# FRAME ANALYSIS OF INSTITUTIONAL POLITICAL DISCOURSE: THE CASE OF PAKISTAN'S SPEECHES IN UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY

**[1]Fizza Batool**
*PhD Scholar, Department of English, Fatima Jinnah Women University, Rawalpindi.*
*Email: malikaramzan@yahoo.com*
**[2]Dr. Fakhira Riaz**
*Assistant Professor, Department of English, Fatima Jinnah Women University, Rawalpindi.*
*Email: drfakhirariaz@fjwu.edu.pk*

*Abstract*

*Leaders from all over the world use the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) as a vital forum to discuss important global issues, state their nation's position, and have diplomatic conversations. The addresses to the UNGA are very important to Pakistan since these show the nation's foreign policy priorities and how it has responded to regional and international issues. The study entails the frame analysis of speeches produced in UNGA sessions. This study examines the frames and their framing functions in speeches given to the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) by different well-known Pakistani leaders. For this purpose, five speeches from the year 2020 to 2024 are selected as the study sample using the purposive sampling method. The research follows qualitative approach and content analysis method is used to interpret the data. Frame analysis method proposed by Boydstun, et al., (2014) and Entman (2004; 2008) is used as the theoretical framework. The findings of the study show that all the framing functions are not usually found in the composition of a single frame. However, it is found that security & defense frames perform the function of problem definition; law, order, crime & justice frames focus on causal interpretation; morality frame is used to make moral evaluation and finally, policy prescription and evaluation frames propose treatment recommendations for the solution of problem.*

*Keywords: United Nations, General Assembly, State Representatives, frame analysis, framing theory, framing functions, terrorism, climate change.*

## Introduction

The United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) provides an international forum for the representatives of member states to discuss emerging global issues, voice their state's stance, and engage in diplomatic conversations. The addresses to the UNGA are very important since these show the nation's foreign policy priorities and how it responds to regional and international issues. Heads of state from different nations participate in a debate held annually by the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA). Every year, a number of statesmen from various nations speak on behalf of their nations and and highlight various topics and issues. The prime minister of Pakistan gives his speech annually, just like the leaders of other countries. Up until now, a number of Pakistani presidents and prime ministers have addressed the UN General Assembly. Given the shifting political landscape in South Asia, Pakistan's position remains increasingly significant. Pakistan's fight against terrorism has been resolute. Pakistan is regarded as an effective player in the region as a result of all these roles. Therefore, the present research conducts the frame analysis of the discourse produced in United Nation General Assembly by Pakistani representatives.

A country is an important unit of analysis for media, which acts as an image agent in forming perceptions of a country (Gartner, 1994). Pakistan is always described along with war-torn countries such as Afghanistan, Iraq, Somalia, and Syria according to an annual ranking of countries (East West Communications, 2011). This study aims to explore the framing perceptions built about different issues by Pakistani representatives in UNGA sessions. An interpretive analysis is performed keeping in view the framing analysis theories. Maintaining favorable foreign policy and good diplomatic relations with the international community is considered a priority for most countries around the globe. However, Pakistan has a different type of relationship with each country which is discussed in UNGA speeches with reference to major issues.

## Significance of the Study

This research provides a thorough examination of how language is used to frame important topics and how political leaders utilize language to interact with audience around the world, influence opinions abroad, and promote their nation's standing internationally. Additionally, by analyzing speeches given at a global forum such as the UNGA, the study advances the expanding field of political discourse analysis.

The study provides a unique perspective on how Pakistani political leaders have handled international diplomacy over the years. The speeches from 2020- 2024 reveal both the continuity and changes in Pakistan's diplomatic rhetoric. Furthermore, it sheds light on the evolving role of Pakistan in the international community, examining how its leaders have used speeches at the UNGA to address both regional and global challenges, such as the Kashmir conflict, terrorism, climate change, and the protection of human rights.

## Research Question

The study aims to answer the following research questions:

1. Which type of frames and their framing functions are found in the speeches of Pakistani representatives in UNGA sessions?

2. How do frames operate in shaping public perceptions about important issues in UNGA speeches?

3. Do we find all the framing functions in the composition of a frame?

## Framing Theory

Framing is a process of presenting a narrative to a target audience that promotes a desired interpretation of perceived reality by highlighting some aspects or issues while disregarding others and making connections among them (Entman, 2007). Communication scholars have conceptualized framing as a dichotomy between "frame in communication or media frame" and "frame in thought or individual frame" (Druckman, 2001, p. 228). The former usage refers to the style of presentation employed by media outlet or news channels to communicate information about an event to the audience. The role of information disseminator is important in deciding which aspects of the reality are highlighted for the public and these decisions are evident in forming public opinion. The frame in thought points out what is considered most appealing and influential aspect of reality in the opinion of the receiver of information (Chong & Druckman, 2007). The term 'frame' can be better understood keeping in mind the contrast between the processes of frame building and frame setting (Scheufele, 1999). Frame building refers to how specific frames are chosen in communication by the speakers and frame setting discusses the influence of media frames on the individual frames and the psychological processes —that is, the interplay between media frames and individuals' background knowledge (de Vreese, 2005).

