

# Political Pledges, Power, and Pathos: A Critical Analysis of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf Anthem 2024

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## Abstract

This paper presents a comprehensive critical discourse analysis of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf 2024 election anthem to deconstruct the political pledges (narrative), power dynamics, and pathos in it. By applying Norman Fairclough's model of critical discourse analysis (CDA), the study dissects the anthem's intricate rhetorical strategies, emphasizing the confluence of political promises, power dynamics, and emotional appeals (pathos). The textual analysis uncovers the deliberate use of evocative language, potent metaphors, and strategic repetition to craft a compelling narrative of resistance and empowerment. The exploration of discursive practices reveals the anthem's intertextual connections, authorial intent, and its resonant impact on audience reception, illustrating how it fosters a sense of solidarity and mobilizes political support. Additionally, the social practice analysis examines the ideological underpinnings, power structures, and the anthem's role in shaping public discourse, highlighting the centrality of pathos in engaging and motivating the electorate. It further finds that the anthem establishes a clear dichotomy between the righteous "us" (PTI and its supporters) and the corrupt "them" (the current government and establishment). The anthem's emotional appeals are key to legitimizing PTI's political actions and consolidating power. This study concludes that while PTI's election anthem is effective in rallying a loyal voter base, the dichotomy also contributes to political polarization and societal division, highlighting the complex interplay between rhetoric, identity, and electoral strategy in contemporary politics. The findings offer valuable insights into the complex interplay between political rhetoric, authority, and emotional resonance in the context of electoral campaigns.

**Keywords:** Critical Discourse Analysis, language and politics, language and power, pathos, Tehreek-e-Insaf anthem

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## Introduction

Political anthems serve as vital instruments for political parties, articulating their core values, aspirations, and ideologies to the electorate. In Pakistan, where political dialogue is deeply intertwined with cultural identity and collective sentiment, the 2024 election anthem of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) stands out as a noteworthy case for analysis. This study seeks to explore the rhetorical strategies employed in PTI's anthem, examining how these strategies articulate political pledges and navigate intricate power dynamics. By applying Norman Fairclough's model of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), we aim to uncover the specific ways language is utilized to mobilize political support.

At the heart of PTI's 2024 election anthem are several rhetorical devices meticulously crafted to resonate with the electorate. The anthem employs repetition to emphasize central messages of hope and renewal (Kennedy, 1968). For example, phrases such as "Vote hisaab karye ga sub vote hi badla liye ga ab" and "Every vote will be counted; every vote will bring change" serve to reinforce the importance of individual votes in driving societal transformation. Linguistic features encompass a wide array of elements, including phonetics, morphology, syntax, semantics, and pragmatics. These features are essential for constructing meaning, structure, and style in communication. Understanding these elements is crucial for effective discourse, as they shape both interpretation and expression in various contexts. Discourse analysis, in turn, examines larger units of language—such as conversations and texts—to understand how coherence and context influence meaning.

Rhetorical appeals play a significant role in enhancing the persuasiveness of political messaging. Four key strategies are identified: Logos, Ethos, Pathos, and Kairos. Logos appeals to reason and logic, relying on clear, fact-based messaging. Ethos establishes the speaker's credibility, showcasing their expertise and integrity. Pathos engages the audience's emotions through compelling language and storytelling, while Kairos underscores the significance of timing in making persuasive arguments. An excellent illustration of pathos can be found in Martin Luther King Jr.'s "I Have a Dream" speech, which uses vivid imagery to evoke empathy and motivate action against racial injustice.

Political pledges, the commitments made by a political party to its constituents, outline intentions for governance and policy reforms. These pledges are often

framed to address societal issues and resonate with public aspirations. Laclau and Mouffe (1985) propose that political pledges can serve as "empty signifiers," mobilizing support by appealing to shared values and collective identities. In this framework, power in political anthems refers to a party's capacity to influence and mobilize the electorate, which can be examined through the lenses of authority, legitimacy, and representation. As Foucault (1980) argues, power is not merely repressive; it is also productive, shaping identities and social relationships. Language holds central value to exercise power and inculcate political ideologies and identities among the masses. Gramsci (2011) argues that language is a key tool of cultural hegemony, reflecting and reinforcing the power dynamics of society. He emphasizes that dominant groups use language to shape consent and control, making it a central element in the struggle for ideological and cultural leadership.

The concept of pathos, as articulated by Aristotle in "On Rhetoric," emphasizes the importance of evoking emotions to persuade an audience. In a political context, leaders effectively garner support by highlighting the struggles of marginalized groups, motivating listeners to engage in social justice efforts. This analysis focuses on the interplay between language, power, and emotional appeal within PTI's anthem. By exploring how the anthem employs evocative language, metaphors, and repetition, it can be uncovered a compelling narrative that encourages solidarity among supporters and positions PTI as a champion of justice and reform.

Moreover, this research will investigate the anthem's role in shaping public perceptions of political authority and legitimacy. By establishing a clear distinction between the "righteous us" (PTI and its supporters) and the "corrupt them" (the current government and establishment), the anthem cultivates a sense of unity and purpose among its audience. This narrative not only bolsters PTI's image but also legitimizes its political actions and solidifies its support base. A thorough analysis of the political pledges, linguistic features, and emotional appeals within PTI's 2024 election anthem will yield valuable insights into its effectiveness as a tool for political discourse in Pakistan, underscoring the anthem's role in influencing public perception and galvanizing support for PTI's agenda.

## **Review of the Literature**

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

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) emerged in the early 1990s, developed by scholars such as Theo van Leeuwen, Gunther Kress, Teun van Dijk, and Norman Fairclough (Wodak & Meyer, 2001). CDA distinguishes itself from other discourse analysis methodologies by focusing on the interplay between language, social structures, ideologies, and power dynamics. CDA is applicable across various fields, including history, law, business, and politics, allowing professionals to investigate social issues relevant to their domains (Bloor & Bloor, 2007). CDA emphasizes the role of discourse in producing and reproducing power, domination, and social inequalities. As van Dijk (2001) notes, CDA investigates how language contributes to these power structures. While DA encompasses various approaches to studying discourse across different contexts (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002), CDA specifically seeks to explain the mechanisms behind discourse and its societal implications (Rogers, 2004).

