CDA OF POLITICAL DISCOURSE ON SOCIAL MEDIA

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ABSTRACT

Title of Thesis: CDA of Political Discourse on Social Media

This study aims for a comprehensive analysis of political text and context to highlight the mechanism of political identity (re)construction and (re)presentation. Interactive digital media is used to share information, experiences, opinions, ideas, beliefs, ideologies.Social media platforms, such as Twitter (microblogging), are used by political actors for self-legitimization and for representation of political identities. It is acknowledged in this study that political identity is not a static construct rather it is a fluid entity as it is demonstrated in different forms by the political actors. A comprehensive theoretical framework that includes of political discourse analysis, socio-cognitive model of van Dijk,(van Dijk, 1989; 2006), social identity theory (Tajfel, 1979), clusivity theory (Wieczorek, 2009; 2013) and social media theory (Zappavigna, 2012) is used for this study. The data is in the form of tweets, which are downloaded from the functional verified Twitter accounts of Pakistani political parties. The Findings of this study suggest that political actors manipulate contemporary means of digital communication (interactive digital media), that is Twitter, for positive-representation of in-group members and negative-representation of others. These contemporary means of communication offer new platforms for political communication but shift in the paradigm of political campaigns and political communication (from conventional media to contemporary interactive digital media) does not demonstrate a change in the themes of political discourse practices as legitimizations of identities and ideologies remained central to discourse practices.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

NOTE: Complete Information on Appendices is given on DVD Attached with the Thesis.

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ANP   Awami National Party

ASWJ Ahlus Sunnah Wal Jamaah

BISP   Benazir Income Support Program

CDA   Critical Discourse Analysis

CJ   Chief justice

CL   Critical Linguistics

CM   Chief Minister

COAS Chief of Army Staff

ECP   Election Commission of Pakistan

FATA   Federally Administrated Tribal Area

FRC   FATA research Centre

IDP   Internally displaced persons

IG   Inspector General

JUI   Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam

KPK   Khyber Pakhtunkhwa

LEA   Law enforcement agencies

LEJ   Lashkar-e- Jhangavi

LHW   Lady Health worker

MQM   Muthidda Qoumi Movement

NAB   National Accountability Bureau

OGRA Oil and Gas Regulatory Authority

PAT   Pakistan Awami Tehreek

PMLN Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz

PMLQ Pakistan Muslim League Q

PPPP   Pakistan People's Party Parliamentarians

PTI   Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf

RPP   Rental Power Plants

SC   Supreme Court

SNSs   Social networking sites

TTP   Tehrik-i Taliban Pakistan

UNO   United Nation's Organization

USA   United States of America

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DEDICATION

I dedicate my thesis to my late father Syed Sajjad Hussain Shah, my loving mother Sajida Naseem, my caring husband Muhammad Sajid and my beloved son Syed Suleman Sajid.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Social media has emerged as a new media for communication that has revolutionized the way people interact with one another (Furht, 2010). According to Boyd & Ellison (2007), social network sites are web-based services that allow individuals to construct a public or semi-public profile within a bounded system, to articulate a list of other users with whom they share a connection, and also to view and traverse their list of connections and those made by others within the system. It has brought a phenomenal change in the communication patterns not only for individual users but also for politicians and political organizations to disseminate information and to share political agendas with other users (Reddy, 2014). It means that the social networking tools provide an exclusive platform to users to generate fast and active communication and to discuss multiple topics ranging from personal to social issues (Auvinen, 2011), political trends and views, entertainment, advertisement etc. (Kugelman, 2012). In the similar context Himelboima, Lariscyb, Tinkhamb and Sweetserb (2012), postulated that social media spaces are popular for political communication as it enables political actors to perform their political activities more effectively as compared to traditional media sources.

As mentioned earlier, social media is popular forpolitical activism (AEC, Australian Election Commission; 2013; Auvinen, 2012) and political mobilization(Aronson, 2012 & Browning, 2013) all over the world so the similar idea was reinforced by Kugelman (2012) in Pakistani social and political context. The usage of social media in Pakistan, particularly in political context, was first time introduced in 2009 when ex-president Parvez Musharraf and presidential candidate Imran Khan created their Facebook pages and used different SNSs like Twitter, YouTube, blogs etc. for political communication (Fair & Watson, 2015).Afterward, the similar trend got its momentum in the general elections of 2013 when most of the Pakistani political organizations and political groups performed their political activities and political

campaigns through online networking sites like Facebook, Twitter, blogs etc. (Perumal, 2013; Ullah, 2013). Apart from traditional trends of political campaigns like addressing huge public rallies, arranging public meetings and political demonstrations Pakistani political actors used social media also. With reference to the same phenomenon in this particular study, the researcher has tried to analyze the digital political discourse in Pakistani social and political context. The current study primarily aims at the investigation of political discourse on social media, particularly on Twitterduring the critical time period of 12th general elections of 2013.

1.1 Background of the Research

The primary thesis of the study is to explore how political actors (re)construct and manifest their political identities in digital discourse and how they (re)present and exercise clusivity. For this scholarship, the researcher has scrutinized the political discourse of five major political parties of Pakistan viz., ANP, MQM, PML-N, PPP-P, and PTI. These political groups were selected on the basis of their popularity and number of followers on their official Twitter accounts. Before giving a formal introduction to these political parties it is important to narrate the nature of political discourse and discourse strategies that are used by political actors.

1.1.1 Political Discourse

The term *political discourse* is arbitrary in nature and it leads towards a number of implications; generally, the term is defined with a specific reference to ideology and context (Bourdieu, 1991, van Dijk, 1993 & Chilton, 2004). According to theorists, politics involves reconciling differences by discussion and sometimes through persuasions. According to Chilton (2004), politics is a linguistic, communicative and discursive dimension, as the practitioners and scholars to acknowledge this perspective. Moreover, it is considered as a struggle for power, either the power is asserted or the power is resisted, simultaneously politics demonstrates cooperation, as there are various institutions in a societal structure so they collectively resolve the issues of money, power distribution, influences, and liberty. The societal structures deal with the struggle for power at two levels i.e. *micro level* and *macro level*. At *macro level* broader societal structures create pressure groups to dominate others while at the *micro level* the issues of power struggle and conflicts are resolved at the individual level(Chilton, 2004).

According to Fowler (1991), language is central to politics and political actors use a number of linguistic devices to present their ideologies to the masses. One of the primary agendas of political actors is to get political power in broader social and political context. A detailed discussion on this topic is provided in chapter 2 (section 2.6). According to Pakistan Election Commission (2013), there are 162 registered political parties in Pakistan (List of Political Parties, 2013) but as the data is delimited to only five major political parties, so only their establishment and development is briefly elaborated.

1.1.2 Awami National Party (ANP)

ANP is a secular Pushtoon political party (Aslam, 2013) established by a secular leader Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan in 1986. The roots of the party can be traced back to the pre-partition Gandhian movement launched and supported by the grandfather of the current president of ANP (Blank, Clary, & Nichiporuk, 2014). The party has an ethnic ideology based on the aspiration to fight for the Pushtoon rights. Precisely, it was ANP that demanded to change the name of NWFP (North-West Frontier Province) to Pashtunistan to secure the rights of the Pushtoon people (Akhtar, 2013). In response to the demands of ANP, the province previously known as NWFP changed to KPK (Ottinger, 2013) during the regime of former president Asif Zardari on 15th April 2010. Soon after the establishment of the political party, the rhetoric of the ascribed group was based upon allegations on others for exploiting Pushtoon rights and for causing political and physical damage to the subject party. From a historical perspective, the political group had many alliances with different political groups such as PPP-P (Shah, 1997), PML-N, JUI (Ullah, 2013) and PML-Q (Naqvi, 2010) etc. ANP also established its provincial government in KPK in coalition with above mentioned political groups (i.e. PPP-P, PML-Q) from 1988 to 2013 (Ullah, 2013).

It is important to discuss the political ideology of the subject party here. ANP frequently presented its resentment against the militant group of Taliban and urged its members to raise voices against the militant groups along with a strong determination to eradicate the militancy elements from the region after winning the 2013 general elections. In many of the political speeches and public rallies, ANP leaders openly condemned Taliban. Consequently, the party had to bear a huge physical and political loss (Abbas Z., 2013; Hussain K., 2013 & Kazmi, 2013). The rhetoric of ANP appeared harsh and blunt on the issue of militancy and Taliban but unfortunately the political group didn't take any

strong action against the militant groups during their own governance from 2008 to 2013 except the first year when the political group devised a counter-terrorism policy and attempted to crush militants in the region (Yusuf, 2014) but afterwards no strong efforts were witnessed.

1.1.3 Muthidda Qoumi Movement (MQM)

MQM is an urban-based secular political party of middle-class Sindhi Muhajirs (Mahmood, 2007). The political group was initially formed by Urdu-speaking students of Karachi University under the leadership of Altaf Hussein in 1984. The party was formed by Altaf Hussein to protect the rights of the Urdu-speaking minority from Sindhi dominant groups. Primarily the political group claimed to protect the rights of Urdu-speakers and furthermore the same political group provoked and incited a violent discourse in the country in the context of ethnicity and repression (Jalal, 2014). Before providing an extensive view of the political group's ideology it is essential to discuss some key factors. The key term in the political discourse of MQM is *mohajirs*, the *migrant Urdu-speaking groups* who came from different parts of sub-continent to Pakistan after Partition in 1947 (Mahmood, 2007) and got settled in urban Sindh, particularly in Karachi, the significant hub of trade and industry in Pakistan (Fazila-Yacoobali, 1996).

MQM often claimed to promote peace in the region but this claim was rejected by many research scholars as they highlighted a strong link between militant acts and MQM's leadership (Fazila-Yacoobali, 1996; Jaffrelot, 2004; Verkaaik, 2004; Mahmood, 2007 & Jalal, 2014). Although MQM was alleged for promoting ethnic conflicts and for supporting militant groups the political group never admitted any of such allegations and repeatedly refuted them. The discourse of MQM can be illustrated as an attempt to legitimize the political violence and militancy to negotiate active participation in politics (Fazila-Yacoobali, 1996) and to *promote the struggle* for the rights of the *Urdu-speaking minority*. The ascribed political group often narrated about the discrimination and ethnic conflicts by other minorities and political groups against them and with respect to such issues, the subject political group frequently called for massive protests and strikes (Brown & Ganguly, 1997; Verkaaik, 2004 & Balbo, 2005). Moreover, the political rhetoric of MQM mostly reflects the distress and anxiety associated with an urge to construct a solid ethnic identity (Kaur, 2005) that must be commonly accepted at

parliamentary level and for this cause, the subject political actors adopted violent and aggressive discourse approaches to legitimate this thesis. A significant fact about MQM is the self-exile of their party leader in Britain from several years and it is said that the subject leader along with other foreign elements has promoted aggression, violence,and militancy in Karachi (Verkaaik, 2004 & Mahmood, 2007) in the last two decades.

1.1.4 PML- N (Pakistan Muslim League -Nawaz)

Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz group was a product of ex-General Zia's military rule from 1977-1988 (Banks, Muller, Overstreet, Phelan, & Smith, 2000). The original Muslim League was developed by Muhammad Ali Jinnah before the partition of India and Pakistan in 1947 but afterward, attempts were made to break the political party into small units (Bergen & Tiedemann, 2013). As a result of political conflicts and disputes, Muslim League was divided into many small units such as PML-N, PML-Q, PML-F etc. (Bergen & Tiedemann, 2013).

The ideological foundation of PML-N is conservative (Naqvi, 2010) and in the last two decades, it has emerged as one of the strongest political group by winning a heavy mandate in Punjab and by forming a government in coalition with other political groups in 1990, 1997 and 2013 (Sehbai, 2013). From a contextual perspective, the political group presented itself as true representations of Quaid's ideology with a strong urge to promote democracy and justice in the country, but it is a center-right group with a deep association with Saudi Arabia (Banks A. S., Muller, Overstreet, Phelan, & Smith, 2000). The political actors of PML-N could not enjoy the democratic rule in the country in their first two governments in 1990 and 1997 as their governments got dismissed by military dictators and the subject party could not get the chance to complete its democratic tenure (Siddique, 2006). In 1997, PML-N took the credit for declaring Pakistan as a nuclear state (Hutter, 2013) and initiated the first motorway of Asia (Banerjee, Chaudhury, Das, & Adhikar, 2005). PML-N has many huge projects to its credit. In the same connotation, the political group frequently narrates incidences of self-praise from their governance to motivate their followers and to win public support (Dowding & Dumont, 2015). Another salient feature of their political discourse is quite akin to the conventional political culture of Pakistan in which most politicians put allegations on others to deconstruct other's good image beside portraying a positive

image of their own group members to earn political power and to negotiate political dominance (Khawaja, 2014).

One of the most frequently discussed issues in the political discourse of PML- N is the reference to the military coup in 1999 by the ex-General Musharraf who *disposed* the civilian government of Nawaz (Coates, 2012) and forced him (Nawaz) for self-exile in Saudi Arabia (Siddique, 2006). After long-term military dictatorship, the political actors of PML-N managed to get back to Pakistan in 2007 to participate in general elections of 2008 by signing a charter of democracy with another strong political group PPP-P to fight against military dictatorship and to promote democracy in Pakistan (Fair & Watson, 2015). Apart from the above-statedissues, there are many others but as these issues are not a part of current scholarship so they will not be discussed in detail here. As the emphasis of this research study is on the linguistic perspective, so the researcher will be focusing on the type of discourse which these political actors generate to address ideological and identity-based issues besides analyzing the means through which these political actors (re)construct and thus (re)present their identities and ideologies.

PML-N ruled Punjab for many years (Bolognani, 2011) and during their governance, they brought transportation reforms, industrial reforms, and education reforms etc. The political rhetoric of PML-N revolves around attracting audience and supporters by highlighting the sincerity and loyalty of the subject party with Pakistani people, by quoting references to laptop schemes (Hoodbhoy, 2012), atomic bombs (Hutter, 2013), motorways (Banerjee, Chaudhury, Das, & Adhikar, 2005), industrial revolution (Pakistan Political Perspective, 2004) and anti-terrorism policy etc. (Burki, 2011). It is right to say that the political group has a rich history of achievements and their discourse strategies are mostly positive and motivating.

1.1.5 PPP-P (Pakistan People's Party Parliamentarian)

One of the most significant political parties in Pakistan is PPP-P; the subject party has a long history of political struggle and political development. Primarily the political group was founded by the former Prime Minister Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto in 1967 (Jones, 2003 & Baxter, 2004). The political ideology of Bhutto was termed revolutionary as he introduced a new theme for common people i.e. (roti, kapra and makan) food, clothes and home (Qadeer, 2006), a basic necessity for the deprived stratum of Pakistani society. Right after the initiation, the popularity of PPP-P got momentum in all provinces of

Pakistan and resultantly the party emerged as a leading power in the general elections of 1973 and Bhutto got elected as the prime minister of Pakistan (Sengupta, 2013). The political rhetoric of PPP-P remained motivating for the masses as the leadership of the party targeted the needs of common people. Consequently, it got a large support from the same class of Pakistani society. Unfortunately, the same charismatic leader was awarded death sentence by General Zia in the murder case of Nawab Muhammad Ahmad Khan in 1979 (Khan, 2001). The death sentence was termed as a *judicial murder* by Benazir Bhutto (Opfell, 1993). After the death of Bhutto, his daughter Benazir emerged as a strong political figure like her father and got elected as the first ever female prime minister anywhere in the Muslim world, besides being the youngest one to enjoy this designation (Derichs & Thompson, 2013). Benazir Bhutto was assassinated on 27th May 2007, before the 11th general elections.

The political actors of PPP-P frequently narrated the tragic story of Bhutto family to emotionally appeal to the masses and thus win their support (Zulfiqar, 2011) as was seen in the general elections of 2008 (Blank, Clary, & Nichiporuk, 2014). The political rhetoric of PPP-P often appears weak and emotional as the main ideology of the political actors got changed after the assassination of party leader Ms. Bhutto and instead of focusing on the *ideological foundations of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto* the party just attempted to earn sympathies from masses (Blank, Clary, & Nichiporuk, 2014).

Although Zardari is credited as the first ever democratic leader whose party managed to govern Pakistan in its full democratic tenure of five years (Jamal, 2013), his regime is still termed as the worst by many critiques due to a number of national issues and crises (Ullah, 2013).

1.1.6 PTI (Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf)

PTI is termed as one of the most popular political groups in Pakistan founded by cricketer-turned-politician Imran Khan in 1996 (Lyon, 2008; Delaney & Madigan, 2015). The political party was founded in 1996 but it got real fame and potential in Pakistani political context during 12th general elections (Perumal, 2013). From a historical perspective, the political group promoted the ideology of *justice and change* in the country particularly targeting urban youth and women (Zulfiqar, 2011; Perumal, 2013 & Ullah, 2013). It is important to narrate here that the political group promoted the ideology of change (Zulfiqar, 2011), revolution, justice and anti-status quo (Amir, 2013).

According to Boughzala, Janssen and Assar (2014), Imran Khan is the most followed Pakistani leader on Twitter and Facebook and that displays his fame among people specifically among urban youth and women. The younger generation appreciates his ideology regarding change and justice for all. A notable element about PTI is its non-dynastic centrist political formation as the *unknown factor*. Imran doesn't have a *family political history/ inheritance politics*, so he fairly and openly challenges the status quo (Boughzala, Janssen, & Assar, 2014) and promotes politics of common and deserving people along with a reasonable representation of youth in comparison to the traditional Pakistani political culture (Rehman & Naqvi, 2013). PTI remained a marginalized political group until 2008. The political group boycotted the 11th general elections of 2008 in the context of rigging and corruption while in their first election the party won just a single seat as Khan got elected in parliament in 2002 (Nauright & Parrish, 2012).

The above stated brief introduction of Pakistani political parties is done to facilitate the theoretical and analytical perspective of the current study as it is based upon the digital political discourse of the above mentioned political groups, so their introduction was inevitable. According to Pakistan Election Commission (2013), there are 162 registered political parties in Pakistan (List of Political Parties, 2013) but as the data is delimited to only five major political parties. According to Iqbal (2015), manipulation of language for political functions is quite traditional in Pakistani political context. It is rather considered as one of the most commonly practiced strategies of political actors. With reference to the same notion, the political discourse of Pakistani political actors can be viewed through the same lens.

1.2 Research Objectives

The objectives of the current study are

1. To analyze the (re)construction and (re)presentation of political identities in social media discourse.
2. To identify clusivity elements in political discourse in social media.
3. To get a deep insight into how political actors use textual and contextual elements to project their political identity on social media

1.3 Research Questions

The research questions of this study are as follows.

1. How do political actors (re)construct and (re)present political identities through social media discourse?

2. How are clusivity elements presented through political discourse practices on social media?

3. How political actors use textual and contextual elements to project their political identity on social media?

1.4 Research Significance

The current study is significant as it analyses the political discourse practices on Twitter- one of the social media networking sites. This study is also significant in identifying the contemporary trends in digital political communication, such as how political actors manipulate contemporary means like *social media networking sites* for political campaigns and agenda settings. The current study deals with the digital political discourse and it also focuses on how language is used in contemporary mediums for (re)construction and (re)presentation of political identities.

1.5 Problem Statement

Social media political discourse is a unique type of political discourse and it carries a number of features which can be analysed to investigate a number of political issues and elements. Social media political discourse in general and twitter discourse in specific, provides a number of opportunities to the researcher to investigate the issues of political identity construction and representation. A number of research studies are dedicated for the analysis of social media discourse but the political aspect with special reference to the linguistic paradigm is not being investigated yet. So therefore there is a need to carry out this particular research to investigate the issues of political identity representation and reconstruction. The current study attempts to analyze the social media political discourse to find out how political actors present their political identities and manifest clusivity. The study analyses textual and contextual elements of political discourse by using van Dijk, T. A, socio-cognitive model.

1.6 Focus of Research

This study focuses on contemporary trends of using internet for political communication for self-legitimizing. In this case, only Twitter is focused to identify the ways in which political parties (re)present and (re)create their political identities.

1.7 Delimitations

The study is delimited to five major political parties of Pakistan. The data is taken from official social media accounts of these political parties and it is in the form of official tweets from January 2013 to June 2013. Another delimitation of the study is the analysis of text and context only while the images and hyperlinks are not taken into account. There are a number of social media platforms such as Facebook, yahoo messenger, snapchat, blogs, Orkut, Pinterest etc. but the researcher has selected only Twitter as a data source. Twitter has a number of special features which inspired researcher to use it as a data source such as Twitter restricts the users to communicate their messages within 140 characters only. Because of the above-mentionedfeature, the users try to say maximum in few words and the discourse which is generated on Twitter is very crisp and precise. Apart from this Twitter is getting popular as a smart medium of political communication all over the world since Pakistan is also a part of this global trend so the researcher tried to investigate the political discourse on Twitter. The researcher has done analysis of macro-propositions (global topics), local semantics, agency, graph logical devices (only inverted commas), capitalization and contextual elements while superstructures are not taken into account. To meet the research objectives the researcher has delimited the analysis to the above mentioned analytical categories only. While analysing the graphological devices the researcher has focused on the inverted commas because it was frequently used in twitter discourse and the researcher wanted to highlight the significance of its usage with special reference to political identity construction and representation.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter starts with the introduction of digital media and social media, afterward, the role of social media in political communication is highlighted in section 2.2. In the next three sections i.e. 2.3 to 2.5, the role of social media in US presidential elections and in Arab spring is discussed. These three sections have presented a detailed note of research works that have analyzed the role of social media in politics from a critical perspective. For the clarity of conceptual and methodological framework, a detailed discussion on political discourse analysis and on approaches of CDA is provided in section 2.6 and 2.7. The last three sections of this chapter have presented a detailed account of social identity theory, clusivity theory, social media theory and social media critical discourse studies.

2.1 Digital Media and Social Media

Digital media refers to text, graphics, and animation, audio and video content that has been digitally encoded and allowed to be manipulated and extracted by computers and thus transmitted through computer networks (Messaris & Humphreys, 2006). Digital media is interactive and it involves digital storage of information for retrieval and dissemination (Dennis & DeFleur, 2009). Digital media includes digital photos, music, movies, social media, mobile applications, online games etc. (Information Technology and Digital Media, 2015).

Social media consists of Facebook, Twitter, Yahoo Messenger, LinkedIn, Orkut, blogs, etc. and these platforms are used for different purposes such as entertainment, communication, advertising etc. social media has become a routine in public and private life nowadays(Bimber, 2012). According to Bimber (2012) in the first generation of social media, i.e. web 1.0 from 1990 to 2000, the implications of social media for citizenship and political communication got a momentum. The Internet widely penetrated

into politics in the United States in 1990 and later on in many other advanced democratic countries. It was argued that in early 2000, a positive relationship between political participation and Internet was found by many research scholars specifically in the USA(Bimber, 2012). Social media has offered a great platform for social interaction for e-users and it has enabled them to communicate effectively in less time and at a fast speed (Barassi, 2015). According to Newman, Dutton and Blank (2012)social media transformed political campaigns, political activism and political interaction specifically in web 2.0 (that is also called the second generation of internet roughly from 2000 to onwards). Web 2.0 refers to new advancements in internet usage in terms of functionality, ease, activeness, development, and user-participation (O'Reilly , 2007).With the advent of web 2.0 social media has brought a great revolution globally in many fields of life. According to Papacharissi (2015) public displays of emotion on Twitter have come to inform and even characterize the discursive contours of the platform, reflecting some degree the culture, mood, and feel of the contemporary moment. The popular microblogging service, thus, represents a compelling site to explore the affective relations and dynamics at work in social movements, personal politics, and the performance of identity, particularly with respect to its capacity to accommodate expressions of dissent(Papacharissi, 2015).

Furthermore,social media has provided new modes of communications for e-users and it has offered new platforms for the sharing of ideas, for discussion of certain social issues and it has created new interaction patterns and so forth. Social media is being used for multiple purposes by e-users; in fact, it is rightly stated that there are numerous subject topics which are discussed on social media ranging from social-communication, informal interactions to addressing sensitive national and political issues thus moving towards international uprising in few cases (Storck, 2011). More precisely, social media is labeled as a new mode of advanced technological devices which enables its users to convey their messages worldwide in a very short span of time and more significantly the users can receive the feedback as quickly as they generate a particular discourse on SNSs. According to Asur and Huberman (2009)social media has given a new shape to public discourse as it has offered a variety of topics for discussion typically ranging from entertainment to politics and thus politics to technology and so forth. To put it more comprehensively, social media has provided a rich variety of topics to its user which in turn made the communication effective and fast.

2.2 SNSs and Political Discourse

According to Boyd and Ellison (2007) interactive digital media which is generally termed as social media sites have revolutionized the mode of communication. Rather it is more appropriate to state that social networking sites (SNSs) have made communication very fast. The advancements in the popularity of social media became very evident in the last two decades. The social interaction which people make on social media thus created some effects upon their perception and on their cognition also. According to Bardici (2012) the current scenario of the global world has transformed the nature of human and social communication and this revolution is directly linked to the advancements in ICT and digital media technologies. The current technological advancements in the last decade have given birth to staggering numbers of novel media devices which can mediate information between various individuals and diverse groups which were almost unrealizable rather indescribable in the past (Coyle & Vaughn, 2008).

According to Boyd and Ellison (2007) SNSs are rapidly sprouting. They are emerging as the instrumental tools for the analysis of power abuses and an innovative set of strategic movements which can change the political and social processes. Since the1990s, many researchers documented their work about the significance of social media in political discourse, political actions and political processes (Römmele, 2003). The potential of SNSs such as Facebook, Twitter, Youtube etc. is significantly high for the political processes and political movements (Fox, Zickuhr, & Smith, 2009 &Davis, 2010).

Scholaz (2008) described Web 2.0 as a new advancement in the field of internet technologies specifically linked with different tools of social media such as Twitter, Facebook, YouTube, Linked In, my space etc. More precisely social media tools are an attempt to offer new promises to e-users such as increased democracy, openness, the end of hierarchies, the power of many, not just an individual, the rise of professional amateur and a rich convenient user experience. Kushin andKitchener (2009) stressed upon the significant role of social media for the emergence of online political discourse. They figured out how social media involves the participation of e-users with different political ideologies and ultimately how these ideologies got contested and constructed through SNSs (Kushin & Kitchener, 2009). Soon after the development of Web 2.0, most of the scholars investigated the nature of social media discourse particularly related to the promotion of friendly interaction and social communication but later on a vivid shift was

observed which motivated research scholars to get a deeper insight into the ways which are adopted by e-users for a variety of purposes such as political discussion, political uprising, and political communication at a broader level. As Bentley and Labelle (2008) discussed the motivating, rather enthusiastic, usage of social media especially linked with *folksonomy*, a term introduced by Vander Wal (2010), who takes tagging on social media sites as an attempt to demonstrate collective or collaborative categorization of contents for specific purposes, the trend of tagging is very popular in political communication as e-participants depict their affiliations or association by tagging a number of people, sometimes in a group forum and sometimes independently. Apart from *folksonomy*, there are many other interesting concepts which are linked to the usage of social media by e-participants for specific purposes such as the wisdom of the crowds etc.(Surowiecki, 2004)

There are a number of other scholarly contributions exclusively covering the strong impact of social media on political activation, political mobilization, political uprising and political revolution. The impact of internet access on voting systems was investigated by many researchers such as Tolbert and McNeal (2003) and Jansen (2004)who tried to analyze how political leaders use websites to approach their voters. Kohut (2008)analyzed video sharing and other social networking sites to explore how e-users participate in political discourse and exchange information concurrently, and how they contribute in political campaigns on social media and thus freely express their views and opinions. Boyd and Ellision (2007) explained possible frequent usages rather utilities of social network sites by the e-users. Thus, Facebook users could express themselves politically in a number of ways. For example, they could do donations and ask their friends to vote for their own political leaders. Another possibility is to post certain graphical images which ultimately represent their political opinions and views.

Another perspective about the usage of social media was presented by Morris (1999) who considered social media as a strong force for the enhancement of democratic processes. According to him, social media can promote democracy in the current arena of political mobilization. Katz, Rice and Aspden (2001) talked about two forms of internet activities: the first type of political activity focuses on the information-seeking behaviors while the second one is linked with active online political activity. The second type of activity is theoretically different from the cognitive processes of information sharing and information gathering; such active processes are related with active behaviorlike email-

exchange with other e-participants in online discussions, etc. (Katz, Rice, & Aspden, 2001).

Social media thus exclusively appears as a dominating and active force for political interaction and political activation, as the interactivity of different e-participants sets enriches platform for comprehensive and sustainable political communication. In combined network analysis with communication,the theory was done by Mascaro, Novak and Goggins (2012) aimed at exposing the conversational social network which was generated from the direct addresses among e-participants who had joined *Tea Party Patriot Facebook* page, specifically linked with the shooting of US Representative. It was concluded that all individuals who participate in a particular political discourse are significant and the censorship i.e. the editing done by the administrators (of a typical website or a Facebook page etc.) may de-shape the true nature of results. So it is important to carefully deal with online political discourse and for the sake of any future implication, the censorship policy needs to be carefully administrated so that the e-participants can actively participate in online political communication which might lead towards activation, mobilization etc. In the same context Morozov (2011)critiqued the role of social media for political communication, uprising and political mobilisation, according to him it is a challenge of researchers to analyse the role of the internet for political activism because the primary concern in such cases is to figure out that what type of qualities and activities are compulsory to launch a democratic system with special reference to a specific country or context, simultaneously a comprehensive understanding is mustknow how a particular way of campaigning creates effects on the qualities and activities which are linked with the political activism. Morozov (2011) takes internet political discourse analysis as a very sensitive issue as he debated the notion of accuracy and fallacy i.e. there is a need of high expertise in order to conduct an analysis of political discourse practices on social media to avoid any wrong predictions and implications.

Castells (1996) elaborated networks as the new social morphology of society, a dissemination of networking logic which thus readdresses or transforms the processes and results of production, experience power and so on. The thesis presented by Castells takes networking as a strong connecting force which creates its impact on a specific societal structure ultimately it modifies the processes of discourse production, consumptions, and reception etc. So to get an insight into the impact of social media or SNSs on e-

participants it is inevitable to discuss all processes which constitute a particular discourse practice within a pre-defined social, political and cultural context(Castells, 1996)**.**

2.3 Role of Social Media in US Presidential Elections 2008 and 2012

Stieglitz, Dang-Xuan and Brockmann (2012) demonstrated the role of social media as an enabler which provides a chance to individuals to share their knowledge, opinions, and ideas among a group, with special reference to political sector. Social media has become a platform for participation in the political actions and thus it helps to boost up the process of political communication. The basic inspiration for their work was based on the use of social media by the American president Barack Obama for his political campaigns in the election 2008 and so on. Moreover, it can be generalized that US presidential elections inspired scholarly researchers to get a deep insight into the significance of social media specifically in the field of politics (Stieglitz, Dang-Xuan & Brockmann, 2012). The basic tenet of most of studies related to the usage of social media for political action and political communication was to examine how political actors propagate information for multiple objectives such as to share their agendas, to develop clusivity (assigning a positive attribute to one's own group members and negative attributes to opposite group members), to represent identities or to contest the ideologies of their supporters and voters and so forth. Interestingly many such studies were carried out in the US and European countries, where people have a lot of interest in *e-politics* as compared to other countries.

Hesseldahl, MacMillan and Kharif (2008) conducted a study on the significance of social media in motivating young voters in the backdrop of US presidential elections 2008 and they concluded that as compared to electronic and print media social media effected young voters more and it changed their behaviours to some extent, i.e. in terms of political activity. To elaborate the discussion more it can be commented that basically, it was the US presidential elections 2008 which called for extensive research work in the field of social media and political movements, political activity, political participation, political cognition etc. Takaragawa andCarty (2012) investigated how the democratization of information was linked with the revival of young voters and how volunteerism got mobilized with the growing trends of information sharing process. They also brought to light the structural and political significance of *public sphere*. It was also observed that the analysis of traditional electoral strategies is important as the theorist can

make a comparison between the two methods i.e. the use of social media and use of traditional media. Takaragawa andCarty (2012) attempted to advance the contemporary theorizing of new media strategies and extensively they explored the role of ICT (information communication technologies) in terms of its impact on the shift of power in democratization and mobilization. Concurrently they re-conceptualized the core theoretical concepts of social movements and collective identities (Takaragawa & Carty, 2012). Kushin and Masahiro (2010) examined the impact of social media for political purposes by college students. The study was significant in the backdrop of US presidential elections of 2008. They concluded that there is a direct positive link between traditional internet sources and political involvement but e-participation has no effect upon the political self-efficacy. As a sample, the study used the young college students who use the internet more frequently in their daily routine which thus promoted the situational political participation. Hamilton (2011)identified that the internet and social media engaged US young voters in a type of political discourse which was never seen before. Rather the success of Obama was very much caused by his interactional ability on SNSs and the smart use of political campaigns which his team carried out specifically targeting the young audiences. Simba (2009) termed Obama's presidential campaign as totally unorthodox as he used innovative strategical moves to re-construct the ideological perceptions of voters in the backdrop of social media which ultimately facilitated his political objectives. He furthermore stressed upon the remarkable increase of fundraising done by those voters who never took part in any political process before and the great number of donations was also a milestone in the success of Republicans in US 2008 elections. More interestingly, the most frequently asked question in terms of political mobilization and e-politics is the correlation between e-tactics and the likelihood of future participation linked with it(Takaragawa & Carty, 2012). E-tactics are all those techniques which are adopted or implemented by e-participants for the sake of political activities and political movements such as *liking* certain pages of a specific political party, uploading images, updating status, requesting friends to join a certain political campaign etc. Moreover, it is also appropriate to state that the advancement of new media technologies (social media/ SNSs) has exclusively set the platform for e-participation at a larger and advanced level. Toffler (1980) presented the concept of *prosumer*, which refers to the horizontal flow of information often deployed in the political campaigns, creating effects upon the decision making and political mobilization. Barack Obama adopted a bottom-up

approachto information flow and promoted the concepts of *hope* and *change*, the core elements of his political activation (Takaragawa & Carty, 2012).

2.4 Arab Spring and Social Media

Apart from US presidential elections (2008) another international issue which spotlighted the role of social media as fast activating stimuli is linked with Arab spring. The Arab Spring is called as the first collective movements of its kind in the Middle East and the Muslim world which brought a great revolution in the history of the world(Lindsey, 2013). The Arab Spring revolution is directly linked to the strong role of internet typically SNSs which motivated the Protestants against tyranny, injustice and put them in a position to take stand for democracy and their basic rights. According to Lindsey (2013) *The Arab Spring* ushered in the current arena of revolutionary movements as the innovative chain of such movements which thus integrated social media for the achievements of high goals. The significance of social media in the specific context of *The Arab Spring* was highlighted by a number of researchers after 2011 such as Allagui and Kuebler (2011) stated that the Russian Revolution taught political leadership and French Revolution demonstrated popular intuitive forms while contrary to these two Arab Revolution presented the strong power of networks (Ilhem & Kuebler, 2011). The debate about the scholarship featuring the link between social media and Arab Spring is embedded in a complex theoretical and conceptual transition which swings between the labels of *political mobilization and political uprising* thus explaining its outcomes.

Aday et al (2013) explored the role of social media in the Arab Spring from multiple perspectives; they collected a unique set of data i.e. in the form of Twitter archives with metadata drawn from URL shortening service Bit.ly to focus on the consumption of protest-related text materials (Aday, Farrell, Freelon, Sides, & Dewar, 2013). Their findings suggested that the major source of information during Arab Spring was Twitter and interestingly Arab Spring material more precisely the content came from outside the MENA region, it was the mass media who initiated the resistant discourse which furthermore got promoted by social media. The existing scholarships are dedicated to the analysis of the particular role which was played by social media in Arab Spring, some of them investigated it from the perspective of political mobilisation i.e. social media has provided a new form of information to the public which makes them act while few considered it as an interactional tool for coordination and organization of political

activities (Aday, et al., 2012). Social media appeared as motivating stimuli in the specific political context of *The Arab Spring* furthermore it was linked with the political uprising and political cognition. Another significant contribution was made by Browning (2013) the Arab Spring coalesce demonstrated that in the current arena of international interaction and mobilisation, the advanced technologies such as SNSs can be a gigantic factor in changing regimes even, additionally political cognition is no more confide to the boundaries of traditional mass media houses where the audience can just receive that information which the media aims to broadcast rather the advancement of social network sites represented the new ideological contestations where every individual preferably every e-users can filter news/information according to his/her own perceptual choices and built on decision making as well (Browning, 2013). Although the application and scope of SNSs are tremendous the researcher hasdivulged herself just to the political context, so that the researcher can get an insight into the theoretical and conceptual issues more vividly. In the particular context Of Arab Spring, a Cairo activist proclaimed, [w]e use Facebook to schedule the protests, Twitter to coordinate and YouTube to tell the world (cited in Democracy Unplugged, social media, Regime Change and Governmental Response in the Arab Spring by Browning, 2013).

In the digital age of extreme innovation, it is inevitable to accept the power of social media as the information here travels as a wave of inflaming public opinion to reaches to such a momentum where the political actions permit the diplomatic processes to get accomplish without much hindrances and barriers. Browning (2013) postulated that social media has made diplomatic processes as smooth as not expected ever before, policymakers cannot remain viewers anymore because the speedy transformation of political events has changed the ideology of power-elites and a good example can be *The Arab Spring*(Seib, 2012).

Storck (2011)emphasized the role of social media not merely as oppressor or liberator rather as a stimulator for political uprising specifically in the socio-political context of Egypt in Arab Spring. Internet preferably SNSs have become a dialectical force for the meaning-making processes in political context, so it is inevitable to analyze it as a strong tool of mobilization, uprising, resistance, transformation, and activation. As the printing press was one of the great revolution in the world history which changed the whole scenario of the medieval church in the 15th century the same can be expected from the social media which has the transformative power that by far moves the users

considerably, simultaneously the discursive and disruptive nature of SNSs labelled themselves as dialectal that confiscate the force of mobilisation and activation. According to Glad well (2012) revolutions are not dependent solely on Facebook rather before the initiation of Facebook by Mark Zuckerberg our world had already experienced a number of historical changes. Crucially it is also unfair to negate the role of SNSs in the revolution of *The Arab Spring* when the world itself observed that the continuity of interactional patterns can become a very vibrant force and ultimately any target can be achieved by the utilizers of SNSs (Storck, 2011). The cyber world built a chain of protestors who organized a series of remarkable political events in Libya, Yemen, Egypt, and Omen to transport a substantial shift in the political cognition of Arab world to facilitate the basic purposes of democratic processes at a larger scale. The uprisings were directly linked with multiple progressions such as gathering real-time information, developing weak ties among diverse participants with multiple ideologies and shared agendas across the globe (Storck, 2011). According to PEACEWORKS report by Aday, et al (2012), *Arab Spring* is considered as one of the extraordinary historical revolution in the world which dramatically change the socio-political conditions of Tunisia, Egypt, Bahrain, Libya, Syria, and Yemen. More precisely it fundamentally re-shaped the contextual and theoretical nature of politics in the Arab world; the existing scholarships discussed the huge collision of *new media* in re-contextualizing the political cognition of masses at a broader level by the notch of new horizons; particularly in terms of dissemination which appeared inexorable for the autocrats of the Arab world. The report also determined that new media helped to break the shackles of political instability and political hypocritical forces in the Arab world by inviting the international pressures that ultimately reduced the chances of more violent protests (Aday, et al., 2012). In the current arena of digital mobilization, it is also inevitable to isolate new media i.e. social media from mass/traditional media. The protests in few countries such as Egypt and Libya were more linked with Twitterhashtags as compared to Tunisia and Bahrain. The report also suggested that the drastic events in the Arab world such as the Departure of Ben Ali in Tunisia, the Pearl Roundabout raid in Bahrain, and the most vital one i.e. the resignation of Mubarak termed as *Friday of departure in* Egypt are strongly associated with social media (Twitter, Facebook, YouTube and web blogs).

