MAKING SENSE LANGUAGE OF LEADERSHIP AND PAKISTANI IDENTITY THROUGH MR. IMRAN KHAN'S DISCOURSE

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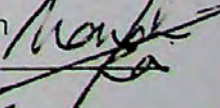**FAISAL IRFAN**

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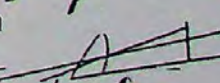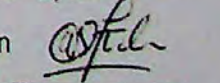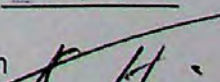*(candidate for the degree of)* **PhD**

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Abstrak

Bahasa adalah komunikasi satu arah antara penutur dan pendengar. Tambahan pula, bahasa dan politik berjalan seiring, kerana mempelajari dan memahami genre politik adalah untuk mempelajari bahasa yang dicipta untuk mengkodifikasi, melanjutkan dan menghantar wacana politik dalam mana-mana teks/ceramah. Bahasa pemimpin politik mungkin merupakan salah satu jenis wacana yang paling mencabar, kerana ia biasanya dicirikan oleh penggunaan teknik dan strategi yang berbeza yang membolehkan pemimpin politik memujuk orang ramai tentang ideologi dan pemikiran mereka untuk pembinaan identiti. Dalam bahasa kepimpinan, strategi untuk meyakinkan khalayak supaya mempercayai apa yang diperkatakan oleh seorang pemimpin adalah sangat penting. Oleh itu, mengimbangi strategi persuasif yang baik dan penyampaian ucapan dapat menjadikan pemimpin politik menghasilkan ucapan persuasif yang berkesan untuk mengekalkan identiti mereka. Tesis ini mengkaji peranan bahasa kepimpinan dan identiti Pakistan dalam wacana lisan bekas Perdana Menteri Pakistan Encik Imran Khan. Justeru, kajian kualitatif ini meneroka bekas Perdana Menteri Pakistan, bahasa kepimpinan Encik Imran Khan dan identiti Pakistan melalui wacana pertuturannya. Secara lebih khusus, ia melaporkan kajian yang meneroka bahasa yang digunakan semasa kepimpinan beliau di peringkat nasional dan antarabangsa. Data kajian telah dikumpul dengan teliti daripada kandungan sepuluh wawancara antarabangsa dan sepuluh ucapan antarabangsa Encik Imran dan dianalisis berdasarkan kerangka teori model tiga dimensi Fairclough. Penemuan menunjukkan bahawa Encik Imran menggunakan strategi linguistik dan retorik dalam menunjukkan kepimpinannya di Pakistan dan di luar negara seperti yang dicerminkan dalam wacana lisan. Retoriknya yang memujuk dan kuat dengan jelas memberitahu dunia tentang pendiriannya. Dia menggunakan kata ganti nama inklusif dengan agak berlebihan untuk memujuk masyarakat dunia tentang cara mengurus isu ekologi dan global. Kajian ini menyiasat bukan sahaja cara identiti dibina dan dipertahankan melalui bahasa, tetapi juga kepentingannya dalam membentuk imej profesional Encik Imran Khan. Kajian ini menyumbang kepada pemahaman yang lebih mendalam tentang bahasa kepimpinan, identiti Pakistan dan daya pemujukannya yang mencadangkan bagaimana ia perlu dipertingkatkan untuk pemahaman yang lebih baik terutamanya dalam kalangan penulis skrip masa depan, pelajar bahasa Inggeris dan pelajar sains politik.

Kata Kunci: Bahasa kepimpinan, Identiti Pakistan, model dimensi Fairclough, Wacana politik, Wacana lisan

Abstract

Language serves as a primary medium of communication between the speaker and the listener. Furthermore, language and politics go hand in hand, as learning and comprehending political genre is to learn a language created for codifying, extending and transmitting political discourse in any text/talk. Language of political leaders might be one of the most challenging types of discourse, because it is usually characterised by the use of different techniques and strategies that allow political leaders to persuade people of their ideologies and thoughts for the construction of identities. In language of leadership, the strategy of convincing the audience to believe on what a leader says is very crucial. Therefore, balancing good persuasive strategy and speech delivery can make the political leaders produce an effective persuasive speech to maintain their identities. The present thesis examines the role of language of leadership and Pakistani identity in the spoken discourse of former Pakistan Prime Minister Mr. Imran Khan. Thus, this qualitative study explores the former Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mr. Imran Khan's language of leadership and Pakistani identity through his spoken discourse. More specifically, it reports the study which explores the language used during his leadership nationally and internationally. The data of the study were carefully collected from the content of the ten international interviews and ten international speeches of Mr. Imran and analysed based on the theoretical framework of Fairclough's three-dimensional model. Ten participants were selected for in-depth interviews to explore the opinions of Pakistani people on Mr. Imran Khan's language as a political leader. The findings indicate that Mr. Imran employed linguistic and rhetorical strategies in demonstrating his leadership in Pakistan and abroad as reflected in the spoken discourse. His persuasive and strong rhetoric clearly informed the world of his standpoints. He uses inclusive pronouns rather excessively to persuade the world communities on how to manage ecological and global issues. The study investigates not only the way identities are constructed and defended through language, but also their significance in shaping the professional image of Mr. Imran Khan. The study contributes to a deeper understanding of leadership language, Pakistani identity and its persuasiveness suggesting how they should be enhanced for better understanding particularly among future scriptwriters, learners of English language and political science students.

