

**NARRATIVE OF COUNTER
TERRORISM: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE
ANALYSIS OF RAHEEL SHARIF'S
SPEECHES**

By

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**NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF MODERN
LANGUAGES
ISLAMABAD
February, 2019**

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Discourse Analysis of Raheel Sharif's Speeches**

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B.S. Hons. English, National University Of Modern Languages
Islamabad, 2015

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

In **English**

To

FACULTY OF LANGUAGES



NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF MODERN LANGUAGES,
ISLAMABAD

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ABSTRACT

Title: Narrative Of Counter-Terrorism: A Critical Discourse

Analysis of Raheel Sharif's Speeches.

The most significant means that aids in engendering perspectives, ideologies, and agendas is the words of leadership. Speeches of leadership are of paramount importance in the formulation and representation of narratives and ideologies. Leaders use language to establish the ideological standing at the social level. The current study examines the speeches of General(R) Raheel Sharif through the lens of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). The study engages the 'Ideological Square Model (1998)' to examine the narrative of counter terrorism. Eight speeches of Raheel Sharif from Post Army Public School (APS), Peshawar attack have been selected to analyze the narrative of counter terrorism communicated by him. The post-APS attack speeches were selected specifically because the country's narrative to counter terrorism took a swift turn after the tragic incident of December, 2014. The study is qualitative in nature. The result of the study reveals that the language used by Raheel Sharif has a major role in forming the narrative of counter terrorism at the international canvas. Discursive tools such as polarization, actor description, comparison, authority, euphemism, evidentiality, victimization, vagueness etc, are underscored that were frequently used by General Raheel Sharif. The result of the research shows that the speaker has used actor description to show positive self-representation of his in-group members, and to differentiate the actions of in-group and out-group members. Finally, the study reveals how the narrative of counter terrorism was redefined in the speeches of Raheel Sharif. The study is unique in that no prior significant work has been done to investigate the narrative of counter terrorism through the speeches of military leadership. Moreover, it is an illustration for reference of the application of the ideological square model to the speeches of political and military leadership.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First of all, I am thankful to my Almighty Allah Who gave me enough strength and knowledge that directed me to the right path. He provided me with the ability to complete the study.

I would like to express my gratitude to Mr. Muhammad Yousuf, my esteemed supervisor, without whose kind consideration, it would not have been possible for me to accomplish my research work. He has always been very considerate and has guided me generously to accomplish my work. He has been reviewing my work on every step of this study and pointing out my errors and suggesting valuable changes.

I have furthermore to thank the English Department of National University of Modern Languages, Islamabad that provided me an opportunity to do the research. Deepest thanks to the dean Dr. Safeer Awan and coordinator Dr. Ejaz Mirza.

I would like to express my gratitude and thanks to my parents for their love, patience, prayers and high esteem for their inseparable support and encouragement.

It is a pleasure to pay tribute also to my colleagues and friends who have helped me along the way by constantly encouraging me, especially Ibrahim Ahmed, Sidra Bajwa and Moeen Ahmed. I owe special gratitude to all of them for their continuous support, encouragement, suggestions, and for boosting me up all the time of dissertation.

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my parents for their love, endless support and encouragement. Especially my mother, who has made countless prayers and wishes for my future endeavors.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Human language, regardless of its nature, is considered as an open system that has an ability to clasp the dunes of creativity and productivity (Varshney, 1993). Language is one of the great human inventions that enables man to bring novelty and innovation in his routine life. Language can be altered with time, according to the needs and demands of human beings. Features of language are sculpted by man to meet his aims and objectives. These aims and objectives may vary in their natures (good or bad) according to the needs of human beings and societal norms. Language has a powerful facet that facilitates in vindicating and modifying the aggressive and hostile actions into innocuous and agreeable ones. When it comes to social practice, language acts as an instrument of communication that conveys one's thoughts or perception to others, and dynamically aids at each level of societal order, particularly in reshaping ideologies (Fairclough, 2015). Language rambles from minor factions to major ones: develops connection; constructs regularity, and engenders harmony amongst men. Therefore, language evolves as a crucial feature of society that concentrates on the issues affecting the membership of society in general. The socially substantial characteristic of language poses issues of ideology, power, domination and identity that is the actual crux of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) (Wodak, 2011).

In the contemporary world, the very idea of power is associated with politics that allows people to strive and aspire for power and domination in order to seek their ambitions. Language is a persuasive and consequential instrument to augment power subtly. Political and military leaderships appear to exploit language in their statements, interviews, debates and speeches. At present, print and digital media is the main medium for political communications.

Besides political advertisements, media provides civil and military leadership with a platform through which they can share their positions. Despite limitations, media is an effective source of information. Political advertisements and talk shows of political representatives are not as much powerful because they do not give viewers full access to the notions of leadership (Jamieson, 1988). Pakistani media is a novel example of broadcasting political talk shows, and processions, protests, meetings and rallies in profusion. Most of the talks in television shows revolve around contemporary issues and provide opinions and counter opinions of representatives from various national

political parties that make it difficult for the audience to build understanding on the issues and to reach any conclusion. Keeping the conclusions aside, media pose some apprehensions regarding its impact factor. Owners of media channels, anchors, newspaper editors, op-ed writers, and producers are considered as the main stakeholders of media; however, they remain unsuccessful in influencing the general public as leadership does. The primary objective of media is to entice viewers rather than to communicate a comprehensive depiction of politics, and thus media is regarded as show business (Postman, 1985). Paid ads and commercials by political representatives are not enough to convey the broad perspective to their viewers and followers as many limitations are involved in the procedure (Jamieson, 1988). In this critical situation, both leadership and audience require some sort of accurate and detailed medium that can facilitate in bridging the communication gap between them. A direct address to the public is of great help in this regard (Gray, 1998).

A scholar of Social Sciences contemplates political speech as the most powerful instrument of leaders to persuade public, and to reconstruct their perception (Gray, 1998). In fact, political speech is a precise narrative in which various settings, characters and ideas are presented. The degree of identification among audience for the speaker (leader) is of much greater importance because, in direct and precise narrative, the audience may feel or develop a special kind of connection with the speaker, or the circumstance or ideology of the leadership. This perceived connection affects the audience of a narrative more potently. Hence, it gradually facilitates in transforming narratives and ideologies of the audience (Gray, 1998). The perceptions and narratives of audience are also affected and transformed through “terministic screen-” a particular term used to refer to the picture painted on the mind of the audience by the words of a speaker (Burke, 1966). The terministic screens are usually used in symbolic portions of discourse. A speaker utilizes subjective and objective approach together in his/her discourse. The speaker, on a subjective level, describes specific incidences, happenings and situations from his/her own experience to form close links between people and institutions. However, on an objective level, a speaker recognizes the interests of public and works to persuade the public with the power of his/her words (Burke, 1966). Subjective and objective facets of a speech are considered equally important and effective for a speaker and audience, as they provide both with opportunity to maximize outcomes: for a speaker in communicating his/her comprehensive position, and for the audience in umpiring the given position in depth. In short, political speech,

encompassing an extensive political and military canvas, provides the leadership with two opportunities: a chance to define its vision and agendas, thorough descriptions *viz-a-viz* intricate issues, gradual transformation for ostracized or unwelcomed strategies and undertakings in political domain, and a chance for the audience to know and evaluate the leadership in its entirety, as speeches give comprehensive information about the speaker and their position. Formal talk or speech is an efficacious genre based on both political and linguistic insinuation. It is usually taken as a standpoint of history to describe the incidences and events, but it is actually a strong instrument of linguistics that can neither be avoided nor denied (Gray, 1998). Its purpose is to engage and persuade the semantic devices it applies on.

Considering these characteristics of language and speech, the researcher has carefully chosen the formal speeches of General (R) Raheel Sharif to exhume the underlying counter-terrorism ideologies and motives. General Sharif served as a Chief of Army Staff (COAS) in Pakistan's Army. As COAS, he openly condemned the narratives and ideologies of terrorists and emphasized on spreading the valour, resilience and determination in the minds of Pakistani nationals against terrorists. According to Van Dijk(2003), language is the most powerful instrument to address the deep root causes of terrorism prevailing in the country and to engender narrative which he thinks is a concrete weapon to eliminate terrorism from Pakistani society. Moreover, he used his discourse as a powerful instrument to communicate messages to acrimonious enemies of Pakistan that the state has enough power and strength to mitigate the menace of terrorism from the face of Pakistan. General Sharif made nationals of Pakistan aware of the evil motives and anti-state ideologies of terrorists. Most of the speeches made by him encompass two basic messages: emphasis on national solidarity, harmony and peace, and a comprehensive plan to engender counter-terrorism narrative to mitigate the threat of terrorism.

Raheel Sharif has a strong and powerful personality and his charismatic aura creates a prodigious impact on Pakistani nationals. Right after taking charge of his office, Raheel Sharif had faced copious resistance and antagonism from anti-Pakistan elements, including terrorists. He is a hero, embraced by Pakistani nation with all their hearts due to his untiring efforts and management to mitigate terrorism. Similar to influential leaders, he made use of emotional and emphatic words to charge his audience against the enemies of the state. Additionally, he used patriotism and religion as strong tools to legitimize his ideology to win the favour of his audience.

The Army Public School (APS), Peshawar attack was an unforgettable catastrophe in Pakistan's history. On 16th December 2014, six assailants affiliated with a terrorist outfit attacked Army Public School in Peshawar. The attack left 149 people dead, most of them students. The attack left an indelible impression on politics and society in Pakistan. Before the APS attack, there was divided opinion on managing issue of terrorism prevailing in Pakistan. Terrorists were categorized into good and bad ones by political leadership of the country. However, the APS attack ruled out all categorizations, and for the first time in the history of the country, the government decided to take concrete action against terrorists without any discrimination. Pakistani government, along with its military institutions, formulated a comprehensive roadmap called "National Action Plan (NAP)" to introduce counter-terrorism ideology in Pakistani society and to curtail the prevailing terrorism in the country on immediate basis. The NAP banks on points like regularization of madrassas, change of curriculum, controlling funding for terrorism, establishing military courts and launching military operations against terrorists.

The present research is an effort to investigate the underlying narrative of counter-terrorism present in the speeches of General Raheel Sharif in the aftermath of the massacre, and to explore the ways in which he made careful selection of words to inculcate counter-terrorism ideology in the minds of Pakistani nationals and international community. Narrative is a point of view that acquires legal and authentic standing when it gets acceptance from a larger stratum of a society. Furthermore, narratives are socially and politically charged as they inherit hidden ideologies in them. Raheel Sharif, through his careful yet accurate selection of words, communicated Pakistan's stance on counter-terrorism to the global community. Social and political conditions provoke an individual or a group to embrace a certain ideology. Raheel Sharif held responsible social issues like poverty, lack of education, inequality and under-development for growth of terrorism in the country. Pakistan was founded on religious ideology due to which a large portion of Pakistani society has religious sentiments. Raheel Sharif has intelligently and tactfully used this sentimental connection to meet national goals *viz-a-viz* counter-terrorism. He justified Pakistan's efforts to counter terrorism by likening the War against Terrorism (WoT) with the efforts of the Holy Prophet (PBUH) to safeguard the Muslim state of Medina. Logically and wisely drawn relationships between religion and efforts of Pakistan to eliminate

terrorism facilitated in cementing the counter-terrorism narrative in the minds of Pakistani nationals.

As mentioned in the preceding paragraphs, the APS attack brought significant transformation in policies of Pakistani government *viz-a-viz* managing terrorism. Pakistan adopted the NAP that brought about major shift in Pakistan's counter-terrorism apparatus. Being COAS, Raheel Sharif has an undeniable role in legislating counter-terrorism strategies. The researcher has carefully selected the eight speeches of Raheel Sharif delivered in the post APS attack period. The researcher has examined these speeches through the lens of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). The Ideological Square Model (ISM) by Van Dijk (1993) is used in the present research. ISM presents 'out-group' as 'them,' while, 'in-groups' as 'us'. It draws comparison by labelling self/us as positive and others/them as negative. The model serves three purposes: it unfolds the counter-terrorism narratives presented in Pakistan in the past; it underscores the transformation in counter-terrorism strategies at the national level; and it highlights the uniqueness in the discourse of Raheel Sharif. The analyses of linguistic choices, like words used in a discourse, are made to observe how language has been used to show the stance against non-state actors. The present study reveals that Raheel Sharif as a COAS has made the maximum use of the power of words to create counter-terrorism ideology and nationalism in the citizenry of Pakistan.

1.1 Statement of the Problem

The basic premise of this research is to examine the roles various actors play in the narratives concerning terrorism in Pakistan. The discourse adopted by the state, and in particular General Raheel Sharif, to quell extremist ideologies is analysed. . General Raheel Sharif, as the Chief of Army Staff, was at the helm of policy making efforts for Pakistan both internationally and domestically. When Sharif assumed office, Pakistan was struggling for survival on multiple fronts: economic, ideological, and political. In Pakistan, the influence of military permeates through all levels of administration due to a history of military rule. The glorification of this institution happens in all social strata due to the military's frequent participation in humanitarian, defence, and domestic security crises. Therefore, the narrative adopted by military leadership is likely to ripple at a grassroots level in the country. However, at the time, the military did not espouse a coherent counter-terrorist narrative. Speeches delivered by the General in the wake of the 2014 school massacre are analysed. The speeches laid the groundwork for the

narrative that was pushed through all segments of Pakistani society. The speeches are dissected in the context of the socio-political status of the speaker. Attention is paid to how the perceived identity of the speaker shapes the weight of his words to his different audiences, and in doing so accelerates the adoption of his views throughout. By focusing on the motivations of the speaker in addition to the content of the speeches themselves, this study attempts to provide an alternative perspective on how a symbiosis of the two can make a narrative more potent.

1.2 Research Questions

The Research questions of this research are as follows:

- How does the former army chief, Raheel Sharif, highlight the role of army in fighting terrorism?
- How does the language used by former army chief Raheel Sharif show stance against the non-state actors?
- How has the narrative of counter terrorism been redefined with regard to the selected speeches of Raheel Sharif?

1.3 Research Objectives

The way a word is used, defines the message hidden in it. The core emphasis of the current research is to unfold the importance of the speeches of Raheel Sharif *viz-a-viz* imparting narrative of counter-terrorism in Pakistan in the post APS attack period. The objectives of the present research are as follows:

- To investigate the way a leader pursues and imparts his ideology through language;
- To study the Political Discourse of leadership in the pre and post APS attack periods;
- To study how has the narrative of counter terrorism been redefined in the selected speeches.
- To analyse the role of government in counter-terrorism as underscored in the speeches of General (R) Raheel Sharif;
- To examine whether the leaders actually employ specific strategies to impart certain ideologies or they occur inevitably irrespective of the speaker's methods.

1.4 Delimitation

The present research is delimited to the eight speeches made by General Raheel Sharif in the post APS attack period. The transcripts of the selected speeches are taken

from the websites of various national newspapers (details and stable URLs are mentioned in the subsequent sections of this thesis). The purpose of selecting speeches of the post APS attack period is to examine the transformation that took place in the narrative of counter-terrorism at national level immediately after the terrorist incident.

1.5 Significance of the study

The present study is related to Critical Discourse Analysis of Raheel Sharif's selected speeches (delivered at various occasions in the post APS attack period). The researcher tried a 3-D (three-dimensional) examination of the Sharif's speeches: discourse, influence, and ideology. The selected data have been examined in the light of the Ideological Square Model (ISM) given by Van Dijk in 1993. This theoretical model highlights the core insinuations structured in language, counting the discourse, and influence and ideology. Persuasive approaches used in the data are also investigated. The research is an effort to critically and objectively investigate that how Raheel Sharif provided his discursive contribution for the indoctrination of counter-terrorism narrative at national level. As the COAS, he engaged in wordplay and terminologies in his speeches. Amid the existing critical situation in the country, he represented his cause as fully fair, legitimate, needful and democratic. He referred to the religious and democratic vision of the state given by Allama Muhammad Iqbal and Quaid e Azam, as being the foundation and inspiration of his idealism. Though given a tough time by anti-Pakistan elements including terrorists, Raheel Sharif attempted to communicate his democratic designs, and to persuade the public that Pakistan can no longer bear the brunt of terrorism, and that peace is the only solution our country must entertain. He not only successfully imparted the counter-terrorism narrative but also exercised his rhetoric cautiously to convince the Pakistani nationals towards his arguments.

The significance of present research falls in its critical investigation as it studies the political discourse of a military head who is also

- A charismatic military officer;
- COAS of an ideological nation-state (Islamic Republic of Pakistan);
- An influencer;

- A daring and active COAS of the country who is involved in introducing new counter-terrorism strategies and launching key military operations to dismantle the terrorist narrative.

In this study, General Raheel Sharif's speeches delivered after the APS attack in 2014 has been analyzed. The speeches are analysed through the perspective of Critical Discourse Analysis. Critical Discourse Analysis deals with investigating the hidden ideology behind the language used by a speaker, and how that impacts audience. Speeches are made at both social and political levels, but the discourse of military speeches holds great significance among the audience.

This work analyses the speeches of General Raheel Sharif in the wake of the 2014 Army Public School massacre. The language of speeches is analysed in the context of the speaker's social and political background. The analysis is used to determine how public perception and governmental policy are formulated through discourse of influential figures, particularly in relation to counter-terror efforts in Pakistan. Attention is paid to how General Sharif apportions responsibilities among various factions, and discriminates between ideological allies and antagonists. His specific example can be generalized to understand the conduct of leaders in shaping narrative through their discourse. Sparse work has been done to critically analyse contemporary military and political discourse in the Pakistan. This study intends to fill this gap in research.

The rest of the study is organized in the following ways: Chapter 2 provides an overview of the present work and methods employed in this study, and the other studies conducted in this area. Chapter 3 includes detailed information about the research methodology and the key discursive points used in the research. Furthermore, examples of discursive categories are given with definitions. Chapter 4 provides a detailed description of the analysis of the speeches using CDA model. Finally, Chapter 5 provides findings of the study, conclusion, and recommendations for future research.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter provides an overview of literature available on concepts pertinent to the present work. The hierarchy of communication is examined from language, to discourse and finally to narrative. Research on perception of narrative through framing is also presented. The chapter then narrows down to a discussion of narrative of terrorism globally. Finally, the analytical techniques underpinning this research are presented.

2.1 Language

Language is an important tool used for the purpose of communication. It is entirely a human trait, aimed for communicating and spreading the desired message. With the passage of time language has evolved and allowed humans to express themselves in a far better way than before. Language not only bridges the gaps between people but also defines their identities which further gives information about their social, cultural and political backgrounds. In order to understand language, it is important to first study the distinction between language and speech.

2.1.1 Distinction between Language and Speech

Discrepancy lies between language and speech. Language is socially and psychologically learned abstract data. However, speech is an action of utilizing the abstract data in verbal form to describe any social context, and is virtuously a physical conduct, commonly known as act of pronouncing or uttering (Burke, 1966). Nevertheless, these two features facilitate each other to impart narrative. It is a satirical reality that there is no concept of persuasion at all, particularly imparting of ideology and narrative through language until it encounters some challenge, demurrals, or disagreement prior to its exercise (Fairclough, 2015). It is accurate to say that persuasive language carries the elements of counter-persuasion as well. Hence, most grippingly, persuasive language not only persuades but also has tendency to undermine it as well. It is judicious judgment that, besides policies, speech can make or break a leadership. By examining the force of speech, one can understand and unveil the actual power present behind the speech, and the imparting narrative (Burke, 1966). The inherent purpose of speech is simply communication, without imparting narrative.

Imparting narrative through speech is a pure utility of language. Narrative, nevertheless, brings language into action in an unnatural way (FairClough1995).

2.2 Discourse

The totality of language pertaining to a single field is discourse. Discourse is derived from the Latin word “Discursus” which denotes written and spoken forms of communication. Stubbs (1983) argues that discourse is the use of language over the level of text (Stubbs, 1983). Scheffrin (1994) defined discourse as the organization of language into units which is larger than sentences (Scheffrin, Tannen & Hamilton, 2001). When we talk about discourse, we discuss it as a communication of thoughts which is orderly organized by words, talks and conversations. Hall (1997) argued that Foucault believed that the purpose of discourse was only concerned with representation. In broader terms, discourse is a unit of statements which organizes a particular thought and how people act on the basis of it (Hall, 1997). Rose (2001) debated discourse as a combination of knowledge and information about the world which defines socio-political world.

2.3 Narrative

Stringing discourses together around an overarching theme forms a narrative. Language facilitates construction of different narratives with diverse views and opinions. Likewise, narrative helps to organize a story that is made by combining events from history and also by providing a coherent system of ideas. According to the Oxford dictionary the term ‘narrative’ is a “spoken or written account of connected events and stories”. Bamberg (2011) discussed that our recognition and values are defined by the stories we tell about ourselves and whom we belong to. Polkinghorne, McAdams and Randall (1988, 1993, and 1995) believe that narratives can be used to explain things which are made by humans. Gubrium and Holstein (2009) argue that narratives can be used as reflective and subject status of the audience. Kilcullen (2012) defines narrative as a binding and effectively communicated story that composes the system of individuals’ involvement and understanding of occasions. Holstein and Gubrium (2009) underscore that narratives are both text and products. Riessman (2008) argues that there are different media to analyse narratives in which thematic, structural and

dialogic are included. Some people use historical achievements to produce strong narratives to influence their audience.

2.3.1 Narrative: An Instrument to Attain Political Objectives

Narratives hold ideologies and positions. Therefore, political leaders make use of narratives to construct and deconstruct social beliefs, views, attitudes, ideologies and opinions of the masses. There is a clear distinction between stories and narratives: a story is an organized text or dialogue with some themes, characters, plot, climax and forms. However, a narrative is a combination of events that share the same subjects, structures and backgrounds (Crystal, 1992).

When a narrative becomes acceptable over a period of time, it transforms into a 'master narrative' (Garratt, 1995). By following master narratives, an individual can form his/her own narrative. Influential people make use of these master narratives to define their own specific narratives by utilizing the present situation. Every narrative is based on different core problems related to power, society, culture, politics, and history. Therefore, we cannot assume that all narratives are extracted from larger told stories in master narratives. Corman (2011) believes that it is necessary to present robust narratives to influence people. A robust, successful and socially acceptable narrative should include the roots and identities fundamental in a culture. A good narrative holds two important qualities: it should be realistic and based on strong evidence; and loaded with a strong strategy against its opponents (Fairclough, 1995). Furlow and Goodall (2011) have discussed that influential leaders articulate events from history to make their narrative influential; military leaders like to highlight the achievements of wars and fights, whereas, political leaders articulate their political victories and principles. A society always accepts narratives that are in accordance with the emotional sentiments of its membership (Bockstette, 2009).