Discourse analysis investigates how language is utilized by speakers and writers to convey information, focusing on utterances and their sequences to create cohesive and coherent discourse. It encompasses both the scientific study of language use and the contextual factors that influence interpretation (Brown & Yule, 1983). Discourse, as defined by Halliday (1985), represents a total communicative event that includes context and interpretative principles. Discourse analysis examines how language functions in communication, enabling speakers and writers to express topics, presuppositions, and information structures. These elements help audiences make references and inferences (Brown & Yule, 1983). According to Coulthard (1977), sentences form texts through grammatical cohesion, while utterances combine to create discourse through coherence. This relationship is essential for meaning-making, as texts consist of interdependent sentences that rely on each other for effective communication of power as they manifest in language. CDA does not adhere to a singular methodology but borrows methods from various disciplines, including anthropology, sociology, and cognitive psychology (Bloor & Bloor, 2007). The choice of methods depends on the research question and the analyst's disciplinary background (Fairclough, 1989). Norman Fairclough focuses on the relationship between discourse and social change, emphasizing the need to understand how texts shape and are shaped by social practices. Teun van Dijk concentrates on the structures of discourse and their social contexts, exploring how ideologies are enacted through language. Ruth Wodak develops a historical perspective, examining how discursive practices contribute to social identity and power dynamics over time.

Similar to Halliday's functional analysis, Fairclough's approach to discourse analysis encompasses three dimensions: (i) discourse as text (spoken or written, including visual elements), (ii) discourse practices involving the production, consumption, and distribution of texts, and (iii) discourse as socio-cultural practices. This result in a three-dimensional framework for analysis: (a) a linguistic description of the text's formal properties, (b) an interpretation of the relationship between discursive processes and the text, and (c) an explanation of how discourse relates to social and cultural realities.

Fairclough posits that discourse selections are underpinned by assumptions that are not value-neutral; they are ideologically motivated. As such, discursive practices can perpetuate unequal power relations among social classes, genders, and cultural groups through their representations and positioning of individuals. He argues that "the exercise of power, in modern society, is increasingly achieved through ideology" (Fairclough, 1989). To explore the relationship between discourse, power, and ideology, Fairclough introduces the concept of hegemony, defining it as a framework for understanding changes in power relations through discursive transformations. He emphasizes that "an order of discourse is a network of social practices in its language aspect," where the components include discourses, genres, and styles rather than merely linguistic structures (Fairclough, 2003). Furthermore, Fairclough asserts that orders of discourse are dynamic, evolving with changes in power relations. He states, "How discourses are structured in a given order of discourse, and how structuring change over time, are determined by changing relationships of power" (Fairclough, 2001).

#### ❖ **Related Studies**

Ursic (2021) focused on Critical Discourse Analysis of political discourse in the United States, specifically examining the inaugural addresses of former President Donald Trump and current President Joe Biden. By analyzing their use of pronouns, transitivity, modality, presuppositions, implications, and metaphors through Van Dijk's framework (1998), the study aimed to reveal the leaders' discursive strategies and ideologies amid increasing political polarization. The findings indicated that Trump presents himself as a decisive leader addressing his supporters, advocating for patriotism in the face of identified adversaries. In contrast, Biden promotes unity and empathy, while implying that his opponents pose a significant threat. Ultimately, the study highlighted the limited common ground between the two

presidents, with their differing assessments of America's challenges reflecting and potentially exacerbating the ideological divide in the nation.

Palet (2024) investigated that as prominent figures of the 1960s US Civil Rights Movement, Martin Luther King Jr. and Malcolm X demonstrate how contemporary news reporting employed persuasive strategies to misrepresent their messages. A detailed examination of these strategies reveals that journalists utilized appeals to credibility, emotion, and logic to selectively highlight or undermine aspects of the activists' characters, ultimately serving a racist hegemony. This analysis not only uncovers the manipulative tactics used by the media but also sets the stage for future research into how journalists employ rhetorical strategies to influence public perceptions of civil rights activists, thereby impacting their effectiveness and success in the movement.

Ivie (1987) explored that according to Atkinson (e.g., 1983, 1984a, 1984b), political speakers employ a limited set of rhetorical devices to elicit applause from their audiences. A comprehensive review of the literature related to Atkinson's analysis includes various evaluative studies conducted by the author. From this review, it is contended that Atkinson may have overestimated the importance of rhetorical devices in garnering applause while underappreciating the influence of other factors, such as asynchronous applause, the manner of speech delivery, the content of the speech, and instances of uninvited applause. To address these considerations, a new conceptual framework is proposed to understand how audience applause manifests during political speeches. This framework emphasizes a crucial distinction between which occurs spontaneously and independently of the speaker's intent.

Hanif et al (2023) explored political songs that how these compositions wield emotional appeal to influence the youth and shape public opinion. Political parties strategically utilize language in songs to connect with audiences on a deeper, emotional level, ultimately aiming to sway their political allegiance. These songs are crafted with a variety of emotional triggers such as unity, hope, patriotism, and even anger, strategically designed to resonate with specific segments of the population. By harnessing these emotions, political parties aim to attract supporters and consolidate their voter base. Through qualitative analysis, researchers uncover the nuanced ways in which political songs manipulate emotions and perceptions. They decode the rhetorical devices used to evoke specific emotional responses and the

strategic deployment of language to sway public opinion. This research not only analyzes the immediate impact of political songs on listeners but also underscores their broader implications for political discourse and democratic processes. By understanding the discursive strategies employed in these songs, readers gain insights into how language shapes political narratives and influences voter behavior. Behind the seemingly straightforward messages of unity or patriotism lie deeper, more complex agendas. Political discourse analysis, as employed in this research, scrutinizes the linguistic and rhetorical strategies embedded in these songs. Scholars often use frameworks like Fairclough's 3D model (1995) and Van Dijk's theories on politics, ideology, and discourse (2006) to dissect the underlying intentions and effects of political messaging. Fairclough's model focuses on the interconnectedness of discourse, social practices, and social structures, providing a lens to examine how language constructs and reflects power dynamics within political songs. Van Dijk's work expands on this by exploring how ideologies are perpetuated through discourse, shedding light on how political parties manipulate language to advance their agendas.