Keywords: Leadership language, Pakistani Identity, Fairclough's dimensional model, Political discourse, Spoken discourse

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

―We speak our identities" (Mishler, 1999)

1.1 Background of the Study

Humans live in a society and use language to communicate, share their knowledge and express themselves. The language is commonly defined as means of expression. However, it is not only confined to the means of expression or communication but it is also associated with the identity of the speaker. The languages the individuals use tend to form particular impressions of their identities. According to Mishler (1999), every individual speaks his or her identity in the talks. Whatever a person says helps to recognise who he or she is. He suggested that identity is always dialogic and relational, a complex of partial sub identities rather than a unitary monad. More a verb than a noun, it reflects an individual's modes of adaptation, appropriation, and resistance to sociocultural plots and roles.

Language is the multi-layered means of communication through which political figures influence and persuade the people. The selection of words and their combinations are loaded with social, political, racial and economic background (Cui, 2023). Linguistic choices by the speaker play a significant role in understanding the underlying meanings in discourse.

Van Dijik (1997) asserted that political leaders or other groups of people try to spread their own ideologies to the common people and struggle to win their hearts by gaining trust and political goals. To win the hearts of the people leaders should supposedly use carefully selected words to spread their intensions and convince common people.

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Appendix A

List of International Speeches

1. Prime Minister's Address as Guest of Honour at the China International Import Expo Shanghai (Nov 5, 2018)
   http://www.pakbj.org/pdf/Prime%20Minister%27s%20Address%20as%20Guest%20of%20Honour%20at%20the%20China%20International%20Import%20Expo%20Shanghai.pdf

2. Pakistan PM Imran Khan warns India of retaliatory action (Pulwama attack) (Feb 19, 2019)
   https://indianexpress.com/article/pakistan/pakistan-pm-imran-khan-pulwama-attack-crpf-kashmir-blast-jawans-killed-india-5591184/

3. PM Imran Khan Complete Speech at World Government Summit in Dubai (Feb 10, 2019)
   https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zg480jTX3Q0

4. Address by Prime Minister Imran Khan at opening ceremony of Second Belt and Road Forum (Apr 26, 2019)
   http://en.ce.cn/main/latest/201904/26/t20190426_31950072.shtml

5. Statement by Prime Minister Imran Khan at SCO Council of Heads of State Meeting (June 14, 2019)
   https://www.pmo.gov.pk/pm_speech_details.php?speech_id=100

6. Prime Minister Imran Khan's Key Note Speech At World Economic Forum Davos (Jan 22, 2020)
   https://insaf.pk/news/imran-khan-speech-world-economic-forum-2020

7. PM Imran Khan speech at 20th anniversary of SCO (Sep 17, 2021)
   https://www.globalvillagespace.com/pm-imran-khan-speech-at-20th-sco-summit-full-text/

8. PM Imran Khan's speech at 76th session of United Nations General Assembly (Sep 25, 2021)
   https://arynews.tv/pm-imran-unga-speech-76-session/

9. Prime Minister Imran Khan Addresses OIC Summit 2021 (Dec 19, 2021)
   https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=--AB5_EPlus

10. PM Imran Khan speech in OIC Summit, 2022 (Mar 22, 2022)
    https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Bo00oxr3o6k

Appendix B

Transcript Sample of Prime Minister Imran Khan's Address at Opening Ceremony of Second Belt and Road Forum

Excellency President Xi Jinping,

Esteemed World Leaders,

Distinguished Participants,

Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is my privilege to speak at the Second Belt and Road Forum for International Cooperation.

I congratulate President Xi Jinping and the Government of People's Republic of China for organizing this important event.