As mentioned above, a narrative defines the identity, ideology, culture and social relationships of societal membership, thus, influential people often use solid communicative strategies to amplify their narratives within a society.

2.3.2 Narrative in Political Speeches

Alfayez (2009) analyzed Martin Luther King's well known discourse "I Have a Dream" in the light of various speculations in general, and particularly keeping in view the perceptions of Wodak, O'Hallaron, and Austin. The researcher is of the view that

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) cases can be noteworthy and significant apparatus for the basic examination of writings. The written texts provided by media are of immense importance for the people. In such cases, basic speech examination offers a system for demystification of such kinds of texts.

The venerated Martin Luther King's style in speech is found by basic examination of his well-known discourse 'I have a dream'. It is exceptional and compelling. He inspired his audience who saw him live or on television broadcast with the help of his powerful discourse. The researcher has discovered a distinct and influential stratagem of 'repetition' used by the speaker in the form of tropical phrase 'I have a dream' for several times during his speech. The speech of Martin Luther King got much attention in the discipline of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). The speaker has used a number of persuasive methods in his speech. The speech dealt, at the same time, with various ideological breaking points including significant marginalization at social and political level, racial seclusion, and interest-based clashes in United States in those days. The results of the study indicate that sentimental appeal and logical arguments *viz-a-viz* social and political trimmings have facilitated King Martin to gain confidence of the public and popular support. It is also assessed that the historical credibility and character of King Martin multiplied the influential impression of his speech.

Kulo (2009) carried out research to discover the connections between form and role of language in political discourse. He did Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) of speeches of two political bigwigs of America, i.e. President Barack Hussein Obama, and Senator John McCain throughout their election campaign in 2008. Speeches of both the aforementioned political figures reflect consistent use of verbal spin.

Alvi and Basheer (2011a) analysed the speech of President Obama at Democratic Convention in 2004. The analysis was engaged through Halliday's Transitivity theory, to reveal the meaning underlying in Obama's persuasive erections. Alvi and Basheer (2011b) also conducted examination of linguistic spin in speeches made by Barack Obama from 2002 to 2008. The chosen political speeches are also examined through the lens of Transitivity approach. The result discloses that president Obama exercises the material courses of incident and action, together with psychological process of persuasion to win the confidence and trust of American nationals. In 2012, Baseer and Alvi examined another speech of president Obama called "The Great need of Hour" delivered in the year of 2008. The speech was analysed

through Aristotle's three principles: ethos, pathos and logos. The analysis also incorporated Transitivity theory (1978) given by Halliday. The study revealed that Obama made frequent use of Ethos and Pathos in his speech, and reflects that Obama is more inclined to referring to the context of the place: spatial and time-based, along with logical reasoning of the circumstances to ensure the integrity and credibility of his words.

Naz, Alvi, and Baseer (2012) have attempted to conduct CDA of Benazir Bhutto's speech titled "Democratization in Pakistan." She made the respective speech on September 25, 2007, when Bhutto was preparing to contest in election for the seat of Prime Minister. The researchers have carried out Transitivity examination of the speech, analysing linguistic spin through the lens of Halliday's work. The researchers have completely connected the ideas of diverse provisos, procedures and conditions on the piece of speech. They have endeavoured to investigate the manner of transitivity patterns been operated in the speech of Benazir. Their investigation showed that she was virtually well aware of the sentimental and physical reactions of her audience. The results also show that Benazir was much concerned about substantial clauses in her speeches. Although Benazir's political discourse is wanting in verbal and existential approach; however, the clauses revealed that she concentrated on psychological, behavioural and interactive factors. Benazir's utilization of spatial and worldly constructs played an instrumental job in the confirmation of her contentions. Moreover, conditions of possibility and way together gave objectivity to her speech.

Nawaz (2013) analyzed Quaid-I-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah's popular discourses delivered to Pakistan's first Constitutional Assembly prior to the foundation of Pakistan in August, 11 1947. She concluded that there lies a great difference between what Quaid-I-Azam imagined and prescribed and what the national conduct has showed up and won. He wished a nation free of all social, religious and political debasements, with full religious and political congruity and opportunity. Fundamentally, the ideological and national aspects of his talk were investigated. The ideological piece as stipulated in the said discourse was examined in perspective of general national situation of Pakistan. A similar discourse has been breaking down differently by different examiners; one of them is Nusrat Javeed whose examination showed up on 12th August 2011 in The Express Tribune. He especially highlighted the support and protection for minorities as set by the Quaid-I-Azam. Nusrat Javeed endeavoured to clarify the level of a practicality by offering examination of ideological sequences in

his speeches. He gives analysis of a similar discourse holding that the Quaid-I-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah's talk was accused of ideological current, and he conceptualized Pakistan to be a welfare state, giving opportunity to everyone regardless of colour, creed and religion.

Muhammad Aslam Sipra and Athar Rashid have fundamentally broken down the praised discourse of Martin Luther King 'When I Have Dreams' (Sipra & Rashid, 2013). They have connected Fairclough's three-dimensional system to breaking down the said discourse. By this system, Fairclough has proposed three dimensions of examining a specific content or speech for example, content, sociocultural practice, and rambling practice in the respective society. Seen through this triangulated methodology, the financial and socio-political factors render content to be analysed on the grounds that they impact the rambling movement in the public eye. Fairclough has envisioned this model as rousing familiarity with exploitative social connections cantered through the speech included. The above-mentioned researchers have investigated the impact practiced through the lexical decisions, syntactic courses of action, and discourse cognizance of speech which basically conveys a specific philosophy vested in them. In this study, basic focal point has been set particularly to think over the social, political, and monetary show in the chosen discourse. The researchers isolated their examination into two areas: inspecting the intra-sentential association and symmetry; and concentrating on the sentential array alongside inter-sentential designing. The first portion has featured specifically the Theme, Rhyme, Give, and New Information. They have additionally followed certain influential techniques utilized by Luther King in his discourse, principally the utilization of reiteration and allegory. Besides content, setting, style, and portrayal estimation of the discourse have additionally been dealt. Remaining restricted just to the initial segment of one discourse, this investigation has finished up that the use of explicit printed and complex strategy has richly been attempted, so as to develop the reason for a similar detail. The chosen discourse has fulfilled each one of the essentials fundamental for a discourse for adroitly spreading the belief system, it maintains. It bears a very much planned syntactic advancement staying with the one single subject of socio-racial disparity in that day of America. Be that as it may, the lexeme-decisions have not been discovered well as per the discourse circumstance. The analysts have observed that Luther King made noteworthy utilization of certain convincing plans to uncover the bay which he saw between the incredible what was more mistreated of his time. The sign of his powerful play was that

he won the support of the weak in any case. He has, in all honesty and innocuously, censured and denied the continuous socio-racial segregations which had spread enough to the degree of being standardized, the researchers finish up.

Haider (2014) has systematically employed the Aristotelian methods of speech: ethos, pathos, and logos on the discourse delivered by Malala Yousafzai to the United Nations Youth Assembly on 12th July, 2013 (Malala Day). Though this discourse did not fall under the heading of political discourse in its genuine sense, it basically dealt with strife of belief systems (Malala and Taliban) before various political pioneers speaking to the overall decision network. The scientist has talked about and used each of the said three parameter recommended in Aristotelian structure. He has explored the discourse from both the country and worldwide perspectives. The analyst has considered the content of the discourse, as well as adequate light has been shed on the setting. Moreover, the researcher has endeavoured to investigate different enticing perspectives and ideological examples embedded in the speech. He has observed that Malala is very much aware of the powerful strategies to be employed for getting attention of people. The analyst considers this discourse a paragon of mind blowing conviction, brave expectation, feeling, energy, and expertise; this discourse has been breaking down to be exceptional in substance just as speech.

Chen (2018) discussed the role of narratives in the speeches of Hillary Clinton. The researcher analysed 14 speeches made by Hillary Clinton at different occasions. The results show that Hillary Clinton used narratives on different occasions while addressing the people to motivate them. The research also shows that narratives are used effectively by politicians to maintain their hegemony on minds of the people. Shenhav (2003) argues that political narratives are constructed through the process of political activities. Hence, political narratives are formed and shaped through discourses. Political speeches are the main weapon through which politicians convince the targeted audience to show them their achievements. Sanghara (2016) explains the role of narratives in the speeches of Barack Obama because he successfully articulated stories related to political and economic situation of the US when he addresses his nation. The study reveals that Obama used metaphors, contrast and slogans to empower his political discourse.

2.4 Framing

A single narrative may be perceived differently by segments of the audience. This is where framing comes into play. According to Seller (2009), framing is of paramount importance in depicting a particular perspective while referring or comparing it with other perspectives. It has a significant importance in studying the political and media discourses. In past, it was thought that framing has intense impression on public as it builds perspectives of public on a particular situation. Language is very important in this regard, it has the capability to transform the perspectives and help people in forming new opinions and approaches. At different time and levels, different frames are created to attain multiple purposes.

The actual definition of framing comprises of various viewpoints. According to Entman (1993, p.35), 'Framing very critically comprises up of selection and salience. Framing is a process of selecting some perceptions of perceived reality and making them more acceptable in communication process. Framing specifically targets problems, interpretations, evaluations and concepts that are meant to achieve certain targets'.

Despite having many definitions of framing, one concept that stands out in every definition: language has been treated as a central entity and in this way language process becomes very significant. Frames are studied in language differently, for the technique of discourse analysis, language is dissected and deeper meaning as well as the surface meanings are analysed. Words in media discourse are not selected randomly. There is always an agenda behind concepts and approaches. Frames help scholars to achieve their desired goals.

To investigate the mechanism and effect of framing in a larger way, we need better methods and ways, which allow us to embrace different concepts and policies. Again, language is a key to identify and classify the frames which analyse cross-cut issues. Thus, in order to have deep understanding of framing, it is very important to have data analysis which could reveal different shades of framing in discourse.

Currently, language serves multiple purposes. Language not only serves as a medium through which individuals communicate, but it has accomplished many purposes, particularly in the field of discourse. The basic function language serves is the trade of perceptions, narratives and ideologies. The depiction of language in the study of discourse generally transmits dashes of narratives and ideology. Therefore, it is the common estimation of the linguists that traces of narratives are always found

during the process of dissection of a language. Hall (1982) has said that a language is an actual home of narrative as it serves a paramount contribution in examining the narratives. Trynor (2004) also emphasizes on the importance of contribution of language in the discipline of representational discourse. According to him, language is the best and colossal development in the history of mankind. Language is equally important for every discipline, regardless of its nature. Chilton (2004) is of the opinion that language is crucial to depict the world in multiple positions. Therefore, language is not only a non-concrete style but also permeated with narratives and ideologies. Language the capacity to transmit ideologies, narratives, perceptions, perspectives to stimulate human societies and cultures. There are number of styles in social sciences research to untie the narratives communicated through language, for example, Conversation Analysis, Critical Discourse Analysis, Stylistic Analysis, etc. Language is not an ordinary act but an endeavour with a social purpose. Wodak and Fairclough (1997) have labelled language as a social practice. Language contributes multiple purposes at one time: it characterises identities and entities; it unfolds the societal actions and social behaviours; and also comprehends positions of individuals at a particular degree. The term “narrative” was introduced in mid 1800s by a French philosopher, Destutt de Tracy. The term was coined during the era of French revolution. Afterwards, the term is used in various fields. In the discipline of discourse analysis, the idea of narrative has given a new direction to analysis. Almost in all fields, the very definition of “narrative” is similar, yet views of scholars may differ. The word “narrative” has multiple meanings. In critical discourse of language, the word ‘narrative’ is always used to comprehend manipulative beliefs with an objective to meet a particular target. When examining the language, it is the duty of a social scientist to decode the narratives and underscore the nature and degree of a particular narrative. The idea of narratives and power started in late 80s and this approach has gained much popularity over the years.

2.5 Terrorism

The term “terrorism” in general refers to the use of violence based on discrimination to create fright among the people to achieve social, religious or political motives. Similarly, terrorism is also associated with incidents invoking fear and destruction among states over serious conflicts. As scholars like Hoofman, Rees and Robertson (2006; 2005; 2006) argue that it is difficult to explain terrorism because we

have to differentiate terrorists and freedom fighters simultaneously. It shows that the criterion of defining terrorism varies from country to country. Some countries believe that their soldiers are freedom fighters, despite the killings of innocent people while some countries call freedom fighters terrorists. Despite the universal debates on terrorism, the world is still unable to construct a universally accepted definition of terrorism. Reese (2009) further has argued that the notion of terrorism specifically comes under discussion after the September 9, 2001 terrorists' attacks in the US. Harris (1986) have argued that terrorism is the act of violence committed by the powerful on the weak and is denounced. While they debated that war is defined as the ferocity of the strong and is celebrated. Jackson (2007) defines that terrorism is the strategy which both the state and non-state actors employ during the time of war as well as in peace. But his definition of terrorism was rejected by scholars who study orthodox terrorism as they believed that terrorism cannot be put under the banner of both state and non-state actors at the same time.

Different activities like suicide bombing, hijacking and other ferocious acts are also significant types of terrorism. The issue of terrorism is not something new but a concern for the United Nations since 1960s. He further debated that terrorism entered into the brand-new level as it is used by both media and state to define its own political motives. The problem is that terrorism has no authentic definition, although it has been a common issue surfacing at both domestic and international levels. Whenever, efforts are put to explain the concept of terrorism we see that it is related to wrong, evil, illegitimate, and illegal practices and crimes. The acts which are linked to terrorism happen in both peace and conflicts. Terrorism is used as a label to define the acts of violence which are socially and politically motivated. Wilson (2003, p.45) has argued that the United States Department of Defence has given two definitions of terrorism; first, "the unlawful use or threatened use of violence against individuals and property to coerce or intimidate government and societies, often to achieve political, religious or ideological objectives". The second, "terrorism is the unlawful use of violence or threat of violence to instil fear and coerce governments and societies". These definitions show that terrorism is bound by social, political and religious notions. Since, terrorism has taken a new shape from political violence killing innocent people to achieve goals. Since the incident of September 11, 2001, terrorism has taken a new tilt, but we still see that there is much to be talked about on the issue. Discourses concerning terrorism are wide in nature and diverse in opinion. The discourses of the

East are different from the discourses of the West. As Fairclough defines it, discourses are constructed by socio-politically motivated practices. Therefore, the discourse concerning terrorism is based on the social and cultural situations of the country which came under the attack of terrorist groups.

2.5.1 Counter-Terrorism Narrative

Counter-Terrorism is the practice which represents the measure and policies adopted by the military, law-enforcement agencies, the intelligentsia, and businessmen in response to contain terrorism. Rapoport (2017) argues that terrorism has occurred in four different waves. Since the rise of “global terrorism” in the 1880s, terrorism with diverse motivations has ebbed and flowed from the spotlight. These are the four types of terrorism in which anarchist, anti-colonial, new leftists and religious waves are included. However, despite a long history, terrorism was always treated as an ephemeral and local phenomenon, inevitably erased from public memory due to “historical amnesia”. In the aftermath of September 11 attacks, terrorism took centre-stage as a threat at a global scale. However, for the aforementioned legislation to find widespread traction, and discourse, in all strata of society implies that some narrative infrastructure exists. Such an infrastructure allows discourse on counter-terrorism to sublimate into actionable arguments without simply evaporating from public memory due to historical amnesia. Counter-Terrorism techniques and processes are studied by many scholars and researchers around the world to analyse factors responsible for it and the concepts of counter-terrorism.

Gatuiki (2016) studied the concept of counter terrorism and explains how counter-terrorism strategies were effective in African continent. The findings concluded that counter-terrorism strategy adopted by the African states especially Kenya still needs to be modified. Ahmed (2014) studied the counter-terrorism strategies of Pakistan. The research analysed the influence of counter-terrorism measures adopted in the country and questions the implications of the policy on the internal and external security fronts. The study also throws light on the elements which formulate an effective counter-terrorism strategy. The study is a contribution to the field of security and counter-terrorism studies. Ahmed (2014) assessed that in order to wage an effective counter narrative, it is important for the country to rewind its military narrative. Khayyam (2018) studied counter-terrorism strategies in Pakistan. He further argued that the counter-terrorist measures can be studied by including civic engagement

process. He further argues that the country needs counter-terrorist measures which should be in accordance with the culture and civic management of the country.

Narrative is a set of stories - real or fictitious - that share and attempt to convey a common theme. Ambivalence towards the reality of stories means that the objective of a narrative is more than the sum of its parts. Narratives that reach enough penetration in a group rise to become part of a communal identity. To understand the narrative of counter-terrorism, it is first necessary to dissect the terrorist narrative, particularly through the lens of religious terrorism. Casabeer and Russell (2005) note that the role of narrative evolves over the lifetime of a terrorist organization. Initially narrative serves to build a recruitment base. Then it provides an ideological justification for the organization to exist. It evolves towards leveraging existing identities and providing a cohesive identity for the members. Finally, it consolidates organizational structures to set up room for future growth.

The terrorist narrative sets up a stage of almost mythical proportions upon which organizations such as al-Qaeda in the Indian Subcontinent (AQIS) and Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) spin a tale of heroic struggle against a fated enemy. Vlahos (2002) draws parallels between the symbolic framework of Islam and the philosophies espoused by leaders such as Osama bin Laden. According to Vlahos (2002,p.55), the story of Islam is the story of noble struggle to restore Islamic civilization as it periodically loses its way. Just like Saladin “wrested Jerusalem from the crusader Frank”, and just like Babur consolidated Islamic power again in the Indian subcontinent, so too do leaders like bin Laden aspire to usher in a new era of global Islamic reunification.

The overarching narrative is often flavoured with histories and philosophies of the time and place to magnify its impact. For instance, Feyyaz (2005) puts the global terrorist narrative in perspective for Pakistan. The AQIS and TTP frame the struggle - *jihad* - for Islamic revival with the US and Israel as reincarnations of the crusader infidel bent on extinguishing Islam. They tie in the “master narrative” of Islamic resistance with the history of Pakistan. Pakistan was created to provide a safe haven for oppressed Muslims of the British Raj. However, the dream of a state based on Islamic Khilafat was subverted by secular leaders who allied themselves with Western countries. Terrorist organizations argue that Pakistan is at the front lines of the fight against the infidels. On one hand, Pakistan colluded with the American-led War on Terror. On the other hand, Pakistan is a counterbalance to India which has allied itself with Israel and

is oppressing Muslim populations in Kashmir. In either case, Pakistan needs a radical makeover based on Khilafat to claim its place on the vanguard of Islamic revival.

Counter-narrative are attempts to be an antidote for established narratives. Casebeer and Russell (2005,p.76) divide counter-narrative strategies into “competing myth creation, foundational myth deconstruction, creation of alternative exemplars, metaphor shifts, identity gerrymandering, and structural disruption”. In all approaches, the objective is to weaken some part of the narrative infrastructure that lends substance and appeal to the stories contained therein. Casebeer and Russell (2005) attribute the fanatical devotion of terrorists to their cause to an effective myth creation of “warriors of God” against an “infidel West”(p.39). A potent response is a competing myth that leverages the elements of narrative to provide a more attractive story. In the way, organizations gain traction in the populace when they present a figurehead that shares just enough with the subjects that his candidacy as a flag bearer for the cause is beyond question. A counter-narrative seeks to present alternative exemplars with whom a population can identify more readily. Shifts in metaphor can be powerful tools to provide alternative interpretations from shared knowledge. For example, humanizing victims, using valid alternative interpretations of “jihad” as internal struggle, etc. can shift how facts and doctrines are perceived. Casebeer and Russel (2005) explain the effectiveness of a counter-narrative on several factors. They also explain that it must be resilient to shifts in environment and values of the audience. The counter-narrative must support the broader policies against terrorism to maintain plausibility. These considerations mean that counter-narratives manifest differently for states with differing geopolitical concerns.

2.5.2 Eastern versus Western Approaches to Counter-terrorism Narrative

The Middle-East and South Asia have been in the spotlight for religious terrorism. Counter-narratives have to account for presence of organizations that act as state within a state like Islamic State of Iraq and Levant (ISIL), and the Taliban. Furthermore, the terrorist narrative shares several historical, ideological, and religious motivations with the diverse narratives of ethnic and religious groups in the region. In the wake of September 11 attacks and the start of the War on Terror, Eastern countries hurried to come up with counter narratives. One such example is the catchphrase “Enlightened moderation” coined by General Pervez Musharraf of Pakistan that

presented Islam as a religion of reason and restraint. Feyyaz (2005,p.55) argues that this never evolved beyond a buzzword because it is “superficial, over simplistic and apologetic”. Feyyaz (2015) further argues that Pakistan’s counter-narratives have largely been ineffective because the state’s counter-terrorism policies have lacked in a coherent structure. Furthermore, the momentum of Pakistan’s strategic interests dwarfs the potency of counter narratives to terrorism. In the aftermath of the jihad against Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, great effort was put by General Zia-ul-Haq’s regime on reforming Pakistan’s identity from a melting pot of civilizations to a monolithic nation of Islam. This “reductionist” approach mingles well with the binary framing of “us versus them” terrorists use to recruit to their cause. Khayyam et al. (2018) provide a complementary perspective. They posit that the counter-terror strategy in Pakistan has largely been “state-centric” and has lacked consequential input from the civic society. They propose that non-traditional approaches require civil and military establishment to work together to face terrorist narratives at all levels of society.

Munir (2015) contends that a transparent discourse with the general population is necessary to establish a counter-narrative. With regards to Pakistan, he lays out a three-pronged counter-narrative. Namely, the basis of terrorist ideology in Islamic teachings is misplaced, association of Islam with terrorism is tarnishing the religion and undermining the position of Muslims in Pakistan, and that acts of terror are the primary hurdle against economic development in the country. Such a response attempts to shift the metaphor around terrorist motives from looking outwards at the enemy to introspective evaluation of consequences. Subversion of metaphors around motivations for terrorism can be a preventative measure towards anti-radicalization efforts which can nip future acts of terror in the bud. By preventing radicalization in the first place, governments with vulnerable populations can drastically thin the ranks of terrorist organizations.