Bardici (2012) investigated the role of social media in the representation of ideology, social representations and political uprising in Arab spring with special

reference to Egypt. The study revealed that social relationships are built in societal structures; simultaneously a critique of existing literature regarding the role of social media in Arab Spring was also highlighted. Discourse analytical approach explicitly represented the link between media discourse, subjects, and ideology, moreover how Social media triggered the political uprising and political transformation in terms of its construction and de-construction (Bardici, 2012). Most of the studies about social media presented them as the powerful tools for social and political changes but it is inadequate explanation as social media is just a catalyst for social change but not the root cause because there are many cultural and economic factors which make a great contribution (in terms of social and political changes). Eltantawy andWiest (2011) presented social media merely a tool of social uprising and political mobilization as the existing scholarships could not provide any empirical proof about the specificity of each country which is related to Arab spring. Undoubtedly,social media has been an influential tool to activate the political changes in the Arab world but the major issue is the specificity of empirical evidence in many cases. Eaton (2013) analyzed the role of internet activism in 2011 Egyptian uprising, his findings suggested two fold roles of SNSs, and the first one is directly linked with political activism and the former one is much different i.e. the documentation of historical events beyond the control of autocrats of Egyptian political scenario. It was also stressed that SNSs served as a mobile source of rapid information which authorities otherwise would have never allowed being accessible by the masses and thus leading towards a huge political activism.

As the discussion is revolving around the context of politics, and the agenda of this study is to unfold the construction of identities and clusivity on social media presented through political discourse, so here the theoretical and conceptual issues regarding political discourse more vibrantly political discourse analyses are addressed.

2.5Social Media and the Processes of Democratization

The advanced trends regarding the role of SNSs in democratization, information-sharing and collaborative economy were explored by many researchers (Hogg & Abram, 1988, Goldberg, 2008; Tapscott & Williams, 2008). Scholars have argued that the internet is a medium for democratizing the expected potential of information access and fetching individuals closer to the political process (Delli Carpini, 2000). Internet and SNSs were also presented as an efficient polarizing medium which attracts like-minded individuals to

share information and contest the pre-existing ideologies and political beliefs (Ancu & Cozma, 2009). It was also observed that in every political process the most important factor in decision making which directly refers to the smart cognitive ability of the citizens (Parry, Moyser, & Day, 1992). The role of decision making is a very delicate process and it requires an alleviated and realistic approach of participants to make the political process vigilant and vibrant. Metzgar and Maruggi (2009) found out that social media did not appear just as a new channel of communication rather its applications are far beyond the interactional patterns, assumptions, and interpretations. It was also highlighted that in the US presidential campaign of 2008, differentiation between the initiation of the conversational issues on traditional and social media was difficult as the agendas on both media were more or less same (Metzgar & Maruggi, 2009). Researchers determined that the use of online communication sites promoted the online communities and engaged people more in a discussion focusing on the political issues which are a highlighted contribution of SNSs for political comprehensions and political cognition (Metzgar & Maruggi, 2009).

Ausserhofera and Mairedera (2013) highlighted the role of Twitter discourse on major political events in Austria and concluded that Twitter users share political views and thus make outstanding interpretations. Their findings were based on three case studies in Austria (a) the conviction of Uwe Scheuch for corruption introduced earlier, (b) the proposal of Austria's minister of education Karl-Heinz Töchterle to reintroduce university tuition fees, and (c) the announcement of the assignment of a former official of the Social Democratic Party of Austria (SPÖ), Niko Pelinka, to a high-level post at Austria's public-service television station ORF (Ausserhofera & Mairedera, 2013). All these cases were discussed on Social media, electronic media and print media, the findings of their study suggested that the role of Twitter was very much significant as tweeting and re-tweeting both appeared as a sign of high-level political activity and political cognition. Bruns and Burgess (2011) stated that the foremost focal point of research studies on Twitter emerges from the discourse generated byhashtags. The studies on Twitter regarding political activities revolved around the significance of network and how does network develop political understanding among e-participants (Bruns & Burgess, 2011). According to Java, Song, Finin andTseng (2007)microblogging platforms such as Twitter offers its users a more personalize way of information sharing and publicizing their views and ideas, tweets and re-tweeting thus becomes the fastest mode

of information sharing and learning, so blogging appears as a platform of social networking and an alternative news source (Java, Song, Finin, & Tseng, 2007). Before the advancement of social media tools the major source of information specially the news sharing was done on electronic or print media and there the journalists were considered as the most reliable sources, but in the last two decades the trend of information sharing on SNSs, specifically on Twitter and Facebook have transformed the mode of communication as SNSs invite the e-participants to exchange diverse views and thus become more analytical in their cognitive understanding.

Druckman and Parkin (2005) suggested that the political information sharing is a very sensitive issue as if there is an incline in the editorials they may create a massive impact upon the voting if there are no other news sources available for the users/consumers (Druckman & Parkin, 2005). Mutz and Martin (2001) find out that if there is a lack of information framing sources offered to the users or consumers than there are abandon chances that the politically less attentive consumers can easily get mislead by such information as they are cognitively less developed and the affiliated partisan information may overwhelm their opinions.

Nguyen (2011) figured out that Twitter has a great tendency to raise the exposure to the alternative news sources and it also polarizes the inattentive public in an emergent way. His study suggested that Twitter serves two major purposes for e-users the firstone is social networking and the second one is extensive exposure to political discourse. He figures out that e-users prefer to exchange political views on Twitter with the like-minded individual so it supports the process of political cohesion and political cognition. Political actors now prefer to use Twitter to spread information regarding upcoming political events and more frequently to state their opinions and represent ideologies (Small, 2011). More exclusively not just the political actors rather all individuals who use Twitter for information sharing and information seeking get affected by the type of discourse generated on microblogging site i.e. Twitter in term of contesting their pre-existing ideological beliefs with special reference to a particular political and social context (Small, 2011). According to Shah and Yazdani (2011), hashtags more commonly attracts e-users to avail distinctive opportunities to debate their political beliefs and political ideologies (Bruns & Burgess, 2011) and it also offers them multiple perspectives on a single political issue. Hashtags driven political discourse are exclusively related to the news connected to mass media and it typically addresses the issues and topics which are

commonly discussed in mass media (Bruns & Burgess, 2011). Despite of the prior mentioned connection between the similarity of topics on Twitter and mass media the agenda adopted by Twitter is totally different from the mass media as here all political events and political information is filtered by the community which shares that particular information and thus it is appropriate to state that community streamlines the filtered information according to its own interest; so here the attention is given to a certain topic, event or theme may appear different from the general mass media sources where the information can be filtered only by the elites (Bruns & Burgess, 2011). Davis (2010) stated that in United Kingdom internet has caused an enormous increase in the communicative links between in and around the UK political centers, it has also emerged as an emergent platform where individuals can exchange their political views and political deliberation. Deuze (2006) stated internet users as *bricoleurs* which refers to highly personalized continuity, to some extent more or less assembly, disassembly and reassembly of mediated reality in the modern digital culture. The reality of political discourse is very interesting, the Twitter user shape their experiences by revitalizing the bricolage of messages which they receive. Afterward, they individually shape these discourses, rather the process of reassembly of political activity create significant differences in the political cognition of the e-users (Deuze, 2006). Moreover, the networking itself with the inclusion of media topics, objects and more significantly the people who participate in a particular political discourse re-shape the political processes and they re-organize the political experience of e-users in a specific cultural and socio-political context. Resultantly, the e-participants of these political discourse practices find themselves as a part of the big political arena where the meanings of political discourse are re-constructed and the role of social networking becomes more prominent as the political processes got negotiated and recreated. The arguments presented above made a vivid indication of the formal re-allocation of the transformation in the meaning-making process of political discourse which distinctly differs from the mass media rather it depicted a shift of mass media system into *networked public sphere*clearly marked by the elements of socialization in the terms of media experiences (Benkler, 2006). By reviewing the literature the researcher has concluded that the role of social media in political activism, political mobilization and political uprising is highly significant. So it is significant to explore this area with a more critical approach to get a better insight into

the role and effect of social media in the political processes. Another significant argument is that such kind of studies needs to be done in Pakistani political context also.

2.6 Political Discourse Analysis

The term political discourse is arbitrary in nature and thus leads towards a number of implications; generally, the term is defined with a specific reference to context and ideology (Bourdieu, 1991, van Dijk, 1993, Fairclough, 1995a &Chilton, 2004). Theorists believed that primarily politics basically resolves differences between different groups and parties through persuasions/argumentations, so therefore communication is inevitable in politics. The political processes such as political cognition, political activism, and political representations are all central to politics, moreover, the above-mentioned processes are dependent on the shared perceptions within a broader social and cultural context (Chilton, 2004). Chilton (2004) described politics as a linguistic, communicative and discursive entity. Furthermore, it istermed as a struggle for power, either the power is asserted or the power is resisted, simultaneously politics exhibits cooperation, as there are several institutions in a societal structure so they collectively resolve the issues of money, power distribution, and liberty. The societal structures deal with the struggle for power at two levels i.e. micro and macro, the first one is concerned with the conflicts resolved at individual levels contrary to this the former one is concerned with broader structures such as institutions in a state who stand for big interest like domination, creating pressure groups etc. (Chilton, 2004). Now moving from political discourse to political discourse analysis, the theoretical assumptions explicitly represent the constructive approach of political discourse; it deals with the construction of ideological representations in a society (Fairclough, 1992b & van Dijk, 1996). Political discourse analysis refers to the analysis of political discourse from a critical perspective. It basically deals with the reproduction of *political power, power abuse or power domination* at various levels; it specifically deals with resistance or sometimes with the counter-power in the context of discursive power (Fairclough, 1992b & van Dijk,1996). In particular political discourse analysis deals with the discursive power relationships, political inequality, and various societal structures. van Dijk, (1998c) defined political discourse as a discourse practice which critically involves the political actors who are normally politicians, political leaders such as presedentia, prime ministers etc. Furthermore, political discourse is about the text and talk of professional politicians or political leaders who deliberately choose a specific

local or international institution to generate political discourse. Political discourse analysis does not include just the politicians rather there are many other recipients who have equal significance in shaping political discourse such as public, people, citizens, masses and many other groups etc.(van Dijk,1998, 1993). It means that the political communicative event involves theparticipation of many stakeholders in a specific political, cultural and social context. Gastil (1992) suggested that while analyzing the political discourse an investigator needs to analyze it syntactically, pragmatically, semantically, lexically and sociolinguistically. It means that the scholarships for political discourse analysis go beyond the content to the context and simultaneously a debate on structure and function of discourse also needs to be anticipated. While elaborating political discourse with special reference to its function and structure van Dijk, (1998a, 1998c & 2002) stressed upon the *political activity*, which explicitly means that there must be an intervention of a number of groups i.e. citizens, voters people as a part of pressure groups and resistant groups with a particular focus on demonstrators and dissenters(Verba, 1993).

Verba (1993) focused upon the political processes which consist of political activity and to perform that specific political activity people get the role of citizens, voters, members of pressure group and members of issue groups. The groups such as dominant, pressure or resistant groups who get involved in political processes are linked with a public sphere(van Dijk, 1998c). The contributing role of political discourse is considered an endorsement in the reproduction, legitimization of power, hegemony etc. According to theorists, there is an explicit influence of postmodernism on political discourse analysis through the approaches of critical discourse analysis. Sometimes the approaches of political communication and rhetoric overlap with discourse analytical approaches. According to Chilton (2004) political discourse has received a great deal of attention in the studies of linguistics, pragmatics and discourse studies. Furthermore van Dijk, (1993, 1988& 1998c) elaborated the scope of political discourse by highlighting *all participants in political processes* who appear as *political actors* by performing the political functions such as legislation, governing, ruling, voting etc.; in all these processes or in these communicative events the role of context is very much significant which furthermore leads towards implications. van Dijk, has highlighted these categories of political discourse analysis.

2.6.1 The Domain of Politics

van Dijk,suggested that the political discourse cannot be described simply as processes which involve encounters, political actors, settings, events etc. rather it has many other essential elements like the political system, political ideology, political relations, etc. (van Dijk, T. A, 1993a & 1998c). Some important categories of political text and context are discussed here.

2.6.1.1 Societal Domain or Field

According to van Dijk (1993a, 1993b, 1996 & 1998c) the domain of Politics is the highest, most inclusive category comprising the various aspects of politics specified below. Such a domain label, like that of e.g. education, health, arts, etc., play an important role in the common sense definition of political actions and discourse. It may also be negatively used in judging illegitimate practices in other domains, e.g., when research is prohibited or problematized because it is no longer in the domain of science but in the domain of politics. It is assumed that social actors generally are known in which 'field' they are currently acting. Such categorizations may even be more general than the domains mentioned above, viz., those of the private vs. the public sphere, or business vs. pleasure etc.

2.6.1.2 Political Systems

Political systems are the organizations that typically deal with the process of power distribution among people at different societal levels. van Dijk (1998c) described political systems as the domain of politics such as communism, democracy, capitalism, nepotism, aristocracy, fascism, or the social democracy, among others, are generally seen as typically 'political', e.g., in the description of countries, nation-states, political parties, politicians or political acts. These systems are usually understood as referring to the organization and distribution of power and the principles of decision making.

2.6.1.3 Political Values

Another category of political discourse is termed as political values; these values are related to cultural set up of a social community. According to van Dijk (1993a, 1996 & 1998c), in some societies for certain dominant groups political independence, freedom, and justice may be considered more significant values than the social values of submission or harmony. The political values depend upon the overall stance of a political

party in terms of their political wisdom and sensible decision making. Comprehensively it can be stated that the ideological representation of a political group heavily relies upon the political values of that particular group.

2.6.1.4 Political Ideologies

Political ideologies refer to the socio-cognitive value system which political actors use to represent shared social representation of groups and members. In this regard, democracy can be taken as a value system and simultaneously it appears as a complex ideological system because it involves social representations and depicts certain attitudes (van Dijk, 1998c). What political systems are at the level of the social and economic organization of power, political ideologies define the socio-cognitive counterpart of such systems? In that respect, communism or democracy may be seen both as a system and as a complex set of basic social representations, involving relevant values and sustaining specific altitudes about properties (like power, equality, etc.) that characterize the system.

2.6.1.5 Political Groups

According to van Dijk (1996&1998c) political groups are the collections of political actors which may form formal or informal groups. They could sometimes be cohesive or permanent e.g. dissidents, crowds etc. sometimes they can be just formed to support general socio-political movements. To get a clear idea about the ideological representation of a particular political domain it's really significant to see which political groups are shaping the political discourse in a specific social and cultural setting.

2.6.1.6 Political Actors

Political actors are all those people who are engaged in politics, besides elected political representatives. These political actors perform certain political actions such as strikes, demonstrations of lobbies etc. According to van Dijk (1993a, 1996 &1998c) the political actors can be professional politicians and simultaneously they can be the party workers, the general public who actively participate in the political process. In other words, these are people who perform their role in the communicative event. It is very important to figure out or highlight the political actors as they are the key components of political discourse analysis.

2.6.1.7 Political Relations

It refers to the structural units which connect people to a political system. The

most common examples are power, power abuse, hegemony, tolerance etc. Another important aspect can be how state relates to its citizen or how certain political groups are interlinked.

2.6.1.8 Political Process

Moving from the `structural' analysis of political systems, organizations, and relations to a more dynamic conceptualization of the domain of policies, the political processes is the term that categorizes complex, long-term, sequences of political actions. Governing, legislation, opposition, solidarity, agenda-setting, and policies are among the prototypical aspects of such political processes (van Dijk, T. A, 1998a & 1998c).

2.6.1.9 Political Discourse

Political discourse is doing politics i.e. the way in which certain political actors do politics. It might be the passing of laws, decision making, bills, election campaigns etc. Besides parliamentary debates, bills, laws, government or ministerial regulations, and other institutional forms of text and talk, there are other political discourse genres such as propaganda, political advertising, political speeches, media interviews, political talk shows on TV, party programs, and so on (van Dijk, T. A, 1996 & 1998c).

2.6.1.10 Political Cognition

The way through which political discourse is locally evaluated and interpreted is termed as political cognition. According to van Dijk (1998c) it is done at macro level where different societal groups interpret political discourse according to their group affiliations. A common example of political cognition is public opinion.

By getting a comprehensive description of the specific categories of political discourse analysis, the role of context is discussed here as the contextualization is very important to understand political discourse analysis. The political process needs to be explained more by getting deep insight into the political context such as time, location, objects which consequently formulate the physical nature of political discourse analysis. To qualify as a political discourse, the discourse must be uttered by a politician and furthermore, it must be produced within a specific institution (van Dijk, T. A, 1998c) to put it more precisely political discourse is considered as institutional discourse (Cap, 2006). Political discourse practices are very complex and have lots of variations of these practices are discursive in nature. According to van Dijk(1996&1998c) the same

discourses may be apparently identical but there might be a number of differences which may put them in different categories. These differences can be in terms of roles of participants, their status or the functions of their interactions. Political discourse analysis is elaborated as the form of social action and interaction and most social approaches to discourse take it in the same context (Atkinson & Heritage, 1984 &van Dijk, T. A, 1998c).

Another important feature of political discourse analysis is the discourse structure which is one of the most inclusive categories of discourse analysis. Discourse structures basically refer to the discursive structural patterns of societal and cultural set up which lead towards the persuasion and effectiveness of certain approaches (van Dijk, T.A, 1993a & 1998c) to access political discourse. To make it more comprehensive it can be stated that as the political attitudes and opinions are very significant in political discourse same is the case about the choices of lexical items which primarily shape the topic of political discourse. There are certain levels and dimensions of discourse structures which have an explicit impact upon the political context in terms of preferred structures and strategies.

2.6.2 Topics

The selection and representations of topics in political discourse are very sensitive and deliberate process because every political discourse occurs in particular political context so topicsappear as the main agenda of political leaders (van Dijk, T. A, 1993a &1993b). The choice of political topics covey the overall meanings of political discourse which are primarily linked with the ideological perceptions, political actors, and communicative events etc. In other words, topics are reflexive in nature. The *topics* of political discourse are also considered as '*semantic macro proposition'* (van Dijk, T. A, 1998c), it means all those people who participate in political processes. We can call these political participants as public actors in general. According to theorists, macro propositions can be modalized, which means that through modality the operators modify the macro propositions. The events and actions in political discourse are forms of actions which might be permitted, performed, denied, or regretted (Coates, 1990). These modality choices are not considered just as political functions, rather they are typically treated as persuasive functions (Shelly & Eagly, 1983) as the very nature of macro proposition is aimed at performing big actions such as threatening, persuading, seeking agreement from

the public and so on. In the same context the meanings of US vs. THEM dichotomy can be discussed, which is the core concept of a socio-cognitive model of van Dijk (1989c, 1993b, 1996 & 1998c). Here all positive attributes are assigned to one's own self and all negative attributes are labeled to others. It is called as semantic polarization which is basedon our good and their bad assumptions. Furthermore, the Emphasis or De-Emphasis on Our/Their Good/Bad Actions (van Dijk,1998c) also makes a major effect on the political functions such as voting, campaigning, struggle for political contests, legitimating and so on.

2.7 Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical discourse analysis never claimed to be an unbiased or political objective or neutral category of analysis. In fact, it presents itself as a critical approach which reveals the ideological contestation embedded within discourse practices and highly influenced by the broader societal structures. The emancipatory agenda of CDA is sometimes labelled as subjective approach which always stands with the oppressed groups and resists the pressure groups but the objection is addressed by many CDA practitioners such as van Dijk (2006), Wodak (2000), Fairclough (1995) who believed that CDA adopts an explanatory approach and thus it cannot be labelled as highly subjective or pre-defined approach . Social practices, discourse practices, and social structures are discursive in nature, and, therefore, it is not easy to get their meanings. However, CDA offers scholarships which lead towards a better understanding of the text. CDA basically stemmed from critical theory of language which takes language as a form of social practice (Janks, 2006).These social practices carry some historical context which provides the basis for analyzing the social relations which are built because of text. In addition, the purpose here moves beyond the limitations of just textual analysis toomany crucial scholarships i.e. how to text as a discursive event serves different interests. According to Janks (2006) CDA provides the provision of analyzing whether the text is *positioned* or *positioning* and how these positions create a critical impacton the power relations in a society. It means how text defines the power relations and how it displays the hierarchies of power in certain social and cultural context. It studies language as a form of social practice, explicitly focusing on the ways in which social and political power along with social goods are distributed in a particular societal structure and more significantly it focuses on how text and talk represent them semiotically. The text serves a dual role in a discourse practice, preferably termed as discursive practice or discursive

event. One is liked with the construction of social representation and the other one is concerned with the constitution of social representation. CDA has an emancipatory objective as it takes language as socially shaped and socially shaping with a dynamic agenda of interpretation and analysis (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; Wodak & Meyer, 2001). The researchers of CDA take it as a critical discipline which is very much influenced by the Frankfurt school of Habermas (Fay, 1987).Discourse, as defined by Foucault, refers to,ways of constituting knowledge, together with the social practices, forms of subjectivity and power relations which inhere in such knowledge and relations between them. Discourses are more than ways of thinking and producing meaning. They constitute the nature of the body, unconscious and conscious mind and emotional life of the subjects they seek to govern. A form of power that circulates in the social field and can attach to strategies of domination as well as those of resistance (Weedon, 1987, p. 108).

Foucault's work is imbued with an attention to history, not in the traditional sense of the word but in attending to what he has variously termed the 'archaeology' or 'genealogy' of knowledge production. In his view knowledge is inextricably connected to power, such that they are often written as power/knowledge.Power, in Weedon's (1987) interpretation of Foucault isa dynamic of control and lack of control between discourses and the subjects, constituted by discourses, who are their agents. Power is exercised within discourses in the ways in which they constitute and govern individual subjects. Foucault's focus is upon questions of how some discourses have shaped and created meaning systems that have gained the status and currency of truth, and dominate how we define and organize both ourselves and our social world, whilst other alternative discourses are marginalised and subjugated, yet potentially offer sites where hegemonic practices can be contested, challenged and resisted. He has looked specifically at the social construction of madness, punishment,and sexuality. In Foucault's view, there is no fixed and definitive structuring of either social (or personal) identity or practices, as there is a socially determined view in which the subject is completely socialized. Rather, both the formation of identities and practices are related to or are a function of, historically specific discourses. An understanding of how these and other discursive constructions are formed may open the way for change and contestation.

Foucault developed the concept of the *discursive field*as part of his attempt to understand the relationship between language, social institutions, subjectivity,and power.

Discursive fields, such as the law or the family, contain a number of competing and contradictory discourses with varying degrees of power to give meaning to and organize social institutions and processes. They also offer a range of modes of subjectivity (Weedon, 1987, p. 35). It follows then that,*if relations of power are dispersed and fragmented throughout the social field, so must resistance to power be (Diamond & Quinby, 1988, p. 185).*Foucault argues though, in *The Order of Discourse*, that the will to truth is the major system of exclusion that forges discourse and which tends to exert a sort of pressure and something like a power of constraint on other discourses, and goes on further to ask the question what is at stake in the will to truth, in the will to utter this true discourse, if not desire and power? (1970, cited in Shapiro 1984, p. 113-4).

Thus, there are both discourses that constrain the production of knowledge, dissent and difference and some that enable new knowledge and difference(s). The questions that arise within this framework, are to do with how some discourses maintain their authority, how some voices get heard whilst others are silenced, who benefits and how - that is, questions addressing issues of power/ empowerment.Foucauldian discourse analysis is a form of discourse analysis, focusing on power relationships in society as expressed through language and practices and based on the theories of Michel Foucault. Besides focusing on the meaning of a given discourse, the distinguishing characteristic of this approach is its stress on power relationships. These are expressed through language and behaviour, and the relationship between language and power. This form of analysis developed out of Foucault's genealogical work, where power was linked to the formation of discourse within specific historical periods. Some versions of this method stress the genealogical application of discourse analysis to illustrate how discourse is produced to govern social groups. The method analyses how the social world, expressed through language, is affected by various sources of power. As such, this approach is close to social constructivism, as the researcher tries to understand how our society is being shaped (or constructed) by language, which in turn reflects existing power relationships. The analysis attempts to understand how individuals view the world, and studies categorizations, personal and institutional relationships, ideology, and politics.

Foucauldian discourse analysis, like much of critical theory, is often used in politically oriented studies. It is preferred by scholars who criticize more traditional forms of discourse analysis as failing to account for the political implications of discourse.

The advancement in the scholarship of CDA elaborated it as a social and political involvement embedded in the sociologically informed construction of society. Fairclough added that, in human matters, interconnections and chains of cause-and-effect may be distorted out of vision. Hence 'critique' is essentially making visible the interconnectedness of things (Fairclough, 1992). The historical background of CDA can be traced back to early 1970s when the critical linguistics was developed in East Anglia (Fowler R. , Hodge, Kress, & Trew, 1979). The approach of Critical Linguistics, frequently termed as CL, is based upon the theoretical basis of Systemic Functional Linguistics of Halliday (Eggins, 2004). Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) is an approach to language which doesn't focus upon the structural elements of language. Instead, it adopts a different stance by taking language as a social phenomenon and how it works in society (Donnell, 2011). Contrary to those theorists who take language as a mental process, SFL highlighted the functional aspect of language and how it affects individual and collective perceptions in a broader social context. A number of theorists contributed in SFL and in CL, such as Firth(1968), Gregory (Gregory & Carroll, 1978), Fawcett (Fawcett Robin & Young, 1988), Painter (Donnell, 2011). Some practitioners of CL attempted to focus upon the *embedded ideologies in the text*. They tried to isolate ideologies from the text and also demonstrated how ideology appears as a central part of the language system and how it is manifested (Fowler, 1991).

CL also takes analytical tools of SFL. It views language as a social process and its three major functions i.e. ideational, interpersonal and textual as central to the analysis. These three functions of language are discussed by Fowler (Fowler R. , Hodge, Kress, & Trew, 1979) and Fairclough (1989, 1993 & 1998c). The *ideationalfunction* of language means how an individual gets the experience of the world. The *interpersonalfunction* is more subjective as here the significant feature is the attitudes of a speaker towards world phenomenon. The *interpersonalfunction* is more related to the relationship between speaker and listener along with specifying the experience of the speaker about different events. The textual function is not only central to interpersonal and ideational function, it is instrumental to them (Sheyholislami, 2001). It is instrumental because it provides an opportunity to the speaker to express his ideas to the listeners and it also enables the speaker to share his experiences in social and cultural context.

Halliday discussed language as a *socialact* and many theorists of CDA elaborated this idea with few more assumptions and conventions (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999;

Fowler, 1991; Fairclough, 1992; Hodge & Kress, 1993).CDA, as compared to other approaches, focuses on the description of all social and structural processes which facilitate the production of a spoken or written text. Furthermore,practitioners of CDA explained it as a method which attempts to analyze the processes and structures (Fairclough, 1995) in which individuals or groups create meanings by involving in a pattern of discourse (Kress G. , 1990). Resultantly three major concepts provided the basis for three major theoretical and methodological paradigms of CDA, viz., power, history, and ideology (Wodak & Meyer, 2001).

CL and CDA adopt a different scrutiny for the analysis of the text by simply not imposing a deterministic view regarding the relationship between text and society. Instead, it takes the text as a social phenomenon which needs insight into the contextual and structural dimensions of text beyond the sentence level. It tries to evaluate how power relations are structured through language, how text asserts domination and how ideologies get embedded in the text (Wodak, 2000; Wodak & Meyer, 2001). Explicitly the major approaches of CDA are a *socio-cognitive model of van Dijk, T. A, Wodak Discourse historical and discourse Sociolinguistics approach, Fairclough's model of critical discourse analysis, Kress theory of CDA and van Leeuwen's social semiotics* (Sheyholislami, 2001)*.*

2.7.1 Socio-Cognitive Model of CDA by van Dijk

The Socio-cognitive model of critical discourse analysis was introduced by van Dijk (1998)he primarily focused upon the role of context in the construction and interpretation of discourse in different social, political and cultural settings (van Dijk, 1998).

CDA is a critical perspective in respect of elaborative scholarships, so it can be said that critical discourse analysis is *analyzing with an attitude*; the focus relies upon the social aspects of discourse in broader terms. CDA, as an approach exclusively deals with the production in addition to the reproduction of power abuse, the scholarships thus extends towards the impact of dominance and counterpart on discourse practices (Wodak & Meyer, 2001). CDA offers such scholarships which get an insight into sensitive issues such as woman subjugation, child abuse etc.; in these scholarships a critical perspective is inevitable and that is the core agenda of CDA. Simultaneously the problems of marginalization, critical dissents etc. also entails a self-criticism and an extensive critique

of the issue which can also be performed by utilizing strategic plans of CDA. van Dijk, T.A (1998a, 1998c & 2006) commented about the meticulous nature of CDA as a theoretical perspective and as a method of analysis, CDA is concerned with the relationship between discourse structure and social structure as here the theories perspective and methodological concerns both intertwine and cannot be studied in isolation, so the primary agenda of practitioners remains explicit i.e. to highlight the relevance of the prior mentioned constructs.

2.7.1.1 The Discourse-Society-Cognition Triangle

van Dijk(1991, 1993, 1995 & 1998c) proposed a socio-cognitive model of CDA, for him the social cognition is the fundamental principle of analysis. The interface of social cognition makes discourse analysis a distinct method, the focus of analysis also takes into account historical, cultural, socio-economic, philosophical, logical and neurological perspectives depending on the nature of text under consideration with a particular reference to the context in which the text is produced. The emphasis of CDA practitioners doesn't rely solely upon the societal structures in which the discourse is generated rather here the agenda is far more specific that deals with the solid linguistic basis of the text and the context interchangeably (Wodak & Meyer, 2001). According to the socio-cognitive model of CDA, the communicative events are central to analysis where the shift in analysis perspective becomes obvious and practitioners move from verbal categories such as grammatical, syntactical, stylistic, interactional, rhetorical and narrative types to broader Para verbal organizations of the unequivocal communicative event. Furthermore, CDA demands a multidisciplinary, diverse and broad spectrum for the analysis of communicative event which is implicitly embedded in the societal structures and needs a deep insight to reveal and comprehend.

Another important construct of a socio-cognitive model of van Dijk, T.A is a discourse-society-cognition triangle. All these categories need a detailed description to proceed on with other aspects of CDA; the term *discourse* itself refers not simply to text and talk rather all semiotics, conversational features, images, multimedia dimensions, typographical layouts etc. are inclusions of it(van Dijk, T. A, 1991, 1993, 1995 & 1998c). The second construct in the model is *cognition*, here cognition refers to the personal and social cognition along with beliefs, objectives, mental processes, mental images, memory constructs and representations which are linked to discourse in any ascription. Another

important construct of socio-cognitive model is *society* which comprises of local and institutional based structures and global macro contexts, consisting of political systems, societal structures, group affiliations in terms of hegemony and dominance, political movements and many other abstract properties of society (van Dijk, T. A, 1991, 1993, 1995 & 1998c). To put it formally the combined cognitive and social dimensions of the socio-cognitive model represents the link between text and context of discourse. The intricacies of text require a comprehensive approach which combines social perspectives, linguistic analysis, and discourse analysis. For this particular study, the researcher has also taken critical discourse analysis as a theoretical and methodological perspective.

According to van Dijk (1989, 1991, 1993, & 1998c) critical discourse studies are multidisciplinary in nature which represents CDA and CDS as socio-cognitive approaches because the role of social cognition is very much significant here in terms of interaction and analysis. The role of social cognition is not just limited to the cognition of society as a whole rather there the emphasis is on the individual, the theorists of CDA are much more interested in the mental representations and the processes of language users when they practically perform the function of discourse in terms of participation, sharing ideological perspectives etc. (van Dijk, 1998c). Furthermore, the critical discourse analysis approaches can be viewed as the tools and methods which try to get a deep insight into the link between cognitive phenomena and the structures of discourse patterns at the interactional level and far beyond. These approaches attempt to explain the relationships between cognition and communicative events, societal structures, domination, inequalities etc. van Dijk (1991, 1993 & 1998c) discussed cognitive approaches as a study of the deep interface between mind, discursive events,and societal structures; simultaneously it does not ignore the significance of context in all discourse structures. Social cognition is not limited to the interpretation of subjective meanings of individual language users rather it enhances the scope to the underlying assumptions in the discursive discourse structures such as the dominance, power abuse, etc. (van Dijk,1998c). These social cognitions are also termed as the beliefs or mental representations which individuals share with other communicative groups. There are various types of social representations such as knowledge, identity, values, ideologies etc. van Dijk in Discourse, context, and cognition (2006) elaborated the theoretical perspective of socio-cognitiveapproach as there is no direct causal or conditional relationship between social characteristics (gender, class, age, roles, group membership,

etc.) of participants and the way they talk or write. Rather, it is the way participants as speakers (writers) and recipients subjectively understand, interpret, construct or represent these social characteristics of social situations that influence their production or understanding of their talk or text.

Furthermore,van Dijk (2006) stressed upon the social constructs along with the explicit context such as time, place, physical conditions etc., ultimately the social constructs and objective context construct the discursive discourse structures and discourse patterns. Whenever a discourse is generated its participants create such dynamic mental models which facilitate two dimensions of discourse one is the text or material of discourse and the other one is social context (van Dijk,1998a & 1998c). These two models are "pragmatic" and "semantic" in nature, as the context itself is the personal interpretation of the communicative event, so these constructs are termed as the personal context by van Dijk. The models can be discussed in detail by analyzing the function of both models, the former is related to the control of interactions such as styles of participants, their rhetorical skills, speech acts etc. all these aspects basically shape the appropriateness of discourse in particular societal context (van Dijk, 2006). On the other hand,*semantics* model deals with the social representations, meaningfulness of discourse in terms of production and comprehensions of discourse at different levels.

According to van Dijk (1998a, 1998c & 2006) discourse practices represent the social cognition of the individuals and group members. The perception of us vs. them is the continuation of the theory which focuses on the mental cognition as a set of certain beliefs which people develop in terms of representing their group affiliation at the macro level. van Dijk (1998a & 1998c) integrated discourse analysis for media analysis; he made an analysis of news discourse beyond the textual and structural level to the production and reception of media discourse (Barrett, 1994).

van Dijk(1991, 1993 & 1998c) explained structural level as the analysis of "structures at various levels" it means beyond grammatical, and semantic level rather it takes into account the higher level properties such as overall coherent patterns of text, the thematic concerns along with schematic and rhetorical perspectives. van Dijk takes the text as a complex communicative event where the main agenda of CDA is to reveal rather elaborate the production and reception processes with a specific focus on the participants. The *production process* refers to the process of news making, text production along with

a specific focus on economic and social practices which are ingrained in the text of news. The *reception process* refers to the next levels of analysis i.e. the memorization and reproduction of the news items as communicative events. The theoretical model of van Dijk attempts to interpret the link between three levels of analysis i.e. production, reception and comprehension of text for an in-depth understanding of media discourse (1989, 1991 & 1993). van Dijk (1998c) perceives discourse analysis as ideology analysis because ideologies are maintained, represented and reproduced in communications and in various discourse patterns, additionally ideologies are manifested through non-verbal semiotic messages in the form of pictures, movies etc. he analyzed ideologies at three levels i.e. social analysis, cognitive analysis and discourse analysis.

The term *social analysis* is related to the detailed investigation of *overall societal* structures, which implicitly means the context of a particular discourse while discourse analysis refers to the in-depth analysis of the text. Here *text analysis* means the syntactical structures of the text along with a special reference to the schematic structures and thus the local semantics (van Dijk, 1998a & 1998c). Another significant feature of van Dijk approach is the incorporation of two traditional approaches for particular media discourse, i.e. interpretive and social tradition, the prior one refers to text while the former deals with the context, combined in a single analytical framework. The third level of ideology analysis is *cognitive analysis*, consisting of both personal and social cognitions which implicitly mediates between society and the discourse patterns at broader levels (van Dijk, 1998c & 2006).

Social cognition is elaborated as the *system of mental representations* constituted by the group members and demonstrates the processes of group members also. Moreover, it can be explained as the set of mental abstract systems which formally structure the socially shared attitudes of group members and are very much exclusive for the sake of analysis (Sheyholislami, 2001). Ideologies affect the personal cognition of group members during the interactional patterns of discourse and termed as *models* which enable individuals to develop a comprehensive understanding of other's discourse practices (van Dijk, T. A, 1998c &Wodak, 2000).

2.7.2Discourse-Historical Approach of Wodak

Ruth Wodak (2000) defined CDA as an interdisciplinary approach to language study which adopts a critical point of view while analyzing the speech behaviors in

natural settings with a special reference to the social context. Wodak stressed the significance of multiple theoretical and methodological approaches to deal with the sensitive issues of social relevance such as social inequalities, unequal distribution of social goods, in-concise able social hierarchies etc. The major inspiration of her theoretical approach came from Habermas (Wodak, 2000), it was furthermore elaborated that discourse is never isolated from the context and the underlying mechanism of text in terms of its structures and functions makes a significant effect on the communication.

The discourse-historical approach of Wodak (2000) is unique in nature as it makes a multilayer analysis of the text by integrating all background information in a systemic way. According to Ludwig and Wodak (1999) the discourse-historical approach believes that language represents social processes along with social interactions. The three basic ways to analyze thelanguage of discourse demonstrates the structural parameter and ideological concerns of discourse-historical approach. The first one believes that discourse can never exist without the notion of power and ideology and every single discourse practice represents ideology in one or the other way. Secondly, the discourse is always historical which means that every discourse carries certain entailments, synchronically or diachronically it is related to other communicative events (Wodak & Ludwig, 1995). These communicative events must have been done before this particular discourse or they are going to happen afterward, this notion of discourse-historical context is similar to Fairclough's intertextuality (Wodak & Meyer, 2001). Moreover, the notion of discourse-historical approach demonstrates the existence of historical references which are implicitly embedded in the discourse practices. The last entailment is the dilemma of interpretation, according to Wodak (2000) the interpretation of the text depends upon the background of the listener or the reader, every individual comes up with a different interpretation of the same text, the same language appears different for every reader and listener so it can be concluded that *THE RIGHT* interpretation does not exist at all.

To elaborate it more the interpretations can be conceivable or to some extent can be adequate but it can never be true. In order to analyze the social issues or the notions of inequalities or injustice, the multi-methodological approach or diversity of theoretical approach is preferred by Wodak (2000). CDA thus adopts a biased agenda as it believes that there is an unequal access to the social and linguistic resources and these resources are institutionally controlled and they demonstrate the patterns of discourse and the nature

of the communicative event(Wodak & Ludwig, 1999). The agenda of CDA is to make the investigation of social, political and cultural inequalities from a critical perspective along with a profound analysis of how social goods are distributed in terms of social relations, objects, instruments, values, money, wisdom, common-sense etc. (Alelign, 2013). These linguistic and social resources are dialectically related to social consciousness in terms of the ways they are represented, legitimized, depicted and demonstrated through language (Harvey, 1996; Fairclough, 1995 Wodak, 2000).

2.7.3 Fairclough's Approach of CDA

Fairclough (1995) perceives and represents CDA as an interpretive approach which aims to investigate the relationships between discursive practices and the vulnerable social structures which are used to employ them. Thus CDA reveals the determinative relation between the social structures and discursive practices along with a critical emphasis on ideology.