A framing effect is caused by variations in how a given piece of information is presented in a public discourse (Scheufele & Iyengar, 2011). The perception is reference-dependent (Kahneman, 2003). Therefore, how any piece of information is going to be interpreted is determined by its contextualization. In recent years, the distinction between an equivalence frame and an emphasis frame has become clear. Kahneman and Tversky (1984) worked on the category of equivalence frame which shows how different objectives can be achieved by communicating the exact same information with completely contrastive perspectives. Emphasis frames, in contrast, refer to descriptions of the issue that emphasize its particular aspects—for example, moral versus economic arguments for or against health care (Entman, 1993).

**Literature Review**

Recent research in political discourse has emphasized the significance of word choice in shaping the effectiveness and persuasive power of political speeches. Language is recognized as a central tool in constructing political realities and influencing public opinion (van Dijk, 2020). In his study, Al- Harahsheh (2013) has also laid stress on the power of political language. Therefore, the most recent speeches delivered in United Nations General Assembly sessions are selected for the present work. A corpus analysis of UN General Assembly Addresses was conducted by Nicole Brun-Mercer (2018). It investigated the linguistic features of United Nations (UN) General Assembly (GA) General Debate addresses delivered during 2015. The range of work on UNGA discourse of Pakistani representatives includes the study by Sultan, Afsar and Lashari (2019) who compared two speeches of PM Nawaz Sharif in UNGA sessions of 2013 and 2014. Major themes in Imran Khan's UNGA Speeches were explored by Ali, Rashid and Abbas (2020). Ali (2021) examined the critical role of language and use of emotive language in Imran Khan's speeches delivered in UNGA during 2019 and 2020.

Research by Akhtar and Haider (2021) analyzed the speeches of Pakistani leaders, revealing patterns in the way issues of national security and regional peace were framed. Their research proves the potential of software-based analyses in identifying key linguistic markers in political rhetoric. The use of computational tools has become a growing trend in recent research. Modern tools enable researchers to analyze word frequency, concordance, and collocations, providing insights into the linguistic patterns of speeches. Recent studies, such as those by Nisar and Khan (2022), have used software to analyze the language of political speeches.

**Research Methodology**

To investigate the research questions, a qualitative content analysis methodology is used. Content analysis is an important technique that helps to make sense of the data and make it more analyzable. Krippendorf (1989) has pointed out that conventional content analysis has mostly included content and context but other circumstances like the institutional and cultural aspects have also become part of the formal definition over the years. These sub-categories of conventional content analysis serve the purpose of this research as well because it not only looks at the content (*framing*) but also significant aspects behind the creation of that content (*frame-building*). This research aims to conduct framing analysis of UNGA speeches produced by representatives of Pakistan and the constructions of frames by examining the framing functions.

**Sample of the Study**

The sample of the present research comprises United Nations General Assembly speeches delivered by the representatives of Pakistan in the recent years. Being a member state of United Nations, Pakistan takes part in the General Debate of the United Nations General Assembly every year but the data is collected from the year 2020 to 2024 only. Purposive sampling method has

been used in this study because the speeches of Pakistan delivered during the span of five years are included in the study.

In this study, the researcher takes primary data, e.g., original transcripts of speeches of Pakistani representatives in UNGA sessions. Data was collected from the official website of United Nation General Assembly General Debate https://gadebate.un.org/en/sessions-archive. United Nations Dag Hammarskjöld Library official website https://ask.un.org/ also provides access to comprehensive historic information and statements made by member states during the General Debate of the United Nations General Assembly. Session information is also available with each statement. For the latest General Debate statements, the continually updated research tools are also available on this website.

**Theoretical Framework of the Study:**

Proper theoretical framework plays a vital role in forming the sound basis of this study. First step of this study is the identification of frames used in speeches of Pakistani representatives in UNGA. Semetko & Valkenberg (2000) divided framing analysis into two broad approaches: inductive and deductive. The inductive approach begins with a well-defined framing theory, which aims to identify all possible frames (Gamson, 1992; Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). In contrast, the deductive approach underpins the analysis with strong assumptions, presupposing a particular frame and then figuring out its presence in the data (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). A deductive approach is used for this content analysis, which helps to organize the available data in few categories (Vaismoradi, Turunen, & Bondas, 2013; Elo & Kyngäs, 2008).

This study follows the deductive approach as it builds on the media framing theory proposed by Boydstun, et al., (2014) in his work "Tracking the Development of Media Frames within and across Policy Issues". He has presented a unified coding scheme for content analysis across issues, called Policy Frames Codebook. This codebook is used as a toolkit for qualitative content analysis of UNGA speeches delivered by representatives of Pakistan. It contains fourteen categories of frame "dimensions" (plus an "other" category) that can be applied to any genre of communication. These frame categories are used for the purpose of frame identification at the first step.

The second step is based on Entman's (2004; 2008) contributions and applies a qualitative methodology for the analysis of framing functions in the speeches of Pakistani representatives in UNGA sessions. Robert M. Entman defines the frame as a narrative, result of a process of selection, which promotes a particular interpretation: "Framing is defined as selecting and highlighting some aspects of a situation to promote a particular interpretation. The interpretation generally comes through a narrative that encompasses an interrelated definition of the policy problem, analysis of its causes, moral evaluation of those involved, and remedy" (Entman, 2008, p.90).