Khalil et al (2017) examined how Imran Khan, as the Chairman of Pakistan Tehreek-e- Insaf (PTI), strategically used language in a speech delivered from Shoukat Khanam hospital shortly before the 2013 general elections in Pakistan. The researchers aimed to uncover the underlying ideologies embedded within his speech and analyze how linguistic tools were employed to achieve political objectives. Using qualitative analysis, particularly through Fairclough's framework from 1995, the study scrutinized various linguistic strategies such as referential strategies, repetition, word choice, positive self-representation, and negative portrayal of opponents. These strategies were identified as instrumental in projecting specific ideologies and influencing public perception. The findings revealed that political discourse, including Imran Khan's speech, is carefully crafted to subtly convey ideological messages that serve political agendas. By decoding these linguistic strategies, the study highlighted how politicians utilize language to persuade and mobilize public support.

Anjum and Hussain (2023) employed Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to delve deeply into the speeches of two significant Pakistani political figures: Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Imran Khan. CDA is a methodological approach that scrutinizes how language shapes and reflects power dynamics, ideologies, and societal norms. Fairclough's three-dimensional model of CDA serves as a framework, focusing on

the interplay between text, discursive practices, and societal structures. This allows the researchers to analyze not just what is said in the speeches, but how it is said and the broader societal implications. Imran Khan's speeches, analyzed through this lens, reveal a strategic use of language to evoke religious and political sentiments. He often employs personal pronouns to assert authority and connect emotionally with his audience. These linguistic strategies are not merely rhetorical devices but are carefully crafted to project power and influence public perception. Similarly, Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's speeches are examined for their historical significance and ideological underpinnings. His emphasis on the right to self-determination for nations, particularly evident in his United Nations speeches, reflects broader political ideologies of sovereignty and independence. These speeches are pivotal moments in Pakistani history, encapsulating the zeitgeist of their times and influencing public discourse. The research highlighted how language, through its use of symbols, references, and rhetorical strategies, constructs persuasive arguments and conveys nuanced ideas that extend beyond literal meanings. It underscores the role of political discourse in shaping societal norms and legitimizing political power.

Jabeen et al (2022) focused on Imran Khan's political speeches during a sit-in period, aiming to uncover the ideological discourse structures embedded within his rhetoric. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is employed as the methodological approach to delve into the implicit and explicit meanings conveyed through Khan's words, phrases, and sentences. Fairclough's three-dimensional framework from 1995 serves as the analytical tool, which encompasses the analysis of text, discursive practices, and societal practices. This framework allows for a comprehensive examination of how language constructs and reflects ideological positions within political discourse. The data for the study comprises speeches delivered daily by Imran Khan during the sit-in period, spanning from August 14, 2014, to December 17, 2014. These speeches were collected and analyzed to identify recurring subjects and major themes that emerged prominently. Two main themes emerge from the analysis: the advocacy for a free and fair electoral process and the promotion of good governance. Imran Khan repeatedly emphasizes these themes throughout his speeches, employing specific linguistic patterns such as frequent repetition of key words and sentences. This repetition serves to reinforce and internalize these ideological positions among the masses, framing Khan as the champion of these causes. The findings underscore the pivotal role of language in political communication, demonstrating how linguistic strategies are employed to

disseminate specific ideological meanings and to shape public perception. Imran Khan's speeches illustrate how language can be wielded to generate desired ideological effects, influencing public opinion and garnering support for political agendas.

Aziz et al (2021) analyzed General Pervez Musharraf's speech delivered after declaring Proclamation of Emergency (PoE) in Pakistan in 2007. It aimed to uncover the ideological motivations behind the speech and the persuasive strategies employed by Musharraf to justify his decision on grounds of the doctrine of necessity. Using a three-stage model adapted from Charteris-Black (2014), the study employed Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to examine the public communication strategies used by Musharraf. The analysis revealed that Musharraf strategically appealed to nationalist sentiments, aligning himself with the interests of the Pakistani people. Furthermore, the study exposes Musharraf's underlying fear of being disqualified from the upcoming presidential elections by the Supreme Court, which prompted the emergency declaration. It identifies rhetorical devices such as hyperbole, metonymy, and contrast, which Musharraf employs to emphasize and downplay various aspects of the situation to suit his narrative.

Noor (2017) employed Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) model to deconstruct the religious discourse of Pakistani religious scholars' speeches. It focused on linguistic structures such as contrastive pairs, figures of speech like metaphors, similes, and personification, as well as interactional conventions such as the use of interrogatives, imperatives, and pronominal forms. Through this analysis, the study aims to reveal how these linguistic tools are strategically used by religious scholars to propagate and reinforce specific religious ideologies among the masses. These discourses are designed to position individuals within certain subject positions where they accept these ideologies as natural and common sense. The research contributes to a deeper understanding of how religious discourses operate within the socio-cultural context of Pakistan, shedding light on the mechanisms through which religious ideologies are transmitted, accepted, and normalized among the populace.

Moses (2012) conducted an analysis of political speeches delivered by prominent African leaders, focusing on their persuasive strategies aimed at promoting policies for African economic recovery and development. The study examines sixteen speeches from Presidents representing various regions of Africa. The analysis

employed a dual framework Aristotelian rhetoric and an adaptation of Fairclough's socio-semiotic model of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). These frameworks are utilized to dissect the rhetorical and persuasive techniques utilized by African leaders in their speeches. Key findings indicate that African leaders frequently acknowledge the continent's socio-economic challenges and advocate for change. Four dominant ideological themes emerge: (a) economic growth and independence, (b) national unity and nationalism, (c) globalism, and (d) self-reliance. These themes underscore the leaders' commitment to addressing Africa's socio-economic issues and promoting a sense of national pride and autonomy.

Bull and Miskini (2015) analyzed 11 speeches from Barack Obama and Mitt Romney during the 2012 US presidential election, comparing them to Japanese and British political speeches in terms of rhetorical devices and audience responses. Anglo-American politicians predominantly used implicit rhetorical devices, while Japanese politicians favored explicit ones. American audiences displayed individualized responses like isolated applause and remarks, whereas Japanese audiences consistently responded collectively. In the US, collective responses varied widely, including chanting, booing, cheering, applause, and laughter. The study found a notable correlation between the frequency of affiliative audience responses and electoral success among American politicians, a first of its kind.