For Fairclough (1989) *language is a form of social practice* and it plays a central role in unpacking the relationships between social structures, social practices, and social events by looking inside the opaque spectrum of social life. Moreover, it is commented that language is a socially conditioned process and it can never be abstracted or isolated from the society in which it is employed. So the language is not considered as the passive reflection of the society rather it is taken as a requisite part of social processes and interactions. According to Fairclough (1989), the social conditions or the contextual basis of a text are linked with three basic levels of organizations the primary level is the *social context* in which the language occurs the second level of text interpretation is a *social institution* and the last one is *society at large scale*. Now, these levels are very much significant for the production and thus interpretation of the text which is semiotically embedded in society at macro levels (Fairclough N., 2002 & 2003).

The linguistic theory of Fairclough is deeply rooted in the Hallidayan Systemic Functional Linguistics which takes a functional stance for the analysis of the text by deeply studying the sentences with specific reference to the contexts and the intended meanings which are implicitly embedded in the text. Regardless of the fact that the textual features of the discourse are inevitable for the manifestation of social interactions and processes as proposed by Halliday, Fairclough (1992) adopted a different stance by putting an exclusive emphasis upon interpretative nature of analysis rather than the

descriptive one in order to comprehend a particular discourse. Additionally, the focuses of Fairclough's approach offered a shift in the analysis of the textual features form what to how and why i.e. why and how a text is being produced, consumed and interpreted and what are the hidden agendas behind them (Alelign, 2013). It is also believed by Fairclough that the forms of the discourse and the specific models of discourse are exclusively and intentionally selected by the speakers and writers and they are ideologically constructed, manifested, contested and manipulated under pre-defined agendas (Wodak & Meyer, 2001).

There is a remarkable resemblance between Fairclough's and van Dijk's approach to ideology analysis consisting of discourse, socio-cognition and socialanalysis. The major difference between the two approaches is that of socio-cognition which to some extent mediates between discourse and social analysis as postulated by Fairclough (Sheyholislami, 2001) while contrary to this van Dijk assumes that social cognition and mental models are mediating between discourse and social analysis. Fairclough presented the idea text production and text consumptions are the basic entities of analysis and need to be taken into account to get an interpretation of the textual features (Fairclough, 1993).

Fairclough also stressed upon the notion of intertextuality for the comprehension of particular discourse practice. He believed that a text always contains intertextual references and they are inevitable to be investigated to unpack the hidden ideologies.

2.7.4 Kress's Theory

Kress (1990) provided a different notion of language and linguistics. Kress (1990) proposed that language is a social phenomenon, and in social interaction, text appears as a significant element. He also specified that people, institutions, and all social groups have specific meanings and language is the medium that conveys these beliefs in an organized way. Kress (1990) focused on the political economy of media, in fact, the explanation given by him provided a realistic framework for understanding different social groups and their interactional patterns. These theoretical foundations facilitated the comprehension of how individuals behave in broader societal context and how these individuals represent realities.

Moreover, the theoretical underpinnings of Kress (1990) helped in the understanding of how individual acts as an important element of society in response to the existing representational modes.

2.7.5 Van Leeuwen's Theory of Social Semiotics

Van Leeuwen (1999) focused on the non-linguistic elements of text for analysis of media discourse. According to him to get a comprehensive understanding of media discourse it is inevitable for an analyst to consider verbal and visual elements of that particular discourse practice. Mostly van Leeuwen's approach is applied to understand the notion of language, media, and communication with a different lens of text, context and non-verbal elements of the text(Van Leeuwen & Wodak, 1999). Kress and Leeuwen (1996) proposed that images facilitate the meaning-making process as they depict interpersonal, experiential and compositional meanings(Burke, 2014). Leeuwen's notion of social semiotics also facilitated in meaning-making processes as the theory states that modes are significant to analyze the true representations as they are projected through the text and images that are associated with that certain text (Van Leeuwen & Wodak, 1999).

Leeuwen (1996) mainly stressed upon the media discourse and for analytical purposes, he provided an extensive framework that consisted of both *verbal and non-verbal* elements. Moreover, he took CDA as a method to reveal the opaque relationships of power and hegemony as they are embedded in the discourse.

2.8 Identity, Theoretical Construct, and Types

The term i*dentity* is a very difficult and convoluted concept that plays a significant role in various subfields of social sciences particularly discourse and critical discourse analysis (Fearon, 1999). Erikson (1968), defined identity from a psychological point of view. In the modern world of social interaction and communication, the term *identity* is taken as a social category which is subject to membership rules and expected behavioral traits. Secondly, the term is considered a set of socially distinguished features which are not static but subject to social attributes (Fearon, 1999).

According to Oxford dictionary, the characteristics determining who or what a person or thing is called identity(Stevenson, 2010). In the modern world, identity is related to dignity, pride, or status which is connected with the social categories of attribution. Moreover, political scientists adopted a different stance by linking identity with political actions and political activities. There are a number of definitions of *identity* presented by different theorists. According to Abrams and Hogg (1990)), identity is basically the concept which people develop about themselves in terms of how they are linked with others and who they are (Abrams & Hogg, 1990). *Identity* was elaborated

from a different perspective by Deng (1995) who perceived, identity as a way through which individuals define themselves and others on the basis of race, ethnicity, religion, language, and culture. It means identity represents the individual from a societal point of view rather from social attribution like what is the religious affiliation of an individual, which language he speaks etc. Jenkins (1996) distinguished between *individual* and *collective* identities, furthermore he emphasized that individuals behave differently than collectives while Bloom (1990) discussed *national identity* which represents the traits of people linked with national symbols and thus becomes national identity marks.

While discussing *identity*, Wendt (1992) defines it as an understanding of an individual about himself/herself with special reference to the social roles assigned to him/her. It was also suggested by him that *identities basically are the set of meanings* which an actor assigns to himself and these meanings are based on the perceptions of others about a person. These identities are taken and considered aset of cognitive schemas which enables an individual to determine his/her specific role in a social set up. So *identity*develops cognitive abilities of an individual which furthermore helps him/her analyze and decide his/her role in typical social settings. So, identities are socially shared beliefs and they are dependent upon the understandings and expectations of an individual which he/she perceives or conceives from the society. Herrigel (1993) elaborated *social identity* as an aspiration of an individual to attain prestige, and pride as being a part of a social group which can be distinguished on the basis of particular discourse practices within the boundaries of economy and polity. Katzenstein (1996) talked about the conventional attributive meanings of identity in terms of evolving images of an individual of himself and of others. Identity appears as an image of an individual which is constructed by him/her on the basis of societal conventions and approaches, so it is relatively vulnerable and subject to change.

According to Kowert and Jeffrey (1996) identities are a dogmatic demonstration of political actors of themselves and thus their existing relationship with each other. Moreover, the political actors represent their identities with special reference to their relationship with each other, how they perceive their own self and how they perceive the images of people around them in specific political context.

There are many types of identities as defined and discusses by different theorists, psychologist, social scientists and political scientists.

2.8.1 Social Identity Theory

In 1979, Tajfel and Turner postulated Social Identity Theory based on the idea that there are basically three major cognitive processes involved in an in-group or out-group. Group membership is explicitly subject to circumstances of the group i.e. how a group assigns positive attributes to in-group. In the case of out-group, it is the other way round. Tajfel and Turner (1979) elaborated that the identity of a group and attribution of the traits depend upon the situations in which a certain group acts and moves. The way group members perceive their identities is also linked with the constitutive nature of the group. Turner and Tajfel (1979) presented these categories to demonstrate certain constructive perspectives of identity.

According to Social Identity Theory, people classify themselves and others in certain social categories, such as religious affiliations, gender attribution, political associations etc. (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). The theory also demonstrates that people tend to put themselves and others in different social categories which are subject to prototypical characteristics derived from the group members (Turner, Brown, & Tajfel, 1979). Social classification basically constitutes the cognitive segments and orders of a social environment and it enables the individuals to develop a systemic means of defining the others. So it can be said that the proto-typical properties of a social group demonstrate the group attributes, group dynamics, group agenda and group stereotypical edifice but the attribution assigned to the group members is not necessarily true all the time (Hamilton, 2011).

2.8.1.1 Social Categorization

A very important concept of social identity theory is the social categorization which means the process of deciding to which group you belong and how do you perceive others as a part of another group (Turner, Brown, Tajfel, 1979). Social categorization enables an individual to choose a group of his own type and adopt the characteristics as introduced and imposed by that specific group. Simultaneously social categorization function as a dynamic entity which makes an individual decision about the attribution which he may assign to his own group and develop conventional thinking about other groups. On the basis of this thesis social categorization is termed as an important category of Social Identity Theory.

2.8.1.2 Social Identification

Social identification is a dynamic process through which a person identifies himself with other in-group members in an explicit way and the core agenda is to get assimilation with the attitudes, norms, and standards of group members in order to get compatibility subject to self-emulation. Another salient feature of this category is the acceptance of all emulation proposed by the other group members.

2.8.1.3 Social Comparison

Social comparison refers to the self-concept or the social concept of group members while making the social comparisons individuals consider different attributes such as self-esteem, positive and enhanced perceptive abilities of a person as a part of a group. So these comparisons enable group members to perform certain societal and cognitive tasks with special reference to in-group or out-group. According to social identity theory, social comparisons with the out-group are considered as a decisive element which changes the social categorizations to the positive in-group uniqueness.

2.8.1.4 Group Paradigm

While discussing the social identity theory an important dimension is group paradigm. Here the main objective is to get an acceptance of all values, norms, and assumptions about one's own group and those of the other. Interestingly all positive attributes are assigned to in-group and all negative attributes are assigned to out-group. A specific emphasis is laid upon the discriminatory behaviors of individuals which lead towards group favoritism and out-group derogation. Group paradigms furthermore suggest that the over-estimation of in-group and under-estimation of out-group members are subject to extreme inclined and prejudice behavior, here the attribution of these biased characteristics demonstrate the cognitive schema of the individual which he/she develops under societal norms, limitations and boundaries (Tajfel, 1979). Another salient feature of the same thesis is the assumption that all these attributive abilities are learned from the in-group and these are very much vulnerable and subject to change.

Political identity refers to the identification of individuals on the basis of political affiliations, i.e. individuals and groups associate themselves with certain political groups and they adopt the attributes of the political party to which they belong. Political identity develops certain biased approaches among the individuals and groups which lead them

towards prejudice, monopoly, hegemony, etc. Meister (2001) took political identity in the specific context *of post Marxism*. Class as a principal underpinning of political identity was rejected by him and he considered the alternative characteristics such as social attributes like age, gender, ethnicity etc. Meister (2001) elaborated that political identity represents the role of consciousness and the political affiliation. It means there is a significant role of consciousness in developing political identity because while deciding about joining specific political group/ individuals rely upon their personal cognition so it can be stated that political identity undergoes a critical process of development (Meister, 2001).

Deaux (1986) analyzed the social nature of political identities and labeled them as conservative, liberal, radical and socialists etc., it was also figured out that political identities are collective in nature and it is more highlighted as compared to other types of identities.

2.8.2 Cultural Identity Theory

Cultural identity is the identity or feeling of belonging to certain conceptions and self-perceptions to ethnicity, language, religion, social class etc. and any kind of social or societal group which demonstrates its own culture. Cultural identity represents the assimilation of a person to a specific group of people on the basis of shared ethnic and religious beliefs, norms and standards (Erikson, 1968). The concept of cultural identity can be defined in two ways, firstly as a reference to the collective self-awareness which is reflected by the certain group of people and it represents the group dynamics too (Adler, 1987). The second concept of cultural identity of an individual is related to the relationship between the individual and his culture. This concept is much more related to the theoretical assumption postulated by Erikson (1968) who highlighted the psychological foundations of the concept i.e. sometimes individual unconsciously develops an association between himself and the cultural world around him. So cultural identity is flexible and fluids in nature, coherently cultural identity entails a profound sense of self-dependent upon the stability and integrity of norms and values around an individual which thus give him a sense of wholeness and completeness.

The core element of cultural identity is an image of self and the cultural set up in which a person exists and it enhances the individual's concept of reality(Erikson, 1968). Singer (1971) took cultural identity as a set of perceptions which is accepted, appreciated

and expected by others in a society, so cultural identity is the vivid symbol of attitudes, beliefs, norms, values of a group woven in a societal setup.

According to Adler (2002) the cultural identity of a society is basically presented and postulated by the majority or dominant group of society and an explicit demarcation can be viewed from the smaller or minor group of the society with which these major groups share the same physical environment. The idea supports the view that the cultural identity of an individual basically demonstrates the social traits and societal attributes with an explicit focus on the individual differences. Additionally, cultural identity is inclusive of typologies of cultural behaviors. Furthermore, thecultural identity includes the shared premises, values, norms beliefs, the flow of certain societal activities, etc. Generally, these activities are considered unconscious adherence of an individual towards certain standards and attitudes of society.

2.8.3 Ethnic Identity Theory

The term *ethnic,* derived from Greek ethnicus and/or ethnikas, means nation, and the term *ethos* refers to the customs, norms, and traits of people. Collectively, the term *ethnicity* refers to the group of people living together who share some common norms and customs. According to Encyclopaedia of English, ethnicity is the fact or state of belonging to a social group that has a common national or cultural tradition. So, coherently, it refers to the sameness of a person or thing at all times in all circumstances; the condition or fact that a person or thing is itself and not something else(Simpson & Weiner, E, 1989).

Fredrik Barth (1969) makes the argument of explicit boundaries which clearly separate an individual from others in terms of group membership. The approach presented by Barth (1969) demonstrated the notion of ethnic boundaries which demark the in-group and out-group and not typically the cultural stuff that encloses it (Sollars, 1996).

Typically ethnic identity is an affiliate construct, and here an individual is viewed by himself and by others as belonging to an ethnic or cultural group. Now, these affiliations can get affected by the racial, figurative, symbolic and many cultural factors (Cheung, 1993). The racial factors are inclusive of physical properties or origins of an individual, their ancestors etc. while symbolic or figurative factors relate to the norms or value system of society such as food habits, dressing style etc. (Cheung, 1993). So it can be stated that symbolic ethnic identity denotes that individuals usually select or adapt

their identity from the available cultural elements (Kivisto & Nefzger, 1993). In the same context, Cheung (1993) stressed the psychological aspect of ethnic identity. The focal point of his theoretical notion of ethnic identity is the role of self-perception which is related to how an individual perceives himself in the broader societal and social context. Another significant contribution was made by Saharso (cited in Trimbl, 2000) who highlighted the significance of social processes in the construction of ethnic identity. In more or less all definitions of ethnic identity, society and perception play a vital role in the construction of identity. According to Phinney (1990)*Ethnic identity is adynamic, multidimensional construct that refers to one's identity, or sense of self as a member of an ethnic group* (2003, p. 63). This definition is currently considered as the most comprehensive definition of ethnic identity.

2.9 Clusivity theory

Clusivity is the latest phenomenon which is studied in different fields of linguistics such as syntax, semantics, pragmatics, cognitivism (Adetunji, 2006 & Wieczorek, 2009). Clusivity is defined with reference to inclusion and exclusion explicitly marked with the first person pronouns, it means that the inclusive *we*demonstrate the associations, affiliations, and belongingness of individuals and groups while the exclusion of we represents the absence of affiliations, associations, and intimations. According to Chilton (2004), the use of the plural*we, us and ours* is a very significant element of discourse and it indicates groups, identity, likeness, hatred, love, honor, disgust etc. The term clusivity highlights the linguistic indicators of inclusions and exclusions which are implicitly or sometimes explicitly demonstrated by the participants of political discourse in the context of discursive representation of reality and truth (Wieczorek, 2009). Linguistic studies of clusivity signified that the first person and third person pronouns indicate certain intricacies of discursive discourse patterns. Semantically, the term inclusion can be considered for the first person and sometimes it can be considered for the third person (Cysouw 2005). A highlighted area of clusivity research is plural and singular pronoun (Cysouw, 2005), imperatives (Brown & Levinson, 1987) etc.

Wieczorek, (2009) analyzed clusivity elements in the particular context of political discourse. It was investigated how speakers demonstrate their belongingness within a political context, by focusing upon the view that when political actors interact

with each other they demonstrate their political affiliations and attributions through certain linguistic choices. In many of the clusivity studies, two major elements under investigation are the interaction of two persons and the link between language and identity of those persons leading towards ideologies (Adetunji, 2006 & Wieczorek, 2009).

Within the context of clusivity studies, another important issue addressed by theorists was socialization. During the process of socialization, the individual adopts a certain stance by selecting primary or secondary socialization (Berger &Luckman 1966). Primary socialization refers to the learning process of an individual where the social norms, attributes etc. enable him to become a member of a society, while secondary socialization is related to the conscious process of associating a socialized individual to a new society on the basis of pre-defined objectives and it is a sensitive process (Berger & Luckman, 1966) It means that primary socialization is done in a natural way while the secondary socialization depends upon a lot of factors such as the objective of a societal group, norms etc. With special reference to clusivity, primary socialization is pre-supposed while secondary socialization undergoes many deliberate and conscious processes, which re-shape the perceptual ability of the speaker (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). It was postulated by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) that we conceive ourselves within a special societal context where the perception is dependent upon the norms and rules set by the others. Indirectly the perception of one's own self is subject to the views of people around him/her. Furthermore, Chilton (2004) elaborated that political groups demonstrate their group association through certain comprehension processes. Thus, only those shared values and perceptions are accepted, adopted and encouraged are apt to the interest of the group members. Additionally, the human bequest for the language performs a number of functions such as demonstrating, collaborating, signifying, interacting etc. Now whatever is expedient with the shared group perceptions is adopted and whatever appears contrary to group interests is simply rejected. The meaning-making process is thus negotiated by the addressees and it is accepted under the reverence acceptance of shared perceptions of groups. So we can say that the interpretation of the political discourse depends upon the addressee's perception, the common perception of the extra-linguistic structure of the society, socio-ideological groups and relations between them (Chilton 2004). The two constructs *identity* and *ideology* of a given group are negotiated, demonstrated, reinforced, forwarded and projected in the discursive discourse practices. The speaker may construct social identities by pre-supposed linguistic choices for the display of

exclusion and inclusion in terms of positive and negative attributes, simultaneously the identities are legitimized for the self and delegitimized for others (Wieczorek, 2009). The employment of clusivity-driven depictions and tactics by the speaker and the addressees presents the idea that they both have a direct role in the process of discourse practices. As the current research is based on the analysis of political discourse practices, it is expected that the study of clusivity elements will bring valuable insights from a critical perspective. It will be attempted to find out how political actors have exploited clusivity elements for projection of their political identities. An analysis of political discourse on social media exposes the hidden itineraries of political actors and offers a deep discernment into their ideologies (van Dijk, 1991, 1993, 1995, 1998a, 1998c, 2002 & 2006).

2.10 Social Media Theory

According to Fuchs (2014) media are not technologies, but techno-social systems. They have a technological level of artefacts that enable and constrain a social level of human activities that create knowledge.Social Media refers to an online medium of communication that allows its users to share data with others in less time and fast speed. SNSs have become one of the most efficient trend of communication. On social media, various social activities (cognition, communication, co-operation) in different social roles that belong to our behaviour in systems (economy, state) and the lifeworld (the private sphere, the socio-economic sphere, the socio-political sphere, the socio-cultural sphere) are mapped to single profiles(Fuchs, 2015). Social media refers to an online medium of communication that allows its users to share data with others in less time and fast speed. SNSs have become one of the most efficient trendsin communication. According to Bute and Rao (2016), social media makes the process of communication effective and fast as its users feel ease while updating certain information. Social media has multiple functions but the most important one is the sharing of experiences in real-time (Zappavigna, 2012). Moreover, in micro-blogging sites, the real-time discourse is created and thus represented to the audiences. According to Boyd (2010), there are four affordances of SNSs which make the discourse of these sites interesting for the users and for the researchers also (Zappavigna, 2012).

- Persistence (capture and archiving of data)
- Replicability (duplication of contents)
- Scalability (broad visibility of contents)

- Searchability (access to contents via search)

It means that the data available from these sites like Facebook, Twitter, blogs etc. is easy to access for the users and for researchers. Simultaneously the data can be achieved and thus used for multiple purposes. Zappavigna (2012), proposed that the extremely large volume of naturally occurring language on Twitter is of great interest, as data, to linguists. As mentioned earlier that the social media network sites offer a great set of data to the researcher to it becomes easy for the researcher to explore this data from multiple perspectives.

2.11 Social Media Critical Discourse Studies (SM-CDS)

The nature, location and dynamic of discursive power in Social Media, or broadly speaking the participatory web, is fluid, changeable and nonstatic (KhosraviNik 2014, Kh osraviNik and Unger 2016). Social Media provides all forms of offline communication an d beyond through mediation of electronic devices. KhsorvaNik view and define social Me dia by the communicative affordances they provide at the intersection of mass and interpe rsonal communication. Social Media Communication is viewed as an electronically medi ated communicative paradigm across any electronic platforms, spaces, sites, and technolo gies in which users can: (a.) work together in producing and compiling content; (b.)interp ersonal communication and mass communication simultaneously or separately sometimes mass performance of interpersonal communication and; (c.) have ac cess to see and respond to institutionally (e.g. newspaper articles) generated content/ texts (KhosraviNik, 2016).

Viewing discourse as language-in-use has always been a defining characteristic in the development of CDA with special reference to the mass media texts and interpersonal communication. As such as SM-CDS model would be unapologetically comfortable in following a context-dependent, critical analysis of communicative practices with a socio-political critique level. On the other hand Androutopulos's approach can arguably be taken to speak to another concern in SM-CDS i.e. how to get a model for media-levelcontextualization (KhosraviNik, 2016) or the discursive practice level in Faircloughian's approach.

That means that the discursive practices are to be vertically linked with the socio-political context of the society at a large scale. In other words SM-CDS framework needs to analyse the (a) a horizontal substantiation which deals with the intertextuality among

the textual practices and inter-connectedness of social media users through observations by linking the available textual platforms and practices horizontally across the sites and genres and (b), a vertical contextual substantiation which links both the micro-features of. The textual analysis and horizontal contexts to political context of users in society i.e. links to the societal discourse-in-place the *thick* context (KhosraviNik, 2016). Precisely narrating SM-CDS attempts to analyse the unique discourse practices that are exclusively generated and consumed at social media platforms from a critical lens that enables to link the text with the conventional socio-political context in which a user exist and interact with others. By using the lens of SM-CDS, political texts can be scrutinized to debate the issues of power, hegemony and representations. As the basic tenets of CDA remain central to SM-CDS so the model can be applied on multiple discourse practices that are produces on various platforms like Facebook, blogs, microblogs etc. Substantial contributions of KhosraviNik (2014, 2015) and KhosraviNik and Unger (2016) have opened up new ways to analyze the social media discourse from critical perspective.

2.12 Critical Discussion, Pakistani Political Context

As mentioned earlier, the naturally occurring language of Twitter makes it an interesting research topic for the researchers. From user's perspective, the ease of creating and disseminating information makes it an effective communicative tool for them as it offers a great opportunity to discuss multiple topics. According to Weil (2010), Folks were tweeting 5,000 times a day in 2007. By 2008, that number was 300,000, and by 2009 it had grown to 2.5 million per day. Tweets grew 1,400% last year to 35 million per day. Today, we are seeing 50 million tweets per day – that's an average of 600 tweets per second (p, 166).

As debated above that even in 2010 when Twitter was just four years old, its users were quite large in number. Afterward, the micro-blogging site got its momentum in 2016. As stated by Sreedhar (2016)Twitter has 316 million monthly active users and around 500 million tweets per day. The statistical data demonstrates the popularity and usage of Twitter at international level. Since Pakistan is also a part of the global world, it is also affected by the new mediums in different fields and areas. The usage of Twitter in political fields is discussed at length in sections 2.2, 2.3. 2.4, and 2.5. While talking about the popularity of Twitter in Pakistani politics it is important to mention the famous politicians who initiated and thus established the trends here. Buet and Rao (2016)

elaborated that in Pakistan, whereas Facebook and Twitter are ranked highest among social media platforms, social media has become an integral part of politics in 2009 when former president Pervez Musharraf and presidential hopeful Imran Khan created Facebook pages. Additionally, Khan used Twitter and YouTube to reach out to the public in advance of 2013 Pakistan elections, its Twitter account cumulatively have more than five lakh followers (Harvey Year; p. 716; cited by Bute &Rao; p. 159).

So the trends started by these political figures stimulated all other political groups and figures to use this contemporary media for political communication and campaigns. There are a number of political groups in Pakistan who actively tweet their ideologies to e-users.According to Yusufzai (2016)twitter is also fast becoming the preferred Social media portal with more than 280 million connections per day. The Federal and State Governments, various regulatory authorities, military public relations, civil governments, and political parties make use of the Twitter and Facebook to make announcements, deliver messages and get firsthand public feedback. Pakistan has also been actively engaged in using Social media such as ISPR's official Twitter updates, political parties' campaigns through social media are common trends (Yusufzai, 2016; p.2).

Based on the preceding discussions, it is concluded that in Pakistani political context Twitter has emerged as an effective communicative tool that enables politicians to represent their ideological beliefs to the audiences. Social media has revolutionized the mode of communication by proposing an extensive range of generally accessible and scalable communication tools. SNSs (Social media network sites) have enabled an individual to negotiate, construct and thus develop new trends of communication in terms of scholarships, subject methods and issues of discussions. According to Asur and Huberman (2010) Social media is changing the public discourse at a broader societal level as it helps to create and share contents with other users. A number of issues are addressed in Social media such as entertainment, scientific trends, political issues etc. with the core agenda of fast communication. In the same context, web technologies have increased e-participation trends with special reference to political discourse on social media as the political actors now can exercise their political power, hegemony and ideology by performing a number of political activities on social media. Furthermore, political actors represent their political identities on social media rather it is more appropriate to state that social media offers a platform to political actors where they can (re)create, contest and (re)present their identities through discursive discourse practices.

In Pakistani context, one significant study was done by Makazhanov, Rafiei, & Waqar (2014) in which political preferences of Twitter users wereanalyzed. Michaelsen (2011) conducted a detailed study to analyze the role of social media in Pakistan by focusing on the significant events of the Emergency period of 2007 (imposed by former president Musharraf) and the floods of 2010. The study revealed that to some extent internet has fostered e-participation in Pakistan as citizens liked to interact on different SNSs such as Facebook and Twitter and the frequently discussed topics ranged from personal interests to political and social issues, etc. An important study was done by Ahmed & Skoric (2014) in which role of Twitter on voter's behavior was analyzed. The study specifically focused on PTI, but the linguistic perspective was not taken into account. Apart from these studies (until November 2015) no significant study was done to analyze the (re)presentation of political identity on social media specifically on Twitter. Eijaz (2012) attempted to investigate the assorted impact of political discourses created on mass media and in another study the political discourse was scrutinized through critical discourse analysis of political talk shows (Bilal, Akbar, Gul, & Sial, 2012). There is a great deal of research work done on the analysis of social media political discourse all over the world but in Pakistan, this area of research didn't get much attention. According to the best of researcher's knowledge, no major research studies focusing on the analysis of social media political discourse has been done in Pakistan so far. Especially in the field of language studies, such research works have not been done on a broader level. This study is delimited to the one social media platform i.e. Twitter, however, there are many another different platform available for digital discourse such as Facebook, snapchat, yahoo messenger, Pinterest, blogs etc. The basic idea of this study is to get an insight into the political discourse of Pakistani politicians to find out how do they represent their political identities on social media. The study is significant as in the existing literature there is no evidence of such studies in the particular context of Pakistani politics is found. So there was a need for an extensive study which can elaborate certain solid scholarships for the analysis of social media political discourse in Pakistani political context.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

In this chapter, the researcher will discuss the research process and methodology adopted in this study. The research methodology is discussed in two sections, the first section is about the methodological framework and the second section is about the theoretical framework. The aim is to elaborate on the research tools, procedures, and context of the study.

According to Kuhn (cited by Shulman, 1986), there are three main criteria's to describe a research paradigm.

      1) Clear, unvoiced & pervasive commitment by a community of scholars to a conceptual framework

      2) Source of a method for asking questions

        3) A network of shared assumptions and conceptions (p, 4).

Academic research is taken as a challenging task in terms of credibility and contributions. Therefore, it is very much important to choose the methods of inquiry which are compatible with the data of research and the questions under investigation. In addition, it was also essential to collect data in a suitable time period according to the nature of research questions besides developing a comprehensive theoretical and methodological framework to conduct the analysis. Another significant concern is related to the analytical abilities of researcher along with contributions and insights developed from the literature reviews.

The current study aims to get a deep insight into the ways that political actors use to display their political identities in social media discourse. Apart from knowing about the demonstration the researcher also aimed to explore how these political identities are

(re)constructed and thus projected in specific social and political context. The researcher has attempted to highlight the hidden agendas of discourse makers that may remain opaque otherwise. A significant aspect of the current scholarship is its focus upon the text and context in which a particular discourse practice takes place. Moreover, the current study is presented as one of its own kind in Pakistan as before this study no elaborative scholarships are dedicated to debating political discourse on Twitter (till August' 2015). Another significant aspect of the current study is its data collection time period since Pakistan had its 12th general elections in May'2013, so the researcher decided to take data from the same time span. The researcher believed that in the crucial time of elections political actors remain more active on Social media as they want to do maximum campaigns to impress their audiences and to increase their vote banks, so the data collected during that time appeared interesting from an analytical perspective. The currents study is also unique in its nature as it enables to explore new trends in political communication such as, how political actors manipulate unconventional means like SNSs for political campaigns and agenda settings.

The research focuses on the multiple self-legitimizing strategies that political actors manipulate to get their political agendas. Additionally, the study stressed how political actors use inclusive and exclusive categories of representation while (re)constructing and (re)presenting their political identities through social media political discourse. These self- legitimizing techniques are analyzed by scrutinizing the textual and contextual elements i.e. the linguistic and contextual aspects of political discourse to achieve the research objectives.

The researcher has selected five major political parties of Pakistan as research sample. Afterward, their political discourse from January-June 2013 was downloaded from their current functional account on Twitter.

The following factors were considered before the selection of the research method.

- Nature of data and type of research questions
- Objectives of the study
- Instruments for data collections, filtration, organization,and analysis
- Flexibility in terms of techniques, application, and reflections

According to Tony (1995) at the base of the difference is the consternation that a quantitative approach attempts to handle conditions of the study by controlling external effects, while on the other hand qualitative approach tries to comprehend phenomena taking place in its natural setting (p.145*).*

After reviewing existing literature the researcher decided to go for a mix-method approach because to conduct the research study a qualitative analysis of text with reference to the contextual structures was required. Similarly to present the occurrences of inclusive and exclusive categories of representation it was inevitable to make a quantitative analysis.

The following figure illustrates the research procedure.

Selection and use of 'All my Tweets' (software to download data from Twitter)
Selection of five major political parties on the basis of their popularity on Twitter (no of followers)
Collection of data from sepcific time period (January June 2013)
Data filteration Management+organisation+representaion
Corpus compilation, selection of (AnConc 3.2.3)
Selection of methodological and theoretical framework
Selection of analytical caegories and analysis of ideological square
Data analysis and interpretations
Findings and insights

Figure 1 Summary of steps involved in the current study

The whole research procedure can be grasped by reviewing the framework as mentioned above. It summarises the efforts involved in the current study ranging from the topic of the study an area of interest to data collection, analysis, and insights.

The researcher selected five major political parties as a sample of the current study. These selections were made on the basis of followers of each political party on Twitter. In order to gather a large amount of data from Twitter, the researcher has used *All My Tweets* software which downloaded 3225 tweets at one time from Twitter. Since these tweets contained hyperlinks, images, Urdu text etc. it was necessary to filter the data according to the research objectives. Hyperlinks and images were excluded from the text and text were converted it into the plain text because corpus can read the just plain text. KWIC was used to find occurrences of pronouns in the text, as well as to study the frequencies of pronouns from the perspective of inclusive-exclusive categories of representation.The textual/linguistic analysis was performed on the basis of a socio-cognitive model of van Dijk (1989, 1991, 1993, 1995, 1998, 2002 & 2006).

3.1 Methodological Framework

The methodological framework is presented here to discuss the tools and procedures that are used in this particular study. First of all the source and the nature of data is discussed. For this study, the data is in the form of tweets as it is taken from Twitter.

3.1.1 Data Collection

To discuss the data type, data source, and data collections a brief introduction about the context of this section is essential. Pakistani politics is very much conventional and most of the political activities are presented and performed on traditional media sources such as newspapers, mass media, electronic media etc. (Ahmad, 1976 &Blood, 1996) and the trend of social media was not very common before the general elections of 2013 (Ullah, 2013) . During the 12th general elections of Pakistan, most of the political parties of Pakistan used SNSs for their political activities and political campaigns (Ullah, 2013). According to Guriro (2013) Pakistani elections have become a digital battlefield for Pakistani politicians where every political party is trying its best to overwhelm the Pakistani people for certain political reasons such as enhancing vote bank, demonstrating democracy, creating new ideologies etc.

3.1.2 Twitter

The source for the data collection is Twitter. The data is in form of tweets, sent by the political actors to their followers on their official accounts. Twitter is an online social

networking site and microblogging service that enables its users to send and also read the text-based messages within the limit of 140 characters (Prodromou, 2013). To collect data from Twitter*All my tweets software is used,* the data is of six months i.e. from January to June 2013. For presenting the tweets in the text the researcher has used single inverted commas while double inverted commas are used for those tweets which already appeared as *quoted text* on Twitter by the political actors.

Apart from many other usages of social media in Pakistan like entertainment, social communication, business, education etc. (Kugelman, 2012), political communication also became very active. The great motivation about the usage of social media for political purposes was enhanced by cricketer-turned-politician Imran Khan who launched a very active campaign on Facebook and Twitter in March 2011 (Michaelsen, 2011), initially there were nearly 300,000 followers of PTI and the number increased in the next two years prior to 12th general elections of May 2013. Meanwhile, the other political parties like MQM (Muthidda Qoumi Movement), PPP-P (Pakistan People's Party Parliamentarians), PML N (Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz) and ANP (Awami National Party) also started their political campaigns on SNSs. Some Pakistani political parties established their SNSs (networks sites) accounts in 2010 and others in 2012, PTI created its official Facebook account in March 2012 followed by MQM in April 2010 and ANP in May 2010 while PMLN created its account in February 2012 followed by PPP-P in April 2012 (according to functional account of all these political parties on their SNSs official websites till 30th August 2013).

Many politicians praised social media for providing them a platform to connect with other constituents. According to general secretary of PTI SNSs have provided a great opportunity to their party for effective and fast political communication. Similarly, according to a party member of PPP-P (Pakistan People's Party Parliamentarians), she frequently uses Twitter to get feedback from the electorates and it is a great support for her political activities (Michaelsen, 2011). The same ideology motivated the researcher to formulate objectives of the study.

3.1.3 Rationale for Data Source and Reliability Factor

As mentioned earlier that this particular study is a first attempt of its kind to explore the digital discourse on Twitter in Pakistan and the data is in form of tweets. Although Twitter is not the only social network site used for political communication, it

is one of the most popular and interactive sites for political mobilization and political communication, as seen during the Arab Spring in 2011 (Sieben, 2014) and USA presidential elections of 2008. By keeping in mind the same view this particular study was initiated to analyze the political identities as constructed and represented in digital text. As far as the reliability of digital text is concerned there are three logical grounds. First of all the text in this particular study is selected from the official functional accounts of selected political parties, so the reliability of the text cannot be questioned. Secondly, while collecting data screenshots were taken so for each text exact date and time is available which serves as a proof of text validity and reliability. And lastly, the software *All My Tweets* is used for data collection that also manifested the exact date and exact time of each tweet. It was a huge task for the researcher to take screenshots of each tweet but to increase the reliability of the data researcher carefully performed this task.

There are two major types of sampling techniques, probability and nonprobability sampling (Marlow & Boone, 2010). The first one means sample has a known probability of being selected while the second one means the other way round. For this study purposive sampling is done which is a technique of non-probability sampling. In purposive sampling, a researcher selects a specific sample on the basis of research objectives, relevance, capacity and research issues(Oliver, 2006)**.** Moreover, inthis sampling technique, the researcher selects units to be sampled on the basis of knowledge and specific purpose of the particular research study (Oliver, 2006). In the similar context for this study purposive sampling is done by selecting the five major political parties of Pakistan on the basis of their functional SNSs accounts (i.e, PMLN (Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz), PTI (Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf), PPP (Pakistan People's Party Parliamentarian), MQM (Muthidda Qoumi Movement) and ANP (Awami National Party)). As this research attempts to explore the social media political discourse, the purposive sampling is suitable as the selected political parties have a high number of followers on Twitter. The data of this study is in form of tweets from January 2013 to June 2013 and it is taken from the official functional account of these political parties. This time period is very crucial as the 12th General elections of Pakistan were held in May 2013, so before the elections, all political parties were very active in their political campaigns.

3.2 Socio-Cognitive Model of van Dijk

For this particular study socio-cognitive model of van Dijk(1989, 1991, 1993, 1995, 1998c, 2002 & 2006) is used. The model states that one of the most substantial elements in critical discourse analysis is context(van Dijk, 1989, 1991, 1993, 1998c, 2002 & 2006) and *social cognition*. Social cognition is termed as an essential construct of critical discourse analysis as it enables researchers to critically analyze the historical, cultural, social and political perspectives for a better understanding of the text (van Dijk, 1998c & 2006). It was proposed by the socio-cognitive model that the communicative events or discursive discourse practices are complex categories in terms of their construction and interpretation and an analyst is required to move from linguistic and syntactical analysis to broader categories such as macrostructures in which a certain discourse practice takes place (van Dijk, 1998c & 2006). In this study the same critical perspective is adopted as the analysis of linguistic elements is performed at primary level afterward the broader social and political context is taken into. An important feature of the socio-cognitive model is *cognition*, the term can be defined as the set of beliefs, values, objectives, and abstract images of societal structures and mental processes (Sheyholislami, 2001) that constructs a particular discourse practice and it is inclusive of personal and social entities.

