

**THE POLITICS OF IDENTITY  
MARKERS: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE  
ANALYSIS OF PAKISTANI ENGLISH  
NEWSPAPERS**

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**The Politics of Identity Markers: A Critical Discourse  
Analysis of Pakistani English Newspapers**

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## THESIS AND DEFENSE APPROVAL FORM

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## ABSTRACT

**Title: The Politics of Identity Markers: A Critical Discourse Analysis of Pakistani English Newspapers**

This study aimed to explore the ways politicians construct their political identities through the employment of identity markers. Identity markers are the cutting edges of any political discourse, on its behalf ideology and message can be delivered very easily. Further, the study set an objective to investigate the specific identity markers which politicians utilize for themselves in the selected newspapers and to find why the politicians employ these identity markers in their political discourses. The study applied Fairclough 3 D model for its investigation and adopted qualitative research design for this study. The data for the current study was collected from The Dawn, and The Express Tribune newspapers in which news reports were collected about the selected political leaders Imran Khan (PTI), Bilawal Bhutto (PPP), Nawaz Sharif (PML-N) and Fazal- ur-Rehman (JUI-F). The time period was from 2018-2023. Source of the data were websites' pages of these newspapers. The specific identity markers politicians utilized in their political speeches are 'youth' 'corruption' 'accountability' 'change' 'naya Pakistan (New Pakistan)' moral authority, resilience, sustainable development, event of change, Continuity of Cause, bat, Insaf(justice), khan "roti(bread), kapra(cloth), makan(house), the legacy of Benazir Bhutto, and the PPP's flag, Islam, Shariyat(sharia), anti-Imran Khan, Turban, Shalwar kameez, beard, Vote ko izzat do (respect to vote), lion, infrastructure, regional development, economic growth and Punjab as a strong hold family and more. The politicians employed modality, pronouns, authoritative language, metaphors sign and symbols. The strategic use of specific identity markers is driven by multiple factors, including contextualization within the socio-political landscape to address corruption, national development, youth engagement, accountability, transparency, and ethical governance; challenging power structures, cultural aspirations and others. The researcher concluded that Fairclough 3D model is appropriate for identifying and analyzing political identity markers.

**Keywords:** *identity, identity markers, political leaders, textual, discursive, explanation*

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## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

<b>CDA</b>	Critical Discourse Analysis
<b>3D</b>	Three Dimensional
<b>PML (N)</b>	Pakistan Muslim league (Nawaz)
<b>PTI</b>	Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf
<b>PPP</b>	Pakistan people Party
<b>JUI (F)</b>	Jamiat Ulema-e- Islam (Fazal-ur-Rehman)

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## **DEDICATION**

I dedicate this thesis to my beloved parents, who were constant inspirations throughout my educational career. May Allah grant them the highest rank in Jannah (Janat- ul-Firdos)! Ameen

# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Background of the Study

Language in political discourse is not merely a tool of communication but also a mechanism of influence. Every choice of word or phrase carries weight, capable of evoking emotions, recalling historical contexts, and aligning with or against cultural norms. Through language, politicians can manipulate discourse to reinforce their position of power, to unite or divide, to clarify or obfuscate. The strategic use of language enables the creation of a narrative that serves political ends, crafting messages that resonate with specific groups. In the world of politics, the way politicians talk and the words they choose (discourse) plays a very important role in shaping what is their identity, personality, beliefs and how they connect with people. Identity in politics is both a personal badge and a strategic asset. It comprises inherent aspects such as ethnicity, gender, and social background, as well as constructed facets like political ideology, policy preferences, and leadership style. Politicians' identities are crucial in their interactions with the public and other political actors. Political discourse is often tailored to reflect and assert those identities, which makes identity an integral part of political strategy.

The political identity of politicians is constructed through identity markers which are specific words or phrases used strategically, help to highlight these identities within political discourse. These identity markers shape the political identities of politicians. Their identity markers serve to signal allegiance to certain groups, clarify positions, and differentiate politicians from their opponents. For example, a politician might use socialists, specialized terminology, cultural references, or historical allusions that resonate with a particular community, thereby aligning their identity with that group. Identity markers can be explicit, like mentioning a policy proposal that reflects one's political ideology, or subtle, such as the use of dialect that appeals to regional identities. By understanding how discourse, politics, language, identity, and identity markers are all linked together, the study gets a blueprint of how political leaders try to win over the public and gain their support by making their political identity through the use of identity markers.

Identity is a multifaceted concept that encompasses the qualities, beliefs, personality, looks, and expressions that make a person or group. It is how individuals or groups see and define themselves and how they are perceived by others. Identity can be personal (how one sees oneself) and social (how one is perceived by others), and it is shaped by various factors including culture, society, personal experiences, and interactions.

Personal Identity refers to the unique attributes and experiences of individuals that differentiate them from others. It includes one's memories, experiences, values, and personal traits (Erikson, 1968). There is another kind of identity known as social identity. Social Identity is derived from membership in social groups, such as nationality, ethnicity, religion, and social class (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Social identity theory explains how group membership influences self-conception and behavior. Cultural identity on the other hand involves identification and acceptance of the values, norms, and practices of a particular culture (Hall, 1990). It influences language, traditions, and belief systems. Besides, Gender identity relates to how individuals perceive themselves and is recognized as male, female, or non-binary, often influenced by societal norms and roles (Butler, 1990). Ethnic identity is a sense of belonging to an ethnic group and the part of one's thinking, perceptions, feelings, and behavior that is due to ethnic group membership (Phinney, 1990). There are two other identities: national and professional. National Identity is a sense of belonging to a nation and a belief in its political aspirations (Smith, 1991). Professional identity means how individuals perceive themselves within a professional context, shaped by their work roles, professional norms, and values (Trede, Macklin, & Bridges, 2012).

Besides all these identities, political identity and linguistics identity are more relevant to the topic of the study. Political identity refers to the ways in which individuals categorize themselves and are categorized by others in political terms. It involves the alignment with specific political ideologies, parties, movements, and beliefs about governance and policy. Political identity is often constructed through discourse, symbols, and actions that resonate with a group's ideological stance (Mason, 2018). Linguistic identity pertains to the sense of self that is derived from one's use of language and linguistic practices. It involves the languages one speaks, the dialects and accents one uses, and the ways in which use of language reflects and shapes social identity (Edwards, 2009).

While both political and linguistic identities are crucial to understand how individuals and groups perceive themselves and are perceived by others, they operate in different domains and have distinct characteristics. Political identity is often more directly tied to formal structures of power and collective action, while linguistic identity is more about personal and social communication and cultural expression.

This research explores the idea of identity markers in political discourse based on politicians' speeches applying 3D model given by Fairclough (1995). This model uses three dimensions of discourse conceptions for the analysis to investigate the specific identity markers politicians utilize in the selected newspapers. The study sets objectives to explore the ways politicians construct their political identities through identity markers and to seek the reasons politicians employ these identity markers in their political discourses.

## **1.2 Key Terms**

### **a. Discourse**

Discourse encompasses the rules, structures and institutions that determine what can be said, who can speak, and how statements are organized and interpreted within a given society (Foucault, 1972).

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

CDA seeks to reveal the role of discourse in the production and reproduction of power and inequality in society (Van Dijk, 1993).

### **c. Political Identity**

Political identity is closely tied to the concept of imagined communities where members of a nation or a political group perceive a sense of shared identity despite not knowing each other personally (Anderson, 1983).

### **d. Identity Markers**

Identity markers are part of the performance of self in everyday interactions where individuals present themselves in ways that align with their perceived roles and identities (Goffman, 1959).

### **1.3 Problem Statement**

In political discourses, it is of utmost significance for a politician to communicate effectively with the party workers and supporters. These political discourses are usually marked by strategic intent; therefore, a politician strategically maneuvers his/her linguistic choices to influence the intended audience positively. Somehow, these choices seem to frame identities not only on the part of a political leader, but also of his/her supporters. Besides other rhetorical choices, politicians tend to use identity markers that suit best for their political interests particularly in developing countries such as Pakistan where dynastic politics have adopted a decisive role in achieving public support and strength. In recent years, the politics of identity markers in Pakistan has not only become a significant aspect of political identity but has also paved the way for accomplishing multiple identity politics. Therefore, the current study aims at exploring the strategic use of identity markers accomplished by Pakistani politicians for themselves and their opponents with special reference to these four leading political parties of the country. (PTI (Imran Khan), PML-N (Nawaz Sharif), PPP (Bilawal Bhutto), and JUI-F (Fazal- ur -Rehman)).

### **1.4 Research Objectives**

This study sets the following research objectives:

- To investigate the specific identity markers political leaders utilize in the selected newspaper.
- To explore the ways political leaders constructs their political identities through identity markers.
- To explore the reasons political leaders employ these identity markers in their political discourses.

### **1.5 Research Questions**

This study aims at answering the following research questions:

1. What specific identity markers do political leaders utilize in the selected newspapers?
2. How do political leaders construct their specific political identity through identity markers?

3. Why do the political leaders employ these identity markers in their political discourses?

## **1.6 Significance of the Study**

The study contributes to the domain of linguistics in general and in political discourse in particular. The research is significant in order to understand the concept of identity markers and its use in political discourse. The study is a great asset to common readers for understanding current scenario of politics and also let them know that, how through the use of various identity markers the publics are manipulating very easily. Thus, at social level, the study is a contribution to bring awareness about the political use of language by the players of the field. The present study is helpful in educational background due to its nature. In communicative events discourse provides help to the public in either shape which is the analysis of text and talk. Further, in academia such text can open a new idea of critical thinking for learners. With respect to ELT, teachers can design activities based on the use of identity markers in political discourse. The present study will give a brief idea to the students, to help them in their new research dissertation to analyze political speeches easily. Moreover, it is helpful to investigate the strategy that is applied by major political parties in the construction of identity markers in public to strengthen their support in public. Identity markers are used for the persuasion and development of a specific ideology of a political party. It is used to show their positive role in the public and diminish their opponents' negative identity in the public. The exploration of 3D model is helpful to understand those sectors which were targeted by politicians as well as reflect those areas which best reflect their ideologies.

The study proves highly beneficial in the educational sphere due to its inherent educational nature. Discourse unveils communicative events to the public in various forms, aiding in the comprehension of both written and spoken language. Consequently, the analysis is bounded by context, creating opportunities for the educational sector to investigate issues within specific settings. This is primarily because teaching and learning activities are contingent upon specific times and contexts. The findings of this research can be shared with political groups, offering them a measurable and clear understanding of identity markers present in a specific text, which may only become explicit through this type of analysis.



## **1.7 Delimitations**

The study is specifically confined to the political landscape of Pakistan. For the said purpose the contemporary politicians from the well-known political parties have been taken into consideration. The study narrows its focus into four prominent political leaders in Pakistan: Imran Khan (PTI), Bilawal Bhutto (PPP), Nawaz Sharif (PML-N), and Fazal-ur-Rehman (JUI-F). These leaders represent major political parties, and the analysis is restricted to their roles, rhetoric, and discourse within the given time frame. The research specifically examines public speeches delivered by the selected political leaders. The temporal span for the analysis encompasses a period from 2018 to 2023, providing a five-year window for a longitudinal examination of political communication. The primary source of data for this study is derived from reports published by The Dawn and the Express Tribune. These reports are accessed online, ensuring that the information is widely available. The choice of The Dawn and The Express Tribune as a source provides a reputable and widely recognized platform for the extraction of political discourse data.

The study is specifically delimited to Fairclough's 3D model for data analysis. This framework, comprising of description, interpretation, and explanation, serves as the guiding tool for analyzing the selected speeches. The delimitation to this model ensures a structured and systematic approach to uncover the underlying dimensions of political discourse in relevance with politicians' identities through identity markers.

## **1.8 Organization of the Study**

The first chapter provides a brief introduction to the topic statement of the problem, research questions, objective, significance and delimitation. Chapter two highlights reviewing relevant literature including; discourse, critical discourse analysis, politics, identity, identity markers, the role of identity markers in politics and previous study related to the selected topic for finding a clear research gap. The third chapter methodology compresses, research method, theoretical framework, data collection tools, data analysis, sample and rationale. Chapter four discusses data analysis in detail from the obtained data highlighting findings and discussion. Chapter five discusses a brief conclusion, findings, discussion, limitations and recommendation.

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

In this section, there is an examination of literature encompasses fundamental concepts related to discourse, CDA, politics, identity, the role of identity markers in politics, and the interplay between language and politics. Subsequently, references to the relevant literature are provided to illustrate the exploration of identity markers in various texts, particularly within the framework of political discourse. This discussion is integral to the broader concept of investigating the utilization of identity markers in political discourse.

#### **2.1 Discourse**

Language is used as a way of communicating a meaning and executing an event both in spoken and written. Van Dijk (1977), depicted discourse as a form of language, which is used in the society. For the social interaction, it is considered as a basic component of language. Social interactions are included in the form of debates, news, interviews, discussion, political speeches and many others. In this regard, the speaker of a discourse is considered as a central concern which takes it into consideration. Discourse without language and its users are impossible, though the prominent thing is to understand the person and its use of language contextually. Moreover, discourse is beyond syntactic and pragmatic level. In a very small level syntax is included in the category of discourse analysis. Furthermore, discourse also deals with societal events. Its main purpose is to convey various meanings, feelings, ideas and beliefs to the social world. Its focus of attention is considered as interaction and interpretation (Dijk, 1981).

Discourse has various applications in numerous fields and disciplines (Jorgensen and Phillips, 2002, P. 1). A basic definition of discourse is provided by Bamberg et al. (2011, p. 177), who also demonstrate that the term has Latin origins are shared with all other words because Latin was the mother tongue of many languages. The word “discourse” is made up of the word form “discurrer”, where the prefix dis- denotes movement back and forth and the verb “to run” is represented by the other lexical item. Such a metaphor is to be used to describe a piece of language, whether spoken or written, that involves going back and forth between the text’s structural whole and its constituent pieces.

Paltridge (2006) considers discourse as “language beyond the word, clause, phrase and sentence that is needed for successful communication”. It deals with the use of language in practical world and its real interpretation. It also deals with other fields instead of analysis of language. Moreover, discourse always depends on the context of communication, which can be spread in the world in either shape; it can be the context of assumptions, expectations and beliefs.

Accordingly, Mills (2004) depicted that it is extensively utilized in philosophy, sociology, linguistics and critical theory. The term is employed in both literary and non-literary texts, providing a theoretical foundation for expressions of an ambiguous nature. By the 1960s, the traditional usage of the term diverged, giving rise to philosophical and theoretical applications. Establishing a fixed definition proves challenging due to its diverse use across different disciplinary contexts. In the realms of social and critical theory, discourse serves to set boundaries for its application and understanding. For example, a linguist interprets and assigns different meanings to terms like 'discourse of religion' and 'discourse of legislation.' Even within the same discipline, such as linguistics, there exists a significant divergence in the understanding of the term. Discourses represent their knowledge on different ways, in the cooperation of social practices; they represent a form of subjectivity and power relation which are present among them. The nature of the body is represented through discourse; its conscious, unconscious and emotional life of the subject is administered through it. Every discourse has its own discursive pattern and follows a specific pattern which comes according to the demand. The term “discursive formation” represents the basic written or spoken communication that built a specific type of communication. Its communication has a firm connection of producer and receiver, which structuralize discourse into a specific pattern (Weedon, 1987).

Hamilton, Schiffrin and Tamen (2015), in their book named *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis* have explained discourse in three categories. The first one is the study of language use second one is analysis of language structure and the last one is the study of social practice and those values which prioritize communication pattern. Division of discourse at this level is analyzed in three ways. One is related with its use and convention of language; the second category is the study of language on structural and linguistic basis (analysis of sentence and phrase level) while the third division is related to those social practices and ideological ways which are embedded in language

structure and use. These patterns provide a specific structure to the discourse and make them different from the rest of the discourses.

According to Benveniste (1971), Discourse must be understood in a widest sense. He is the first one who gave the essence and definition of discourse as well as its communicative aspects. Every utterance assumes a speaker and a hearer that influence others in some ways. It is every variety of oral discourse from trivial conversation to the most elaborate oration, but it is also the mass of writing that reproduces oral discourse or it borrows its manner of expression and its purposes. In short, all genres, in which someone address to himself as a speaker and organize what he/she says in the category of person (Pp.208-9).

Titscher (2000) depicted that discourse highlights the complete meaning in which linguistic interpretation of words and sentences will be judged contextually not literary. Similarly, Paltridge (2007) assumed discourse “language beyond the word, clause, phrase and sentence that is needed for successful communication”. He is of the opinion that language will be used in the real world by common and real people in a society. It has a strong link with other elements instead of analysis related to sentence. It is beyond of structure and sentence interpretation. On the other hand discourse will always be context dependent, which brings reality of the world in either shape; it can be the context of assumption, expectations or beliefs. It can also have a social context. Negotiation and convention of language is started from the society as long as there is context. The context is produced and reproduced in social world (woods 2014). Furthermore, Bloom et al (2004) discussed that discourse deals with such communication which has background agenda and a concise meaning. Discourse deals with the detail portrayal of a communication and a specific meaning behind an ideology.

It has a firm connection with other social issues of life. Language is negotiated in the society whenever there is a context. According to Woods (2014), context of a communication is mostly constructed in the social world. From the given definitions of discourse it is cleared that discourse in broader sense has multiple meaning and ideology. Opinions related to social contexts are innovated by a social group or any relevant institution. Dijk (1977) assumed that the text of discourse is understandable from its contextual point of view. In short discourse depends on that context which is

most often related to contextual information. For the analysis of a piece of text its correlation is with context which creates a social reality. Its meaning is assumed from its contextual use and interpretation.

From the above given definitions, it is quite clear that discourse has a multifarious meaning with a huge ideology. Ideological stances according to any social practice it is considered as normative. For the exercise of ideological practices, it has been exercised either by a socio-political group or by that institution which reflects their philosophical point of view. Famous theorists like Fairclough and Van- Dijk are considered the backbone in the field of Critical Discourse analysis. In the forthcoming paragraphs their point of views are discussed.

## **2.2 Critical Discourse Analysis**

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is a rapidly developing area of language study. CDA is considered an interdisciplinary approach that is executed for the use of language in social practice. CDA is concerned with how power is exercised through language. One of the first scholars who defined CDA is Wodak (1999, p. 10), who writes that it is “an approach to language study with a critical point of view to study language behavior in natural speech situations of social relevance”. According to Van Dijk (1993), CDA is used to approach a discourse analysis critically with a firm connection of social and linguistic analysis. CDA most often concentrates on power relation, dominance and inequality in social power used in a society. These all are connected in political and social context and situations. He considers CDA as a paradigm which performs a pivotal role in interpreting the ideology and power, while using language in an organized way and procedure. Its major function is to depict relation between structure of discourse and its ideology.

The discipline of CDA is mostly evolved in the field of linguistics, psychology, anthropology and philosophy etc. Its connection is not only limited to linguistics but also have a link with other fields like social psychology, cognitive psychology and artificial intelligence. Gee (1996) considers discourse analysis as a hybrid field of study. He considered it the study of language in the real world. Discourse is not about oral activity but it is about all the things which we count in our practical world. Its reason is that language has multiple functions such as interacting communication and creating a strong relationship. On the other hand CDA is not only limited for the investigation of

components of language but also depicts basic and central ideas in writing and speaking (Gee, 2014). For the analysis of empirical studies CDA also deals with relevant methods, tools and background. Society and Discourse becomes in the umbrella of critical discourse analysis that is studied and analyzed critically and empirically.

Beside the communication purpose of language it is used to achieve particular goals, such as persuading or motivating the recipient or implementing a specific ideology. It is important to note that CDA cannot be seen as a method but rather as an approach that combines many viewpoints and methods to investigate the connection between social context and use of language. He also highlighted that its focus is mostly on the propagation of sociopolitical discourse, persuasion, manipulation and the power relation in a society through the use of political discourse. (Rashid, 2021).