As the Belt and Road transforms from vision into reality, this gathering of partners and friends affords a useful platform for taking stock and setting the agenda.

In a world of geopolitical uncertainty, of rising inequality and barriers to trade, the BRI offers a model of collaboration, partnership, connectivity and shared prosperity.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

BRI marks a new and distinct phase in the onward march of nations of the world along the path of globalization.

The presence of so many world leaders today is proof that we choose hope over despair and cooperation over confrontation.

122 States and 49 International Organizations have signed on to BRI's vision and this is historic and monumental development.

Distinguished Participants,

Pakistan is proud to have partnered and pioneered with China in this transformational endeavor.

We have been among BRI's earliest and most enthusiastic proponents.

The China-Pakistan Economic Corridor, one of BRI's major components and one of its earliest manifestations, has made substantial progress.

Pakistan's energy supplies have increased massively. Our critical infrastructure gaps are being plugged.

Gwadar, once a small fishing village, is transforming rapidly into a commercial hub. The Gwadar Airport will be the largest in the country.

Together, Pakistan and China are entering the next phase of CPEC, with greater emphasis on socioeconomic uplift, poverty alleviation, agricultural cooperation and industrial development.

We are expanding the frontiers of knowledge through closer engagement and deeper cooperation in the fields of education, innovation and technology.

Along the length of the Corridor, Special Economic Zones are set to come up, offering opportunities for investments for Pakistani, Chinese and foreign entrepreneurs.

Supplementing the next phase of CPEC, we are signing an expanded Pakistan-China Free Trade Agreement.

We are changing Pakistan's economic landscape and Insha-Allah the destiny of our people. I want to thank China and its leadership for their unwavering support for Pakistan.

Our deep-rooted friendship, partnership and brotherhood with China remains strong, resilient and unbreakable, standing tall in the face of every challenge. I take this opportunity to invite all of you to avail of our liberal foreign investment regime and participate in our economy, in particular infrastructure, railways, dams, IT and manufacturing.

Distinguished Participants,

As the Belt and Road Initiative takes a further concrete shape, I suggest we direct our efforts and focus on the peoples of our countries, and towards addressing impediments on their way to sustainable growth. Some of these points have already been touched upon by President Xi Jinping in his speech. I suggest the following:

Firstly, to undertake joint efforts to mitigate climate change. In our Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province, we successfully planted a billion trees. President of Chile has already elaborated on this. We launched a nationwide project to plant 10 billion trees. I suggest we launch a joint project to plant 100 billion trees in the next two years, so that we can mitigate the effects of climate change for our coming generations.

Secondly, to establish a BRI Tourism Corridor to promote people-to-people contacts and inter-cultural understanding.

Thirdly, to establish an office of Anti-Corruption Cooperation to combat the scourge of white-collar crime. White-collar crimes are devastating the world.

Fourthly, to create a Poverty Alleviation Fund that supplements national efforts in the fight against poverty and malnourishment. In Pakistan, we have recently launched a targeted poverty alleviation programme called Ehsas, or feeling. The aim should be to emulate China's spectacular success in lifting 800 million people out of poverty within a matter of decades.

Fifthly, to take concerted efforts to further liberalize trade and investment flows encouraging our private sector and businesses to collaborate in projects.

Distinguished Participants,

China's marvelous civilization has given the world wisdom, harmony and prosperity. It has gifted to humanity, great inventions, art and aesthetics and a culture of compassion and co-existence.

As a famous Chinese proverb says, _The Ocean is vast because it rejects no rivers.'

Pakistan will continue to work on the basis of mutual respect and equal opportunity, with China and other BRI partners, for a better future of our people.

Pakistan will partner with all those who share the vision for a peaceful and prosperous world.

We will work together to realize a future of hope and happiness.

Thank You!

Appendix C

List of International Interviews

1. PM Imran khan Complete Interview to America, Big Announcement And Decision Interview Release (Jun 21, 2021)
   https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-2dDObK92ac&t=491s

2. Prime Minister of Pakistan Imran Khan's Exclusive Interview with French Journal Le Figaro (Feb 15, 2022)
   https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CAYcFWRnwmE&t=299s

3. Prime Minister of Pakistan Imran Khan's Exclusive Interview on CNN with Fareed Zakaria (Feb 14, 2022)
   https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_QTE2DqS6I0&t=199s

4. Prime Minister of Pakistan Imran Khan Exclusive Interview with RT Worlds Apart with Oksana Boyko (Feb 22, 2022)
   https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ik0OptRL1iI&t=517s