Another important construct of the socio-cognitive model is *society* which is inclusive of all institutional and local macrostructures, political contexts, group attributions, and group association etc. which are significant from an analysis perspective. Now it can be stated that the socio-cognitive model basically bridges discourse analysis with linguistic and social demeanors and the similar stance is adopted in this scholarship as the political discourse is analyzed from linguistic and political perspectives. At micro level, macro propositions of the text areanalyzed to observe how a certain discourse practice is syntactically constructed and if there are some unconventional structures used than what is the hidden agenda behind such practices. According to van Dijkdiscourse analysis is basically ideology analysis as it mediates between text and society and the analysis of ideology should be done at these levels (1998b):

1. Examining the context of the discourse: historical, political or social background of a conflict and its main participants

2. Analyzing groups, power relations and conflicts involved

3. Identifying positive and negative opinions about Us versus Them

4. Making explicit the presupposed and the implied

5. Examining all formal structure: lexical choice and syntactic structure, in a way that helps to (de)emphasize polarized group opinions'

Source: (Sheyholislami, 2001; Steps involved in ideology analysis)

In this study, the researcher has performed micro (textual) and macro (contextual) analysis. The analysis is delimited to six categories at micro level i.e. macro-propositions (global topics), local semantics, agency, graph logical devices (only inverted commas), and capitalization. While at a macro level the contextual propositions are analyzed to meet the objectives of this particular research. By looking at the themes and semantic meanings the researcher gets an idea about what kind of topics are central to ideologies of discourse makers and by analyzing the context the hidden agendas become more vivid. The researcher has tried to explore how political actors manipulate language for their political purposes and how they imply linguistic devices to represent their political identities in particular political context.
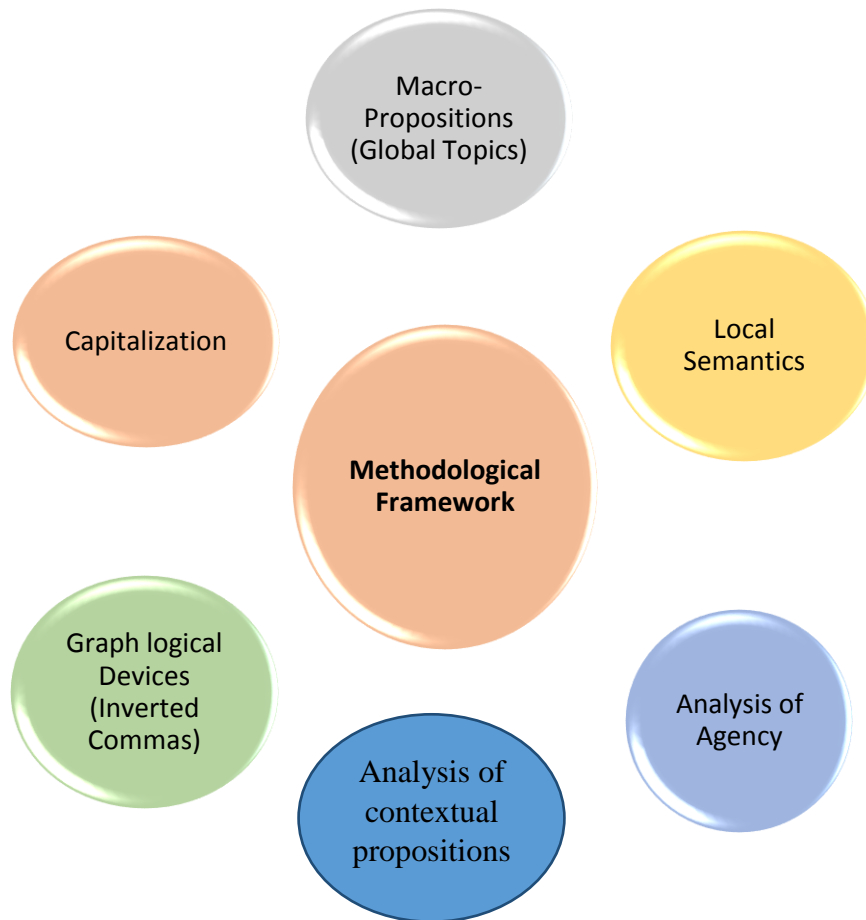
Figure 2 Adaptation of Socio-Cognitive Model of van Dijk (1998)

To highlight the political identities which are embedded within discursive discourse practices the linguistic choices are carefully analyzed as they display the positive and negative attribution of discourse participants. To put it simply, the dichotomy of cognition is critically addressed. In media discourse and political discourse the practice of negative attribution is very common, the political actors try to represent their in-group members in a positive way and they try to label and dedicate all negative attributes to out-group members (van Dijk, T. A, 1989; 1993; 1998c; Sheyholislami, 2001; Wodak & Meyer, 2001). In the similar context Us Vs Them dichotomy is seen from a critical perspective, it is proposed that when individuals make groups or they work in form of groups they tend to ascribe the affirmative and positive approach towards *their* group and adopt a critical rather mostly negative peculiarities to the *others* and the process of exclusion appears vivid.
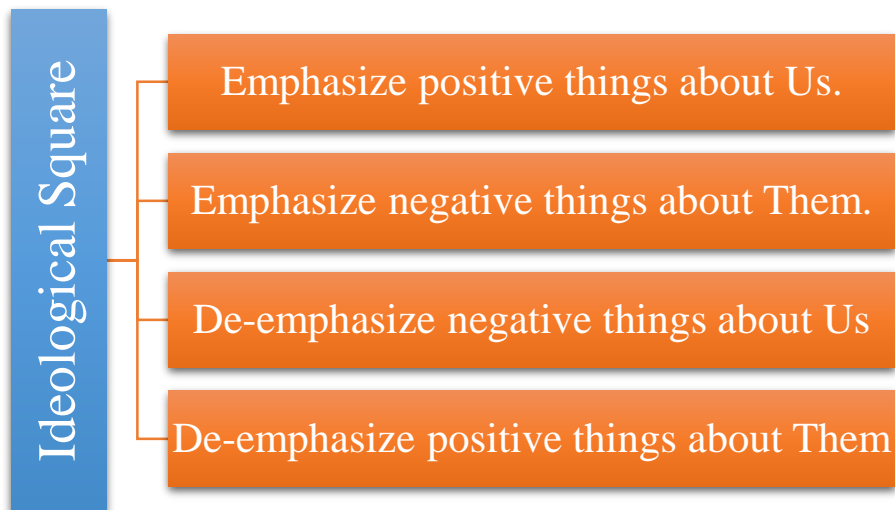
Figure 3van Dijk's Ideological Square (1998)

In this particular study same stance is adopted as the focus is made upon the ideological contestation to discern how a group represents its ideologies. The practice of *Us Vs Them* gets more significance in political discourse where the foremost agenda of political actors is inclusion and exclusion in terms of ideological representation and identity demonstration. This particular study also encompasses the clusivity element which is a key terminology of politics and political discourse.

The analysis categories are selected to meet the objectives of the study, as the researcher wanted to explore how political identities are reconstructed and represented in digital political discourse so it was inevitable to analyze the textual and contextual elements.

The following figure illustrates the analysis categories.
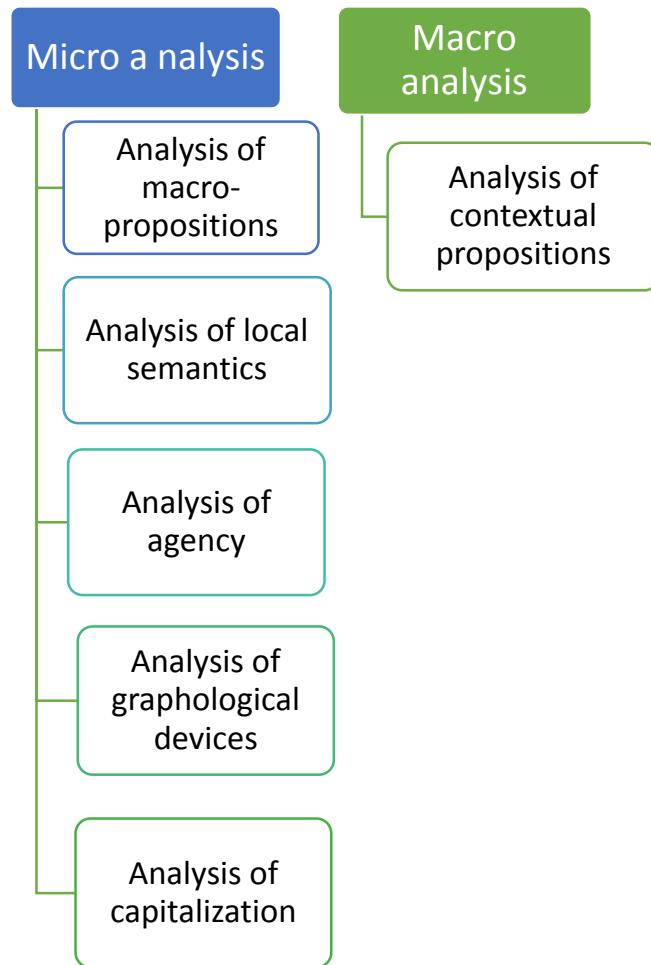
Figure 4 Micro and Macro Categories of Analysis

3.3 Corpus Compilation

Corpus is used as a methodological tool in this study and the researcher doesn't term it as a pure corpus research. To begin with corpus linguistics it became one of the advanced fields of studies in the early quarter of 20th century. According to Flick (2007),for any field of study explicitness is essential rather it is a tool that can be used to organize data scientifically. In the same context if the corpus is well composed and clearly structured it will provide a better understanding of the text from interpretation and analysis perspective.

There are a number of views about the creation of corpus in terms of its size, sample, and nature of data with special reference to the research purpose. A corpus is basically a large collection of data in an electronic form and it is representative (Xio.R & Tono.Y, 2006). According to Leech and Roger (1992) if we want to get information from

the corpus we first need to build information in it. In creating Sajjad Corpus of Political Discourse on Social media SCPDSM these factors were considered.

There are many factors which need to be considered for the creation of corpus such as sample size, genre, nature of text etc. (Sinclair, 2004). As there are no fixed criteria for the exact size of a corpus (Mahmood, Mahmmod, & Nawaz, 2014), so the size of the text in a corpus should not be taken as the only factor to create a representative corpus rather the research objectives should be considered more important and thus corpus should be made accordingly. This corpus consists of 250,557 words from the clean-up text policy. Another important aspect of corpus creation was to decide the number of texts in the corpus. So for SCPDSM, the political discourse of Pakistani political parties was selected which they generate on SNSs. AntConc 3.4.3 (2014 version, software) was used to create SCPDSM.

Size	250,557 words	
Text Type	Written text (in form of tweets) from 1st January- 30th June 2013	
Number of Political Parties	Five	
Medium	English	
Authorship	Political parties themselves, as the data is taken from their official functional Twitter account	
Political Parties	No of followers on Twitter (till 27th August 2013)	tweets from January-June 2013 (total words)
1: ANP (Awami National Party)	9,331	27,470

2: PML-N **(Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz)**	96,200	44,882
3: PPP **(Pakistan People's Party Parliamentarians)**	13,800	13,392
4: PTI **(Pakistan Tehreek-i-Insaaf)**	32,3000	1,08,442
5: MQM **(Muthidda Qoumi Movement)**	37,700	57,929

Figure 5 Illustration of Statistical Information about SCPDSM

The texts which are used in the corpus are cleaned up to get standardized. In this study, Urdu language text was removed as AntConc cannot read Urdu text files. Besides Urdu text files images and pictures were also removed as they were outside the scope of the current study. In other words, the actual language text that is in English is separated from all other codes so that the analytical process can be scientifically applied.

The data was adapted as per requirement of the corpus since the data was in the word form so at first step it was converted to plain text. Secondly, it was ensured that there are no graphical information, visuals, and Urdu text.

3.4.1 Wordsmith Tools

Wordsmith tools refer to a set of electronic tools used for screening and analyzing how certain words behave in the texts which are electronically stored and used for particular research purposes. There are many tools available for the purpose but only some of them are discussed here.

*Concordance*refers to chances of occurrence of a certain word with reference to its context; it is also termed as KWIC thatallows searching for a certain word or group of

words together with the words immediately to the right or to the left side of the searched item (Anthony, 2014).

So in this specific study, the researcher has used Concordance and KWIC tools of the corpus as they have provided frequencies of occurrences and similarly they have provided the context too in which a particular word appeared.

3.4 **Theoretical Framework**

The theoretical framework is one of the most important elements for research-based studies as it provides the foundation on which the whole scholarship is built with special reference to theoretical concepts, analytical frameworks etc. (Sekaran & Bougie, 2010). In the current study, theory triangulation is done to get a better understanding of the text from an analysis perspective. The term *theory triangulation* directly refers to use of multiple perspectives to handle a single text for the sake of interpretation (Denzin, 1970, p 279). Denzin (1970) elaborated theory triangulation as the use of multiple theories in the same research study for the purpose of supporting or refuting research findings since multiple theories provide different lenses to the researcher to approach data. Banik (1993) suggested that related or competing theories can be used in formulating a hypothesis for any specific scholarship. To get a clearer understanding of the concept of theory triangulation it is important to note that triangulation does not require the use of three theories, three reference points or three options. In fact, it means just more than one (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994; Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003). According to Mathison (1988) theory triangulation provides coverage of an accurate representation of a particular reality by interpreting data from multiple perspectives.

There are different types of triangulation.
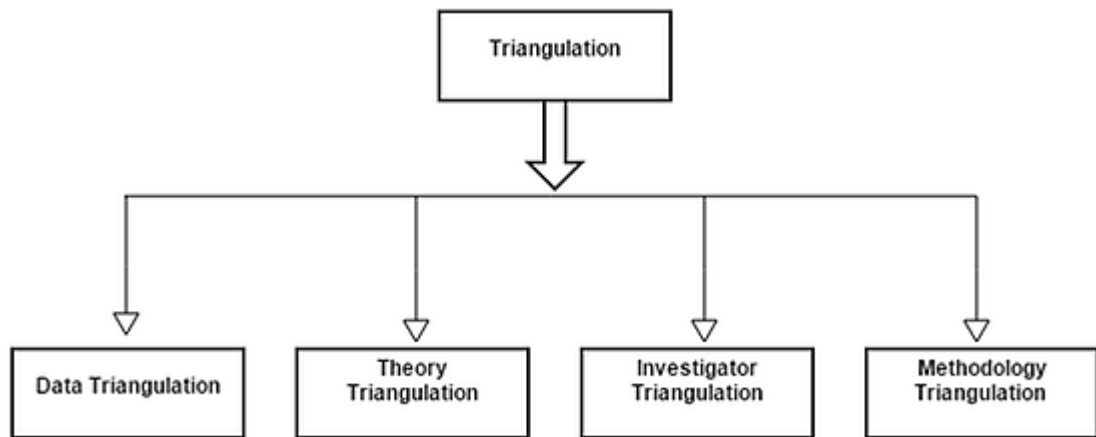
Figure 6 Types of Triangulation (Denzin, 1994)

Data triangulation means a collection of data from multiple sources as it facilitates the validation process, according to Denzin (1994) data triangulation is done from three perspectives; i.e. time, space and person (Begley, 1996). While theory triangulation can be defined as the use of multiple theories in a single inquiry from the perspective of supporting or rebutting research findings, it helps researchers to investigate an issue through multiple lenses (Denzin 1970 & 1994). It was also debated that related or competing theories can facilitate in offering a broader and deeper understanding of the research issues (Banik, 1993). Investigator triangulation is the use of more than two researchers in any particular study (Denzin, 1970). It can be explained in terms of using multiple observers, interviewers, analysts for the authentic result (Thurmond, 2001). Another type of triangulation is methodology triangulation, which means the use of more than two methods for the investigation of the same phenomenon(Ellen Sullivan , 1986). This kind of triangulation may occur at different levels of research, such as, data collection or data analysis and is frequently used in social science researchers(Shih, 2001). This study uses theory triangulation so that the researcher may approach research data from multiple lenses and get a better understating of it. Another important reason behind using theory triangulation is the nature of data and its interpretation, the data for this particular scholarship is political discourse and the analysis of this data is done in a critical perspective to find out how political actors represent their political identities.

3.5 Critical Discussion about Theoretical Triangulation

For the current study, the researcher has taken the following constructs to strengthen the theoretical framework. From political discourse analysis theory, the researcher has taken into account the constructs of political discourse, political ideology, and political groups. Since the study is heavily relying upon the political text, so Political Discourse Analysis theory facilitated the analytical process. The theory states how political text helps a specific group of people termed as political actors to initiate, create and project political beliefs and political identities as these identities are embedded in political ideologies.

The Socio-cognitive model of van Dijk also appeared as supporting the theoretical foundation, the researcher has taken it as a theory and as a method also. The micro-macro level categories of analysis point towards the important element of discourse analysis i.e. how linguistic elements along with contextual practices facilitate to unpack the strategies and means used in (re)construction and (re)presentation of identity. Within similar context, the researcher has relied upon the theoretical underpinning of the socio-cognitive model to achieve the research objectives. *Ideological Square* remained central to the theoretical and methodological perspective of the current study, as it highlights the notion of *positive-representation of us and negative –representation of others.*

While discussing the social and political identity theory the researcher has focused on the core elements that states individuals and groups affiliate themselves with certain groups and thus create their political identities accordingly. Moreover when individuals/groups affiliate themselves with certain political groups on the basis of certain shared values and attitudes then they start believing in the ideologies of those groups and they simply 'own' them. A similar phenomenon is central to the objectives and analysis of the current study. The political identity (re)construction and (re)presentation is crucial for the current study, from a theoretical perspective. Social identity relates to the perception of oneself and others based on the social groups that they belong to. It relates to how one relates to a certain social or political group, and how that relation determines the way the person behaves towards other individuals/groups. It relates to how one's viewpoint is influenced by the collective values of the group. The groups that one is associated with are called 'in-groups', whereas, those that the person is not associated with are called 'out-groups'. This inter-group behaviour is explained via the social identity

theory (SIT), which elucidates how the positive interaction with members of the in-group and the negative attitude towards the out-group presents the ideology of a person or group. In the current study as the focus of the researcher also on identity construction and representation so the theory helps to explain the process of identity construction and representation.

Clusivity theory is one of the significant theory that is exclusively applied to the political texts to highlight the *inclusive* and *exclusive* categories of representation. In the current study, the researcher has focused on how inclusion and exclusions are done at the intra-group level.
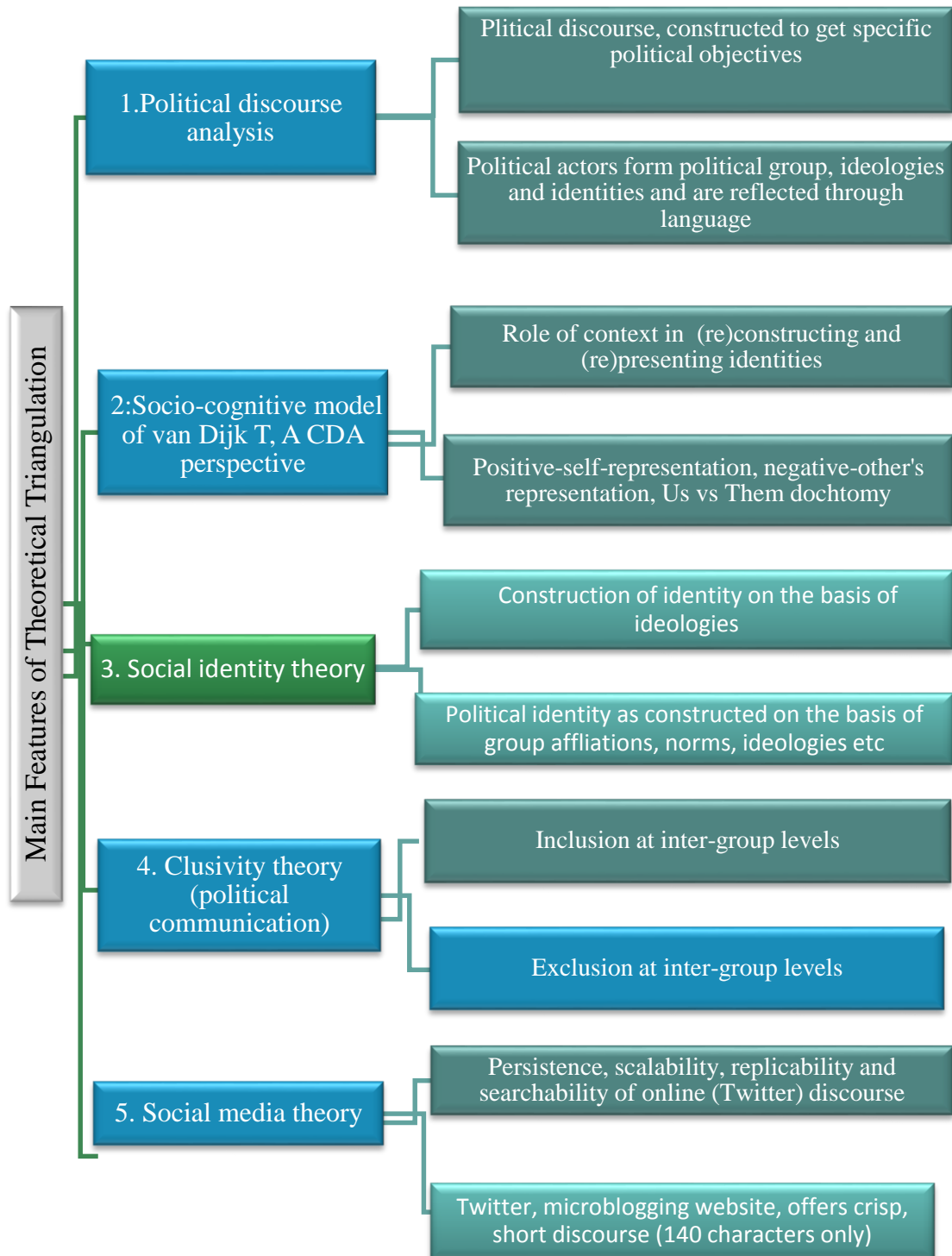
Figure 7 Main Features of Theoretical Framework As a Result of Theoretical

Triangulation

Triangulation of theory was deliberated in the current scholarship because the researcher believed that triangulation strengthens the answers to research queries and thus facilitates validity of results from an analytical perspective. As discussed earlier that this study deals with social media political discourse, which is quiet unique in nature so to deal with the analysis section the researcher need a better lens which comprises of all those theories of linguistic and political identity which facilitate the analysis process in comprehensive way.

CHAPTER 4

DATA ANALYSIS

4.1 MICROANALYSIS

The analysis is done at two levels. At first place micro-analysis is done, afterward, the macro analysis is carried out.

4.1.1 Analysis of macro-propositions (global topics)

According to van Dijk (1 998) macro-propositions reflect the imperative features of political discourse as a discursive discourse event, they exhibit the traces of policies, decision makings, ideologies and sometimes they help to predict the future conspiracies and fortitudes. They exclusively demonstrate the critical aspects of discourse as a discursive event by displaying the agendas, interests, and objectives of the discourse makers in different political and social context.Topical macro-structures mainly express the overall coherence pattern of the discourse that primarily assists in comprehension of the text while considering discourse as a discursive social event. Moreover, the macro propositions construct the meaning-making process and highlight the ideological features of the text (van Dijk,1989; 1995; 1996; 1998c). In the case of political discourse, as the text is constructed under numerous social and political settings, so the interpretation also requires the analysis of text at various levels through multiple lenses.

By keeping in mind the same notion the analysis of political discourse is carried out here, at first instance the frequently debated topics are jot down. The most widely discussed topics of ANP as presented by the textual references are, the strong determination to *stand with* the *party motives* and to *support the ideological stance of party leader* along with a concrete conviction to fight against terrorism, intimidation, and violence. The following textual reference from the political discourse of ANP supports the same phenomenon i.e.

i support ANP, I love Bacha khan, I am the follower of Bacha Khan ,i'm not afraid of Talibans, i strongly condemn the killing, I strongly condemn the target killing' (appendix i).

The overall topics associated with the first person pronoun demonstrated the positive ideology of the political group as they believed in peace and promised to stand against the negative acts of violence and militancy. Moreover, the text projected the constructive approach of the political group. The political actors criticized and condemned the militant groups and decided to stand against such illegal groups to defeat terrorism.

I myself was targeted twice with bomb blasts, I solute their courage and #ANP's courage, I strongly condemn the attacks on ANP leadership' (appendix i).

The macro-propositions of the above narrated political text are designed to speculate the ideological suppositions of the discourse makers i.e. politicians in this particular case manifested an urge to tribute and appreciate the in-group members with vibrant praise. An obvious criticism of the defensepolicies of the government is also a discernible facet of ANP's political discourse. A number of statements given by ANP officials and renowned political leaders projected the same stance i.e.

they cannot prevent these attacks occurring, Instead of going after their sanctuaries and factories we wait for terrorists to reach our door steps for fighting' (appendix i).

By deeply scrutinizing the macro proposition of these tweets the derived notes are the delegitimizing of *other's* policies. The political actors have tagged the government policies as a failure and termed them illogical, such criticism on *others* projected the hidden agenda of the discourse makers i.e. to attribute others negatively to defame them. ANP focused on another sensitive issue regarding women identity, women participation, and women rights and women strength such as

Pashtuns needs to mobilize Youth & Women to defeat militants & their masters, Will ensure effective implementation o flegislations enacted for women' (appendix i)

In both texts, the core agenda is an urge to activate women to combat terrorism and militancy to maintain peace in the region. The other important topic of discourse is

the execution of legislative processes focusing upon women rights, in terms of participation in political activities and a true realization of their basic rights. Moreover, the political actors also believed that women should be given their basic rights such as freedom of opinion, education, women enlightenment and women empowerment as put forward in the era of ex-President of Pakistan Musharraf (Noreen & Musarrat, 2013). Women empowerment and women rights are a widely discussed issue (Freysingera & Flanneryb, 1992) and in the sensitive time period of elections, ANP attempted to get public sympathy and public support by highlighting these issues.

ANP has a very clear policy regarding the participation of women in the electoral process, ANP is not involved in any deals that bar women from voting in Dir' (appendix i).

ANP presented a defensive approach by addressing the issue of woman subjugation in the context of elections, the party officials presented the notion of supporting women rights and not seeking any implicit or explicit involvement in the acts of women suppression or violence. In other words, the defensive approach of the political actors can be taken as a conscious attempt to improve their political image before the election. So it can be stated that here the political actors have attempted to highlight their positive reputation.

The overall political discourse of ANP revolves around the sustainment of peace in the region, simultaneously violence and terrorism are condemned for the attainment of democracy in the running political system of Pakistan. Moreover, a critique of *others* is too widely debated regarding the intimidation and coercion in the region (particularly in KPK), with special reference to militants and a strong intention to participate in the electoral process is made in spite of direct aggression and harassments against the party.

One of the widely discussed topics in the political discourse of MQM is linked with terrorism and law and order situation in Pakistan, in many tweets, the party officials demonstrated the concern of party leader Altaf Hussain about theassassination of many political workers and common people in the country such as

AltafHussain expressed sympathies to the families of the people killed in the Kirani road blast' (appendix ii).

In this terrible incident, more than 180 people got injured and 64 got killed in Quetta, on such incidents the sympathetic discourse of MQM appears very wise for the party as the vote bank prior to elections mostly depends upon the moves and strategies of the political actors.

> the govt to arrest ta terrorists responsible for ta devastating blast on the kirani road in quetta, MQM was constantly being subjected to terrorism and its workers were dying, We will not be discouraged by terrorism, Terrorism in Karachi is increasing every day, we are against all sort of Terrorism, violence & we believe in Peace & Harmony(appendix ii)

In all these text examples the two major themes can be derived, one is the strong protest against terrorism and second is the demonstration of high spirits to stand against all illegal forces threatening the political and democratic processes of MQM (Walsh & Rehman, 2013). Primarily, the political discourse of MQM depicts the political identity of the in-group members as peace lovers and believers of amity and harmony. Additionally, the determination to persist political struggle also represents the positive attributes of the in-group members i.e. an urge to endure all possible efforts topromoting democratic processes is made. The political actor has focused upon peace and harmony as these two elements are imperative for good governance, so by projecting such ideas MQM has created its insightful image to the discourse receivers.

Another salient feature of MQM's political discourse is the debate about social, religious and political rights of ethnic minorities specifically in Karachi as the following text extracts demonstrate.

> religious minorties must B protected by government, All ethnic, religious & linguistic identities are brothers & Pakistanis, Security should be provided to all religious minorities, equal rights in all aspects of life & Minorities to be made Equal Citizens' (appendix ii)

The text here serves twofold purposes i.e. at one hand the debate is made about the rights of religious, ethnic and linguistic minorities, while on the other hand the government is addressed to provide the equal rights to the minorities. Within the political context of MQM, the discussion about the rights of minorities is akin to the party agenda, as the foundation of MQM was laid to protect the rights of Urdu speaking minority of Sind (Akhtar N. , 2013). In the above-stated text examples the phrase *Minorities to be*

made Equal Citizens refers to the party manifesto, as the party struggled a lot to prove the existence of fifth linguistic minority in Pakistan i.e. Urdu speaking people.

Urdu-speaking should show some more patience (appendix ii)

MQM was primarily considered as a movement for mohajirs (Urdu speaking people) who migrated from India and strived for their rights as the fifth linguistic identity (Richard, 2007). Within the same context, MQM frequently addressed the issues of minorities and their rights, the political actors often stressed upon the rights of minorities to promote peace in the region. Besides the above-debatedissue, the discourse appears biased also, as it contains explicit elements of praise for the Urdu speaking people. The Urdu-speaking minority is expected to behave more politely than others. The ideology of MQM supports the stance of van Dijk,(1995, 1998a, 1998c & 2006) that the in-group members are highlighted for their positive moves and vice versa for the others.

> We are against all sort of Terrorism, violence, we have always been faithful2all those parties, We love peace but we will never surrender, we stand as one under the green flag, We want to make Pakistan strong, stable' (appendix ii)

In all these texts extracts the political identity of MQM can be labeled as fair, faithful, united and determined as a political group, who is ready to cooperate with others for the sake of solidarity of the country. The political text also reflects the political identity of MQM as a nationalist democratic group, who is ready to fight against all illegitimate forces for the solidarity of Pakistan. MQM represented itself as peace lover and affirmative political group, especially in the backdrop of Karachi, a land that is victimized due to an extreme wave of terrorisms and brutality in the last two decades (Saeed, Rahid, Rehman, Mobin, & Ahmed, 2012). MQM as a dominant political group of Karachi stressed upon the issues of militancy and also displayed its sincerity with the people of Pakistan, they wished to promote peace and discourage all militancy. Such strategies of MQM are aimed at increasing the vote bank before the elections as seen in the above-cited tweets.

MQM appeared quiet edifying at certain places in its political discourse especially, while preaching the virtue of peace, harmony, equality and religious tolerance as seen in the following tweets.

There's No discrimination in the MQM on the basis of language, nationality and religious beliefs, All ethnic, religious & linguistic identities are brothers & Pakistanis, Quaid-e-Azam vision was2have a Pakistan where Muslim, Hindu, Sikh& Christians all lived Together &thats what i want, I want Pakistan to be of the vision of Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, where everyone lives united, I want all religious groups in their areas to unite & form peace committees to protect each other (appendix ii)

In all these textual references, MQM displayed high motivation to build unity in Pakistan and deject all sort of violence. The approach of discourse participants is quite didactic, as the text aims at Amity and accord, which can be interpreted as a deliberate attempt of the party to earn and raise positivity for their political group. The first text is linked with the biased agenda of the political group that focuses upon the idealistic portray of in-group members i.e. a party that doesn't promote linguistic or religious discrimination but the other textual examples defy this stance. Contrary to the above-mentioned attributes, at a number of places MQM highlighted the linguistic discrimination, consequently, the ideological contestation disapproved the pro-ideology of MQM as at one hand they oppose linguistic and religious discrimination while on the other hand, their discourse patterns represent the opposite picture. The political actors vow to promote the manifesto of Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan and determined to set Pakistan as an unbiased and independent state that believes in equality and discourages all types of discrimination. The following text extracts provide proofs for the above-stated thesis.

MQM does not seek the division of Sindh but the Urdu-speaking people should not be pushed to the wall, If Urdu-speaking Sindhi nationalists got estranged, they would be forced 2 call 4 the division of Sindh (appendix ii)

In the first tweet, the identity of the party is manifested as a patriotic and nationalist group while the next tweets provoke hatred, anxiety and severe threats to the national security and solidarity. So, the contradictory statements represent the hidden agenda of the discourse participants i.e. the implicit messages contains elements of linguistic discrimination and a sense of deprivation for Urdu speaking people. Such ideas basically lead towards breeding of conscious hatred among Urdu speaking people for the other linguistic identities of Pakistan and the same critical issue MQM often used for its

political objectives. Moreover, the political discourse of MQM displayed the contradictory ideologies of the political group regarding a number of national and ethnic issues. Apart from the issue of minorities regarding their rights, MQM frequently emphasized the significance of democratic processes and ideological alliance with other political groups.

> MQM had entered in2an alliance with PP 4Progress&Prosperity of people of Sindh& 4Promoting Unity among Permanent Residents of Sindh (appendix ii)

The political turns taken by MQM are very interesting, prior to the general elections of May 2013. Primarily MQM opposed PPP-P (Pakistan People's Party) but afterward the alliance with PPP-P can be interpreted in two ways i.e., it might be the political insight of the party leaders to collaborate with strong opponent party of the region or it can be the typical political trend as practiced by a number of political groups in multi-ethnic societies. As democracy is termed as the best system for any nation (Hisper, 2009) so the smart political actors always promote democracy and showcase their ideologies as democratic groups. The same phenomenon is observed in the political discourse of MQM, as the political actors have displayed themselves as a democratic group and constructed their political identity positively.

> I have found a new elder brother in Respectable Dr Tahir ul Qadri, MQM does not believe in the politics of bullet, but of ballot, MQM is a democratic party that believes in the politics of ballots instead of bullets(appendix ii)

The text of the last tweet is metaphorically used, the classic term 'ballots instead of bullets' is derived from the historical speech of Malcolm X (1964) which was delivered for the rights of African Americans (Norris, 1999).Moreover, the text explicitly demonstrates that the party aims to undergo all liberal political processes to sustain democracy rather than adopting and practicing the illicit means of aggression and violence. In another text extract, MQM manifested intimacy with the strong religious cum political figure Dr. Tahir Qadri with a strong urge to build an alliance with him. The linguistic choices used by MQM are very tricky such as the phrase *new elder brother*contains elements of intimacy and respect for the allied group member, simultaneously certain adjectives like *democratic*, *peace*, *strong* etc. depict the positive ideology of the party. The political discourse of MQM contains frequent instances of dictations, allegations, and criticism on the political and legislative institutes with a strong

urge to exert their (MQM) political power and win appreciation from their followers. The discourse of allegations and criticism is primarily designed by MQM to portray negative images of their opposing political parties and to raise appreciation and incitement for their own party and this particular strategy of MQM is similar to the theoretical perspective of van Dijk(1995, 1996, 1998c & 2006), that the negative attributes of others are highlighted more to develop revulsion and cynicism for *others*. The following examples demonstrate the above-mentioned thesis.

> Terrorism has become a scourge and it is the topmost priority of the government to eliminate it, Protection of life, property,and dignity of a citizen is the fundamental responsibility of the state and the government of the day, AltafHussain has demanded the govt to arrest ta terrorists responsible for ta devastating blast on the Kirani road in Quetta, No action was taken against ta terrorists responsible for ta Alamdar Road despite all assurances by the govt(appendix ii)

> In the first text, the state is suggested rather advised to provide security to its citizens and to protect their rights, while the last two tweets are merely narrated to criticize government policies and inefficiency of power institutes. The last text raises severe criticism on the government policies with special reference to terrorism in Quetta (Sehbai, 2013) the contextual significance of this text is very high because prior to elections all political parties wanted to increase their vote banks through demonstrating high consideration for the masses. Simultaneously the identity of the party appeared highly considerate of masses regarding their basic rights.

MQM recurrently stressed upon the significance of religious and moral aspects of society, rather it can also be stated that the political discourse of MQM appears as moral oration for people to show moral and ethnic tolerance towards other minorities.

> it is our duty as fellow Muslims to take good care of the people wounded in deadly blasts in Quetta, Islam didn't give us the permission2 attack a colony of Christian community on the bases of allegations by an individual, Islam gives us the message of peace. Whathapened in Lahore is completely against the teachingsof Islam (appendix ii)

In all these above-quoted text examples the sole theme is the focus upon the religious tolerance, simultaneously the moral aspects of Islam are being highlighted in order to

provoke the positivity among people. The first tweet is based upon the agenda of motivating people to support others in hard times, the text is produced in the background of a terrible act of terrorism in Quetta which caused assassination of many people (Sehbai, 2013). To proceed on with the discussion, the discourse pattern of MQM can be interpreted as didactic in nature as it contains elements of integrity and tolerance. Now it is too important to note that the terrible incident of terrorism in Christian community because of alleged blasphemy provided a great opportunity to many political parties to play their political games on it as the incident happened in March 2013 (Aslam, Jafri, Hussain, & Wahab, 2013) i.e. a critical time period as elections were about to be held in May 2013. The next tweets also represented the identity of the party as an edifying and moralistic group who believe in the promotion of moral and ethical values among people. All these textual examples support the thesis of van Dijk (1998c & 2006) that in the context of Us vs. Them dichotomy the agenda of discourse makers appears subjective, biased and influential as the positivity about in-group members is highlighted and the same approach is adopted while narrating the negative attributes of others. One of the most frequently discussed topics in the political discourse of MQM is women rights, in a number of instances the text represented a strong support for women rights and the opponent forces are highly criticized, as seen in the following discourse practices. The text contains very strong elements of support for democratic rights of women and MQM has substantiated this idea by putting religious references.

> banning women from voting AltafHussain declared this agreement is inhuman undemocratic un-Islamic & against basic & fundamental rights. AltafHussain vehemently condemned the agreement reached between PP & JI in lower Deer Division to ban women from voting (appendix ii)

The next text also demonstrates a strong urge to stand for women rights and oppose all those forces which exploit women rights, the text was produced prior to elections and was aimed to target the opposition political parties who cause threats to women rights in the particular areas of KPK (Sherazi, 2013). Moreover, the elements of clusivity can also be traced out in this particular text practice where the out-group members are deliberately labeled for the negative acts, while the in-group members are completely excluded in the backdrop of exploitation of democratic rights of women. The inclusive or exclusive statuses mainly signifies the identities of discourse makers in the discursive representation of reality (Wieczorek, 2009). With reference to the previously

debated thesis of MQM's identity and representation, the following text examples can also be interpreted.

> Banning women from voting in Lower Dir is against basic human rights of women: Disenfranchising women is a violation of their basic human rights(appendix ii).

MQM has manifested its political identity as a righteous political party which firmly believes in the protection of women rights and it rejects all those forces that cause threats to women rights, in addition, the party can also be labeled as liberal and democratic political group. It is concluded that the widely discussed topics in the political discourse of MQM are a strong determination to fight against terrorism and discourage all illegitimate tyrannized forces which cause threats to the legitimate processes of democracy. Besides promoting democracy the discourse contains strong urge to protect women rights and support women education. Another frequently discussed topic in the political discourse of MQM is the promotion of harmony, solidarity, and peace in the country by ignoring all discriminations on the basis of language, sect, religion, and ethnicity. Moreover, the discourse has presented a lot of praise for the policies and strategies of the party along with strong criticism on the others on various grounds. The text practices have presented solid instances of positive self-presentation while in case of opponent groups it is the other way round. The following political text raises severe criticism on '*others*' in the context of nationalism and patriotism.

> We demand that Altaf Hussain should take his words about QuaideAzam back and apologize to the nation(appendix iii)

The text was tweeted after the address of MQM's leader Altaf Hussain who criticized the founder of Pakistan rather alleged the loyalties of national leader Quaid-e-Azam in the backdrop of dual nationalities (Sehbai, 2013). It can be derived from the text that the political discourse of PML-N appealed to the emotions of the people and depicted the ideology of the discourse participants as nationalists and patriots. The assertive form of discourse focuses upon correcting the '*others*' for wrong ideological stances as conventionally, no nation accepts criticism on the founder rather such moves are considered highly objectionable and in the case of Pakistan's creation the role of Mr. Jinnah is remarkable (Hayat, 2014)so in such circumstances the alleged discourse of

MQM was expected to undergo severe criticism as seen in the political discourse of PML-N.

In the following text extract, the tone of the discourse participants is highly considerate as the solidarity is shown with the victims of terrorism by PML-N.

> Nawaz Sharif strongly condemns Alamdar Road and Airport road Bomb Blasts in Quetta(appendix iii)

The tragic incident resulted in the assault of many people in Quetta along by prevailing a wave of distress and gloom among citizens of Pakistan. The discourse of PML-N fits into the context and aims at displaying smart politics, the overall thematic structure of the text reflects the conventional political agendas of discourse participants.Within the context of distress and consideration, the next tweeted text can also be placed in, once again the political actors have attempted to highlight their support for the victimized group besides stressing upon the responsible power institutes to take action against violence.