Narratives and counter-narratives in the west mainly focused on keeping religious terrorism at bay far from home or curtailing its penetration into western society. In the immediate aftermath of September 11 attacks, the focus of western governments was on a tangible military response to an ideology. The NATO intervention in Afghanistan and later coalition efforts against ISIL demonstrate that the first response to acts of terrorism had been a direct physical response. However, formation of new groups like ISIL from the ashes of a war-torn nation, and the rejuvenation of the groups like Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb in response to military

intervention showed that physical attacks on an ideology reinforced by a narrative had superficial results. Jacobson (2006, p.50) documents the shift of western governments towards a “softer side of the fight against terrorism”. In particular, he argues that governments should learn effective counter-narrative strategies by studying people who were radicalized but voluntarily left terrorist movements. He also argues that a systemic campaign should be undertaken to portray terrorist leaders as incompetent, their policies sabotaging Muslims’ interest, and their acts as painful for innocent families. Furthermore, the counter-narrative effort will find ready alternative exemplars in a host of formerly radical but now publicly reformed Islamic clerics.

Jacobson (2010) states that western governments still have room for improvement in their counter-narrative approach. Specifically, the American effort to prevent radicalization of Muslim populations has been spearheaded disproportionately by law-enforcement agencies. Such a treatment may serve to vilify the demographic. The American government should take a leaf out of European efforts and involve welfare and service arms in interactions with the Muslim population to foster inclusivity. On the other hand, European governments can stand to learn from the strict legal protections religion and expression enjoy in the US. By reinforcing the status of Muslims as citizens of equal stature, governments can deconstruct the root terrorist myth of the west as the infidel bent on Islam’s destruction.

Contemporary terrorist organizations employ the whole spectrum of technology to propagate their ideology. Both private firms and governments are stepping up to counter proliferation of extremist material available online. Some instances include the Peer-to-Peer (P2P) program challenging extremism, social media initiatives to combat hate speech on the social network (Smith) and collaborating with the entertainment industry to generate counter-narratives Johnson (2009). Casebeer and Russell (2005) argue, however, that counter-narratives should not be generated passively lest they fester in echo-chambers. Instead the onus is on the counter-terrorism effort to disseminate the narrative to radicalized and susceptible populations.

2.6 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

One approach towards dissecting narratives is Critical Discourse Analysis. With the development of technological advancement, different fields have started to study languages in different domains and settings. Language is an ever-changing process

which keeps on transforming with the passage of time and situation. Hence, such changes in language keep on evolving with the needs of different societies and masses. Hence, a simple question arises that how language can work effectively within socio-cultural contexts. For this purpose, we have to study the core concepts of Critical Discourse Analysis. It deals with the questions related to what is said, when, how and why it is said. Similarly, Fairclough (2001) asserts that the critical notion of CDA is the construction of knowledge which leads to radical transformation. Moreover, he argues that CDA seeks to differentiate between language and social factors which are sometimes left ambiguous in explaining a phenomenon. Dijk (1993) asserts that CDA is neither a model nor a school of thought but a common outlook concerning the studies of semiotics, linguistics and their analysis. CDA helps to use language as a social medium of communication which also helps to analyse and create meanings of socio-cultural and psychological interactions. Similarly, Fairclough (1992) argues that CDA helps us to study and analyse the hidden meanings of social phenomena which are always difficult to understand and explain. Discourses are products of socio-cultural interactions within societies. This research mainly focuses on the critical analysis discourses of terrorism that are constructed through the speeches of political leaders.

2.6.1 Van Dijk and the Spin of Language

Van Dijk is one of the most sought-after and oft-quoted discourse analysts in the critical evaluations of media discourse, even in the analyses which are not considerably proper to the CDA circle (e.g. Karim, 2000; Ezewudo, 1998). He, in the 1980s, started applying his discourse analysis design to the media texts which were specific to representing ethnic and minority communities in Europe. His News Analysis (1988) incorporates his general theory of discourse to the discourse of press news, wherein he applies the same to a variety of news reports at national and international levels. His stress on analysing media discourse not only at textual and structural levels but also at the production and “reception” or comprehension levels has distinguished him along with his framework of analysis (1988) from other critical discourse analysts (Barrett, 1994).

Structural analysis means, according to Dijk (2003,p.35), an analysis of "structures at various levels of description", i.e. grammatical, phonological, morphological and semantic levels; it also includes the analysis of "higher level properties" like coherence, collective themes and topics in news stories, involving the

whole schematic patterns and rhetorical facets of texts. However, he interestingly asserts that such an apparently holistic analysis too may be insufficient because discourse is not something isolated or individual rather it is, at once, shared by and associated with a range of discourses around it. It is a complex discourse-event with a particular social context, varying characteristic, participants, and production and reception processes (Dijk, 1988, p. 2).

According to Dijk(2003,p.40), "production processes" refers to journalistic and institutional exercises of news-making and the socio-economic factors involved therein which become major driving force behind media discourse. In van Dijk's analysis, "reception processes" of news evaluation includes both "memorization and reproduction" of news information. Analyzing Dijk's analysis of media (1988, 1991, 1993), it tries to display the relationships between the three degrees of the text comprising news (structure, production and comprehension processes), and their relationship with the facts that lie within the vast social circle. For the identification of these relationships, we have two levels of van Dijk's analysis: the first level is micro-structure and the second level is macro-structure. At the micro-structure level, analysis deals with the semantic relations between propositions, syntactic, lexical and other rhetorical facets which are basic to give a coherent structure in the text, and other rhetorical elements such as quotations, direct or indirect reporting that add to the authenticity of the news reporting. According to Dijk's(2006) analysis of news reports, the central analysis is of macro-structure which involves the thematic/topic structure of the news stories and their complete schematics. The headlines and lead paragraphs demonstrate themes and subjects.

The headlines, according to Dijk (1988), "define the overall coherence or semantic unity of discourse, and also what information readers memorize best from a news report"(p. 248). He also believes that the cognitive model of the journalists and their judgments and definitions of news events mostly find their expression in the headline and the leading paragraph. Though the readers possess different knowledge and believe yet, while dealing with the important information about a news event, they will normally use the same subjective media definitions.

Dijk (1988) has designed the news schematics (superstructure schema) in a typical narrative pattern that can be divided in the following parts: summary (headline and the lead paragraph), story (situation consisting of episode and backgrounds), and consequences (final comments and conclusions). These parts of a news event are

arranged in the order of "relevance". According to this arrangement, it is evident that the summary, the headline and the leading paragraph are the main ingredients of the general information. According to Dijk(2003.p.45), these are the best components for readers' memorization and recollection. Discourse analysis of Dijk (1995) is mostly perceived as an ideology analysis, as he himself writes, "ideologies are typically, though not exclusively, expressed and reproduced in discourse and communication, including non-verbal semiotic messages, such as pictures, photographs and movies." (p. 17).

For analyzing ideologies, we can find three types of analyses in his works: social analysis, cognitive analysis, and discourse analysis. Here social analysis deals with the examination of the "overall societal structures," (the context), and the discourse analysis is primarily text based (syntax, lexicon, local semantics, topics, schematic structures, etc.). Van Dijk's approach has blended two traditional approaches in media education which are: interpretive (text based) and social tradition (context based), into an analytical one. However, cognitive analysis is such a distinctive feature of van Dijk's approach that it distinguishes his approach from other approaches in CDA.

According to Dijk (2006), this approach is the social cognition—cognition at personal as well as social level—it creates a link between society and discourse. He defines social cognition in these words "the system of mental representations and processes of group members" (p. 18). It shows, for van Dijk, "ideologies ... are the overall, abstract mental systems that organize ... socially shared attitudes" (p.18). Ideologies, thus, "indirectly influence the personal cognition of group members" for understanding the discourse found in other actions and interactions (p.19). For the mental representations of various persons during such social actions and interactions, he has used the term "models". He believes, "models control how people act, speak or write, or how they understand the social practices of others" (p. 2). Similarly, according to Dijk(2006), mental representations "are often articulated along Us versus Them dimensions, in which speakers of one group will generally tend to present themselves or their own group in positive terms, and other groups in negative terms." (p.22). To analyze and display this contrasting dimension of Us versus Them, van Dijk has attached central importance to the theme in most of his research work and writings (1988, 1991, 1993, 1995, 1996, 1998a, 1998b). He (1998b) devises a proper way to analyze ideological dichotomy in the discourse transparently, the said way goes through the following steps:

- To examine the context of the discourse: historical, political or social scenario of a conflict and its important participants;
- To evaluate all the concerned groups, power relations and conflicts;
- To identify positive and negative viewpoints of all (Us and Others);
- To make the things explicit in relation to the presupposed and the implied;
- To examine the complete structure: lexical choice and syntactic structure, in a way which helps to emphasize polarized group opinions.

As an outstanding multidisciplinary approach, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) attained much significance in the study of political and social discourses by engaging different theoretical frameworks and models. The present study concluded that political discourses emerged as most interesting, vivacious and preferred literature for the scholarship of linguistics. However, the political discourse offered by an Army General while heading an army engaged in robust efforts of counter-terrorism is rarely present in the literature employing CDA. The current research is an analytic effort of this nature.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The very aim of present chapter is to describe in detail the data used in the study. The methods used for organizing and classifying the data. Language is considered by most of the people as a source of communication and dialogue among members of society but its revolutionary use results in addressing social, cultural, political, regional and global issues. This chapter also offers various techniques of textual analysis. Furthermore, it also elucidates the linguistic tools used during the process of data analysis. This research shows the relationship of powerful language with the existing social conditions to devise powerful ideologies. Raheel Sharif has made use of strong and powerful discourse in his speeches he made at different levels. Although, as part of an underdeveloped nation, he openly criticized and provoked the terrorists and other enemies with the weapon of social use called language. He addressed the key issues and held the enemies directly responsible for their negative acts against Pakistan.

3.1 Nature of the Study

The current study is qualitative in nature, and data is analysed through the lens of qualitative research methods. This technique is opted to analyse the language used by General (R) Raheel Sharif in his speeches after the Army Public School (APS) attack in Peshawar. A method acts as a tool for the researcher to explore and investigate the problem which is under consideration. For the analysis of the speeches of Raheel Sharif to study the narrative of counter-terrorism, the researcher has employed CDA as a research method. It is believed that CDA as a method holds different theories and concepts which are helpful for investigating narratives in the speeches of Raheel Sharif. Van Dijk, a major contributor to the study of discourse, believes that CDA holds a critical approach as it defines the nature of the research by using a variety of methods taken from different fields of life. The researcher has used the theoretical Framework provided by Van Dijk to study the rhetorical and linguistic features in order to analyse the contrasting ideologies present in the speeches of Raheel Sharif. The categories as proposed by Van Dijk are applied on the speeches to find solution to the research problem. Further details are given in subsequent part of this chapter.

Language used in speeches reflects the narrative, ideology and perspectives of the speaker; therefore, the current research aims to underscore the terms and language used by Raheel Sharif to create narrative of counter-terrorism among the citizens of Pakistan in order to transform the perceptions of the Pakistani population in particular, and the global community at large. The language used by Raheel Sharif in his speeches convey a strong message against the terrorists. He makes use of words to establish strong power relations not only within his community but also with the neighbouring countries. He has used language as a tool to infuse his ideology into the minds of his people. Through this approach, he tried to manipulate their minds and give them a path to follow in case of aligning themselves with the powerful group of the society. As CDA is the research method, it deals with investigating the manner and behaviours of people in order to study real- life situations and problems. It not only takes into account the language but also considers the context, social and cultural environment which influence the production of text.

As mentioned above, the present research has an aim to analyse the language of Raheel Sharif used in his speeches after the tragedy of APS, Peshawar, by using the method of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Eight speeches delivered by General Raheel Sharif after APS attack, Peshawar are randomly selected. The selection criterion is that the speeches were delivered in English after the 2014 APS massacre. The sample size was set to eight with the assumption that it would be representative of Sharif's narrative in that time period. The terms and phrases that are particularly used in speeches of Raheel Sharif to build narrative of counter-terrorism are subject to analysis. Transcripts of speeches of Raheel Sharif are gathered from WebPages of national newspapers of Pakistan. Transcripts of speeches that were not available in newspapers are transcribed by the researcher himself from You Tube and official websites of Pakistan Government. Links to audio and video sources are provided in appendices for verification.

3.2 Rationale for Topic Selection

The study of language to analyse power relations is a much-debated question when it comes to the analysis of speeches made by the powerful people. This research will not only help the students of research especially of social-sciences and humanities, but also common people who look to study the influences of powerful language in defining ideologies of certain groups. The discourse analysis comes under the category

of politics as it involves questions of power, ideology, resistance, and narrative. The current topic gives a complete insight into the study of terrorism, political discourse, power relations, control and ideology. The topic has been chosen in the aftermath of the terrorist activities occurred in Pakistan, and how it has tarnished the social and economic conditions. The language used to define power relations, control, resistance and ideology formation is the main subject under discussion in the present study. The research is done in order to analyse the language used in order to establish power relations based on the social and cultural contexts in which it exists. The research will study that how the speaker has made use of linguistic choices to depict power, control, resistance and ideology in the discourse. The research further questions the use of language as a source of formulating a strong stance and narrative against terrorism. The topic of terrorism is investigated as how the speaker has presented the root causes of it and how the role of army is defined in the stance against terrorism. The research also analyzes the linguistic choices made to define the ideology and narrative of counter-terrorism formulated by the government and the armed forces to manipulate the minds of the people. It will provide help for future researchers to analyse the background of the narrative of counter-terrorism and to study how different ideologies affect the mind set and decision making of the ordinary public.

3.3 Methodology

The present research project has touched various dimensions of Discourse Analysis (DA), with special focus on Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). In this connection, Van Dijk's Ideological Square Model is used to investigate the data. The examination of chosen speeches has been done by keeping in mind the aims and objectives of the present study; hence, this study is more result oriented, and less tool oriented. The justification of using a particular theoretical framework is that it fulfils the necessary aims and objectives of the study. Particularly, to answer the research question 1 and 2:

- How does the language used by former army chief Raheel Sharif show stance against the non-state actors?
- How has the counter narrative of terrorism been (re/) defined in the speeches of Raheel Sharif?

Under this kind of situation, Van Dijk's Ideological Square Model remained the main tool throughout the research project. Paradigms of qualitative research are

followed religiously throughout the accomplishment of present research project; some statistical gauges are also present in the forms of tables containing numerical data.

3.4 Sampling

It is defined as the process of prudently picking unit's e.g individuals or association from the population of intrigue so that by concrete the units were reasonably summed up our result back to the population from where they were selected. The Research includes both Qualitative and Quantitative designs to undergo a complete analysis of the text.

Research Design is the main ingredient of the research, which gives a go ahead to the research. It clearly defines the aims and objectives of the research which in turn results in a defined direction the research is heading towards. It also explains what procedures, mechanisms and strategies have been utilized in carrying out the research. The Current Research study has engaged textual analysis technique to probe Narrative of Counter Terrorism. The text of the selected speeches was analysed with the help of discursive categories as mentioned in the heading of theoretical framework to probe the narrative of counter terrorism. The Critical Discourse Analysis Approach provides a diverse option of not only analysing the words or expressions used by the speakers but also helps in analysing the hidden ideology and intention behind what the speaker thinks and speaks in a controlled social and political environment.

3.4.1 Criteria for selection of Sampling

The speeches were carefully selected in consideration to the investigation of narrative of counter terrorism. The text of the speeches was critically selected from the Post APS Attack Era. The selected speeches hold all the important and cynical themes regarding the perspectives of terrorism, narrative of terrorism and counter narrative. Furthermore, the words and expressions used in the speeches very openly defines the themes of terrorism, narrative and counter narrative approaches. The sampling was carefully done in order to find out the official approach of tackling both narrative and counter-narratives of the terrorists and militants.

3.4.2 Timeline for the Collection of Sampling

The Timeline for the collection of Sampling was the period in between APS Attack 2014 till the address of Raheel Sharif at World Economic Forum 2017. The sampling includes Eight Speeches made by Raheel Sharif during the aforementioned time period. The reason of choosing this timeline for the analysis of the speeches was that the speeches made during the era included a strong debate on the counter approaches to dismantle and disengage the recurring narratives. The timeline also includes the phase where key policies and legislations were made to opt a powerful and rapid counter narrative to tackle the growing instability and narratives of terrorists.

3.5 Procedure

The collected speeches, the words, phrases, idioms, expressions and sentences of Raheel Sharif are analytically explored, understood and examined through the lens of Ideological Square Model by Van Dijk. Pursuance and impact of the ideological impressions evolving out of the reciprocal connection among or between the sentence structure, and paragraph construction are also explored by the researcher. Us-them binaries are also considered wherever they were found out in the entire selected discourse. The nationalist constructions are also underscored wherever emerged. Stylistic qualities of the speeches are also highlighted. Besides presentation and representation of power, narrative and nationalism, the connection between multiple narrative amplifying channels are also traced out and examined under CDA.

Practice of persuasive approaches is found influential and of paramount importance in the chosen discourse; the diversity and the style of the speaker in using language are also studied because of their discursive and linguistic importance. Implications of numerous concealed linguistic selections are analysed carefully. In the pursuit of influential approaches, the convincing strategies are also studied in depth. Moreover, sufficient consideration is given to thematic analysis of the chosen speeches. Duality and multiplicity of meaning is also kept in view throughout the examination process of the selected discourse (further details are mentioned in Chapter 4).

The speeches are examined in-depth and from broader viewpoint, and through the lens of Ideological Square Model: discursive purpose, procedures and the conditions

described by the Van Dijk *viz-a-viz* discursive standpoints of power, ideology and persuasion. The researcher has addressed research problem, by answering the research questions. Thus, the objectives of the current research are achieved.

3.6 Theoretical Framework

Whenever there come some words in public, there would be a direct message in an indirect way. It is obvious that a single message can be explained in number of ways. It can be in a way that one gets furious at once and the same statement may be presented in a way that even a learned man cannot think of as furious. If we observe the whole scenario of a political system of a country, it could be observed that CDA has a major role in politics. CDA is a helpful tool for understanding the indirect messages in any statement generally and particularly in politics that provides possibilities of any occurrences. Generally, it deals with social issues but particularly with political matters. It analyses any piece of speech oral or written critically. It tells us, what are intentions of a speaker behind the selections of particular words? Whenever the term “critical” is used, it means that there is an engagement of some unequal relations. CDA not only deals with the shrouded ideologies but also tells that how selection of words is utilized for propagating those ideologies. Context has a leading role behind words.

The motivation of present research is to examine the narrative of counter-terrorism mentioned by Raheel Sharif in his speeches in post Army Public School, Peshawar attack, through the lens of Ideological Square Model. Ideological Square Model is one of the important models in Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Ideological Square Model is given by Van Dijk (2006). The model discusses ideology, power, and politics. This model gives strategies to differentiate positive in-group and negative out-group. Given below are the strategies mentioned in Ideological Square Model:

- **Focus on our positive qualities;**
- **Focus on their negative qualities;**
- **Ignoring our negative qualities;**
- **Ignoring their positive qualities.**

Ideological Square Model has great contribution in the arena of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). The two strategies mentioned in the models: description of in-group and out-group facilitates us to examine and analyse the discourse adequately. Discourse constantly employs ideology, and ideologies include the depiction of “Us” vs “Them” approach. In this kind of approach, in-group stands out; however out-group is labelled as bad or brittle (Kuo, 2005). Various categories of lexical items facilitate to

depict in-group as important and momentous; however out-group as unimportant and non-momentous. Van Dijk is a very popular name in the study of critical discourse analysis. Many famous linguists have put forth their models of research in the field of critical discourse analysis. The researcher has taken Van Dijk's model of critical discourse analysis for the analysis of hidden ideologies in the speeches of General Raheel Sharif. He put forth a theoretical framework in (1997) which provides a vibrant approach for the analysis of speeches. He presented the concept of us vs. them. The term "Us" is used to represent in-group and "Them" is used to represent out-group members. He emphasizes the fact that the essential point of analysis is to see how different ideologies are presented through different structures of discourse. He presented many points for investigation. Nevertheless, some points have been selected for the current study. In order to analyze the converging ideologies hidden in the discourse, the researcher has made use of 15 categories as employed by Van Dijk for the analysis of the discourse.

The Categories which underlie the Van Dijk Theoretical Framework for Critical Discourse Analysis are explained as follows:

1. Actor: The way speaker uses language in the discourse defines the role of actors. The representation of in-group and out-group members are solely defined by the ideologies actors depict in the discourse. The in-group members are put under positive image considering more similarities and less differences. While, the out-group members are put under negative category considering the fact that they are different from the ideology of the former group members.

2. Authority: It is the one which holds the position of a supreme authority whose decisions cannot be challenged. It also takes the overall control of the discourse. It can be a person, institution, group, religion or a book. In discourse different authorities are present to depict different ideologies.

3. Categorization: In the context of discourse, people as well as groups are categorized on the basis of their social, cultural, political, ethnic and racial appearances. These categorizations are made to differentiate entities from one ideology to the other.

4. Comparison: Comparisons are made in the discourse to put both in-group and out-group ideologies in positive and negative frames respectively. In-group elements like country, people and groups are presented in positive frames by the speaker while out-group elements are put under negative connotation.

5. Disclaimer: It gives strong ideological base for the discourse. It defines the underlying positive self-representation ideology and negative other-representation ideology.

6. Euphemism: This category involves beautifying the text by substituting harsh words with decent and kind words. It is done to replace social facts such as taboo, sex and death with mild ones to reduce the effect of harshness in the discourse.

7. Evidentiality: This category talks about authentic proofs, claims and points of view. The speaker presents evidences in the form of facts and figures, legal implications, and events. The speaker gets the evidences from audio, visual, and observation aids.

8. Generalization: It is a strong and powerful category when it comes to arguing over the topics discussed in the discourse. It is mostly done in discourses where the speakers deal with racial topics to show prejudice against the out-group members.

9. Hyperbole: This figure of speech is used to enhance and exaggerate one's point of view. It includes the use of simile, metaphor and repetition to stress one's ideology and to present things in limelight for further emphasis. By using hyperbolic terms in a discourse, a speaker highlights the good and bad points as well as properties of both in-group and out-group members.

10. Pre-Supposition: This category helps in pre-supposing the truth when it has not been established yet.

11. Vagueness: The speaker and writer of the discourse at times use such expressions which remain unclear and vague. It happens because sometimes the speaker does not want to define something clearly or he does not know anything authentic about what he wants to convey.

12. Victimization: It means narrating negative fables/stories about countries and groups in order to highlight their negative traits. It completely puts in-group members under the term of *victimized* and the out-group members under the term of *victimizers*.

13. Polarization: It is the division of people, groups and countries into different polarized worlds. The in-group and out-group members are polarized differently within the discourse. They represent two opposing ideologies which are prevalent in the discourse.