5. Exclusive Al Arabiya interview with Pakistani PM Imran Khan (February 17, 2019)
   https://english.alarabiya.net/features/2019/02/17/WATCH-Full-interview-and-transcript-of-interview-with-Pakistan-s-PM-Imran-Khan

6. Full interview: Pakistan Prime Minister Imran Khan | CNBC International (Jan 23, 2020)
   https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4NbSeKMCWtg&t=195s

7. Opinion | Opinion Q. and A.: Imran Khan Urges a New U.S.-Pakistan Bond (June 25, 2021)
   https://newsontheflipside.com/analysis-comment/opinion-opinion-q-and-a-imran-khan-urges-a-new-u-s-pakistan-bond/

8. Exclusive Interview of PM Imran Khan to the Director of Fudan University China (Feb 10, 2022)
   https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5C2pFYGGV04

9. Prime Minister Imran Khan's Full interview to CNN Anchor Becky Anderson –(Sep 16, 2021)
   https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XvO4mCq3E5U&t=79s

10. In an exclusive interview with Deutsche Welle Editor-in-Chief Ines Pohl (Jan, 19, 2020)
    https://www.dw.com/en/exclusive-pakistani-pm-imran-khan-says-escalation-of-iran-conflict-would-be-disastrous/a-52021938

Transcript Sample of Prime Minister of Pakistan Imran Khan's Interview with Al Arabiya

Al Arabiya: Mr. Prime Minister, thank you for being with us.

Imran Khan: My pleasure.

Al Arabiya: Mr. Prime Minister, the Saudi Crown Prince's first stop in his Asian tour was Islamabad and he will be treated as a leader, beginning with yourself receiving him in your own personal car and ending with being decorated with Pakistan's highest medal. How do you see that?

Imran Khan: Let me first say that the people of Pakistan have always, always felt this special relationship with Saudi Arabia and that relationship has two dimensions to it. One is Mecca and Medina. So whatever happens, Mecca and Medina, you know, is in their hearts and Saudi Arabia is that country. So every Pakistani Muslim wants to go to Mecca and Medina. So therefore, that's one relationship. So whatever happens, we will always have this relationship of the heart with Saudi Arabia. Secondly, Saudi Arabia has stood by Pakistan in some of our most difficult times. Most of the times we have created our bad times because of our bad policies but then there have been other times when devastation, war, earthquake, floods, you know, natural disasters that occur… always Saudi Arabia has been a friend. So we have this special relationship with Saudi Arabia. And to have the crown prince coming to Pakistan, I can assure you that he will get the best welcome, people are really looking forward to his visit.

Al Arabiya: Mr. Prime Minister, more than nine MoUs have been signed during the crown prince's visit which is worth about $32 billion and investments everywhere in Pakistan. Where is the Saudi-Pakistani relationship going in the new era as the foreign minister described it?

Imran Khan: What we want to do, why we say it's a new era and time for a new level of relationship is because we want to have and play to each other's comparative advantage. Pakistan has a different type of advantage to Saudi Arabia. We have probably, even today, the most educated Muslims in the world are Pakistanis. Most of them – 8-9 million Pakistanis – are abroad, expatriate Pakistanis. But amongst them, are scientists, in every field Pakistanis excel working abroad. So we have human capital in every field, so Pakistan is the only Muslim country that had the capacity and ability to build a nuclear bomb, nuclear reactors, missile technology. So, in a lot of ways Pakistan is ahead of the other Muslim countries.

Saudi Arabia has capital, it has oil. Pakistan has entrepreneurship, businessmen in different areas. We have labor. So if we play on each other's advantage, the different advantages both countries have, then both countries can benefit.

Al Arabiya: What level do you want to reach when you say you want to raise it to a higher-level?

Imran Khan: Higher level means trading and investing in each other, where both countries benefit. If you have strong trading partners then both countries can. I remember in the European Union, when I was in the university in England when the EU was formed, but all the member states the standard of living went up because they opened up the trade because the more they traded the more the standard of living went up. Similarly I think Saudi Arabia and Pakistan need to look beyond the relationship they had in the past we trade, we invest with each other, we do joint ventures and I think it will raise the standard of living in both countries.

Al Arabiya: Pakistan has invited Saudi Arabia to be a part, as a third-party, in the CPEC project. Why choose Saudi Arabia? What role do you want Saudi Arabia to play as a third-party?