The framework proposed by Entman originated in 1993 when he defined framing and provided examples of this practice from pre-war debate surrounding the U.S. policy towards Iraq in the first gulf war during 1990s. "Definition of problems, causal analysis, evaluation and remedy are framing functions that, interrelated, compose the frame, the narrative. The objects of framing may be issues, events or actors, whether they are individual leaders, groups or nations (Entman, 2004, p.23). After identifying different types of frames in the sample, the four framing functions are explored in detail. Entman (2004; 2008) has proposed four framing functions in his frame analysis method which are elaborated in the table below.

| Problem Definition | The first function of frames, also known as master framing, defines the main problem and why is it important to be discussed. It helps readers to identify the meaning or the purpose of news or an event. |
|---|---|
| Causal Interpretation | This functions discusses the causes, factors or events responsible for creating a problem or issue. It also indicates the source of the problem. It tells about how and why a particular event occurs. |
| Moral Evaluation | This function of frames talks about moral considerations or obligations. Moral values are evaluated to legitimize things and frames offer a moral or ethical judgment about the causes, actions, and consequences involved. |
| Treatment Recommendation | This is the last framing function. It deals with what solutions are given to resolve any issue or problem or what suggestions can be put forward. Suitable policies and actions are proposed to address the issue. |

Table 1. Entman's Framing Functions

**Procedure of Data Analysis and Presentation of Data:**

In terms of data presentation and its analysis, the present research is based on fifteen pre- designed framing dimensions, such as economic, morality, and politics, developed by Boydstun et al. (2014). To find out the proposed frames from the sample, the analysis begins with the classification of themes that are recurrent in the speeches. Afterwards, different frame types are identified in the discussion of emerging themes. The analysis of UNGA speeches was longitudinal to find out how themes developed during the span of five years. When looking at speeches over a period of time, numerous themes may arise, each being framed in a particular manner. As David Levin wrote, "The reason themes [are] taken as a measure of the presence of frames [is] the difficulty of finding a completely developed frame in a single press release. [Frames] are built across a series of news media articles, and not all elements are present in any single article". (Levin, 2005)

For Kuypers "a theme is the subject of discussion, or that which is the subject of the thought expressed. The frame, of course, is suggesting a particular interpretation of the theme" (Kuypers 2009, p.302). Kuypers' themes would be equivalent to Entman's objects of framing: issues, events, actors (whether they are individual leaders, groups or nations), about which there are also frames (particular interpretations). Each theme has its own frames.

After identifying frame types in the discussion of themes, Entman's (1993) framing functions are examined. These functions begin with the definition of the problem and interpretation of its causes, leading to moral judgement and recommendations for resolution of issue. The framing functions are explored in UNGA speeches delivered by Pakistan. As the speeches are large chunks of data that cannot be analyzed as a whole in one go, therefore, the important text from speeches is quoted and given in bold, italics, and inverted commas with proper in-text citations. For the identification of speeches selected from the period of five years, they are coded as [Pak, 2020], [Pak, 2021], [Pak, 2022], [Pak, 2023] and [Pak, 2024] and referred to in data analysis section.

**Analysis of UNGA Speeches by Pakistan**

This section entails the analysis of speeches delivered by Pakistani representatives in UNGA sessions. For the purpose of frame identification, a table is given under each theme mentioning the

types of frames employed by the speakers. Afterwards, the role of these frames in proposed framing functions is explored.

**Frame Analysis of Israel Gaza Conflict**

The frame analysis of the first theme is conducted in this section. Israel Gaza conflict is the first theme that has emerged from the data.

**1. Problem Definition**

Pakistan frames the Israel–Gaza situation primarily as a security and defense problem involving occupation, human rights violations, and military aggression against Palestinians. By repeatedly using the security and defense frame, Pakistan defines the conflict as an existential threat to Palestinian people's safety and regional stability. The expression, *"Palestine remains a festering wound"* [Pak, 2020] clearly illustrates the intensity of this issue. PM Shehbaz Sharif highlighted this conflict as a major challenge for the world by saying that, *"Today, we are facing most daunting challenges to the world order: Israel's genocidal war in Gaza"* and then he continues, *"Today, I stand before you to express the searing pain and anguish of the people of Pakistan, at the plight of the people of Gaza. Our hearts bleed, as we witness the tragedy unfolding in the Holy Land, a tragedy that shakes the very conscience of humanity.* [Pak, 2024]

**2. Causal Interpretation**

Through the law, order, crime and justice frame used frequently in 2024, Pakistan attributes the root cause of the conflict to Israeli violations of international law and failure to implement UN resolutions. It is stated, *"The failure to implement UN resolutions has emboldened Israel. It threatens to drag the entire Middle East into a war, whose consequences could be grave and beyond imagination."* [Pak, 2024]

The political frame links the persistence of the crisis to international political bias and selective application of justice, suggesting that geopolitical interests of major powers sustain the occupation. The statement, *"The blood of Gaza's children stains the hands of not just the oppressors, but also of those who are complicit in prolonging this cruel conflict"* [Pak, 2024], shows that Israel is not the only actor responsible for the suppression of Palestinians, rather the silence of international community is also against humanitarian values.