The essential emphasis of CDA is the interaction between language and power. It is important to note that CDA varies from other approaches because it places a special emphasis on power and implies that the social interactions that language reproduces are to be seen as a component of a wider pattern marked by unequal power relations. As a result, it started to see language as an indication of what is happening within a greatly bigger network. In this regard, Weiss and Wodak (2005, p. 12) assert that CDA takes a special interest in the connection between language and power because it ties language, ideas, and power to the societal relationship structure on the one hand, and power relations on the other.

According to Billing (2008, p. 44) CDA has gained acceptance as a discipline within the humanities and social sciences. The acronym “CDA” is frequently used to refer to an identifiable approach to language study that has been adopted by a variety of diverse groups. In a similar line, Wodak (2015, p. 50) claims that CDA is a distinct approach to language research and an entity. He adds that it may be labeled as Neo-Marxist in nature because it emphasizes the importance of cultural and economic factors in the establishment and maintenance of power relations. In this regard, Huckson (2002) defined CDA as “a highly context- sensitive, democratic approach which takes an ethical stance on social issues with the purpose of improving society”. According to his definition, non-democratic practices, disparity, power abuse and other injustices have been given an important place to discuss them with accordance to critical discourse analysis.

Accordingly, (Kress, 1990) is of the opinion that CDA not only deals what is present but also showcases the reality that is not present in the discourse. Its more focus is on “linguistic discursive practices” that has a firm connection with “socio-political structure of power domination”. Along with that critical discourse analysis depicts about structural discrimination of control, power and superiority. Both of the connected discrimination will be obvious or unclear in nature.

Critical discourse analysis plays a pivotal role in finding the hidden meaning from a socio-cultural and political context. It was used as a proper model in 1970. It was first time used in a work where focus was on ideology, control and power. Its major concern was to highlight the function of language in a social context and its basic relation to power structure. The presented study was based on the position of the participant in his /her ideological bases and their ideology impacts on social conditions. (Fowler, Hodge and Kress, 2018).

It is clear that Critical discourse analysis has different properties than discourse its reason is that it is critical in nature. Its analysis process is not only specific to a text but it also describes a text into a vast social, historical, political and economic network and context. It also describes the relationship of its context with other various fields. It also does the analysis of text in a way that how it is built in a contemporary social practice and how it is linked with other social practices. Critical can be considered as having distant connection with data, presenting data in the social context, making political stance precise and shows it towards self-reflection (Wodak, 2007:209).

According to Jaworski and coupland (1999), in a broader sense discourse analysis is divided into three categories. Firstly use of language, secondly anything which is beyond the sentence and finally assortment of linguistic and non-linguistic features. Discourse analysis does not depend on presupposition of any written or spoken text. The categories of monolithic characters of speeches and writing have been challenged, especially at the moment when analysts took interest in the social media text and internet.

CDA is a field in which a text is critically analyzed for the purpose to change meaning of a text from structural to analytical process. In critical linguistics it has given a specific place for the investigation of socio-political adjustment. Through CDA

political doctrine can be analyzed and described on an easy way (Kress & Hodge; Fowler, 1981).

They proclaimed that CDA not only investigates units of language but also tells about social phenomenon and linguistic elements. It has mostly a firm connection with socio-cultural set up. It would be considered a strong connector between society and discourse. Wodak considers it “dialectic relationship” which connects both the society and discourse.

CDA is considered different from discourse analysis because of its critical and ideological positioning in the discourse analysis. CDA also gives analysis of power structure on the basis of using language as a medium. The importance of linguistic orientation and applications are highlighted on the basis of critical discourse analysis. For the hidden meaning of the speaker CDA also highlights the ideological and structural perceptions of certain interviews and speeches. Taking different meanings from various interviews and speeches can become true or wrong for other groups and communities. From this unending process various other forms of discourse can become easy and accessible. It is a social product composed of social events (Van Dijk, 1993).

Every event should be taken as a text or a product of its social practice. Therefore critical discourse analysis CDA is based on three main stages. The first one is description stage in which linguistic analysis is incorporated. The second one is linguistic analysis in which there is a relationship between context and linguistic findings. The last one is interpretation in which both linguistic and social contexts are connected with cultural contexts. A special importance has given to ideology in all these stages for the purpose of meaning making process. Its elements can overlap in the process of analysis but ideology remains constant (Fairclough, 1995).

## **2.3 Politics**

The origin of politics goes back to Greek word ‘politika, which means ‘affairs or matters related to cities or state. Aristotle’s book titled “politics” has been introduced from this word. Though, it was later used in middle and modern English on the names of ‘civil’, ‘civic ‘which is related to citizen and citizen. It is not only connected to human beings but its primitive evidence is also found in animals like chimpanzee. Waal (2007) discussed about the struggle of chimpanzee related to sex and power in his book entitled ‘*Chimpanzee Politics*’. Politics related idea in this book is that it is used a



manipulation for acquisition and an assumption for a better position in a social group. Politics is an activity in which social animals are in a huge struggle to make dominance over others. This system revolves around the structural elements and its role in their societal system. The structural elements are included: political, social and economic structures implemented in the real society. So, it is established that politics is the foremost building block in any society.

In common understanding 'politics' is the constituent of social life that has association with governance, civic system and other legislative procedure of a country or individual. This is considered an imposed or agreed system of a specific area which is promoted by the legislation. Therefore, politics is a broader field of study which is included to various activities. So, politics is beyond of governance and represents all aspects of life related to an individual or society. Chilton (2004) is of the opinion that everyone understands politics according to his own indulgent and opinion. In the definitions of politics it has a variety of purposes and flexibility that itself is political. After the analysis of basic idea of politics it would be understood that how politics and power have a huge connection with one another. It is considered as a struggle of power among two political parties. Its basic ideology is to assert and establish control or to resist the control. This power is asserted by variety of ways to achieve their purposes. Like persuasion, irrational strategies, rational arguments, entreaties threats etc. (Jones et al. 1994). It relates to micro level of connection to study politics on a way where, different people, group or even an individual strive to achieve control or power. On the other hand at macro-level institutions of state like political parties, unions or social movements play upon the dynamic of rule and power.

Moreover, politics is broadly connected with discourse; politics will have no meaning if it is not linked with language. The relationship of politics and language goes back to classical history of Greece. Their philosophers gave insight instruction about language and politics. The best examples related to that are Aristotle, Plato and Cicero. For the first time Aristotle gave the idea of 'political animal' for human beings. Aristotle considered speeches to be the yardstick to differentiate between bad and good just and unjust in public dealings. For this reason human being is considered as a political animal (Sinclair, 1992). In this respect speech is beyond than a 'voice' produced by animals. In Roman Empire verbal persuasion and motivation played an important role in public speaking or political oratory.

Political discourse is considered as a sub category of discourse based on two levels: functional and thematic. The politician's speeches are the results of those speeches which are historically and culturally created and determined. It is thematic in the sense that their topics are mainly concerned with political activities, acts and ideas (Fairclough, 1995). Political acts, activities and speeches have many strategies and techniques to promote their stance in public. Knowing the techniques it is very much important to get clear idea related to political discourse. One of these strategies is rhetoric used in political discourse, which is the art of speaking in political scenarios.

Similarly, political discourse refers to the use of language, both written and spoken, in a political context, for instance, a media talk or a press release by members of a political party regarding issues of governance. It could also be defined in the context of political language as proposed by Burckhardt (1996), who considers such language as a generic term comprising all types of public, institutional and private talks on political issues. Political speeches usually include persuasion, rhetoric, descriptive devices as well as linguistic and stylistic words. In this regard, politicians choose their linguistic choices strategically to influence their respective audience. The choices are: for example, of specific accent, lexical items, homonymic words, specific word forms for dominancy. These choices affect a viewer consciously or unconsciously by influencing their political thoughts. In this way, politicians use language in the realm of politics in a way that help them in gaining of power and public support (Orwell, 1950).

This form of discourse is not limited to a few political speeches or a talk on formal occasion. Political discourse presents history, present happening and the future expectation of doing politics. This is only applicable through language which shows an important and everyday activity related to politics. However, language is dense in various techniques and strategies that come into use (Fairclough, 2001).

Identity markers are commonly used in political discourse. Through the artistic way of political language minds of people are manipulated easily. Various changes can be brought in the meanings of words, phrases and clauses by the ideological representation of political discourse. Divergence of meaning in various discourses is created from the source of its interpretation. To represent language and thought means

to utilize linguistic competence in communication. The hidden ideologies of a discourse are founded in such a precise way.

Montgomery (1992) gave two perceptions about ideology; the first one is 'the universalist' and the second one is 'relativist'. The first one is about understanding of common words by fixed universal principles. The second one is more realistic and is about determination of language by thought and vice versa. In the opinion of relativist there is a firm connection between language and thought. In its opinion changing of linguistic resources can change the linguistic interpretation. Due to our linguistic resources utterances are changing as well as process of meaning making become different in various linguistic paradigms (Bakhtin, 1981). Political and critical discourse analysis has strong connection with one another. Due to its dealing with power domination and power abuse through discourse it is sometime called as critical political discourse analysis (Fairclough 1995; van Dijk 1993).

Furthermore, many political discourse analysts have used this analysis paradigm. Reason is its strong connection with power domination and power abuse in a discourse. Many political analysts considered it in the form of political science rhetoric. Due to its orientation it is analyzed and studied as an interdisciplinary field of research (Gamson, 1992).

In political discourse one of the channels is politician's speeches. Their speeches are dependent on the speaker who speaks in front of public. For achieving certain purposes the speeches will be considered as a standard centerfield. In all political and social interactions, a key medium for conveying of message is discourse, through which various groups develop their identities for the security of their interest. For instance institution, parliamentary debates, constitution discussion and interviews are all the forms of discourse either in written or spoken. Debates, discussion and speeches are broadcasted, laws are formulated and news as well as books is published in various forms using language in a proper structure. In modern time it is dealt with reconciliation and neutralizing of differences, such negotiations are achieved through the use of language (Kock, 2007).

In short, political discourse is considered as a sub category of discourse based on two levels: functional and thematic. The politicians' speeches are the results of those speeches which are historically and culturally created and determined. These are

thematic in the sense that their topics are mainly concerned with political activities acts and ideas (Fairclough, 1995). Political acts, activities and speeches have many strategies and techniques to promote their stance in public. Knowing the techniques is very much important to get clear idea related to political discourse. One of these strategies is rhetoric used in political speeches, which is the art of speaking in political speeches.

## **2.4 Identity**

Generally identity is considered as the features that identify who or what the person or thing is. It is the way that makes us different from other people (Buckingham, 2008). The Fundamental paradox of identity is inherited in the term itself. It has been taken from the Latin root “idem” meaning the same. The term is never implied for both similarity and differences. On one hand it is something unique to all of us as we assume more or less persistent over time. Identity is considered as a key term in the vernacular idiom of contemporary politics, and its fact must be judged from social analysis. Identity is not to be used a category of analysis or to be considered it something that all people have constructed and negotiated. The introduction of identity and its initial diffusion in social sciences and public discourse firstly occurred in the United States of America in 1960. The work of Erik Erikson was considered the best known trajectory for appropriation and popularization of the term “identity crisis” (Brubaker & cooker, 2013).

Literally the term identity means sameness. Identity can be most salient when people are most similar. Hence the imposed identity categories are dependent on observer’s identity and his/her power, which shows his social relation. This issue has mostly debated with respect to African American vernacular English (Silverstain, 1996). Moreover, the work of identity frequently involves for obscuring differences among those who have their common identity, it can also serve to manufacture differences among in a group or outside of group members. Along with that social identity of an Individual is required because it shows a sign of alteration, against the one who is against these social norms. Objectively it can be understood as sameness in itself while, subjectively as a perceived sameness in a social group. This sameness manifests itself in shared consciousness, solidarity or in a collective action. Its maximum use is founded in the literature of social movements, race, gender ethnicity

and nationalism. The line of identity in such use is considered a specific category for analysis and understanding.

Simply identity stated who you are; individually; it is known as a condition in which a person is shown a certain individual. In social science the concept of identity is concerned with the membership of a person with a community or group. In psychology it is known as an individual's self-esteem or self-image. Identity can be: social, cultural, national, gender and many more etc. However, the focus of this conversation is based on those aspects of identity in which an individual considers himself as a member of a specific group. As well as how this self is shaped by our language and its connection with social experience. Somer (1994) stated that identity is also used in term of social or political actions where it highlights the interactive and procession development for collective self-identity as well as solidarity and grouping which makes collective actions possible. Identity is considered both as a contingent product of social and political action or a base for further actions. Identity functions as a product of multiple and completing discourse, it showcases the nature of contemporary self. Use of identity in this way is influenced in the literature of Foucault, post-structuralism and post-modernism. Further, in somehow different structure from poststructuralist approach it has been used somewhere, in various strands of literature on ethnicity. Specifically in the literature related to situational and contextual accounts of ethnicity (Melucci, 1995).

Language is one of the fundamental aspects in cultural identity as; it helps in the determination of a person's identity in a society. Language is also known as a way of identification related to a person's race, nationality, social status and gender. Folmer (2007) explores in a study named "The Dalit identity politics in Nepal" he depicted about Christianity, while stated that converting of Christians from other religions to Christianity was an avenue to success. Moreover, those people who remained Hindus were considered that their remained identity did not give any benefit to them. In their surroundings the political manure was not to give equality as well as identity to each group. In this regard political onomastic, that is the study of the way in which names create power relations and connects it with power and privilege. This field has merely forty years of history on the name of "Politics of naming". The naming practice plays an important role in the relationship of power thus, in this way it is connected with families, states, nations and an increasingly globalized world. On the behalf of these

identical names individuals can be excluded or included into a specific community or a social group.

Elder (2009) in his article entitled “*Theory of collective identity*” considers that collective identity is one of the major attention in the society where the core of nation is being developed. However, nation should not be an exclusive focus in this regard. This collective identity can be equally referred to various cities, groups, religion, political parties or a social movement in a society. There is a distinction in the identity of a person and identity of a group in the society. Persons and societies are two different cases of identities. The identity of a person is to give a position to him and give a relative meaning that is fixed in time. It guarantees a person in the flux of time. On the other hand the same is for group; a group makes an identity which they want to succeed themselves by attributing meaning to it that is stable over time. He is of the opinion that identity is an analytical framework that covers all these cases. Its emergence is connected with the past social relation that occurs in the present time; in some cases future relationship is also included. In these cases the connection of identity is related to salvation or fate that has future relationship.

Baker and Cooper (2000), make a very strong attack on the concept of identity in the social sciences. They basically made three arguments: The first and foremost criticism was that reputed writers use this term that is not needed. They use identity as a marker of intention that is not only related to social analysis. The notion of collective identity mostly applies some primary ideologies. Somehow, collective identity shows something beyond shared values and perspectives. Its constructive position starts with a non- essentialist position that ends up in a separate instruction of collective identity. They produce an output which contradicts its basic ideas of multiplicity and fluidity. The last criticism is related about assumption of already mentioned social ontology of a group and its focus on the analytical grip of diversity. They want to make relationship that has connection to make social relationship without claiming any identity (Kantner, 2006).

Furthermore, language is a medium and a creator of social identity as well as a way of gaining self-esteem and power in the society. Jaspal (2011) elaborated that in the identity of a political figure language is one of the social markers. Language may not be good or bad but in representation of identity it has to be judged. Cultural groups

or any member of the group use such linguistic words which are used as an identity for their political dominancy (Natale, 2014). In a similar way, Edwards (2009) is of the opinion that language is used as an identity marker of an individual in a social group. In this context a person can get identity of many people, with the help of using various linguistic markers. It is also known as an essential factor of an individual, related to his/her specific identity. In the concept of social identity, it is concerned with the identity of people and community. In short, without language the individual and society cannot be separated.

## **2.5 Identity Markers**

Generally identity markers are known as those characteristics which have meaning to the society. A person can identify himself by age, nationality, citizenship, religion or political persuasion or a mixture of all of these. A person's identity defines the social status of a person. Howarth (2002) depicted that identities are the ways in which we see or represent ourselves and shape that what and how we communicate. Through various identities a person can be described same as them or different than others. Identity can be biological or socially constructed. In international relationship identity markers refer to the references used to articulate a specific connection. Identity markers can help us to understand how people think about themselves, the world and their ways of relating to others.

Politicians use various linguistic markers that act as an essential aspect of public use of language both in verbal and non-verbal forms which are usually marked by functional as well as symbolic values. Thus, the symbolic values of political discourses lie in its strategic intent which, in turn, allows the Politicians to influence their target audience either positively or negatively (Dolon & Todoli, 2008). Identity has various issues in different fields. The discussion of identity has a huge significance due to identity crises of various people across the globe. In the globalization every citizen needs uniformity to show his/her uniqueness in the society. It is based on self-projection which shows how someone is different from others and which type of similarities are found while living in a community. Through the use of various identity markers a person's identity is negotiated, shared and projected for his/her existence in a specific community. It is important to highlight someone's identity in a community due to its role in the global world (Kumaravadevelu, 2012). Politicians use language for the

fulfillment of their own purposes. It has been asserted that the language of authoritative people influence other community. For the representation of themselves, nationality, race, religion or culture they influence their audience and achieve a specific goal in their community (Mehdi, 2020).

Susilovati (2014) depicted about the investigation of identity markers approaches. He divided his research on the basis of three approaches; sociolinguistics, discourse analysis and the sociocultural linguistic approach. These approaches have the significant productive areas on the investigation of identity. Identity markers can be investigated from anthropological, psychological and sociological approaches. From linguistic approach identity has a pertinent role to be studied from different angles. For the identification of identity various approaches have been emerged, which shows its significance in various areas of research. Now identity is not only seen as the reflection of self which is considered predetermine and permanent. Identity is represented with some significant features which shows its fragmentation, fluidity, socially and politically dependency (Susilovati, 2013). According to this concept identity markers will be highlighted within interaction and will have a language for its venue of emergence. For the representation of someone's identity a specific method would be suggested for the appearance of identity within intended focus.

Wetzlawik (2012) is of the opinion that identity cannot be shown without taking cultural and social context in which an individual lives. Along with that the cultural context also influences the researcher's data collection. Moreover, the well-defined concept like identity markers, facets and voices help to limit scope of interest, which is a prominent help in answering the questions. The easiest way for the identification of identity markers is to understand that it is cross interpretation or dependent. It should belong to a certain ethnic group or a specific community. Those identity markers will be highlighted which are not already mentioned though shows it reasonable as possible.

## **2.6 Formation of Identity Markers and Political Discourse**

Identity markers and political discourse has a firm connection with each other. Using of identity markers in political speeches reinforce political point of view in public communication. Its basic purpose is to show positive self in the public, while achieve their political agendas and ideology in the community. Moreover, they keep cultural



norms in their ideologies. In short identity markers are not excluded in the process or understanding of political discourse.

Language symbolizes identity of people. Identity markers can be biological or socially constructed. Language, with its diverse social forms, serves as a potent social marker. As Yule (2010) suggested, linguistic features associated with identity markers, such as the frequent occurrence of certain speech patterns and unconsciously designate individuals connects a person /individual with a specific social group. Scherer and Giles (1988), defined identity markers as cues conveyed through verbal and non- verbal means of communication ,which is used to identify the connection of an individual with a specific social group. These identity markers can be linguistic, paralinguistic or extra linguistic in form and range. It gives a help to people for their social organization .Extra linguistics are those cues which help in gestural and physical appearance. Identity markers related to language and speeches in paralinguistic include: language style, language choice, accent and dialect etc. which are marked for social categorization.

The effectiveness of identity markers in political discourse depends on the selection and use of various words for identity. Lack of political communicative values can lack the understanding of various identity markers. The Creative production of meaning and understanding is possible on the basis of creativity of identity markers in political discourse. One of the key elements in political discourse is the use of identity markers. Though, it deviates from norm and customs of the society, the speaker has to imply the cultural ties with a specific extent.