Imran Khan: Well, what is CPEC? CPEC is basically a connectivity with China. China now is the fastest growing economy in the world. At the rate China is growing, in the next 10 years it will even take over the US. It's the second biggest economy right now. It's predicted to be the biggest economy. CPEC connects Pakistan with China. Along the CPEC, we are in the process of developing special economic zones, that's where Saudi Arabia stands to benefit, by participating in these special economic zones. Because then it has this access to China, benefitting from these special economic zones with special benefits. So, that's what Pakistan wants to do, wants to invite its friends from UAE and Saudi Arabia to invest here.

Al Arabiya: What kind of benefits are we talking about here? What will they gain?

Imran Khan: I think these special economic zones will have operations that are isolated from the bureaucratic red tapes, it'll just be easier to invest. The facilities will be provided there. Concessions, maybe lower taxes, so all that framework is being developed. So the idea is that, here's an opportunity for Saudi Arabia. And then they have the biggest market of China.

Al Arabiya: Basically one of the main concerns of any investors in entering any markets is the taxes. Are there any plans or promises to reduce the tax rates for Saudi investors who are willing to invest in Pakistan?

Imran Khan: Well, let me just give you my philosophy. How has Pakistan changed when you say Naya Pakistan, how has that changed? Unfortunately for Pakistan from the seventies onwards, a socialist mindset came in. The one aspect of socialism is great where you feel that growth should be equitable. It should not be rich getting richer and poor getting poorer but the wealth creation should be spread out so that you lift people from the bottom tier. But the other problem we had with the sort-of socialist government we had was in the seventies was that it nationalized everything. That nationalization affected our growth rate, it affected wealth creation, affected the way Pakistan was rising above. We had entrepreneurs, banking families, we were growing faster than any other country in the region. The thing that affected Pakistan the most of all was this mindset that making money was a sin. That it was a crime to make big profits. It's a crime to make profits when you don't pay your taxes and when a society doesn't help in lifting its poor people up.

Like China, China lifted 700 million people out of poverty in 30 years. They made money but that money was shared to lift the bottom people up. Unfortunately in Pakistan, this mindset came that it was, you know, it was a crime to make a lot of money. So that affected the whole way, how the bureaucracy functioned, the political class functioned, and the whole atmosphere was against profit making. What we want to do know is to allow investors to make money. We would want them to make profits. Because if they made profits, more people will come and invest. I mean, you don't do business for charity, you do business to make money. So we will allow and create the conditions so people can make money.

Al Arabiya: Sorry to take you back to taxes again. How about for the Saudi goods, they're also high. Sometimes reaching from 20-50 percent high. Are there any plans to change the rates?

Imran Khan: So I'm still… I come back to it. Clearly we want them to make money. They won't be able to make money if the taxes are too high. So that will be part of it and other ways where we will facilitate them. The whole idea is to facilitate our investors. And when the investors do well, other people will flock to invest in your country.

Al Arabiya: There are some voices who say that Prime Minister Imran Khan chose Saudi Arabia to be his first international because he was, or Pakistan was, desperate for loans. How do you challenge that?

Imran Khan: No, that's true. I mean, the Pakistan we inherited, what the previous government left behind was bankrupt. We had a really bad balance-of-payments situation. We would have defaulted. We didn't have enough money to pay or service our debts or for our imports. And when one is in that situation, one goes to one's friends. So Saudi Arabia, UAE and China, they were three countries, and I must say that none of those three countries let us down. They helped us. That's

what friends are for. Of course you don't want to keep going back to friends for loans. What we hope now is that the reform process which we have set in will gradually enable us get out of this debt-trap and Pakistan will, Inshallah, make such growth rate, wealth creation that we will never have to go and borrow money.

Al Arabiya: How does Pakistan, both government and the people, how did they react towards countries that reject Pakistan for loans and financial support?

Imran Khan: Actually, we only went for three countries. We only decided to go to China, because China has stood with us through all our bad times. Both UAE and Saudi Arabia, there are a lot of Pakistanis working in both UAE and Saudi Arabia who have in the past… maybe not in the UAE in the past 10 years, but in the old times have always been good to us. So we only went to these three countries. All three countries, I must say, must thank them because they didn't let us down.

Al Arabiya: Did you go with confidence that you wouldn't be let down?

Imran Khan: Well, you never know. I've only been in this chair for six months. So I can't say what others would have thought. But we worked out which other countries over difficult times would help us. Our cabinet all felt that these are the three countries we should ask for and all three countries gave us loans and also we are in future investment projects with them.

Al Arabiya: Back again to what you mentioned about the missiles and the military field, as Saudi crown prince is coming to Islamabad, will there be more, military-wise, relations or MoUs between Pakistan and Saudi Arabia?