> We are concerned to hear of the blasts in Quetta; may Allah keep all Pakistanis safe. Let's pray for the injured and for calm in country, "Culprits of the Quetta blast should be arrested immediately, and families are compensated": NawazSharif,.(appendix iii)

Linguistic choices of the discourse participants reflect the clusivity elements, as the first text extract contains plural pronoun *we* that refers to in-group members and on their behalf the text depicts support for the weak group (victims of bomb blast), the second text extract stresses upon the punishment for the violent group. According to the media reports, the wave of violence and extremism became more severe in Pakistan, especially close to the general elections of 2013 it caused a serious damage to various political groups (Elections 2013: Violence against Political Parties, Candidates and Voters, 2013). With reference to the same thesis, the political discourse of PML-N can be viewed as a conscious attempt to win public support by showing sympathies to the victimized group.

In the following quoted text extracts, the state power institutions are highly criticized with reference to the targeted killing of a PML-N's leader in Karachi (Siddiqi,

2013), the 'political flag words' like *insecurity, inflation and corruption* reflect the strong elements of mistrust and disgrace for the ruling establishments.

> This Govt has only given rise to insecurity, crisis, inflation, corruption! Law n order in Khi massively deteriorated(appendix iii)

Along with mistrust and disgrace, the text clearly demonstrates the conventional political approach of PML-N, as the direct labeling of the power elites magnifies the intensity of allegations which are made in the text. Moreover, the text can be clearly framed in the Us Vs Them dichotomy as the attributions of allegations are exclusively made for the *others.*Quite akin to the conventional political trends and policies, PML-N continued the series of criticism on others on a number of grounds, apparently, the texts advocated the traumas and issues of masses but the hidden agenda basically aims at developing negativity among discourse receivers for the subjected political group.

> Nawaz Sharif expressed sadness at the loss of valuable lives in KPK due to rain and snow; urged the govt to assist people in time of need'. (appendix iii)

The thematic propositions can be linked with the ideological stance of politics i.e. usually aims at raising *their mistakes*and thus amplifying the issues in which *the others* need to do face savings. Simply, it can be seen that, while highlighting the responsibilities of power institutes, the political actors of PML-N represented their identity as considerate and responsible political group who stand with the masses in the hour of needs. Through textual references, it can be interpreted that the legitimation of in-group stakeholder's strategies is performed through the interplay of alleged discourse as displayed in the following text practice.

> If Zardari would've built Colleges, Universities, Schools in Sind. Sindhi youth would be carrying degrees", "No positive change in the lives of Sindhi's(appendix iii)

In the first stated text, the political actors have deliberately targeted the elected President of 2008 elections, Zardari by commenting about the inefficiency of government in its own strong area i.e. Sindh, according to Lieven (2011) the land of Sindh remained overwhelmed with the political dominance of one *monarchic* political group termed as PPP-P over the last three decades. In the above-stated text examples, PML-N has passed derogatory remarks on the faulty performance of PPP-P particularly, in Sindh with an

embedded agenda of developing revulsion among the people of Sindh towards PPP-P. According to Lunn and Thompson (2012),the default relationship between the PPP-P and the PML-N is one of bitter rivalry and mistrust (p. 13).So in the context of conventional political rivalry, the discourse of allegations is quite convenient to be justified.

To proceed on with the analysis, the issue of linguistic minorities is always been a hotly debated issue in Pakistani politics and political actors frequently manipulated language to exercise their political agenda in the lieu of minorities rights, issues, and concerns. According to a research report, the issues of religious and linguistic minorities in Pakistan are frequently exploited by the political actors for multiple reasons (Faruqi, 2011), a number of political actors play their political ideological games on the previously debated subject (issues of minorities). In the same connotation, Faruqi (2011) reported thatmost political parties used the issues of minorities to get significant support in the electoral process. As discussed earlier that the political discourse of PML-N has deliberately highlighted 'Sindhi's', a linguistic minority of Pakistan to defame the political regime of PPP-P and indirectly raising a support for the agendas and attributes of themselves.

Sectarian violence had been one of the most terrible issues of 2013 for Pakistan, and there were a number of disastrous instances which caused serious damage to different sectarian groups in Pakistan, especially, the Shia community of Baluchistan. Due to the series of militant attacks on Shia community and the failure of the government to resolve this issue called for serious allegations and criticism on the government of Zardari in 2013 (We are the Walking Dead" Killings of Shia Hazara in Balochistan, Pakistan, 2014). With reference to the issue of Shia genocide, the political discourse of PML-N appears manifold, at one hand the discourse displays anxiety and mistrust on the responsible authorities while on the other hand, the discourse provokes revulsion among masses for the government power institutions.

> Where is governance in Baluchistan, where was the CM Baluchistan, PM & President on Hazara massacre issue?" "The Government has failed to fulfill it's responsibilities in Baluchistan (appendix iii)

The massacre of Hazara community provided a chance to different political parties to manipulate their agendas and to politicize the plight of victims, which is considered a common practice of conventional politics (Walgrave & Aelst, 2006). As language is central to all discourse practices (Bourdieu, 1991) so the alleged interplay of

language and ideologies not only incites the political actors to take substantial stances on different social and political issues but also stimulates the masses to develop, transit and finally reflect their opinions about political stakeholders. According to Bayram (2010) the attitude to language can be linked with the social and cultural identity of the discourse participants ranging from the notions of prestige and honor to solidarity, depending upon the social, political and cultural factors under which the discourse is constructed, represented and thus consumed by the discourse receivers. In the above-mentionedtext, the political actors have attempted to magnify the negative image of their opponent political groups.

The next tweets can be interpreted in multiple social and political contexts, as the text carries significant implications in Pakistani history with reference to issues of democracy and dictatorship, so the interpretation is also substantial.

Musharraf, you betrayed Pakistan", "All those responsible for the 1999 coup, including all Army Officers should be tried & convicted on Treason charges(appendix iii)

From a historical context, the allegations of PML-N can be rationalized on a number of grounds, such as in 1999, Pakistan army dismissed the elected government and Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, being accused of politicizing and destabilizing the armed forces was deposed and put under house arrest. Afterward, he was stowed out of the country through illegitimate means and under some clandestine conditions was put in so-called self-exile in Saudi Arabia for five years (Siddique, 2006). Apart from disposing of the democratic regime, Musharraf performed many disputed non-democratic strategic moves, such as imposing emergency in Pakistan in 2007 and suspending the judiciary system along with abrogating the constitution (Siddique, 2006). During the above stated political genocide of democratic moves, there were a number of issues raised by internal and external elements, such as war on terror, conflicts on the borders and Kargil war etc. From political perspective, the incident caused a serious damage to the leadership of PML-N, so in the lieu of these issues PML-N's political actors have expressed their extreme anxiety at Mushraff and all the other stakeholders who staged the disposition of Nawaz Sharif from his political power (in 1999). Within the previously debated controversies, the alleged discourse of PML-N aims at persuading masses to demand prosecution of Musharraf, so that the political grudges of PML-N can be justified and

proclaimed in the very sensitive time period i.e. just two weeks before the general elections of 2013. The discourse of allegation continued as PML-N raised the issue of Lal Masjid, a controversy in the history of Pakistan which nominated the state itself as a stakeholder in the war of religious extremism in the regime of Musharraf. According to Mir (2009) the issue of Lal Mosque is one of the bold steps taken by the Pakistani military in order to crash down the Islamic radicalism associated with the militant group TTP and it resulted in the brutal assassination of many female and male students mostly from tribal areas. The siege and thus the assault of many students raised many questions on democracy, humanity, religious tolerance and aggressive military dominance of Pakistan during the regime of Musharraf.

> Musharraf, Pakistan hasn't forgotten what you did in the Lal Masjid fiasco(appendix iii)

The thematic proposition of above-quoted discourse practices is linked with the manipulative strategy of PML-N, as the political actors used such language which provoked rather incited negativity for Musharraf by narrating all those political incidents in which Musharraf appeared as scoundrel from the dismissal of Nawaz government to the issue of Lal mosque. In the above-stated text practices the phrases like *Lal Masjid fiasco* adds to the intensity of stated theme i.e., the political actors claimed the statement on behalf of the whole country, rather it is more appropriate to state that PML-N over generalized and exaggerated the situation. The text explicitly reflects that the whole country is despondent with the incident of Lal Mosque but the embedded meanings are the political rivalry of the PML-N itself.

With reference to the series of allegations PML-N has quoted another tragic and most terrible mystery case of Dr Affia Siddiqui, who was trialed under US judiciary and convicted for number of political, criminal and security threat cases and got poisoned for 86 years according to US constitutional departments(Dr Affia Siddiqui the other voices, 2012).

> Musharraf, Pakistan hasn't forgotten what you did with Dr. Aafia Siddiqui.(appendix iii)

Moreover, the controversial rather mystery case of Affia, her siege and verdict against accused Al-Qaeda association and ultimately her unconstitutional and illegitimate punishment imposed by the USA, called for an international protest and serious

condemnation from multiple schools of thoughts. Simultaneously, a serious wave of hatred prevailed in Pakistan against all stakeholders in Affia's case particularly Pakistani government i.e. Musharraf, who according to many media reports, handed over Dr. Affia for military trial to USA. According to Mir (2010), the role of the Pakistani government and intelligence agencies was highly scrutinized by media personnel and human rights organizations, within the same connotation, the discourse of PML-N can be framed in as they also tried to build their political popularity by sympathizing with Dr. Affia. According to Rubin (2015),the Davis case symbolized Pakistan's sensitivity towards the inequality of its relationship with the United States, therelease of its citizen, who is a criminal (Davis), while the Pakistani rulers fear even talking about their innocent national, Dr. Aafia Siddiqui.Within the samecontext, the political actors of PML-N criticized, rather alleged Musharraf for mishandling the case of Dr. Aafia.

> Today the Champions of Corruption PPP-P & so-called Champions of Change PTI have joined hands against PML-N(appendix iii)

The text was produced by the political actors in the backdrop of an alliance between PTI and PPP-P, as disclosed by the party officials of PPP-P in a media report, the strategic move of both parties was highly objected by PML-N. The derogatory remarks used by PML-N are subject to political rivalry and conventional alleged discourse practice, as reflected through the phrases such as *Champion of Corruption* and *so-called Champion of Change.* It can be derived from the text that the political discourse of PML-N is quite apt to the strategies and policies of their political ideologies, i.e. the defaming of others. The interpretation can be elaborated more with reference to the deprecating remarks about PTI i.e. *so-called Champion of Change*, the term can be linked with the slogan of PTI during the elections as the party vowed about changing Pakistan through reforms and revolutions.

According to Bayram (2010) the main purpose of political actors is to persuade their audience about the validity of their political claims and for the attainment of the above-stated thesis they imply a number of linguistic resources that ultimately shape the beliefs and behaviors of the discourse receivers. While commenting on the thematic perception of PML-N's political discourse, a strong urge for electoral reforms appeared as a common theme. During a number of discourse instances, the political actors focused

upon the timely commencement of electoral processes for real democratic progression in the country as revealed through the following textual examples.

> Elections are the only solution to this crisis, people should be allowed to chose their representatives", "We'll fight against all those who try to sabotage the Elections. Elections would be & should held on time", There is a broad consensus that Elections are a necessity now & under no circumstances should be postponed (appendix iii)

By looking at the approach of PML-N, it can also be speculated that the political actors constructed their identity as a *democratic* political group that is ready to stand for egalitarianism and righteous political power and to fights against all those elements who attempt to harm democracy. The process of persuasion doesn't merely depend upon the employment of the linguistic resources, rather the agent of the discourse also make a significant contribution to the shaping of behaviors and ideologies. In the same repertoire, the political discourse of PML-N aims at shaping desired response from the audience i.e. they deployed linguistic resources to develop praise and agreement for their proposed agendas and ideologies along with seeking disagreement for other's policies and norms. So the ideological square of van Dijkis highly evident in the discourse of PML-N, as the political actors negatively attributed the opposite political groups. Emancipation of praise for the in-group members is continued in the next tweets, such as

> In our tenure, we were fastest progressing nation as compared to India, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Nepal, SL", "Upholding National Interests of Pakistan, is the prime objective of PML-N", We didnt take any Loan to build Motorway Pakistan was stable in Our Government(appendix iii)

In the first tweet, the glorious remarks are made to uphold the political position of the party, the usage of highly positive linguistic choices like '*fastest progressing nation*' reflect the conventional political ideological stance of PML-N. The text narrated the comparison between other countries of the region, to highlight the prestigious performance of PML-N during their regime in Pakistan. In a similar way, the next text exerted the notion of praise for the political actor of PML-N as the agenda of the party is subjected to the progress and interest of Pakistan. Both text practices can be explicitly viewed in the connotation of clusivity as the in-group members are put in the upholding position by narrating the achievements of the party during their ruling time period. The

last extract of political discourse exhibited the same thesis as mentioned above i.e. the comments are made about the economic stability of Pakistan during the regime of PML-N. According to Dowding and Dumont (2015),PML-N identifies itself by its past achievements.

In the similar fashion, the next text also fits in.

> There was no loadshedding in Our Government". Because of 5 atomic blasts India changed its behaviour& Indian PM Vajpayee visited Pakistan(appendix iii)

> Historically narrating, it was the regime of PML-N when Pakistan announced itself as a nuclear power (McLeod, 2008) by doing five atomic tests. According to the political actors, they made Pakistan a nuclear power to create power balance in the region, as before Pakistan India had already announced its nuclear power to the world (Arnold & Wiener, 2012). A significant implication of the text is the reference to the visit of Indian Prime Minister Vajpayee in 1999, to negotiate peace and harmony between two countries as the both countries had a long-termrelationshipwith extreme distress and disputes (Dittmer, 2015) on multiple issues, so such visits were termed as a big step towards peace and prosperity. In addition, Lahore summit in 1999, was also termed as a big achievement of both democratic states because it decreased the tension in the region after nuclear tests. The political actors have smartly quoted a reference to their democratic struggles to project their political insight and positive contribution to the country.

In the Previously discussed discourse practices PML-N appeared very vocal on certain political and legislative issues but in the following discourse extracts, the approach of the same actors is highly defensive where a plea for modifying the image of the party is made in response to the allegations of corruption against the party leaders.

> A calculated &malafide campaign is being run against Nawaz Sharif &myself to bar us from elections", "I categorically reject the allegations against Nawaz Sharif & myself", "Instead of acting against those who indulged in corruption & who caused massive loss to Exchequer, NAB is targeting us (appendix iii)

> It can be speculated from the text extracts that, there is a transition in the approach of political actors, primarily, the political actors had an attacking and vocal approach while putting allegations on others in terms of disloyalty and political corruptions but now the same actors adopted a defensive approach while providing explanations about the

alleged cases against themselves by a powerful institute i.e. NAB (National Accountability Bureau). The manipulation of language is also interesting, the phrases like *categorically rejects, NAB is targeting us, calculated and malafied campaign*all exhibit the intensity of displeasure of PML-N with the powerful investigation institutes. Moreover the adverb*, categorically*refers to the emphasis of discourse participants on their debated point of view-cum-ideology i.e. the political discourse of PML-N frequently made severe criticism and allegations on others but in case of their own alleged corruption cases, they expressed firm distress and discontentment.

There are many other salient features of PML-N's political discourse apart from being defensive on the issues of self-esteem and political reputation as previously discussed, the political actors adopted futurist approach also by making promises for revolution, prosperity, and progress. According to Keefer and Khemani (2005) politicians commonly offer high incentives to voters to win their support close to the electoral days and most frequently offered incentives are a reduction of poverty, empowerment of common man and a bright future for the deprived sector of society. Most of the political parties adopt such futuristic approach in which they owe to eliminate all problems of the country after getting strong institutional power and also attempt to ensure a high living standard for poor men of society, the most common target of these incentives are the deprived group of society. The same strategy is adopted by PML-N, the following discourse practices will explain the thesis more.

We will finish load shedding within three years." "PML-N is ready with aproper plan to fix all the major challenges facing Pakistan", "We'll ensure better Law & Order situation in Karachi & Baluchistan, If we get the chance to serve Pakistan again, we'll continue with reforms for the betterment of Economy" (appendix iii).

In the above-quotedtext, the derived ideas are the high future promises-cum-incentives for masses, the first text is about the one of a very serious issue of Pakistan i.e. energy crisis. The political actors have attempted to move people by narrating about the serious issues of terrorism and energy crisis with high promises to solve all these problems. According to Eweje (2014) Pakistani citizens have serious concern about the serious issue of energy crisis as the common people are suffering due to it. The political actors of PML-N appeared well aware of the debated subject and exploited it for their political campaigns. In addition to solve the issue of energy crisis, the next two text

practices aimed at logical handling of the terrorism in the country and an urge to sustain peace in the unfortunate land of Baluchistan, as Baluchistan beard terrible loss due to militancy and illegitimate power elements in 2013 (We are the Walking Dead" Killings of Shia Hazara in Balochistan, Pakistan, 2014). The linguistic choices represent the ideological stance of PML-N, the phrase *we'll ensurelaw and order situation* explicitly attempts at defaming the governance of Sindh and Baluchistan as both provinces suffered great loss resulted from brutal assassination of huge number of innocent citizens in different violent acts.

From the perspective of political identity, PML-N presented itself as ambitious, flaxen and devoted political group who vows to serve the people and not merely strives for political power. PML-N also stressed the issue of drones in Pakistan, once again a strong and direct criticism is raised on PPP-P policies and strategies in the context of drone attacks in northern areas of Pakistan. The text also reflects that the power institutions seriously lack any strong narrative for the rationalization of US interference and plight of affected/targeted areas. Precisely narrating *others are negatively projected* and defamed.

If Drones could be stopped through Dialogues, what's the point of shooting them down?", "If a strong Government takes up the issue of stopping Drone Attacks, then US would've definitely listen to us.", "PPP, on one hand, gives green signal for Drone Attacks & in Public condemns them (Appendix iii)

The thesis of PML-N is highly significant as the text was uttered just two days prior to elections and to win the support of FATA, the area which particularly suffered a lot due to USA military interference (Drones: Myths and Reality in Pakistan Asia Report N°247, 2013). In the context of *demolishing insurgence of terrorism*, the diplomatic approach of the political actors appealed to the emotional trauma of people. Simultaneously, the text provokes hatred against PPP-P as they initiated or at least supported US militancy in FATA. By looking at the linguistic element of the text it is evident that the government of Zardari is highly criticized for poor governance and irrational drone attacks. Pakistan has not yet taken any concrete steps to challenge the program. It has not,for instance, lodged a formal complaint with the UN Security Council. But even ifPakistan were to declare that drone strikes were not illegal, it would still have

anobligation to examine the legality of each strike (Drones: Myths and Reality in Pakistan Asia Report N°247, 2013).

As the grand narratives about the rationalizations of drones were never presented by any political governance in Pakistan since 2004, so the issues of drone attacks couldn't be resolved through political dialogues and insights. PML-N implicitly alleged Musharraf and Zardari for being biased about the issue of drone attacks, rather PML-N alleged both ex-presidents for supporting US policies of drone attacks in FATA. Another important factor regarding the issue of drones is the politicization of the issue by many political parties and groups, as seen in the discourse of PML-N also because they too publicized and politicized the issue just to increase their vote bank.

Apart from debating about the issue of drones in FATA, there are frequent instances of solidarity with Kashmir, a disputed land area between Pakistan and India since the partition of the subcontinent in 1947 (Sehgal, 2011). According to Sehgal (2011) there have been many cold wars between two nuclear powers India and Pakistan besides many dialogues, but unfortunately, there are still no substantial solutions. PML-N has presented its solid stance on Kashmir dispute along with a strong determination to seek a plausible solutionto the dispute on a priority basis.

> The solution of the core-issue Kashmir has to be resolved according to the will of the people of Kashmir", "I'm not in favour of putting Kashmir on Backburner. Kashmir has to be discussed simultaneously along with other issues(Appendix iii)

This stance of PML-N presents its smart politics as the political actors are well aware of the Pakistan issues, especially the disputed issues like drones and Kashmir, so there commentary on all such subjects depicts the concern of the party for the solidarity of the country. It is too obvious from the analysis that the political actors have well represented their identity as a loyal and devoted group. With reference to smart political strategy, it is inevitable to mention the concern and focus of PML-N about youth, as a number of aspirations are made for the bright future of youth.

> Youth are prized assets of Pakistan, that's the reason we talk about solving unemployment issue(appendix iii)

The vocabulary items like *prized assets* refers to the prestige which PML-N has associated with youth and by praising them and promising to offer bright future implicitly

entails support for the party itself. It is concluded from the above-narrated analysis that the political discourse of PML-N is full of references to their past achievements along with recurrent instances of severe criticism on the other political groups and leaders. The political actors appeared very much vocal on certain issues such as trial and punishment of Musharraf, besides direct attacks on the policies of PPP-P governance in the backdrop of sectarian violence, terrorism, and militancy in the province of Sindh and Baluchistan. Another salient feature of the text is highly ambitious and futuristic approach of the political leaders which attempts at inspiring public for winning their support. Apart from these propositions the issue of economy and reforms is recurrently addressed and reinforced. PML-N has addressed the issue of drones and Kashmir dispute, they have also displayed high interest in youth participation in all fields of life, specifically in politics.

In this particular discourse extract, the political actors have projected their sympathies with the victims of militancy in Quetta. The militant acts against Shia sectarian group resulted in the assassination of many innocent people.

> PM Ashraf has arrived in a sit-in at Alamdar Road in Quetta to express solidarity with Shia Hazara Community (appendix iv)

Here the political actors of PPP-P have presented their positive identity by showing solidarity with the victimized group, as PM Ashraf amalgamated the protest of the persecuted group. Within the context of previously discussed strategy of PPP-P, once again the political actors have represented their identity as democratic group who believes in democratic rights of masses by encouraging their protests against Shia genocide in Quetta by the militant group of LEJ (We are the Walking Dead" Killings of Shia Hazara in Balochistan, Pakistan, 2014). Although the issue raised severe criticism on the governance of Zardari but still the party reputed itself as a positive and motivated group as seen in the text.

> I'm proud of our Shia brothers for exercising their peaceful democratic right to protest. Democracy listens dictators don't(appendix iv)

According to media reports Shia sectarian group of Hazara staged a sit-in the city along with the dead bodies of assassinated victims and refused to bury the bodies until the dismissal of the federal and provincial government and the quick trial and punishment of the accused militant groups. So contrary to the facts and demands of people the political stance of PPP-P seems ambiguous and confusing. According to Omer (2014) the radical

protest staged by the Shia community presented their doctrine of aggression, disappointment, and mistrust which in other words called for an emergency action on behalf of the institutional powers. Under these conditions, the confidence and trust displayed by the political text of institutional power elements of 2013 i.e. PPP-P appeared absurd and ambiguous. the text can be framed in the theoretical framework of van Dijk as the text praises the in-group members and magnifies the intensity of the discursive event.

> Proud of my Prime Minister for being in Quetta to deal with the legitimate concerns of the Shias Hazara(appendix iv).

A salient feature of PPP-P's political discourse is their frequent reference to the assassination of former President and Prime Minister Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, which is considered as one of the greatest controversies of Pakistani politics. It is too stated that in the general elections of 2008, PPP-P won the vote bank due to sympathies of people after the assassination of former Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto in 2007 (Muñoz, 2014). According to Hussain (2011) although Pakistani people didn't believe the allegations on Zulfiqar Bhutto still Bhutto was hanged on April 1979 and the massive protests and clemency appeals from foreign political leader remained ineffective (2011, p. 4). According to many researchers, the assassination of Bhutto called for a massive support from the public of Pakistan and '*Bhuttoism"* appeared a slogan of democracy for masses (Pakistan Review Volumes, 1985, p. 52) particularly in rural areas of Sindh. Benazir termed '*Bhuttoism',* a slogan for socialism and democracy in Pakistan and due to the above-statedthesis, the Bhutto family proudly quoted references to Zulfiqar Bhutto and Benazir Bhutto to appeal to the emotions of followers to get their support as stated in the following text by the granddaughter of Zulfiqar Bhutto.

> They thought they could silence my grandfather by hanging him. That they could silence his supporters. They were wron g…. Aseefa Bhutto'. (appendix iv)

The text can be viewed as a criticism on others who assassinated Bhutto and as a matter of fact, the verdict of Bhutto's death sentence resulted in a big support for the party and the family of deceased leader. The next text is narrated in the context of the tragic incident of Quetta as many innocent people from a sectarian group of Shia got killed in the attack (Siddiqi, 2013) .

> 'my prayers are with the people who died and those that were injured in Quetta'. (appendix iv)

It is too imperative to note here that this incident caused for severing criticism on government, as the law and the order situation was very critical in the regime of PPP-P, so under such circumstances, the sympathies of PPP-P leaders for the victims of the attack are aimed at getting the support of the people.In the following extract of political discourse, the representatives of PPP-P have highlighted one of their positive legislative act with reference to a significant bill passed by KPK assembly about by forced marriages of women. According to the bill the *custom of ghag* islabeled unjustified and the offender will be imprisoned for seven years along with a fine of 500, 000.

> 'The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Assembly passed a law banning forced marriage under ghag'. (appendix iv)

According to the bill proposed by KPK assembly, ghag is highly discouraged as in this custom a person forcefully demands or claims for marrying a woman without the will of that woman by making an explicit declaration through written or spoken text by assertion or insinuation along with suing that no other man should be permitted to propose that woman (Ashfaq, 2013; Farooq, 2013)the bill declared the custom cognisable and non-bail able offense. As the government was facing extreme criticism due to poor law and order situation of the country, so under such circumstances the political leaders of PPP-P highlighted their positive acts which can be interpreted in two perspectives i.e., on one hand, the text expresses support for women rights and on the other hand it depicts the concern of the party for taking all imperative actions to deal with illegitimate acts which violate human rights. Moreover, the text can be interpreted in the context of *Us Vs Them*dichotomy, in which the positive attribution is assigned to one's own group while for the others it is vice versa.

The political actors of PPP-P attempted to provide a safe cover to the serious errors committed by their own government policies, particularly in the health sector, according to a research report Pakistan witnessed its worst measles outbreak during the last quarter of 2012 and the start of 2013, as during this time period 19,048 suspected measles cases were observed along with 463 deaths in the rural areas of Sindh (Report on Measles Outbreak in Pakistan, 2013). Moreover, the report criticized the role of federal and provincial government for their negligence and bad performance in the health sector, so in such circumstances, the party's appreciation for its own policies appears very contradictory to the facts.

'Emergency steps being taken to prevent measles: 2.13 million children have to be vaccinated'. (appendix iv)

Here the political actors have exhibited their political identity as a supportive and compassionate group who is concerned about the welfare of masses.

The following political text basically served twofold purposes such as on one hand it represents the identity of PPP-P as ademocratic political group while on the other hand, it criticizes the party leader of TQM (Tehrik-e-Minhajul Quran), an opponent political group for their illegitimate and undemocratic demands as seen below,

'This should be our concern not Qadri's illegitimate demands and his suicide attack on democracy' (appendix iv).

The derogatory remarks passed by the political actors of PPP-P on Tahir Qadri primarily exhibits the aggression and dissonance of the discourse participants in the context of criticism which the subject party faced from their opponents and masses. The phrase *suicide attack on democracy*depicts the ideology of PPP-P as a redeemer and advocate of democracy. Moreover, the text has projected a negative image of Qadri who demanded to dissolve democratic government of Zardari.The political actors of PPP-P have demonstrated their positive identity by vowing to hold fair elections to support the legitimate process of democracy as stated in the following tweets. One of the significant features of PPP-P's political discourse is their emphasis on democracy and fair electoral polls as the same stance is reinforced multiple times by the political actors as seen in the following discourse event. A strong urge is made to sustain democratic traditions by holding the elections on time.

'President Zardari says promise made with the people for holding free, fair and transparent elections will be fulfilled' (appendix iv).

In connection to the previously discussed topic, this particular text extract shows the same approach as the political actors aimed to collaborate with other political groups for sustainability of fair and smooth governance system by applying principles of democracy that is considered as a core element of positive and constructive governmental system (Baron & Ferejohn, 1989).

'Committee of PPP-P decides to initiate the process of consultations with political parties for caretaker set up at centre and provinces'.(appendix iv)

The post-election political discourse of PPP-P raises severe criticism on the newly elected government of PML-N for not pursuing the murder case of the former governor of Punjab Salman Taseer who got assassinated by his own bodyguards due to his controversial views about blasphemy act of Pakistan (Wright, 2015). According to media reports, the deceased politician of PML-N displayed sympathies with a Christian woman in the case of blasphemy act and in reaction to his views and his support for that convicted woman caused his assassination which was strongly condemned by all institutions, political parties, human rights organizations, foreign ministers and international politicians. Although government arrested the culprit of the murder case due to extreme pressure from the religious groups and blasphemy law itself did not take any crucial steps to handle the case.

> 'A party that calls itself a movement for justice seems to be committing injustice to the family of Shaheed Salman Taseer'. (appendix iv)

The executioner of a former governor was sentenced death by the anti-terrorism court (Human Rights and Democracy: The 2011 Foreign and Commonwealth Office Report, 2012) but he challenged the verdict and his execution thus stayed from 2011 to the date as PPP-P did not resolve the case properly and the same was done by PML-N. Moreover, the case is considered very controversial because there are many religious groups and lawyers who supported Mumtaz Qadri (murderer of Salman Taseer) and restricted government to handle the case as no lawyer from government took the case against the convicted killer (Ijaz, 2015). With reference to above-stated thesis the criticism of PPP-P on the newly elected government of PML-N appears irrational but the text can be interpreted in the context of *Us Vs Them* dichotomy, as the flaws of others are maximized and the incapability of in-group members is deliberately obscured as seen in the political discourse of PPP-P.

The discourse of allegations and criticism continued here, as the political actors of PPP-P targeted another opponent group for their illegitimate support for the convicted murderer of the former governor of Punjab.

> 'Disgusted by the PTI MNA who called for the release of Mumtaz Qadri ! Qadri is a murderer'. (appendix iv)

The usage of exclamation marks along with strong vocabulary items such as '*disgusted and murdered*'is employed to highlight the intensity of the criticism of PPP-P on PTI's

leader, who demanded the government to release the convicted killer (Nangiana, 2013). It can be derived from the text that the post-election discourse of PPP-P is offensive and critical towards the newly elected governments of PML-N and PTI opts to the theoretical assumptions of *Us Vs Them* dichotomy as *others* bad acts is categorically discussed and highlighted.

In this political text, the political actors of PPP-P have displayed their identity as a righteous party who believes in equality of all with special reference to women rights. According to Wolbrecht (2000) polarization over women rights is one of the most significant features in terms of defining the ideologies of political groups, the same phenomenon can be observed in the political discourse of PPP-P as the discourse participants of the subject group represented their ideology as promoters and supporters of women rights.

> 'PPP-P does not believe in gender or any kind of discrimination and treats women equally in every walk of life'. (appendix iv)

The text reflects the positive policy of PPP-P as the political actors have debated the thesis of women rights to portray their positive identity in front of masses, so that they may earn the public support and thus get the political power in the general elections of 2013. The discourse of dissonance and grievances reflected the conventional strategy of the political actors of PPP-P as the objections are made upon others for disallowing the contestants of PPP-P to run their election campaigns.

> 'This is a selection not an election. Only right wing parties are allowed to campaign while the rest get attacked killed and…'(appendix iv)

According to a research report, many political parties of Pakistan suffered a lot due to terrorism of Taliban such as ANP, MQM(Rehman, 2013)while in pre-poll election campaigns PPP-P too suffered in few instances. The aggression rate of militant's attacks on ANP and MQM was extremely high in the pre-poll time period, so in such circumstances, the claim of PPP-P for being a target of militants appears very smart as the political actors attempted to win sympathies of masses by representing themselves as victimized and tragic group. With reference to the same context, PPP-P continued its attempts to narrate the tragic stories from history about the militancy against their leadership as seen below.

This is the land on which Quaid-e-Awam Shaheed Zulifkar Ali Bhutto and Shaheed BB laid their lives, Fragrance of blood of BB Shaheed comes from the environment of Islamabad and Rawalpindi' (appendix iv).

One of the most famous slogans of PPP-P was *kal bi Bhutto zindathaajj bi Bhutto zinda ha'* means '*Bhutto was alive and Bhutto is alive*(Niesewand, 1979; Walsh, 2007; Khan, 2013)the slogan was primarily used to earn support of people by appealing to their emotions which thus lead towards their success in electoral process of 2013.

Raising criticism on the opposition parties is one of the common practice of political field as the political actors have raised serious objections to the political policies of PML-N. In the following text, the laptop scheme and yellow cab scheme of Punjab government are rejected by the political actors of PPP-P as they considered the scheme fake and artificial. Contextually the prior mentioned yellow cab scheme of Punjab government was already criticized by the opposite parties and public sectors and the laptop scheme also had to undergo deep scrutiny by the educationists and economists as quoted by Hoodbhoy (2012). According to Hoodbhoy (2012) laptops cannot be a solution to the problems of Pakistan, as laptops cant not finish poverty and they do not contain any education material so they are not considered very effective for Pakistani students. Thesame ideology is represented in the following text as the discourse participants have raised objections on the laptop scheme and yellow cab scheme of PML-N.

Peeli taxi, laptop aordosray sab daramay app-nay jin logon kay paisay say kiyaY' (yellow cab, laptop and other dramas you have done with the money of other people). (appendix iv)

Moreover, these schemes are termed as a fake and mere show-off. Such objections and criticisms are apt to the traditional politics in which the derogatory remarks are often passed on others to defame them. As defamation is considered common tactics of traditional politics (Spreeny & Holloway, 2004) so it is too used by the discourse participants.

Sastee roti kay naam par 30 Arab rs lagadiyayjatay, laikin Janobi Punjab meinask roti takfarhamnahi ki jaati' (thirty Trillions have been spent on low-cost loaf but not a single loaf is provided in south Punjab). (appendix iv)

The discourse of criticism is continued on the development policies and plans of PML-N by the opposition parties as seen in the above-quoted text. According to Ghani (2012) CM Punjab Shahbaz Sharif initiated many development programs in Punjab such as *Danish School System, Ashiana Housing Scheme, Sasti Roti, Scheme,Yellowcab Scheme,flyovers, largest Slaughter House of the Province, Ring Roads, Laptop*but still the opposition groups kept on defaming Punjab government for these policies and termed them biased and unfair to the people of south Punjab. So the political actors have explicitly projected their agenda i.e. to defame the opponent political group.

In the following post-election discourse extracts the political actors have demonstrated their nationalism and sincerity for Pakistan by condemning drone attacks in FATA and other tribal areas of Pakistan as the text states that PPP-P already condemned attacks much time during their regime and still they have a firm stance regarding the issue (Tasleem & Zaidi, 2013, p. 26). According to Tasleem and Zaidi (2013) PPP-P condemned drone attacks as there can be no compromise on sovereignty and solidarity of Pakistan.

Pakistan demands an end to U.S. drone strikes -- for the ninth time: 8 attempts made between 2008-201'. (appendix iv)

As the people of drone affected areas were extremely unhappy with the drone policy of the government, so PPP-P also condemned drone attacks during its regime but the party did not take any solid steps to resolve the issue. In July 2012 PPP-P governance strongly resisted the drone attacks and criticized US policies but still, US defense department vowed to continue drones even without the permission of Pakistan. So the post-election discourse of PPP-P reinforced the same thesis where the discourse participants stressed upon the solidarity of Pakistan and discouraged the negative role of foreign elements in this regard.

In the next text, the discourse participants have condemned the terrorist attack on justice Maqbool in Karachi on 26th June 2013 (Khan & Khan, 2013). The text here represents the positive identity of PPP-P as the party stands against the militants and violent groups.

President Asif Ali Zardari has condemned the Karachi blast - PPP-P Pakistan, President Asif Ali Zardari has strongly condemned the blast at Burnes Road

Karachi, President Zardari has appreciated the services of Korean Ambassador in bringing Pakistan and Korea further closer'. (appendix iv)

The political actors have presented their constructive identity by stating the positive foreign policy of Zardari. The discourse displays the positive ideology of PPP-P as the discourse participants have presented the insight and smart policy of Zardari, the discourse practice can be interpreted in the framework of inclusions as the in-group members are highly praised for their smart services and thus the portrayal of such traits is primarily aimed at building positivity among masses which thus can benefit the party in political and social context. The first tweet expresses solidarity with the victims of terrorism while the second tweet projects appreciation for the subject political group.

The discourse of self-appreciation is continued here as the discourse participants of PPP-P have highlighted their past achievements. Benazir initiated a very significant health program for rural women in Pakistan (Khan A., 2011) and in the following tweet, the same program is discussed.

PM Raja Pervez Ashraf says the Lady Health workers programme was conceived and initiated by ShaheedBenazir'. (appendix iv)

Here the assassinated leader is praised for her contribution which she had made in the health sector and the initiation of lady health worker program is appreciated by the international organizations and even Pakistani political parties as no party hindered the program and every year government allocated high budget for the program. As mentioned earlier that political actors quote such instances which bring appreciation and encouragement for them, particularly prior to the electoral session, as at that time period every political actor targeted masses for electoral support to win legitimate power. The same phenomenon is exercised by the political actors of PPP-P as they have projected their positive political identity through positive linguistic choices. The following text promotes the positive policies of PPP-P as here the discourse participants have highlighted their strategies to enhanceBenazir Income Support Programme for poor Pakistani women.

3500 mln rupees were allocated on media advertisements to promote Benazir Income Support Programme: Chairperson BISP'. (appendix iv)

The BISP is the largest sponsored program of Pakistani government for poor women as a support for their household financial issues(Arshad, 2011),launched by the federal government in 2008 and was named after Benazir to tribute her services and vision for women empowerment in Pakistan. In the above-quoted text, the discourse participants have mentioned the government expenditure for the promotion and effectiveness of BISP and the text basically reflects the discourse participant's aspirations to develop a positive image of the subject party in front of masses. According to Tahir (2013) BISP may not help PPP-P much to increase its vote bank as the effectiveness of the program was not very high according to economists, initially, it was inaugurated for Sindh and later on for south Punjab but rest of the provinces were not taken into account. Simultaneously, as the program was based on the idea of unconditional transfer of money to deprived women below poverty line still there were a large number of deserving women left who need to be benefited from the program. Inpsite of all these objections and criticism BISP was appreciated by all the parties and the budget for BISP is increased up to 102 billion by the current government of PML-N (Haider, 2015). PPP-P takes the credit for such programs for women empowerment and thus the discourse can be fit into the framework of Us Vs Them dichotomy, as the in-group members are highly appreciated rather magnified for their positive traits.

The following text was produced in the backdrop of a controversial suicide-cum-murder case of an important investigator of NAB Kamran Faisal, who was found dead in his room on 18th January 2013. The deceased investigator was working on a high-level investigation of RPP (rental power plants) case in which ex-Prime Minister Pervaiz Ashraf was directly nominated.

Govt forms judicial commission to investigate Kamran Faisal's death' (appendix iv).