Geis (1987) is of the opinion that political language can have a substantive, unconscious influence on political thought. His believe is that thought is directly dependent on language. A political orator constantly grapples with complexity as they endeavor to communicate their emotions and sentiments to the audience. Effectively conveying these feelings relies on the strategic use of identity markers within a metaphorical framework. In the presence of a political speaker, multiple objectives must be fulfilled. The speaker's aim extends beyond personal satisfaction; they also strive to ensure the contentment of their audience with the delivery. Additionally, the orator considers the temporal and spatial context, recognizing the significance of spatial organization and time management in political discourse. Ultimately, politicians'

success hinges on their skillful manipulation of language, critically shaping their words for public impact. Cohen (2012), depicted that an identity marker must have the given qualities. It would be salient guide toward a person's social identity. It can be easily discriminated from other qualities, as well as have the characteristics of an individual and a group. Along with that it would be comparable with uninterrupted dimensions. Moreover, these qualities would be dynamic and flexible. Most importantly it would have universal characteristics of all human beings. A politician's presentation must be aligning with the established requirements of the discourse, adhering to socio-political norms and traditions. It should steer clear of resembling with a religious sermon or a university lecture in its characteristics. The reality is that a political speech must have unique properties to achieve intended goals successfully. For this reason those politicians are considered good who have the qualities of using rhetoric to the audience. The rationale behind this is that the meanings of various political words are not solely derived from dictionaries; instead, they are discerned through context, expression, and social context (Edelman, 1970: p. 130). The examination of identity markers in political discourse appears to be an ongoing undertaking, given their extensive use in political communication. In Pakistan, political speeches prominently feature identity markers, underscoring their significance and role. A significant challenge lies in identifying these identity markers within political speeches, as their effective utilization necessitates a comprehensive co-text, implying the framing of identity markers in the context of political discourse.

## **2.7 Previous Studies on Political Discourse**

The analysis of identity markers with critical discourse analysis stands out as prominent research area in the field of linguistics. Numerous studies have examined into various topics within this domain. In the forthcoming research, a review of both national and international studies has been undertaken within the scope of the present study to pinpoint gaps in the current research landscape. Lefkowitz (2003) conducted a research entitled "The Politics of language and Identity in Israel" which is related to social and ethnic identity. He considered that identity has a firm connection with language. Israeli people make linguistics choices to show their identity in other countries. He compares Arabic, English and Hebrew language speakers in their respective identities. The article is about the impacts of language, the behavior of

audience and supporters of a political party .He further examines that in this respect politicians use various rhetorical words to gain vote bank and support in public.

Similarly, Lourdes (2008) conducted a research dissertation on Identity politics and considered the concept as a political approach. He considers it an approach, where people of a particular gender, religion, race, social background and social class or through other identity factors develop political agendas. Political identities of the politicians are based on their social identities and behaviors. Furthermore, he explored the function of language in American Politics as well as about political journalism with two major goals: The first one was to understand linguistic and sociolinguistic properties of journalistic and political language. The second purpose was to understand use of political language with respect to their political thoughts in America. For that purpose their political talks have been selected and then these talks were considered a major cause for them to persuade their audience.

Relevant to that Folmar (2007) talks about the identity politics among Dalits in Nepal. For this purpose he compares the identity of Nepalian people, with other Indian societies. Furthermore, he tried to find out the reasons through which Dalits are still oppressed in social and political scenarios. In his research dissertation he depicted that high level of ethnic group has more privileged identity in public comparing to the marginalized people. It is the duty of Dalit's to treat their related community on a polite way, respect each other accordingly. Otherwise, the Dalits will always be marginalized in the minds of their local public. They need to apply the political and social strategies for their survival in their relevant societies. They identify caste identity from other groups which is one of the biggest reasons in their decline and oppression in the society.

Hankins and Vechten (2000) conducted a research dissertation, named; "The Psychological Foundation of Identity Politics". In their research dissertation they talked about psychological theories related to political identity and social group behaviors. They further, elaborated about individual relation to social identity as well as psychological explanation of social identity. Through the use of social identities politicians get hegemony and entertainment. The first part of their dissertation is about psychological foundation of identity, with special regard of social cognition, social constructions and social roles. The second part is about conflict, intergroup relation, cognition, and its connection with identity.

Mcgon (2013) did a Critical discourse analysis of the political speech of Nick Clegg the leader of Liberal Party in the United Kingdom. His major purpose was to interpret the speech as a discursive episode which changes social practice. For getting the reliable objectives Fairclough model and other linguistic theories were employed. The study revealed a significant disparity between the claims made in the selected speeches and their publicized representations. Beard (2000) contends that the main objective of political speeches is to manipulate public opinion and establish political dominance. Politicians skillfully wield language to evoke emotions in their respected community. Dvork (2012) conducted a research in the United States while emphasized the detailed use of linguistic strategies. It was concluded that various rhetorical strategies and metaphors were used for the attention of audience and supporters.

Several researches on political discourse in the Pakistani context have been conducted. Bilal, Akbar & Gul (2012) conducted a research to critically analyze Pakistani media discourse. Their major concern was on those TV talk shows which discussed political issues; they used van Dijk's theory of social cognition for its micro and macro analysis. They highlighted the TV anchors strategic use of language for the promotion of their channels similarly promoting personal agendas. Shaikh & Bughio (2012) did a research on the political speech of Imran Khan to investigate his rhetorical and linguistic strategies in giving a vision of new Pakistan. They used critical discourse analysis as a paradigm.

Memon, Bughio & Gopang (2014) conducted a research on the last speech of Benazir Bhutto. They analyzed her use of linguistic and rhetorical strategies for the purpose of positively influence her audience. For the said purpose o Van Dijk model of CDA was used. Mahmood, Obaid & Shakir (2014) conducted a research about Pakistani print media with special reference to newspaper while using CDA as a paradigm. Their research identified a reliance on figurative language devices such as simile, metaphor, hyperbole, and metonymies, highlighted its significant role in shaping public opinion.

Khan and Abid (2015) investigated the use of metaphors in autobiographies of Pakistani politicians, particularly those of Pervez Musharraf and Benazir Bhutto, employing critical metaphor theory. They found that politicians frequently used metaphors to assert dominance and persuade the public. Ali & Kazimian (2015)

examined Liaquat Ali Khan's famous speech through Critical Discourse Analysis, considering language as a social phenomenon and revealing how metaphors were employed to communicate the politician's ideology to the public.

## **2.8 Gap in the Existing Literature**

Various studies have used critical discourse analysis as a framework to examine political discourse. Few studies focused on the use of identity markers in political discourse a relatively under researched area of political discourse. The above mentioned research articles are conducted related to political leader's speeches, interviews analysis. Using various identity markers as a political identity in Pakistani politics is a new research gap. In the developing countries like Pakistan, identity markers serve an important medium of information in political context. However, this aspect has not been acknowledged much, so the current study is a frequent source of help in public awareness message. As politics of identity markers seem a gap in literature, the current study fills the gap in literature and provides a new insight for further studies.

## **CHAPTER 3**

### **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

This chapter allows knowing how the study is conducted in a systematic way. The chapter is divided into the following sections: study design, theoretical framework, data collection, data analysis, sampling and rationale.

#### **3.1 Study Method**

The current study is qualitative in nature. This research is qualitative as it is not associated with numbers or numerical measures while focuses on the study of issues in depth and detail analysis by using qualitative data collection tools which are online newspapers' reports.

#### **3.2 Theoretical Framework**

Theoretical framework is formulated to predict, explain and understand the phenomenon under investigation. Theoretical framework allows for an investigation about why the problem of research under the study exists. The study utilized Fairclough's (1995) three dimensional discourse analysis model for data analysis.

##### **3.2.1 Fairclough 3D Model**

Norman Fairclough in 1995 introduced three dimensional discourse analyses model. He examined language as an integral part of the society. He suggested that language and society is connected in both internal and external senses. According to him, language is a social process, in which linguistic phenomenon reflects social phenomenon accordingly. Fairclough's (1995) model consists of three dimensions: (i) language a text, spoken or written (ii) discourse practice (text production and interpretation) (iii) sociocultural practice. The first dimension is 'language a text' that is also called micro-analysis or description stage. In this stage text is only described. This description of the text is based on three tools: (I) linguistic tools (parts of speech, sentence structure etc.) (II) Semiotic tools sign and symbols etc.) (III) Literary figure (Various figures of speech such as metaphor and hyperbole). In this stage, text is only described and the study avoids an in-depth analysis like interpretation and explanation. The study utilized this stage to highlight visual, symbolic and ideological identity markers politician employed in their speeches in the newspapers.

The second dimension is the discursive practice which is the interpretation stage. The text is interpreted with the help of consumer and producer relationship. Producers are the speakers who speak to the audience /public. The consumers are the audience /public who listen to the politicians' speeches. The last dimension is socio-cultural practice which is considered the explanatory phase. In this stage the hidden agenda of the speaker will be invented, tracing out the underlying ideologies and the impact of discourse upon the society.

### 3.2.2 Application of the Theory

The study utilizes and modifies the theoretical model for the analysis of the data to find answers of the research questions: the detail is given below.

**Table 1**

*Fairclough 3D Model for the analysis*

Stage	Analysis	Detail
Textual (Descriptive Stage)	Text	The study provides text or excerpt for the analysis
	Description	The study looks for key features of the text, including language, vocabulary, grammar, and structure
	Identity Markers	The study identifies and highlights significant terms, phrases, or markers that indicate identity, role, or position within the text.
Discursive Practice ( Interpretation Stage)	Production and Understanding	The study explains how the text is produced and understood within its context. Consider the intentions of the speaker/writer and the reception by the audience.
	Interpretation	The study interprets the meanings and implications of the text. It analyzes how language is used to construct reality, identity, relationships, and social roles.
Socio-cultural (Explanatory) Stage	Explanation	The study examines the broader socio-cultural and historical context of the text. Assess how social structures, power dynamics, and cultural norms influence and are influenced by the text.

In this subsection, the study apply Fairclough 3 D model by giving a sample statement of Bilawal Bhutto and describes its relevance to Identity markers. This application of the theory in the data analysis is based on the above table. (See table 1)

*“At the end of the day, the applicant before this esteemed Court is a ‘Nawasa’ fighting for the cause of his ‘Nana’,” (The Dawn, October 10 2018)*

#### **a. Textual (Descriptive Stage)**

Bilawal Bhutto's statement positions himself as a 'Nawasa' (grandson) fighting for the cause of his 'Nana' (maternal grandfather), referencing his relationship to Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the founder of the Pakistan People's Party (PPP).

#### **b. Identity Markers**

Family Legacy: Bilawal identifies himself in terms of his familial relationship, highlighting his role as the grandson of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.

Continuity of Cause: By stating he is fighting for the cause of his grandfather, Bilawal aligns himself with the political legacy and principles of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.

#### **c. Discursive Practice (Interpretative Stage)**

At this stage, the study interprets how the text is produced and understood. Bilawal Bhutto's statement emphasizes his personal connection to his grandfather and the continuation of his political struggle.

#### **d. Interpretation**

Emotional Appeal: By invoking the familial terms 'Nawasa (grandson)' and 'Nana (grandfather)', Bilawal makes an emotional appeal to the audience, leveraging the respect and affection for his grandfather to garner support.

Legitimacy and Continuity: Bilawal Bhutto's statement seeks to legitimize his political position by framing his actions as a continuation of his grandfather's legacy, thus asserting the continuity of the PPP's mission and values.

#### **e. Socio-cultural (Explanatory Stage)**

This stage examines the broader implications of the speaker's words in their socio-cultural context.



## **f. Explanation**

**Political Legacy:** The reference to Zulfikar Ali Bhutto highlights the importance of political legacies in Pakistani politics, where familial connections often play a significant role in establishing credibility and garnering support.

**Symbolic Resonance:** By aligning himself with his grandfather, Bilawal taps into the symbolic resonance of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's legacy, which is associated with populist policies, social justice, and the founding principles of the PPP. This appeal to legacy can mobilize the party's traditional base and evoke a sense of continuity and loyalty.

## **3.3 Data Collection**

Data was collected from the selected sample on the basis of Fairclough 3D Model. The study first reached the Dawn and Express Tribune newspaper online. The study focused on The Dawn and Express Tribune newspapers published during 2018 to 2023. Within the newspaper, the study focused on newspaper's reports and copied carefully all the relevant newspaper's reports. The study made a separate folder for these copied reports and saved it. The study makes sure the authenticity of publication dates and the topics. The study carefully read the reports and removed all the meta-data. The study then focused on the reports that were more relevant according to the research objectives. The criteria for selection of these newspaper's reports was that reports dealing with the speeches of these four prominent leaders were chosen.

## **3.4 Data Analysis**

A thematic analysis of Braun and Clark's analytical framework (2006) was used for the decoding of the primary data. According to this framework the data was analyzed in a series of steps. In the first step, familiarization; the researcher continued conducting repeated readings of the data in order to familiarize himself with the data. In the second step, initial coding; the researcher generated the initial codes then organized the data in a systematic and meaningful way. In the third step, categorized the themes, the researcher then examined the identified codes for exploring different themes and thematic patterns align with Fairclough 3-D model. In the fourth step, there was reviewing of the themes, the researcher reviewed the identified themes. In the fifth step, defining and redefining themes, the researcher defined and redefined the available themes into appropriate categories and sub-categories. In the final step, linked the

themes into theoretical framework, the researcher contextualized the available themes in the data in accordance with the theoretical framework 'Fairclough 3-D model.

### **3.5 Sampling and Rationale**

Sample refers to a representative proportion of a research population that a researcher requires for conducting a research study. The current study adopted purposive sampling technique that falls under the domain of non-probability sampling technique. Thus, the researcher carefully chose politicians' speeches in the newspapers reports to identify strategic use of various identity markers. Ten news papers' reports (online) of each political party were selected. For the said purpose, the four major political leaders are selected who are chairman or founders of their respective political parties.

The justification for the selection of these four political parties is on their position in the politics of the country. The first prominent thing is their media coverage, secondly representation of these parties in national and provincial assemblies. All of these parties have more seats in national and all provincial assemblies comparing to other parties of the country. Another important reason is that all these parties are relatively using more identity markers for their positive self-identity and negative others identities.

Using newspapers to access speeches provides a practical means to analyze how these speeches are reported and contextualized within the media. By studying speeches through the lens of newspapers' reporting researchers can gain insights into the broader socio-political dynamics and role of media in shaping public opinion and discourse. This approach is particularly useful as direct recordings or transcripts of speeches are unavailable, allowing for the investigation of both the content and its presentation within the societal context.

The study selected The Dawn and The Express Tribune which are among the most widely read and reputable English-language newspapers in Pakistan. Dawn established in 1941, is Pakistan's oldest and most widely circulated English newspaper, providing a rich archive for longitudinal studies and a reflection of the established journalistic traditions in Pakistan. The Express Tribune, associated with the globally recognized International New York Times, offers a modern, liberal perspective, and caters especially to Pakistan's younger demographics. The contrasting ages and

affiliations of these newspapers may provide diverse perspectives on identity markers  
Newspapers' Audience share in Pakistan.

The study selected newspapers' reports for the analysis. Newspaper reports, as opposed to editorials or opinion pieces, are structured to convey information more objectively. Direct Reports focus on the coverage of events, issues, and public figures, providing direct insights into how identity-related issues are framed in real-world contexts. As primary sources, newspaper reports are readily accessible and provide a documented timeline of events and issues, which is essential for tracing historical and contemporary trends in the discourse on identity markers.

## CHAPTER 4

### DATA ANALYSIS

The fourth chapter deals with the general information about the study, key findings and discussion. The general information allow for the overall sampling of the study. The key findings are based on the objectives of the study: The Construction of Political Identity through Identity Marker, specific identity markers politician use, and the discourse behind the political identity markers. In the discussion section, the study provides an analysis of how the selected political leaders construct their identity markers.

#### 4.1 General Information

**Table 2**

*General information*

<b>Newspaper Name</b>	The Dawn , The Express Tribune
<b>Genre in newspaper</b>	Newspaper reports
<b>Political Leaders</b>	Imran Khan, Bilawal Bhutto, Nawaz Sharif, Fazal-ur-Rehman
<b>Political Parties</b>	PTI, PPP, PMLN, JUIF
<b>Language</b>	English
<b>Country</b>	Pakistan
<b>Date</b>	2018 to 2023
<b>Audience</b>	Pakistani

#### 4.2 Findings

This section of the chapter deals with the key findings of the study.

##### 4.2.1 Specific Identity Markers Politicians Use

This sub section deals with the findings of the first question of the study.

**Table 3***Specific Identity Markers of Pakistani Politicians*

<b>Identity markers of Imran Khan</b>	<b>Identity markers of Bilawal Bhutto</b>	<b>Identity markers of Nawaz Sharif</b>	<b>Identity Markers Of Fazal-ur-Rehman</b>
Youth mobilization	Bhutto	Infrastructure	Islam
Anti- corruption	Roti kapra makan ( Bread, cloth and shelter)	Regional connectivity	Anti-Imran Khan
Naya Pakistan (new Pakistan)	Flag	Vote ko izzat do (respect to vote)	Turban
Bat	Family lineage	Lion	Molana(Islamic scholar)
Insaf (justice)	Democracy	Economic growth	Shalwar kameez
Khan	Continuity of Cause	Progress and development	Shariyat (sharia)
Victim of Conspiracy	Political Heritage	Democratic Advocate	Islamic Principles
Champion Of Meritocracy	Social Welfare	Popular Leader	Leadership And Ideological Commitment
Nation-Builder	Women's Rights	Democratic Values	Human Rights

Champion of Values	Policy Initiatives	Political Mobilization	Moral authority
Policy Leader	Social Welfare	Family Loyalty	Opposition Identity
Religious Guidance	Socialist Ideology	Development Champion	Concern for Country
Resilience	Political Legacy	Visionary Leader	Religious and Political Leader
Religious Conviction:	Democratic Values	Strategic Diplomat	Organizational Affiliation
Leadership and Resolve	Historical Reverence	Political Machinations	Religious Authority
Victimization	Economic Justice	Economic Stewardship	Nationalist Stance
Opposition to Western Values	Sustainable Development	Statesmanship	Defender of Refugees
Rule of Law	Agent of Change	Forgiveness and Magnanimity	Critic of Authorities
	Reformer	Honest Politician	Human Rights Activism
	Workers' Rights	Morality	Palestinian Cause
		Vindicated Leader	Islamic Governance
		Fiscal Responsibility	Political Aspirations
		Moral Critic	Mobilization of Support

		Economic Reformer:	Support for Palestinian Unity
			Rejection of the Two-State Solution

Table1 shows the identity markers used by Pakistani political leaders. These identity markers are associated with the four political leaders, Imran Khan, Bilawal Bhutto, Nawaz Sharif, Fazal-ur-Rehman and their parties.

#### **4.2.2 The Construction of Political Identity through Identity Markers**

In this sub section, the study deals with the key findings of the second question.

##### **a. Imran Khan's Identity Construction through Identity Markers**

Imran Khan crafts his political identity through strategic use of linguistic, semiotic, and literary identity markers that resonate deeply with his audience. Linguistically, Khan's speeches and texts frequently employ declarative sentences and modal verbs such as "will," which assert strong future intentions and establish an authoritative tone. Pronouns like "we" and "you" are particularly effective, creating a sense of inclusion and direct engagement, which are pivotal in political rhetoric aimed at fostering unity and a sense of responsibility among listeners. Semiotically, phrases such as "Road to Naya Pakistan" and references to entities like the "National Accountability Bureau (NAB)" or "NRO-II" function as powerful cultural and political symbols. These markers not only evoke specific nationalistic sentiments but also contextualize legal narratives, thus crafting a distinct national and legal identity that aligns with the socio-political consciousness of the Pakistani populace. Literarily, metaphors like "our attack force" and narratives that cast moral judgments such as "committed cruelty" add emotional depth and simplify complex political scenarios into terms that resonate with moral and ethical alignments of the audience. Together, these identity markers are integral in communicating potent political messages, shaping public perception, and reinforcing the civic and national identity commitments of Imran Khan and the PTI.