**3. Moral Evaluation**

Additionally, the morality frame presents it as a moral and religious duty to stand against brutality and injustice, further shaping the issue as a matter of moral responsibility under humanitarian and Islamic principles. This frame explicitly portrays the Palestinian cause as a moral imperative, casting Israel's actions as unjust and inhumane while portraying Pakistan's stance as aligned with justice, human rights, and Islamic solidarity.

This moral positioning reinforces the perception that supporting Palestine is not just a political choice but a principled obligation. PM Shehbaz Sharif posed serious questions in front of world leaders when he said, *"Can we, as human beings, remain silent while children lie buried, under the rubble of their shattered homes? Can we turn a blind eye to the mothers, cradling the lifeless bodies of their children? This is not just a conflict; this is systematic slaughter of innocent people; an assault on the very essence of human life and dignity.* [Pak, 2024]

**4. Treatment Recommendation**

The policy prescription and evaluation frames in all years propose concrete actions — enforcing UN resolutions, ending occupation, halting human rights violations, and supporting the establishment of a Palestinian state along 1967 borders with East Jerusalem as the capital. PM said in his speech, *"Pakistan continues to support a two- state solution – in line with UN General*

*Assembly and Security Council resolutions, within the internationally agreed parameters, pre-1967 borders, and Al- Quds Al- Sharif as the Capital of a united, contiguous and independent Palestinian state."* [Pak, 2020]

The security and defense frame also implies the need for protecting Palestinian civilians, preventing escalation, and ensuring security guarantees. The speeches continuously present suggestions for the peaceful solution of this conflict, hence stating *"We must work for a durable peace through the Two-State solution. We must seek a viable, secure, contiguous and sovereign State of Palestine, based on the pre-1967 borders, with Al-Quds Al-Sharif as its eternal capital. And to advance these goals, Palestine must also be immediately admitted as a full member of the United Nations!" [Pak, 2024]*

Pakistan's framing in the Israel–Gaza theme uses security and defense to define the threat, law and order to describe Israeli aggression, morality to enforce moral obligation, and policy prescription to recommend diplomatic and legal remedies. This integrated framing positions Pakistan as both a defender of international law and a champion of justice for oppressed people around the world.

**Frame Analysis of Kashmir Dispute**

The frame analysis of the second theme is conducted in this section. Kashmir dispute is the second theme that has emerged from the data.

**1. Problem Definition**

Pakistan frames Kashmir as a persistent human rights crisis involving widespread repression, civilian casualties, and denial of self-determination. Therefore, security and defense frame is used throughout the speeches in UNGA. It is continuously portrayed as a regional security threat with the potential to destabilize South Asia and trigger conflict between two nuclear-armed states. It is stated, *"For over 72 years, India has illegally occupied Jammu and Kashmir against the wishes of the Kashmiri people…..There will be no durable peace and stability in South Asia until the Jammu and Kashmir dispute is resolved on the basis of international legitimacy."* [Pak, 2020]

India's brutalities in the form of abduction, curfew, torture, communication blackout, extra-judicial murders and draconian laws are described by giving statistical evidence. Pakistani representatives repeatedly discuss this issue in UNGA by saying, *"New Delhi has also embarked on what it ominously calls the "final solution" for the Jammu and Kashmir dispute. It has undertaken a series of illegal and unilateral measures in Occupied Jammu and Kashmir since 5th August 2019; it has unleashed a reign of terror by an occupation force of 900,000; - it has jailed senior Kashmiri leadership; - imposed a clampdown on media and internet."* [Pak, 2021]

Fairness & equality frame defines the core problem as an imbalance of rights between Kashmiris and the Indian state. The frequent use of Law, order, crime & justice Frame casts the problem as unlawful occupation and human rights abuse. Constitutionality & jurisprudence frame describes the inhuman restrictions on the people of Kashmir. This combination defines the problem in both territorial security and human rights terms, giving it a sense of urgency. This problem definition consistently connects the Kashmir issue to global peace, human dignity, and the credibility of international law.

**2. Causal Interpretation**

Speeches identify India's political and military actions, e.g., violation of Article 370, removal of Kashmir's special status, military occupation, the deployment of security forces and demographic changes aimed at altering Kashmir's identity, as the major causes of this conflict. In his speech, the then Prime Minister said, *"The objective of this brutal compaign is to impose what the RSS-BJP regime has itself called the 'final solution' for Jammu and Kashmir….This is an attempt*

*to obliterate the distinct Kashmiri identity in order to affect the outcome of a plebiscite envisaged in the Security Council resolutions."* [Pak, 2020]

Constitutionality & jurisprudence frame is used to accuse India of violating UN resolutions and constitutional norms, including the 4th Geneva Convention. Pakistan's viewpoint is put forward through political frame and the dispute is linked to India's political motives. Its reluctance to engage in meaningful dialogue is also an important factor in delaying any peaceful solution. Ultimate causes are linked to deliberate violations of international law and political suppression, placing responsibility squarely on India. It is said in UNGA, *"This repression is accompanied by illegal efforts to change the demographic structure of the occupied territory, and transform it from a Muslim majority into a Muslim minority."* [Pak, 2021] By attributing direct responsibility to India, Pakistan strengthens its case for international intervention, while framing the conflict as a product of deliberate policy choices rather than inevitable tensions.