14. Irony: Accusations and allegations have a different effect when stated indirectly. Irony is defined as the representation of meaning in an opposite manner other than the one it really means.

15. Implication: Every discourse contains information which is hidden and not overtly stated. The speaker makes use of certain signals to implicate the meanings in the discourse. The listeners deduce the information on the basis of their background knowledge, understanding and interpretation of the text (Dijk, 1997).

3.7 Conclusion

The current chapter presents detailed information about the methodology of the study. In this chapter, the researcher has put an effort to give details on nature of the study, objectives, theoretical framework, and key findings of the research.

CHAPTER 4

DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

This chapter deals with the analysis of the speeches delivered by General (R) Raheel Sharif. The selected speeches are analysed by using the Ideological Square Model given by Van Dijk (1997) and the discursive strategies presented by him to analyse the ideologies presented within the speeches. The researcher has used fifteen discursive practices as presented in the theoretical framework given by Van Dijk (1997) to analyse the recurring ideologies within the speeches. The researcher has highlighted the relevant extracts from the speeches and explained their categories with the help of examples.

4.1. Analysis of Speech no.1

Raheel Sharif in the speech has reiterated the resolve that the country is ready to fight the enemy at both internal and external levels. The speaker has highlighted the contributions of the martyrs and heroes of the war of 1965. The speaker has made a comparison of the war of 1965 with the war against terrorism. He has compared that the current war against terrorism needs the same resolve and passion as expressed fifty years ago. Raheel Sharif has pointed out that the martyrs and heroes of the war against terrorism have made sacrifices for the defence of the country. Raheel Sharif has made an “Us vs Them” dichotomy in the speech. The positive actions of the in-group members (Pakistani government and law enforcement agencies) are put under the category of *us* and the negative out-group (non-state actors) actions are framed as *them*. The speaker has used pronouns like I, we, our, me, this, those, their, etc. to represent the positive activities of the in-group. The usage of pronouns by the speaker shows a drastic comparison among the ideologies mentioned in the speech. The use of personal, demonstrative and relative pronouns clearly indicate that the speaker wants to make it clear to the audience that all the positive actions belong to the in-group members. He is speaking as a mouthpiece on behalf of his nation and armed forces. Personal Pronouns indicate that the speaker is highlighting the attribute of the in-group members by de-emphasizing the qualities of the out-group members. The lexical categories further reveal that the out-group members are addressed as enemies, menace and evil which clearly defines the narrative of the speaker. The discourse promoted here is socially and politically accepted as part of the ideological stance of both the army and government.

This clearly implies the fact that every discourse is socially and culturally motivated and accepted by both its producers and consumers. Table 4.1 categorically shows the use of Pronouns to present the Positive Self-Representation of the In-group Members:

Use of Pronouns to Show Positive Self-Representation of In-group Members	
I	I would like to thank,
We	We salute the sacrifices, We desire peaceful relations, we are sincerely playing, we can be rightfully proud
Our	Our victory, Our country, Our martyrs, Our nation
Those	Those martyrs, Those heroes
This	This Faith, This Sword, This Country
Their	Their Homes

Table 4.1 Pronouns Used to Show Positive Self-Presentation

The speaker has used pronouns to associate positive attributes and actions with the in-group members. He has made a comparison in the speech that the in-group members (law enforcement agencies and the military) are involved in the establishment of peace and prosperity of the country. While, out-groups (terrorist groups) are involved in the destabilization and conspiracies against the country. The pronouns also represent the stance that the nation and armed forces have rendered sacrifices for the country. The speaker has tried to create a linguistic bifurcation in the speech that the positive actions are associated with the in-group members and negative actions are associated with the out-group members. Table 4.1.1 shows the comparison of the lexical choices made by the speaker to represent In-group and Out-group Members:

Comparison of the Lexical Categories to Define In-group and Out-group Members:	
In-group	Out-group
Martyrs(Noun)	Terrorists (Noun)
Heroes(Noun)	Enemies (Noun)
Innocent (Adj)	Evil (Adj)
Valour(Adj)	Menace (Noun)
Sacrifices(verb)	Facilitators (Terrorist Groups) (Noun)
Resolve(verb)	Crumbled (verb)

Table 4.1.1 Lexical Categories to define In-group and Out-group

The table represents that positive categories are used by the speaker to define in-group members while negative categories are used for the framing of out-group members. He has used positive words like martyrs, heroes, valour, bravery, strong, sacrifices, faith, resolve, brave, innocent, youthful and valiant to describe his people and country in the speech. On the other hand, he has used negative words like enemies, facilitators, sympathizers, terrorists, menace, crumbled and evil to describe non-state actors and terrorists. The use of vocabulary gives experiential values to the words. The use of positive categories for the in-group members and negative categories for the out-group members define the ideological stance of the speaker. The speaker points out that out-group members are different as they are involved in the evil and vicious plans against the country. The Ideological Square Model emphasizes the positive attributes of the in-group members and alleviates the good actions of the out-group members. The speaker has divided the speech into two ideologies; one is the ideology of the Pakistani government and armed forces, while the other represents the terrorist groups. The speaker has tried to form a narrative in the speech that terrorist groups are a threat to the world in general and Pakistan in particular. The speaker has presented the stance that the operation *Zarb-e-Azab* is significant for the elimination of the menace of terrorism from the country. Raheel Sharif has used polarization to differentiate the two groups. He points out that terrorist groups mould the universal teachings of Islam for their evil notions. In contrast, armed forces and the nation use teachings of Islam for the completion of their legitimate actions. He has also highlighted that operation *Zarb e Azab* involves curbing financing of terrorists, development projects for the youth and reforms in the curriculum of education. The speech further enfolds the achievements of Pakistan army at both internal and external fronts of the country. Sharif also emphasized on the need of a constructive and decisive narrative to dislodge the terrorist activities in the country. Furthermore, he has highlighted the sacrifices and chastity of the heroes and soldiers who lost their lives in the war against terrorist organizations. Moreover, the issues pertaining in the region especially the growing terrorism and extremism were also highlighted in the speech. Sharif also emphasized on the chivalrous and dignity of the martyrs and heroes of the country. However, we see a drastic contrast between the ideologies of the in-group and out-group members with former supporting peace and development and later moving on with all the hatred and evilness plotted against the peace loving nation. The selected speech further reveals the evil and barbarous acts of terrorists which have caused instability in the country. Similarly, the speech also

showcases the contributions of soldiers in the establishment of peace and tranquillity in the war affected tribal areas. The speaker further indicates the development work and benefits provided to the people of war stricken areas to keep them away from falling a prey to terrorist evil means and plans. Sharif also discussed the solution of the growing problem of radicalisation among youth. He presented the solution that only equal opportunities of growth and development can restrain people especially the youth from the menace of terrorism and extremism. The discourse produced by Raheel Sharif in the eight selected speeches clearly defines the us vs them dichotomy. The In-group members are addressed positively, portraying them as the loyal and peaceful citizens while out-group members are portrayed as the enemies of the country. The analysis gives an insight into the popular discourse promoted by armed forces with reference to the sacrifices and martyrdom of the soldiers. Sharif has also emphasized on the key notions of the narrative of counter terrorism. He has further discussed the drastic change which has happened over the decade in the country's geographical arena which has raised the menace of terrorism. Furthermore, the speaker has made the comparison of two historical moments. One is the era of Holy Prophet (S.A.W) and second is the current age of deformity and terrorism. The Speaker has also given solution to the growing terrorism by giving reference to the time of Holy Prophet (S.A.W). This shows the fact that discourse which is socially and politically loaded is accepted in the wider context of the society. The speaker in order to legitimise and accredit his ideology used the discourse which is religiously and politically motivated. The discourse promoted key terms like Zarb e Azab, which shows that the speaker has actively engaged the affiliation of in-group members and legitimised his actions in the lieu of social and political outright. Moreover, we can witness the contrast of the situation during the war of 1965 with the current age of war against terrorism. The speech presents an open outlook of the issues pertaining in the country mainly due to the rise of terrorism and extremism. The selected speech openly gives a thorough comparison of the events of the past and linked beautifully with the current scenario to establish a popular discourse which can counter the issue of terrorism. Sharif has also provided the audience with key facts and figures by naming the number of martyrs and injured soldiers which establishes the ideological stance of the armed forces. Similarly, the speaker has widely highlighted the development projects which the armed forces have started in collaboration with the provincial government to delimit the effects of terrorism and stop radicalization among the youth. The speaker also highlighted the efforts of armed forces

and government in facilitating people of the war stricken areas to get proper education, basic health and environmental facilities to overcome the menace of terrorism and radicalisation. Furthermore, the analysis of categories along with the specified numbers to show the recurring ideologies in the speech.

Table 4.1.2 shows the representation of the categories in the speech made by Raheel Sharif at the occasion of the Defence Day:

Analysis of Categories in Speech No.1 Defence Day 6th September By Raheel Sharif		
Actor	In-group 28	Out-group 04
Authority	04	
Categorization	00	
Comparison	00	
Disclaimer	02	
Euphemism	00	
Evidentiality	04	
Generalization	00	
Hyperbole	00	
Implication	00	
Irony	00	
Polarization	03	
Presupposition	04	
Vagueness	02	
Victimization	02	

Table 4.1.2 Shows Analysis of Categories in Speech no. 1

1. Actor

The way a speaker uses language defines the role of an actor in the speech. Actors are members in a group who use language to involve themselves in a meaningful discourse. Actors are mainly divided into two mainstream ideologies: in-group and out-group. The way a speaker uses language in the discourse defines the role of actor. Raheel Sharif presents his people, country and other friendly countries as the in-group members and terrorist groups and enemies as out-groups. The in-group members are always highlighted in a positive frame, and out-groups in a negative frame. The speaker has highlighted the attributes of both in-group and out-group members. Positive attributes of in-group and evil actions of out-groups are highlighted.

A. Positive Self-Representation

Raheel Sharif puts his people, country, soldiers and other friendly neighbours in the category of in-group members. Raheel outlines the steps taken by his people in the defence of the country. Raheel as an actor uses first person singular to define himself as the main actor in the discourse, “I want to make it clear to all enemies of Pakistan (Text of the Speech of Chief of Army Staff General Raheel Sharif, 2016).” By addressing the enemies as an actor, Raheel Sharif fulfils the objective of the research which questions the stance of the army against the Non-State actors. Raheel makes his point clear that the army is ready to take down all the forces which are working against the country. The use of words like “enemies” give a message to all the opposite forces and states the ideological standing of Raheel Sharif.

He further makes use of pronouns like “**We, Our and My**” to highlight the actors in the speech. The use of pronouns fulfils the objective of the research that power relations are formed on the basis of the ideologies. The pronouns like “We, Our and My” represent the in-group ideology which shows that the speaker has good relations with the audience. Raheel Sharif believes that as citizens we should not be hesitant to defend the country:

“We shall not hesitate from going to any extents to ensure our national security” (Text of the Speech of Chief of Army Staff General Raheel Sharif, 2016). The reason of using “**We**” is to show a sense of relationship and strong bond between the in-group members. By using “**We**” he includes every in-group member as part of his ideology.

Table 4.1.3 shows the use of Pronouns to Show Positive Self-Representation:

Use of Pronouns to represent Positive Self-Representation in the Speech:

Use of Pronouns to represent Positive Self-Representation in the Speech:	
I	I Would Like to thank, I want to Impress,
We	We look forward
Our	Our victory, Our martyrs, Our Nation, Our Country, Our Youth
Those	Those Martyrs, Those Heroes
This	This Faith, This sword, This country
Their	Their Homes.

Table 4.1.3: Pronouns to Represent Positive Self-Representation

Furthermore, Raheel Sharif, by using adjectives like ‘Active Role’ and ‘National’ presents the in-group actors in the positive category. The use of pronouns, nouns and adjectives highlight the major aspects of his linguistic choices in the speech. Examples which highlight the positive representation of the in-group Actors are given below:

“I have unwavering faith in the courage and determination”, “I want to impress, “I am certain that a better peace environment”, “We desire peaceful relations with all our neighbors (Text of the Speech of Chief of Army Staff General Raheel Sharif, 2016).”

Representing himself as the strong actor of the speech, he says:

“On behalf of my entire nation, I want to impress upon the enemies of peace and humanity that if we can win, we also know how to protect our victory (Text of the Speech of Chief of Army Staff General Raheel Sharif, 2016).” He further highlights the role of martyrs in establishing peace in the country, he says:

“We shall not allow the sacrifices of our martyrs to go in vain” (Text of the Speech of Chief of Army Staff General Raheel Sharif, 2016). The use of words like “**Martyrs**” shows the ideological standing of the speaker. He has used words to pay tribute to the people who have laid down their lives for the protection of the country. Presenting a strong narrative of counter-terrorism in order to protect the country from the dangers of terrorism, he says: “Our country is faced with the menace of terrorism and an unconventional war in which the Nation and the Armed Forces have rendered countless sacrifices side by side (Text of the Speech of Chief of Army Staff General Raheel Sharif, 2016).” Addressing the role of youth for the betterment of the country, he says:

“Our youth is the herald, custodian and guarantor of Pakistan’s bright future (Text of the Speech of Chief of Army Staff General Raheel Sharif, 2016).” Putting Afghanistan as a strong and friendly actor in the discourse, he says:

“Afghanistan is our neighbour and brother Islamic country (Text of Speech of Chief of Army Staff General Raheel Sharif, 2016).” Pakistan has also played a positive role in maintaining peace in the region:

“We are sincerely playing our active role for peace (Text of the Speech of Chief of Army Staff General Raheel Sharif, 2016).” These actors show a strong in-group ideology to fight the menace of terrorism.

b. Negative Presentation of *them*

This category presents the negative picture of the actions associated with the out-group members. Raheel Sharif has used nouns, verbs and adjectives to highlight the evil notions of the out-group members. He further points out in his speech that the actions of the out-group members have disturbed the social setup of the country. Table 4.1.4 explains the lexical choices used by Raheel Sharif to describe the negative actions of the out-group members:

Use of Lexical Choices to Represent Out-group Members	
Enemies(noun)	Enemies of Peace, Enemies of Pakistan
Menace(noun)	Menace of Terrorism
Heinous (Adj)	Heinous Crimes
Evil(Noun)	Evil Nexus
Crumbled(verb)	Terrorism has Crumbled

Table 4.1.4 Use of Lexical Choices to Represent Out-group Members

The above table explains that the speaker has used nouns like enemies, menace and evil to describe the out-group members. Similarly, we see the use of adjectives like heinous, and verbs like crumbled to represent the negative acts of the out-group members. The examples show that the involvement of these out-group forces have caused disturbance and confusion among the people. These groups have spread their evilness by their continuous attacks on the common people. Raheel points out that terrorism is a menace which has become a threat to the existence of the country. He points out that the nexus of terrorism, corruption and crime is the greatest obstacle in the achievement of peace and stability within the country. He calls the out-group members as enemies of the country. He has defined the out-group members as “enemies” in his discourse:

“Enemies of peace and humanity (Text of the Speech of Chief of Army Staff General Raheel Sharif, 2016).” He has used the term “**enemies**” for terrorists as well as the entities like India which are involved in carrying out negative plans against the country. Describing the war against terrorism, he calls it a “**menace**” which has totally tarnished the social and economic situation of the country:

“Our country is faced with the menace of terrorism(Text of the Speech of Chief of Army Staff General Raheel Sharif, 2016).” By calling it a menace, he has addressed the root cause of terrorism. He believes that it will become a disease which is dangerous for the future generations. He has also used the term “**crumbled**” to define

terrorism. He thinks terrorism as a negative force that has destroyed the countries around the world by tarnishing their presence:

“Terrorism has crumbled many countries around the world (Text of the Speech of Chief of Army Staff General Raheel Sharif, 2016).”

2. Authority:

It is defined as a force or action which controls a discourse. An Authority can be a person, group, institute, religious or a political figure. With the help of their authority they control the minds of the audience. The authority mostly gives examples of the eminent personalities whose actions have led to achieve milestones. Van Dijk (2005) defines that authority in discourse is the power which controls the ideology of the group. In this speech, Raheel Sharif while discussing the operation *Zarb e Azab* presented Holy Prophet (S.A.W) as authority to support his belief:

“We named Operation *Zarb e Azab* after the sword of Holy Prophet (S.A.W) (Pakistan, 2016).” Raheel Sharif also debates that the name “*Zarb e Azab*” suggests the credibility of the operation, as this sword was used at the time of Holy Prophet (S.A.W) to fight the disbelievers of Islam. This also points out that the actions taken by army are in accordance with the religious teachings and principles.

3. Victimization

As the word suggests it refers to a cruel and inhumane treatment given to a particular individual, group, religion, caste or creed. The category of victimization involves the negative representation of the out-group members and the unfair treatment given to the in-group members by out-group members. Raheel Sharif presents his in-group members as the victim of force and suppression. He presents his nation as a victim of war against terrorism. He points out that terrorism has tarnished the social fabric of the society. Raheel has used victimization to present the out-group members negatively in the speech. The brutal actions of the terrorists are presented negatively in the speech with the help of the category of victimization:

“Over 48000 Pakistanis have suffered serious injuries (Text of the Speech of Chief of Army Staff General Raheel Sharif, 2016).”

The above example points out that the terrorist activities cost the lives of many innocent people of the country. One can see that Raheel Sharif has also used the category of victimization to present India as negative out-group. Raheel uses the

category of victimization to present India negatively as: “The oppressed people of Kashmir are once again suffering from worst form of state terrorism For demanding their due rights (Pakistan, 2016).” Furthermore, Raheel Sharif has used the category of victimization to show the negative representation of the out-group members by pointing out the evil activities of terrorist groups in disturbing the peace and environment of the people of the tribal areas. The following examples show that the people of tribal areas have been victims of the terrorist attacks: “brave tribal people have borne the hardships (Text of the Speech of Chief of Army Staff General Raheel Sharif, 2016).”

4. Evidentiality

In order to establish truth, one presents evidence in one’s favour. According to Van Dijk (2005), evidentiality is used by the speaker to provide proof and evidences in order to back his opinions and beliefs. The speaker makes use of this category to make his point credible and authentic. Raheel Sharif, in his speech provides evidence to prove his claim. Raheel Sharif has provided the evidence that Pakistan launched Operation *Zarb e Azab* to counter the terrorist threat at home. Raheel points out in his speech:

“Since the Start of Operation *Zarb e Azab*, we have undertaken over 19000 operations across the length and breadth... to overcome terrorism (Pakistan, 2016).” Here “**Operation *Zarb e Azab***” is an evidence to present evidentiality of his in-group members.

5. Vagueness

Some words or phrases in a discourse do not conform to the subject under discussion. According to Darwesh and Muzhir (2016), vagueness is defined as the language used by the producers of the discourse to discuss matters which are delicate and fragile. Raheel Sharif has used the category of “Vagueness” in his speech. The following excerpts from the speech show the use of the category of “vagueness”: “Some elements are trying to create an atmosphere of mistrust in the nation...(Text of the Speech of Chief of Army Staff General Raheel Sharif, 2016).” Similarly, the speaker has used the category of vagueness in the speech as:

“But some self-seeking quarters that are definitely not sincere towards Afghanistan, are obstructing these efforts... (Text of the Speech of Chief of Army Staff General Raheel Sharif, 2016).” In both examples, we see that the adverb “some”

is used by the speaker to raise the negative actions of the out-group members by avoiding taking the direct names of groups involved in the conspiracy against the country. In the first example, he has defined these forces as “some elements”, it shows that the speaker does not directly takes the name of the groups involved to keep face. In the second example, he uses phrase like “some self-seeking quarters” which clearly implies that the speaker talks about the role of the evil forces who are spreading terrorism and destabilizing the peace of the region.

6. Pre-Supposition

Pre-Supposition is used mostly to assume the facts even when they are not exactly stated. It is concerned with the truth which is about to be established. Pre-supposition depends on the shared knowledge of the speaker and the listener. According to Van Dijk (2005), presupposition is used by a speaker in a discourse to talk about the truths which are not yet established. By presupposing the speaker leaves the matter to the audience to consider things as true or not. Raheel Sharif has used the category of presupposition to point out the enemies of the country. In the speech, he uses the verb “know” which shows presupposition to present the ideological stance of the in-group as:

“We know our friends and foes all too well (Pakistan, 2016).”

In another example he uses the category of presupposition to present the ideological stance of his in-group members by using negative other representation as: “The great sacrifices of the people of Indian held Kashmir for their right... (Pakistan, 2016).” Here, Raheel Sharif uses presupposition to highlight the fact that Kashmir is still an ongoing issue between India and Pakistan.

7. Disclaimer

Disclaimer is defined as a strategy used by the speaker to present his ideological stance in the discourse. According to Darwesh and Muzhir (2006), disclaimer is defined as the ideological approach to present the positive characteristics of any person, people and thing associated with the in-group members and then presenting a refusal of the stance by using words like ‘but’. Van Dijk (2005) further adds that disclaimers come into play to highlight our positive characteristics but then pay attention to portray negative characteristics of the out-group members. Raheel Sharif has used this category to highlight the positive efforts made by the in-group members in maintaining peace in

the region. He uses disclaimer to present the positive efforts of his in-group but denies the formation of relationship within the region on the basis of unequal balance of power. Raheel is using the pronoun “we” to present the stance that Pakistan as a country desires to have peaceful relationship with all the neighbours of the region. Raheel Says:

“We desire peaceful relations with all our neighbours but the fact can never be overlooked..... (Pakistan, 2016).” In another example, Raheel Sharif has used the issue of fight against terrorism to present his ideological stance, he says:

“Now we see the solutions instead of new problems but we Have not yet ended completely (Pakistan, 2016).”

8. Polarization

Van Dijk (2005) defines polarization as the division of people or groups especially in-group members in the positive category and the out-group members are kept in the negative category. Both in-group and out-group members use polarization to define their ideological stance. Raheel Sharif has used the category of polarization to present his in-group members positively and the out-group members negatively. He uses the category of polarization to present Pakistan in the positive frame and the opposing forces who are creating disturbance in Afghanistan negatively in the speech. Raheel says:

“We are sincerely playing our active role for peace in Afghanistan. But some self-seeking quarters... Obstructing these efforts (Pakistan, 2016).”

Raheel uses the adverb “some” to indicate to the enemies of peace and stability of the region. He uses polarization to create a dichotomy of ‘us’ vs ‘them’. He presents Pakistan as positive in-group members and terrorists are presented as negative out-group members in the speech.