### **b. Bilawal Bhutto's Identity Construction through Identity Markers**

In shaping the political narrative of Bilawal Bhutto and the Pakistan People's Party (PPP), the strategic use of linguistic, semiotic, and literary tools effectively constructs their identity through distinct identity markers. Linguistically, the text's use of past tense and modal verbs showcases a reflective and authoritative tone, weaving a historical continuity that cements Bilawal's rightful place within the party's legacy. Pronouns like "his mother" alongside specific names anchor his narrative in a personal and historical context, thus legitimating the enduring political legacy handed down through generations. Semiotically, symbols such as "PPP flags" and the enduring slogan "roti (bread), kapra (cloth) and makan( home)" are potent identity markers that evoke the party's foundational promises and historical identity, while also making emotional connections with the audience. The invocation of iconic figures like Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Benazir Bhutto deepens this connection, positioning the text within a broader cultural and political milieu that resonates with historical significance. Moreover, literary devices such as metaphors, with descriptions of his mother as a "symbol of democracy, freedom, and equal rights," not only elevate her status but also succinctly portray the party's ideological stance. Together, these elements forge a compelling narrative that intertwines the PPP's historical roots and familial lineage with contemporary political goals and ideals, thereby reinforcing their identity through carefully chosen identity markers.

### **c. Nawaz Sharif's Identity Construction through Identity Markers**

In the discourse of Nawaz Sharif, a detailed analysis using linguistic and semiotic tools reveals how varied sentence structures, modal verbs, and pronouns systematically construct his political identity. Simple directives such as "Tell Maryam to hold rallies across Punjab," alongside more complex sentences outlining his political contributions and visions, illustrate a dynamic and proactive leadership style. Modal verbs like "will work harder" and "will connect" emphasize his future commitments and intentions, signaling a strong promise of progress and stability. Pronouns such as "we" and "our" strategically foster a collective identity, bridging Sharif and his audience in shared goals and inclusivity. Semiotically, the repeated use of party symbols such as flags and stuffed lions not only symbolize unity and allegiance but also act as visual identity markers reinforcing his political loyalty and leadership during



public rallies. Literary devices further enrich his political narrative; metaphors like "his voice and slogan... is echoing through the country" and symbolism represented by electoral symbols such as stuffed lions deepen the emotional connection and underscore key political messages. These linguistic choices and semiotic representations are potent identity markers that construct a cohesive and persuasive political identity for Nawaz Sharif, aimed at mobilizing support and affirming his ideological commitments within the socio-political context of Pakistan.

#### **d. Fazal-ur-Rehman's Identity Construction through Identity Markers**

Fazal-ur-Rehman constructs his political identity by aligning with Islamic ideology. The assertion that "Islam's 'economic system' was the only solution" emphasizes a commitment to specific religious principles as the foundation of his political identity. Using of titles such as "chief" and "Jamiat Ulema-i-Islam" positions Fazal-ur-Rehman as an authoritative figure within the party. This contributes to the construction of his identity as a central and influential leader. The labeling of Imran Khan as a "fitna [evil]" and a "Western agent" reflects definitional discourse, categorizing political opponents within specific ideological dimensions. This contributes to shaping the identity narrative by defining adversaries in stark terms.

Fazal-ur-Rehman's identity construction is intricately linked to his use of identity markers, which are pivotal in defining and presenting his socio-political and religious stances. These markers are evident in his speech patterns, choice of attire, and public associations, all of which collectively signal his affiliations and beliefs. By consistently aligning himself with traditional Islamic dress and using religious rhetoric, Fazal-ur-Rehman emphasizes his role as a religious leader within his community. His frequent references to Islamic jurisprudence and positions on national issues further reinforce his constructed identity as a guardian of Islamic values in a modern political landscape. This strategic use of identity markers not only helps Fazal-ur-Rehman to assert his authority and influence but also connects him deeply with his followers, who see him as a symbol of religious commitment and political resilience.

#### **4.2.3 The Discourse behind the Use of Identity Markers**

1. The reasons Imran Khan Uses specific Identity markers are discussed is below.

**Contextualization within Socio-Political Landscape:** Politicians, including Imran Khan, employ these identity markers to address corruption concerns, national

development aspirations, and youth engagement, aligning their discourse with the socio-political landscape.

**Alignment with Societal Values:** The use of identity markers aligns with societal values of accountability, transparency, responsibility, ethical governance, and youth involvement, contributing to the resonance of the discourse.

**Challenging the Power Structure:** Using of Identity markers like "We" challenge existing power structures by advocating accountability and autonomy, positioning the collective as agents of change.

**Cultural Aspirations:** The use of "Naya Pakistan" taps into cultural aspirations for progress and transformation, connecting the discourse with broader societal desires for positive change and a brighter future.

**Mobilization and Empowerment:** By addressing the audience as students and emphasizing their responsibility, Imran Khan seeks to mobilize and empower them, positioning them as active participants in the political process.

**Transparency and Accountability:** Promising an autonomous NAB and pursuing corruption cases reinforces a political identity centered on transparency, accountability, and opposition to corruption.

**Symbolic Vision:** The use of "Naya Pakistan" serves as a visionary and symbolic identity marker, presenting a positive vision for the country under his leadership.

**Activism and Resolve:** Referring to the audience as an "attack force" and using militaristic language reflects a strategic use of identity markers to convey a sense of activism, strength, and resolve in achieving political goals.

**Critique and Opposition:** Criticizing the granting of NRO-II aligns with an identity marker of opposition to corrupt elements, reinforcing a stance against compromise and dealing with perceived corrupt practices.

## 2. The discourse behind Bilawal Bhutto's use of Identity Markers

Following are the reasons behind Bilawal Bhutto's use of specific identity markers.

**Connection to Societal Values:** Bilawal Bhutto strategically uses identity markers that align with societal values in Pakistan, such as democracy, gender equality, and social justice.

**Familial Legacy and Continuity:** By referencing historical figures and using the Bhutto family name, the PPP seeks to create a sense of continuity, authenticity, and a connection to a historical legacy.

**Political Relevance and Problem-Solving:** The discourse emphasizes the PPP's relevance in addressing present challenges, linking its historical narrative to contemporary issues in Pakistan.

**Party Loyalty and Recognition:** Identity markers like the Bhutto surname, historical slogans, and party symbols contribute to party loyalty and recognition among supporters.

### 3. The discourse behind Nawaz Sharif's use of Identity Markers

The reasons Nawaz Sharif uses specific identity marker are given below.

**Leadership Presence and Guidance:** The use of directives and praise for family members reinforces Nawaz Sharif's leadership presence, providing guidance and shaping the party's actions.

**Alignment with Socio-Economic Imperatives:** PML-N strategically aligns its discourse with regional, economic, and infrastructural imperatives, addressing tangible needs and aspirations of the society. This enhances the party's relevance and positions it as a pragmatic player.

**Visual and Symbolic Representation:** Identity markers such as party flags, slogans, and electoral symbols contribute to visual and symbolic representation, fostering recognition and loyalty among supporters.

**Narrative of Progress and Development:** The emphasis on infrastructure, economic progress, and commitment to future development contributes to a narrative that aligns with societal aspirations for progress.

### 4. The Discourse behind Fazal-ur-Rehman's use of Identity Markers

The reasons behind the use of Fazal-ur-Rehman's specific identity markers

**Ideological Emphasis and Resistance:** The emphasis on Islamic economic principles and criticism of external forces align with JUI-F's ideological commitments, signaling resistance against perceived cultural and ideological hegemony.

**Authoritative Representation:** Authoritative titles and self-references contribute to the construction of Fazal-ur-Rehman's identity as a central and influential leader within JUI-F.

**Defining Political Narratives:** Definitional discourse, especially labeling Imran Khan as a "fitna (evil)" and a "Western agent," serves to define political narratives, presenting adversaries within specific ideological dimensions.

**Constitutional Legitimacy:** References to Articles 16 and 17 of the Constitution in relation to the "Azadi March (independence march)" position the intended protest within a constitutional framework, adding legitimacy to the party's actions and aligning with democratic principles.

### 4.3 Discussion

In this section, the study applied Fairclough 3 D model on the Statements of four Political leaders of four major political parties: Imran Khan (PTI), Bilawal Bhutto (PPP), Nawaz Sharif (PMLN) and Fazal-ur- Rehman (JUIF). Their statements have been taken from the newspaper (The Dawn and The Express Tribune). In this subsection, the study comprehensively analyzes the statements of these political leaders from Fairclough 3 D model perspective dealing with answer of the three questions.

#### 4.3.1 The Analysis of the Construction of Imran Khan (PTI) Identity Markers

Imran Khan, a prominent figure in Pakistani politics, employs strategic language to convey his political identity markers in various contexts. This analysis employs Fairclough's 3D model to examine the textual, discursive, and socio-cultural dimensions of the newspapers texts. By scrutinizing linguistic features, power dynamics, ideologies, socio-cultural context, and associated identity markers, the study give insights into how Imran Khan constructs his political identity.

**Example1:** *“Gen (retired) Bajwa committed cruelty to the country by granting NRO-II to the gang of corrupt elements after installing their government through 'regime change conspiracy” (The Dawn, December 16 2020)*

- **Textual (Descriptive Stage)**

Imran Khan's statement accuses General (retired) Bajwa of committing cruelty to the country by granting NRO-II (National Reconciliation Ordinance) to corrupt elements and installing their government through a regime change conspiracy.

- **Identity Markers**

**Anti-Corruption Advocate:** Imran Khan positions himself as a staunch opponent of corruption by condemning the NRO-II and labeling its beneficiaries as a 'gang of corrupt elements.'

**Victim of Conspiracy:** By describing the events as a 'regime change conspiracy,' Khan portrays himself and his political party as victims of a deliberate and unjust political maneuver.

- **Discursive Practice (Interpretative Stage)**

At this stage, the study interprets how the text is produced and understood. Imran Khan's statement aims to delegitimize his political opponents and criticize the actions of General Bajwa.

- **Interpretation**

**Condemnation of Corruption:** The term 'gang of corrupt elements' is used to delegitimize the opponents by highlighting their alleged involvement in corrupt activities, aligning with Khan's broader anti-corruption stance.

**Conspiracy Narrative:** By framing the political events as a 'regime change conspiracy,' Khan invokes a narrative of betrayal and injustice, suggesting that his removal from power was orchestrated by corrupt forces with the complicity of General Bajwa.

- **Socio-cultural (Explanatory Stage)**

This stage examines the broader implications of the speaker's words in their socio-cultural context.

- **Explanation**

**Political Context:** The accusation of a 'regime change conspiracy' and the granting of NRO-II reflect ongoing political tensions and power struggles in Pakistan. Khan's statement taps into public sentiments of distrust toward political and military elites.

**Anti-Corruption Sentiment:** Imran Khan's emphasis on corruption resonates with broader societal concerns about corruption and governance in Pakistan. His statement seeks to galvanize support by positioning himself as a crusader against corruption and a victim of corrupt practices.

**Example 2:** *"I know many who collected money and opened businesses here but they weren't successful since you have to give bribes and the system doesn't permit merit to move forward."* (The Dawn, May 26 2023)

- **Textual (Descriptive Stage)**

This sentence is a declarative statement that highlights issues of corruption and lack of meritocracy in the system. Imran Khan uses personal knowledge ("I know many") to lend credibility to his assertion. The phrase "they weren't successful since you have to give bribes" emphasizes the negative impact of corruption on business ventures.

- **Identity Markers**

**Anti-Corruption Advocate:** Imran Khan positions himself as an advocate against corruption, highlighting its detrimental effects on business and meritocracy.

**Champion of Meritocracy:** By criticizing the system's lack of meritocracy, he aligns himself with principles of fairness and equal opportunity.

- **Discursive Practice (Interpretative Stage)**

At this stage, the study considers how the text is produced and consumed. Imran Khan's statement is aimed at highlighting systemic issues and mobilizing support for anti-corruption measures.

- **Interpretation**

**Narrative of Reform:** By highlighting corruption as a barrier to success, Imran Khan constructs a narrative of reform and change, positioning himself as a leader committed to addressing systemic issues.

**Appeal to Public Sentiment:** The mention of bribery and lack of meritocracy resonates with public frustrations, appealing to a sense of injustice and the need for change.

- **Socio-cultural (Explanatory Stage)**

This stage situates the discourse within broader social and cultural contexts. Imran Khan's statements reflect wider concerns about corruption and governance in Pakistan.

- **Explanation**

**Cultural Norms and Governance:** Corruption and lack of meritocracy are longstanding issues in Pakistani society, deeply entrenched in cultural and political practices. Imran Khan's critique taps into broader societal frustrations with these issues.

**Desire for Change:** In a context where corruption is seen as a major impediment to progress, Imran Khan's focus is on anti-corruption measures which resonate with public desires for reform and accountability.

**Example 3:** *"How are nations formed? When young people are vibrant, they work hard, start their own businesses. When they (youth) succeed, they lift up the country,"* (The Dawn, January 27 2020)

- **Textual (Descriptive Stage)**

This sentence is a rhetorical question followed by a statement highlighting the role of youth in nation-building. The phrase "young people are vibrant, they work hard, start their own businesses" emphasizes the positive contribution of youth to economic development and nation-building.

- **Identity Markers**

**Champion of Youth Empowerment:** Imran Khan positions himself as a supporter of youth entrepreneurship and economic empowerment, highlighting their potential to drive national progress.

**Nation-Builder:** By emphasizing the role of youth in lifting up the country, he aligns himself with a vision of Pakistan's future prosperity.

- **Discursive Practice (Interpretative Stage)**

The study analyzes how this discourse is created and interpreted. Imran Khan's statement is aimed at inspiring and mobilizing young people while also projecting a vision of national development.

- **Interpretation**

**Empowerment Narrative:** By highlighting the intervention and potential of young people, Imran Khan constructs a narrative of empowerment, positioning himself as a leader who supports and values the contributions of youth.

**National Unity:** The idea of youth lifting up the country suggests a shared national project, appealing to ideals of unity and collective progress under Imran Khan's leadership.

- **Socio-cultural (Explanatory Stage)**

This stage examines the broader implications of Imran Khan's words in the socio-cultural context.

- **Explanation**

**Demographic Realities:** Pakistan has a large youth population, and their economic empowerment is seen as crucial for the country's development. Imran Khan's focus on youth resonates with broader societal aspirations for economic opportunity and social mobility.

**Vision for the Future:** Imran Khan's emphasis on youth entrepreneurship reflects broader narratives of economic development and prosperity, appealing to hopes for a brighter future under his leadership.

**Example 4:** *"My message on Independence Day [is] especially for our youth. These three characteristics — truth, justice and valour — transform ordinary human beings into great ones," (The Dawn, August 15 2021)*



- **Textual (Descriptive Stage)**

This sentence is a declarative statement delivering a message to the youth on Independence Day. Imran Khan identifies three characteristics – truth, justice, and valour as transformative qualities. The phrase "transform ordinary human beings into great ones" emphasizes the importance of these qualities in personal and national development.

- **Identity Markers**

**Youth Advocate:** Imran Khan positions himself as an advocate for youth empowerment and development, addressing them directly with a message tailored to their aspirations.

**Champion of Values:** By emphasizing truth, justice, and valor, he aligns himself with principles of integrity, fairness, and courage, projecting an image of moral leadership.

- **Discursive Practice (Interpretative Stage)**

At this stage, the study considers how the text is produced and consumed. Imran Khan's statement is aimed at inspiring and mobilizing the youth while also projecting a vision of national renewal.

- **Interpretation**

**Youth Mobilization:** By addressing the youth directly and highlighting transformative qualities, Imran Khan seeks to inspire and mobilize young people, positioning himself as a leader who understands and values their potential.

**National Renewal:** The mention of Independence Day and transformative qualities suggests a broader narrative of national renewal and progress under Imran Khan's leadership, appealing to ideals of patriotism and national pride.

- **Socio-cultural (Explanatory Stage)**

This stage situates the discourse within broader social and cultural contexts. Imran Khan's statements reflect wider concerns about moral values and national identity in Pakistan.

- **Explanation**

**Youth Aspirations:** In a country with a large youth population, addressing youth aspirations is crucial for political leaders. Imran Khan's focus is on empowering and inspiring young people resonates with broader societal aspirations for youth development and opportunity.

**National Identity:** References to Independence Day and transformative qualities tap into broader narratives of national identity and renewal, appealing to ideals of patriotism, integrity, and progress within Pakistani society.

**Example 5:** *"We will make the National Accountability Bureau (NAB) autonomous and pursue all cases of corruption," The Dawn, July 9 2018)*

- **Textual (Descriptive Stage)**

This sentence is a declarative statement outlining a policy proposal to address corruption. Imran Khan asserts the intention to make the National Accountability Bureau (NAB) autonomous and pursue all cases of corruption.

- **Identity Markers**

**Anti-Corruption Advocate:** Imran Khan positions himself as a champion against corruption, emphasizing the need for accountability and transparency in governance.

**Policy Leader:** By outlining a specific policy proposal, he presents himself as a proactive leader with a concrete plan to address a pressing issue.

- **Discursive Practice (Interpretative Stage)**

The study analyzes how this discourse is created and interpreted. Imran Khan's statement is aimed at signaling his commitment to combating corruption and reforming governance.

- **Interpretation**

**Transparency and Accountability:** By advocating for an autonomous NAB and pursuing all cases of corruption, Imran Khan emphasizes transparency and accountability in governance, positioning himself as a leader committed to clean governance.

**Political Reform:** The proposal to make NAB autonomous and pursue all corruption cases suggests a broader agenda of political reform and institutional strengthening under Imran Khan's leadership, appealing to public demands for accountability and integrity.

- **Socio-cultural (Explanatory Stage)**

This stage examines the broader implications of Imran Khan's words in their socio-cultural context.

- **Explanation**

**Public Trust:** Corruption is a major concern for the Pakistani public, undermining trust in government institutions and impeding socio-economic development. Imran Khan's focus is on anti-corruption measures resonate with broader public demands for accountability and transparency.

**Institutional Reform:** Calls for an autonomous NAB and pursuing all corruption cases reflect broader narratives of institutional reform and governance improvement, appealing to hopes for a more efficient and accountable state apparatus.

**Example 6:** *“One of the main reasons for establishing the Rahamatul-Lil-Alameen Authority was to guide the young generation towards the glowing teachings of Prophet Muhammad (Peace be upon Him) for real success in this world and hereafter,” ( the Express Tribune, March 4 2022)*

- **Textual (Descriptive Stage)**

Imran Khan's statement explains that one of the primary reasons for establishing the Rahamatul-lil-Alameen Authority is to guide the young generation towards the teachings of Prophet Muhammad (Peace be upon Him) for achieving real success in this world and the hereafter.

- **Identity Markers**

**Religious Guidance:** Khan positions himself as a leader who values and promotes the religious teachings of Islam, specifically those of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH).

**Youth Advocate:** By focusing on the young generation, Khan identifies as a mentor and guide for youth, emphasizing his concern for their moral and spiritual development.

- **Discursive Practice (Interpretative Stage)**

At this stage, the study interprets how the text is produced and understood. Imran Khan's statement aims to justify the creation of the Rahamatul-lil-Aalamin Authority and to highlight its intended impact on society.

- **Interpretation**

**Promotion of Religious Values:** The statement underscores the importance of Prophet Muhammad's teachings as a source of guidance, suggesting that these values are crucial for the holistic success of individuals.