The speakers laid stress on the injustice in the international system, highlighting the failure to implement UN resolutions. It was made clear that powerful countries are intentionally reluctant to stop India from the violation of human rights and humanitarian laws. Prime Minister said in his speech, *"It is unfortunate, very unfortunate, that the world's approach to violations of human rights lacks even-handedness, and even is selective. Geopolitical considerations, or corporate interests, commercial interests often compel major powers to overlook the transgressions of their "affiliated" countries. Such double standards are the most glaring in case of India, where this RSS-BJP regime is being allowed to get away with human rights abuses with complete impunity." [Pak, 2021]*

### 3. Moral Evaluation

Morality frames are central and Kashmir dispute is portrayed as a struggle for justice, equality, and self-determination — values that align with both Islamic solidarity and universal human rights. India's actions are condemned as violations of international law and moral principles in these words: *"The most recent example of Indian barbarity was the forcible snatching of the mortal remains of the great Kashmiri leader, Syed Ali Shah Geelani, from his family, denying him a proper Islamic funeral and burial…. Devoid of any legal or moral sanction, this action was even against the basic norms of human decency"* [Pak, 2021]. In this way, Pakistan positions itself as a protector of the oppressed and a voice for justice on the global stage.

This moral evaluation invites sympathy from the international community and connects Kashmir to broader anti-colonial and human rights movements. Kashmiris are appreciated for their determination as, *"Inspired by the legitimacy of their epic struggle, they remain defiant. Their heart-wrenching stories remind us that behind every statistic lies a human life, a dream deferred, and a hope shattered."* [Pak, 2024]

### 4. Treatment Recommendation

Pakistan consistently recommends immediate implementation of UN Security Council resolutions by making use of political frame. State representatives propose solutions within the UN framework including international mediation. Policy prescription & evaluation frame calls for implementation of UN resolutions and holding plebiscites. Security & defense frame maintains deterrence while seeking diplomatic resolution. Policy reforms ensuring Kashmiris' rights and autonomy are repeatedly recommended in UNGA speeches.

Diplomatic pressure is built on India to reverse unilateral actions, hence stating that **"The UN Security Council must secure the implementation of its resolutions on Kashmir. The UN Military Observer Group for India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP) should be reinforced. Global**

**powers should convince New Delhi to accept Pakistan's offer of mutual restraint on strategic and conventional weapons."** [Pak, 2023] These solutions are framed as legal, moral, and necessary to ensure regional peace and uphold the UN's credibility. It is stated that *"To secure durable peace, India must reverse the unilateral and illegal measures, it has taken since August 2019 and enter into a dialogue for a peaceful resolution….in accordance with the UN Security Council resolutions and the wishes of the Kashmiri people."* [Pak, 2024] Public opinion frame is used to assert the importance of the wishes of the residents of Kashmir.

Across years, framing functions proposed by Entman (2008) dominate the discourse, ensuring the Kashmir issue is viewed as both a security threat and a human rights cause. Causal interpretation consistently blames Indian policy decisions, reinforcing a clear narrative of responsibility. Treatment recommendations rely heavily on international law and UN mechanisms, linking Pakistan's stance to global governance norms.

## Frame Analysis of Rising Terrorism

The frame analysis of the third theme is conducted in this section. Rising terrorism is the third theme that has emerged from the data.

### 1. Problem Definition

Pakistan consistently defines terrorism as a security threat to the country, region, and global peace by employing security & defense frame. Since Pakistan has become an ally in the international war against terrorism post–September 11, it has become a prime target of terrorism itself and has witnessed a serious deterioration in law and order conditions, with suicide bombings; bomb blasts at public gatherings, mosques, and other holy places; and attacks on the military forces (Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development and Transparency, 2008). Terrorists are declared a threat for UN peacekeeping as well, for example, *"Pakistan is the principal victim of terrorism"* [Pak, 2022] and then, in the next year's speech, *"Today, UN peacekeepers face complex and unprecedented challenges especially from criminal and terrorist groups, as in the Sahel"* [Pak, 2023]

In recent years, it also broadens the definition to include the economic impact of terrorism, showing how it undermines development. For this purpose, economic frames are used as in the statement *"We have paid a heavy price - 80,000 of our brave soldiers and civilians have been martyred…..Our economy has suffered a loss of $150 billion"* [Pak, 2024].

### 2. Causal Interpretation

The causes of terrorist activities are often attributed to **external factors**, such as instability in neighboring regions, foreign occupation in conflict zones, foreign interference and the spread of extremist ideologies. Therefore, external supervision and reputation frame is used to shed light on the background of relations with neighboring countries, e.g., Afghanistan. Political frame usage also urges Pakistan's firm stance to deal with terrorist organizations and connects terrorism to unresolved political disputes. PM said that *"Pakistan condemns the cross- border terrorist attacks against Pakistan by the TTP, Daesh and other groups operating from Afghanistan. We have sought Kabul's support and cooperation to prevent these attacks. However, we are also taking necessary measures to end this externally encouraged terrorism."* [Pak, 2023]

Another cause of terrorism is discussed in the speeches as Prime Minister Imran Khan said, **"In the aftermath of 9/11 terrorist attacks, terrorism has been associated with Islam by some quarters. This has increased the tendency of right-wing, xenophobic and violent nationalists, extremists and terrorist groups to target Muslims"** [Pak, 2021]. It was made clear that terrorism has been falsely linked to Islam by extremist organizations and Pakistan is an advocate for brotherhood as an Islamic state.