Versen and bull (2018) presented a study on Norwegian political speeches during the 2013 general election, focusing on 16 rhetorical devices used to elicit collective audience responses. It compares these speeches with American, British, and Japanese political rhetoric. The findings indicated that Norwegian audience responses closely resemble those observed in Japanese speeches, despite employing rhetorical devices more akin to American and British styles, particularly favoring implicit techniques over explicit ones. This observation is considered within the framework of Hofstede's individualism scale, which contextualizes cultural differences in communication styles. Overall, the research provides insights into how cultural and rhetorical practices shape audience engagement in political discourse, offering a comparative perspective across different national contexts.

Knostan (2007) investigated that Ancient Greek and Roman thinkers, notably Aristotle and Cicero, explored emotions through the lens of rhetoric rather than psychology. In Aristotle's "Rhetoric," Book 2 offers a detailed taxonomy of over a dozen passions, emphasizing how orators could strategically evoke or mitigate

emotions to persuade audiences effectively in public forums. This rhetorical approach underscores the cultural significance of verbal persuasion in classical Greece, where speeches were potent triggers for emotions, shaping both public opinion and individual conduct. Aristotle's cognitive-mediational approach to emotions, anticipating modern theories, highlights his sophisticated understanding of emotional dynamics rooted in dialogue and persuasion. Similarly, Stoic philosophers later expanded on these ideas, presenting a holistic framework that complemented Aristotle's insights, thereby shaping enduring perspectives on emotions in classical antiquity.

Nussbaum (2013) explored the multifaceted concept of "language" within political discourse, emphasizing three distinct dimensions: language L, language I, and language I/u or discourse. Language L refers to the fundamental human capacity for communication, echoing Aristotle's notion of "speech" as a universal ability to convey ideas and emotions. In contrast, language I denotes specific languages like Dyirbal, Chinese, or French, each with its own linguistic structure and cultural context. Meanwhile, language I/u or discourse focuses on the practical use of language in political contexts, where its strategic deployment shapes public perception, policy decisions, and societal norms. The chapter aims to delve deeper into these aspects by elucidating how language influences political dynamics: from its intrinsic role in human communication (language L), to the diversity of linguistic systems (language I), and finally, to the strategic manipulation of language to exert political influence (language I/u or discourse). This distinction underscores the importance of understanding language not only as a tool of expression but also as a critical component of political power and governance.

Despite the critical role that political anthems play in shaping public sentiment and mobilizing support, there is a notable gap in scholarly research focusing specifically on the rhetorical strategies employed in party anthems within the context of Pakistani politics. While existing literature examines political discourse and rhetoric broadly, few studies analyze how these anthems utilize linguistic features and emotional appeals to influence voter perception and engagement. For instance, previous research has explored political speeches and manifestos, but the unique genre of political anthems—integrating music, lyrical content, and cultural identity—remains underexplored (Zahra, 2020). Furthermore, the intersection of power dynamics and emotional resonance in political anthems requires more focused investigation. Therefore, this study aims to fill these gaps by providing a

detailed analysis of PTI's 2024 election anthem, using Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis to explore the political pledges, power dynamics, pathos and their implications for political mobilization in Pakistan.

## **Methodology**

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is a multidisciplinary approach to studying language in its relation to power, ideology, and society. Originating from critical theory and influenced by scholars such as Michel Foucault, Pierre Bourdieu, and Jürgen Habermas, it focuses on the role of language in the construction and perpetuation of social structures and relations. The "critical" aspect of CDA refers to its goal of uncovering hidden power dynamics and ideologies in discourse. It aims to expose the ways in which language can manipulate, deceive, and control, and to empower individuals to recognize and resist these manipulative practices (Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000). CDA emerged in the late 20th century as a means to understand how discourse shapes and is shaped by social structures and power relations. It focuses on the ways in which discourse is used to enact, confirm, and challenge power and dominance in society. It views language not merely as a means of communication but as a social practice that both reflects and constructs social realities. Language is seen as a tool that individuals and institutions use to exercise power and control (Fairclough, 1989). CDA is particularly interested in the ways discourse is used to perpetuate power relations and ideological dominance. It examines how language contributes to the maintenance of social hierarchies and how it can be employed to resist and challenge such structures (van Dijk, 1993). CDA emphasizes the importance of context in understanding discourse. It considers the socio-political, historical, and cultural contexts in which discourse occurs, as these contexts influence and shape the meaning and function of language (Wodak, 2001).

### **❖ Fairclough's Three-Dimensional Model**

CDA employs a variety of methodological approaches to analyze discourse, each designed to reveal the underlying power structures and ideological messages embedded in texts and spoken language. Fairclough's model is particularly useful for examining political texts, such as PTI's election anthem, because it allows for an in-depth exploration of how language constructs and perpetuates power dynamics and ideologies. Fairclough (1992) proposes a three-tiered approach consisting of textual analysis, discursive practice, and social practice, each offering unique insights into the discourse being analyzed. Norman Fairclough's three-dimensional

model of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is a seminal framework that integrates linguistic analysis with social theory to explore the complex relationships between language, power, and society.

This research is qualitative and descriptive in nature. It employs 3D Model of Fairclough to critically evaluate PTI's anthem (2024) and unveil the political pledges, power structures, embedded ideology and emotional resonance. This model is particularly influential because it systematically addresses how discourse shapes and is shaped by social structures and practices. The model consists of three interconnected dimensions: textual analysis, discursive practice, and social practice. Each dimension provides a unique lens for examining the ways in which language operates within different contexts. This approach ensures a holistic understanding of the anthem's impact and the role of discourse in shaping political narratives.