**Focus on Youth Development:** By emphasizing the guidance for the young generation, Khan's statement suggests a proactive approach to shaping the future of society through religious and moral education.

- **Socio-cultural (Explanatory Stage)**

This stage examines the broader implications of the speaker's words in their socio-cultural context.

- **Explanation**

**Religious Significance:** In a predominantly Muslim country like Pakistan, the teachings of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) hold significant cultural and religious importance. Khan's emphasis on these teachings resonates with the public's reverence for Islamic values.

**National Development:** By linking the success of the young generation to religious teachings, Khan aligns national development with spiritual and moral growth, suggesting that adherence to religious principles is essential for the overall progress of the country.

**Example 7:** *The ones who are successful never get demoralized by the bad times, instead analyses and learn from their mistakes and hence emerge stronger. (The Express Tribune, December 30, 2020)*

- **Textual (Descriptive Stage)**

Imran Khan's statement emphasizes resilience and learning from mistakes as key traits of successful individuals.

- **Identity Markers**

**Resilience Advocate:** Khan portrays himself as someone who values resilience and the ability to remain undeterred during difficult times.

**Proponent of Self-Improvement:** By highlighting the importance of analyzing and learning from mistakes, Khan positions himself as a proponent of continuous self-improvement and personal growth.

- **Discursive Practice (Interpretative Stage)**

At this stage, the study interprets how the text is produced and understood. Imran Khan's statement is motivational, aiming to inspire and empower his audience.

- **Interpretation**

**Encouragement of Perseverance:** The statement encourages individuals to persevere through adversity by focusing on learning and self-improvement rather than getting demoralized.

**Leadership Example:** By sharing this perspective, Khan sets an example of a leader who values resilience and growth, implicitly suggesting that these traits are vital for leadership and success.

- **Socio-cultural (Explanatory Stage)**

This stage examines the broader implications of the speaker's words in their socio-cultural context.

- **Explanation**

**Cultural Value of Perseverance:** In many cultures, including Pakistan's, perseverance in the face of adversity is a highly valued trait. Khan's statement resonates with these cultural values, reinforcing the societal expectation to remain steadfast during tough times.

**Political Messaging:** As a political leader, Khan's message of resilience and learning from mistakes can be seen as a reflection of his own political journey and challenges. This statement may aim to rally his supporters by emphasizing that setbacks are opportunities for growth and strength.

**Example 8:** *"And my belief is there is no God but Allah. We will fight."* (*The Express Tribune*, September 27 2019)

- **Textual (Descriptive Stage)**

In this sentence, Imran Khan uses a declarative structure. The phrase "And my belief is" introduces a personal conviction, while "there is no God but Allah" is a direct reference to the Islamic creed. The imperative "We will fight" conveys a call to action.

- **Identity Markers**

**Religious Conviction:** "there is no God but Allah" emphasizes his Islamic faith.

**Leadership and Resolve:** "We will fight" signifies determination and leadership.

- **Discursive Practice (Interpretative Stage)**

At this stage, the study considers how the text is produced and consumed. Imran Khan, speaking to an audience that likely shares his religious views, reinforces a collective identity based on shared beliefs.

- **Interpretation**

**Appeal to Shared Beliefs:** By affirming his belief in Allah, Khan connects with the Muslim identity of his audience.

**Call to Collective Action:** "We will fight" transforms a personal belief into a collective mission, urging his followers to unite and act.

- **Socio-cultural (Explanatory Stage)**

This stage situates the discourse within broader social and cultural contexts. Khan's statements reflect the socio-political climate, where religious identity and political action are intertwined.

- **Explanation**

**Religious Mobilization:** The invocation of religious belief underscores the role of Islam in Pakistani politics and society.

**Political Identity:** Khan's identity as a leader is strengthened by positioning himself as a defender of Islamic values, thus appealing to both religious and nationalistic sentiments.

**Example 9:** *"Our shrines are being destroyed; our Prophet (Peace Be upon Him) insulted; the Holy Quran burnt – and all this in the name of freedom of speech."* (The Express Tribune, September 25 2020)

- **Textual (Descriptive Stage)**

This sentence uses a list structure to detail grievances, followed by a clause that attributes these actions to a specific cause. The use of "our" personalizes the attacks, creating a sense of collective victimization.

- **Identity Markers**

**Victimization:** "Our shrines," "our Prophet and the Holy Quran" emphasizes a shared religious and cultural identity under attack.

**Opposition to Western Values:** The phrase "in the name of freedom of speech" critiques a principle associated with Western liberal democracies.

- **Discursive Practice (Interpretative Stage)**

The study analyzes how this discourse is created and interpreted. Imran Khan frames these events as attacks on the Muslim community, leveraging emotions of anger and solidarity.

- **Interpretation**

**Collective Grievance:** By using "our," Khan fosters a sense of unity among his audience, positioning himself as their spokesperson.

**Western Ideals Critique:** The critique of "freedom of speech" highlights a clash of values, appealing to the audience who feel alienated or marginalized by Western ideologies.

- **Socio-cultural (Explanatory Stage)**

This stage examines the broader implications of Khan's words in their socio-cultural context.

- **Explanation**

**Cultural Conflict:** Khan's statements reflect ongoing tensions between Islamic and Western values, particularly regarding freedom of expression.

**Political Mobilization:** By highlighting attacks on sacred symbols, Khan galvanizes his base, promoting a political identity that is both religious and oppositional to perceived external threats.

**Example 10:** *"I will establish the supremacy of law, I will not have property or bank accounts abroad," he said, alluding to accusations of corruption against politicians. (The Express Tribune, March 23 2024)*

- **Textual (Descriptive Stage)**

This sentence consists of two declarative statements connected by the pronoun "I." It uses a straightforward and assertive tone. The phrase "establish the supremacy of law" is a promise of upholding legal standards, while "I will not have property or bank accounts abroad" addresses personal integrity.

- **Identity Markers**

**Commitment to Rule of Law:** "Establish the supremacy of law" underscores a dedication to legal and judicial principles.

**Personal Integrity and Anti-corruption:** "I will not have property or bank accounts abroad" directly counters common accusations of corruption among politicians.

- **Discursive Practice (Interpretative Stage)**

At this stage, the study considers how the text is produced and consumed. Imran Khan, addressing an audience concerned with political corruption, aligns himself with principles of honesty and transparency.

- **Interpretation**

**Promise of Reform:** By vowing to "establish the supremacy of law," Khan positions himself as a reformer committed to justice.



**Distancing from Corruption:** Explicitly stating he has no foreign properties and bank accounts distinguishes him from other politicians and builds a trustworthy image in the public.

- **Socio-cultural (Explanatory Stage)**

This stage situates the discourse within broader social and cultural contexts. Khan's statements reflect the prevalent issues of corruption and governance in Pakistan.

- **Explanation**

**Anti-corruption Sentiment:** Khan's emphasis on personal integrity resonates with public frustration over widespread political corruption.

**Political Identity:** By positioning himself as untainted by corruption, Khan appeals to voters seeking a new type of leadership, thus reinforcing his political identity as an honest and principled leader.

#### **4.3.2 The Analysis of the Construction of Bilawal Bhutto (PPP) Identity Markers**

This subsection deals with the Pakistan People's Party leader Bilawal Bhutto's ways of constructing political Identity markers. The study takes Bilawal Bhutto's Statements from newspapers reports and analyzes them from Fairclough 3 D Model Perspectives. The study first deals with Textual analysis (description dimension) and then discursive analysis (interpretation dimension) and finally socio-cultural analysis (explanation dimension).

**Example 11:** *"At the end of the day, the applicant before this esteemed Court is a 'Nawasa (grandson)' fighting for the cause of his 'Nana (grandfather)',"* (The Dawn, October 10 2018)

- **Textual (Descriptive Stage)**

Bilawal Bhutto's statement positions himself as a 'Nawasa' (grandson) fighting for the cause of his 'Nana' (grandfather), referencing his relationship to Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the founder of the Pakistan People's Party (PPP).

- **Identity Markers**

**Family Legacy:** Bilawal identifies himself in terms of his familial relationship, highlighting his role as the grandson of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.

**Continuity of Cause:** By stating he is fighting for the cause of his grandfather, Bilawal aligns himself with the political legacy and principles of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.

- **Discursive Practice (Interpretative Stage)**

At this stage, the study interprets how the text is produced and understood. Bilawal Bhutto's statement emphasizes his personal connection to his grandfather and the continuation of his political struggle.

- **Interpretation**

**Emotional Appeal:** By invoking the familial terms 'Nawasa' and 'Nana,' Bilawal makes an emotional appeal to the audience, leveraging the respect and affection for his grandfather to garner support.

**Legitimacy and Continuity:** Bilawal's statement seeks to legitimize his political position by framing his actions as a continuation of his grandfather's legacy, thus asserting the continuity of the PPP's mission and values.

- **Socio-cultural (Explanatory Stage)**

This stage examines the broader implications of the speaker's words in their socio-cultural context.

- **Explanation**

**Political Legacy:** The reference to Zulfikar Ali Bhutto highlights the importance of political legacies in Pakistani politics, where familial connections often play a significant role in establishing credibility and garnering support.

**Symbolic Resonance:** By aligning himself with his grandfather, Bilawal taps into the symbolic resonance of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's legacy, which is associated with populist policies, social justice, and the founding principles of the PPP. This appeal to legacy can mobilize the party's traditional base and evokes a sense of continuity and loyalty.

**Example 12:** *"Recalling that the PPP was founded in Lahore back in 1967, he said the party's founder chairman Zulfikar Ali Bhutto had raised the popular slogan of 'roti, kapra aur makan' (bread, clothing and housing) in this city of Lahore." (The Dawn, March 7 2022)*

- **Textual (Descriptive Stage)**

This sentence is a declarative statement providing historical context and highlighting the founding principles of the Pakistan People's Party (PPP). Bilawal Bhutto recalls the party's foundation in Lahore in 1967 and references the popular slogan of 'roti, kapra aur makan' raised by his grandfather, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.

- **Identity Markers**

**Political Heritage:** Bilawal Bhutto positions himself as the inheritor of a political legacy, tracing the origins of the PPP and invoking the memory of his grandfather, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.

**Commitment to Social Welfare:** By referencing the slogan of 'roti (bread), kapra (clothing) aur makan (housing),' he aligns himself with principles of social justice and welfare, projecting a progressive image for the PPP.

- **Discursive Practice (Interpretative Stage)**

At this stage, the study considers how the text is produced and consumed. Bilawal Bhutto's statement is aimed at highlighting the historical roots and founding principles of the PPP while also mobilizing support for the party's agenda.

- **Interpretation**

**Political Continuity:** By recalling the party's foundation and referencing his grandfather's legacy, Bilawal Bhutto constructs a narrative of political continuity, positioning himself as a custodian of the PPP's founding principles.

**Social Justice Advocate:** The mention of the slogan 'roti (bread), kapra (clothing) and makan (housing)' serves to mobilize support around issues of poverty alleviation and social welfare, appealing to ideals of equality and fairness.

- **Socio-cultural (Explanatory Stage)**

This stage situates the discourse within broader social and cultural contexts. Bilawal Bhutto's statements reflect wider concerns about social welfare and political legacy in Pakistan.

- **Explanation**

**Political Legacy:** In a country with a history of political dynasties, references to familial political heritage resonate with broader societal expectations and norms. Bilawal Bhutto's invocation of his grandfather's legacy taps into sentiments of nostalgia and continuity within the PPP.

**Social Justice Discourse:** References to the slogan 'roti (bread), kapra (clothing) and makan (housing)' reflect broader narratives of poverty alleviation and social welfare, appealing to societal aspirations for economic equality and social justice.

**Example 13:** *"Bilawal said his mother was a 'symbol of democracy, freedom and equal rights for women across the world' and portrayed the progressive face of Pakistan."* (The Dawn, July 30, 2023)

- **Textual (Descriptive Stage)**

This sentence is a declarative statement praising Bilawal Bhutto's mother, Benazir Bhutto, and her contributions to democracy and women's rights. Bilawal describes his mother as a symbol of democracy, freedom, and equal rights for women across the world, portraying her as a progressive figure.

- **Identity Markers**

**Family Legacy:** Bilawal Bhutto positions himself as the heir to a legacy of progressive politics and activism, highlighting his mother's role as a symbol of democracy and women's rights.

**Champion of Women's Rights:** By praising his mother's contributions to women's rights, he aligns himself with principles of gender equality and empowerment, projecting a progressive image for himself and the PPP.

- **Discursive Practice (Interpretative Stage)**

The study analyzes how this discourse is created and interpreted. Bilawal Bhutto's statement is aimed at honoring his mother's legacy and projecting himself as a champion of women's rights and democracy.

- **Interpretation**

**Personal Tribute:** By praising his mother's contributions, Bilawal Bhutto constructs a narrative of personal and familial commitment to democracy and women's rights, positioning himself as a custodian of her legacy.

**Gender Equality Advocate:** The portrayal of his mother as a symbol of women's rights and democracy serves to mobilize support around issues of gender equality, appealing to ideals of inclusivity and progressivism.

- **Socio-cultural (Explanatory Stage)**

This stage examines the broader implications of Bilawal Bhutto's words in their socio-cultural context.

- **Explanation**

**Political Dynasties and Gender:** References to familial political legacies and women's contributions to politics reflect broader societal attitudes towards political dynasties and gender roles. Bilawal Bhutto's tribute to his mother taps into sentiments of respect and admiration for women's leadership.

**Global Feminist Discourse:** The portrayal of Benazir Bhutto as a symbol of democracy and women's rights resonates with broader global feminist discourses, appealing to ideals of gender equality and empowerment that transcend national boundaries.

**Example 14:** *"Under another ambitious project, 'Apni Zamin, Apna Ghar', three million houses would be constructed across the country." (The Dawn, December 28 2023)*

- **Textual (Descriptive Stage)**

This sentence is a declarative statement outlining a policy proposal aimed at addressing housing issues in Pakistan. Bilawal Bhutto announces the 'Apni Zamin(own land), Apna Ghar( own house)' project, which aims to construct three million houses across the country.

- **Identity Markers**

**Policy Initiatives:** Bilawal Bhutto positions himself as a leader with concrete policy proposals aimed at addressing socio-economic issues like housing, projecting himself as someone who takes practical steps to improve the lives of citizens.

**Social Welfare Advocate:** By announcing a housing project, he aligns himself with principles of social welfare and inclusivity, projecting an image of a leader committed to addressing the needs of the population.

- **Discursive Practice (Interpretative Stage)**

The study analyzes how this discourse is created and interpreted. Bilawal Bhutto's statement is aimed at signaling his commitment to addressing socio-economic issues and improving the quality of life for citizens.

- **Interpretation**

**Policy Priorities:** By announcing a housing project, Bilawal Bhutto signals his priorities as a leader, positioning himself as someone who focuses on tangible solutions to pressing issues like housing.

**Public Welfare:** The announcement of a housing project serves to mobilize support around issues of social welfare and inclusivity, appealing to the needs and aspirations of the population for better living conditions.

- **Socio-cultural (Explanatory Stage)**

This stage examines the broader implications of Bilawal Bhutto's words in their socio-cultural context.

- **Explanation**

**Housing Crisis:** In Pakistan, access to affordable housing is a pressing issue, affecting millions of citizens. Bilawal Bhutto's announcement of a housing project reflects broader concerns about housing affordability and accessibility.

**Political Messaging:** The announcement of a housing project also serves political purposes, signaling the party's commitment to addressing socio-economic issues and improving the lives of citizens, which can resonate with voters, especially those affected by housing issues.

**Example 15:** *"Linking the Benazir Income Support Programme to Z.A. Bhutto's slogan of Roti, Kapra aur Makan, Mr. Bhutto-Zardari said the program had been praised by the entire world for bringing down poverty level in Pakistan." (The Dawn, February 2 2019)*

- **Textual (Descriptive Stage)**

This statement is a declarative one, linking the Benazir Income Support Programme (BISP) to Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's slogan of 'Roti, Kapra aur Makan' (food, clothing, and shelter). Mr. Bhutto-Zardari asserts that the BISP has been praised internationally for its impact on reducing poverty in Pakistan.

- **Identity Markers**

**Family Legacy:** By linking the BISP to his family's political legacy, Mr. Bhutto-Zardari positions himself as a custodian of the Bhutto legacy, invoking the memory of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Benazir Bhutto.

**Social Welfare Advocate:** Associating the BISP with the slogan of 'Roti, Kapra aur Makan' (bread, cloth and house) emphasizes Mr. Bhutto's commitment to social welfare and poverty alleviation, projecting an image of a leader dedicated to improving the lives of ordinary citizens.

- **Discursive Practice (Interpretative Stage)**

At this stage, the study considers how the text is produced and interpreted. Bilawal Bhutto's statement is aimed at highlighting the success of the BISP and its alignment with his family's political legacy.

- **Interpretation**

**Political Continuity:** By linking the BISP to the slogan of 'Roti (bread), Kapra (cloth) and Makan (house),' Bilawal Bhutto constructs a narrative of political continuity, positioning himself as someone who carries forward the welfare-oriented policies of his family.

**Policy Success:** The assertion that the BISP has been praised globally for reducing poverty serves to validate its effectiveness and enhance Bilawal Bhutto's credibility as a leader capable of implementing impactful policies.

- **Socio-cultural (Explanatory Stage)**

This stage situates the discourse within broader social and cultural contexts. Bilawal Bhutto's statement reflects wider perceptions of social welfare and poverty alleviation in Pakistan.

- **Explanation**

**Political Dynasties and Legacies:** In the contexts where political legacies play a significant role, references to familial connections and legacies resonate with broader societal expectations and norms. Bilawal Bhutto's invocation of his family's legacy taps into sentiments of nostalgia and continuity within the Pakistan People's Party.

**Poverty Alleviation Discourse:** The association of the BISP with the slogan of 'Roti (bread), Kapra (cloth) and Makan (house)' reflects broader narratives of poverty alleviation and social welfare in Pakistan, appealing to societal aspirations for economic equality and social justice.

**Example 16:** *"We will make Pakistan [a] socialist country and continue with reforms initiated by Shaheed Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and later by Benazir Bhutto."* (The Express Tribune, December 5 2017)

- **Textual (Descriptive Stage)**

This sentence is declarative, outlining a political commitment. The use of "We will" indicates future actions and a collective endeavor. The phrase "make Pakistan a socialist country" reveals a specific ideological stance, while "continue with reforms initiated by Shaheed Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and later by Benazir Bhutto" establishes a link to historical figures and their legacies.

- **Identity Markers**

**Socialist Ideology:** The declaration of making Pakistan a socialist country aligns Bilawal Bhutto with leftist politics.

**Political Legacy:** Referencing Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Benazir Bhutto, he positions himself as a continuator of their legacies.



- **Discursive Practice (Interpretative Stage)**

At this stage, the study considers how the text is produced and consumed. Bilawal Bhutto's statements are aimed at an audience familiar with his family's political history and likely supportive of socialist policies.

- **Interpretation**

**Commitment to Socialism:** By stating a clear ideological goal, Bhutto appeals to constituents who favor socialist policies.

**Legitimacy through Legacy:** Invoking the reforms of his grandfather and mother, Bhutto strengthens his political identity by associating himself with their revered legacies.

- **Socio-cultural (Explanatory Stage)**

This stage situates the discourse within broader social and cultural contexts. Bhutto's statements reflect the socio-political heritage of the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) and its historical commitment to socialism and populism.

- **Explanation**

**Political Continuity:** By positioning himself as the inheritor of his family's political mission, Bhutto appeals to the party's base that reveres his predecessors.

**Ideological Positioning:** Declaring a commitment to socialism situates Bhutto within a specific ideological framework, distinguishing him from other political leaders in Pakistan who may lean more towards capitalism or other economic systems.