### 3. Moral Evaluation

Pakistan takes a strong stance, condemning terrorism as a violation of human rights, international law, and moral principles. It stresses the collective moral duty of states to reject double standards and to address both the symptoms and the root causes of terrorism. The speeches morally reject terrorism in all its forms, stressing that it violates international laws and human values. While morality frame is not explicitly used in speeches every year, the condemnation is implied in references to international law. Pakistani representatives are hopeful for the eradication of terrorism and ensure their confidence in international bodies like UN. It is stated that, "***The UN Global Counter Terrorism Strategy has recognized these emerging threats. We hope the Secretary-General's report will focus on these new threats of terrorism posed by Islamophobes and right-wing extremists***" [Pak, 2021]

Political frame is used to emphasize the commitment and strong will to eliminate terrorism, as it is said *"Or armed forces have broken the back of terrorism within Pakistan. Yet, we continue to suffer terrorist attacks….We are determined to defeat such cross-border terrorism"* [Pak, 2022].

### 4. Treatment Recommendation

The policy prescription & evaluation frame is central, with Pakistan urging coordinated international action, intelligence sharing, financial tracking of terrorist funding, and addressing root causes like poverty and political grievances. Pakistan's role in fighting extremism and terrorism has been an interesting area of inquiry for foreign countries and these speeches present an opportunity to put forward serious measures to address this grave issue as it is said, *"We also need to oppose "state terrorism"; address the root causes of terrorism, such as poverty, injustice and foreign occupation; and distinguish genuine freedom struggles from terrorism. Pakistan proposes the creation of a Committee of the General Assembly to oversee the balanced implementation of all four pillars of the Global Counter Terrorism Strategy"* [Pak, 2023].

Pakistan keeps on mentioning its concern to face the challenge of terrorism with the help of international community, as the PM said, *"We are determined to eliminate this threat as well, through our comprehensive national effort, "Azm-e-Istehkam" (Resolve to Promote Stability). And, we will work collectively with the international community to combat all forms of terrorism and reform the global counter-terrorism architecture"* [Pak, 2024]

Overall, Pakistan's framing of terrorism serves a dual purpose: it legitimizes its counter-terrorism policies domestically and internationally, while also projecting itself as a responsible actor advocating for a comprehensive, fair, and cooperative global response. This aligns with both its security interests and its diplomatic image- building goals.

## Frame Analysis of Climate Change

The frame analysis of the fourth theme is conducted in this section. Climate change is the fourth theme that has emerged from the data.

### 1. Problem Definition

Pakistan frames climate change not just as an environmental issue, but also as a **security problem** by using security and defense frame. Throughout the speeches in UNGA, climate change and global warming are discussed with much attention. It is stated by the PM Imran Khan, "***This year, I must again reiterate the threat posed to mankind due to climate change. Unprecedented fires in Australia, Siberia, California, Brazil; unprecedented floodings in various parts of the world; record temperatures even in the Arctic Circle. This should make us all worried for our future generations***" [Pak, 2020]. This issue is again prominent in next year's speech as well.

*"Climate change is one of the primary existential threats that our planet faces today"* [Pak, 2021].

In 2022, Pakistan experienced the great flood which perished 1500 people and damaged 13,000km of metalled roads. Economic frame was used to communicate the estimated loss to the country. PM Shehbaz Sharif began his UNGA speech by saying that *"I have come here to explain first hand, the scale and magnitude of this climate catastrophe that has pushed one-third of my country under water in a super storm that no one has seen in living memory"* [Pak, 2022]. This flood posed an **economic challenge** by impacting growth, agriculture, and livelihoods. The use of **capacity & resources frame** highlights institutional gaps and resource constraints as part of the problem definition. The problem is defined in terms of national security and economic stability using economic frame. Pakistan treats climate change as a matter of state survival rather than a peripheral environmental matter.

Climate change is framed as a threat, impacting Pakistan's national security, economy, public safety, food availability, and overall standard of life. Likewise, UNGA speech of 2024 presented it as a pressing challenge for vulnerable countries disproportionately affected despite contributing minimally to global emissions. It stated that *"Apart from conflicts, the 21st Century has brought a cascade of crises including the reversal of development and the mounting impact of climate change"* [Pak, 2024]

### 2. Causal Interpretation

The occurrence of economic and capacity & resources frame also refers to a few possible causes, for example, inadequate global climate financing, inequities in emissions responsibility, and the role of industrialized nations in driving climate crises. At the same time, security & defense frame imply that the cause lies in insufficient remedial resources and infrastructure, making Pakistan more vulnerable to climate-related disasters.