According to ABD (Asian Bank Development report, 2010), major inconsistencies and weaknesses were found in the contracts, violation of procurement and regulatory procedures in RPP. Another research report termed RPP projects non-feasible and said the deals were not in favor of the buyer(Islamic Republic of Pakistan: Rental Power Review, 2010). The audit report of RPP also found major discrepancies (Bhutta, 2011) and as Pervaiz Ashraf was the minister of Water and Power at that time, so he was implicitly held mainly responsible for the alleged crimes. With reference to same case,

the chief justice Iftikhar Chaudhary took a sue motto notice after the declaration of apex court that all rental power project (RPP) deals were 'non-transparent, illegal and void' and thus the verdict of supreme court ordered a critical scrutiny of all the stakeholders of the RPP case (Khan A. , 2012). After the verdict of Supreme Court, NAB formed an investigation team and deceased soul Faisal investigated the case and presented the initial report against Pervez Ashraf followed by the arrest order of the alleged minister by NAB, although NAB chairman Fasih Bokhari declared the report inaccurate and thus refrained the report along with cancellation of the arrest order of Pervez Ashraf. On the very next day, Faisal was found dead in his room which was termed suicide case by Islamabad police investigation reports (Mukhtar, 2013) while the media reports quoted the frequent instances of deceased soul's intense meetings with the NAB authorities under extreme pressure to change the RPP reports and to remove the name of Pervez Ashraf, which caused murder-cum-death of Faisal. The media reports presented the case as a murder, with implicit allegations of murder on NAB chairman Fasih Bokhari. With reference to the above-statedthesis, the claim of PPP-P to investigate the case is interesting as one of the political actors of the subject party was alleged in the case and this text can be analyzedin clusivity framework as the in-group members are saved and protected and their identity is displayed fair and impartial. So the text explicitly represents the clusivity elements as the exclusions are exercised by excluding the negative attributes from the in-group members.

> We were not provided the level playing ground to contest election, Latif Khosa PPP-P, Despite reservations we accept election results, Latif Khosa PPP-P'. (appendix iv)

In the above-quotedtext, the political actors have displayed their distress upon the democratic process of elections i.e. the party objected upon the elections and termed it as unfair and disloyal. In the first tweet, the political actors of PPP-P alleged *others,* for not providing them sufficient chances to campaign for elections, while the next text represented the identity of the party as democratic as it vowed to accept the election results despite being discontented with it. Both text practices can be framed in the theoretical context of *Us Vs Them* dichotomy as the in-group members are esteemed for their positive acts. Similarly, the text can be well interpreted according to the thesis of clusivity as the 'inclusion is made for the positive attribution of the in-group members'. Such strategies are basically applied for legitimate purposes as the above-quoted text also

attempts to rationalize the ideological stance of PPP-P regarding their position on the elections in which the subject party did not get any remarkable success. The discourse of allegations and distress is continued here as the discourse participants expressed their anger with *others political groups* and alleged them for manipulating election results, particularly in Punjab where PML-N got won maximum seats and thus established the government.

Within the context of alleged discourse, the next political text practices can be analyzed as these discourse extracts also reinforce the previously discussed thesis i.e. the discourse participants have expressed deep dissonance with the militant group whose militancy created hurdles for the political group of PPP-P and restrained them from political campaigns that ultimately resulted in unequivocal defeat of the subject party in 2013 elections. The party co-chairman Zardari blamed Taliban for their aggression and their coercion especially with reference to legitimating strategies and political processes. The last quoted text is more critical as it overtly leveled many allegations on PTI and PML-N, the winning parties of elections, according to PPP-P these parties won the elections due to the illegitimate support of militant groups.

> The Taliban's real success is that they bet on the winners. They promised not to attack Khan and Sharif's parties". (appendix iv)

The text attempted to rationalize the identity of the discourse participants as '*victimized*' and '*righteous*' party as the text states that only those political groups won the elections who had alliance with militants and who used unfair and illegitimate means, the text can be precisely framed in the theoretical underpinning of Us Vs Them contestation, as the above-stated text attributed the non-democratic processes and strategies to others. The following quoted text contradicts the previously mentioned thesis as the discourse participants first alleged PTI for their alliance with the militant's groups and here the political actors acknowledged the results of elections and congratulated the winning party for their success in the elections.

> President Asif Ali Zardari also congratulates ImranKhanPTI on the success of PTI in Elections2013'. (appendix iv)

Such contradictory thesis represents the dual policy of the political actors as at one hand they alleged and condemned a political group, while on the other hand, they praised the same group. In the following text, the discourse participants have constructed and

demonstrated their identity as fair, loyal and unbiased group that condemns illegitimate acts and supports justice. The text can be framed in the theoretical underpinning of ideological contestation as other's bad acts are magnified.

> Extremely disappointed in the court's decision to grant bail for Musharraf; yet again justice is being obstructed'. (appendix iv)

The text indicates the legitimacy of the subject party as the discourse participants have exhibited their dissonance and disagreement on the bail of Musharraf in the alleged assassination case of Benazir in 2007 and considered it illegitimate (Report of the United Nations Commission of Inquiry into the facts and circumstances of the assassination of former Pakistani Prime Minister Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto , 2010). According to UN report (2010) and JIT (Joint Investigation Team) reports, despite severe apprehensions of Benazir, the functional government of Musharraf did not provide her sufficient security and due to inadequate security measure and extremist sectarian elements she got assassinated (Kharal, 2012). So in such circumstances, the bail of the convicted person needs to be condemned by the victimized group and same strategy is adopted by PPP-P. The political actors have projected their political identity as a subjugated group striving for justice, such text practices are aimed to incite people emotionally for political objectives. Moreover, it is evident through analysis that one of the most widely debated topics of PPP-P's political discourse is the assassination of Bhutto, as this topic is suitable for earning sympathies of the masses for the subject political group.

The political actors of PPP-P have commonly quoted references about the assassination of Zulfiqar Bhutto and Benazir, their assaults were termed as a great sacrifice for democracy. Besides the issue of assassination, the discourse participants have highlighted their past achievements during their regime along with vowing to stand against militancy and devise certain strategic measures to eradicate the menace. The post-election political discourse of PPP-P is full of allegations on electoral results of 2013, they termed elections '*manipulated and unfair*' and held many stakeholders responsible for their defeat. Another salient feature of their political discourse is a strong urge to promote democracy and justice for the welfare of masses and for the solidarity of Pakistan.

In the following discourse practices, the political actors have criticized the caretaker government for their poor performance and inability to control the menace of inflation in the country.

Loadshedding every alternate hour - 12 hrs - in Islamabad! Seems Khi only place where no loadshedding! Ironic!'. (appendix v)

In the above stated political text, exclamation marks are used with adjective *Ironic* and noun *loadshedding* to disgrace the power institutes who handle the country resources. Here the political actors of PTI have reflected their ideology as a loyal political group who is concerned about the problems of Pakistan and is really interested to solve it. Moreover, the text has reflected the political identity of PTI as a smart political group who likes to manipulate the sensitive issue of the country to provoke hatred among people against the governing elites. The discourse makers have termed governmental institutes as unfair regarding the electricity supply, these institutes are alleged for discriminating different regions of Pakistan for distribution of energy resources. Moreover, such strategies are attempted to incite anxiety among discourse consumers besides creating a negative image of *'others'*.

In the next tweet, a bold and daring stance of PTI is vividly presented on the issue of US drone attacks in FATA and KPK in the lieu of '*war against terrorism'*, the text raised high criticism on the policies of American president regarding their views on militancy and drones.

Obama's drone speech was an attempt to justify violations of int law, Pak sovereignty & killing of innocent civilians'. (appendix v)

The text was produced after the speech of American president on drone policy as a strategic tool to safeguard the solidarity of Americans, (Remarks by the President at the National Defense University, 2013) but the rhetoric of the president remained unsuccessful to justify the killing of thousands of innocent people in drone attacks, particularly in FATA and KPK (Drones: Myths and Reality in Pakistan Asia Report N°247, 2013). With reference to the notion of the *killing* of *innocentcivilians,* the discourse of PTI reflected the ideology of many Pakistanis who opposed American drone attacks and who suffered due to it (Johnston & Sarbahi, 2011). In addition, the discourse of PTI can be viewed as a conventional political strategy of a newly elected government as PTI got success in KPK, so the political discourse of PTI mainly focused upon those

elements which caused serious problems for the people of that particular land. According to Aaronson, Aslam, Dyson and Rauxl (2015), Imran swept the elections in the tribal areas of FATA and KPK due to his anti-American sentiment and a strong urge to stand against US strategic groups to end up drone attacks in KPK and FATA as Khan narrated in his pre-election discourse ''we are bombed and we are targetted by our ally for a war which is not ours and has nothing to do with us'' (p. 83). So under such circumstances, the political discourse of PTI is completely compatible with its own ideology and it represents 'anti-drone and anti-American defense & foreign policy'.

The post-election discourse of PTI appears more like dictations to the governmental institutions regarding their responsibilities and strategies to efficiently serve Pakistani people.

> The Caretakers shd immediately sensitize themselves 2 the suffering of the nation & provide relief against the excessive…'(appendix v)

Here the imperative approach reflects the emphasis of the party on the sensitivity of the issue i.e. the government is urged to negotiate practical steps to handle the problems of common people and serve them better. The text can be interpreted in the light of van Dijk's ideological square as the *others are defamed and degraded and their negative aspects are magnified,* in this particular case the others are criticized and their bad image is highlighted. The following text reflects the solid stance of PTI regarding their political strategies and policies, here the political actors have represented their identity as a democratic group that doesn't believe in mere physical powers rather for them *democracy* is the biggest power.

> Restoring confidence of pl in the ballot is whats at stake ..not seats or power but the very essence of democracy'. (appendix v)

By representing their belief in democracy, the discourse makers have constructed their positive image as a political group who put public support on priority and thus considers the power of ballots bigger than any other power in politics. Here the political actors have taken the credit of motivating people to participate in democratic processes and by resorting the power of the vote, simultaneously the text states that it is significant to support democracy for good governance. Additionally, the text also creates a positive image of PTI as a sensible political group who has provoked democratic spirit among people by increasing political participation. It is stated that PTI mainly targeted youth and

women for political participation and thus the turn out rate remained highest in 2013. The overall text has created a positive image of the political actor.

> The process of rebuilding Pak has started.Imran Khan has already brought CHANGE .In time, there will be a NAYA PAK, Insha… , PTI says we suspect Rigging happened in 25 seats - just pick four and evaluate by thumb imp if this rigging was massive'. (appendix v)

Both of the above-mentioned texts are produced after the elections of 2013, in the first instance, the political actors have represented their notion of change in the country, while in the next text the discourse makers have emphasized upon the allegations of rigging in elections (Muhammad & Sumra, 2014). While discussing the manifesto and ideology of PTI, the party put its foundation on the *prospect of change* in the political system of Pakistan, the party believed to revolutionize Pakistan by introducing many reforms in education, health, business, energy sector etc. (Pakistan Tehreek-e- Insaf Election Manifesto 2013, 2013). According to media reports the mantra of PTI is *'change'* and the party used it as a major strategic tool for political campaigns and political activation, moreover the rhetoric of party leader also reflected the same notion i.e. a strong urge to bring change in the country was attempted to incite people for their political participation and support for the subject party. Another salient feature of PTI's political discourse is their urge to construct a new Pakistan by revolutionizing the whole systems of the country.

Although PTI got a great momentum in the election campaigns and the party enjoyed massive support of youth but the elections did not bring a big change in the conventional politics of Pakistan and a traditional political party PML-N appeared as major winning party, after losing elections of 2013 PTI frequently alleged election commission for massive rigging (Ghumman, 2013). A similar phenomenon is debated in the following text practices.

> FACT - ECP admitted Elections on May 11 in Karachi were not free and fair - ECP sleeping on its own statement? unFREE & unFAIR elections'. (appendix v)

The above-stated text was constructed in the context of a statement given by ECP about rigging in Karachi elections (Ahmed, Ahmed, & Shehzad, 2013). The political actors of PTI often complain about the rigging in the elections and the party reflected its dissatisfaction on the transparency of electoral results, in the above-mentioned text the

discourse participants have used derogatory language for the election commission and termed them as irresponsible. The phrase *ECP sleeping on its own statement* attempts to raise criticism on the delayed response of election commission on the issue of re-polling in Karachi as PTI put allegations on election commission for their inability to conduct fair and timely polls in the same city. As ECP noticed rigging in some constituencies, so they declared to re-held the elections after a week in Karachi i.e. on 19th May 2013 (Siddiqi, 2013). The text can be interpreted in the context of *Us vs Them* dichotomy, as the discourse participant has highlighted the weakness and bad aspects of others just to defame them and to earn bad repute for 'them'. With reference to the discourse of allegations and distress, the next text also exhibits the same phenomenon, here the political actors have expressed their deep regrets and dissatisfaction with the credibility of electoral results, the term *crooks* are used for an unknown agency who caused rigging in the democratic process. The out-group members are labeled as crosiers and criminals and they are blamed for rigging.

You voted for Change - and these crooks Changed your votes'. (appendix v)

Once again the political actors of PTI have reinforced the *mantra of change* and cursed the *unknown offenders* to manipulate the electoral results. Moreover, the text projects the thesis of negative representation of others to defame others. With reference to the political campaigns, political activism and political strategies, the following text demonstrated the ideology of the discourse participants, here the political actors have represented themselves as a righteous group who believes in public welfare and never intended to harm the public interest.

Not a single bulb broken; no shop forced to shut down; no bus/car torched... This is PTI.… No damage to public property'. (appendix v)

The text is produced in the lieu of PTI's protest against the rigging in elections of 2013 particularly in Karachi, according to NADRA report, massive rigging was observed in the NA-256 constituency of Karachi as a number of national identity cards could not be verified from NADRA for being fake (Israr, 2013). With reference to the same notion of rigging, PTI launched massive protests in Karachi, simultaneously the party claimed to be peaceful while protesting for revival and sustainability of democracy in the region. The stance of PTI is apt to the positive self-representation as *our positive acts are magnified and maximized.*

In the post-election political discourse of PTI, the party has demonstrated its deep concern in the education sector, the party has vowed for handling the education sector by itself which reflects the political ideology of the discourse makers. Prior to elections of 2013, Imran Khan focused much on the education sector and motivated people to vote for his party, so that after getting the power the party may work to improve the education system of Pakistan (Markey, 2013). The following text reinforced the same thesis.

> ShireenMazari1 Let me state officially that PTI is not handing Education to any coalition partner!'. (appendix v)

The discourse participants have vowed to improve the education system by introducing educational reforms and not offering the ministry of education to any coalition partner as PTI made the central provincial government in KPK along with coalition parties (Zia & Saeed, 2013) still PTI aimed to keep its promise with the nation regarding education reforms and decided to work on education sector by itself. It is also interesting to note that the political actor has projected its optimistic and insightful image by focusing upon education sector as the political actors promised in their manifesto to introduce important reforms in the education sector, so here they have reinforced the same promise.

One of the salient features of PTI's political discourse is their utmost focus upon the participation of youth in every field, particularly in politics, the discourse participants have praised the motivation and courage of women and youth.

> I am proud of the bravery & determination of r workers, esp youth/ women who have stood up for their rights despite thr'. (appendix v)

According to Aaronson, Aslam, Dyson and Rauxl (2014), PTI stressed upon the participation of women along with inciting youth to actively take part in political campaigns (Boughzala, Janssen, & Assar, 2014, p. 181) to strengthen the democratic process by casting vote for the leadership of PTI with the core agenda of changing the political scenario of Pakistan. Furthermore, the rhetoric of PTI exhibits the identity of the political actors as *supporters of women rights*and as a moderate group who believes in the strength of women and youth for political activism and political participation. It is also postulated through analysis that the political actors have done positive self-representation by applauding and encouraging women and youth, the text has created an optimistic image of the subject political group. In the next text, the discourse makers have presented

their regards for the less privileged province of Pakistan i.e. Baluchistan (Anwar & Baig, 2013, p. 44) and motivated Balochs to use their democratic rights and ballot for PTI.

> Balochistan! you are the jewel of Pakistan. Today your thumb is speaking about the pain and sufferings of last 66 years'. (appendix v)

The text appeals to the emotions of people and motivate them to stand for their rights the phrase *suffering and pains of last 66 years*points towards the unfair treatment given to Baluchistan (Fouskas, 2010, p. 192), simultaneously the text aims to provoke people for democratic struggle which thus may ultimately bring some critical changes in their lives. The text was produced on the election day i.e. on 11th May 2013 and it has great significance as at the critical time period of elections all political parties attempted to impress their voters through high promises and great inspirations, so the discourse of PTI is also compatible with the traditional political ideologies of Pakistan. Moreover, the political actors have used *Balochistan* metaphorically, as they used it for people of that area, simultaneously the text motivates people for political participation. It is also the argument that through such emotional statement political actors have tried to impress the audiences to get political power. Precisely narrating, the political actors have created their positive image by vowing to bring great reforms in the deprived region.

> No PTI candidate is weak, you will make him weak if you don't vote for Balla. Vote for ideology. you will win InshaAllah', Dr. Firdaus Aashiq Awan has withdrawn from Sialkot. Change is visible'. (appendix v)

With reference to the previously debated thesis, the following text can also be framed in as here PTI has represented its ideology as an optimistic party that has an unconventional political approach. The discourse makers have termed *people and votes as their strength* and also demonstrated that with the support of people PTI will lead the elections. It is too significant to note here that during the elections of 2013 PTI motivated public by aspiration of change and they linked political activism with the political reforms and democracy, the mantra of change appeared as a hallmark of PTI's ideology (Rospigliosi & Greener, 2014, p. 322). While narrating about *'Change'* the second tweet can also be interpreted, contextually viewing the former federal minister and a candidate of National Assembly Dr. Firdous Ashiq declared to withdraw from Constituency of Sialkot NA/110 in favor of PTI's leader Usman Dar (Heuvel, 2013). The political actors of PTI termed the above-mentioned act as an indication of '*change'* in politics. From a

linguistic perspective, the verb *change* primarily exhibits the manifesto of PTI as prior to the elections the discourse makers urged for a solid change in the conventional political system so the same idea is reinforced in the above-narrated text.

> If you think that IK has done anything good for this country then go and show your solidarity with this great man' (appendix v).

With reference to positive self-representation, the above-mentioned discourse is analyzed. In the text, the discourse participants have reflected their praise and support for the subject leader, the adjective *great* exhibits the appreciation for the party leader Imran Khan. The embedded ideology of the discourse makers is very interesting as the discourse develops logical arguments about the in-group members i.e. it posits that if the party leader has performed great services for the people that he deserves to get appreciation and camaraderie contrary to the fact that PTI never got any major political power in the previous elections, so the party did not get a chance to serve people through political power. From historical context a great achievement of Khan is the establishment of Shakut Khanum Memorial Trust, a cancer hospital named after the mother of Imran and aimed at serving cancer patients with best health services (Ilyas, 2012). Pragmatically viewing, the underlying meanings of the text are references to the past achievements-cum-services of Imran for the masses and the discourse makers used those achievements as the base to get political support in the elections of 2013.

> Insafians! Caste your vote asap and then spend full day to mobilize others. Do whatever you can to improve turnout'. (appendix v)

In the critical time period of elections the political discourse of PTI seems full of motivation and high spirits as the party aspired to win big mandate in the election, so for this purpose the supporters were directed to mobilize the political activity to increase the political participation, the phrase *Do whatever you can to improve turnout* reflects the determination and enthusiasm of the subject party. Moreover, it was uttered on 11th May 2013, the Election Day and the ideology of PTI appeared highly constructive and positive as the discourse participants implicitly termed political participation as a hallmark of democracy. According to Banks, Muller and Overstreet (2005), PTI was formulated in 1996 by Imran Khan a cricketer-turned-politician with primary agenda of introducing political and national reforms in the country and kept democracy as its political manifesto. As in the previously held elections of 1997 and 2002, PTI didn't come up with

any significant achievement but in 2013 the massive political campaign on social media developed an optimistic approach in party leadership and party supporters to get success in the electoral process. The next extract of political discourse is linked with the previously debated thesis, here the general elections of 2013 are labeled as an indication of a historic change in politics as they are assumed to provide freedom to Pakistani people in real sense. From a historical context, the text narrates about the independence history of Pakistan as it got separated from India 66 years back, simultaneously the text represents a sarcastic approach as it states that still, the country is struggling for its true freedom.

> Pakistan was separated from India on 14 August 1947. It took n67yarly 66 years to complete the independence on 11 May' (appendix v).

There are multiple implications of the above-stated text such as on one hand the text raises criticism on overall governance of Pakistan since independence, while on the other hand the electoral day is labeled as a real independence day for Pakistani people, as the Election Day was expected to bring changes in Pakistani history.

A salient feature of PTI's manifesto is its focus on the participation of youth, moreover, the party has labeled youth as its main power (Gishkori, 2013). The following text reflects the different political ideology of PTI as a political group because before PTI all political groups believed in traditional political strategies with a very minimum representation of youth but PTI changed the patterns of traditional politics by giving maximum representation to youth (Ahmad & Sheikh, 2013). According to Ahmad and Sheikh (2013), PTI activated youth through Social media network sites besides including youth in practical politics, due to the same thesis the PTI was termed as an unconventional and different political group.

> PTI is the only party that has given 35% of its electoral tickets to youth, Imran Khan says linguistic politics and politics of regionalism would be buried and there would be only one nation'. (appendix v)

In the pre-election political discourse of PTI, the political group vowed to introduce politics of equality and impartiality above all regional, ethnic and linguistic differences along with a strong urge to develop '*one nation*' concept. This exclusive thesis was presented at a political rally at the native city of PTI chairman Imran Khan, the discourse represented the ideology of the political group in an explicit manner

(Mehmood, 2013). From critical perspective, the text highlights the positive ideology of a democratic group that stresses upon the equality of all citizens, according to Cushman (2012), democracy refers to the equality of citizens in all respectsand democracy is considered as abest system of all times (Tessler, 2011). Such thesis is aimed at provoking support for PTI by exhibiting their core agenda of elections and such positive discourse practices are attributed to in-group members with an exclusive itinerary of portraying an optimistic approach of discourse makers.

With reference to the issue of terrorism the following text was produced, in this particular discourse practice, the discourse makers have represented their thesis.

> PTI Chairman Imran Khan has Strongly Condemned the continuing Blasts against Political Parties, I condemn Blasts in Karachi and Quetta Democracy is definitely under threat when some parties not allowed to reach out Must'. (appendix v)

The frequent instances of militancy caused serious damage to some political groups like ANP, MQM, and PPP-P, although all the mentioned political groups suffered a lot due to militancy, as a matter of fact, the maximum damage was done to ANP as the party was forced to get politically paralyzed. The both quoted text practices project the similar thesis i.e. militancy slays democracy and deprives political actors of their democratic rights of political campaigns and persuasion. In these particular text practices, the discourse participants have represented their distress about the militant groups besides showing sympathy with the targeted and subjugated political groups. Moreover, the discourse displays the identity of the party as righteous and fair political group that speaks against all illegitimate means and undemocratic forces. Through above narrated textual examples PTI has created a positive image of their in-group members.

According to Parashar (2008) after the independence, Jinnah called Karachi a gateway to the western world due to its strategic significance but unfortunately, in the last two decades, the city has turned into a paradise of gunners, militants, and smugglers. Gayer (2014) termed Karachi as a backbone of the national economy but from the last two decades, Karachi faced the severe menace of militancy and weak law and order situation. From critical perspective the entire spectrum of violence and militancy in Karachi is termed as multi-faceted and multilateral that has targeted human beings, institutional organizations (democratic groups and parties), infrastructure etc the same

thesis is reinforced here by PTI. The political actors have proposed some plausible solutions for the problems of Karachi.

> PTI Terrorism Solution 4 Khi Depoliticize police, Enact Witness & Judges Protection Act, Unearth arms caches, Disband'. (appendix v)

The suggestions proposed by PTI reflects the political ideology of the subject group, it is proposed that the law maintaining authorities such as police needs to be free from political pressures. It was also proposed that a sound institutional jurisprudence for the safety of judges should be given and above all the illegitimate custody of weapons must be banned. According to Munir (2011) trafficking of illegal weapons is one of the main reason of militancy in Pakistan as the government institutions have failed to control the situation and resultantly militancy is increasing in Pakistan with rapid speed. With reference to the same thesis, the suggestions proposed by PTI can be taken as an effective measure to handle the issue in political context. The text projects the political identity of the party as upright and amiable political group that is insightful about the current political issues of the country and it has an explicit policy to handle these issues and problems. Precisely narrating the text represents a highly positive image of the discourse makers akin to the ideological square of van Dijk as *our goods are maximized.*

> Mostly general public HATE politicians yet they love Imran Khan because he isn't a politician but a HOPE for the nation. (appendix v)

In this particular discourse extract, the political leaders have attributed their in-group member in the highly positive way and labeled him as a *hope* for the people, not just a mere politician. The nouns *HATE and HOPE* highlighted the significance of the discourse as an exclusive narrative which specifies *Us in good means while others in bad ways*, moreover the phrases *public HATE politicians* and *he isn't a politician but a HOPE* reflects the identity of the party as an optimistic yet biased group who just considered its own members important for the public welfare and for a good political system besides excluding all '*others'.* The text has exclusive markers of clusivity as others are excluded for positive attribution and solely Khan is termed as the savior of the nation.According to Teik, Hadiz, and Nakanishi, (2014, p. 219), Perumal, (2013, p. 114) and Cardona and Morley (2012, p. 236) Imran Khan has become one of the most popular leaders among youth and educated lot of Pakistan. According to a survey report of PEW research center in 2013 Khan top the list of most popular leaders in Pakistan (Perumal, 2013), moreover,

the success of PTI in KPK in the general elections of 2013 is termed as a result of the subject party's popularity among youth and particularly among educated elites. Precisely viewing, the text presents a biased agenda of political actors as they have exaggerated their positive self-presentation.

> we didnt goto TUQ long march bcz we beleive that change only comes through ballot , we had severe pressure on us to go to TUQ long march but we preferred the ballot ffor change'.(appendix v)

The above mentioned both political texts were presented in the context of Tahir Qadri's long march against the government of Zardari in January 2013 (Tahir, 2013). Here *'ballot',* basically defines the ideology of the political actors, as the discourse makers believe that the change in the political system does not depend on coercion or illegitimate display of power in any form, so the true essence of change can be derived only from democratic legitimate means i.e. electoral process. Moreover, the solid stance of the discourse participants explicitly exhibits the ideological foundation of the party as believers of democracy. According to media reports, Qadri offered Khan to join the protest against Zardari regime but the offer got rejected by the leadership of PTI (Siddiqi, 2013) as Khan reiterated his stance of putting protests on hold until the formation of a caretaker government for fair elections**.** The above quoted both texts reflect the identity of the discourse participants as *democratic and fair group* apt to the principles of clusivity, i.e. polarization is done to maximize the positivity of in-group members with a specific agenda of positive attribution.

The following text exhibits the stance of PTI on the death-cum-assault of senior NAB officer Kamran Faisal who was involved in the investigation of RRP case *(*24 Jan 2013*).*

> Video, Imran Khan says death of Kamran Faisal is suspicious'. (appendix v)

During an interview with BBC Khan called the death of Kamran Faisal mysterious leaving many complicated implications behind as Faisal was doing a high-level investigation of Rental Power case involving many prevailing political figures such as Pervez Ashraf etc. being alleged of massive corruption (Abbasi & Anjum, 2013; Bhutta, 2011). According to media reports, the stance reiterated by Khan was primarily reinforced by the family of the deceased officer as the family rejected the initial reports of police declaring the death as a suicide as the body of Faisal had several marks of torture before

death (Abbasi & Anjum, 2013). With reference to the same thesis, PTI expressed its doctrine, although nobody is directly alleged for the murder of Faisal implicitly it raises questions on the credibility and sincerity of LEAs (law reinforcement agencies) and governmental institutes. From a linguistic perspective, here adjective *suspicious* basically raises many questions about the controversial death of Faisal, simultaneously the ambiguity of the text creates multiple implications.

The most salient feature of PTI's political discourse is their focus on the notion of *change* in the political system of Pakistan through democratic means i.e. electoral processes besides highlighting the positivity of party's leadership. Another significant feature is the emphasis on the participation of youth and women in politics for better future of Pakistan. The issues of militancy, terrorism, rigging in electoral processes and drone attacks were also frequently initiated and debated.

4.1.2 Analysis of local semantics

According to van Dijk (1989, 1991, 1995, 1998a, 1998c & 2006) meaning making is a complex process and there are number of factors that contribute in the understanding of a particular text practice such as cohesion patterns, implications, overall coherence of the text etc. similarly, local meanings, implicit or explicit display of coherence, usage of presuppositions at various levels of text descriptions etc. constitute the meaning of discursive discourse practices (van Dijk, 1995). In addition, the in-depth analysis of local semantics leads towards the contextual significance as the local meanings created by the discourse producers i.e. speaker/writer attempts to explain the event model or social cognitions/general knowledge of the participants (van Dijk, 1989; 1998a; 1995). By keeping in mind the same stance political discourse of all parties (as in sample) are analyzed here.

There are a number of instances which can be considered as the *identitymarkers* for ANP, more precisely a reflection of party's political identity is obvious through discrete lexical choices such as

> i love Bacha khan, i am follower of Bacha Khan, I follow teachings of Bacha Khan' (appendix i).

Here the linguistic choices lead towards a number of implications as the text doesn't clearly demonstrate that why the discourse makers love and follow a particular

personality. Furthermore, the text doesn't tell that whether the discourse makers want to adopt the ideology of the mentioned political leader Bacha Khan or they have just expressed their intimacy with him. Implicitly the text contains appreciation and affection for the party and its leader Bacha Khan, primarily such discourse practices are articulated to develop positivity for the in-group members.

im not afraid of Taliban but ALLAH'.(appendix i)

the text here vividly presented the transparent thesis of ANP's political actors about Taliban by stating that they are not petrified by them (Taliban), Simultaneously the context is linked with Islamic beliefs that Muslims fear no one but Allah (God) (Simmonds, 2014). This stance is very much significant because ANP is largely representing KPK (Khyber Pakhtoon Khawa) and this province of Pakistan was undergoing a serious issue of terrorism and security threats featuring the vital role of Taliban, so here the text had defined the party position about terrorism of Taliban. Explicitly the text has demonstrated the strong image of the subject party to get appreciation from the masses and as the text was produced before the elections of 2013 so here another agenda of the political actors was to promote their positive political identity.

The following texts entail many implications such as the text primarily aims at presenting a pessimistic identity of the political group as a subjugated and oppressed group who got victimized by the militants, secondly the text raises severe criticism on the poor security system of the government institutes.

I strongly condemn the killing of ANP candidate Sadiq Zaman Khattak Inna Lilahewainnaelaiherajioon. Violence and bloodshed As a citizen of Pakistan I strongly protest at the systematic targetting of ANP and the Govt's shameless' (appendix i).

Contextually narrating the texts were produced after the targeted killing of ANP's leader one week prior to the elections of 2013, so the text is performing here twofold purposes, on one hand, it aims to get sympathy vote from the people while on another hand it attempts to de-shape the image of the government for its weak systems. The text has also depicted the political identity of ANP as a courageous and righteous group who is ready to fight against militants and condemned all negative acts in the region particularly the militant acts against the leadership of the subject party.

Taliban and their surrogates have been defeated by brave Pashtuns under the leadership of ANP'.(appendix i)

The linguistics choice justifies the party agenda regarding the illustration of party's prenominal abilities as here the ethnic group of Pushtoon islabeled as strong and courageous people who defeated the militant's groups of Taliban. So the text exhibited the political identity of Pushtoon as '*brave*' people and simultaneously it accolade them for their success against the militants. The text has certain ambiguities as it doesn't clearly demonstrate that how and when the militants were defeated by the political leaders of ANP, moreover the text can be fit into the theoretical underpinning of *Us Vs Them*dichotomy as our goods are exaggerated

I wish and feel sure Pashtoons in coming election 2013 kick out every single individual'.(appendix i)

Within the context of the previously narrated thesis, this particular text can also be interpreted as here once again the ethnic identity of the Pushtoons is highlighted with a strong wish to win the elections of 2013. The text also shows the confidence of the subject party on its leadership as they are expected to defeat all opponent groups, so these type of text practices present the ideology of the party as an optimistic group. Moreover, the text clearly represents the clusivity elements as the in-group members are put into the circle of winners as Pushtoons are expected to defeat all other political members in the electoral processes.

I wish JI PML-N IK PTI condemn blast of ANP ANPMarkaz office. Still waiting but no tweet or statement'.(appendix i)

The text raises severe criticism on the opposite political groups for not supporting the subject party on the sensitive issue of terrorism. Contextually narrating, the text was created after the tragic incident of terrorist activity against the party members near their regional office in Karachi (Kazmi, 2013). ANP has energised the other political stakeholders to come up with their explicit and solid stance by raising their voices against direct targeting of ANP's leaders by Taliban prior to the general elections of May' 2013, as ANP strongly opposed and condemned the brutal activities of terrorism in Pakistan specifically in KPK (comment- Assault on the ANP – Dr. Mohammad Taqi, 2013). Although ANP called the other parties to protest against the targeted killing and brutal murders of ANP's leaders and workers but the beleaguered party did not receive many

positive notes from the other political parties specifically PTI as their leader Imran Khan passed some callous remarks and blamed party for the terrorist activities against itself while MQM raised some muffled voices but PPP-P supported ANP by protesting against the terrorists (comment- Assault on the ANP – Dr. Mohammad Taqi, 2013). Precisely narrating, the underlying meanings of the text are to portray a negative image of the opponent political groups like JI, PML-N IK, and PTI in the sensitive time period of elections besides depicting the political identity of the subject party as a subjugated and marginalized group.

In the following text, there are many implications such as it primarily raises implicit criticism on other political parties and media personnel who demonstrated a lot of interest in proving the case of fake degree against an ANP leader (Bushra Gohar) (Abbasi A., 2013) to destroy the political image of ANP at the national level.

if wishes were horses, beggars would ride'.(appendix i)

The foremost objective of the discourse participants here is to amplify the magnitude of positive self-portrait and stifling of dejected attributes, as witnessed in the above-mentioned text. Moreover, a deliberate attempt is performed to deny and quench the negativity associated with the prominent leader of the party as the fake degree case is an embarrassing situation for all the political parties.

The ANP never has and never will support any unconstitutional move or any undemocratic powers against the democratic government'.(appendix i)

In this particular text practice, the linguistic choices have exhibited the political identity of the political actors as a democratic group who is ready to stand against all illegitimate powers to sustain democracy. Moreover, the text represents clusivity elements (Wieczorek, 2013) too as it excludes all negative traits from the in-group members of the subject party.

MY words can't erase her loss, but my heart goes out to the woman who lost her husband and a 6-year old son in a violent and If given a thousand chances to vote, I will only vote for ANP now. My heart goes out to the martyrs of ANP'.(appendix i)

Although the first tweet appeared quiet impersonal as it doesn't tell that which woman lost her husband and son but contextually narrating the text points towards an

assassinated leader of ANP Sadiq Zaman from Karachi just a week prior to the elections on May 2013. The text extracts entail a number of implications such as it condemn the brutality against the subject party secondly it discourages all illegitimate forces against the party leadership. The text also aims to incite people emotionally so that the maximum support from the masses can be gained that may help the political actors to win the elections of 2013. Additionally narrating the text served here twofold purposes, at one hand a sense of solidarity is expressed with the victimized members while on the other hand the political identity of the party is projected as subjugated and oppressed group.

In the next tweet, a number of adjectives are associated with the ethnic identity of Pushtoon like brave, honest etc. proving the thesis of van Dijkthat for the in-group member's positive attributes are maximized. Moreover, the discursive discourse practices are embedded within the positive self –demonstration and for others, it is the other way round.

My grandfather used to say: These are real pakhtoon, honest brave and my heart bleeds'.(appendix i)

Contextually the moribund metaphor *my heart bleeds* depicted the deep feelings of regret and solidarity with the victims of terrorism in political campaigns of ANP in Peshawar.

My heart bleeds for Peshawer bomb victims. Credit must be given to ANP for commitment to democracy'.(appendix i)

Furthermore, the text can be directly linked with the situational problems of ANP in the crucial time period of elections as all the political parties were intended to launch their elections campaigns but ANP faced the acute aggression, target killings and hostile intimidations which resultantly restrained the political campaigns of ANP. Consequently, the great spirit of solidarity and sympathy with all victims of terrorism obliquely represents ANP's ideology as a victimized political group (Hussain M. M., 2013) who remained determined against all militant groups. Besides narrating the plight of the in-group members the text also praises the sacrifices of the subject party for the great cause of democracy.

Democracy is termed as the best form of government in any country (Dahl, 2003) and in the following textual examples from political discourse of ANP they have highlighted the significance of the same phenomenon.

Credit must be given to ANP for commitment to democracy, Pashtuns & democracy lovers take it as a challenge, ANP has always struggle for strengthening democracy, ANP fot commitment to democracy and braver.(appendix i)

Here the political actors have associated democracy with the ethnic group of Pushtoon and termed them as a righteous group. The linguistic choices reflect the political identity of the party as a positive and optimistic political group who is striving for strong democracy, the sole agenda of the discourse makers is to project themselves positively so that they can win the support of masses in the elections of 2013. Secondly, the text is apt to the 'Us Vs Them' dichotomy as the in-group members are tagged constructively and their positive spirits are highlighted. Moreover, in many discourse utterances, the political actors have directly termed the in-group members as a brave, nationalist and patriotic group. According to Reisigl and Wodak (2001), the procedures of democracy are based upon the transparent control of discourse operations in any controversial issue involving all protagonists and contenders with detailed information or the practice of behaving and thinking in an expanded manner (p. 264). Although in this particular discursive practice the antagonist's stance is missing still the party officials i.e. in-group members attempted at legitimizing the attribution of democracy for them. Additionally, the usage of appreciation and praise for the substantial political process of democracy is dedicated exclusively to us and simultaneously' them/others' is excluded which is an emblematic practice of discursive political discourse.

ANP officials often used aggressive tone to express their distress and anxiety against the militant's group, such as

We called their Bluff - We exposed the Taliban, We know how to handle these bastards'.(appendix i)

Here the linguistic choices like *bluff* and *bastards* represent the adamant and insistent approach of ANP in the backdrop of the political genocide of ANP leader's and workers. The stance taken in the next discourse practice can be tagged as the *discourse of*

disenchantment as the adjective helpless represents the acute distress and discomfort of the discourse participant.

*'*we are helpless to do any thing for you.but definitely we will cast our vote for you *'*.(appendix i)

Another implication of the text is the strong determination of the party followers to continue support for the subject party by casting votes for them in the elections. Moreover the behavioral processes i.e. we will cast and we continue to stand signifies the distinctive aspects of socio-cultural rather socio-political context, it means in the broader social and political scenario the intention to support the administrative and functional ideology of the party reflects the strong foundation and ideological maturity of the participant.

There are many other text evidence from the political discourse of ANP which presented such linguistic choices that really portrayed the affirmative image of the ascribed party especially in the context of *Us Vs Them* sphere as seen in the next text.

ANP, the only party which deserves a vote this time. Their sacrifices have surpassed all others*'*. (appendix i)

The text has aimed at winning the political support from the masses for the democratic political process. Moreover, the discourse here appears as an attempt of seeking power and the attainment of power is implicitly linked with the public support, according to the discourse participants as they have sacrificed many lives for democracy, so they should get the public support.

WeWontSurrender to the terrorists or their political wings*'*.(appendix i)

Although here the conventional rules of grammar are violated but still the meanings can be inferred, primarily a resolution to stand with the party's manifesto is made and a strong determination is shown to fight against all allied militant and political groups. The text also highlights the ideological conception of the political participants that is to scuffle against terrorism. In some instances, the political discourse of ANP has reflected the future concerns, threats, and apprehensions of the political group such as

one day they will come for you, and there will be no one left to speak for you*'*.(appendix i)

In this particular discourse, the simple declarative form apparently looks as advisory in nature but the underlying assumption is pretty different, the discourse participant doesn't only threaten the consequences of terrorism rather a deep concern about people's security and rights is demonstrated. In the next text, the perspective of the political actors appeared twofold, at one hand they addressed *others* to present alliance and solidarity against militants, while on the other hand they have attempted to win sympathies of masses by elaborating the efforts of ANP against terrorism and extremism. The usage of the interrogative sentence along with a built-in answer stresses the position and status of the party within political milieu i.e.