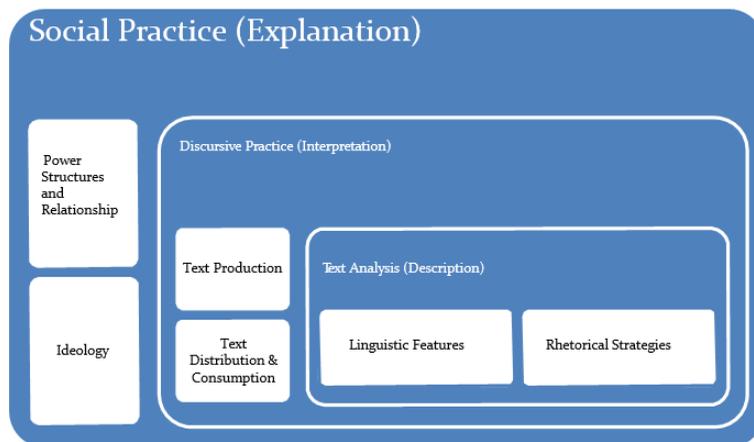


Figure 1: Fairclough's Three-Dimensional Model of CDA (1992)

- Textual Analysis investigates the use of linguistic features and rhetorical strategies in PTI's political campaign anthem (2024) to evoke emotional support and commitment from the audience.
- Discursive Practice examines how PTI's anthem (2024) references past political rhetoric, how it is circulated through media channels, and how different audience groups are made to react to it.
- Social Practice contextualizes PTI's anthem (2024) within the broader socio-political climate, exploring how it aligns with or challenges dominant ideologies and power structures.

### ❖ **Textual Analysis**

Text is any written or spoken piece of discourse. Textual analysis is the first dimension of Fairclough's three-dimensional model of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and focuses on examining the linguistic features and rhetorical strategies used within a text. This level of analysis helps to understand how meaning is constructed and how specific linguistic choices contribute to the overall message of the text. One key aspect of textual analysis is the examination of lexical choices. The words and phrases used in the political anthems are not neutral; they carry particular meanings and connotations that shape how the meaning is perceived. Metaphors and imagery are also crucial components of textual analysis. Metaphors, in political anthem, can create strong visual and emotional associations. They help to frame complex ideas in more relatable terms and can evoke specific feelings and reactions from the audience. Syntax and grammar are another vital area of focus in textual analysis. The structure of sentences, the use of active or passive voice, and other grammatical elements subtly influences how information is presented and received through the political anthem. Active voice typically highlights the subject performing an action which emphasizes agency and responsibility. In contrast, passive voice can obscure the agent and downplay accountability. Repetition and parallelism are rhetorical devices frequently employed in political anthems to reinforce key messages. Repetition involves repeating words, phrases, or structures to emphasize a point and make it more memorable. Parallelism, which involves using similar grammatical structures in successive clauses or sentences, creates a rhythm and balance that enhances the persuasive effect of the text. This technique helps to reinforce contrasts or comparisons, making the political anthems emotionally charged.

### ❖ **Discursive Practice**

Discursive practice is the second dimension of Fairclough's three-dimensional model of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). It focuses on how texts are produced, distributed, and consumed, emphasizing the intertextual and contextual factors that shape the creation and interpretation of discourse. Intertextuality is a key concept in discursive practice. It refers to the ways in which a text draws upon and incorporates other texts. This includes direct quotations, allusions, or the adoption of particular genres and styles. Intertextuality creates a web of references that link the text to other discourses, enhancing its meaning and resonance. The processes of production and distribution are also central to discursive practice. These processes include the roles of authors, editors, publishers, and media platforms in shaping the

final text. Each stage in the production chain influences the content and presentation of the text. Similarly, the choice of media platform (e.g., print, television, social media) impacts how the text is formatted, disseminated, and accessed by the audience. These production and distribution mechanisms are crucial for understanding the power dynamics involved in the dissemination of discourse. Audience reception is another critical aspect of discursive practice. This involves analyzing how different audiences interpret and respond to the text. Reception analysis considers the demographic, social, and political contexts of the audience, recognizing that different groups may understand and react to the same text in varied ways. Understanding these diverse receptions is essential for grasping the full impact of the text and how it functions within society. Discursive practice also involves examining the institutional and situational contexts in which texts are produced and consumed. Institutions such as governments, media organizations, and educational establishments play significant roles in shaping discursive practices. The situational context, including the specific circumstances and events surrounding the text's production and reception, also influences how it is understood.

#### ❖ **Social Practice**

Social practice constitutes the third dimension in Fairclough's three-dimensional model of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), focusing on the broader socio-political and cultural contexts within which discourse operates. This dimension emphasizes how discourse reflects and reinforces existing power structures, ideologies, and social relations. At its core, social practice analysis examines how discourse contributes to shaping and maintaining social practices. It acknowledges that discourse is not produced in a vacuum but is intricately intertwined with societal norms, values, and power dynamics. By scrutinizing these interactions, one can uncover how discourse both influences and is influenced by broader social processes. Central to social practice analysis is the exploration of power relations embedded within discourse. Power operates in various forms, including economic, political, and social dimensions. Discourse can reinforce existing power structures by legitimizing certain ideologies or marginalizing alternative viewpoints. By analyzing the language used in texts, analysts can uncover implicit ideologies that shape how individuals perceive themselves and their social roles. Contextualizing discourse within its historical and cultural milieu is essential for understanding its significance and impact. Historical events, cultural traditions, and societal changes influence the production and reception of discourse.

Discourse can also be a site of social change and resistance. By challenging dominant discourses and advocating for marginalized voices, individuals and social movements can use language to mobilize collective action and promote social justice. Social practice analysis recognizes the intersectionality of identities and social categories such as race, class, gender, sexuality, and ethnicity. These intersecting identities shape individuals' experiences and perspectives, influencing how they interpret and respond to discourse. By considering these intersecting factors, one can uncover the complex ways in which discourse intersects with various dimensions of social inequality and privilege.

### ❖ **Research Sampling**

The research sample consists of the official lyrics and video of the anthem. The video is downloaded from social video sharing network (YouTube). Lyrics are transliterated and then translated from Urdu to English. Cultural sensitivity and ethical considerations are followed in the process of translation in particular and during the research in general.