Developed countries are held responsible for global industrial emissions, unsustainable development patterns, and the failure to honor climate financing commitments. Pakistan clearly stated that it is not responsible for the devastating consequences of global warming but it is compelled to face the heavy damage caused by it. It is said that *"Pakistan's contribution to carbon emissions is minimal, but it is one of those countries most affected by climate change.* [Pak, 2020]. The same concern is highlighted in later speeches as well, as PM said *"People in Pakistan ask why, why has this happened to them?"* [Pak, 2022] Until recently, it kept on recurring in UNGA speeches, for example, *"Pakistan emits less than 1% of carbon globally; yet we have paid a very heavy price for no fault of ours. This is unfair in any calculus of global justice. We must uphold the axiom: the polluter pays!"* [Pak, 2024] The narrative emphasizes structural inequities in climate responsibility and resource distribution.

### 3. Moral Evaluation

The morality frame evaluates the issue through ethical lenses, arguing that climate change is a matter of urgency, particularly keeping in view Pakistan's low emissions but high vulnerability. PM said, *"We have decided to take the lead as we consider addressing climate change a universal responsibility"* [Pak, 2020]. This statement positions Pakistan as a responsible country that is focused with the fulfillment of its social and moral duties. It is stated that *"Being fully aware of our global responsibilities, we have embarked upon game changing environmental programmes: reforesting Pakistan through our 10 billion tree tsunami; preserving natural habitats; switching to renewable energy; removing pollution from our cities; and adapting to the impacts of climate change"* [Pak, 2021]

The public opinion frame reinforces moral legitimacy by portraying climate action as a major need of the hour. Pakistan underscores the ethical obligation of major emitters to take greater action, highlighting the injustice faced by developing states that bear the brunt of climate impacts without commensurate resources.

### 4. Treatment Recommendation

The policy prescription & evaluation frame is the main channel for proposing solutions which included enhanced international cooperation, climate adaptation funding, advanced technology transfer, national policies on renewable energy and disaster resilience. The quality of life and health & safety frames are linked to national policies aiming at achieving environmental sustainability, and improved living standards.

Proposed solutions include urgent climate finance for adaptation and mitigation, capacity-building for vulnerable nations, investment in renewable energy, technology transfer, and integrating climate action into security and development policies. It is stated that *"Commitments made through the Paris Agreement must be fulfilled, in particular the commitment to mobilize US$ 100 billion annually as climate finance"* [Pak, 2020]. Pakistan showcases its expectations for the compensation of loss caused by the floods in 2022 by claiming that they are coping the crisis they have not created. PM said that *"Pakistan looks forward to fulfilment of commitments made by our development partners to support the achievements of the SDGs and climate goals, including a new annual goal beyond $100 billion in climate finance"* [Pak, 2024]. Pakistan repeatedly calls for fulfilling pledges under the Paris Agreement and enhancing global cooperation through equitable frameworks.

Overall, Pakistan's climate change framing integrates security & defense**,** economic, morality and capacity & resources frame**,** seeking to align environmental action with both national resilience and international fairness. This approach strengthens its diplomatic advocacy for climate equity while portraying climate change as a strategic and moral imperative.

### Frame Analysis of Afghanistan Issue

The frame analysis of the fifth theme is conducted in this section. Afghanistan issue is the fifth theme that has emerged from the data.

### 1. Problem Definition

Pakistan frames the situation in Afghanistan primarily as a security and defense challenge which eventually leads to instability, terrorism spillover and refugee flows. The government of Pakistan has always been taking interest in sorting out the political problems of Afghanistan, e.g., lack of inclusive governance, foreign interference, to ensure peace in the region. This issue has been highlighted in UNGA speeches every year as its importance is explicit from the statement, *"Pakistan's desire for peace in our region is also manifest in our efforts to promote a political solution in Afghanistan"* [Pak, 2020]. Likewise in next year, conflict in Afghanistan was identified as a problem when it was revealed that Pakistan was blamed for creating instability in Afghanistan and this accusation was responded in UNGA speech. PM started discussing the issue by saying that *"And now Mr. President, I want to talk about Afghanistan. For the current situation in Afghanistan, for some reason, Pakistan has been blamed for the turn of events, by politicians in the United States and some politicians in Europe"* [Pak, 2021]. He also mentioned the presence of Afghan refugees in these words: *"Then there are three million Afghan refugees still in Pakistan all Pashtoons, living in the camps. 500,000 in the biggest camp, 100,000 camps."* [Pak, 2021]

The use of political frame helps the speaker to put Pakistan's stance on a global forum as *"Peace in Afghanistan is a strategic imperative for Pakistan"* [Pak, 2023]. The fairness & equality frame presents the issue as one of representation and equitable treatment of Afghan groups. In some years, the capacity & resources frame adds that weak institutions and lack of resources within Afghanistan exacerbate instability.

## 2. Causal Interpretation

Through political and law & order, crime & justice frames, Pakistan attributes causes to prolonged conflict, foreign military interventions, extremist groups, and lack of rule of law. External supervision & reputation frames suggest the future consequences of biased perception of Afghan Taliban in the international community.

