ka thaw'.

**Table 10**

*Abstract taken from Tahir-ul-Qadri's speech for the analysis of intertextuality*

Sr.No	Extract in Urdu	English Translation
1.	"Nelson Mendala na kaha thaw gurbat karat sa khtam nahi hoti gurbat insaaf sa khatam hoti ha"	Nelson Mandela once said poverty is finished by justice not by alms.

As shown in Table 10, the speaker has brought another text into his political discourse because of its ideational meaning. He explicitly states the other text that according to Nelson Mandala poverty is finished by justice not by giving money to them. The speaker presupposes that in any country of the world the government does not behave in such a way as the government of Pakistan does to their people. The speaker uses negative sentence for the rulers by saying 'you have forced people to be beggars'. This text is brought into the speech by the speaker in order to invoke the anger of the audience and inculcate the point of view of the speaker in their minds. The speaker linked this other text to his previous speeches by

saying “the developing countries do not do this with their people like you do’ thus portray negative image of the rulers.

### **Societal Level**

#### **Order of discourse**

**Table 11**

*Abstract taken from Tahir-ul-Qadri’s speech for the analysis of order of discourse*

<b>Sr.No</b>	<b>Extract in Urdu</b>	<b>English Translation</b>
1.	Ayein a bartaineya ki London ki jang ka coloum me jo news chapi ha .....	In the column of Jang newspaper in London, a column is published which states that PMLN gave task to a person to get the detail of all the property on my name(Tahir-ul-qadri) and his sons name. When he reported that there is nothing on my name except a house then they did not pay the fee to that person.

As shown in Table 11, speaker has first used the discourse of newspaper to give reference of the column mentioned in the London’s newspaper then he used the discourse of explanation in which he refers to himself that he is going to tell the crux of the column. Then, the speaker used discourse of the rulers in which he mentioned that the people of PMLN gave task to a person in order to give information about the speaker regarding the properties named on his name or family members. Thus, here the speaker used many discourses to make his point, all these discourses are called as the order of discourse or layers of the discourse which he used to reflect positive light on himself by showing himself as a just leader who has nothing on his name. This is also used to display power by in an implicit way.

**Table No. 12**

*Abstract taken from Tahir-ul-Qadri’s speech for the analysis of orer of discourse*

<b>Sr.No</b>	<b>Extract in Urdu</b>	<b>English Translation</b>
1.	Hockey k match me india ko 2 1 se hara kr .....	After defeating India in hockey with 2-1, people protested with ‘Go Nawaz Go’.Arif lohara was doing concert in barcelona, people started with ‘Go Nawaz go’ still they say this set-in is of some thousand people. if it is true then why are they hiding from the people.

As shown in Table 12, the speaker first used the discourse of sport by mentioned the defeat of India in hickey match. Then, he mentions discourse of music in which he mentioned the concert of Arif Lohar. After that the speaker mentioned the discourse of the rulers in a complaining way that after all this still the rulers say this set-in is of some thousand people. Then, the speaker uses the inquiring discourse by asking a question from the rulers that if they think like this then why they are hiding form the people. Here the speaker is displaying power in an implicit way.

### Conclusion

Tahir-ul-Qadri in his speeches stresses upon “Western law system”. The reason behind its normalization in the text is the power of west who is dominated over the world because of its modern and advanced technologies. This hidden power of west mentally imperializes the East to accept her dominance and necessity to follow her law system in order to be called as learned and innovative. Hence, speaker normalizes the discourse of Western law system and contributes to reproduction of power of west over East. Another content chosen by the speaker is “Islamic History”, as he himself mentions that he is giving education of Quran and Sunnah from thirty three years to the people of Pakistan as well as his followers follow him because of Islamic teachings and examples of leaders of Islam so as a mechanism of communication he gives them example first as of “Hazrat Fatima (RA)”, “Hazrat ABU Bakar (RA)”, “Hazrat Musa (AS)” to make his arguments more authentic. As well as, Islam is also the religion of majority of the population of Pakistan so it makes his point more convincing. The hidden power of religion mentally imperializes the people to accept that the rulers these days are not the rulers of Islam or were there in the history of Islam. Another content chosen by the speaker is “Rules mention in constitution of Pakistan”. The reason behind its normalization in the text is because he wants people to know the real constitution of the country and he also want to give evidence that whatever he is saying against the rulers is based on facts and figures and not because of politics for the sake of politics. Tahir-ul-Qadri likes to clear all the concepts of his people and give them facts and figures and then say what he wants to say to get “Universal acceptance” i.e. He is right for his demands in this Dharna. He takes out western concepts and Islamic concepts to convenience all the people who follow west or Islamic history that he is right and whatever he is doing is justified. It looks like he is impressed by the western system, Islamic history and follows constitution Of Pakistan. As it is also the findings of Kaur (2016) that different symbols, representing religious history are used in the discourse which work as a power behind discourse.

Another concept mentioned by him is violence. “Gullo Butt” which is symbol of violence considered in west is not considered as violence here. Here the concept of power lies in the fact that he is pointing out the concept of violence given by west which shows that he is following western concepts and is impressed by their system of government. The speaker used power in his utterances to show the common people the negative side of the rulers by comparing it with the western countries

The study showed number of instances where display of power is shown by the speakers at textual, discursive and societal levels. In comparison, the researcher showed that how both the speakers vary in terms of display of power at textual, discursive and societal levels. The key findings include that the speakers showed the use of pronoun ‘I’ in order to show their power and by using the pronoun ‘we’ they gained the support of the audience in order to win their hearts and reflect this as a power on the rulers. Both the speakers explained in detail the unjust rule of the government by using differences linguistic tools like modal verbs, vocabulary, transitivity, interdiscourse etc.

The study also showed the display of power at the discursive and societal levels by both the speakers which is power behind discourse. In this the power of west and

Islam is reflected in both the speakers speeches but the power of Islam and West is more dominant in the speeches of Tahir-ul-Qadri then Imran Khan. Whereas the use of 'will', 'I' and 'My' is more dominant in the speeches of Imran Khan. Thus, it is concluded that both the leaders displayed power implicitly/explicitly in their speeches.

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