## **Data Analysis**

### ❖ **Political Anthem**

The 2024 election anthem of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) serves a narrative tool designed to galvanize support, evoke emotions, and articulate the party's political agenda. This political anthem by PTI serves as a rallying cry for the 2024 election, employing powerful and emotive language to mobilize and inspire voters. The lyrics vividly depict a narrative of struggle against oppression and corruption, emphasizing the transformative power of the vote as a means of achieving justice and accountability. By highlighting the hardships and resilience of the people, the anthem aims to galvanize support and encourage active participation in the democratic process, positioning the vote as the ultimate tool for societal change. This critical analysis employs Norman Fairclough's model of critical discourse analysis (CDA) to deconstruct the anthem's rhetorical strategies, focusing on the interplay of political pledges, power dynamics, and emotional appeals (pathos).

### ❖ **Textual Analysis**

The lexical choices in the anthem are charged with strong connotations and meanings. Words like "khauf" (fear), "zulm" (oppression), "safaki" (brutality), and "dahshat" (terror), "aan" (honor), are used to paint a vivid picture of the adversities

faced by the people. These lexical choices are not neutral; they carry heavy emotional weight and shape the perception of a society under duress. The anthem uses strong, emotive language to create a sense of urgency and injustice. The repeated use of "vote hisaab karye ga sub" (vote will hold everyone accountable) and "vote hi badla liye ga" (vote will bring change) emphasizes the central message that voting is the path to justice and transformation. Phrases like "zulm o sitam" (oppression and tyranny), "siskiyan o zari" (sighs and cries), and "wahshaat ka badla" (revenge for brutality) evoke a visceral response from the audience. These terms are strategically chosen to resonate with the listeners' emotions, highlighting the party's stance against perceived injustices.

Metaphors and imagery are crucial components in the anthem, creating strong visual and emotional associations. For instance, phrases like "sochon peh pehray hain" (there are guards on thoughts), "andheray gehray hain" (the darkness is deep), "Nazam ke es badmashi ka" (This mischievousness of the system), "Kahain dahshat ke saaya hain kahain safak chehray hain" (Somewhere there are shadows of terror, somewhere there are coercive faces) and "qahar ka badla vote se" (Revenge against coercion through votes) frame the oppression in more relatable terms, evoking feelings of confinement and despair. These choices help to create a metaphor of suffering, injustice and oppression to convey complex political ideas in a manner that resonates emotionally with the audience, making the abstract concept of political repression more tangible. These metaphors also serve to construct a narrative of resistance and empowerment, encouraging the audience to view their vote as a tool for retribution and change.

Syntax and grammar play vital roles in the anthem's effectiveness. The structure of sentences, is mostly active voice, highlights the agents of action and emphasizes their responsibility. For example, "Vote hi insaaf karye ga" (vote will ensure justice) and "Vote hisaab karye ga sub, vote hi badla liye ga ab." (Vote will take account of everything, only votes will take revenge now) places the focus on the act of voting, thereby empowering the audience. "Sarkar ke hir kaam zarfi ka, nazam ke es badmashi ka." (The government's degradation, this mischievousness of the system) puts the government and the system at subject position hence holding them responsible. The use of passive voice in phrases like "zakham se khon rista hai" (blood flows from wounds) obscures the perpetrators of violence, focusing instead on the suffering and calling for empathy.

Repetition is used extensively to reinforce key messages. The recurring phrase "vote hi badla liye ga" (vote will bring change) not only emphasizes the power of voting but also makes the message memorable. This repetitive structure ensures that the central idea sticks in the minds of the listeners. Parallelism is also employed, particularly in lines like "zulam ka badla vote se, sitam ka badla vote se" (oppression's revenge through vote, tyranny's revenge through vote), creating a rhythm that enhances the persuasive effect and emotionally charges the anthem.

### ❖ Discursive Practice Analysis

The discursive practice dimension of Fairclough's three-dimensional model of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) focuses on the processes through which texts are produced, distributed, and consumed. Analyzing PTI's 2024 election anthem within this framework involves examining how it is crafted by the political party, the channels through which it is disseminated, and how it is received by various audiences, all within the specific socio-political context of the time.

**Production:** This anthem is produced by PTI as a strategic part of their election campaign. The party's leadership, media strategists, and creative team collaborate to create a message that resonates with their supporters and addresses the current political situation.

**Distribution:** The anthem is widely advertised through both electronic and social media platforms. Key distribution channels include television broadcasts, and social media platforms such as Instagram and Facebook. PTI's official social media pages are pivotal in sharing the anthem, utilizing the extensive reach and engagement potential of these platforms to maximize visibility and impact. Social media allows for direct interaction with supporters, facilitating widespread sharing and discussion of the anthem. This anthem is also used during its election campaign of general election (2024) to galvanize public support.

**Audience Reception/Consumption:** The anthem is crafted to appeal to a wide audience, particularly those who feel marginalized or disenfranchised. The emotional appeals are designed to forge a strong emotional bond between the party and its supporters, fostering a sense of solidarity and collective purpose. PTI supporters interpret it as an empowering call to action, reinforcing their commitment to the party and its goals. For them, the anthem serves as a unifying and motivating force, especially in the face of perceived oppression. Social media

platforms provide a space for diverse reactions and discussions. Comments, shares, and likes on PTI's Instagram and Facebook pages offer insights into the way anthem is perceived and its effectiveness in mobilizing support. The use of colloquial language and cultural references ensures that the message is accessible and relatable to the general populace.



Figure 2: Image of public comments on PTI's anthem

**Situational Context:** The anthem is created and released during a period when PTI and its members are reportedly being victimized by the government and the establishment. This context of political tension and perceived injustice shapes the content and tone of the anthem, which seeks to mobilize support by highlighting themes of resistance, justice, and the power of the vote. The situational context also influences how the audience interprets and reacts to the anthem, as it taps into their existing frustrations and hopes for change.

**Intertextuality:** Intertextuality involves exploring how the anthem references and connects to other texts, discourses, and cultural narratives. Intertextual references in the anthem draw upon historical and contemporary political struggles creating a rich tapestry of meanings that resonate with the audience's collective memory and sentiments. These references enhance the anthem's emotional appeal and ideological depth, linking it to broader discourses of national identity and democratic struggle.