In the speech of 2021, Pakistan takes special interest in pointing out the causes of conflict in Afghanistan by covering the history of Afghan Taliban in a detailed manner and how they turned into militant Taliban who later attacked Government of Pakistan. The time was recalled when US conducted 480 drone attacks in Pakistan and fifty different militant groups were attacking Pakistan. PM explicitly blamed US in these words: *"The only reason we suffered so much was because we became an ally of the US - of the Coalition - in the war in Afghanistan. There were attacks being conducted from the Afghan soil into Pakistan. At least there should have been a word of appreciation. But rather than appreciation, imagine how we feel when we are blamed for the turn of events in Afghanistan"* [Pak, 2021]. PM told world leaders that it was not because of Pakistan that Taliban came to power, rather the reason lied in the deep analysis of history. *"And unfortunately, in trying to force a military solution is where the US went wrong. And if today, the world needs to know why the Taliban are back in power, all it has to do is to do a deep analysis of why a 300,000 strong well equipped Afghan army – and remember Afghans are one of the bravest nations on earth - gave up without a fight."* [Pak, 2021]

## 3. Moral Evaluation

The morality frame is used to highlight social and moral obligations on humanitarian grounds—protecting civilians, respecting sovereignty and avoiding exploitation of Afghanistan's turmoil. Fairness & equality frames emphasize ethical responsibility to ensure inclusive governance and equal rights for Afghan groups. Pakistan has played a vigilant role as a responsible state, PM Imran Khan said *"Pakistan fully facilitated the process that culminated in the U.S.-Taliban Peace Agreement on 29 February 2020. Pakistan is deeply gratified that it has fulfilled its part of the responsibility"* [Pak, 2020]. Pakistan asserts its sincere commitment to solve the issue when PM said *"I went to the US, I spoke to thinktanks, I met the then Senator Biden, Senator John Kerry, Senator Harry Reid – I tried to explain to them that there would not be any 8 military solution, and political settlement was the way forward. No one understood then."* [Pak, 2021]

Pakistani representatives supported the case of Afghanistan in these words: *"We advocate continued humanitarian assistance to a destitute Afghan population in which Afghan girls and women are the most vulnerable; as well as revival of the Afghan economy and implementation of the connectivity projects with Central Asia"* [Pak, 2023]. Essential measures taken by Pakistani government show serious involvement. It is stated that *"However, we are also taking necessary measures to end this externally encouraged terrorism"* [Pak, 2023]. Positive expectations from the Afghan government are repeated by the PM, *"At the same time, we endorse and share the international expectation, that the Afghan Interim Government would respect human rights, including the rights of women and girls, and promote political inclusion"* [Pak, 2024].

## 4. Treatment Recommendation

The policy prescription & evaluation frame dominates every year, recommending peaceful political solutions, inclusive governance, regional cooperation, and coordinated counterterrorism measures. The capacity & resources frame supports treatment strategies focused on economic assistance, institutional strengthening, and capacity-building within Afghanistan. PM Imran Khan recommended political settlement as the only solution, he said *"I have consistently maintained over the past two decades that there is no military solution to the conflict in Afghanistan. The only way forward was and is a political settlement which involves the full spectrum of Afghanistan's political actors"* [Pak, 2020].

Different actions are suggested to address the problem keeping in view the historical background, it is said that *"The Afghan leaders must now seize this historic opportunity to achieve reconciliation and restore peace in their war-torn country. Through the Intra-Afghan Negotiations that commenced on 12th of September, they must work out an inclusive, broad-based and comprehensive political settlement."* He continued to say that, *"The process must be Afghan-led and Afghan-owned, and without any interference or outside influence. Early return of Afghan refugees must be a part of this political solution. After almost two decades of war, it is imperative not to allow "spoilers" – within and outside Afghanistan – to subvert the peace process. Peace and stability in Afghanistan will open new opportunities for development and regional connectivity"* [Pak, 2020].

After discussing the possible consequences of neglecting Afghanistan, the PM makes international community realize the immediate need of supporting Taliban in stabilizing their government *"….There is only one way to go. We must strengthen and stabilize the current government, for the sake of the people of Afghanistan."* He continued to urge the United Nations to work for the betterment of Afghan population by saying that, *"I end Mr. President, by urging everyone that this is a critical time for Afghanistan. You cannot waste time. Help is needed there. Humanitarian assistance has to be given there immediately. The Secretary General of the United Nations has taken bold steps. I urge you to mobilize the international community, and move in this direction"* [Pak, 2021].

UNGA speeches proposed suggestions for the Interim government. *"In particular, the Interim Government must take effective action, to neutralize all terrorist groups within Afghanistan, especially those responsible for cross-border terrorism against neighbouring countries. These include ISIL-K (Daesh), the Al-Qaeda-affiliated TTP/Fitna al Khawarij and others, such as the ETIM, IMU and Ansarullah"* [Pak, 2024].

**Conclusion**

In the light of opted framing functions proposed by Entman (2004; 2008), the analysis of data shows that in UNGA speeches delivered by the representatives of Pakistan, some frame functions are present in greater numbers and others in lesser numbers. It is revealed that the speakers have used security & defense and capacity & resources frame frequently to define the problem. Law, order, crime & justice, economic and capacity & resources frames serve to attribute causes while morality frame evaluates the issue through moral considerations. The policy prescription & evaluation frame is the main channel for proposing solutions along with quality of life and health & safety frames further defining desired outcomes.

It has been noticed that all the framing functions are not necessarily found in the composition of a single frame. Entman (1993) is of the view that sometimes a single sentence has all four frame functions and sometimes a whole text has just one frame. The findings of Entman (1993) support our conclusion that some frames can totally miss out some framing functions.

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