4.2 Analysis of Speech no.2

Raheel Sharif has always shown a positive inclination towards the people of Balochistan. He started his early career in Quetta, Balochistan. The speech is part of the ongoing peace process to ensure safety, equality and opportunities for the people of the province. Raheel Sharif addressed the Seminar on Balochistan held on February 2nd 2016 at Serena Hotel, Quetta. He addressed the main causes which have led to the destruction and disturbance in the peaceful society of Balochistan. He has expressed the concern that international conspiracies and internal mismanagement is the reason behind the lack of development in the province. He further claims that the international groups have formed their adversaries in the region to destroy the social setup of the province. He pays tribute to the law enforcement agencies and the political people who have worked hard for the protection of the people of Balochistan.

The table 4.2.1 represents the analysis of categories used in the speech no. 2:

Analysis of Categories in the Speech No.2 Seminar on Baluchistan 26 October 2016		
Actor	In-group 28	Out-group 04
Authority	04	
Categorization	00	
Comparison	00	
Disclaimer	02	
Euphemism	00	
Evidentiality	04	
Generalization	00	
Hyperbole	00	
Implication	00	
Irony	00	
Polarization	03	
Presupposition	04	
Vagueness	02	
Victimization	02	

Table 4.2.1: Analysis of Categories in Speech No. 2

In the light of the Analysis of the Categories, the detailed explanation of the categories along with the extracts from the speech are presented below. The speaker has carefully analysed the speech and categorised it according to the given discursive categories.

The detailed description along with the extracts is as follows:

1. Actor

Raheel Sharif along with his nation, country and army are considered as potential actors of the speech. Raheel Sharif addresses the core problems and threats which have caused imbalance in the Baloch society. He outlines the efforts of his institution in maintaining peace and helping the people of Baluchistan in raising the standard of their lives. He describes the success of the people by highlighting the efforts carried out by army in the settlement of all the major problems of the province.

A. Positive Self-Representation

Raheel Sharif represents a positive picture of the people of Baluchistan. He promotes himself, nation, army and friends in a positive connotation. Defining his position as a strong actor, he says:

“I would like to specially thank the brave people of Balochistan (Army, 2016).”

Presenting the people of the country especially the people of Balochistan he affirmed:

“I take pride in mentioning the strong resolve and sacrifices offered by the people (Army, 2016).” He has also used pronouns like “We and Our” to present his in-group members positively. Table 4.2.2 shows the representation of the use of pronouns to define Positive Self-Representation of the In-group Members:

Use of Pronouns to represent Positive Self-Representation in the Speech:	
I	I assure the people of Balochistan, I am grateful
We	We need to continue ,We played our national resolve
Our	Our national resolve, our efforts, our men, our endeavours, our people, our gallant forces, our army
Those	Those in distress
This	This year, This goal, This Honour , This great province
Their	Their potential, Their stakes, Their hardships

Table 4.2.2: Use of Pronouns to represent Positive Self -Representation

The First Person Pronoun “I” represents that the speaker has expressed his own feelings and desire. The Use of Personal Pronoun “We” represents that the speaker is talking on behalf of the nation and armed forces. The use of “We” represents the voice of the nation. Raheel Sharif has applauded the efforts made by army in the war against terrorism, he says:

“We have now come a long way in our struggle for stability and development (Army, 2016).”

Here, the objective of forming peace and stability looks to be fulfilled. Raheel Sharif also used pronoun “**our**” to present his in-group actors. He believes that the success and failure of a country depends on the mutual cooperation and trust between the people and government. He further highlights the role of prosperity in the development of nation and calls it an “asset”:

“Our enduring progress and prosperity, this sense of coherence will be our greatest asset, our successes and sacrifices (Army, 2016).” He also uses “**Our army, our people, and our gallant armed forces**” to present his actors (Army, 2016). He also uses “my mind and my belief” (Army, 2016) to represent his ideology in the speech. Raheel shows support to the peace process and believes that more involvement of local government will allow the disputes to be solved efficiently. He presents his audience as an emblem of peace and love. He believes that the foundation of country cannot be derailed when it is based on the traits of love, brotherhood and peace. He aligns his discourse with the interest of the audience by presenting peace as the need of the hour. While addressing the audience he says: “Peace through Integrated Approach has been our primary focus (Army, 2016).”

He further manifests that peace and prosperity is his utmost desire as a leader. He believes that the process of peace can only be possible with the help of mutual cooperation between the country and people.

B. Negative Presentation of them

It is the aim of the speaker to present out-group ideology as negative. Raheel Sharif uses pronoun “Their” to address these out –group members:

“Their facilitators, abettors and financiers (Army, 2016).” Here, it is important to understand that Pakistan’s Narrative of Counter-terrorism states that terrorism can be eliminated by controlling the sympathisers, financiers and supporters of the terrorist groups. Raheel highlights the evil role of these terrorist groups in his speech as:

“Overtime, diverse and divergent interests have led Balochistan to most complex problems (Army, 2016).” He points out the direct involvement of foreign forces in the province of Balochistan. He names them “**foreign adversaries**” (Army, 2016) who have employed their members to spread disturbance in the province. He further presents terrorism as a “battle” in his speech. He points out the fact that terrorism has turned out

into a dangerous battle which needs to be fought in order to establish peace in the province and country:

“This is a battle that we all are fighting, and we shall continue to fight, till peace prevails across the width and breadth of the Province (Army, 2016).”

He points out that terrorism is a threat to peace and in order to eliminate terrorism every member of the in-group society has to strive.

2. Categorization

Discourse frames different elements among categories depending on the ideology they represent. These are formed on the basis of the knowledge and understanding of the speaker. It is important to remember that categories solely depend on the ideologies which are prevalent in the discourse. Raheel Sharif also makes use of different categories in his speech.

A. Peace and Terrorism

Two contrasting categories are peace and terrorism. In-group members represent peace as the prevalent theme in the speech. Raheel Sharif briefs his audience about the peaceful steps taken by the army for the defence and development of the country. He provides the evidence of his ideology by the following discourse:

“Ladies and Gentlemen, “Peace through Integrated Approach” has been our primary focus... (Army, 2016).” Raheel Sharif points out that these groups are proxies of foreign countries which are waging “**Proxy Wars**” (Army, 2016) to spread their ideology in the society. He defines them as “**Insurgents**” (Army, 2016) for carrying their vested agenda to destabilize the society. He has categorized peace as positive and terrorism as a negative entity in his speech. He says:

“Balochistan, in fact, has become a hotbed of proxy wars for regional and global grand strategy by many powers (Army, 2016).” Raheel Sharif defines the drastic situation of the province of Balochistan. He further points out that due to the involvement of terrorist groups the province which is rich of mineral resources has become a “**Hotbed**” of terrorism. He also points out the fact that the evil interests of foreign powers have converted the province into a battlefield. He suggests the need to solve all the outstanding issues in the province to save it from further destruction.

3. Comparison

Raheel Sharif as member of the powerful in-group makes a comparison between the two by highlighting the achievements of in-group against the problems caused by the out-group members. The ongoing speech presents the Army and the State as in-group members against terrorists and miscreants who he defines as others. Raheel Sharif proposes that a serious and imminent action should be taken against the out-group members. Raheel Sharif presents the following noticeable comparisons.

A. Good vs. Evil

He presents “**Peace**” as the ultimate agenda which is important for the development of the province. He appreciates the steps taken by both the government and the army to promote peace in the province. On the other hand, he points out terrorists as evil. He further comments that the terrorists have damaged the social fabric of the society. Their evil actions have caused stress and depression in the minds of ordinary people. Presenting the Army in the positive category Raheel Sharif says: “Besides this, the role of Army is to provide an enabling environment in the province... (Army, 2016).” Sharif presents them as “dissidents and militants” who are involved in the mechanised and brutal killing of people. He says: “To destabilize Pakistan by harbouring, training and funding dissidents and militants (Army, 2016).”

B. Youth vs. Terrorists

The youth are a sign of peace and prosperity for a country. He emphasized the role of the youth in the society and advised that they should be given ample opportunities so that they can decide their own fate. He says:

“The future of Balochistan is the Youth of Balochistan (Army, 2016).”

He further recommends that in order to eliminate the threat of terrorism it is important to engage our youth in positive and constructive ways:

“Let me emphasize that our greatest asset is our youth; the hope and future of this great nation (Army, 2016).” He further underscores that government is working for the prosperity of the youth:

“Whatever we build today, we build it for them (Army, 2016).”

Raheel Sharif criticizes the out-group members for distracting and diminishing the dreams of the youth:

“I would like to make a special reference to Indian Intelligence Agency RAW (Army, 2016).” Here, he openly holds India responsible for the terrorist activities in the province.

4. Authority

While mentioning Allah as the authority in the speech, Raheel Sharif says:

“May Allah help us in our future endeavours and be our guide and protector” (Army, 2016). He has also put Holy Prophet (S.A.W) as the authority which has allowed him and his nation to make strong claim in the discourse:

“Operation Zarb-e-Azab is not only an operation but a wholesome concept (Army, 2016).”

Here, it is important to understand that religion is the major pillar of the in-group ideology. He also puts Pakistan Army as a strong authority in the fight against terrorism. This clearly addresses the narrative of counter-terrorism as military solutions are the most effective weapon against fighting these extremists:

“I understand that use of force brings nothing but destruction, distress and suffering (Army, 2016).” He lauds the role of Army:

“We played our national role in the rehabilitation of Awaran (Army, 2016).”

Here he claims the role of the Army as a nation builder. He recollects the efforts made by the army in the rehabilitation of the province.

5. Victimization

Raheel Sharif showcases the people of Balochistan as innocent and simple to prove his in-group ideology. Raheel Sharif uses terms like “plethora of socio-economic, ethnographic and sectarian divides (Army, 2016)” to show victimization of the people. He believes that the destruction of social setup is the main cause of growing problems in Balochistan. He says:

“Any opportunity to destabilize Pakistan by harbouring, training and funding dissidents and militants (Army, 2016).” He claims that it is the result of these secretly working agencies which have damaged the life and reputation of the province. The activities done by these terrorist groups have transformed Balochistan from a peaceful land to a place called **“hotbed of terrorists”** (Army, 2016). This shows the victimization of the people of Balochistan. Raheel Sharif presents all the necessary evidences to prove the people of Balochistan as innocent and simple. This is indeed the

strategy used by the in-group members to prove their ideology right and disclaim the out-group ideology.

6. Evidentiality

Discourse is about proving your claims and denying the stance of out-group members with all the possible evidences at play. Out-group ideology is represented by the terrorists whom Raheel Sharif calls “**Dissidents and Militants**” (Army, 2016). Raheel Sharif presents the Army as his in-group institution that has worked tirelessly to bring peace and prosperity in the province. He provides evidence of his in-group with the help of necessary number game. He says:

“Over 18000 youth from all parts of Balochistan have joined Armed Forces and Frontier Corps in recent times (Army, 2016).” He through facts and figures provides evidence of the pivotal role played by Army in the development of the province. Here the figure “**18000**” (Army, 2016) strongly supports his in-group ideology. Raheel Sharif briefs the audience that Army is trying to facilitate the people in the best possible way. Highlighting the need for proper education and facilities for the youth of Balochistan to excel, he says:

“Universities which will bring enduring benefits for our people (Army, 2016).”

7. Irony:

It is one of the elements which convey things very covertly. Raheel Sharif’s discourse is always clear and directly stated. CDA challenges the discourse which happens in a controlled environment. Raheel makes use of terms like “Lack of developed infrastructure, extreme poverty, poor educational and health facilities, and rampant unemployment (Army, 2016).” Raheel Sharif repeatedly used the term “**Youth**” (Army, 2016) to address the audience and suggests the need of solving issues and problems related to the young people.

8. Euphemism

It is the category which substitute words used in a discourse which are harsh and bitter. Raheel Sharif always use clear words to dictate his point of view. To make things visible and loud he makes use of the inequalities in the province. He makes use of terms like “unprecedented contributions, aspirations of the people, isolate, neutralize, distress and alleviate peace and prosperity, centre and province,

defiant and cunning, reconciliation and engagement (Army, 2016).” He makes use of the above terms to increase the effect in a softer way. On the other hand, he euphemises the out-group members with words like “proxy wars for regional and global, width and breath, destruction, distress and suffering, vague slogans and elusive dreams (Army, 2016).”

9. Presupposition

When Raheel Sharif stresses the point that terrorism is helped by both internal and external elements, he points to a major pre-supposition in his speech involving terrorist groups. Through this drastic pre-supposition, he points out that various groups are involved in facilitating terrorists. He says:

“Terrorists are externally supported and internally facilitated. They are defiant and cunning. Law enforcement Agencies have conducted over 2400 intelligence-based Operations in Balochistan since Aug 2014 and 204 lives have been sacrificed (Army, 2016).” Furthermore, Raheel Sharif presupposes the need of Operation *Zarb e Azab* by presenting it as inevitable for the peace of the country. He says:

“Operation Zarb e Azab enjoys the support of people of Pakistan from all walks of life. Our men are out to eliminate terrorist and militant hideouts and sever its linkages across the country. As per the aspirations of the people of Pakistan, this operation will be taken to its logical end(Army, 2016.” Here, he presupposes that there is a need of military operation to counter the threat of terrorism.

10. Polarization

It is the division which speaker makes to define two opposing worlds. Polarization basically creates division among the people on the basis of ideology. Raheel Sharif tried his best to polarize his In-group members as positive and Out-group members as others. Raheel Sharif clearly explains that terrorists have intruded the social construction of the country and are attacking the innocent people. He has polarized the out-group members as:

“Our foreign adversaries have been more than eager to exploit any opportunity to destabilize Pakistan by harbouring, training and funding dissidents and militants (Army, 2016).”He addresses the out-group members as traitors who are involved in destabilizing the country by the conspiracy plots of “**harbouring, training and supporting militants**”(Army, 2016) both internally and externally. Raheel Sharif

presents two contrasting worlds through his speech: one is peaceful and the other is harmful.

11. Implication

Discourse is made powerful by the speakers or writers. They hide things and leave judgement to the audience. Raheel Sharif makes use of the imperative “**our**” to indicate his in-group members. He feels that terrorism is a battle which is to be fought at every cost for the establishment of peace in the province:

“This is a battle that we all are fighting, and we shall continue to fight, till peace prevails across the width and breadth of the Province (Army, 2016).” Raheel Sharif also makes use of certain terms where he cleverly makes the audience think of the possible implications.

“Pakistan Army is serving the people of Balochistan in a multitude of ways. Today, the military-run institutions in the province are providing educational facilities to around twenty-five thousand children of the province. In addition, Pakistan Army and Frontier Corps are running a huge network of medical facilities across Balochistan (Army, 2016).”

12. Vagueness

It is a strategy used by the speaker to encourage the active participation of reader in the discourse. Raheel Sharif also makes use of certain vague terms in his speech. He says:

“I understand that use of force brings nothing but destruction, distress and suffering, often to those who had no part in it (Army, 2016).” Here the words like “destruction and distress (Army, 2016).” show vagueness as the speaker has not clearly defined the use of these words either to support his in-group or as an offense to the out-group.

13. Disclaimer

This category exists at the heart of every discourse. It forms an ideological bias for a discourse to exist. Raheel Sharif favours the establishment of peace in a serene way. He disclaims in the speech that the international community should support the country in eliminating terrorism not just funding us:

“I urge the international community to not only acknowledge, but also come forward in blocking external help to these terrorist organizations (Army, 2016).”

He believes that without providing good and transparent environment, we cannot guarantee success in this matter:

“For sustainability of this project, transparency and good management are extremely important (Army, 2016).”

4.3 Analysis of Speech No.3

Raheel Sharif emphasizes that Pakistan has played a pivotal role in the establishment of peace and stability in the region. The sacrifices of martyrs and heroes of war against terrorism show the country's immense engagement for the peace and prosperity of the region. He acknowledges the professionalism and excellence of the cadets of Pakistan Air Force in the speech. Raheel Sharif has used pronouns I, We, You, Me and Your to represent his in-group members in the speech. Table 4.3.1 shows the pronouns used for Positive Self- Representation:

Use of Pronouns to Show Positive Self-Representation of the In-group Members:	
I	I am certain, I am happy
We	We have achieved, We are now engaged
Your	The reward of your hard work,
Our	Our Successes, Our Soil, Our gains, Our progress, Our Country, Our Motherland
Me	It is a great honour for me
You	You have become the members

Table 4.3.1 Represent Pronouns used for Positive Self-Representation

Table 4.3.1 shows that the speaker makes use of pronouns to represent his in-group members which include cadets, soldiers, country and armed forces. The use of First Person Pronoun "I" shows that the speaker is sharing his own point of view with the audience. The speaker makes use of this technique to make the audience feel that they are part of the narration. For example:

"I am certain that you will work hard not only to uphold these traditions...

(Today, 2018)." The speaker has also used Personal Pronoun "We" to present the positive self-representation of the in-group members:

"Today, we have achieved phenomenal success in uprooting the terrorist infrastructure from our soil (Today, 2018)." The words like motherland and progress refer to the development and progress of Pakistan. On the other hand, he makes use of pronouns like Their, Those and These to create linguistic distancing in the speech. The pronouns clearly specify the ideological stance of the speaker. He has positively engaged and addressed the in-group members by using personal and demonstrative pronouns. The representation of pronouns is shown in the table 4.3.2.

Table 4.3.2 shows the use of pronouns by the speaker to present negative other representation:

Use of Pronouns to Represent Negative other Representation	
Their	Their Nefarious designs, Their Sympathizers
Those	Those Inimical
These	These Enemies

Table 4.3.2: Use of Pronouns to Present Negative Other Representation

The Table shows that the speaker has made use of demonstrative pronouns Their, Those and These to define the out-group members. Raheel Sharif has always used positive words to define the attributes of the in-group members. This presents the positive self-representation of the in-group members in the speech. Table 4.3.3 shows the use of Lexical choices to define the in-group members:

Use of Lexical Choices to Represent his In-group Members:	
Courage (Noun)	The force is known for its courage.
Professional (Adj)	The Air force is known for its professional excellence
Resolute (Adj)	Resolute you are to face the face the challenges
Vigorously(Adv)	PAF is vigorously pursuing the force goals
Responsible (Adj)	Pakistan is a responsible country
Dignity (Noun)	You will serve your country with dignity and pride
Honour (Noun)	The pledge of honour that you have made with your country

Table 4.3.3 Represent Grammatical Categories to define In-group Members

Raheel Sharif with the use of these words have made a distinction in the speech that the soldiers and people of Pakistan have always sacrificed for the sovereignty and protection of the country. The speaker points out that the sacrifices made by the soldiers and nation in the war against terrorism define their courage and strength. Despite losing a large number of population in the war against terrorism, the country is still being steadfast to eliminate the threat of terrorism from the region. On the other hand, the speaker has made use of negative grammatical categories to define the out-group members in the speech. The lexical choices clearly define the ideological state of the speaker as he describes the in-group and out-group members through his convincing discourse. The speaker further describes the fact that the use of specific lexical categories makes the discourse socially, culturally and politically motivated which enables the speaker to legitimise his actions in front of the public through his words.

Table 4.3.4 shows the use of Lexical Choices to define the out-group members:

Use of Lexical Choices to represent Out-group Members	
Inimical (Adj)	Those inimical to regional peace
Nefarious (Adj)	Their Nefarious designs will not be succeeded
Menace (noun)	Menace of Terrorism
Enemies(Noun)	Enemies of Pakistan's Peace
Evil(Noun)	Evil Plots/ Plans
Threat (Noun)	Internal and external threat posed

Table 4.3.4 Shows Lexical Choices to define Out-group Members

The table shows that the speaker has used words which show negative connotation to show the negative other representation of the out-group members. The speech highlights the positive role of the Armed Forces of the country in eliminating the threat of terrorism from the country. This presents the ideological stance that there is a difference between the beliefs of in-group and out-group members. Table 4.3.5 shows the categories found in the speech no. 3:

Analysis of Categories in Speech No.3 delivered by Raheel Sharif in Risalpur on October 6th, 2016		
Actor	In-group 12	Out-group 06
Authority	01	
Categorization	00	
Comparison	00	
Disclaimer	00	
Euphemism	01	
Evidentiality	04	
Generalization	02	
Hyperbole	02	
Implication	00	
Irony	00	
Polarization	02	
Presupposition	00	
Vagueness	00	
Victimization	00	

Table 4.3.5: Analysis of Categories in Speech No.3

The analysis of categories in light of the above-mentioned table is as follows:

1. Actor

Raheel Sharif takes centre stage as the powerful actor of the speech. The other actors of the speech are cadets, nation, country and the armed forces. Raheel and his co-actors represent in-group ideology which relies on the elements of peace, freedom and prosperity. Whereas, the out-group ideology is defined by the actors like terrorists and enemies of the country. Actor not only expresses his point of view but also represents the ideology of his in-group members.

A. Positive Self-Representation

Raheel Sharif throughout his speech presents himself, cadets, country and nation in the positive way. In order to define his ideological stance, the speaker has made use of pronouns to represent positive self –representation of the in-group members. Table 4.3.6 shows use of pronouns to Represent Positive Self-Representation of In-group Members:

Use of Pronouns to Represent Positive Self-Representation of In-group Members	
I	I am extremely proud, I reiterate the resolve.
We	We have achieved success, we have made concerted efforts, We are Ready.
My	My Proud Felicitations
Our	Our motherland, Our Country, Our Soil

Table4.3.6:Use of Pronouns to Represent Positive Self-Representation of Ingroup

He has used first person singular pronoun “**I**” to present himself as the actor in the discourse. Congratulating the cadets on their passing out parade, he says:

“I extend my heartiest felicitations to all graduating cadets on attaining commission in Pakistan Air Force (Today, 2018).”

B. Negative Presentation of Them

A speaker always frames the opposite ideology in a negative manner. Raheel Sharif has presented the opposing out-group ideology negatively in the speech. He has defined “**Terrorists**” as “**Their**” in the speech to highlight the out-group ideology. Political speakers make use of the third person pronoun “**Their**” to detach themselves from the other group. The use of pronoun also shows that the speaker wants to create a distance between the groups on the

basis of us vs. them dichotomy. He believes that the military operation against the terrorists have made life difficult for them. Now the so-called terrorists are damaging the country with the help of their facilitators. He says:

“These enemies will now attempt to accelerate their efforts to reverse our gains and derail our progress through direct and indirect strategy (Today, 2018).” This is evident that the terrorists have employed a new strategy of exerting internal and external pressure on the army. He calls their strategies as “**Nefarious Designs**”(Today, 2018) and believes that these plans have destroyed the social stratification and caused depression among the people.