Imran Khan: Saudi Arabia, with Mecca and Medina there, I can assure you that-forget our military- the people of Pakistan would want to defend Saudi Arabia if anything happens to them. That you can rest assured. But you see for Pakistan, the role we want to play now is that we want to play the role of a country that brings other countries together.
This whole division in the Muslim world, Muslims fighting Muslims. You just look back in the last 15 years, the devastation that has taken place in the Muslim world. The last thing we want is more conflicts. Pakistan wants to play the role, and Pakistan can play the role because Pakistan has probably one of the best militaries. We are a nuclear armed country, we have a military that just won us a very difficult war on terror where almost 70,000 Pakistanis lost their lives. Great intelligence agencies and a strong military, but we want to play the role of bringing countries together. We would like to play a role with Saudi Arabia of putting out fires in the Muslim world, getting countries together. It's unfortunate, the bad blood between Saudi Arabia and Iran, we would like to play a role there. Yemen, definitely, it's a conflict that is consuming resources. It could go on and on and a lot of human suffering.

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Just like now, Pakistan is playing its role in bringing an end, or trying to bring this reconciliation in Afghanistan with helping the US and the Taliban get on the dialogue table, getting a peace process going and getting a government somehow of political reconciliation to end this conflict of 17 years. I think that is the role which we want to play.

Al Arabiya: Will we be seeing JF-17 in the Saudi airports, maybe?

Imran Khan: Well let's see... we are quite proud that we manufactured this jet and yes let us see it depends on the crown prince and the Saudi government.

Al Arabiya: Now Mr. Prime Minister, in an early statement you said reforms are painful. What pain Pakistanis will face in your version of reforms?

Imran Khan: Always reforms are painful. A problem Pakistan faces is that we have huge deficits which we inherited from the previous government. Record fiscal deficit, record current account deficit. And when you have that sort of deficits, and to correct that imbalance, you have to make reforms in cutting down your fiscal deficit. You have to reform your tax machinery, you have to be able to raise your revenue and cut down you expenditure to balance your budget and that is painful. You know you cannot have reforms without pain. Hoping to have reforms without pain is like, as someone said, someone wanting to go to heaven without dying.
You have to have pain when things are out of balance. But you know, if people feel that they will for a while go through this pain and the pain is shared and that's it's not just that the poor people are hurting and a small elite is enjoying life, if everyone sacrifices during the bad times and they feel if they make these painful reforms then life will get better, then people will accept the pain.

Al Arabiya: Aren't you afraid to face rejection from old mindsets, people who are afraid of what is new coming?

Imran Khan: Yes there is a possibility you know when you have pain people, especially the status quo the main resistance we will face is from the status quo which means the people who have been benefitting from the corrupt system. They are already making a lot of noise right now. It is a small class but it is powerful and they will try everything to sabotage the reforms. But you see I feel that the people of Pakistan are ready, they have seen what is happening in Pakistan in the last ten years where corruption has destroyed state institution, when we have gradually gone deeper and deeper into debt. Pakistan debt is unprecedented. So to correct that every country which wants to correct that situation has to go through a painful period of reforms. When you go through this pain you can make it easier by people sharing the pain. The only challenge you take on the status quo is that you do not allow them to cash in on this situation where people are going through pain and then normally they would reverse the process. So then, you know, you have a

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revolution people get tired of the system, they revolt. But sometimes there is a counter-revolution and the status quo comes back. What we have to be careful with is the people that brought Pakistan to this state should never ever be able to come back and again to what they did to our country.

Al Arabiya: How clear is the vision to the new generation, the majority of the Pakistani people? How are they understanding it, how are they taking it?

Imran Khan: I think this is the strength of Pakistan. We have the second youngest generation in the world. When you have 60 percent of Pakistanis under the age of 30 that means that you have an idealistic population. The youth is what made me win the elections against the status quo. And it is the youth which we will inspire and mobilize to help us in this reform program. I think that already they are behind us and that once we start a reform program we will communicate to the public exactly what steps we are doing. And if you have the young people with you… the forefronts of change, anywhere in the world, are the young people.

Al Arabiya: Since Mohammed bin Salman is in Pakistan, how similar is Pakistan to the Saudi Vision of 2030?

Imran Khan: So we are on the same page as far as corruption goes. Prince Mohammed bin Salman is trying to modernize Saudi Arabia much needed reforms and I have shared some of the things we are doing, and what he is doing. I think it is very impressive we wish him all the luck because we want Saudi Arabia to get stronger, and a reformed Saudi Arabia with universities and colleges and young people who can compete with the world in the 21st century.