**Example 17:** *"Quaid-e-Awam Shaheed Zulfikar Ali Bhutto gave the precious gift to the nation in form of democracy and gave every citizen the right to vote."* (The Express Tribune, February 17 2022)

- **Textual (Descriptive Stage)**

This sentence is declarative and honors Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. "Quaid-e-Awam" (Leader of the People) is a title that emphasizes his popular leadership. The phrase "precious gift to the nation in form of democracy" highlights democracy as a valuable legacy, and "gave every citizen the right to vote" emphasizes the extension of democratic rights.

- **Identity Markers**

**Democratic Values:** Emphasizing the gift of democracy and the right to vote positions Bilawal Bhutto as a proponent of democratic principles.

**Historical Reverence:** Referring to Zulfikar Ali Bhutto as "Quaid-e-Awam" and "Shaheed" (martyr) shows deep respect and connection to his legacy.

- **Discursive Practice (Interpretative Stage)**

The study analyzes how this discourse is created and interpreted. Bhutto's statement reinforces his connection to his grandfather's legacy and appeals to an audience that values democratic ideals.

- **Interpretation**

**Promotion of Democracy:** By highlighting the democratic contributions of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Bilawal aligns himself with these values, appealing to voters who prioritize democratic governance.

**Emotional Appeal:** Using honorifics and highlighting the sacrifices of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto evokes emotional resonance with the audience, reinforcing a sense of loyalty and respect.

- **Socio-cultural (Explanatory Stage)**

This stage examines the broader implications of Bhutto's words in their socio-cultural context.

- **Explanation**

**Democratic Tradition:** Bhutto's emphasis on democracy and voting rights underscores the PPP's historical commitment to these principles, appealing to those who feel these rights are under threat.

**Familial Legacy:** By positioning himself as the bearer of his grandfather's democratic legacy, Bhutto strengthens his political identity within a cultural framework that values familial political dynasties.

**Example 18:** *"He insisted that his plan to increase salaries of the working class by 100% in five years, undertake renewable energy initiatives, and to provide direct*

*subsidies to the poor people, peasants, labours and youth was not his wishful thinking.*"(The Express Tribune, December 29 2023)

- **Textual (Descriptive Stage)**

This sentence is a complex declarative structure. The primary clause "He insisted that his plan" is followed by several subordinate clauses outlining specific policy proposals: "increase salaries of the working class by 100% in five years," "undertake renewable energy initiatives," and "provide direct subsidies to the poor people, peasants, labours and youth." The phrase "was not his wishful thinking" emphasizes the feasibility and seriousness of these plans.

- **Identity Markers**

**Advocate for Economic Justice:** Proposals to increase salaries and provide subsidies highlight a commitment to economic redistribution and support for disadvantaged groups.

**Proponent of Sustainable Development:** The mention of renewable energy initiatives underscores a modern, forward-looking approach to governance.

- **Discursive Practice (Interpretative Stage)**

At this stage, the study considers how the text is produced and consumed. Bilawal Bhutto's statements are intended to reassure his audience of his practical and achievable plans, countering any skepticism.

- **Interpretation**

**Economic Empowerment:** By promising to increase salaries and provide subsidies, Bhutto appeals to the working class and marginalized communities, positioning himself as their advocate.

**Sustainability Commitment:** The inclusion of renewable energy initiatives aligns him with global sustainable development goals, appealing to environmentally conscious voters.

- **Socio-cultural (Explanatory Stage)**

This stage situates the discourse within broader social and cultural contexts. Bhutto's statements reflect current socio-economic challenges and the political need for sustainable development.

- **Explanation**

**Addressing Economic Inequality:** Bhutto's focus on salary increases and subsidies responds to widespread economic disparities and poverty, aiming to mobilize support from those directly affected by these issues.

**Modernization and Progress:** Emphasizing renewable energy initiatives indicates an alignment with global trends towards sustainability, appealing to a progressive and forward-thinking electorate.

**Example 19:** *"The biggest enemy of Pakistan is old politics."* (*The Express Tribune*, November 16, 2023)

- **Textual (Descriptive Stage)**

This sentence is a simple declarative statement. The phrase "biggest enemy" uses strong language to denote significant opposition or threat. "Old politics" is a vague but evocative term suggesting outdated, corrupt, or ineffective political practices.

- **Identity Markers**

**Agent of Change:** By identifying "old politics" as the enemy, Bhutto positions himself as a proponent of new, reformed political practices.

**Reformer:** This statement signals a break from past political practices, promoting a vision of progress and modernization.

- **Discursive Practice (Interpretative Stage)**

The study analyzes how this discourse is created and interpreted. Bhutto's statement is designed to resonate with an audience frustrated by traditional politics and eager for change.

- **Interpretation**

**Rejection of the Status Quo:** Labeling old politics as the enemy suggests a commitment to political reform and innovation, appealing to voters disillusioned with the current political system.

**Positioning as a Reformer:** Bilawal Bhutto distinguishes himself from traditional political figures, implying that his leadership represents a new and better way forward for the country.

- **Socio-cultural (Explanatory Stage)**

This stage examines the broader implications of Bilawal Bhutto's words in their socio-cultural context.

- **Explanation**

**Desire for Political Reform:** Bhutto's rejection of "old politics" taps into a widespread desire for change and reform in Pakistan's political landscape, addressing public disillusionment with corruption and inefficiency.

**Generational Shift:** This statement reflects a broader generational shift in politics, where younger leaders advocate for new approaches and solutions, challenging established power structures.

**Example 20:** *"The livelihoods of around 10,000 families of the steel mills have been snatched."* (The Express Tribune, January 19 2021)

- **Textual (Descriptive Stage)**

This sentence is a declarative statement highlighting the negative impact of specific economic policies. The phrase "livelihoods of around 10,000 families" emphasizes the scale of the issue, and "have been snatched" uses emotive language to convey a sense of injustice and loss.

- **Identity Markers**

**Protector of Workers' Rights:** By focusing on the livelihoods of steel mill workers, Bhutto aligns himself with labor rights and economic justice.

**Critic of Injustice:** The emotive language used to describe the loss of livelihoods positions Bhutto as a defender of the affected families, critiquing those responsible for this situation.

- **Discursive Practice (Interpretative Stage)**

At this stage, the study considers how the text is produced and consumed. Bhutto's statement aims to elicit empathy and support from his audience by highlighting the plight of steel mill workers.

- **Interpretation**

**Solidarity with Workers:** By emphasizing the loss suffered by 10,000 families, Bhutto seeks to establish solidarity with workers and their families, appealing to a sense of community and shared struggle.

**Condemnation of Economic Policies:** The phrase "snatched" suggests a forceful and unjust action, implicitly criticizing the policies or individuals responsible for these economic hardships.

- **Socio-cultural (Explanatory Stage)**

This stage situates the discourse within broader social and cultural contexts. Bhutto's statements reflect ongoing economic challenges and labor issues in Pakistan.

- **Explanation**

**Economic Inequality and Job Loss:** Bhutto's focus on the plight of steel mill workers highlights broader issues of economic inequality and job loss, resonating with those affected by similar problems.

**Advocacy for Vulnerable Populations:** By highlighting the impact on workers' families, Bhutto positions himself as an advocate for vulnerable populations, aligning his political identity with social justice and labor rights.

#### **4.3.3 The Analysis of the Construction of Nawaz Sharif (PML-N) Identity Markers**

**Example 21:** *"His voice and slogan of 'vote ko izzat do' (respect the vote) is echoing through the country." (The Dawn, October 24, 2020)*

- **Textual (Descriptive Stage)**

This statement highlights Nawaz Sharif's slogan, "vote ko izzat do" (respect the vote), which is said to resonate across the country. It emphasizes the widespread influence of his political message.

**Democratic Advocate:** Nawaz Sharif positions himself as a champion of democracy and electoral rights, advocating for the respect and empowerment of voters.

**Popular Leader:** The statement suggests Nawaz Sharif's widespread popularity and influence, indicating that his message has resonated with a broad segment of the population.

- **Discursive Practice (Interpretative Stage)**

At this stage, the study considers how the text is produced and interpreted. The statement is aimed at highlighting Nawaz Sharif's enduring influence and rallying support for his political cause.

- **Interpretation**

**Political Resonance:** The mention of Nawaz Sharif's slogan echoing across the country suggests its enduring appeal and impact, positioning him as a leader whose message strikes a chord with the masses.

**Democratic Norms:** By promoting the slogan "vote ko izzat do (respect to vote)," Nawaz Sharif reinforces democratic norms and principles, framing his political struggle as a fight for the rights and dignity of voters.

- **Socio-cultural (Explanatory Stage)**

This stage situates the discourse within broader social and cultural contexts. Nawaz Sharif's slogan reflects wider aspirations for democracy and political empowerment in Pakistan.

- **Explanation**

**Democratic Values:** In Pakistan, where democracy has often been challenged by military interventions and political instability, Nawaz Sharif's advocacy for respecting the vote resonates with broader societal aspirations for democratic governance and electoral integrity.

**Political Mobilization:** The widespread resonance of Nawaz Sharif's slogan reflects broader societal sentiments of political mobilization and activism, indicating a growing awareness and engagement among the population regarding democratic rights and processes.

**Example 22:** *"He praised his younger brother Shahbaz Sharif for his contribution to development works in Punjab, especially setting up power plants." (The Dawn, October 12, 2020)*

- **Textual (Descriptive Stage)**

This statement acknowledges Nawaz Sharif's praise for his younger brother Shahbaz Sharif's contributions to development works in Punjab, particularly in the establishment of power plants.

- **Identity Markers**

**Family Loyalty:** Nawaz Sharif's praise for his brother Shahbaz Sharif highlights familial loyalty and solidarity, reinforcing the image of a united political family.

**Development Champion:** By commending Shahbaz Sharif's contributions to development works, Nawaz Sharif positions himself and his brother as champions of progress and infrastructure development.

- **Discursive Practice (Interpretative Stage)**

At this stage, the study considers how the text is produced and interpreted. Nawaz Sharif's praise for his brother serves to bolster familial ties and underscore their joint commitment to development.

- **Interpretation**

**Familial Solidarity:** Nawaz Sharif's praise for Shahbaz Sharif reinforces familial bonds and unity within the political family, projecting an image of cohesion and cooperation among its members.

**Development Narrative:** By highlighting Shahbaz Sharif's role in development works, Nawaz Sharif promotes a narrative of progress and achievement, positioning himself and his brother as effective administrators and leaders.



- **Socio-cultural (Explanatory Stage)**

This stage examines the broader implications of Nawaz Sharif's words in their socio-cultural context.

- **Explanation**

**Political Dynasties:** In Pakistan, where political dynasties play a significant role, references to familial contributions to development resonate with broader societal expectations and norms. Nawaz Sharif's praise for his brother reflects societal perceptions of familial loyalty and shared political objectives.

**Development Priorities:** The emphasis on development works and infrastructure projects reflects broader societal aspirations for progress and economic growth. Nawaz Sharif's acknowledgment of his brother's contributions aligns with public expectations for effective governance and infrastructure development.

**Example 23:** *"The PM told the National Assembly that the Gwadar-Termez motorway will connect Gwadar to Central Asia, as Termez lies between Uzbekistan, Afghanistan, Turkmenistan, and Tajikistan."* (The Dawn, June 16 2018)

- **Textual (Descriptive Stage)**

This statement reports on the Prime Minister's announcement regarding the Gwadar-Termez motorway, highlighting its significance in connecting Gwadar to Central Asia and the strategic location of Termez between Uzbekistan, Afghanistan, Turkmenistan, and Tajikistan.

- **Identity Markers**

**Visionary Leader:** By announcing plans for the Gwadar-Termez motorway, Nawaz Sharif positions himself as a visionary leader with plans for regional connectivity and economic development.

**Strategic Diplomat:** Emphasizing the strategic significance of Termez and the motorway's role in connecting Gwadar to Central Asia portrays Nawaz Sharif as a strategic diplomat fostering regional cooperation and economic integration.

- **Discursive Practice (Interpretative Stage)**

At this stage, the study considers how the text is produced and interpreted. Nawaz Sharif's statement is aimed at highlighting the government's infrastructure plans and promoting regional connectivity.

- **Interpretation**

**Economic Development Narrative:** By highlighting the Gwadar-Termez motorway as a means to connect Gwadar to Central Asia, Nawaz Sharif constructs a narrative of economic development and prosperity, positioning himself as a leader committed to enhancing the country's infrastructure for economic growth.

**Regional Cooperation:** The emphasis on connecting Gwadar to Central Asia suggests a broader narrative of regional cooperation and integration, portraying Nawaz Sharif as a leader who values diplomacy and collaboration in advancing national interests.

- **Socio-cultural (Explanatory Stage)**

This stage situates the discourse within broader social and cultural contexts. Nawaz Sharif's statement reflects wider aspirations for economic development and regional cooperation in Pakistan.

- **Explanation**

**Infrastructure Development:** In Pakistan, infrastructure development is often seen as crucial for economic growth and development. Nawaz Sharif's emphasis on the Gwadar-Termez motorway reflects broader societal aspirations for improved infrastructure and connectivity.

**Geopolitical Significance:** The mention of connecting Gwadar to Central Asia highlights the geopolitical significance of the region and Pakistan's role as a key player in regional affairs. Nawaz Sharif's focus on regional connectivity resonates with broader societal aspirations for enhanced diplomatic relations and economic opportunities.

**Example 24:** *"He questioned the motives of his opponents, wondering why they would harm the thriving economy by removing him from power in 2017."* (The Dawn, May 29, 2023)

- **Textual (Descriptive Stage)**

This statement reports Nawaz Sharif's questioning of his opponents' motives, particularly regarding their decision to remove him from power in 2017. He highlights the impact on the economy and questions the rationale behind their actions.

- **Identity Markers**

**Victim of Political Machinations:** By questioning his opponents' motives for removing him from power, Nawaz Sharif positions himself as a victim of political machinations, portraying his removal from office as unjust and detrimental to the country's economy.

**Economic Stewardship:** Emphasizing the impact on the thriving economy underscores Nawaz Sharif's identity as an economic steward, suggesting that his policies were instrumental in fostering economic growth and stability.

- **Discursive Practice (Interpretative Stage)**

At this stage, the study considers how the text is produced and interpreted. Nawaz Sharif's statement is aimed at questioning the legitimacy of his removal from power and framing it as detrimental to the country's economic interests.

- **Interpretation**

**Political Narrative:** By questioning his opponents' motives, Nawaz Sharif constructs a narrative of victimhood and persecution, portraying himself as a leader unfairly targeted for political reasons.

**Economic Narrative:** The emphasis on the impact on the economy suggests a broader narrative of economic stability and progress under his leadership, positioning Nawaz Sharif as a competent and effective economic manager.

- **Socio-cultural (Explanatory Stage)**

This stage situates the discourse within broader social and cultural contexts. Nawaz Sharif's statement reflects wider perceptions of political power and economic management in Pakistan.

- **Explanation:**

**Political Contestation:** In Pakistan's political landscape, where power struggles are common, Nawaz Sharif's questioning of his opponents' motives resonates with broader societal suspicions of political maneuvering and intrigue.

**Economic Performance:** The emphasis on the economy reflects broader societal concerns about economic stability and prosperity. Nawaz Sharif's portrayal of himself as an economic steward appeals to public sentiments regarding the importance of sound economic management in governance.

**Example 25:** *"There are some wounds that take time to heal, but I have no wish for revenge." The Dawn, October 21, 2023).*

- **Textual (Descriptive Stage)**

This statement expresses Nawaz Sharif's willingness to move past grievances and focus on healing, without seeking revenge. It highlights his commitment to reconciliation and moving forward.

- **Identity Markers**

**Statesmanship:** By expressing a desire for healing and reconciliation, Nawaz Sharif portrays himself as a statesman-like figure, emphasizing the importance of moving beyond personal vendettas for the greater good.

**Forgiveness and Magnanimity:** The statement underscores Nawaz Sharif's identity as a leader capable of forgiveness and magnanimity, suggesting that he prioritizes national unity and stability over personal grievances.

- **Discursive Practice (Interpretative Stage)**

At this stage, the study considers how the text is produced and interpreted. Nawaz Sharif's statement is aimed at projecting a conciliatory and magnanimous image, signaling a willingness to transcend past conflicts.

- **Interpretation**

**Statesmanlike Conduct:** By renouncing revenge and emphasizing healing, Nawaz Sharif constructs a narrative of statesmanship and maturity, positioning himself as a leader capable of rising above personal grievances for the greater good.

**National Unity:** The emphasis on reconciliation and moving forward appeals to broader aspirations for national unity and stability, suggesting that Nawaz Sharif prioritizes the interests of the nation over personal vendettas.

- **Socio-cultural (Explanatory Stage)**

This stage examines the broader implications of Nawaz Sharif's words in their socio-cultural context.

- **Explanation**

**Political Culture:** In a country marked by political strife and polarization, Nawaz Sharif's call for healing and reconciliation resonates with broader societal desires for stability and harmony.

**Leadership Style:** Nawaz Sharif's expression of forgiveness and magnanimity reflects wider societal expectations of leadership, suggesting that leaders should prioritize national unity and stability over personal grievances.

**Example 26:** *"I don't lie for politics." (The Express Tribune, November 23 2023)*

- **Textual (Descriptive Stage)**

Nawaz Sharif's statement, "I don't lie for politics," is a straightforward declaration of his integrity and honesty in the political arena.

- **Identity Markers**

**Honest Politician:** Sharif identifies himself as an honest politician who values truthfulness over political gain.

**Moral Leader:** By emphasizing that he does not lie, Sharif positions himself as a leader with strong moral and ethical principles.

- **Discursive Practice (Interpretative Stage)**

At this stage, the study interprets how the text is produced and understood. Nawaz Sharif's statement serves to differentiate himself from other politicians and build trust with his audience.

- **Interpretation**

**Differentiation from Opponents:** The statement implicitly contrasts Sharif with other politicians who might be perceived as dishonest or deceitful, thereby positioning him as a more trustworthy and reliable leader.

**Appeal to Ethics:** By claiming not to tell a lie for politics, Sharif appeals to the ethical expectations of his audience, reinforcing his image as a principled and upright leader.

- **Socio-cultural (Explanatory Stage)**

This stage examines the broader implications of the speaker's words in their socio-cultural context.

- **Explanation**

**Public Cynicism:** In a socio-political context where public trust in politicians is often low due to the perceptions of widespread corruption and dishonesty, Sharif's statement aims to address and counteract this cynicism.

**Cultural Value of Honesty:** Honesty is a highly valued trait in many cultures, including Pakistan. By asserting his truthfulness, Sharif seeks to align himself with this cultural value, thereby strengthening his connection with the electorate and enhancing his credibility.

**Example 27:** *"I was called Sicilian mafia and Godfather. Today, all those involved in this evil play stand exposed."* (The Express Tribune, December 14 2023)

- **Textual (Descriptive Stage)**

This sentence uses a declarative structure with a tone of accusation and vindication. The phrases "Sicilian mafia" and "Godfather" are metaphorical and highly charged, suggesting criminality and corruption. The second part, "Today, all those involved in this evil play stand exposed," asserts that his accusers have been revealed as dishonest or corrupt.

- **Identity Markers**

**Victim of Injustice:** By highlighting the derogatory terms used against him, Sharif positions himself as a victim of unfair accusations.

**Vindicated Leader:** The claim that his accusers have been exposed reinforces his identity as a wronged yet ultimately vindicated leader.

- **Discursive Practice (Interpretative Stage)**

At this stage, the study considers how the text is produced and consumed. Nawaz Sharif addresses an audience likely aware of the political and legal battles he has faced.

- **Interpretation**

**Rejection of False Allegations:** By recalling the negative labels used against him, Sharif rejects the accusations and suggests they were baseless.

**Claim to Moral Superiority:** The assertion that his accusers are now exposed implies that he was unjustly targeted, thereby reclaiming moral and ethical high ground.