"Kisi ko khauf se torha, kisi ko mar ke chora" (Scared someone with fear, thought of killing someone), this line evokes historical contexts of political violence and fear, referencing past events where intimidation and violence were used as tools of control against the workers and supporters of PTI. "Koi izzat se hara tou kisi ko torh ke jorha" (Someone lost his dignity, defrauded of rights and injustice), this reflects narratives of social and political injustices, where people are humiliated or broken down, invoking the themes of loss of dignity and forced conformity. "Haq talfi na insaafi ka zulam o sitam, safaki ka" (Deprivation of rights, injustice, tyranny, and

cruelty), these words highlight the ongoing themes of rights violations and injustices, resonating with discourses about systemic oppression and cruelty. "Sarkar ke hir kaam zarfi ka, nazam ke es badmashi ka" ("Atrociousness, witlessness of Government, rowdiness of system), these lines criticize the government's incompetence and the system's thuggery, reflecting public dissatisfaction and echoing wider discourses about failed governance and systemic corruption. "Vote hisaab karye ga sub vote hi badla liye ga ab" (Vote will calculate all, now vote will take the revenge), this phrase reinforces the democratic ideal that voting is a tool for accountability and change, echoing the broader democratic discourse of using the vote as a means of reclaiming power and enacting justice. "Allah ka qanoon hai ke taqatwar hamesha taqatwar nahin rehta" (It is Allah's law that the powerful do not remain powerful forever), the phrase draws from Islamic teachings and historical texts that emphasize the transient nature of worldly power and the ultimate justice of Allah. This intertextuality strengthens the anthem's appeal by connecting it to widely respected and accepted religious principles. It echoes previous political discourses where leaders have used religious rhetoric to inspire and mobilize the masses. This familiar strategy resonates with the audience, making the message more persuasive.

"Kahain sochon peh pehray hain, kahain andheray gehray hain" (Somewhere there are restrictions on thoughts, somewhere there is deep darkness), these lines invoke imagery of repression and censorship, common in narratives about authoritarian regimes. The metaphor of darkness represents the lack of freedom and transparency. "Kahain dahshat ke saaya hain kahain safak chehray hain" (Somewhere there are shadows of horror, somewhere there are dreadful faces), the use of horror and fear imagery connects to broader cultural narratives about oppressive regimes and their effects on society. "Zehano ke taala bandi ka, sochon peh pabandi ka" (Locking of minds, restrictions on thoughts), this metaphorical language about the mind being locked and thoughts being restricted points to censorship and the suppression of free thought, themes prevalent in discourses about authoritarianism. "Yahan insaaf jhukta hai, yahan qalam bikta hai" (Here justice is bowed down, here pen is sold), these lines criticize the justice system and media, suggesting corruption and bias, referencing wider discourses about the failure of institutions to uphold integrity. "Yahan jisam chahlni hai, yahan zakhm se khoon rista hai" (Here bodies are shredded, here blood seeps from wounds), graphic imagery of physical and emotional violence highlights suffering and resilience, connecting to narratives of societal struggle and endurance. "Es raat ke tareeki ka, nahaq qaid ke qaidi ka" (The

darkness of this night, the unjust imprisonment of prisoner), the line echoes historical and contemporary narratives of political leaders and activists who have been imprisoned unjustly. This intertextuality positions Imran Khan within a larger tradition of political resistance and martyrdom. It draws on the cultural memory of other figures who have been wrongfully imprisoned, enhancing the resonance and impact of the message. It also refers to the night when Imran Khan left prime minister house. "Vote hisaab karye ga sub, vote hi badla liye ga sub" (Vote will calculate all, vote will take revenges), the anthem repeatedly calls for action through voting, reinforcing the message that participation in the electoral process is the key to addressing injustices and achieving change.

### ❖ **Social Practice**

#### ▪ **Power Dynamics and Ideology**

The anthem portrays power relations by highlighting perceived injustices and victimization faced by PTI and its members. Terms like "victimized" and "oppressed" implicitly frame PTI as a righteous underdog fighting against entrenched power structures, which are depicted as oppressive and unjust. This framing serves to rally support by legitimizing PTI's grievances and mobilizing sympathizers against perceived adversaries, thereby reinforcing PTI's narrative of resistance and struggle. The anthem articulates PTI's criticism of the incumbent government's actions and policies. It frames the government's actions as failures and injustices, positioning itself in stark opposition. This ideological stance is not merely about policy differences but is presented as a moral battle between right and wrong. By casting the political arena as a struggle between good (PTI) and evil (the current government), the anthem simplifies complex political realities into a binary opposition. This dichotomy is designed to make the issues more accessible and emotionally compelling for the audience. It draws clear lines of allegiance and motivates supporters to view their choice as one between justice and injustice, good governance and corruption.

#### ▪ **Delegitimization of Power Structures**

The anthem functions as a site of social change and resistance by challenging dominant discourses propagated by rival political factions and mainstream media. The anthem employs rhetoric that seeks to undermine the legitimacy of the existing power structures. By portraying the current government as oppressive and unjust, PTI positions itself as the legitimate representative of the people's will and the champion of justice and reform. This strategy aims to erode public trust in the

government and shift loyalty towards PTI. The binary opposition of good versus evil is a powerful rhetorical strategy that simplifies the political narrative and creates a compelling moral imperative for change. It mobilizes support by appealing to the audience's sense of justice and moral duty, encouraging them to take action against perceived injustices.

- **Themes of Suffering and Oppression**

The anthem uses vivid language and imagery to highlight themes of suffering and oppression. It speaks of fear, violence, injustice, and the struggle for honor and dignity. By invoking these themes, the anthem taps into deep-seated emotions of anger, fear, and hope among the listeners.

- **Impact on Public Discourse**

The anthem plays a significant role in shaping public discourse by framing the election as a battle for justice and equity. This framing influences how people perceive the election and the issues at stake, encouraging them to view their vote as a powerful tool for change. The emotive and powerful rhetoric of the anthem is likely to sway public opinion in favor of PTI. By presenting a compelling narrative of justice and reform, the anthem aims to win the hearts and minds of voters, persuading them to support PTI's political platform. The recurring theme of the quest for justice resonates strongly with the audience's desire for fairness and accountability. This theme is designed to evoke a sense of personal and collective responsibility among the listeners, urging them to see their political engagement as a means to achieve justice.