2. Authority:

An Authority can be a person, a group or an institute which controls a discourse. Raheel Sharif puts Allah Almighty and Operation Zarb e Azab as authority in the speech. He has appreciated the skills and management of PAF in his speech. He also believes that it is the struggle and continuous effort of cadets which have enabled them to achieve a great milestone in their lives. He has favoured the process, training and nurturing of combating skills of the cadets at the PAF Academy. He believes that the enthusiasm and spirit inculcated in the cadets as a soul part of the training makes them true patriots. He holds Allah Almighty as an authority in all the decisions and prays for His guidance in every matter:

“Allah Almighty grant you the strength and wisdom” (Today, 2018). He highlights that with the guidance and help of Allah Almighty, the armed forces fight against the menace of terrorism.

3. Evidentiality

While, discussing the steps taken by the armed forces in the settlement of the internal disputes, Raheel Sharif has given evidentiality of the operation *Zarb e Azab* to prove his point. He further elaborated that the role of Pakistan Air Force has been crucial along with Army to eliminate the threat of terrorism internally:

“Towards the Internal Front, Operation *Zarb e Azab* with Full support from Pakistan Air force has turned the tide against terrorism (Today,2018).” Raheel in order to prove his point used Operation *Zarb e Azab* as evidentiality. Raheel also outlined that Pakistan Air Force has played an extraordinary role in eliminating the threat of terrorism from the country. It has made concerted efforts along with army to fight and eliminate the

threat of terrorism from the country. In this speech Raheel lauds both the technical and operational expertise of Pakistan Air Force in fighting the menace of terrorism both at internal and external fronts. He praises the efforts of his soldiers who have fought valiantly during the operations and achieved success. He says:

“The exemplary synergy and cooperation between the services leading us to stability in a short time, is unique in this type of warfare (Today, 2018).” Raheel debates the pivotal role played by the armed forces and law enforcing agencies in the operation *Zarb e Azab*. He commends the ability and strength of the armed forces for fighting out bravely in this war against terrorism. He applauds the Armed Forces and Pakistan Air force for their collective efforts against terrorism. The success of *Zarb e Azab* as a military operation has led to the elimination of evil from the society. Raheel Sharif expresses gratitude on the success of such a comprehensive victory against the terrorists. He underscores the fact that the collaboration between the armed forces have resulted in the defeat of the terrorists. He says:

“Towards the internal front, Operation Zarb-e-Azab, with full support from Pakistan Air Force has successfully turned the tide against terrorism (Today, 2018).”

4. Polarization

Raheel Sharif presents himself as the representative of peace and promotes all the positive activities. He polarizes himself and his in-group as an emblem of peace and prosperity. By saying “Today we have Achieved Phenomenal Success (Today, 2018)”, he means that it is the collective effort of his own self, members of community along with the armed forces to bring prosperity in the country. He says: “Today we have achieved phenomenal success in uprooting the terrorist infrastructure from our soil (Today, 2018).” The second polarization he makes is about the barbarous attempt that has been made by the enemy to kill Kashmiri people. He says:

“We have recently witnessed an unfortunate display of utter desperation playing out inside Occupied Kashmir (Today, 2018).”

5. Categorization

Raheel Sharif lays down a striking contrast between the two ideologies. He says:

“I am confident that with the united resolve of our nation and its armed forces... (Today, 2018).” He has promoted the resolve that the country and nation is aligned in combating the menace of terrorism. He has also suggested that there is a need of an effective strategy to face the dangers of terrorism. He mentions: “Resolute efforts to consolidate our gains is the only way forward for which we will not leave any stone unturned (Today, 2018).” He categorizes the need for a strong strategy and planning to counter the growing threat of terrorism.

6. Comparison

In discourse a speaker draws comparison between the two occurring ideologies. The reason behind this is to gain the acceptance and favour of one group against the other. The comparisons made are on the basis of power, identity, ideology and belief. The two comparisons occur between in-group and out-group ideologies. Raheel Sharif puts forth the following comparisons in his speech:

A. Cadets vs. Enemies

He has presented cadets as the protectors of the country. He says:

“I am certain that you will work hard not only to uphold these sacred traditions, but to add new chapters for the future generations to emulate (Today, 2018).” He supports the cause of the cadets and wishes them to perform better. Comparing the out-group ideology, he says:

“These enemies will now attempt to accelerate their efforts to reverse our gains and derail our progress through direct and indirect strategy(Today, 2018).”

B. Good vs. Evil

The second most important comparison is between the elements of good and evil. Raheel Sharif presents people, soldier and country as good. He believes they represent his in-group ideology. On the other side, terrorists are labelled as evil, as they are involved in plots against peace and stability. Emphasizing the good things, he says:

“It is a value which we must all cherish, and carry forward, with even deeper commitment in the future (Today, 2018).” The out-group people have destroyed the social and cultural strata which have resulted in the collapse of the society. He defines them as:

“These enemies will now attempt to accelerate their efforts to reverse our gains..(Today, 2018).”

4.4 Analysis of Speech no.4

The speech shows signs of political discourse, as it covers various political aspects within the country. It also pays homage to the martyrs and their families for achieving such greatness of character and strength. The speaker addresses the audience and briefs them about the important steps taken by the army to face the threat of terrorism.

Analysis of Categories in Speech no.4 Defence Day By Raheel Sharif		
Actor	In-group 16	Out-group 07
Authority	03	
Categorization	02	
Comparison	01	
Disclaimer	00	
Euphemism	01	
Evidentiality	03	
Generalization	00	
Hyperbole	04	
Implication	00	
Irony	00	
Polarization	03	
Presupposition	10	
Vagueness	02	

Table 4.4.1: Analysis of Categories in Speech No. 4

1. Actor

Raheel Sharif presents an Anti-Terrorism stance in his speech. His words are significant at both internal and external fronts which makes his discourse more appealing and challenging. Raheel Sharif has divided the speech into contrastive ideologies namely in-group and out-group.

A. Positive Self-Representation

Raheel Sharif addressed his audience with Personal Pronouns and Possessives like “I, We, You, Our, That and Who”. Table 4.4.2 shows the comparison of the pronoun used by the speaker to define in-group and out-group members. The speaker has clearly used pronouns to define in-group and out-group members. The comparison of pronouns show the ideological stance of the speaker and also gives a brief description of what the discourse shows both politically and socially stance.

Positive Self-Representation and Negative Other Representation:

Comparison of Pronoun to define In-group and Out-group	
In-group	Out-group
I	Their
Me	
My	
Our	
Their	
They	

Table4.4.2:Comparison of Pronoun of In-group and Outgroup

Table 4.2.2 presents the comparison of the pronouns used by the speaker to define In-group and Out-group members. Raheel Sharif shows the resolve that the untiring and concerted efforts of the Army and Nation, has made the country much strong and resolute then it was in the past. Raheel Sharif claims that the standards and capabilities of his army makes them the best in the world. He claims that his in-group members are the best in the world and they can turn any side down on the given occasion.

In discourse a speaker gives evidences in order to prove his point. Raheel here gives surety to his in-group members that his actions are in accordance to their social and cultural interests. Keeping in view the contributions of his nation, he says:

“This successful journey was only made possible due to the supreme sacrifices of the martyrs and war veterans of this great nation(Journal, 2018).” Here, he is appreciating the sacrifices of his in-group members which helped the country face the evils of war. He depicts his in-group members as strong and powerful individuals who have shown their devotion to fighting the menace of terrorism. He defines them as “our” to show a positive description of their efforts. He says:

“Our national struggle against terrorism has played a vital role for regional and international peace (Journal, 2018).” Raheel Sharif has emphasized that the nation has to provide a sound and serene environment to the youth. Paying tribute to the people of FATA, he reiterates the resolve to value their sacrifices and help them to settle in their areas again. He says:

“I salute my patriotic brothers from FATA for their extreme sacrifices... (Journal, 2018).”

B. Negative Other Presentation

The speaker makes sure to defame and damage the reputation of the out-group members to make his own ideology powerful and attractive. He has presented the out-group members as “**Enemies**”. He simply puts them in a negative frame by calling them as enemies who are lodging conspiracy plans against the country. He says:

“If the enemy ever resorts to any misadventure, regardless of its size and scale, it will have to pay an unbearable cost (Journal, 2018).”

The table shows that the speaker has used positive words like martyrs, patriotic, veterans and innocent to define the in-group members while negative words like terrorists, abettors, financiers, inimical and nefarious are used to define the out-group members. The use of vocabulary gives experiential value to the words. The use of positive and negative choices for the in-group and out-group members show that the speaker has created a stance in the speech that in-group members are innocent and well-wishers of the country while out-group members are terrorists. This represents the stance of the army that the people of the country are peaceful and progressive as they have given sacrifices and laid down their lives for the defence of the country.

2. Generalizations

At times, Raheel represents himself as a mouthpiece of the whole world. He generalizes his statements for the people of the world. He says:

“Our national struggle against terrorism has played a vital role for regional and international peace (Journal, 2018).” Here, Raheel has generalized the struggle in the country as a direct proportionate to bringing peace at international level. He claims that the efforts his nation and army have made in eliminating terrorism will ultimately benefit the people globally. He also questions the international community whether they would acknowledge the role of the country as significant. He says:

“We hope that the international community acknowledges our extreme sacrifice and would assist us in this endeavour without any prejudice (Journal, 2018).”

3. Authority:

Raheel Sharif has the ability and courage to address the things directly. Raheel as a strong person dares to challenge the terrorists and openly speaks against them. Raheel Sharif holds Allah Almighty as the authority here:

“With the blessings of Allah Almighty and prayers of the nation, armed forces and other law enforcement agencies of Pakistan, through untiring efforts and sacrifice have brought the situation under control, and writ of the state has been well established (Journal, 2018).” Whatever actions he does he holds Allah Almighty as the essential authority. By this he legitimizes his actions and people follow the words because they think it is a divine order. He also puts Pakistani Media under authority by mentioning their role in revealing the evil plans of terrorists:

“I wish to commend the Pakistani Media, who have unmasked the real face of terrorists, thus playing a critical role in creating national consensus (Journal, 2018).”

4. Categorization:

The speech made by Raheel Sharif debates over two existing categories. One is the positive category represented by the in-group members. Raheel categorizes his in-group members as:

“However, the sacrifice of the martyred children and immense fortitude of their parents reinvigorated the national resolve against terrorism” (Journal, 2018). On the other side, out-group members are categorized as:

“Operation *Zarb-e-Azab* was launched at a time when the forces of disorder were challenging the state of Pakistan....(Journal, 2018).” Raheel believes that it is because of these terrorists that the army had to start a military action. These terrorists have destroyed the social setup of the country. The situation of the country has become more hostile and tragic.

5. Evidentiality

Raheel being powerful and straight forward considers terrorism to be the biggest threat to the peace of the world in general and Pakistan in particular. He blames the “others” which are meant to be terrorists as responsible for the dismal situation of the country. He calls them “Forces of Disorder” which have contaminated the country with their wickedness. He says:

“Operation *Zarb-e-Azab* was launched at a time when the forces of disorder were challenging the state of Pakistan (Journal, 2018).” He believes that the threat to enduring peace is the evil actions of these terrorists. Raheel on the other hand provided the evidence in favour of the peaceful efforts carried out by his members as:

“Armed forces and other law enforcement agencies of Pakistan, through untiring efforts and sacrifice have brought the situation under control, and writ of the state has been well established (Journal, 2018).” Raheel praises his members for maintaining peace in the region. He claims that his ideology is of spreading peace and stability unlike that of the oppressors.

6. Disclaimer

This category establishes a legitimate and ideal situation for a discourse. It emphasizes giving all the positive attributes to in-group members and giving negative traits to out-group members. In the current speech, Raheel refers to the following elements:

A. Martyrs and Veterans of War

The people of the country as well as members of the armed forces look very respectfully towards the martyrs and veterans of the war. They are considered the real heroes who have sacrificed their lives for the betterment of future generations. He addresses the attributes of these martyrs in his speech as:

“This successful journey was only made possible due to the supreme sacrifices of the martyrs and war veterans of this great nation (Journal, 2018).”

The sacrifices rendered by these people have enabled the country to move forward and face the daunting challenges.

B. Military Operations

The military operations also show a positive step towards maintaining peace in the country. Raheel emphasizes that the need of these military operations emerged when the enemy brutally took lives of the innocent people of the society. The situation was bad. The ultimate objective of these military operations is to promote peace and stability in the country. He says:

“Operation Zarb-e-Azab was launched at a time when the forces of disorder were challenging the state of Pakistan (Journal, 2018).” Raheel thus stresses that for maintaining peace, it was important to take necessary actions.

7. Euphemism

This deals with the manipulation of harsh, blunt and cold words with soft and presentable ones. The speaker makes use of these words to lessen the effect of the hard

words. It helps the speaker by allowing his idea to be widely accepted. Raheel makes use of this strategy which backs his purpose. He says:

“To make this success comprehensive and enduring, all organs of the state will have to earnestly play their part to achieve the objectives of National Action Plan in the earliest possible time (Journal, 2018).” He has used the term “**Organs of the state**” to represent all the people of the society involved in the security of the country.

He also used the term “**Inimical Forces**” to address the enemies. He says:

“Certain inimical forces are bent upon undermining our efforts (Journal, 2018).”

For highlighting the issue of Kashmir, he used the term “**Unfinished Agenda**” as:

“Kashmir is the unfinished agenda of the partition in subcontinent (Journal, 2018).”

Emphasizing the need of addressing the Kashmir issue he says:

“The issue can no longer be put on the back burner (Journal, 2018).” The term “**Back Burner**” (Journal, 2018) has been used to mainstream the Kashmir conflict.

Appreciating the strength of his Army, he says:

“I am proud to command one of the most battle hardened Armies of the world, which has no parallels (Journal, 2018).”

8. Hyperbole

It is a technique used by the writer or speaker where he exaggerates to make his ideology clear. It is mostly backed up by presenting numerous facts and figures in order to prove oneself right and to make a mark on the audience. Raheel uses this strategy a number of times in his speech. Kashmir has been discussed a number of times in his speech as:

“It should be clearly understood that enduring peace in the region will not be possible without a just resolution of Kashmir” (Journal, 2018). Focussing on the sacrifices of the martyrs, he framed the things to be more hyperbolic:

“Today’s defence day is of immense significance (Journal, 2018).” Hyperbolic terms usually include repetitions, metaphors and similes along with other important figures of speech. Looking at the speech Raheel has used the term “**Ladies and Gentleman**” (Journal, 2018) thrice to create a hyperbolic effect. He has also used the simile “as” several times to create a hyperbolic effect in the speech:

“Not just for Pakistan as well as the entire region (Journal, 2018).” Raheel has used many hyperbolic terms in his speech for portraying his country as peaceful and stable:

“We have strong historical and blood ties with Afghanistan and no power on earth can disrupt this relationship. We have made concerted and sincere efforts for bringing peace in Afghanistan but certain inimical forces are bent upon undermining our efforts (Journal, 2018).” Here, he highlights the role of Pakistan as a main participant in maintaining peace in the war stricken Afghanistan.

9. Implication

Raheel takes a very explicit stance on the issues addressed in his speech. He dares to challenge the oppressors on every dispute raised at the discursive level. In his speech Raheel does not directly take the name but uses terms like “**Enemies and Terrorists**” to make the audience aware of the main ideology behind the terms. He says:

“This is the day when the enemy dared to attack our country (Journal, 2018).” Here, he is not naming the enemy directly but the audience knows that the speaker is discussing war against India. Raheel is very much critical and daring when it comes to criticizing the evil designs of the terrorists. He calls terrorism as a real cause behind growing instability and destruction in the society. He says:

“Today I reiterate the resolve that we shall not relent until all terrorists, their financiers, abettors, facilitators and sympathizers are brought to justice (Journal, 2018).” Here, the speaker is clearly implicating the fact that terrorists are operating with a cause and they have a team which helps them in carrying out their negative actions.

10. Pre-Supposition

The speakers present certain things as pre-established facts in their discourse. Raheel pre-supposes a peaceful world in his discourse. He backs his ideas with this technique to promote a friendly environment among the neighbouring states and solving all the long term disputes. He says:

“We hope that the international community acknowledges our extreme sacrifice and would assist us in this endeavour without any prejudice” (Journal, 2018). He pre-supposes the fact that the necessary actions taken by his in-group members will surely be appreciated by the international community.

11. Polarization

Raheel as a leader supports nationalism as well as regionalism. Defining the relationship with Afghanistan, he says:

“We have strong historical and blood ties with Afghanistan and no power on earth can disrupt this relationship. We have made concerted and sincere efforts for bringing peace in Afghanistan but certain inimical forces are bent upon undermining our efforts(Journal, 2018).” Raheel claims that Pakistan has a legacy of helping his neighbours through thick and thin.

12. Irony

It is considered to be a dubious statement which means the opposite as compared to the one being actually said. Raheel uses a very sarcastic comment to compare his men with out-group members. He calls his men as the most “Hardened Army of the world, which has no parallels (Journal, 2018).” He uses irony to claim that his men are the best and the out-group members are cowards who have no competence. Another sarcastic comment is when he appreciates the media for “Unmasking the real face of terrorists (Journal, 2018).” He makes use of very few ironical statements as most of his words directly address the core subject of terrorism.

13. Victimization

Raheel puts light on the evil activities of the terrorists and they become the victim of his “verbal attack”. The technique of victimization has been widely used to negatively portray out-group members. Raheel says:

“I can assure you that most of the terrorists involved in that incident have already been brought to justice (Journal, 2018).” Raheel puts his neighbours and friends under a positive category against the evil terrorists. He said:

“We have made concerted and sincere efforts for bringing peace in Afghanistan but certain inimical forces are bent upon undermining our efforts(Journal, 2018).”

14. Vagueness

Raheel Sharif pays tribute to the positive role of the media for revealing such entities that have been a threat to the existence of the country. He says:

“Who have unmasked the real face of terrorists, thus playing a critical role in creating national consensus (Journal, 2018).” He puts the ball in the court of the

audience to guess which terrorists he is referring to. Whether he is talking about enemies like “India” or referring to the “Terrorists” involved in suicide bombings, Raheel makes use of this category to support his military action. He leaves the interpretation to the audience who react either positively or negatively.

4.5 Analysis of Speech no. 5

Terrorism has become a major threat to the world especially to the Muslim world. In order to cope up with this menace, a coalition of military alliance of Muslim countries was formed in 2015. IMCTC is headed by H.E Crown Prince Mohammad Salman Bin Saud. The Coalition is headed by General(R) Raheel Sharif and the aim is to promote the military intelligence cooperation among Muslim member countries and to eradicate the evil of terrorism. Raheel Sharif being the Commander in Chief emphasizes close relationship and assistance in terms of training, use of resources and intelligence sharing among the Muslim countries. CDA as a strategy questions the worth of discourse at Meta level. Hence, this speech is an authentication towards carrying out radical steps to maintain peace and stability in the region.

The following table shows the representation of Categories in the speech:

Analysis of Categories in Speech No. 5 at IMCTC By Raheel Sharif		
Actor	In-group 05	Out-group 03
Authority	02	
Categorization	00	
Comparison	00	
Disclaimer	01	
Euphemism	00	
Evidentiality	02	
Generalization	00	
Hyperbole	00	
Implication	00	
Irony	00	
Polarization	02	
Presupposition	02	
Vagueness	00	
Victimization	02	

Table 4.5.1: Analysis of Categories in Speech No. 5

1. Actor

Raheel Sharif along with the member states of IMCTC are presented as in-group members in the speech. While, terrorist organizations and their supporters are put under the category of out-group members. The use of discursive category actor description shows that the speaker has vehemently differentiated the characteristics of both ideologies in the speech.

A. Positive Self-Presentation

Raheel Sharif tries to underline the actions which he believes are necessary. The speaker provides evidence for his ideological stance on the subject by the use of his discourse. The way he presents, defines and views things clearly shows his stance on the subject. Mumby and Koide (2000; 2012) believe that the use of specific linguistic things and word selection makes the ideology of a group dominant then the other one. Table 4.5.2 shows the comparison of Pronouns to represent In-group and Out-group Members in the speech:

Use of Pronouns to Represent In-group and Out-group members	
In-group	Out-group
I	Their
We	They
Me	
Our	
Us	

Table 4.5.2: Pronouns to define In-group and Out-group Members

Table 4.5.2 explains that the speaker has used pronouns like I, We, Me, Our and Us to define his in-group members positively while pronouns like They and There are used to present the terrorist as out-group members in the speech. Raheel Sharif highlights the achievements of Pakistan in curbing the menace of terrorism. He further believes that every country in the Islamic world is affected by terrorism. He stresses the point that a collective effort is required to defeat these terrorists. Raheel presents Pakistan as an important actor in the speech:

“Pakistan has turned the tide against terrorism(Youtube, 2018).”

The reason Pakistan holds important position in the war against terrorism is because of its sincere efforts in destroying the terrorist hideouts and curbing their finances along with actions against their sympathisers and well-wishers.

B. Negative Presentation of them

Out-group members are always presented in the negative frame. Raheel Sharif has presented the out-group members as violent and extremist. Terrorist Organizations are presented as negative actors in the speech. He alleges the terrorist organization for using peaceful face of Islam to accomplish their evil plans. He says:

“Terrorist organizations desperately try to cloak their horrendous activities in the legitimacy of Islam (Youtube, 2018).” Raheel believes that war against terrorism has become very difficult:

“They were concentrated in the Middle East, south Asia and Africa. (Youtube, 2018).” He further elaborates that it requires huge resources and strong resolve to counter these extremists. He calls these terrorists “**Faceless Enemies**” as he believes that they hide their identities to fulfil the evil tasks. He says:

“Law enforcement agencies have to fight a faceless enemy (Youtube, 2018).”

2. Authority

In the context of this speech, we can see that Raheel Sharif as the Commander-in-Chief and King Salman as Ruler of Kingdom of Saudi Arabia being the strong force behind the formation of the Islamic Military Counter Terrorism Alliance are the potential authorities. It is important to understand that religion plays a vital role in discourse. Saudi Arabia being the centre of Islamic World holds a reputable position and the decisions taken there are considered ultimate and final. It is the reason that most of the Muslim countries showed unprecedented support for the formation of this alliance and became part of it. At first, he puts Kingdom of Saudi Arabia as an authority which has led to the formation of such alliance:

“King Mohammad Bin Salman al Saud kingdom of Saudi Arabia has taken a historic and bold initiative (Youtube, 2018).” Raheel Sharif here put the kingdom of Saudi Arabia as authority in the speech.