- **Socio-cultural (Explanatory Stage)**

This stage situates the discourse within broader social and cultural contexts. Sharif's statements reflect the contentious and adversarial nature of Pakistani politics, where leaders often face serious allegations.

- **Explanation**

**Political Rivalries:** The reference to derogatory labels and subsequent vindication underscores the intense political rivalries and the use of character assassination in Pakistani politics.

**Restoration of Reputation:** Sharif aims to restore his reputation and legitimacy by portraying himself as a victim of political machinations and highlighting the discrediting of his accusers.

**Example 28:** *"Nawaz said that reduction in government and administrative expenditures was among his priorities."* (The Express Tribune, October 22 2023)

- **Textual (Descriptive Stage)**

This sentence is a straightforward declarative statement. It uses formal language to convey a policy position: "reduction in government and administrative expenditures" and highlights this as a priority for Nawaz Sharif.

- **Identity Markers**

**Fiscal Responsibility:** Emphasizing the reduction of government and administrative expenditures positions Sharif as a proponent of efficient and responsible governance.

**Policy-focused Leader:** This statement underscores his focus on practical governance and economic management.

- **Discursive Practice (Interpretative Stage)**

The study analyzes how this discourse is created and interpreted. Sharif's statement appeals to an audience concerned with government efficiency and fiscal prudence.

- **Interpretation**

**Commitment to Efficiency:** By prioritizing the reduction of expenditures, Sharif appeals to constituents who value efficient and responsible use of public funds.

**Policy-driven Governance:** This statement reinforces Sharif's image as a leader focused on concrete policy measures and practical governance.

- **Socio-cultural (Explanatory Stage)**

This stage examines the broader implications of Sharif's words in their socio-cultural context.

- **Explanation**

**Public Demand for Accountability:** In a socio-political context where there is significant public demand for accountability and efficient use of resources, Sharif's focus is on reducing expenditures resonates with those concerns.

**Economic Stewardship:** Emphasizing fiscal responsibility aligns Sharif with broader narratives of economic stewardship and effective governance, appealing to both middle-class and business-oriented voters.

**Example 29:** *"Someone who used to talk about 'Riasat-e-Madina' was devoid of morality," he added while referring to Imran without mentioning his name." (The Express, Tribune, December 8 2023)*



- **Textual (Descriptive Stage)**

This sentence is a declarative statement that employs indirect reference and moral judgment. The phrase "used to talk about 'Riasat-e-Madina (state like Madina)'" invokes Imran Khan's frequent references to an ideal Islamic state. The phrase "devoid of morality" is a strong moral condemnation. By not mentioning Imran Khan's name directly, Sharif uses an implicit yet recognizable reference.

- **Identity Markers**

**Moral Critic:** By accusing his opponent of being "devoid of morality," Sharif positions himself as a judge of ethical standards.

**Implied Contrast:** The indirect reference to Imran Khan without naming him suggests a careful rhetorical strategy to undermine Khan's credibility without direct confrontation.

- **Discursive Practice (Interpretative Stage)**

At this stage, the study considers how the text is produced and consumed. Nawaz Sharif addresses an audience familiar with Imran Khan's rhetoric about "Riasat-e-Madina," using indirect reference to engage them in a shared understanding.

- **Interpretation**

**Moral Superiority:** By condemning Imran Khan's morality, Sharif seeks to elevate his own ethical standing in the eyes of his audience.

**Strategic Indirection:** The indirect reference serves to engage listeners familiar with the context while avoiding direct personal attacks, which can be seen as a more sophisticated or restrained form of critique.

- **Socio-cultural (Explanatory Stage)**

This stage situates the discourse within broader social and cultural contexts. Sharif's statements reflect ongoing political and moral debates within Pakistan.

- **Explanation**

**Political Morality:** In a political culture where leaders often invoke moral and religious ideals, Sharif's critique of Khan's morality resonates with voters who value ethical leadership.

**Indirect Criticism:** Using indirect references can be a strategy to maintain a level of decorum while still delivering a potent critique, appealing to a cultural context that appreciates rhetorical subtlety.

**Example 30:** *"The journey of progress will resume from where it was interrupted, and we are committed to ensuring that the nation overcomes economic challenges, inflation, and unemployment."* (The Express Tribune, October 9 2023)

- **Textual (Descriptive Stage)**

Nawaz Sharif's statement asserts that the journey of progress, which was interrupted, will resume, emphasizing a commitment to overcoming economic challenges, inflation, and unemployment.

- **Identity Markers**

**Proponent of Progress:** Nawaz Sharif identifies himself as a leader dedicated to continuing and resuming progress for the nation.

**Economic Reformer:** He positions himself as someone focused on addressing and solving economic issues such as inflation and unemployment.

- **Discursive Practice (Interpretative Stage)**

At this stage, the study interprets how the text is produced and understood. Nawaz Sharif's statement aims to reassure the public of his commitment to economic stability and progress.

- **Interpretation**

**Reassurance of Continuity:** By stating that the journey of progress will resume, Sharif reassures his audience that previous development initiatives will be continued and that past disruptions will not deter future progress.

**Commitment to Economic Stability:** The focus on overcoming economic challenges, inflation, and unemployment highlights Sharif's agenda and commitment to economic reforms and stability, aiming to restore public confidence in his leadership.

- **Socio-cultural (Explanatory Stage)**

This stage examines the broader implications of the speaker's words in their socio-cultural context.

- **Explanation**

**Political Context:** The statement is likely addressing a period of political instability or a change in leadership that disrupted previous progress. Sharif's message aims to position his leadership as a stabilizing force capable of resuming and continuing beneficial policies.

**Public Concerns:** In a context where economic issues are pressing concerns for the populace, Sharif's focus is on inflation, unemployment, and economic challenges aligns with the public's immediate needs and worries. His commitment to these issues aims to garner support and trust from the electorate by addressing their most urgent concerns.

#### 4.3.4 The Analysis of the Construction of Fazal-ur-Rehman (JUI-F) Identity

##### Markers

**Example 31:** *"The consistency and struggle based on principles have led to the success of the Islamic Emirate."* (The Dawn, December 23, 2021)

- **Textual (Descriptive Stage)**

This statement asserts that the success of the Islamic Emirate is attributed to consistency and struggle based on principles. It highlights the importance of ideological commitment and steadfastness in achieving success.

- **Identity Markers**

**Islamic Principles:** Fazal-ur-Rehman positions himself as a proponent of Islamic principles, emphasizing the importance of adherence to these principles in achieving success.

**Leadership and Ideological Commitment:** By attributing success to consistency and struggle, Fazal-ur-Rehman portrays himself as a principled leader committed to ideological struggle and perseverance.

- **Discursive Practice (Interpretative Stage)**

At this stage, the study considers how the text is produced and interpreted. Fazal-ur-Rehman's statement is aimed at promoting his party's ideological stance and emphasizing the importance of principled struggle in achieving political objectives.

- **Interpretation**

**Ideological Narrative:** By highlighting the success of the Islamic Emirate, Fazal-ur-Rehman constructs a narrative of ideological triumph, positioning himself as a leader who champions Islamic principles and values.

**Party Identity:** The reference to the Islamic Emirate and its success suggests a broader narrative of party identity and achievement, framing Fazal-ur-Rehman's party as a principled and successful political entity.

- **Socio-cultural (Explanatory Stage)**

This stage situates the discourse within broader social and cultural contexts. Fazal-ur-Rehman's statement reflects wider aspirations for ideological commitment and political success within certain segments of Pakistani society.

- **Explanation**

**Religious Identity:** In Pakistan, where religion plays a significant role in politics, references to Islamic principles resonate with broader societal expectations and norms. Fazal-ur-Rehman's emphasis on the success of the Islamic Emirate appeals to religious sentiments and aspirations for Islamic governance.

**Political Mobilization:** The framing of success in terms of consistency and struggle taps into broader societal narratives of political activism and mobilization. Fazal-ur-Rehman's emphasis on principles and struggle resonates with the political ethos of certain segments of the population.

**Example 32:** *“They perpetuate atrocities on people and then claim to be the champions of human rights,” (The Dawn, December 10, 2023)*

- **Textual (Descriptive Stage)**

Fazal-ur-Rehman's statement accuses a certain group of perpetrating atrocities on people while hypocritically claiming to champion human rights.

- **Identity Markers**

**Human Rights Advocate:** By criticizing the hypocrisy of the accused group, Fazal-ur-Rehman positions himself as an advocate for human rights and justice.

**Moral Authority:** By exposing the contradiction between actions and claims, Fazal-ur-Rehman asserts moral authority, positioning himself as a truth-teller confronting hypocrisy.

- **Discursive Practice (Interpretative Stage)**

At this stage, the study interprets how the text is produced and understood. Fazal-ur-Rehman's statement aims to discredit his opponents and promote his own moral stance.

- **Interpretation**

**Critique of Hypocrisy:** The statement critiques the perceived hypocrisy of the accused group, suggesting that their claims of championing human rights are insincere and self-serving.

**Moral Judgment:** By highlighting the discrepancy between actions and claims, Fazal-ur-Rehman passes moral judgment on the group, positioning himself as morally upright in contrast.

- **Socio-cultural (Explanatory Stage)**

This stage examines the broader implications of the speaker's words in their socio-cultural context.

- **Explanation**

**Human Rights Discourse:** The accusation of perpetrating atrocities while claiming to champion human rights reflects broader societal concerns about the credibility and sincerity of human rights advocacy.

**Political Critique:** Fazal-ur-Rehman's critique of hypocrisy resonates with wider societal distrust of political actors and institutions. The statement taps into public skepticism regarding political rhetoric and motivations.

**Example 33:** *"Voting for the PTI is [akin to] becoming a participant in the country's destruction and this has no other meaning."* (The Dawn July 31, 2020)

### **Textual (Descriptive Stage)**

Fazal-ur-Rehman's statement suggests that voting for the PTI (Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf) is equivalent to participating in the destruction of the country, emphasizing the gravity of the implication.

- **Identity Markers**

**Opposition Identity:** Fazal-ur-Rehman positions himself as a critic of the PTI, highlighting the perceived negative consequences associated with the party's governance.

**Concern for Country:** By framing voting for the PTI as contributing to the country's destruction, Fazal-ur-Rehman portrays himself as someone deeply concerned about the nation's well-being and stability.

- **Discursive Practice (Interpretative Stage)**

At this stage, the study interprets how the text is produced and understood. Fazal-ur-Rehman's statement aims to discredit the PTI and dissuade potential supporters.

- **Interpretation**

**Political Rhetoric:** The strong language used in the statement serves to delegitimize the PTI and its supporters. Fazal-ur-Rehman employs rhetoric to underscore the severity of his accusation.

**Moral High Ground:** By equating voting for the PTI with participating in the destruction of the country, Fazal-ur-Rehman implies a moral stance. He positions himself as morally superior for opposing the party's purported destructive agenda.

- **Socio-cultural (Explanatory Stage)**

This stage examines the broader implications of the speaker's words in their socio-cultural context.

- **Explanation**

**Political Polarization:** The strong denunciation of the PTI reflects the polarized political landscape in Pakistan, where parties often engage in fierce rhetoric to discredit their opponents.

**National Concerns:** The emphasis on the country's destruction taps into broader societal anxieties about political instability and insecurity. Fazal-ur-Rehman's framing appeals to public sentiments regarding the importance of responsible governance and national unity.

**Example 34:** *Fazal-ur-Rehman's statement describes Maulana addressing the 'Tufan-i-Aqsa and Shaheed-i-Islam' conference organized by his party at the Municipal Stadium. (The Dawn, December 2, 2023)*

- **Textual (Descriptive Stage)**

Fazal-ur-Rehman's statement suggests that his party is mostly concerned with religious issues and stances. He considers himself as religious and political representative of the nation. Positions his stance more concerned and aligned with his party commitment and cause.

- **Identity Markers**

**Religious and Political Leader:** Fazal-ur-Rehman highlights Maulana's role as a religious and political figure by mentioning his address at the conference organized by their party.

**Organizational Affiliation:** The mention of the conference organized by his party emphasizes Fazal-ur-Rehman's association with Maulana and their shared political agenda.

- **Discursive Practice (Interpretative Stage)**

At this stage, the study interprets how the text is produced and understood. Fazal-ur-Rehman's statement serves to highlight Maulana's engagement with their party's activities and the ideological alignment between them.

- **Interpretation**

**Party Unity:** By mentioning Maulana's participation in the conference organized by their party, Fazal-ur-Rehman reinforces the unity within their political organization and the collective pursuit of their ideological goals.

**Audience Connection:** The reference to the conference's title ('Tufan-i-Aqsa and Shaheed-i-Islam') suggests a thematic focus on religious and political issues, aiming to resonate with the audience's sentiments and beliefs.

- **Socio-cultural (Explanatory Stage)**

This stage examines the broader implications of the speaker's words in their socio-cultural context.

- **Explanation**

**Political Mobilization:** Fazal-ur-Rehman's mention of Maulana's (Islamic scholar) address at the conference underscores their efforts to mobilize supporters and consolidate political power around religious and ideological themes.

**Symbolic Significance:** The choice of venue (Municipal Stadium) and conference title ('Tufan-i-Aqsa and Shaheed-i-Islam') may carry symbolic significance, reflecting the party's aspirations, values, and commitment to their cause.

**Example 35:** *“Hazrat Muhammad (Peace Be upon Him) is Ameen in his own personality. Foreign agents are involved in blasphemy.” (The Dawn, December 18, 2023)*

- **Textual (Descriptive Stage)**

Molana Fazal-ur-Rehman's statement asserts that Hazrat Muhammad (Peace be upon him) is trustworthy (Ameen) in his own personality and accuses foreign agents of being involved in blasphemy.



- **Identity Markers**

**Religious Authority:** Fazal-ur-Rehman emphasizes the revered status of the Prophet Muhammad, positioning himself as a defender of religious values.

**Nationalist Stance:** By attributing blasphemy to foreign agents, he frames himself as a nationalist protecting the country from external threats.

- **Discursive Practice (Interpretative Stage)**

At this stage, the study interprets how the text is produced and understood. Fazal-ur-Rehman's statement aims to affirm the sanctity of the Prophet Muhammad and rally against perceived foreign threats.

- **Interpretation**

**Religious Affirmation:** By stating that the Prophet Muhammad is Ameen, Fazal-ur-Rehman reaffirms the trustworthiness and moral integrity of the Prophet, appealing to the religious sentiments of his audience.

**Foreign Threat Narrative:** Accusing foreign agents of blasphemy introduces a narrative of external threat, suggesting that the country's religious values are under attack from outsiders, thus uniting his audience against a common enemy.

- **Socio-cultural (Explanatory Stage)**

This stage examines the broader implications of the speaker's words in their socio-cultural context.

- **Explanation**

**Religious Sensitivity:** In Pakistan, where religious sentiments run deep, any discourse involving the sanctity of the Prophet Muhammad can have significant socio-cultural impact. Fazal-ur-Rehman's statement taps into these sensitivities, reinforcing his image as a guardian of religious values.

**Anti-Foreign Sentiment:** The accusation against foreign agents reflects broader societal anxieties about external influence and interference. This rhetoric aligns with nationalist sentiments and fosters a sense of unity and resistance against perceived external threats.

**Example 36:** *He alleged that local authorities and influential figures are involved in the harassment of Afghan refugees who have been living in compliance with the law (The Express Tribune, October 31, 2023)*

- **Textual (Descriptive Stage)**

Molana Fazal-ur-Rehman's statement alleges that local authorities and influential figures are involved in the harassment of Afghan refugees who have been living in compliance with the law.

- **Identity Markers**

**Defender of Refugees:** Fazal-ur-Rehman positions himself as an advocate for Afghan refugees, highlighting his concern for their rights and well-being.

**Critic of Authorities:** By accusing local authorities and influential figures, he takes on the role of a critic who stands against corruption and abuse of power.

- **Discursive Practice (Interpretative Stage)**

At this stage, the study interprets how the text is produced and understood. Molana Fazal-ur-Rehman's statement addresses a sensitive issue, aiming to draw attention to the plight of Afghan refugees and the alleged misconduct of local authorities.

- **Interpretation**

**Advocacy for Vulnerable Groups:** The statement emphasizes the need to protect Afghan refugees, who are described as law-abiding, from harassment, suggesting that Fazal-ur-Rehman is a champion for the vulnerable and marginalized.

**Condemnation of Misconduct:** By alleging involvement of local authorities and influential figures in harassment, he condemns the misuse of power and positions himself as a proponent of justice and fair treatment.

- **Socio-cultural (Explanatory Stage)**

This stage examines the broader implications of the speaker's words in their socio-cultural context.

- **Explanation**

**Human Rights Concerns:** In the socio-cultural context of Pakistan, where there are significant populations of Afghan refugees, this statement highlights ongoing human rights concerns and calls for better treatment and protection of these communities.

**Political Strategy:** By criticizing local authorities and influential figures, Fazal-ur-Rehman aligns himself with broader public sentiment against corruption and abuse of power. This can be seen as a strategy to gain support from both local and international audiences concerned with human rights.

**Example 37:** *"Fazal said if a madrassa teacher hit a student, human rights leaders raised much hue and cry but everyone was silent on the cruelty in Palestine."* (The Express Tribune, December 18, 2023)

- **Textual (Descriptive Stage)**

This sentence is a declarative statement that highlights a perceived double standard in human rights activism. The phrase "if a madrassa teacher hit a student" serves as a hypothetical scenario to illustrate a point. The contrast between the reaction to this scenario and the silence on the cruelty in Palestine is emphasized.

- **Identity Markers**

**Critique of Human Rights Activism:** Fazal-ur-Rehman positions himself as a critic of what he perceives as selective outrage by human rights leaders.

**Defender of Palestinian Cause:** By highlighting the silence on the cruelty in Palestine, he aligns himself with the cause of Palestinian rights and portrays himself as a voice for the oppressed.

- **Discursive Practice (Interpretative Stage)**

At this stage, the study considers how the text is produced and consumed. Fazal-ur-Rehman's statement is intended to resonate with an audience sympathetic to the Palestinian cause and critical of perceived hypocrisy in human rights activism.

- **Interpretation**

**Championing Moral Equivalence:** By drawing parallels between the treatment of students in madrassas and the situation in Palestine, Fazal-ur-Rehman implies a moral equivalence and challenges the priorities of human rights leaders.

**Appeal to Emotion:** The mention of "hue and cry" and "silence" evokes emotional responses, framing the issue in terms of moral urgency and injustice.

- **Socio-cultural (Explanatory Stage)**

This stage situates the discourse within broader social and cultural contexts. Fazal-ur-Rehman's statements reflect ongoing debates about human rights, international politics, and religious identity in Pakistan.

- **Explanation**

**Religious and Political Context:** In a country where religion plays a significant role in public discourse, Fazal-ur-Rehman's critique of human rights activism resonates with those who view it through a religious lens.

**Global Solidarity:** By highlighting the issue of Palestinian rights, Fazal-ur-Rehman taps into broader sentiments of solidarity with oppressed Muslim communities, particularly among conservative and religiously inclined audiences.

**Example 38:** *"Will not let Pakistan become secular."* (*The Express Tribune*, March 1, 2016)

- **Textual (Descriptive Stage)**

This sentence is a direct assertion of political intent. The phrase "will not let Pakistan become secular" is a declarative statement that conveys a clear stance on the issue of secularism.

- **Identity Markers**

**Defender of Religious Identity:** Fazal-ur-Rehman positions himself as a guardian of Pakistan's Islamic identity, opposing any move towards secularism.

**Promoter of Islamic Governance:** By rejecting secularism, he aligns himself with a vision of Pakistan as an Islamic state governed by Islamic principles.

- **Discursive Practice (Interpretative Stage)**

The study analyzes how this discourse is created and interpreted. Fazal-ur-Rehman's statement is designed to appeal to religiously conservative voters who prioritize Islamic values in governance.