Al Arabiya: Are there any mutual understandings on both reform plans for both countries?

Imran Khan: You see we are different in the sense that Saudi Arabia is a rich country. They have this oil wealth. Pakistan is actually a very rich country but at the moment, having a very huge population we are two hundred and ten million people. Saudi Arabia is a much smaller country but with this huge population we have different challenges. Our biggest challenge is to develop our human beings. Saudi Arabia has different challenges. I think what they need is to make people wean off just living off oil, and that is what I think is happening by what Prince Mohammed is doing in Saudi Arabia.

What we have as a different challenge is that we have to develop our human resources, spend money on education, on health, on skills, skill development so that young people can be employed. We want employment for our young people. Then we want to develop our resources, tourism being one. We have vast mineral resources, but we haven't had the investment in excavating these mineral resources so we have different challenges but the idea is the same to reform the countries.

Al Arabiya: So actually the corruption is really giving you a hard time?

Imran Khan: No corruption, the reason why countries lag behind other countries is corruption. Because what corruption does is it destroys the state institutions. If I am in power, I cannot be corrupt unless I destroy the institutions below me. So in destroying state institutions, that is the only way I can make money. But not only do I make money, but everyone else makes money. People get robbed. And so the money that is supposed to be spent on human beings, gets siphoned off into foreign bank accounts and offshore accounts.

So that is how countries fall behind and then merit disappears. There is no meritocracy because if I want to rob a country, I need weak institutions. I can only have weak institutions, if I put corrupt and inefficient people on top of these institutions. So as the Chinese say, the fish rots from the top. Once you have a corrupt elite, then they corrupt the whole system and that destroys the potential of a nation.

Al Arabiya: Islamabad, the city I have seen is so beautiful the streets are so beautiful, they are so clean it has great weather as we were talking earlier. What does Pakistan need to attract tourists? To this beautiful country?

Imran Khan: Pakistan is going to attract tourists because the world has been changed by social media. Pakistan already has in the last three years, our tourism has doubled, tripled although it is not much from world standards. But compared to what it was three years ago, it has gone up three times and it is because of social media. What happens is people come here and we have probably the best mountain scenery in the world. You cannot compare Switzerland to Pakistan. Pakistan's mountain scenery is unpatrolled. What happens is, and these places were not known to the tourists. So when people go to these places they have these mobile phones which have changed the world and social media, they post these pictures on the Facebook and then people see these northern areas and other places and that is what have sparked off tourism, we haven't promoted tourism in Pakistan. It is just that Facebook and social media, because of that tourism has tripled.

But what now we are going to do is have proper tourism, organized tourism, where we will be able to display on our websites all the tourist sites. We have religious tourism in Pakistan, we have Buddhism, Buddhist sites, Sikh, probably the most sacred sites of the Sikh religion, of Hinduism, of Sufism, and their ancient sites of these religions.

We have the best mountain scenery, coastal tourism, a thousand kilometers of coastal untouched coastal tourism. And then we have historical tourism like Pakistan has one of the oldest civilizations. The indus valley civilization is five thousand years old. We have cities like Lahore and Karachi, not Karachi, but Lahore, Multan, and Peshawar are some of the oldest cities. It offers different things to different tourists but we have never promoted it before. But now we are

organizing it and will promote it properly through our website to be able to book places where they want to go. They will know exactly… whoever is interested in a particular type of tourism, we will be able to provide them guides.

Al Arabiya: Minister Fawad Chaudry, the minister of information, gave a very interesting statement when he said: Pakistan is changing from the haven of terrorists, to the haven of tourists. How far do you think you can succeed in implementing that slogan?

Imran Khan: With things changing in Afghanistan, this area will become as peaceful as it always was before the Afghan jihad started. Until the soviets came into Afghanistan and then the Mujahideen went and trained and went and fought in Pakistan in the 80s. Before that Pakistan was one of the most peaceful countries in the world we never had terrorism in Pakistan we never had this sort of extremism which came after the 80s but specifically after 9/11 but that was because what had happened in Afghanistan. As Afghanistan moved towards peace, I think this area will settle down and become how it was before the 80s.

Al Arabiya: Mr. Prime minister, going across quickly the Pakistani media, there is a lot of harsh criticism, self-criticism of the Pakistani government. Don't you think that the Pakistani media plays a great role in giving the wrong impression about Pakistan?