3. Evidentiality

Raheel Sharif has presented the evidence that IMCTC as an organization would work for the eradication of terrorist networks and financing through collective efforts of the member countries:

“The Vision of IMCTC is to have a collective response against terrorism, capable of leading and coordinating the efforts of member countries with high efficiency and affectedness (Youtube, 2018).”

4. Victimization

Raheel produces a strong case in favour of his in-group members. He presents them as victim of the wicked plans of these terrorists. He tries to make his audience

believe that his members are busy in raising the spirit and respect of the religion. He says:

“Over 70 percent of terrorism related deaths occurred in the Islamic world (Youtube, 2018).” This brings a clear picture to the world that these terrorists are mainly targeting the Muslim majority. He points out the areas which are affected by these terrorists. He says:

“Most affected countries were Iraq, Afghanistan, Nigeria and Pakistan (Youtube, 2018).” He further promotes voice of peace and consistency against these evil actors.

Describing the drastic situation of the in-group members he says:

“These countries since last many years are paying a very heavy price in blood and treasure (Youtube, 2018).”

5. Irony

It is a technique used when certain expressions in the discourse convey exactly an opposite meaning other than the one which these words exactly mean. Allegations and accusations of a complex and serious nature when presented indirectly obtain a more effective voice. Ironical statements are used to lower the effect of harshness in the discourse. Raheel Sharif has always used words which show a powerful impact. The understanding and interpretation of these words are clearly up to the audience. The speech made by Raheel Sharif is more of a serious and powerful nature. This speech does not contain any ironical elements.

6. Euphemism

Raheel Sharif has used the term “**Turned the tide**” (Youtube, 2018) to embrace the role of Pakistan as an important participant in the war against terrorism. The other euphemistic term he has used is “**Institutionalized mechanisms**” (Youtube, 2018) to define the main strategy employed by the members of the alliance. He further has used term like “**blood and treasure**” in order to pay homage to the countries who faced serious social and economic damage. The term “**faceless enemy**” (Youtube, 2018) has been used to define the enemy involved in terrorism. Raheel highlights the sincere efforts made by the military coalition as “**Comprehensive strategic approach**” (Youtube, 2018). He puts forward the view that the strategic efforts made by his coalition are excellent and will help the people fight against terrorism.

7. Disclaimer

Raheel has based his speech on the central notion that the basic idea behind formation of the Islamic Military Counter Terrorism Alliance is to eliminate the threat of terrorism from the Muslim world with the help of Islamic member states. Raheel has clearly defined the notion that this alliance is an essential part of peace making process in the world in general and Muslim arena in particular. Raheel has stressed the point that the coalition respects the sovereignty, religion and sect of the member countries and it is not against any country.

8. Hyperbole

Raheel Sharif has used the phrase “**Ladies and Gentleman**” almost four times in the speech to create a hyperbolic effect. He uses the simile “**as**” in his speech to define the operational ability of IMCTC:

“IMCTC will act as a platform (Youtube, 2018).”

It is used to make people believe that the ideology expressed by the speaker is powerful and effective one. Defining the working model of IMCTC, he says:

“Support will be provided to build capabilities of military, law enforcement and intelligence agencies of member countries (Youtube, 2018).” He makes use of hyperbolic terms like “build capabilities of military, proper planning and terrain conditions (Youtube, 2018).” He uses these hyperbolic elements to make his ideology more profound.

9. Pre-Supposition

Raheel Sharif has used the category of presupposition to establish the point that the collective planning and mechanism are required to fight the menace of terrorism. He further makes use of presuppositions to point out that the destinies and future of all the Islamic countries are very much linked to each other. Raheel also presupposes the fact that the destinies of the member countries are linked to each other.

10. Polarization

Raheel Sharif has further explained that the coalition of Islamic countries against terrorism has been based on the principles and teachings of Islam. Raheel has used polarization to portray terrorists negatively in the speech:

“Terrorist organizations desperately try to cloak their horrendous activities in the legitimacy of Islam Through ruthless terrorist attacks they threaten the peace..... (YouTube, 2018).” Raheel Sharif points out the wickedness of terrorist groups in his speech. He discusses the point that terrorist groups use the name of Islam to carry out their evil actions.

11. Implication

Raheel did explicate his phrase “**Terrorist and Extremist**” (Youtube, 2018) still people kept guessing on what he actually meant. The discourse clearly points out that terrorists are the ultimate enemy of the people. He has used facts and figures to let the audience implicate the exact meaning behind the discourse. He does not directly takes the names of the organizations involved in the vicious acts, rather he uses a common term “**Terrorist Groups**”(Youtube, 2018) to address them. Through this he wants to make the member countries aware of the growing threats they are facing. He says:

“The biggest challenge to peace and stability in the 21st century especially for the Muslim world is confronting the most dangerous phenomena of terrorism (YouTube, 2018).” He makes use of the terms “**Confronting and Dangerous**” (*Youtube, 2018*) to make the audience realize the sensitivity of the matter.

12. Comparison

The speech includes strong comparison between two contrastive ideologies. One is the in-group represented by Raheel Sharif and the other is out-group which indicates terrorism and extremism. The former is highlighted as positive:

“A platform facilitating coalition countries with the assistance of supporting nations and international organizations to coordinate and unite (Youtube, 2018).” On the other side, terrorist activities are highlighted as negative:

“Through ruthless terrorist acts they threaten international peace to further their agendas (Youtube, 2018).”

4.6 Analysis of Speech no.6

The speech delivered by Raheel Sharif is the representation of both his personal opinion and the stance of his Institution. The current speech was delivered at the Change of Command ceremony held on 28th October, 2016. He has thanked both federal and provincial governments for their support during his tenure as Army Chief. While addressing the question of policy and decision making, he claims that every action taken was indeed in accordance with the benefit and interest of the nation. Furthermore, he acknowledges the sacrifices rendered by the martyrs of the nation and believes that stability and success cannot be accomplished without them. Addressing the key issue of Kashmir, he states that peace in the region of South Asia is possible only with a neutral solution of the dispute. He also discusses the cross border insurgency from Afghanistan and highlights the positive efforts made by Pakistan Army in bringing peace and stability in the region. He expresses heartfelt wishes for the upcoming chief and for the progress of the country. Furthermore, the analysis of the discursive categories in the speech can be seen in the below mentioned Table 4.6.1:

Analysis of Categories in Speech No.6 at Change of Command Ceremony By Raheel Sharif		
Actor	In-group 05	Out-group 03
Authority	03	
Categorization	00	
Comparison	00	
Disclaimer	00	
Euphemism	00	
Evidentiality	02	
Generalization	01	
Hyperbole	00	
Implication	00	
Irony	00	
Polarization	00	
Presupposition	02	
Vagueness	00	
Victimization	00	

Table 4.6.1: Analysis of Categories in Speech No. 6

1. Actor:

Raheel Sharif speaks as the only active actor of the discourse. His approach regarding selection of words to portray the issues and problems of his surroundings is very cautious. He expresses his keen observations about his society and the disputes. The language used by the actor defines the limit and scope of discourse. The actors are divided into two major groups: one is in-group ideology and other is out-group ideology. Raheel Sharif, his people and country are in-group members while the oppressors, terrorists and extremists are mentioned as out-group.

Use of Pronouns to Present Positive Self-Representation of In-group Members:	
I	I want to make sure, I thank Allah, I am cordially thankful
Me	My wish, My nation, My potentials, My certain belief
We	We have changed the course of history, We can witness fruits of success,
Our	Our destination, Our journey, Our Country, Our Brave army

Table 4.6.2: Use of Pronouns to Represent Positive Self of In-group

Table 4.6.2 represents the use of pronoun by the speaker to define the in-group members. Raheel Sharif has pointed out that Pakistan has made serious and constructive efforts in the establishment of peace in the war stricken country of Afghanistan: “We have made concerted and dedicated efforts and played a serious role in maintaining peace in Afghanistan (News,2016).”

B.Negative Other Presentation:

In the speech, Raheel puts terrorist in the negative frame. Terrorist groups have caused serious damage to Pakistan and the region. Raheel expresses the concern regarding the dangers faced by the country and the region in his speech as: “Ladies and Gentleman! The security situation in the region is very complex and the challenges faced by our country are not yet over (News, 2016).” Terrorism has badly struck Pakistan, Raheel in his speech makes his audience aware of the constant threat and believes that much more is to be done in this regard.

2. Authority

Raheel Sharif underlines Allah Almighty, Media and Pakistan Army as authority in his speech.

“I thank Allah Almighty for granting me the honour to serve in thearmy of the world (News, 2016).” Raheel Sharif uses the category of authority to provide evidence for his claim that he is thankful to the gracious and merciful nature of Allah Almighty that has enabled him to be the part of the best armed force of the world. Furthermore, he highlights that media and the journalist community has made untiring efforts to bring the true picture of issues and advocate the positive image of the armed forces:

“For this national consensus, media has played a positive role and I am thankful to all the journalist fraternity... (News, 2016).” Now, here we can see that Raheel Sharif has presented media as authority in his speech. Raheel believes that the coordination of the nation and the Army helped achieving success in the fight against terrorism, he says:

“Strong Relationship of Pakistan Army with property of nation and the hopes and expectations attached to it have increased our morale in hard times (News, 2016).”

3. Evidentiality

Raheel Sharif has presented evidences in order to provide positive representation of his in-group members in the speech. Raheel in his speech has underscored the significant role of Army in maintaining its position as one of the superior institutions of the country:

“Pakistan Army is an institution of Strength and High Traditions.(News, 2016).”

Here, Raheel Sharif has presented the evidence in favour of the institution of Pakistan Army.

“Pakistan Army is a strong and resilient Defensive strength (News, 2016).”

He brings this evidence to portray the positive image of Pakistan Army in the fight against terrorism.

4. Pre-Supposition

Raheel Sharif pre-supposes that in order to have peace and stability in the South Asian region, it is necessary to find a proper solution to the issue of Kashmir. He says:

“It is the truth that peace cannot be achieved in south Asia until the peaceful resolution of the dispute of Kashmir (News, 2016).” The speaker suggests that there is a need of a potent and balanced solution to this dispute. Raheel Sharif suggests that the only solution to the problem is the formation of a political government which has the power to control these terrorist groups and maintain peace in the region. Raheel through this presupposition impresses on his audience that terrorism can only be defeated through collective efforts at both regional and international level.

4.7 Analysis of Speech No.7

The speech by the Commander-in-chief of IMCTC, General Raheel Sharif is a series of talks based on the ideology of IMCTC and its counter narrative to disengage and eliminate terrorists. Raheel Sharif being the Chief of the Islamic Military Counter Terrorism Alliance highlighted the role of coalition in bringing peace and fighting the menace of terrorism. He also put forth the facts and figures in order to give evidences of the major steps taken by the coalition and as a result how they got information about the terrorist attacks being carried out against the Muslim countries in the world. Raheel Sharif also mentions the sincere efforts made by certain countries such as Pakistan and Iraq in particular to fight the war against terrorism. The speech underlines the working mechanism of the coalition. Furthermore, he has highlighted the primary reasons for the formation of IMCTC which includes curding terrorist funding, executing terrorist financiers, facilitators and helpers. The coalition also emphasizes on forming a strong policy regarding the terrorist who are kept as prisoners.

The below mentioned table 4.7.1 Represents the analysis of Categories in Speech No.7:

Analysis of Categories in Speech No.7 at BIDEK By Raheel Sharif		
Actor	In-group 05	Out-group 03
Authority	05	
Categorization	02	
Comparison	01	
Disclaimer	03	
Euphemism	00	
Evidentiality	03	
Generalization	01	
Hyperbole	00	
Implication	00	
Irony	02	
Polarization	04	
Presupposition	05	
Vagueness	01	
Victimization	05	

Table 4.7.1 Analysis of Categories in Speech No. 7

1. Actor:

Raheel Sharif, member countries, people of Pakistan are in-group members while terrorists and enemies are put under out-group ideology. Raheel being the speaker

represents himself powerful. He puts light on the growing issue of terrorism and how an effective strategy can eliminate it from roots.

A. Positive Self-Presentation

He portrays himself, members of coalition, people of Pakistan and audience in a positive frame. He uses pronouns like “I, We and Our” to address his in-group members in the discourse while pronouns like They, Their, These and This are used to define out-group members in the speech:

Comparison of Pronouns to represent In-group and Out-group Members	
In-group	Out-group
I	They
We	Their
Our	These
	This

Table 4.7.2: Comparison of Pronouns to In-group and Out-group

Table 4.7.2 represents the comparison of the pronouns used by the speaker to make a distinction between in-group and out-group members. Raheel has defined terrorism as “madness” in his speech. The following examples show the use of pronouns by Raheel Sharif to present the positive self-representation of the in-group members:

“I will begin by thanking the government of Bahrain and organizing committee for hosting this important event and extending such warm hospitality (Khan, 2017).” He also holds strong point of view against the terrorists, he says:

“The point I want to highlight is that there is a method to this madness there are facilitators, financiers, abettors, sympathizers and sleeper cells (Khan, 2017).”

Raheel puts his in-group members in the positive frame by calling them the protectors of peace and religion. He says:

“We will work to promote and preserve the universal message of Islam, asserting Islamic values of moderation, tolerance and compassion (Khan, 2017).”

B. Negative Presentation of Others

Raheel Sharif has used pronouns like “They, Their and These” in the speech to address the out-group members. Raheel Sharif has suggested that strict action should be taken against these groups who are involved in the evil and vicious plans against the country. Table 4.7.3 shows the use of lexical choices by the speaker to define In-group and Out-group Members in the speech:

Use of Lexical Choices to define In-group and Out-group Members	
In-group	Out-group
Martyrs	Terrorists
Brave	Savages
	Menace
	Mercenaries

Table 4.7.3: Comparison of Lexical Choices to define ingroup and out-group

Table 4.7.3 represents the lexical choices made by the speaker in the speech to define In-group and Out-group members. The table shows that in-group members are defined using words like Martyrs and Brave. This shows that Pakistan Army has played a pivotal role in the establishment of peace in the country. The speaker has pointed out that soldiers and citizens of the country have given sacrifices by embracing martyrdom in the war against terrorism. The speaker has used words like Menace, Savages and Terrorists to define the wickedness of the out-group members. The use of negative words represents the fact that terrorists have always been involved in their wicked and malicious plans against the country. The negative words point out the speaker's stance that these terrorist are different from us and they have malevolent intentions to sabotage the peace of the country and region. He calls them "savages" as they are involved in the killing of the innocent children. The speaker suggests that the terrorists who have killed innocent children of the APS Peshawar should be punished at all costs:

"These savages should be apprehended and hanged (Khan, 2017)."

2. Irony

This figure of speech comes into play when certain words in the discourse carry opposite meanings other than their actual ones. Ironical elements reduce the effect harshness from discourse. It solely depends on the listener to understand the nature of the ironical statement. It can only be done if s/he has background knowledge of it. Raheel Sharif put all his points in a clear and strong manner. Therefore, no ironical elements were found in this speech.

3. Implication

Speakers make use of certain words which hold hidden meaning in the discourse. A listener can easily understand the information by working on the several other signals in the discourse. It becomes easy for the listener to implicate if he has solid background knowledge of the discourse and context. Instead of openly naming

the groups Raheel uses the term “**Terrorist Organizations**” (Khan, 2017) to define these brutal enemies:

“Here, terrorist organizations have distorted the notions of jihad and tried to cloak their horrendous activities in the legitimacy of Islam (Khan, 2017).” He also frames them under the category of “**Non-State Actors**” (Khan, 2017) to make the audience believe that they are against the interest of state and common people:

“These non-state actors have evolved over the years and now take advantage of tensions between global players, regional power play and weaknesses of smaller states(Khan, 2017).”

4. Pre-Supposition

Raheel pre-supposes a world which has issues like terrorism and extremism. He makes his audience believe that the only way to have peace and stability in the region is to have good relations among the member states. He makes a clear statement that for a prosperous and stable region, a healthy solution to the issue of Afghanistan is inevitable. He says:

“Only road to a peaceful and a prosperous region runs through a stable Afghanistan which is achievable through a comprehensive and a coordinated approach and sincerity of all stakeholders (Khan, 2017).” He stresses the need for a strict action against the miscreants.

5. Evidentiality

Raheel Sharif presents contrasting evidences to portray both in-group and out-group members. Presenting the needs of the current world to be vigilant, he states:

“Nations across the globe are experiencing strategic changes, forming new alliances to better counter individual as well as collective threats. The biggest challenge in 21st century especially for the Muslim world is confronting the most dangerous phenomena of terrorism (Khan, 2017).”He discusses the need for a plan to counter the growing challenges in the region:

“Our world today is evolving at a faster pace than ever before due to the current geopolitical shifts, technological advancements and new economic realities (Khan, 2017).”

6. Victimization

Highlighting the killings of innocent people around the world in the most vicious and deadly attacks, Raheel Sharif discusses the victimization of in-group members as:

“In 2016, approximately 11000 terrorists’ attacks occurred worldwide resulting in more than 25000 deaths and around 33000 people injured (Khan, 2017).”

7. Disclaimer

Raheel has highlighted the point that the alliance is for all, he disclaims any bias as:

“I would like to make it clear that this coalition is against terrorism and not against any country, cast sect or religion(Khan, 2017).” He strongly brings down any criticism against his ideology.

8. Vagueness

Certain words, phrases or expressions are meaningless within a discourse. The speaker deliberately hides things in order to make the audience guess. Raheel Sharif’s speeches are mostly direct and to the point. They show clarity of thoughts and have a message for the audience. Thus, there is no vagueness found in the current speech of Raheel Sharif.

9. Polarization

Raheel puts peace loving nations and pro-war terrorists in two opposing worlds so that it is almost impossible to put them on one page. Putting his in-group members in the peace loving category, he says:

“Let me give you a sense of the scale and scope of the challenge we faced since the start of war on terror over 25000 Pakistanis from all walks of life have laid down their lives (Khan, 2017).”

10. Comparison and Categorization

Raheel has made a factual comparison between the two recurring ideologies. In-group members are defined as peaceful in the speech:

“We built stability in Pakistan bit by bit from hours to days to weeks to months and by the end of 2016 the terror incidents dropped down to an all-time low. Raheel believes

it the deadliest attack ever in the history of the country. He uses words like **“Horrendous”** to highlight the brutality of the terrorists.

4.8 Analysis of Speech no.8

Whenever a speaker makes use of certain expressions and words, he tries to define his social and ideological world. The use of words not only tells us about the subject being discussed but they also provide evidence concerning the ideological stance of the speaker. The lexical and grammatical choices made by speaker give experiential values to the words in the discourse. Raheel has underlined the point that technology has helped these terrorist groups considerably. He further stresses that terrorist groups make use of the digital platform like social media and other websites to spread their negative ideologies. Whether it is the question of recruitment and selection or the matter to organize the group, terrorists use digital platform to execute their plans. Raheel has divided his discourse on the basis of the grammatical and lexical categories. This division not only defines the ideological stance of the speaker regarding both the groups but also gives a particular direction to the discourse itself. The vocabulary and grammatical categories used by the speaker defines his ideological stance.

Use of Pronouns to Represent Positive Self-Representation in the Speech	
I	I must agree, I personally Feel, I would like, I totally agree, I think.
We	We had horrendous, We have experienced, We are running, We have Involved, We have cleared, We have given.
My	My country, My panelists, My Opinion
Our	Our Country, Our Soldiers, Our Human Rights, Our Youth

Table 4.8.1 Pronouns to Represent Positive Self-Representation

The table shows that the speaker has made use of pronouns such as I, We, My and Our to represent his opinion and ideological stance in the speech. These pronouns are used to highlight the positive actions of his in-group members. The use of possessive pronoun “our” clearly points out that the speaker emphasizes the positive activities of the in-group members in the speech. The platform of World Economic Forum presents the countries with a vital opportunity to discuss matters and find solution to the problems which are of common interest. Raheel Sharif extensively highlighted the issue of terrorism and extremism not only in the continent of Asia but in the larger context of the world. Furthermore, he has highlighted the requirement for a strong and potent narrative to diffuse and dislodge the terrorist narrative to formulate an effective and vigilant border management system to stop trespassing of terrorists. Moreover, sharing his personal views on the counter-terrorism strategies in his own country, Sharif briefed the world that the country has taken vital steps to overcome the problem of terrorism

and extremism. He also highlighted the stance of the country towards managing the issues of radicalisation and explained that the start of development projects in war-stricken areas have limited the process of radicalisation and era of development has started to facilitate youth of the war-stricken areas. The following Table 4.8.2 shows use of the discursive categories in the speech by Raheel Sharif.

Analysis of Categories in Speech No.8 at World Economic Forum By Raheel Sharif		
Actor	In- group 04	Out- group 05
Authority	03	
Categorization	05	
Comparison	00	
Disclaimer	01	
Euphemism	01	
Evidentiality	03	
Generalization	03	
Hyperbole	03	
Implication	00	
Irony	01	
Polarization	07	
Presupposition	03	
Vagueness	05	
Victimization	01	

Table 4.8.2 Shows the Analysis of Categories in Speech No. 8

1. Actor

Raheel Sharif, his nation and country are the actors which he has been put under in-group category while out-group category consists of terrorists and their sympathizers.

A. Positive Self-Presentation

Raheel asserts that terrorism has spread as a disease which needs to be cured as soon as possible:

“I must agree with my panellists it’s not only a cancer but it’s the most deadly cancer (Youtube, 2017).” He further underscores that Pakistan as a country has taken conclusive steps to fight terrorism:

“In our case we openly admit that we have the military courts and 170 individuals were convicted and punished (Youtube, 2017).”

B. Negative Presentation of Others

Out-group members are represented with the use of demonstrative pronouns like **“They, There and These”**. This also shows the difference of ideology which separates the two groups. Defining the cunning and clever attitude of the terrorists, he says: “They can do that very quickly and obviously this platform of digital age that is available to them(Youtube, 2017).” Raheel briefs the audience about the malevolent operational techniques of these terrorists as: “They plan their attacks very well, they want glorification, the choice of their target and this madness (Youtube, 2017).”

2. Authority

Raheel Sharif highlights that with the help of God Almighty Pakistan has become successful in establishing peace in the country. He also expresses the fact that due to the positive efforts of the armed forces with the support of the nation, terrorist attacks have subsided. He has also put his nation under the category of authority. Raheel Sharif has emphasized in his speech that the mission to establish peace in the country was very difficult. He has discussed in his speech that the approach of the whole nation not only has enabled it to work for the construction of the country but also has focussed on the provision of all the basic facilities under the theme “Build Better Than Before”. Hence, he has put nation in the category of authority in his speech. “Whole of nation approach that was required and there is full theme to build better than before (YouTube, 2017).”