- **Interpretation**

**Appeal to Religious Conservatism:** By opposing secularism, Fazal-ur-Rehman appeals to conservative religious sentiments, positioning himself as a defender of traditional values.

**Fear of Western Influence:** The rejection of secularism can be interpreted as a rejection of Western ideologies and a desire to maintain Pakistan's distinct religious identity.

- **Socio-cultural (Explanatory Stage)**

This stage examines the broader implications of Fazal-ur-Rehman's words in their socio-cultural context.

- **Explanation**

**Historical and Ideological Context:** Fazal-ur-Rehman's rejection of secularism reflects broader debates in Pakistan about the role of religion in public life and the nature of the state.

**Political Mobilization:** By framing secularism as a threat, Fazal-ur-Rehman seeks to mobilize support among religiously conservative voters, tapping into fears of cultural and ideological change.

**Example 39:** *"After the Million March, the JUI-F is also counted as a major party and now we will increase our parliamentary strength," (The Express Tribune, October 11 2023)*

- **Textual (Descriptive Stage)**

This sentence is a declarative statement asserting the political strength and aspirations of the JUI-F party. The phrase "After the Million March" refers to a significant event that presumably elevated the party's status. The claim to "increase our parliamentary strength" indicates a clear intention to enhance political influence.

- **Identity Markers**

**Political Aspirations:** Fazal-ur-Rehman positions himself as a leader of a major political party, signaling ambitions for increased parliamentary representation and influence.

**Mobilization of Support:** By referencing the Million March, he appeals to his supporters and asserts the party's growing significance within the political landscape.

- **Discursive Practice (Interpretative Stage)**

At this stage, the study considers how the text is produced and consumed. Fazal-ur-Rehman's statement is aimed at both internal party members and the broader public, framing the JUI-F as a formidable political force.

- **Interpretation**

**Narrative of Success:** By highlighting the Million March as a turning point, Fazal-ur-Rehman constructs a narrative of success and progress for the JUI-F, bolstering party morale and legitimacy.

**Strategic Communication:** The assertion of increasing parliamentary strength serves as a strategic communication tactic to mobilize supporters and project confidence to political rivals.

- **Socio-cultural (Explanatory Stage)**

This stage situates the discourse within broader social and cultural contexts. Fazal-ur-Rehman's statements reflect the competitive and dynamic nature of Pakistani politics, where parties seek to assert their influence and legitimacy.

- **Explanation**

**Political Competition:** In a multi-party system like Pakistan, parties constantly fight for power and influence. Fazal-ur-Rehman's assertion of the JUI-F's growing strength is a response to this competitive environment.

**Party Mobilization:** Events like the Million March serve as platforms for mobilizing support and demonstrating political clout. Fazal-ur-Rehman's reference to this event underscores its significance in shaping the party's identity and aspirations.

**Example 40:** *"We talk about only one Palestine and the notion of a two-state solution should be abandoned."* (*The Express Tribune*, November 22, 2023)

- **Textual (Descriptive Stage)**

This sentence is a declarative statement expressing a clear stance on the issue of Palestine. The phrase "We talk about only one Palestine" asserts a singular perspective, while the call to "abandon" the notion of a two-state solution is direct and assertive.

- **Identity Markers**

**Support for Palestinian Unity:** Fazal-ur-Rehman positions himself as a supporter of Palestinian rights and unity, advocating for a singular vision of Palestine.

**Rejection of the Two-State Solution:** By calling for the abandonment of the two-state solution, he aligns himself with a more uncompromising stance on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

- **Discursive Practice (Interpretative Stage)**

The study analyzes how this discourse is created and interpreted. Fazal-ur-Rehman's statement is aimed at mobilizing support for the Palestinian cause and articulating a clear stance on foreign policy.

- **Interpretation**

**Solidarity with Palestinians:** By asserting a singular vision of Palestine, Fazal-ur-Rehman signals his support for Palestinian self-determination and sovereignty, appealing to sentiments of solidarity among his supporters.

**Rejection of Compromise:** The call to abandon the two-state solution reflects a rejection of compromise and negotiation with Israel, appealing to a more hardline stance on the conflict.

- **Socio-cultural (Explanatory Stage)**

This stage examines the broader implications of Fazal-ur-Rehman's words in their socio-cultural context.

- **Explanation**

**Religious and Ideological Solidarity:** Fazal-ur-Rehman's support for a singular Palestine resonates with broader sentiments of Islamic solidarity and anti-colonialism, particularly among conservative and religiously inclined audiences.

**Critique of International Diplomacy:** By rejecting the two-state solution, Fazal-ur-Rehman critiques mainstream approaches to resolving the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, positioning himself as an advocate for a more radical and uncompromising stance.

This study delves into how Pakistani political leaders construct their identities through specific identity markers in their speeches, as reported by newspapers. The strategic use of identity markers in political discourse is a well-documented phenomenon and has been the subject of numerous studies. The findings of this research align with, yet also expand upon, existing literature by offering a nuanced look at the unique socio-political context of Pakistan.

Prior research on political discourse has highlighted the importance of identity markers in political communication. Fairclough (1995) posits that language is a tool for constructing social realities and legitimizing power structures. This notion is evident in the ways Pakistani politicians use terms like 'youth,' 'corruption,' 'accountability,' beard, sharia, respect to vote 'naya Pakistan' to align themselves with reformist and anti-corruption agendas, resonating with Fairclough's theory of discourse as a practice of power and ideological framing.

Wodak (2009) discusses the discursive construction of national identity, emphasizing how political leaders craft their public personas through strategic language use. In Pakistan, politics use identity markers such as; 'Insaf' (justice) the cricket bat shria, legacy of party owners and various other symbols reflects an appeal to justice and change, aligning with Wodak's findings on the use of symbols to evoke nationalistic sentiments and align with public aspirations for fairness and reform.

The research identifies a variety of linguistic tools employed by Pakistani politicians, such as strategic use of parts of speech, code-switching, turn-taking, and sentence structures. This is consistent with van Dijk's (1997) assertion that political discourse often involves complex linguistic strategies to manage impression and



persuade audiences. For instance, Imran Khan's frequent use of first-person plural pronouns ('we,' 'our') fosters a sense of unity and collective action among his supporters.

Semiotic tools, such as color patterns, font sizes, shapes, and symbols, play a significant role in political branding. Kress and van Leeuwen (2001) argue that visual elements in discourse are integral to meaning-making processes. Political parties use of vibrant green and red colors, symbols like the cricket bat, sharia, respect to vote, lion, are designed to create a dynamic and energetic image of change and persuasion, contrasting with the more traditional and solemn colors of PPP, which evoke a sense of historical continuity and social justice.

The strategic deployment of identity markers is influenced by various socio-political factors. The focus on corruption, youth engagement, and national development by PTI, for example, reflects public disillusionment with existing political corruption and a desire for new leadership. This is in line with Chouliaraki and Fairclough's (1999) idea of discourse being shaped by and shaping social contexts.

The emphasis on Islamic identity markers, such as references to Sharia law and traditional attire, aligns with the ideological commitments of parties like JUI-F. These markers resonate with voters who prioritize Islamic values, reflecting Bourdieu's (1991) concept of habitus, where social practices, including discourse, are influenced by ingrained cultural and ideological dispositions.

The identity markers also reveal underlying narratives of resistance and transformation. PTI's rhetoric of 'change' and 'naya Pakistan' embodies a narrative of transformation, aiming to disrupt the status quo. This mirrors the findings of Laclau and Mouffe (1985), which discuss how political identities are often constructed around antagonistic dichotomies, such as new versus old or change versus continuity.

PPP's use of markers like 'roti, kapra, makan' (bread, clothing, housing) and the legacy of Benazir Bhutto invokes a narrative of social justice and continuity with the past, appealing to voters' sense of loyalty and historical consciousness. This aligns with Anderson's (1983) notion of imagined communities, where political identities are constructed through shared memories and collective histories.

In conclusion, the strategic use of identity markers in Pakistani political discourse reflects a complex interplay of linguistic and semiotic tools, shaped by the socio-political context and ideological commitments of different parties. This study contributes to the broader understanding of political identity construction by providing specific insights into the Pakistani context, while also corroborating established theories in discourse analysis.

Future research could further explore the dynamic interaction between media representations and public perception of political identities, considering the evolving landscape of digital media and its impact on political discourse.

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **RECOMMENDATION AND CONCLUSION**

In the last chapter, the outcome of the study has been discussed and the findings of the study have been presented. The researcher has also provided recommendations for the future researchers with a brief conclusion.

#### **5.1 Summary and Final Words**

The following study was an endeavor to answers the following research questions: The first research question was; how do political leaders construct their specific political identity through identity markers? The second research question was; what specific identity markers do political leaders utilize in the selected newspapers? The third research question was; why do the political leaders employ these identity markers in their political discourses?

The study was based on newspapers' reports of four political leaders of the four major parties of the country. Ten newspapers' reports of each political leader were analyzed. The reports were selected from the reliable source online. This research is mainly concerned with three threads: identifying identity markers, interpreting and explaining identity markers, then the functional use of themes was explained in details for knowing about ideologies of conceptual system of politicians. It was analyzed that more or less political discourse invigorates with a higher level of use of identity markers. The identity markers themes used in the Newspapers' reports of Pakistani politicians showed the propensity of politicians for coping with political problems.

It was thoroughly discussed in the present thesis that identity markers play a pivotal role in political discourse. Then in Newspapers' report identity markers are second to none for showcasing the hidden ideologies and message to the audience. It was in the second research questions that how are politicians able to employ identity markers in their political discourse. The identity markers used in the selected newspapers did have some political purposes that the selected politicians want to express to media and their intended audience. In the selected Newspapers it was found that the specific identity markers politicians utilized in their political speeches are 'youth' 'corruption' 'accountability' 'change' 'naya Pakistan( New Pakistan)' and some visual and symbolic identity markers are: moral authority , resilience, sustainable

development event of change, Continuity of Cause bat, Insaf(justice), khan "roti(bread), kapra(cloth), makan(house)," the legacy of Benazir Bhutto, and the PPP's flag, Islam, Shariyat(sharia), anti-Imran Khan, Turban. Shalwar kameez, beard, Vote ko izzat do (respect to vote), lion, infrastructure, regional development, economic growth and Punjab as a strong hold family. Other identity markers are: Family lineage, lion , Maulana( Islamic scholar),democracy ,economic growth, progress, development, victim of conspiracy, political heritage ,democratic advocate, Islamic principles ,champions of meritocracy, social welfare , popular leader, leadership and ideological commitment, nation builder, women's rights, democratic values, human rights ,champions of values, policy initiatives, political mobilization, moral authority, religious guidance social welfare, strategic diplomat, leadership and resolve, nationalist stance and religious authority.

All the politicians constructed their political identity through identity markers by employing different speech structure and linguistic tools including parts of speech, code switching, instance of turn taking, sentence structure etc. mood and modality, pronouns) and Semiotic tools including color pattern, font size, font shape, sign and symbols; Literary figure including Various figures of speech like metaphor , hyperbole etc. these various linguistics, semiotic and figurative tools are discussed in various degrees.

The strategic use of specific identity markers is driven by multiple factors, including contextualization within the socio-political landscape to address corruption, national development, youth engagement, accountability, transparency, and ethical governance; challenging power structures, cultural aspirations, transformation, democracy, gender equality, social justice, socio-economic imperatives, addressing regional, economic, and infrastructural needs, which enhance the party's relevance as a pragmatic entity; Islamic economic principles; and resistance against external cultural influences, which aligns with these parties' ideological commitments.

The results of this research indicate a plethora of use of identity markers in the contemporary Pakistani politicians' discourse, particularly identity markers expression being used in newspapers platform. It was observed that majority of political discourse is dense with the use of identity markers for the influence of masses. On the surface, the identity markers are difficult to be understood but the listeners get impression owing

to the use of their political leaders. In pursuance of this work, I have presented a list of identity markers evolved in Pakistani political discourse specially its presentation in newspapers. Different identity markers like; for political persuasion, religious stance, self-positivism etc. were used for various purposes were found and analyzed. These identity markers showed the way politicians mold their language in the selected newspapers. The findings also show that how the political ideologies are manifested to the masses. On this way, politicians get their vote bank and support in the public and especially in their supporters.

In addition in the thesis I strived to bring forth the unconscious facets of everyday political discourse. The unconscious facets are identity markers that emerged from identical conceptual system of individuals. In this manner identity markers become an essential part of political discourse in Pakistan. Once identity markers are realized it becomes so fascinating characteristics of language, which exhibits the way we think and organize our thoughts.

## **5.2 Discussion**

The findings of this research is partially similar to that of Bramley (2001) research who focused on how pronouns are used to delineate identities of "self" and "other" and how politicians strategically manipulate these pronouns to shape their own identities and those of others. In the same context, Chilton (2004) conducted a research and delved into the role of linguistic structures in shaping political identity, revealing that techniques such as nominalization, agentless passives, and pronouns with unclear references subtly convey political assertions without explicit articulation. Fetzer (2007) explored how speeches are linguistically framed in political interviews during general elections in Britain and Germany, finding distinct language and cultural patterns and how issues are negotiated and clarified. Lefkowitz (2003) conducted a research entitled "The Politics of language and Identity in Israel" finding that Israeli people make linguistics choices and various rhetorical words to gain vote bank and support in public and to show their identity in other countries. The finding of this research is different from Lourdes (2008). He conducted a research dissertation on Identity politics and considered the concept as a political approach. He considers it an approach, where people of a particular gender, religion, race, social background and social class or through other identity factors develop political agendas. The Dvork (2012) research

finding is similar with this research finding in one point: politicians use of metaphors. He investigated the detailed use of linguistic strategies. It was concluded that various rhetorical strategies and metaphors were used for the attention of audience and supporters.

Fairclough's 3D model offers a suitable framework for delving into the use of identity markers within politicians' speeches, elucidating how these markers shape and reflect political identities. Using through its three stages: text as language, discursive, and socio-cultural, this model unveils a deeper understanding of the motives behind politicians' utilization of identity markers. Through description, interpretation, and explanation, it not only highlights the presence of these markers but also unveils the underlying socio-cultural dynamics driving their use of identity markers. Thus, Fairclough's model serves as an invaluable tool in unraveling the complex tapestry of political identity construction within discourse.

### **5.3 Limitations of the Study**

To conclude this chapter it is important to give certain ideas and ways of exploring the same idea with different approaches. This study can be used in future by incorporating the analysis of all four political leaders' speeches. The same texts can be ideologically explored by developing a comparison of these strands and finding out that which one is dominant in using identity markers in data. Another possibility can be that the research can be conducted by comparing one year election campaign with another. This would give a clear overview as how and to which extent the identity markers develop, change or remain the same.

The study focuses on Pakistani English newspapers and may limit the generalizability of the findings. Different newspapers may have diverse editorial policies and reader demographics, affecting the representation of identity markers. The political landscape is dynamic, and identity markers may evolve over time. The study's temporal scope might restrict a comprehensive understanding of how identity markers change in response to political shifts.

### **5.4 Recommendations for Future Research**

I suggest to the future researchers extending the analysis to include newspapers in local languages alongside English. This would provide a more holistic understanding

of how identity markers are constructed and interpreted across linguistic settings. The study also suggests to the future researchers to conduct a research on this topic capturing a long period of time to track the evolution of identity markers over an extended period. This would capture changes in political discourse and identity construction, offering a more dynamic and nuanced perspective.

**Comparative Analysis:** Compare the representation of identity markers across various newspapers to identify patterns, divergences, and potential biases. This would enhance the study's robustness by considering diverse editorial stances.

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## APPENDIX

### Appendix A

#### Newspapers' Reports Relevant to Imran Khan's (PTI) Identity from the Dawn

Serial no	Newspaper	Newspaper's report title	Month/ date/ year
1	The Dawn	Imran Khan unveils	July 9, 2018
2	The Dawn	Imran khan asks youth	August 15, 2021
3	The Dawn	PM Imran khan hails	January 27, 2020
4	The Dawn	Imran khan blames corruption	May 26, 2023
5	The Dawn	Imran khan asks students	December 16, 2022

### Appendix B

#### Newspapers' Reports Relevant to Imran Khan's Identity from The Express Tribune

Serial no	Newspaper	Newspaper's report title	Month/ date/ year
1	The Express Tribune	India spreading Islamophobeas	September 25, 2020
2	The Express Tribune	Naya Pakistan Rally	March 24, 2018
3	The Express Tribune	Are we [Muslims]	September 27, 2019
4	The Express Tribune	Imran Khan shares words	December 30, 2020
5	The Express Tribune	PM urges transformation	March 4 , 2022

## Appendix C

### Newspapers' Reports Relevant to Bilawal's Identity from the Dawn

Serial no	Newspaper	Newspaper's report title	Month/ date/ year
1	The Dawn	Bilawal announces 'manifesto	December 28, 2023
2	The Dawn	Bilawal in attendance	July 30, 2023
3	The Dawn	PP made Punjab	March 7, 2022
4	The Dawn	Bilawal warns against	February 2, 2019
5	The Dawn	Bilawal seeks to	October 10, 2018

## Appendix D

### Newspapers' Reports relevant to Bilawal's Identity from The Express Tribune

Serial no	Newspaper	Newspaper's report title	Month/ date/ year
1	The Express Tribune	Bilawal cautions against	December 29, 2023
2	The Express Tribune	Send old guard home	November 16, 2023
3	The Express Tribune	Bilawal censure Centre	January 19, 2021
4	The Express Tribune	Youth to lead march	February 17, 2022
5	The Express Tribune	Bilawal vows to revive	December 5, 2017



## Appendix E

### Newspapers' Reports Relevant to Nawaz Sharif's Identity from The Dawn

Serial no	Newspaper	Newspaper's report title	Month/ date/ year
1	The Dawn	Nawaz's voice echoing	October 24, 2020
2	The Dawn	No wish for revenge,	October 21, 2023
3	The Dawn	Routes to Central	June 16, 2018
4	The Dawn	Nawaz promises	October 1, 2020
5	The Dawn	Nawaz bemoans 'three	May 29, 2023

## Appendix F

### Newspapers' Reports Relevant to Nawaz Sharif's Identity from the Express Tribune

Serial no	Newspaper	Newspaper's report title	Month/ date/ year
1	The Express Tribune	Pakistan suffered	December 14, 2023
2	The Express Tribune	Nawaz prioritizes	December 8, 2023
3	The Express Tribune	A look at Nawaz's nine	October 22, 2023
4	The Express Tribune	Nawaz Sharif denies	November 23, 2023

<b>5</b>	The Express Tribune	Economy, my first	October 9, 2023
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## Appendix G

### Newspapers' Reports relevant to Fazal U Rehman Identity from the Dawn

<b>Serial no</b>	<b>Newspaper</b>	<b>Newspaper's report title</b>	<b>Month/ date/ year</b>
<b>1</b>	The Dawn	JUI-F to support Taliban's	December 23, 2021
<b>2</b>	The Dawn	Islamabad under pressure	December 10, 2023
<b>3</b>	The Dawn	Rulers failed to	December 18, 2023
<b>4</b>	The Dawn	Fazal says Government	July 31, 2020
<b>5</b>	The Dawn	Fazal says peaceful	December 2, 2023

## Appendix H

### Newspapers' Reports relevant to Fazal U Rehman's Identity from the Express Tribune

<b>Serial no</b>	<b>Newspaper</b>	<b>Newspaper's report title</b>	<b>Month/ date/ year</b>
<b>1</b>	The Express Tribune	Will not let Pakistan	March 1, 2016
<b>2</b>	The Express Tribune	Global bodies controlling	December 18, 2023
<b>3</b>	The Express Tribune	Fazal slams ex-allies	October, 11 2023
<b>4</b>	The Express Tribune	Nawaz, Fazal cement	November 22, 2023

<b>5</b>	The Express Tribune	Fazal accuses 'authorities	October 31, 2023
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