Is there any other political party standing with ANP against Taliban? or they have to face all this one-sided war alone ' (appendix i). 'Imran Khan called Taliban his lost brothers. Fauzia Kasuri was seen defending Talibans attacks on ANP and PP. Shame on'.(appendix i)

The political opponents i.e. the two prominent leaders of PTI are explicitly accused of partisan and coalition with the militant groups. Such discourse strategies are aimed at de-legitimizing the positive perception of the political opponents with an implied agenda of de-shaping their identity in the socio-political context. Besides humiliation for *others*, the political discourse illustrates witty statements as well such as

There are bad eggs in every party. But by & large ANP is most secular'.(appendix i)

The *idiom bad eggs* along with the phrase*by and larger*reflect the generalization regarding the presence of some dishonest people within the party. Moreover, the discourse participants have exclusively appreciated their in-group members and represented their political identity as an honest and fair political group that is free from negative traits. According to van Dijk (1995)in principle, all type of information that is shared with the audiences is done in two ways i.e. the information detrimental to in-group members I s kept implicit while negative information about out-group members is made explicit (van Dijk, 1995, p. 27). The same phenomenon is clearly demonstrated in the previously quoted text extracts from ANP's political discourse.

In the following text the metaphor of light is used to magnify the positivity of the discourse associated with in-group, the phrase *forcesofdarkness*refers to the opponents rather militants involved in plans against ANP and its allied groups.

> ANP your sacrifices will not go in vain. You are the light battling against the forces of darkness'.(appendix i)

According to Edelman (1985), While coercion and intimidation help to check resistance in all political systems, the key tactic must always be the evocation of meanings that legitimize the favoured courses of action and threaten or reassure people so as to encourage them to be supportive or remain quiescent(Edelman, 1985). Once again discourse here defined the issues of coercion against the political party and their vulnerability to fight against intimidation is reflected.

> In past progressives were blocked by imprisonment, torture and exile. Now they are being marginalised by terrorism'.(appendix i)

Here the verb *marginalized* denotes plight and predicament of the political actors to handle the acute tyranny in form of mass execution and brutal assassination (Elections 2013: Violence against Political Parties, Candidates and Voters, 2013) which resultantly affected the political stability and political position of ANP before election. An important implication of the text is the reference to the political history of ANP as the renowned leaders of the political party such as Abdul Ghaffar and Wali Khan (Bacha Khan) were sent into exile due to political disputes (Husseini, 2010). Moreover, the text raises criticism on the illegitimate forces that threaten the democratic processes and creates hurdles in political activates such as terrorism and militancy.

Generally the political discourse of ANP did not show any explicit criticisms of the strong and elite institution like armed forces except few evidences of text where one institutional power i.e. police force is preferred and appreciated over armed forces during the war on terrorism, such discursive strategies are highly sensitive and challenging and they are not exclusively exercised.

> police is one the front lines of a war that our armed forces *should* have been fightinng'.(appendix i)

Themodal verb *should* appeared dialectical with an accent of preference for one institutional power to the other, such discussion of the political issues regarding certain institutions can be interpreted in terms of affirmation waiting to be ignored, qualified, accepted or defamedin particular social situations in which discourse is produced and ultimately meaning-making process is constructed. So by comparing police force with

other armed forces, the political actors have projected their ideology about power institutes. Within Pakistani political and social context, Pakistan army has always enjoyed a high esteem and great regards (Christine & Nawaz, 2011) in all fields ranging from military operations to political stability and resolutions to internal disputes. So the language used by political actors of ANP can be interpreted as a daring and simultaneously a hard comment for a venerated institution i.e. armed forces.

> Any one of our members found in any deals in Dir barring women from voting will be expelled from the party'.(appendix i)

Here the doctrine of ANP is firmly demonstrated as the party promised to throw all those political members out who found guilty of violence against women. Another implication is the strong determination of the political group to protect women rights and fight against all negative forces. The political actors also promised to discourage any exploitation of women rights particularly in the conservative areas like Dir in KPK (Sherazi, 2013).

> ANP firmly believes in peace and non violence and stands against extremism and violence in all its forms'.(appendix i)

In the above text, a great support is demonstrated to promote peace in the region and to fight against all acts of militancy and violence. In the backdrop of nationalism and democracy, the motivation of ANP has appeared highly constructive as the political actors have attempted to portray their political identity as a positive, nationalist and democratic group. The above stated both text examples can be interpreted in the backdrop of clusivity as the inclusion is made for all the positive traits and the in-group members are excluded from all type of negative attributes such as violence and belligerency.

> PTI Pakhtunkhwa does not have any authority. They have to run to Lahore for permission. A bat or abait ???? '.(appendix i)

In this textual example, a mockery statement is given about the election symbol of PTI, an opposition political party of ANP. The text claims that even after winning the elections and establishing a provincial government in KPK, PTI is still dependent upon Punjab government. Here *bat or bait?* signifies many implications, at one hand it may denote the supremacy of Punjab government in Pakistan, while on the other hand it might be taken as a criticism on the incapacity of PTI to exert its political power and its

dependence on Punjab government, although these allegations were proved wrong through the post-election discourse of PTI. A series of allegations and confrontation between two major political parties became a hot issue of discussion on different national and international political forums furthermore the allegations of PTI were proved wrong by PML-N (Durrani, 2014). In this context, the allegation made by ANP on PTI regarding their dependency on PTI in terms of power appears absurd and couldn't provide any solid grounds for the alleged discourse. The text appears sarcastic and attempts to defame the political image of others akin to the *Us vs. Them* dichotomy.

In the first text extract,*belief*(adjective)is used to demonstrate an emotional statement to highlight the optimistic approach of the party towards change.

> It's my firm belief that blood of the martyrs will not go in vain&will bring a Revolution2Save Pakistan'. (appendix ii)

> Here the text is produced in the context of terrorism in Karachi which caused fatality of many people, the noun *revolution* elevates sanguine aspects of party's manifesto. In addition, the assassination of people due to terrorism was not interpreted pessimistically by MQM rather the essence of hope for a positive change portrays the policy of the political group. The text lead towards many implications as the text states that the discourse participants aimed to bring a revolution in the country. The linguistic choices like *firm belief and noun phrase blood of the martyrs will not go in vain*project determination of the subject party about a serious issue of militancy and terrorism. The political actors have presented a tribute to the people who became victims of terrorism and termed their sacrifices as a stimulus of revolution. Such linguistic choices are aimed to provoke people emotionally, interestingly prior to the elections, all almost political groups used same tactics. Mostly they tried to move discourse receivers emotionally by quoting tragic or devoted statements. So the same linguistic strategies are used by MQM in the above-stated text practice with the similar political agenda as debated above.

The next text extracts stressed upon the enhancement of positive elements related to the manifesto of MQM i.e. people should vote for MQM if they want to see prosperous Pakistan.

> Vote for MQM, We made Karachi Beautiful, Vote for MQM to make Pakistan Beautiful, Vote for MQM Vote for Better Pakistan'. (appendix ii)

In these three tweets (adjectives) *beautiful and better* demonstrated the positive cognition of text makers who endeavor to motivate people to participate in democratic processes for the prosperity of the country. Moreover, once again the positivity of 'us' is highlighted by stating *we made Karachi beautiful*, simultaneously the text represents clusivity also as the inclusion is done for in-group members for the positive attributes. Moreover, thesuccess of MQM is linked with better Pakistan, it means that if people want to see betterment in the existing political and social structure of Pakistan they must vote for MQM. So, the electoral success of Pakistan is conditional for better Pakistan. Such interesting *dependence* represents the conventional political strategies that political actors often use to get their political agendas.

> banning women frm voting AltafHussain declared this agreement is inhuman undemocratic un-Islamic & against basic & fundamental rights'. (appendix ii)

The above-narrated text is very significant as it discusses the issues of women rights and prior to the elections, such issues appear more crucial because all political parties attempted to win electoral support, so they often debated such sensitive issues to portray their positive political image. The same phenomenon is observed in the above-quoted tweet as MQM presented its political identity as a righteous political group who is striving for the democratic rights of women. MQM recurrently raised the issue of women suffrage to incite women to support their own party. Moreover, women suffrage is an internationally debated issue (Lott, 1999)and MQM also discussed it on serious theoretical grounds to win women support before elections. The textual analysis of the tweets shows that the approach of MQM is highly biased here as the discourse reflects allegation on *others* regarding their political policies with reference to democracy. In addition, the adjectives used in the text here have negative connotations such as *inhuman, undemocratic and un-Islamic* and they all point towards an agreement between opposing political parties about violation of basic women rights (Sherazi, 2013).

MQM exhibited a strong urge and motivation to fortify status of Pakistani women by quoting the exclusive example of young Pakistani education activist and Nobel Prize winner Malala Yousafzai who got victimized by terrorists (Yousafzai & Lamb, 2013).

> Malala Yousuf is an example of Taliban cruelty, do you want this to continue. (appendix ii)

Here the text demonstrated that by quoting the example of Malala Yousafzai, MQM attempted to provoke ideology of fighting against terrorism and promoting women education. Moreover the text implicitly exhibited the edifying approach of MQM along with serious concern about women education and women rights, additionally, the text portrayed rather predicted the possible threats which women may face due to terrorism if the measures are not taken against it. The last part of the text *do you want this to continue?*displays the ideological move of the discourse participant aimed at warning others to firmly handle the issue of terrorism if they want to protect women rights. In the following text, the issue of solidarity, harmony, and peace in Pakistan are debated.

> MQM wants to strengthen the concept of 1 nation by demolishing prejudices of religion, caste and region'.(appendix ii)

Here the nouns 'strengthen and prejudice' mainly convey the meanings of text i.e. the text represents the idea of harmony and unity of nation regardless of any kind of religious, ethnic or linguistic differences. Moreover the phrases such as *concept of 1 nation*and *demolishing prejudices,* reflects the identity of the discourse participant as loyalist, partisan and unbiased political group, simultaneously the elements of clusivity can also be traced out of the text as the in-group members are positively appreciated. In addition to the previously quoted text here again the nouns 'extremism and terrorism' point towards very negative processes presented as entities in the text.

> MQM resolves2rid Pakistan of lawlessness& a disorderly situation through granting a greater participation to the people of Pakistan'. (appendix ii)

The syntactical structure of the text is unconventional as the phrase '*resolves2rid'* is grammatically incorrect and doesn't convey a comprehensive meaning. Apart from violation of conventional grammar rules, the text represents the elements of praise for the party itself and the motivation to work for the prosperity, affluence, and stability of Pakistan. Moreover, the text displays the political identity of the subject party as a national and devoted group that strives to contribute to the progress of the country. Moreover, the noun, lawlessness and adjective *disorderly,* are attributed as big issues of the nation and the subject party is projected here as powerful political group who is ready to get forward to deal with all these problems. It is also postulated that the discourse makers have constructed their political identity as the savior of the nation because they

have projected themselves as the determined political group who will resolve the big issues through their political insight and policies.

To proceed on with the analysis in the next, the nouns 'hereditary' and 'feudalism' have a negative connotation but the discourse participants have used them optimistically to narrate their positive attribution.

MQM will abolish Feudalism & hereditary Politics from Pakistan'. (appendix ii)

The text contains many implications as it implicitly points towards the party's utmost desire to win the elections of 2013 and to attain strong political power in the country besides portraying the positive ideology of the discourse participants to play the fair game by discouraging all illegitimate forces. The linguistic elements of this particular text are very much significant as they directly target the political processes and the opposing forces which cause problems for sustainability of liberal process of democracy.

Nations that do not respect their freedom fade into oblivion'. (appendix ii)

The text advocates the significance of moralistic and didactic aspects of basic human rights i.e. sovereignty and freedom, and in order to sustain it, nations must struggle hard. Here the verb phrase *fade into oblivion* is used in didactic connotation, the political actors have projected their political maturity as the text means that if a certain nation does not protect its freedom than it will be doomed. From a linguistic point of view, the text implicitly conveys the message to the masses that they should protect their democratic rights through sincerity, unity, and solidarity otherwise the nation would suffer. The political insight of MQM is reflected here as the political actors have advised people to protect democracy as a precious asset while implicitly they aimed to promote their own policies and to gain popularity among public specifically prior to elections of May 2013.

The elements of exclusions are widely presented in this particular discourse practice as the text states that the party leader of MQM struggled hard to handle the issue of religious ethnicity besides criticizing others in an implicit way.

There is not a single Leader in Pakistan whose struggled like AltafHussain has been for Shia&Sunni Brotherhood'. (appendix ii)

Clusivity elements can be derived from this text as the phrases '*not a single leader*' and *Shia&Sunni Brotherhood,* primarily aimed at focusing upon the negative portrayal of *others* besides assigning a positive attribute to *themselves*. Apart from

excluding others from the positive act of peace adherents, the text has some other significant aspects too i.e. the text has addressed rather highlighted the issue of sectarian violence that resulted in the brutal assassination of many people in Pakistan specifically in Karachi. With reference to the previous text, the next discourse can also be interpreted in the backdrop of Us *vs Them* dichotomy as a number of adjectives such as *relentless, practical*are associated with the in-group member.

Overall linguistic aspects of MQM's political discourse have projected the political identity of the subject group as a democratic, didactic and patriotic group who is striving hard to revolutionize the country. Simultaneously, there are frequent instances of positive self-representation as the political actors have used many positive adjectives and attributes to praise their policies. It is also postulated that the political actors have emphasized their positive political ideology by raising the issue of women rights and ethnicity in the very optimistic way.

In the following tweet, the political actors have projected themselves as efficient power group and they have claimed to make a lot of development in Punjab.

> The development PML-N did in South Punjab is Historic, none other has done it before". (appendix iii)

There are multiple entailments of the text such as the text primarily means to praise the performance of the party besides defaming others, to some extent the claims made by the political actors can be justified in the lieu of party's work in Punjab during PPP-P regime (Rumi, 2012). According to Rumi (2012), the work of CM Punjab Shahbaz Sharif is remarkable and legendary, he earned a great reputation by initiating a lot of development projects in Punjab. In the next text extract, the discourse participants have adopted a futuristic perspective as aspirations are proposed to eliminate social evils from the country.

> there will be no corruption in our Govt like Punjab". (appendix iii)

Moreover, the text is akin to the theoretical underpinning of Us Vs Them dichotomy as the in-group members are implicitly appreciated for their governance in Punjab. In the next textual examples, the discourse participants have displayed a strong urge to promote a particular spectrum of society i.e. young lot, in other words, the text represents the ideology of PML-N to show *others* that they have the full support of young

people. By looking at the text from a critical perspective it can be generalized that as the 12th general elections stimulated a large number of young people to participate in the democratic process and prior to the elections many political parties' targeted youth so PML-N did the same. According to a survey of British Council as cited by Rehman and Naqvi (2013), in 2013 mostly political parties share big promises with youth for employment and good education as seen in their manifesto. It was too viewed through the survey report of British council that over 60% of youth intended to vote in May 2013, this stimulation was the major reason behind the speculation of all parties for youth rather most of the political actors attempted to impress youth through their political ideologies and by demonstrating a deep concern for youth activism and participation.

The promising approach is continued as the political actors exclusively vowed for eradicating social evils from Pakistan after getting power. At first place determination is demonstrated to stand with LEA's (Law Enforcement Agencies such as NAB, IB, CIA etc.) to solve issues of terrorism and extortion while in the second text negative attribute is associated with others i.e. *weak Govt.*From linguistic perspective, the second text extract reflects derogatory tone for the others which indirectly signals to PPP-P as their governance is labelled weak and inefficient in the backdrop of terrorism and militancy issues in Pakistan in general and Karachi in particular.

> Fed Govt will help LEA's to end Extortion, Target Killing, Kidnaping& Terrorism from Karachi & Interior PML-N, "How will a weak Govt tackle the Criminals, Terrorism & other grave problems Pakistan is facing(appendix iii)

The pre-election discourse exhibited ambitions and elevated endeavor for the welfare of Pakistani society in broader social and political context besides a thorough critique of the existing governmental system. According to Walgrave and Aelst (2006), the dialogue of discourse participants appears very logical and agenda based during the electoral processes or close to elections and these discourse practices are markedly different from the casual discourse, the similar phenomenon is exercised in the political discourse of PML-N. The quoted text was created and represented two days prior to the elections, so it contains a lot of identity markers, the political actors have explicitly labeled opponent political groups as weak groups who are unable to maintain good governance in the state. The linguistic choices represent the ideological contestations also

as the political actors have deliberately de-constructed the positive image of the political rivals and praised their in-group members for political insights and political participation.

> If we want to eliminate the menace of lawlessness, then vote for Nawaz Sharif on 11th May". (appendix iii)

Here the conditional sentence is used to rationalize the ideology of the discourse participants as the text states that to solve the big issue of terrorism Pakistan needs a strong leader like Nawaz Sharif. The text can be framed in the theoretical perspective of clusivity and Us Vs Them dichotomy, as in both cases 'our goods are magnified and other's bad acts are highlighted'.

> we formed an alliance with PMLF for future of Pakistan & will not allow any delays in the democratic process'. (appendix iii)

In the above-quoted text the discourse participants have tried to rationalize their previous coalition with one of the political group PML-F, the discourse is interesting here because PML-N has criticized many political groups and parties with reference to their alliance with other groups but in case of their own alliance the approach appears very defensive rather emotional as the collaboration is linked with democracy and with bright future of Pakistan. The manipulation of language is remarkable here as the process of political alliance is justified in the backdrop of democracy and nationalism, it is too important to comment here that in the political discourse, language is central element and political actors use language as a tool to express rather manipulate their political ideologies, political identities, political processes and political activities as done by PML-N.

Within the context of self-praise and positive image construction, the next text is produced. It is appropriate to state that the text is created to show the opponents that the party possesses a big support of the masses, the political actors of PML-N claimed to be popular among the public as displayed through their language.

> PML-N has not spent any money inSocial media- Thanks to the volunteers & their passion!. (appendix iii)

According to Brayn and Baer (2004), some political parties expect their nominated leaders to spare a handsome amount of money for political campaigns and often political parties explicitly do not like to discuss the sources of funding and fiancé

expenditures. So the claims of PML-N to have their political campaigns from volunteers primarily means that they have a big support of the masses and they do not need to spend money for political campaigns. Moreover, the political discourse of PML-N can be analyzed as an attempt to rationalize their political stance as an acceptable and favorable group who completely possesses the support of masses and such support may help them to win the elections of 2013. The text projects the ideological contestation also as the positive image of the discourse makers is highlighted.

As previously discussed that one of the most commonly employed strategies of political actors is to defame others and magnify their negativity through manipulative language, the same idea is reinforced in the political discourse of PML-N as the political actors have magnified a lot of negative instances to criticize and defame the governmental policies and strategies.

Such atrocities &mis-governance creates negative perception in the hearts of the people of Baluchistan", "The inept performance of the Baluchistan Government is an example of poor governance (appendix iii)

These two text extracts are uttered in the context of terrorism in Quetta which caused brutal assault of a sectarian group and the political actors of PML-N politicized the sad incident and used it to criticize the performance of government.From a critical perspective, the linguistic categories are directed towards the government policies and pragmatically they display negative implications about the inefficiency of government to control law and order situation in the country, specifically in Baluchistan. In the above-stated text practices, the nouns *mis-governance* and adjective phrase *poorgovernance* are linked with 'others' as they are exclusively alleged for their inabilities to rule the country. The first text primarily aims at inciting hatred among people of Baluchistan for the government and it also attempted to provoke anxiety among masses to develop detachment and discord for the opposite group of PML-N i.e. PPP-P. In this particular text practice as PPP-P was in power at that time, so the text raised direct criticism on the political strategies and governance policies of the alleged party (PPP-P), conclusively within the context of the allegation and discontentment the text proves the thesis of ideological contestation as other's bad acts are highlighted.

Alhamdulillah, in our tenure, there was no menace of Terrorism", "In our tenure, unemployment was at it's lowest", "In our tenure, inflation was at it's lowest": "What PML-N did for Pakistan in Past is Exemplary (appendix iii)

Here a number of exaggerations are made by the political actors to magnify their high achievements, in the first text extract the phrase *there was no menace of terrorism* is really contradictory to the facts as according to US state department's report of 2001, Pakistan couldn't control the activities of Taliban's in Pakistan rather the government in 1999 promoted militant group through financial means (2000 Patterns of Terrorism, 2001). The political actors of PML-N have tried to portray a very positive image of their in-group members such as *unemployment, terrorism, and inflation*all negative terms were categorically ruled out by applying the superlative form of adjective i.e *.lowest* during the regime of PML-N. The approach of discourse participants in the above-stated text extracts is biased and exaggerated as alleged by the report of US state department that the issue of militancy and terrorism was not moderate during PML-N's government in 1997 to 1999 (2000 Patterns of Terrorism, 2001). But the claim of PML-N about the low inflation rate can be rationalized through the factual research data as according to the survey report of Pakistan finance ministry, inflation rate decreased during the regime of Nawaz Sharif as a result of good economic policies (Inflation , 2007). The text depicts an idealistic approach of discourse participants as they have projected themselves as an ideal democratic political group who had excellent governance abilities during its regime.

Apart from quoting past achievements, the political actors have frequently proposed ambitious futurist statements with a pre-defined political agenda of winning support and appreciation from the masses that may primarily lead towards massive political success in the general elections of 2013. The following text projected the same agenda.

We'll give interest-free loans to Youth to promote Entrepreneurship", "Will make Roshan Pakistan, a stable Pakistan, without Loadshedding & Unemployment & Poverty (appendix iii)

In the above states all text examples, the political actors have made high promises to solve the major issues of Pakistan with a specific focus on the active participation of youth in different economic programs. The language used by the political actors is very smart as it has demonstrated the political identity of the discourse participants as an insightful political group who has profound policies to engage youth in active business

plans to eradicate the menace of unemployment from Pakistan. According to Iqbal (2015), the political actors of Pakistan focused much upon making big promises before the elections and they attempted to legitimize and rationalize their all political moves and ideological stances to appeal to the masses for winning their support by employing conventional political strategies. From the same perspective, the political discourse of PML-N demonstrates the same ideologies, the substantial future promises are aimed at transforming the ideologies of Pakistani people as the issues of unemployment, terrorism, energy crisis and poverty developed dissonance and anxiety among people and their attitude towards political actors and political processes didn't remain supportive. The narratives of PML-N suggested that the strengthening of democratic institution, good governance, and astrong economy is imperative to develop peace and stability in Pakistan. The approach of PML-N is very constructive and it can be framed in the theoretical foreground of 'Us Vs Them' dichotomy, as there is afrequent instance of praise for themselves.

The post-election political discourse of PML-N also represents the opportunistic and optimistic approach of the party and the relief of common man is central to the discourse, the following text represents and reinforces the previously debated ideologies as the promises are continued after getting the political power in the elections of 2013.

Efficiency, Transparency & Provision of Maximum Relief to the Common Man would be the hallmark of the Energy Policy, We will introduce new accountability law to increase transparency and reduce corruption(appendix iii)

In the first text extract *efficiency, transparency, provision, maximum, relief and hallmark, policy, energy, corruption* all linguistic categories revolve around aspirations for the public. From the text, the approach of the discourse participants can be determined, after getting electoral power still the promises are sustained and the spirit to bring social and financial reforms are presented. In the last text extract, the political actors have represented their identity as the dedicated, impartial and fair party who urges to develop social reforms by eradicating the peril of corruption. Moreover, the linguistic analysis projects the political identity of the subject group as a fair and credible group who is willing to bring revolution in the country. So, it is postulated that the political actors have projected their positive ideology and the text also represents the political insight of the ascribed group.

The post-electoral political discourse of PML-N addressed many issues such as energy crisis, social and financial reforms, terrorism, drone attacks etc. as indicated by the following examples.

Issue of drones will be raised & dealt with diplomatically but with determination. USA must respect Pakistan's sovereignty Fed Govt will help LEA's to end Extortion, Target Killing, Kidnaping& Terrorism from Karachi & Interior Sind(appendix iii)

From a linguistic perspective, the text portrays determination of the political actors to fight against terrorism, militancy and all social evils from the country, particularly from Sindh. In the first text extract, the issue of American interference in Pakistan is debated and it is too intended that US government needs to cooperate with Pakistani government to solve the issue of drone attacks through dialogue (2000 Patterns of Terrorism, 2001; Irshad, 2011; Drones: Myths and Reality in Pakistan Asia Report N°247, 2013; Feyyaz, 2013; We are the Walking Dead" Killings of Shia Hazara in Balochistan, Pakistan, 2014). In the first text, the political actors have demonstrated their strong determination to address the issue of militancy in the region through diplomatic means. In the second extract of political discourse, PML-N has taken a bold stance to stress upon US state policies to review their military strategic plans in Pakistan with reference to the issue of drone attacks. As according to a research report, the drone attacks caused serious damage for Pakistani citizens in FATA, so the newly elected government of PML-N also debated the same issue to win the public support.

credit for smooth transition goes to PPP-P: QamarKaira (appendix iv)

The above-stated text is produced by the former Minister of Information and Mass Media Qamar Zaman, during the regime of ex-president Zardari. In this particular text extract, the political actors have used the word *transition* to describe a very important historical event in Pakistani politics as first time any Pakistani government completed its tenure (Khan S. , 2013). Here the noun transition refers to the transfer of power from one democratic government to the other government, moreover, the text highlights the positivity for the group members of PPP-P. In the next text, the discourse participants have underlined a tragic incident of terrorism in which many people got assassinated in Quetta in June 2013. In this text, the discourse participants have expressed the positive image of the discourse participants as seen in the following.

> President Zardari has strongly condemned the explosion in Hazara Town Quetta
> & expressed deep grief over the loss of the precious lives(appendix iv)

The post-election political discourse of PPP-P is aimed at exhibiting a smart approach of the political actors as by showing sympathies with the victimized group the party implicitly created and represented its own identity as compassionate and considerate group akin to the theoretical perspective of the ideological square.

One of the common practices of politicians is to get popularity by defaming their political rivals and this particular target is achieved through passing derogatory remarks on others (Beard, 2000) as seen in the text.

> Shameful, "AseefaBZ Completely against the caretaker governments decision to
> abolish the PM's Polio Monitoring Cell (appendix iv)

Here the discourse participants have tried to defame the current government's verdict to dissolve the polio monitoring cell, the underline meanings of the text are to develop revulsion and abhorrence among masses for the debated agency. From a linguistic perspective, the text contains elements of discontentment for the opponent political groups to portray others bad image as stated by the conventional contestation of *Us Vs Them* dichotomy. In this text, the adjective *shameful* primarily raises severe criticism on the others for creating hindrances in public welfare program. In the post-election political discourse of PPP-P, the discourse participants have alleged the unidentified national and international institutions for party's defeat in the election.

> cnspiracies being hatched by national and international institutions were the
> reason for the election defeat of.. (appendix iv)

It is also a common practice of politicians that they like to play the blame game, according to Alderson (2009)people put blames on others to hide their own deficiencies and inadequacies (p. 24). The similar phenomenon is exercised in the above-quoted text as the political actors held others responsible for their own failure. From a linguistic perspective, the phrase *conspiracies being hatched* refers to the conventional political strategies as mostly political actors shift the burden of blames on others in case of failures. So, it is postulated through linguistic analysis that the political actors have blamed others for their failure contrary to the fact that the poor governance of the subject party from 2008-2013 was the main cause of their failure in the elections.

The following political discourse extract is attempted to enhance the positive image of the party by highlighting the achievements and legal reforms of PPP-P's governance. Moreover the text was produced in the context of president's law reforms in The Criminal Law Act, according to the third amendment, a punishment of 7 years along with a fine of five hundred thousand rupees will be paid by the offender who give a female in 'badal-e-sulh , Wanni or Swara' or any other custom specifically in FATA and KPK (Mahmood A. , 2013). Such reforms primarily represent the party's identity as a supporter of women rights and it also promotes the positive image of the party.

> The extension...provides 4punishment 4 giving a female in marriage...4 settling a civil dispute/criminal liability.(appendix iv)

From a linguistic perspective, the text is incoherent as a number of grammar categories are violated and they have created ambiguity in the discourse comprehension process. Additionally, the text attempts to promote the positivity of the discourse makers. Overall coherence pattern of the text are unconventional as the grammar categories are not properly exercised such as *4* is used instead of *for* and no helping verbs are used. Without knowing the context the text really appears as ambiguous as it doesn't contain explicit reference rather it provides incomplete information. While contextually narrating the text is very significant as it talks about the law reforms done by PPP-P for women rights.

> We don't want politics of confrontation nor do we want to derail the democratic process. (appendix iv)

Here the political actors have represented their positive image by debating the policy of reconciliation and by vowing to promote democracy, as language is central to political discourse (Beard, 2000) so the linguistic choices reinforce the doctrine of the party as a righteous political group. In the above-narratedtext, the discourse participants have debated the affirmative doctrine of the party with reference to party's manifesto and political strategies to practice only constructive role in political filed without harming democracy. From a linguistic perspective, the usage of words like *politics of conformation and democratic process*reflects the positive ideology of the discourse makers. Moreover, the text is rightly framed in the theoretical underpinning of Us vs Them dichotomy of van Dijk, T. A as our good deeds are magnified.

PPP-P will continue the policy of reconciliation, PPP-P does not believe in gender or any kind of discrimination and treats women equally in every walk of life, PPP-P has always followed the politics of principles for the welfare of the people(appendix iv)

The above quoted all three extracts of political discourse have one common feature i.e. they attempt to promote the constructive image of PPP-P, as in the first discourse instance the noun *reconciliation and discrimination*reflects the strategic move of the party to promote women rights and to discourage gender discrimination. In continuation of the same thesis, the last quoted text exhibits the similar ideology as the phrase *the politics of principles*denotes that the party believes in equality of men and women and strives for the welfare of masses. In the last tweet, the phrase *politicsofprinciples* projects the political identity of PPP-P in very positive connotation as the text states that the political actors have always done fair politics for the welfare of masses. So all these texts are aimed at the projection of a positive image of the discourse makers.

Fehmida Mirza calls for enhanced cooperation in ECO region - PPP-P Pakistan(appendix iv)

This particular pre-election political discourse extract represents the concern of the political party about the economy of the country. The text demonstrates that the political actors believe in the progress of the country and they want to see a prosperous Pakistan, moreover, it was produced by the former speaker of national assembly Dr. Fehmida Mirza at the inauguration of the PAECO (Parliamentary Assembly of Economic Cooperation Organization). She vowed to increase cooperation among ECO (Economic Cooperation Organization) countries to resolve issues of poverty, economy etc. (Honrable Dr. Fehmida Mirza Inagurates PAECO General Conference, 2013).

It's first time in pakistan's history that a Democratic Government has completed its 5 year term, Peaceful agreement between the government and Tahirul Qadri during Long March is a victory of democracy (appendix iv)

From a critical perspective, the language used in the above-stated discourse extracts is highly manipulative as in the second discourse extract the political actors have attempted to hide the actual facts about the long march of Qadri a renowned leader of Tehreek-e-Minhaj-ul- Quran. The march was basically planned to provoke the

government to set new electoral reforms besides many objections on policies of Zardari's regime but ultimately the march ended in significant twofold agreement between Qadari and Zardari mainly focusing upon the electoral reforms. The first text extract highlights the achievement of Zardari's government, as the first time in the history of Pakistani politics any democratic government completed its tenure. From a linguistic perspective, the discourse participants have used adjectives like *democratic, peaceful,* for their own governmental system and they have implicitly demonstrated their political identity as a constructive political group. Moreover, the text rationalizes the legitimacy of PPP-P for their good governance and effective political strategies, it can also be fit into the theoretical underpinning of Us Vs Them dichotomy as our goods are highlighted here.

In the post-election political discourse of PTI, the discourse makers have narrated about the issue of rigging in the general elections of 2013 in some specific constituencies.

> awaiting recount with thumb impressions in P 156-insha Allah good result expected, On May 24th I submitted my petition to the ECP in Islamabad with foolproof evidence including 4 CDs of videos. Lets see(appendix v).

The above quoted both texts present the reservation of the political actors about general elections of 2013 as PTI alleged that rigging was done in certain areas so there must be re-polling in rigged constituencies. In both text practices, the discourse makers have represented their identity as a righteous group who stood against all types of illegitimate means that hinder the fair democratic process, particularly the second text narrated about the solid evidence of rigging in some constituencies. From a linguistic perspective, the verb phrase *awaitingrecount and* adjective phrase*foolproofevidence*is linked with the issue of alleged rigging. The underlying meaning of the text is the hope to resolve the issue of rigging and thus get the expected electoral mandate. It is postulated through textual analysis that these tweets are imperative as the text has created a positive political identity of the discourse makers who are relying on the state institutions like ECP for justice.Within the context of allegations and anxiety the following texts can also be interpreted as here the criticism is raised on the government policies regarding their careless attitude towards the safety issues of school children.

> Only in Pakistan 17 school children can be burned alive and the government just condoles, Saddened to hear of school van exploding in Gujrat killing 20 children. Safety of school transport must be ensured! (appendix v)

From a critical perspective, the discourse makers have manipulated the situation to provoke hatred among people for the government policies and government systems for their inefficiency and mismanagement. The discourse practices were produced in the context of a tragic incident in Gujrat resulting in the death of many school children (Masood S. , 2013), as a gas cylinder blasted in a school van on 25th May 2013. The post-election discourse of PTI carries salient elements of distress, aggression, and criticism on the elected democratic government and this conventional strategy of blaming and defaming others is quite apt to the *Us Vs Them* dichotomy, as others are represented in pretty negative connotation in implicit and explicit both ways. From a linguistic perspective, the first text represents the sarcastic approach of the political actor as they nominated Pakistan as the only country in which lives and safety of children is not a sensitive issue for the state department. While in a second tweet the political actors have displayed a didactic and authoritative approach as they have stressed upon the concerned authorities to ensure the safety of children.

> Election 2008 under Musharraf set up were more fairer and transparent than elections of 2013 as rigging took place (appendix v)

This particular text practice can be viewed in the context of *allegations* and *distress* with the elected government as the discourse makers have termed the electoral process of 2013 *unfair and biased* and the previous elections of 2008 under the regime of former president Musharraf are termed *fair and transparent*. The noun *rigging* appears central to the post-election political discourse of PTI as the political actors have rigorously complaint about the *alleged rigging* in the elections of 2013. From a critical perspective, there are many contradiction in the political discourse of PTI as in 2008 the same party boycotted the elections for being *unfair and biased*and in 2013 they contradicted their own statement by declaring the same elections as fair and neutral. Such contradictions demonstrate the confused identity of the subject party as the political actors have not presented their solid stance on sensitive political strategies and policies like elections.

In the following tweet, the political actors have quoted the political stance of a media person who also sung the mantra of *rigging* in the general elections of 2013 (Iqbal, 2015).

> Hamid Mir is repeatedly saying on GEO results of important constituencies have been withheld to rig results. HM dropping(appendix v)

As PTI has frequently debated the issue of rigging, so in this particular text the political actor has quoted the reference of a media person to prove their own thesis of unfair elections (Ghumman T. , 2013). From linguistic and contextual both perspectives the text represents the frustration of PTI as the party was very popular before the elections of 2013 (Blank, Clary, & Nichiporuk, 2014; Perumal, 2013) but the electoral results failed to translate this popularity into massive victory. Within the perspective of rigged elections, the following text can also be framed in as here the text refers to one of the most famous cases of *rigged elections of 1990* involving many political elite figures and military personnel *(*Nawaz, 2008, p. 434).

> Shd V wait for 22 years 4 new 'Younis Habib' to raise curtain 4m 2013 electi
> result as YB did in SC in ISI-AK case in 2012(appendix v)

According to Nawaz (2008), in 1990 the president of Habib bank Younas Habib provided 345 million to ISI to prevent Benazir to win the elections. According to media reports the petition was filed in 1996 by Chief Air Martial Asghar Khan accusing ISI of financing many politicians to prevent the victory of PPP-P in elections, moreover many other renowned political figures such as former General Aslam Beg, Sindh CM Jam Sadiq, Pir Pagara, PML-N etc were also alleged for their implicit/ explicit involvement in the alleged rigging of 1990's elections (Iqbal N. , 2012). In addition the written statement of the key figure in the above-mentioned case Younis Habib played a major role in revealing many hidden facts about the *rigged elections,* within similar connotation the above-mentioned tweet of PTI can be interpreted as here the political actors have demonstrated their aspiration to find some key figure like Younas Habib who can unpack the *hidden facts about alleged rigging in 2013 elections* . From linguistic perspective the tone of the discourse participants appears sarcastic as the political actors have mocked upon the judiciary and political system of Pakistan as the previous alleged rigging case of 1990's election took a time period of 22 years to reveal the truth, so the discourse participants stated in an ironic way that the *alleged rigging case of 2013 elections* may also require the same time period to unpack the truth behind the allegations. It is also imperative to discuss the grammatical patterns of the quoted text as there are a number of spelling and structural errors such as *shd, V, election, 4m* etc. These patterns reflect the casual attitude of the discourse makers yet the underlying meanings are significant.

With reference to the above narrated textual references, the following extract of political text is viewed as here two nominated yet opposite political figures are addressed in a disgraceful and disgusting manner.

> Nawaz Sharif & Altaf Hussain have successfully stolen an election & now they will own the consequences of robbing the people'. (appendix v)

The adverb phrase was *successfully stolen an election* primarily passes adverse remarks on the elected democratic leaders in the general elections of 2013. In the similar way the clause *now they will own the consequences of robbing the people's,* refers to the allegations made by PTI on so-called democratic leaders as their electoral power was desecrated by the discourse participants and they were being warned to face the extreme criticism from the peoples whose votes were being misused. From linguistic perspective there are many underlying meanings of the text as on one hand the discourse makers have adopted a sarcastic tone by stating *successfully stolen* the electoral mandate while on another hand the thieves are warned about terrible results. Rather it is appropriate to interpret that the two alleged electoral figures are warned to *own the terrible consequences* as they *own the stolen mandate*. It is postulated through linguistic analysis that the text projects clear evidence of *negative-representation of others* which is a conventional strategy of political discourse.

> Despite threats, courageous people standing up at 3TalwarDharna Karachi and LalikChowk Lahore against Rigging. (appendix v)

In this particular discourse practice, the discourse participants have praised the in-group members for their struggle against illegitimate means that threaten democracy. From contextual perspective, the text refers to the protest held in Karachi and Lahore by the political actors of PTI against alleged rigging in the elections (Ahmed, Ahmed, & Shehzad, 2013; Khan M , 2013). The linguistic elements employed in the text expressed deep regards for the in-group members of PTI as the adjective phrase *courageous people*, reinforced the thesis of *affirmative self-representation*. Moreover, the text has depicted the image of in-group members as *subjugated* but *determined* group that is ready to fight against all illegitimate forces.

> It is not over until it is over. We will continue to struggle for Pakistan. Stay Encouraged! We are a National Party because of You!(appendix v)

In the post-election political discourse, the political actors have represented their strong determination to serve Pakistan. Here *We* are presented as a *determined* and *united* group and the people/supporters are termed as the essence and strength of the party. In this particular discourse extract the idiom *It is not over until it is over* defines the ideology of PTI as a motivated group for whom the election results are not very much significant as the party believed that their mandate was stolen by the opposite unfair political groups. Moreover, the verb phrase *Stay Encouraged* reflects the motivational approach of the political actors as they are asked to continue their efforts for the welfare and progress of Pakistan. The text demonstrates emotional feelings of the political actors as they have linked their political success and loyalty with masses in general and their supporters in specific. Additionally, this particular text can be framed in the context of *Us Vs Them* dichotomy as *in-group members are presented in a positive and constructive way*.