Imran Khan: It is unfortunate but what has happened in Pakistan is that we had this big split in Pakistan. Since 2014 public opinion became divided into two camps – one was this reformed camp which wanted change, led by our political party, and the other one was what the old status quo, what the old political parties and their supporters.
So this divide took place. In the last few years, it has been a big struggle. Very rarely is there a democratic change like there was in Pakistan. Normally if you have an entrenched status quo, you cannot remove it through democratic means: it is either a bloody revolution, or a military coup. This is the only time that the political struggle removed the status quo. So we still have the remnants of the other camp, as I said counter-revolution, they want the power back. So you see this acrimony in the media but that won't last long. I give it maybe six months, a year, a year and half and then things will settle down.

Al Arabiya: And probably they will be busy with something more useful for the country?

Imran Khan: It will settle down because you know as Pakistan moves ahead. Pakistan is now moving ahead, investors are coming in here visa regime has opened up, 60 countries can get visa on arrival, which never happened before.

Al Arabiya: Including Saudis?

Imran Khan: Including Saudi of course, of course Saudi. And so things are changing here now. So these remnants of the status quo will be left far behind.

Al Arabiya: Mr. Prime minster, my favorite question is for the last of course. You were sportsmen; you were captain of the Pakistani cricket team. You were a sports legend. I attended one of your games when I was a small kid. Now from a sports legend to a political leader, is politics a fast run or an accurate strike?

Imran Khan: Politics is a struggle. There are two types of politics- One you can do is the normal type of politics which happens in England, you know, very civilized politics, you go there and say nice things and so on….you know … it is a civilized politics where you have conservatives.. You know one point of few and then you have another point of view then they debate and then they go home. Pakistan is a struggle between …you Pakistan is a state where an elite, a corrupt status quo had captured Pakistan which is why a rich country like Pakistan is in this economic situation. So therefore, here it poses struggle, I struggled for 22 years, and I would not have been able to struggle had I not learnt how to struggle on the sporting field. Sports teaches you how to fight, it teaches you how to struggle, it teaches you how to win, and then it teaches you how to take a loss… how to lose with dignity and how to learn from defeat. So, no other…none of my opponents were equipped like I was to fight, to struggle. Because I learned it the hard way: international sports is ruthless, you are up against the best in the world. So I had that struggle behind me otherwise I would not have been able to struggle in politics like I did for 22 years.

Al Arabiya: Mr. Prime minister thank you so much for this great interview.

Imran khan: Thank you

Appendix E

Invitation for Participation by E-mail

Dear Sir/Madam

I am Faisal Irfan a PhD candidate in the School of Languages, Civilisation and Philosophy in the Universiti Utara Malaysia (UUM). My research title is, ―Making sense language of leadership and Pakistani identity through Mr. Imran Khan's Discourse". If you wish to participate in this study, I will appreciate your assistance. You are requested to specify a suitable time; I will be morally obliged to you.

Thank You.

Faisal Irfan

Mobile phone: +923216282909

E-mail: faisal.irfn@gmail.com

Appendix F
Participant Consent Form

I have been asked to participate in the research (in-depth interviews) on the title of ―Making sense language of leadership and Pakistani identity through Mr. Imran Khan's discourse". I hereby declare that I agree to participate in an interview session that will be conducted by Faisal Irfan. I am well informed about the purpose of the interview. I am fully aware that the interview session is taped recorded and confidential.

Participant Name:

Respondent Code/Pseudonym:

Signature:

Date:

Appendix G

In-depth Interview Questions for Pakistani Respondents

1. How do you feel about Mr. Imran Khan's language as a Prime Minister?

2. What leadership communication style do you think Mr. Imran Khan is using?

3. What do you think about his way of speaking when he gives a speech and responds in an interview?

4. Do you find Mr. Imran Khan's language appropriate as a leader?

5. What do you think about the way of speaking of former Prime Minister Imran Khan after being forced to leave the government?

6. Do you think the vision of Mr. Imran Khan is still alive and apparent in his language particularly in the current political scenario?

Appendix H

Form of Validation

This form is intended to verify interview transcriptions. Read the following statement and sign your name, indicating your approval please.

I hereby declare that I have proofread the interview transcription given to me. I have agreed and approved the interview transcription.

Name:

Signature:

Date:

How the Pakistani military feel about Imran Khan after protests?

I and many others had supported Imran Khan, hoping for a change, but now, I feel betrayed by the very person I had championed. His irresponsible and inflammatory rhetoric fuelled the hatred and violence that has rocked this country

4 June 2023

By Farhat Javed,

BBC Urdu, Islamabad