- **Reinforcing Democratic Values**

By emphasizing the power of the vote and the importance of political participation, the anthem reinforces democratic values. It highlights the significance of each individual's contribution to the political process and the collective power of the electorate to enact change. It mobilizes supporters by framing the act of voting as a powerful tool for social justice and political change, thereby encouraging collective action and civic engagement. This empowerment narrative positions PTI as a catalyst for progressive social transformation, appealing to voters disillusioned with status quo politics. The anthem's impact extends beyond the immediate political context, potentially galvanizing long-term support for PTI. By framing the political struggle in moral terms and appealing to core democratic values, the anthem fosters

a loyal and engaged voter base that is motivated to advocate for PTI's vision of justice and reform.

- **Impact on Social Relations**

By analyzing the anthem's impact on social relations, we observe its role in polarizing public opinion and reinforcing partisan divides. The anthem's language of resistance and justice fosters solidarity among PTI supporters while potentially alienating dissenting voices. This polarization reflects broader societal tensions and political dynamics, illustrating how discourse can influence social cohesion and fragmentation.

## **Findings and Discussion**

- ❖ **Framing Identity and Opposition**

- **In-group (Us)**

**Identity Construction:** The anthem constructs a cohesive in-group identity, encompassing PTI supporters and sympathizers. It portrays "us" as victims of injustice and oppression, fighting against a corrupt and oppressive "them" represented by rival political factions and entrenched power structures. According to Wodak (2015), the use of pathos in political discourse, including anthems, aims to evoke strong emotions among the audience, fostering a collective identity and shared motivation.

**Empowerment Narrative:** By positioning PTI and its supporters as the righteous defenders of justice and change, the anthem fosters a sense of empowerment and solidarity among its audience. This narrative reinforces loyalty and commitment among PTI's voter base, encouraging them to unite against common adversaries. Koller (2009) asserts that political pledges in anthems function as strategic instruments, intended to build trust and garner voter loyalty.

- **Out-group (Them)**

**Dehumanization and Othering:** The anthem often employs rhetoric that dehumanizes or marginalizes the opposition ("them"). Terms like "oppressors," "tyrants," and "corrupt elites" are used to depict rival political parties and establishment figures as morally inferior or antagonistic forces.

**Blame and Responsibility:** By framing "them" as responsible for societal injustices and economic hardships, the anthem directs anger and frustration towards political rivals and undermines their legitimacy. This tactic aims to consolidate support by portraying PTI as the only viable alternative to the status quo.

#### ❖ Strategic Implications and Political Messaging

**Rallying Cry:** The dichotomy of "us vs them" serves as a rallying cry to mobilize PTI's base, encouraging active participation in electoral processes. It taps into emotions of injustice and solidarity, motivating supporters to take action and defend their perceived collective interests. Fairclough (2003) explains that political pledges in anthems are designed to encapsulate the promises of a political party, serving as a rallying cry for supporters.

**Political Mobilization:** By emphasizing the existential threat posed by "them," the anthem galvanizes PTI supporters to engage in political activism, whether through voting, grassroots organizing, or digital advocacy on social media platforms.

#### ❖ Polarization and Division

**Polarizing Effect:** The dichotomy exacerbates political polarization by reinforcing divisions between supporters and critics of PTI. It fosters an "us vs them" mentality that can deepen societal cleavages and hinder constructive dialogue or compromise.

Fairclough, N. (2003) highlights "us vs. them" constructions in discourse serve to delineate in-groups and out-groups, reinforcing social hierarchies and power dynamics.

**Social Cohesion vs Fragmentation:** While fostering cohesion within PTI's base, the anthem's dichotomy risks alienating moderate voters and perpetuating a climate of distrust and hostility towards political opponents.

#### ❖ Political Narratives

**Narrative of Resistance and Victimhood:** The anthem portrays PTI as a party under siege, facing external threats and internal challenges from entrenched power structures. It emphasizes themes of resistance against oppression and injustice, framing PTI and its supporters as victims of political persecution and unfair treatment. By depicting PTI as a champion of justice and accountability, the narrative seeks to resonate with voters disillusioned with mainstream politics and

perceived corruption. Said (1978) highlights that political anthems frequently frame their messages within narratives of collective struggle and triumph, portraying the party as overcoming adversity.

**Call to Action and Empowerment:** The anthem serves as a call to action, urging supporters to mobilize and use their votes as instruments of change and justice. It empowers voters by presenting the act of voting as a powerful tool to hold accountable those responsible for societal injustices. This narrative of empowerment encourages civic engagement and political participation among PTI supporters, positioning the party as a catalyst for social and political reform. Smith and Johnson (2024) observe that political anthems craft narratives featuring dramatized accounts of challenges and successes, which are designed to resonate profoundly with voters.

**Populist Appeals and Anti-Establishment Sentiments:** PTI's anthem employs populist rhetoric by critiquing the established political order and portraying PTI as a voice for the marginalized and disenfranchised. It appeals to public grievances and frustrations with traditional political elites and bureaucratic institutions. Anti-establishment sentiments in the anthem resonate with voters seeking change and reform, positioning PTI as an alternative to the status quo and advocating for a more transparent and accountable government. Nguyen and Lee (2023) highlight that pathos in political anthems plays a key role in enhancing political engagement by appealing directly to the emotions of the electorate.

## Conclusion

In conclusion, PTI's 2024 election anthem strategically employs the dichotomy of "us vs them" to frame political narratives, mobilize support, and reinforce collective identities. This rhetorical strategy constructs a powerful narrative of resistance, justice, and empowerment among PTI supporters while marginalizing political opponents as adversaries. However, while effective in rallying a loyal voter base, the dichotomy also contributes to political polarization and societal division, highlighting the complex interplay between rhetoric, identity, and electoral strategy in contemporary politics. The anthem strategically communicates PTI's key messages to mobilize support, portraying the party as a defender of justice and a catalyst for change amidst perceived political persecution. By analyzing these specific narratives and ideologies embedded in the anthem, we gain a deeper

understanding of PTI's political positioning and its appeal to the electorate during the election campaign.

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