3. Irony:

Raheel Sharif has mentioned the plan to counter the terrorist insurgency effectively. He has made use of irony in the speech to emphasize the need of action against the terrorist groups. He has used words such as “cold”, “firm” and “gracious” to refer to the action against the terrorist groups. Raheel Sharif has used the category of irony to accuse the terrorist outfits in his speech: “There is a need to deal with the terrorists in a very firm, cold and gracious manner(YouTube, 2017).” He has pointed out the actions taken by his country against the terrorist groups.

4. Evidentiality

Raheel Sharif has presented the evidence of the United Nations resolution to start a joint action at international level to curb terrorism and extremism. While addressing the World Economic Forum, he emphasized the point that international powers should come forward and form an alliance to counter the menace of terrorism. He has mentioned that the platform of United Nations is available for all the nations to discuss their issues and form coalitions to fight the growing threats and problems: “So, at the international level also there is a requirement to have synergy and to have a platform and UN Resolution like 1373 says it all you know(Youtube,2017).” The evidentiality presented in the speech shows the authenticity of the words of Raheel Sharif.

5. Pre-Supposition

Raheel Sharif has made use of pre-supposition in his speech to make the audience believe that terrorism exists due to the ongoing conflicts in the world:

““As various conflicts are going on in the world, I personally feel there is a requirement to resolve these conflicts that would also help the cause (Youtube, 2017).”

The category of pre-supposition shows that the audience is also aware of the fact that conflicts and disputes at the international level are the primary reasons behind the ongoing terrorist activities in the world. The pre-supposition shows that both the speaker and audience are aware of the issue.

6. Victimization

Raheel has put his nation under the category of victimized as they have faced brutal and vicious attacks of the terrorists:

“We had some very horrendous attacks like the school incident in which you know over 135 children were killed and martyred(Youtube, 2017).” Raheel Sharif has used the word “**Horrendous**” to show the victimization of his in-group members. He argued that the attack on APS Peshawar was one of the most dreadful attacks on the soil of the country. He has referred to the terrorist attacks in Pakistan which have disturbed the peace and stability of the country. Raheel has discussed the deteriorating situation of the tribal areas when the militants through their vicious attacks disturbed the peace of the region. People had to move out of their houses to save themselves from

the malicious plans of the terrorists. More than 800000 people had to evacuate from the place:

“Almost 38000 families which is over 800000 people were moved out of an area of 8000 square Km. People were moved out and then we carried out the operation (Youtube, 2017).” He has debated the stance that terrorist attacks caused havoc for the local people including the tribals who had to flee from their houses to protect themselves from the attacks of terrorist groups.

7. Disclaimer

Raheel expresses the fact that the steps taken by the armed forces and government in the form of operations like *Zarb e Azab* against the terrorist groups define the ideological stance of the country. He also expresses the need that terrorism cannot be defeated alone but needs a collective effort both at regional and international levels:

“I am sure that we will have that first one year. But as we said it’s a very deadly thing and we all need to put our act together (YouTube, 2017).”

The use of disclaimer shows that Raheel Sharif defines the ideological stance of his in-group members but sometimes looking at the difficulty of the matter disassociates himself from the statement. Raheel is hopeful to see the first year without the terrorist attack but argues that terrorism is a deadly disease which can only be eliminated through mutual effort of the international community and regional countries.

8. Polarization

Raheel has emphasized the point that terrorist groups make use of technology to spread their ideologies. He has further polarized the fact that the process of recruitment and financing is made through the internet. Raheel Sharif has made polarization by emphasizing that the armed forces can use the medium of technology in a better way to present a counter narrative to take to bits the terrorist narrative. He expresses the point that the medium of technology can be more effective to spread the narrative of counter-terrorism to dislodge the evil ideologies of these terrorist groups. Raheel has discussed that the counter narrative based on the true teachings of Islam and in accordance with the socio-political needs of the country can be an effective tool to disengage the terrorist ideology and establish peace in the country. Raheel also emphasizes the point that the counter narrative should be strong and powerful enough

so that it can rule out the evil notions of the terrorist groups. Raheel Sharif expresses the need of a potent and significant narrative to counter the terrorist ideology.

9. Implication

Raheel does mention the terrorist activities of the groups but he does not name them directly rather leave them on the interpretation of the audience: “these organizations, lots of terrorists and the groups (Youtube, 2017).” He along with member of his in-group ideology clearly know the names but he wants them to implicate by critically analysing the discourse. He keeps on using the word “**Terrorism**” in the speech to address these nefarious people. He also continuously uses the terms “**West and Developed Countries**” rather than openly addressing the countries like USA, UK and other European countries. He says:

“West and the developed countries have the problem (Youtube, 2017).”

He uses these terms to make his audience curious about what he wants to convey and about whom he wants to talk about.

10. Vagueness

While addressing few expressions come out as vague and unclear. The speaker mostly considers them trivial and chooses not to give much information about them. This vagueness appears very clearly in this speech of Raheel Sharif:

“Not that somebody from the cave is just planning it (Youtube,2017).” He also uses this technique in his speech on several occasions:

“If I just say a few words about my country, I think as you said about the digital age, if you talk of human rights I just gave an example, That’s what I was saying that there is whole of nation approach (Youtube,2017).” These are the notable lines which come under the category of vagueness.

11. Categorization

Raheel Sharif has pointed out the reasons as to why terrorist groups indulge in terrorist activities. In the speech he has also claimed that the terrorist groups make use of vicious acts of killing innocent people to become famous. He has categorized terrorists in negatively. Raheel Sharif has used categorization to highlight the negative notions of terrorist groups. This is how Raheel has used categorization to define the evil of the out-group members.

Table 4.9 shows Collective Analysis of Categories of all the Eight Speeches:

D.C	S1		S2		S3		S4		S5		S6		S7		S8		Total
	I	O	I	O	I	O	I	O	I	O	I	O	I	O	I	O	
Actor	28	4	10	6	12	6	16	7	9	5	7	2	11	10	6	8	147
Authority	4		3		1		3		2		3		5		3		24
Evidentiality	4		2		4		3		2		2		3		3		23
Disclaimer	2		1		0		0		1		0		2		1		7
Comparison	0		0		0		1		0		0		1		0		2
Categorization	0		1		0		2		0		0		2		3		8
Victimization	2		0		0		3		2		0		3		1		11
Vagueness	2		0		0		0		2		0		1		2		7
Hyperbole	0		0		0		0		0		0		0		0		0
Irony	0		0		0		0		0		0		0		1		1
Euphemism	0		0		1		1		0		0		0		1		3
Generalization	0		0		1		0		0		1		1		1		4
Implication	0		1		0		0		0		0		0		0		1
Polarization	3		2		2		2		2		0		2		3		16
Presupposition	4		2		0		3		2		2		2		3		18

Table 4.9: Analysis of Categories of all the Eight Speeches

The discursive categories used in all the eight speeches are actively discussed and defined to form the narrative of counter terrorism. Raheel Sharif promoted a vigorous and symbolic discourse to support his actions and to gain a popular support at social and political level. He has used all the selected discursive categories to convey the need of a well- established and prominent narrative to execute the strong action against the terrorist groups and extremists. Moreover, the analysis of all the selected speeches clearly depicts that the speaker has carefully engaged the discursive categories to form a uniform and effective policy to disengage terrorist narrative and counter narratives. However, a comprehensive discussion on the usage of the discursive categories have been presented below to define the popular discourse of the speaker.

4.9 Critical Discussion:

The research study was based on analysing the narrative of counter terrorism as highlighted in the speeches of Raheel Sharif. The Data Analysis section clearly indicates that the speaker has used wide range of discursive categories in the speech. It further reveals that the speaker has used majority of the discursive categories to form public opinion. The Analysis of all the selected speeches shows a standard pattern with the main aim of addressing the country's narrative to counter terrorism. The diction and themes of the selected speeches clearly shows that armed forces along with government are making tireless efforts to outsmart and clean the terrorist outfits and organizations. The Table 4.9.1 shows the mark difference between the usage of discursive categories which in turn define the narrative of counter terrorism.

Raheel Sharif has categorically named both in-group and out-group actors in his speech. He has used discursive category of Actor 147 times in his eight selected speeches, with in –group actors 99 times and out-group actors 48 times. This reflects the ideological stance of the country that it favours his own people including martyrs, heroes and soldiers as in-group while out-group members are called as terrorists, facilitators, enemies, evil and menace. Similarly, the second most used discursive category is Authority, he has used it 24 times in his selected speeches. The use of authority reflects the fact that the steps he has taken are in accordance with the powers who have granted him responsibility to make things good. He has named Allah Almighty, People, Holy Prophet and Zarb E Azab as authority in his speeches. This proves the point that discourses are always controlled by social and political affiliations. Raheel Sharif has used religion and public as a driving force to gain popular support and accreditation to his actions. Authority holds an important position as it allows more control and power to what you are doing. Shakoury (2006) has also used the same pattern of analysing speeches made by the two Iranian presidents to formulate a consensus on critical discourse analysis. Shakoury (2006) has observed that both presidents have used authority 40 and 29 times respectively. It highlights the fact that the speaker has used authority to give legitimisation to his actions. Likewise, Evidentiality is third most repeated discursive category as mentioned in the Table 4.9.1. Raheel Sharif has used Evidentiality 24 times in his speeches which indicates that he has openly named the powers which are involved in the process of decision making. He has categorically named authorities like institutions, Zarb e Azab and other key powers

to provide authenticity to his words. Moreover, institutions like army and government offices are also named under the category of Evidentiality to substantiate his claims.

Similarly, we can see a marked usage of the discursive category of Disclaimer in the selected speeches. By using this discursive category he has openly denounced all the negative activities associated with army and government while, appraisal is given to the positive aspects of the debate. The use of Disclaimer also highlights the fact that the speaker disowns all the negative criticism piled up against the in-group members. Negative actions committed by the out-group members are highlighted through this category. Comparison are always done to give an outright description between the qualities of both in-group and out-group members. Raheel Sharif has used the discursive category of comparison to differentiate between the characteristics of In-group and Out-group members. In-group members are presented as loyal to the country, which include soldiers, martyrs and heroes, while out-group members are compared as militants, menace, evil and murderers in the speech. The use of comparison shows that the speaker has clearly defined the ideology that the in-group members are the restorers and guardians of peace, while out-group members which include all the evil terrorists and institutions working against the country. In the selected Speeches Raheel Sharif has made comparisons as Cadets vs Terrorists, Good vs Evil, and Peace vs Terrorism. The comparison has created an Us Vs Them dichotomy among the recurring in-group and out-group ideologies. The analysis shows that the speaker has clearly defined the ideological biases by calling in-group members as heroes and martyrs, while evil and menace as mentioned in table 4.1.1. Similarly, we can see that the speaker has categorized in-group and out-group members according to their characteristics. The Former are characterised as positive, while the latter are framed in the negative connotation. The Examples of Operation Zarb e Azab and martyrs showcase the positive categorization of In-group Members, while out-group members are categorized negatively by referring to them as terrorists and facilitators as mentioned in the table 4.1.1. Furthermore, Sharif has conveyed the ideological stance of both armed forces and government through his outright and powerful discourse. The analysis further reveals that the speaker has used victimization to highlight and prove the ideological stance that the out-group members are a serious threat to the country in general and public in particular. It also shows an us vs. them dichotomy in the speech. The In-group members are shown as victimized while out-group are shown as the victimizers. The lexical categories used in the selected speeches clearly defines the

ideological stance that the out-group members are terrorists, evil and menace to the social spectrum as clearly defined in the table 4.1.1. Simultaneously, we can observe that the speaker has used rest of the discursive categories multiple times to represent narrative and counter narratives adopted by the government to dislodge the terrorist narrative and stigma.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

This study intended to analyse the narrative of counter-terrorism. To that end, eight speeches delivered by General (R) Raheel Sharif after the APS attack in Peshawar in 2014 were analysed in the context of the relationship between a leader and his nation. The research shows that the speeches delivered by Raheel Sharif give a message to the world that Pakistan is a peaceful country and does not allow anyone to use its territory for evil means. The analysis of the speeches shows that he has discussed the pivotal role of the army in defeating the menace of terrorism. The speaker has clearly made a bifurcation between the armed forces and terrorist organizations, presenting the former as a positive in-group and the latter as a negative out-group. The speeches were aimed at addressing major issues and providing solutions to the long-lasting problems.

Raheel Sharif's speeches not only present just his personal views on terrorism, but also that of the whole nation. He has put forth a powerful stance against terrorism, which is evident from his speeches. In order to study the underlying ideologies in the speeches, the theoretical framework given by Van Dijk (2000) and CDA methodology were employed. The analyses done in the previous chapter show a marked difference between in-group and out-group ideologies. Raheel Sharif has very strongly laid down examples with facts and figures to prove the army's stance against terrorism. The analysis also proves that he has made use of all categories included in the framework to devise his in-group ideology. For instance, he has employed first person singular and plural pronouns such as "I" and "We" in his speeches to identify with the audience. Furthermore, categories like evidentiality, authority, euphemism, hyperbole, implication; disclaimer, comparison, polarization, and pre-supposition have been used in his speeches.

Leaders address social and political matters in order to present themselves as part of society. They use political discourse to influence and hegemonize their audience. Narratives are used by leaders to create a solid foundation of their ideologies. Hyperbole and euphemism can be strategically employed for persuasion. Leaders use historical events to define their ideologies. Narratives are largely formulated in speeches by these leaders to compare the situation of the past with present. The way Sharif has used language to describe the role of the army clearly implies a strong ideology. Relations with other countries have also been defined in his speeches. The

pattern of speeches made by Raheel Sharif also shows that he has used religion and anecdotes to create a relationship with the audience. The analysis shows that operation *Zarb e Azab* and Allah Almighty are used as an authority to strengthen the discourse. Sharif has also employed his point of view on the issues of terrorism and extremism in his speeches. Sharif uses the authority of religion to strengthen his argument. Furthermore, the basic elements of counter-terrorism narrative have also been found in Sharif's speeches. He has openly stated that the purpose behind military operations and relations with other countries was to create a powerful discourse. This stance can also be seen in the glorification of army in the war against terrorism. The role of martyrs, soldiers and development projects is also presented as a contribution to a peaceful environment by the army to fight terrorism. Raheel has used his discourse to create an atmosphere of harmony and peace in the country. His speeches emphasize strong resolve against terrorism and inequality in society. They support the narrative of counter-terrorism defined in the National Action Plan.

5.1 Findings

The research questions intend to find the role of army highlighted by Raheel Sharif as an Army Chief, the language used by him to show his stance against non-state actors, how the narrative of counter-terrorism was redefined, and what the speeches revealed about the army's stance. The first research question was regarding the role of army as highlighted by the army chief in his speeches. The researcher has found that Raheel Sharif has profoundly used a strong and powerful discourse to highlight the role of army. Throughout his speeches, he has presented army as a strong institution which has always prioritized the issues related to the defense and progress of the country. The information related to the military operations, development projects, sacrifices and martyrdom presents a very positive image of the army to the audience. Pakistani society always backs national heroes and martyrs. That is why Army Generals use such fantasized language to influence ordinary people. Furthermore, the radical steps like Operation *Zarb e Azab*, development in the province of Balochistan, and the formation of a strong and concrete National Action Plan has put the army at the forefront.

The second research question intends to know about the language used by the former army chief to illustrate his stance against non-state actors. Raheel made use of strong discourse to address the negative traits of non-state actors. He called them "terrorists", "faceless enemies" and compared them with a "deadly cancer". He uses

such aggressive language to develop hatred and negativity against these out-group members in the minds of the audience. Furthermore, Raheel Sharif has used personal and possessive pronouns to define his own attributes. He has used in most cases demonstrative pronouns to mention the out-group members in his speech. Similarly, he has used positive lexical choices such as martyrs, soldiers, heroes, progress, and development for his in-group members while negative grammatical words like enemies, menace, terrorists, killers, threat, danger, and faceless enemies to define the out-group members. By using positive and negative lexical choices, he has established the stance in the speech that the in-group members are involved in the positive activities and out-group members are the reason behind the growing terrorism in the country. Army and law enforcement agencies are presented in the positive frame while terrorist outfits and organizations are described negatively. The speeches present a stance that the Armed Forces are involved in the development of the country while terrorist outfits are involved in their evil acts to sabotage the peace of the country. Raheel Sharif has addressed all the important elements and issues prevailing in the country. He has discussed the issue of terrorism in his speeches and discussed the evil notions of terrorist groups. Raheel Sharif has referred to the incidents of the past to legitimize his point regarding the military operation against the miscreants. Sharif has used religious terms like “*Zarb e Azab*” and “Allah Almighty” to legitimize his actions and infuse his ideology into the minds of people. The following are the key points indicated by Raheel Sharif in his speeches:

- People embrace and venerate sacrifices made by their heroes and martyrs. Thus, the speaker repeatedly has used the terms “Martyrs”, “Heroes” and “Sacrifices”.
- Relations with other countries are given importance in the speeches. The speaker has presented relations with India as hostile by calling them “enemies”. Afghanistan has been termed as a “Brotherly” Islamic country, and China as a “Close Friend”.
- The speaker has put terrorist groups, organizations, and countries involved in the acts of terrorism as entities which are anti-state in the negative category while law enforcing agencies and departments are put under positive in-group category. This clarifies the stance that terrorist groups are against the peace and sovereignty of the country.
- Raheel Sharif has highlighted the core objective that is the country is fully engaged in countering the menace of terrorism and extremism. Armed Forces, with the full support

of the people and government have disengaged the terrorists' funding, support, and tactics.

- Terrorism is presented as a “Deadly Disease” which has tarnished the social fabric of the country. The speeches also highlight terrorism as something which is a hurdle, an impediment and a disgrace to the development and progress of society.
- Raheel Sharif has acknowledged the role and sacrifices of the martyrs and soldiers. He has repeatedly acknowledged the participation and sacrifices of the common people in the war against terrorism.
- Raheel Sharif has also highlighted the stance that terrorist funding, ideology and financing needs to be curbed in order to curtail their evil activities.
- He has also highlighted the role of Army, Law Enforcement Agencies and other government departments to counter the terrorist threat.
- Raheel Sharif has also suggested that the lack of basic opportunities such as food, education, employment and rights are the real issues, which these terrorist groups cash in order to spread radicalization among the youth.
- The speeches present the overall stance that the process of development and revamping of social conditions like infrastructure, development projects and economic policies is of paramount importance.
- Pakistani people have good relations with the military and law enforcement agencies. They believe that the army is their last hope to get protection from terrorism and a guarantor of a bright future. The speaker has repeatedly used this stance to get massive public support for his actions and views.
- The speaker has used the discursive categories to show positive self –representation of In-group members and negative representation of Out-group members. Furthermore, it has been observed that the speaker has made use of most of the categories as specified in the theoretical framework given by Van Dijk. The speaker has used these categories to create a strong difference between in-group and out-group ideologies.

The Third research question intends to know how the narrative of counter-terrorism was redefined in the speeches of Raheel Sharif. Raheel Sharif favoured a strong narrative to counter the menace of terrorism. Military operations, establishment of military courts, change in educational curriculum, and a counter ideology to the problem of terrorism all were presented to redefine the narrative. He has also claimed that the state needs to address the main causes of terrorism such as lack of education,

poverty, inequality, and injustice. A strong narrative is important for breaking the evil nexus of facilitators, abettors, financiers and sympathizers of terrorist groups. The killing of innocent people in terrorist activities around the country created a need to redefine the narrative which was inefficient and powerless. A significant change has been found in Sharif's speeches from the old narrative which focused on dialogue and no military action. Religion is used to formulate narrative by drawing parallels between current operations like *Zarb e Azab*, and wars conducted by the Holy Prophet (S.A.W) to quell discord.

The last question intends to know the stance underlined by Raheel Sharif through his speeches. Like many other speakers, Raheel highlighted positives of his argument, and negatives of out-group members. The analysed speeches show a strong stance of zero-tolerance concerning terrorism. The need for proper development, effective punishment and strong action to be devised against these terrorists is evident in the speeches. The speaker fuses major crises in the country such as terrorism, poverty, and underdevelopment into a single narrative for the audience. This strategy is used to elicit maximum response from the public. The speeches show how speakers change their tone and linguistic choices to gain sympathy of audience. The stance evident in the speeches clearly implies that terrorism can only be defeated by breaking the circle of the financiers, abettors, facilitators and sympathizers.

5.2 Recommendations

CDA is the study of the relationship between language and social context to which it is linked. It questions the use of language in order to show how power and dominance is enacted in the society. This study aimed at analysing the narrative of counter-terrorism in the speeches of General (R) Raheel Sharif. The words he used in his speeches completely back the narrative of counter-terrorism as defined in the National Action Plan. This research also gives insight into the social and political issues raised in the aftermath of terrorist attacks. It underlines the close relationship between the speaker and audience in order to study existing ideologies. This work will be of significance in the following areas:

- This research is pivotal for the researchers who are interested in analysing issues of political discourse, terrorism, power, dominance and inequality.
- Furthermore, the observations and experiences of Raheel Sharif in the war against terrorism are significant for scholars interested in analysing terrorism.

- The counter narratives adopted by Pakistan, for example dismantling terrorist financing, registration of madrassahs, curbing of terrorist groups, change in curriculum, and reforms at the educational level are significant for the policy makers and others concerned in studying the subject of terrorism.
- This research is also suitable for analysts who wish to study, compare, and analyse the counter narratives adopted by the previous governments and authorities.
- Additionally, the operational methods and strategies adopted by Raheel Sharif can also be adopted by researchers as a case study to develop insight into the topics of power and terrorism.
- Researchers from other countries beset by terrorism such as the USA and the UK can get help from the study and adopt it as a policy to form their narratives of counter-terrorism. This research provides the opportunity for future researchers to see how political choices are made to produce a strong discourse on terrorism. The study of narrative can also be helpful for the future researchers who wish to produce discourse on the topic of terrorism. The study of narrative can also be helpful for the students of defence and strategic studies, as it will allow them to understand and evaluate Pakistan's ideology in the war against terrorism.

To sum up, the narrative of counter-terrorism can be studied by future researchers through the analysis of the speeches of Raheel Sharif. Future researchers, including the students of defence and strategic studies, peace and conflict studies, linguists, scholars and analysts can comprehend the narrative of counter-terrorism through this study.

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