In the post-election political discourse, PTI kept on alleging others for a number of reasons ranging from *rigging in elections to sabotaging the prestige of democracy and legitimacy.* Moreover, there are a number of stakeholders who are implicitly or explicitly charged including leaders of opposite parties, media channels etc. With reference to the previously debated thesis, the following text can be analyzed.

GEO showed 'winning speech' of Sharifs and after this, administration has stopped ALL results from PTI's leading constituencies in Lahore (appendix v)

The text narrates that one of the media channels GEO, broadcasted the winning speech of Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif prior to the announcement of the official results of elections, besides this the media channels is also charged for withholding the results of those political constituencies in which PTI succeeded. From a critical perspective, the text raises severe criticism on media channel for their alleged involvement in the *manipulation of electoral results* and propaganda against the subject political party. From a linguistic perspective, the text contains a number of implications as many stakeholders are explicitly charged for manipulations and corruptions. At one hand the text defames others while on the other hand, it projects the positive image of the political actors who are marginalized by the powerful elites. The text is interpreted in the framework of ideological contestation as other's bad aspects are magnified.

Apart from the issue of rigging in elections, the political actors of PTI have raised very severe criticism on American president Obama for biased US policy of drone attacks in Pakistan and termed these attacks as a violation of international laws of human rights.

> Obama's drone speech was an attempt to justify violations of int law, Pak sovereignty & killing of innocent civilians (appendix v)

In this particular discourse practice, thecritical issue of Pakistan's sovereignty and solidarity is discussed, the political actors of PTI have demonstrated their solid stance on the issue of drone attacks in KPK and FATA and termed them as a serious threat for Pakistan. From linguistic perspective the noun phrase *violation of int law* serves twofold purposes i.e. at one hand it raises criticism on American president in the very explicit waywhile on the other hand, it incites hatred among people for American policy as these policies are termed as a threat for the solidarity of Pakistan. And as Pakistani people, particularly in tribal areas and FATA, were against the drone policies, so in such circumstances, the stance of PTI appeared as a smart move of the political actors to earn the support of people. In other words, the hostility which Khan shows for the US is a common trait of PTI's political discourse (Yusuf, 2014, p. 194) and this hostile approach helped the political actors to win the support of people in KPK and FATA (as seen in the result of the general election of 2013).

As mentioned earlier that in the post-election political discourse of PTI the party has frequently complaint about unfair and biased elections besides demanding for re-polling in certain constituencies, with reference to the same demand the caretaker government of 2013 allowed re-polling on a national assembly seat in Karachi as the political actors of PTI had rejected the result and termed them highly unfair and un-democratic (Baloch, 2013). Interestingly the result of re-polling declared PTI candidate Dr. Arif Alvi as the winner of the seat (Tunio, 2013) and this win was termed as big achievement by the political actors of PTI as seen in the following text.

> NA 250 is not just an electoral seat win...it is a victory of courage, of principles, of freedom, of patriotism...Change' .(appendix v)

From linguistic perspective, the usage of phrase *it is a victory of courage*, of *principles, of freedom, of patriotism…*demonstrated the ideology of the political actors as a strong and solid group who is ready to fight for the democratic rights of the people, the embedded meanings of the text are a conscious attempt of the discourse makers to create,

present and thus sustain positivity for the 'in-group' members. The linguistic choices like *victory, principles, freedom and patriotism* etc. collectively display *the positiveself-representation* of the discourse participants.

> PTI's youth policy does not believe in one off gimmicks - it endeavors to permanently empower the youth, PTI will ensure youth develops skills for domestic & international markets, PTI will engage 2million youngsters for technical skills enrolment'. (appendix v)

In the above narrated pre-election political discourse of PTI special focus is made on the participation and empowerment of youth in business and industry along with huge vows to serve youth in best government capacities. According to Markey (2013) Pakistani youth especially the educated ones consider Imran Khan as a stimulus of change, Khan motivated youth on SNSs for political change and activism. Khan motivated youth to participate in the electoral process and thus the popularity of PTI became higher than all other political parties before elections of 2013 (Saikal & Acharya, 2013). According to Dundas (2014, p. 434) *youth vote was highly important in 2013 general elections of Pakistan,* so by keeping in mind the same ideology PTI stressed upon youth activation and provoked youth to participate in democratic process of elections besides huge promises of *youth empowerment* through *technicaleducation and innovative business opportunities*(PTI Manifesto Elections 2013, 2013). The adverbial phrase *permanently empower youth* demonstrates the political strategy of the discourse makers about youth, additionally, the text depicts the constructive political identity of the discourse makers. In the last two tweets, huge promises are made to devise highly effective plans to educate and employ youth by creating educational policies (Compilation of Election Promises by Political Parties, 2014). According to media reports, Khan declared *youth policy of PTI* to motivate youth for political participation and all such aspirations were attempted to increase the popularity of the party, the text has also portrayed the image of the subject party as *unconventional* and *innovative* political group as reinforced by the other sources also. The overall text aims at creating a positive political identity of the subject party.

> Just a day before the election the political campaigns of PTI reinforced its political manifesto with an exclusive emphasis on education sector for all age groups.

> PTI will offer various literacy packages for different age groups to educate adults'. (appendix v)

The unprecedented narratives of Khan about *justice, equality, women and youth political activation* surged an incitement among urban educated youth to stand with the political group to support its policies and strategies. Moreover, Khan persistently stressed upon education as a key element to change Pakistan and equally motivated all stratums of society to participate in democratic processes to bring change. In the above-quotedtext, the same thesis is debated, the prospect of education for all age groups aims to develop positive spirits among all people. The discourse can be viewed and interpreted within the context of *representing our positive identity* to get political objectives.

In the following quoted text nominalization is done to refer to the political policy and strategies of the subject party about the education sectors as seen here.

PTI will ensure decentralization & de- politicization of education'. (appendix v)

Here nouns i.e. *decentralization &depoliticization of education* defined the solid yet positive stance of the discourse makers about their concern for the education sector as reinforced through political manifesto and certain political rallies of the subject party (PTI Manifesto Elections 2013, 2013), that they really want to free education from political interference. Moreover the mantra of uniform education system in Pakistan served as a core element of PTI's manifesto to win support of the urban elites who welcomed Khan for his revolutionary vision, although according to some formal educationists the idea of uniform education cannot be practically implemented in Pakistani society (Hoodbhoy P. , 2012) as this particular society is based upon the very essence of discriminatory educational system with reference to the socio-economic classes. The text aims at creating a positive political identity of PTI as an insightful political group who attempts to promote uniform education system in Pakistan to bring a revolutionary change.

4.1.3 Analysis of agency

In political discourse analysis agency is used to get an understanding of political representation, participation, responsibility, and legitimacy. According to Hajer (2007) politics stands for a struggle for discursive hegemony between classes, groups and political actors. The political processes are furthermore considered as a struggle between the employed strategies for action and change among people from social and political perspective. While analysing the political discourse it is inevitable to analyse the role of agency to see how political processes are performed and as language is central to discourse, so the analysis needs to be done from linguistic perspective besides deep

viewing of contextual propositions that are embedded in the discourse (Fairclough, 1995; van Dijk,1996; 2002; Wodak, 2009). The interrelation between agency and structures i.e. the institutions, discourse practices etc. are imperative and the role of actors in performing political processes are also significant from an analytical perspective. According to Foucault (1982) all discourse practices offer special positions to the individuals which they find and do/take over and afterward these individuals turn into subjects of the same discourse. In the similar fashion, the critical discourse analysts take agency as an important element of analysis as by analyzing the agent of the discourse the embedded meanings of the text can be highlighted and the transformations of ideology and the issue of representation can also be addressed via same strategy/tool. Fairclough (1995) emphasized upon equal consideration of the text production and consumption processes, it was also suggested that while conducting an empirical analysis of the discourse it is essential to view who is labeled for responsibility (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; van Dijk, 1998c). In the similar perspective, the analysis of agency is done here to find out how political actors use an agency for representation of identity.

In the following particular discourse practice, the narrator does not provide an explicit clue to the offender who caused all predicament to the leadership of ANP.

Here the political actors have narrated their serious concerns regarding their political isolation. The linguistic choices reflect the insecurity of the political actors regarding their political terms and alliances.

> We feel that conspiracies are being hatched to isolate us…'.(appendix i)

The text is narrated in the milieu of a militant attack on the local leader of ANP, Syed Masoom Shah who seriously got injured along with three men but nobody is directly accused of assassination. Subsequently, it exhibited a sense of ambiguity regarding the threatening acts to weaken the party position with special reference to the party's apprehensions about their safety and political stability. The discourse can be taken as an example of conventional political discourse in which the political actors consciously omit direct blaming while narrating a negative instance for specific political agendas.

> In past, progressives hv been detained, tortured or forced to exile" now they are killed'.(appendix i)

This particular political discourse can be comprehended only by viewing the sprouting history of ANP, some renowned leaders rather the founders of ANP suffered a lot in their initial political career such as Ajmal Khattak, Asfandyar Wali etc (Husseini, 2010). Ajmal Khattak as a student activist fought against the dictatorship of General Ayub and General Yahah in 1968 and 1974, consequently, he was sent to imprisonment and ultimately he decided to go for self-exile. The same history got repeated in the case of Asfandyar another renowned leader of ANP who too confronted hegemony forces and struggled for democracy, apart from these historical references the text carries traces of various terrorist activities against the leadership of ANP prior to elections. The text is aimed at raising sympathy for the discourse participants by narrating the tragic incidents from the political history of the party.

Another interesting move of ANP's political discourse can be analysed from its post-election discourse as the party took a solid stance on the assassination of an MPA Fareed Khan from KPK (Sherazi, 2013), although Fareed Khan belonged to PTI but here interestingly the identity of the assassinated MPA is deliberately linked with his native homeland not with his political party (PTI) as ANP confronted on different political grounds with PTI. Contextually, the text depicts biased approach of ANP, here the association of MPA is intentionally hidden because the assassination called for the sympathy of masses and ANP didn't use this identity of Freed Khan with an urge to de-emphasize PTI.

> Strongly condemns the killing of Fareed Khan, a newly elected MPA from Hangu. Prayers & thoughts with his family'.(appendix i)

There are a number of instances in the political discourse of ANP where the agent of discourse is deliberately missed out specifically when political actors attributed others in harsh ways such as

> they have martyred our children. But we will not surrender'.(appendix i)

In this particular example, we don't know the agent of discourse as nobody is directly nominated for the killing of children. In the next discourse, the approach of discourse participant appeared very emotional with a high spirit of devotion to stand for the cause of education and struggle against terrorism. The political discourse here also demonstrated deployment of delegitimizing strategies to menace detrimental groups such as criminal, militants, illicit and corrupt individuals. In political

discourse,delegitimization is explicitly demonstrated through hiding the agency for in-group members if they are involved in any negative action while in the case of out-group members the agency is highlighted for the similar case such as

Taliban attacking ANP means they are paving way for ProTaliban parties, PPP-P were our coalition partners. They remained silent about the entire issue of extremism; Narratives justifying extremism and violence are products of twisted minds of Zia era'.(appendix i)

In all these examples the negative attributes are highlighted such as PPP-P-P (Pakistan People's Party Parliamentarians) is criticized for not standing with ANP against militants and in the second example, extremism and violence are explicitly linked with ex-President of Pakistan Zia-ul-Haq. In addition, it can be derived from the text that the agency is deliberately quoted as the attributive qualities are very unconstructive. Contrary to the previously discussed text as the attributive qualities are positive here, so the agents of in-group members are consciously highlighted such as

Personality, role, and services of Bacha Khan and struggle of Abdul Wali Khan acknowledged world-wide. Chief Minister Pakhtunkhwa Haider Hoti, I have to admit that Anp's leaders are very brave, they are not cry-babies like MQM'.(appendix i)

In the last text a comparison is drawn to defame the opponent political groups by labeling them as politically immature while the in-group members are termed as brave, interestingly the political actors have explicitly mentioned agency for both political groups to promote *our good and others bad* image.

In another textual example, the agent of discourse is consciously omitted as the text displays the narratives of threats here without mentioning that who will come and for what purpose?

one day they will come for you, and there will be no one left to speak for you'.(appendix i)

Such type of agentless discourse leaves ambiguity and it does not provide any deep understanding of the underlying meanings. If we go for the contextual significance of this text than it also specifies the position of ANP leader on the issues of militancy and terrorism, the text narrates that if militants can target the leaders of ANP than they can

target the leaders of other political groups also. Precisely narrating the discourse participants have attempted to warn other political groups that in case they do not take a solid stance against militant groups then ultimately no one will be left to fight against terrorism as the militants will destroy all political groups.

In the following text extract, many allegations are made on '*unknown groups*' for promoting sectarian violence but the text doesn't contain any direct reference to the alleged group or group members. The text can be interpreted as a discursive discourse event which aims at creating vagueness as it doesn't clearly nominate/label the responsible individuals or groups who caused dissonance and conflicts in the country with special reference to the issue of religious ethnicity in Pakistan.

> All those groups who promote Sectarian differences must be banned & Punished'. (appendix ii)

According to theorists 'our words are never neutral' (Fiske, 1994) as the text always contains some meanings beyond the text which require a deep analysis of the discourse with reference to the discourse structures, processes, and strategies. In a similar way the political discourse of MQM is analyzed as it is too full of the allegation on 'others' without any explicit or exclusive nomination of the perpetrator, so we can generalize that the party intentionally maintained an ambiguous and tense situation to prevail uncertainty among discourse receivers. The next discourse extract also consists of the same ideology as the allegations are made on the political groups who didn't protest on the brutal assassination of a sectarian group in Quetta with a massive destruction. The discourse can be interpreted with multiple connotations, primarily the text aims at criticising others for being silent on the brutal act of terrorism in Pakistan against a specific sectarian group, and secondly the text is aimed at negative portrayal of others.

> Why are the parties raising a hue & cry on Karachi situation silent on ta genocide of Hazara community'. (appendix ii)

Apart from allegations the discourse can be viewed beyond textual level and the power within discourse can also be analysed as the text exerts political power of MQM, according to van Dijk(1995, 1996, 1998c & 2002) the political power is not limited to mere decision making rather it also justifies and legitimates the political act through manipulating public opinions and challenging existing ideologies of targeted group i.e. the discourse receivers. Contextually, the allegations of MQM appeared unsubstantiated

and biased as the major political groups like PTI, PML (N) etc. participated in demonstrations against Shia genocide in Quetta all over Pakistan (Siddiqi, 2013). The discourse here attempted to manipulate the factual information to disgrace and disparage the political status of other political groups in the sensitive time period of general elections, 2013.

few families have been ruling the country for the past 65 years'.(appendix ii)

Within the context of alleged discourse, the preceded text can also be interpreted as the text criticizes the powerful elites for legitimizing the political filed for a long time. Interestingly the text doesn't directly label any specific political group or politicians for ruling the political grounds for quite a long time period i.e. 65 years, according to the thesis of van Dijk(1995, 1996, 1998a, 2002& 2006) the political discourse is a discursive discourse practice which allows the discourse producers to represent ideologies and identities through multiple techniques. In the above-mentioned text extract, the powerful elites are overtly criticized for violating the fundamental doctrine of democracy as they did not permit the transfer of political power to others over an extended time period. According to Zain (2010) the political kinship and nepotism in Pakistan have been revolving among few political groups and because of such power rotation, the major social, political and economic issues of Pakistan never got attention. The notion of de-institutionalization of political power besides de-legitimization of traditional family's politics was reinforced by MQM with the omission of any explicit references as discussed earlier.

To comprehend the discursive construction of identity along with social representation of identity the role of agency is essential to underline (Todolí, Labarta, & Dolón, 2006) as it narrates how we perceive others and how we see our identity, values, affiliations, and loyalties, the presence of agency can be traced out through analysis of language used in the text. In the next tweet, the agency is not quoted as the text underlines the issue of violence in Karachi and such violence is considered as a deliberate attempt to develop anxiety in the country but the text does not elucidate about the accused agents of violence and terrorism.

Murder of innocent citizens and act of Brutal Terrorism in Karachi are part of a well planned conspiracy'. (appendix ii)

The following text example appeared very much manipulative and ambiguous as the text doesn't explain who got separated from the institutional or state power and who spread this obfuscation.

> Rumours about parting ways with the government and derailing democracy are misleading'. (appendix ii)

Supplementary to the preceded text the discourse advocates the sensitive issue of democracy and alliance with the government but the text does not tell who basically evoked this news and who collided with the government. Such agentless discourse practices develop ambiguity and anxiety and the underline meanings of the text become ambiguous.

> Those who not conceited do not hesitate from bowing down & those who submit 4 avoiding conflict & collision can't called lowly'. (appendix ii)

The text presented here contains elements of praise and honour for the compromising figures who primarily show flexibility to develop peace and solidarity in the region but there is no reference quoted, implicitly the text is linked with the praise of MQM itself after their alliance with opponent political parties i.e. PPP-P and ANP prior to general elections of 2013 (Rafay, 2012). Within the context of political discourse, it is a natural practice that for political reasons alliances are created, seat adjustments are negotiated and the power groups get smarter in their rhetoric (Newton & Van Deth, 2010) as observed in the political discourse of MQM. The discourse can be interpreted as an example of self-defense although there is no explicit reference provided still the text provides justification for the political alliance of the party for some inexplicable motives.

The next text raises criticism on *unknown people* for their pretentious acts i.e. they tend to appear as victims and judges also, so the text can be interpreted as sarcastic but without giving any clue to *nominated groups or individual*. Besides criticism of the people, the text does not highlight the underlying issues or problems which caused complaints. It is too a characteristic of alleged discourse that the explicit references about the alleged groups are not created to decrease the intensity of the harsh/obstructive discourse.

> Some people acted as complainants and judges in their own right and the unabashed manner'. (appendix ii)

The actors who are implicitly or explicitly constructed they fall into the alleged group category as they are portrayed faulty, unfair, pretentious and self-absorbed such linguistic description evoke elements of irrationality and chaos for these actors. Moreover, the text basically mocks upon the implied agency for putting fake complaints against themselves and thus taking the decisions also.

> Blood-thirsty killers are roaming freely & innocent workers of MQM & general public have been left to their mercy'. (appendix ii)

Here the positive identity of the in-group members is explicitly constructed by employing the political flag words and high value words i.e. 'innocent workers of MQM' while for the others derogatory remarks are used such as *blood-thirsty killers*. The text does not clearly state that who left the political actors of MQM helpless to get victimized by the killers and pressure groups. Precisely narrating the text leaves many vague implications behind as the oppressed group is distinctly highlighted but the evidence about the pressure and autocratic group is missing along with no clue to the responsible authority that originally created commotion and turmoil by putting lives of people on risk. This is a commonly practiced strategy of political actors that while playing the blame game the explicit references are deliberately missed out to create ambiguity and to deconstruct facts and realities to legitimize the alleged strategies and coercive discourse.

> Attempts are being made to keep the liberal and progress parties out of the electoral process'. (appendix ii)

The above-mentioned doctrine can be reinforced in this particular political text as the agency is not mentioned i.e. the text doesn't clearly demonstrate who has kept the liberal parties away from politics and who basically these liberal parties are, precisely speaking there are elements of ambiguity and opacity in the text. Additionally, the text doesn't provide any direct reference to the democratic yet subjugated political group who is facing electoral isolation.

In the following discourse extract, the discourse participants have not labeled anyone directly although the text aims at raising criticism on the bank defaulters their direct nomination is avoided.

> Those who got their loans written-off on political grounds must & should be brought to justice'. (appendix iii)

From linguistic perspective the political actors of PML-N have used strong linguistic choices to focus upon the issue of loan defaulters here the politicians are alleged for illegitimate political favors, the text also urges upon the trial of those culprits. According to van Dijk(1989, 1995, 1998c, 2002 & 2006), the role of the agency is very much important in the analysis of political discourse as in some discursive discourse practices the political actors deliberately omit the agent of discourse for multiple social and political reasons. In this particular text, the discourse participants have represented their own positive identity as they promote the notion of justice and accountability in the country and the discourse can be fit in the conventional strategies of political discourse that *our goods and other's bad are highlighted.* It is interesting to debate that although the political actors have highlighted the issue of loan-defaulters they have intentionally avoided any direct nomination. It is postulated that in a number of instances PML-N has directly alleged many opponent groups but in the above-quoted tweet the political actors have not mentioned any defaulter explicitly. Apart from avoiding the direct labeling, the political actors have not mentioned about the justice source i.e. who will do the justice with the defaulters.

The next text extract is uttered to raise criticism directly upon the trial issue of former President Musharraf in the context of the political allegation. The agents are consciously highlighted as the discourse reflects hatred for the others, in both textual examples direct naming is done in the lieu of political rivalry between the discourse participants and the subject of discourse/ agent.Moreover, from a linguistics perspective, the text reflects the aggressive approach of discourse participants they have indirectly quoted about the other stakeholders in the particular case of Musharraf such as IG i.e. Inspector General of police is harshly criticized for giving undue favors to Musharraf on the issue of legislative acts (Nangiana, 2013).

> The IG should explain as to why was he so concerned to take Musharraf to his residence & not arrest him", "Had a poor person did what Musharraf did, he would've been hand-cuffed &sent to solitary confinement(appendix iii)

In the following text extract, the agents are not explicitly labeled although the personal pronoun *me* and *Nawaz Sharif* are used to raise sympathies of the audience by quoting the illegitimacy of *'gang of 4 people'* who work against the discourse participants.

A gang of 4 people is working against me & Nawaz Sharif". (appendix iii)

Now such agentless discourse practices are basically aimed at raising conspiracies because the text does not clearly state that which people have caused problems for the subject/participants of the discourse. In addition it can also be derived from the text that such ambiguities in discourse are done for multiple political agendas as this discourse was created just before elections 2013, so in that time period mostly political actors wanted to increase their vote banks through any means i.e. by force, by quoting their past achievements or by demonstrating themselves as deprived, targeted or weak groups same is done by the discourse participants here. Contextually narrating the text refers to a press conference of CM Shabazz Sharif after the alleged bankruptcy by NAB against Nawaz Sharif and Shahbaz Sharif just close to the general elections 2013.

In the following text, derogatory remarks are passed on *others* as the text states that there are people who want to defeat PML-N but those people are termed as fools and stupid.

Some people think that they can hunt the Lion, but they're living in a fools paradise".(appendix iii)

Here the word lion is metaphorically used for PML-N as the political symbol of the party was a lion(Elections 2013, 2015) and the others who want to defeat the subject party is considered illogical. According to the conventional strategies of political discourse while narrating about the controversial issues sometimes political actors do not directly label the opponents rather through generalized statement they express their anger and revulsion, to put it simply the direct agency is deliberately missed out. According to Wodak and Meyer (2009) language is a material form of ideology and the political actors project their ideological stances through manipulation of language, in certain cases, the political actors attempt to derogate the opponents with the sole theme of subsiding or defaming them. The same ideology can be viewed from the political discourse of PML-N as they used mockery approach to address their rivals and competitors.

In the next text, the political actors have represented themselves as pacesetter and conductor of the democratic process as the text states.

Constitution & Law needs to be respected & followed, no preferential law for anyone", Tries New Way of Tackling Corruption'. (appendix iii)

Although the text has projected a democratic approach of the political actors by stating that rules and law need to be equally implemented and respected by all and no discriminations is accepted or expected through coax or coercion but no direct labeling is done here and the text reflects a generalized idea. Similarly, in the second tweet, no agency is mentioned as the text aims at projecting the didactic approach of the political actors to work against the social evils but there is an ambiguity in the text as it doesn't nominate the people who should follow or apply new ways to deal with the social evil of corruption. As theorized by van Dijk (1989, 1993, 1998c, 2002 & 2006) *others bad acts are highlighted* and by using the explicit agency the discourse gets more forceful. Here deprecating remarks are given about Zardari by directly quoting his name in multiple contexts such as, for bad governance in the background of massive sectarian violence in Quetta causing assault of many innocent citizens and for his poor public policies.

Zardari will have to answer the public now for his bad governance". (appendix iii)

From linguistic perspective the term *bad governance* shows the approach of PML-N about Zardari, the former President of Pakistan who was unable to control the law and order situation in Baluchistan as before elections of 2013 a number of Shia sectarian group got killed in different violence attacks by LEJ (Lashkar-e- Jhangavi, a banned extremist religious group) but no solid action against was taken against them by the military forces or other government institutions (Kine, 2014). It was too criticized by the human right activist and foreign media spokesperson that the action of Pakistani government on the killing of Shia community was not satisfactory and it reflects incompetence of the government, as authorities remained unable to apprehend or to prosecute militant groups like LEJ (Ali, 2013; Sehbai, 2013; Kine, 2014; We are the Walking Dead" Killings of Shia Hazara in Balochistan, Pakistan, 2014). Apart from raising criticism through a direct agency, the discourse can be framed in the theoretical perspective of van Dijk as a negative image of Zardari is projected.

Asif Zardari has become so desperate that he is using Imran Khan against PML-N & Nawaz Sharif", "This self-proclaimed Champion of Change, with support from Zardari, is running paid-adverts against me(appendix iii)

The alleged discourse of political actors is continued here as in the first tweeted text former President of Pakistan Zardari, is directly criticized for his alliance with another political rivalry party of PML-N. There is a chronic history of political pursuit

between PML-N and PPP-P as both parties quested for political power in Pakistan (Lieven , 2011) and in the political rivalry, the defaming and negative portraying of others is considered a common practice. In addition, in the first instance of political text, the use of direct naming like Imran Khan and Zardari displays the frustration of PML-N as the alliance between two rivalry parties appeared tough to compete in general elections of 2013 (Gishkori, 2013). In the second tweet, the alleged discourse exhibited the dissonance of political actors for their opponents, the mockery, and derogatory remarks are passed on former President Zardari and the adjective phrase *self-proclaimed Champion of Change*is symbolically used for the political leader of PTI who vowed to bring change in Pakistan after winning the election through proper democratic channels. In the above-stated tweet the political actors of PML-N, exhibited their extreme frustration on PTI as the former party kept on doing anti-PML-N campaigns on electronic and social media channels, most of these campaigns were based on defaming PML-N by quoting and narrating humiliating and cynical incidents.

Once again the direct agent is not explicitly mentioned in the following political discourse extract as the allegations of cheating and maltreating in the departments of oil, gas, and energy sectors are made without giving any explicit reference to any agency, institution or authorities.

> Billions of Rupees of the Oil, Gas & Energy Sector are being embezzled & swindled". (appendix iii)

From a critical perspective, the text can be interpreted in multiple aspects primarily the allegations made in the text can be linked with the functional government of PPP-P (in, 2008), the discourse can also be related to the severe confrontation between two renowned political leaders of PML-N and PPP-P as both made a lot of allegations on each other's on multiple political grounds such as corruption, treacheries, malfunctioning, money laundering etc. (Wasim, 2013). The alleged discourse is considered as a commonly practiced strategy of political actors to gain multiple agendas, to represent their identity and to display their political ideology by highlighting other's bad things the political actors get the edge of appreciation from their followers and supporters, the same phenomenon can be observed in the political discourse of PML-N.

> In time of Flood Shahbaz Sharif was Working Day & Night in Layyah for Flood Victims". (appendix iii)

The manipulation of language here is aimed at exaggerating the past services of CM Punjab Shahbaz Sharif who helped the flood victims of Layyah (Heuvel, 2010), interestingly the discourse was narrated just two weeks before the elections and at that time periods all political actors employed multiple strategies to impress audience to increase their vote bank and in the same context the political actors of PML-N quoted their past achievements. They have constructed and represented their political identity as a supportive, humanistic and considerate group who stood by people in the time of need and who served humanity. At certain places the political discourse of PML-N can be viewed as defensive especially when the political actors narrate about *other's allegations on them*, rather it can also be stated that PML-N took a strong stance on the issue of their alliance with any banned religious extremist group.

Their allegations on us never end, but all are baseless incl the LeJ alliance! We have no such alliance'. (appendix iii)

The above-mentioned thesis can be viewed in this particular discourse instance as the political actors have categorically rejected the allegations of their alliance with any extremist group but the interesting point here is the absence of any direct agency as nobody is directly nominated for putting allegations on PML-N with reference to violence in Baluchistan, Sindh and particularly in Karachi.

In the following text, the discourse participants have not clearly projected the agency as the discourse narrates that just by merely condemning the negative events solution cannot be drawn out.

Condemning is not good enough. STOPShiaGenocide Quetta'. (appendix iv)

Now, this extract does not provide any indication to the agents i.e. who is condemning and what is being condemned? In other words, the text creates ambiguity for the discourse receivers as the ideology of the political actors remains opaque. The same doctrine was presented by van Dijk, T.A (1996, 1998c & 2002) and Fairclough (1995) that discourse participants deliberately hide their ideologies by deleting agency in the text. Moreover, the text is basically produced in the context of terrorism in Quetta resulted in the assault of 28 people (Ashfaq & Shah, 2013) and the militancy act was highly condemned by the newly elected government of PML-N and by all political parties of Pakistan. The following discourse extract also does not identify the agency as the

discourse participant has suggested putting sincere efforts to end militancy in the country but the text doesn't describe that who should do the joint sincere efforts.

Honesty and joint effort is much needed to end the terrorism in Karachi - PPP-P Pakistan'. (appendix iv)

Although the text conveys a positive ideology of the discourse makers it doesn't clearly specify the agents on whom the responsibility of the action lies? The text states that the menace of militancy in Karachi should be resolved with sincere efforts but the text creates ambiguity also as the discourse receivers cannot derive the exact interpretation of the text due to the deleted agency. In the post-election political discourse of PPP-P, the political actors have not clearly mentioned the agents and the strategies that attempt to defame the subject party.

Resolving issues: Conspiracy to defame PPP-P, insists'. (appendix iv)

This specific text was produced by a senior member of PPP-P Sharjeel Memon who alleged some unknown elements to create conspiracies against PPP-P. Simultaneously, the text leaves many implications as it develops ambiguity by concealing the agents, one implication can be that after losing the general elections of 2013 the party consistently alleged unknown sources and unidentified agencies for the defeat of subject party. Another interpretation of the text can be the conventional political strategy of political actors in which the political actors put blames and allegations on others to save one's own reputation and the same practice is done by the political actors of PPP-P. To proceed on with the analysis the following text is produced by the political actors of PPP-P without mentioning any direct agency.

Completely against this! 75 primary schools to be shut down (appendix iv)

The discourse makers have debated the issue of primary schools that will be closed due to lack of budget, now the text is very ambiguous as it doesn't clearly demonstrate that which schools will be closed and by whom the decision will be made and when it will happen? Such agentless text is primarily constructed by the discourse makers to develop opacity and obscurity among the discourse consumers. From a contextual perspective, it is linked with the decision of the PML-N government to close 75 primary schools in the Cholistan due to lack of funds. The adverse effect of the decisions is the fact that more than 50,000 children will miss the opportunity of basic

education, so under these circumstances, the political actors of PPP-P indirectly criticized the government for this harsh, demotivating and pessimistic decision (Gill, 2014). The underlying assumption of the text is linked with the conventional strategy of the political actors i.e. others are defamed by highlighting their negative attributes.

Once again the political actors have reinforced the previously debated ideology as there is no reference provided to the agent of the discourse, the text states about a sad accident of school children in which many children died (Bhatti, 2013).

> Tragic news "Explosion in Gujrat school van kills teacher, 17 children". (appendix iv)

The text here doesn't tell about the type of explosion and the offender of the quoted incident and resultantly the text lead towards multiple implications such as with reference to law and order situation of Pakistan in 2013 the term explosion is frequently attributed with militancy and bomb blast so by reading the text many negative thoughts can be developed in the minds of the readers, simultaneously such agentless text practices provoke anxiety among the discourse receivers. Ultimately, as there is a lack of agency in the quoted example of political discourse so the text can be interpreted as an example of 'ambiguous' text as it aims at creating suspense and anxiety among the discourse consumers. The discourse of allegation appears as a common strategy of the political actors of PPP-P specifically in post-election sessions the subject party alleged many *local and foreign* elements for the defeat of PPP-P in the general elections of 2013.

> cnspiracies being hatched by national and international institutions were the reason for the election defeat of... (appendix iv)

Now the proverb *conspiracies being hatched* depicts the identity of the party as a victimized group who suffered in politics due to collusion and negative interference of *unknown agents..* As it is an agentless discourse, so by knowing about the context of the tweet it can be derived that primarily the text was produced as a face-saving technique because during the regime of the subject party there were no significant achievements and resultantly masses did not support the party and they lost the elections (Mir-Khan, 2013). As mentioned earlier that PPP-P had a worst economic performance from 2008 to 2013 (Looney, 2014), so it developed disappointment among people and they didn't support PPP-P in 2013. Additionally narrating the *national and international institutions*are ambiguously labeled. Moreover, the text raises criticism on implied agents for causing

political loss of PPP-P besides attempting to win sympathies of people once again as happened in 2008 (after the assassination of Benazir).

Bibi Shaheed said – There is not only Supreme court, there is always court of people and the court of History'. (appendix iv)

In the above-narratedtext, the political actors have provided a significant reference to the assassinated leader Benazir who believed that the best judges of political leaders are the people of a specific state as their support reflects the popularity of a certain political leader. Moreover, the text primarily presents the liberal and progressive image of the renowned leader Benazir and implicitly it contains praise for the high character of the party leaders and its in-group members. Here the image is given to the audience that a true leader cares about the public opinion and respects their views and this approach appears highly constructive and optimistic from a political perspective. The next political text was produced just two days prior to the elections of 2013 and here the discourse participants again created ambiguity among the discourse receivers as the text speculates that Benazir was assaulted in 2007 by the *unknown agents* and by quoting this incident the discourse makers attempted to appeal to the emotions of the masses to win their support.

BB shaheed was assassinated in these streets' .(appendix iv)

The term *shaheed* means *martyr*and the passivation in the text is done through the verb *assassinated* without providing any clue to the offender of the murder case. So such agentless discourse extracts pragmatically develop multiple implications depending on the socio-political context of the discourse. The above-quoted text extract has great significance in the national and political history of Pakistan and PPP-P as the Zulfiqar Bhutto was sentenced to death (by General Zia-ul-Haq) in 1979 in Rawalpindi and his daughter Benazir also got assaulted in the same city in 2007. Conclusively, the text doesn't directly blame any offender for shooting down the former prime minister but implicitly the text provokes the emotions of masses. It is a common practice of political actors that they highlight their past achievements to impress the audience and specifically to increase the vote bank, the same strategy is adopted by PPP-P as the text states.

Restoration of trading wings through out the country as promised'. (appendix iv)

Although the text discussed above does not provide a clue to the agents who restored the trade and uplift the economy and the promise was made with whom? According to Haider (2013) although Zardari's government successfully completed its democratic tenure of five years without interference of military regime or civil proxy but the government remained the worst example of failure as the issues of militancy, hunger, unemployment, drastic health policy failures, malnutrition of children and massive increase in foreign debt developed fretfulness and dissension among masses for the government. Within above-narrated context, the next text extract appears contradictory as it aims at praising the achievements of the discourse participants in an implicit manner.

> Despite energy scarcity + a non-ideal law and order situation, Pakistan's economic trends were showing positive sign'. (appendix iv)

The discourse is agentless as here the discourse makers have not mentioned that who restored and uplifted the economy of Pakistan and how this process was legitimized and rationalized, the doctrine of the political actors is to promote the policies of the subject party prior to the elections to increase its vote bank. According to media reports, Pakistan faced very serious economic depression during the regime of the subject party (Mumtaz, 2013)and social menace like terrorism, corruption, unemployment, the absence of basic health facilities and subsiding economy rejected the above-mentioned claims of the party (Mumtaz, 2013). The analysis also postulated that the claims of political actors to boost theeconomy of the country is invalid as it is obvious through a number of instances. While narrating about the positive acts the agency of in-group members is exclusively mentioned while in case of negative attributes the agency is omitted. Similarly in case of negative attribution of in-group members' agency is deliberately avoided while for out-group members it (agency) is explicitly mentioned.

In the following text, the political actors have not mentioned that what type of script is written and who wrote it? Moreover, the text talks about some dramas as scripts are written in plays secondly the text states that it was done in American capital Washington and strengthen in the Saudi capital Riyadh.

> So is it another Script written at Washington, Endorsed by Riyadh, Approved in Rawalpindi and Implemented by handpicked'. (appendix v)

A number of implicit references are mentioned in this particular text for instance as PTI alleged the US and Saudi government for their illegitimate support for PML-N in

the elections of 2013, so PTI has exhibited its distress with both states. From a historical context, Saudi government always provided financial support to Pakistan but the special political and financial support were given to Sharif after the coup of Musharraf in 1999 (Byman, et al., 2011). Because of the same support, PTI alleged Saudi government to support PML-N in elections of 2013. Besides alleging Saudi and US government, PTI leveled charges against Pakistan military and judiciary for *illegitimate intrusion in the elections of 2013*. From a critical perspective, the text doesn't provide any direct reference to any agency but implicitly they have raised severe criticism on many implied agencies.

You voted for Change - and these crooks Changed your votes'.(appendix v)

Once again agency is deleted here as the text states that *crooks changed your votes* but it doesn't tell that who those culprits are. Such text practices create ambiguities among discourse receivers as nobody is openly blamed or charged for cheating in the electoral process. Pragmatically narrating the text criticized rather alleged the opposite political group PML-N, US, the Saudi government and Pakistan military for rigging the elections. Moreover, the political actors have deliberately omitted agency to incite hatred among their supporters for the alleged political groups who rigged the electoral mandate of PTI.

We will never let them Hijack our Victory in Sialkot - We'll Fight till the End, This is our Commitment, Be there Tomorrow an…'. (appendix v)

In the above-quotedtext, the political actors have expressed their determination to fight against all those elements that may cause hindrance in the fair democratic process of elections (Sumra, 2014). From the critical perspective, the text doesn't state that *who can hijack* the victory of the political actors besides causing damage to the fair electoral process. According to van Dijk political actors omit agency to hide certain ideologies and in this particular text practice, it can be seen that as the discourse makers wanted to put allegations without any solid evidence against any political group so they have consciously avoided labeling anyone. Another salient feature of this particular discourse practice is the reference to a famous city Sialkot, as in 2013 election the seat of Sialkot was considered very important as all major political parties like PML-N, PPP-P, PTI, JI, PML-Q etc. were contesting and expecting to get an enthusiastic win from there but as PML-N had a stronghold in the city form political perspective, so under such conditions

PTI expressed their doubts about 'rigging'. From a linguistic perspective, the word '*Hijack*' projects a negative image of '*implied agency*' and portrays them as illegitimate and unfair apt to the theoretical perspectives of *negative representation of others.*

Just a day after the general elections of 2013 the following political text was produced and here the political actors have demonstrated their extreme distress and hatred against the unknown agency for threatening the political actors of PTI on the issue of PTI's protest on alleged rigging in Karachi.

What kinda person threatens peaceful protestors of NA-250 to death? is this a leader or a thug? Karachi do you want this?'. (appendix v)

According to media reports, as the political actors of PTI protested against rigging in Karachi constituency NA-250 during the protest some *unknown elements* fired on the crowd at *teen talwar* simultaneously, the leader of winning party (MQM) Altaf Hussain warned the protestors of PTI not to use derogatory remarks against him or his party, the statement of Hussain was considered as threats for the discourse participants (Ousat, 2013). Although the text doesn't provide any explicit link towards the alleged agent from the contextual perspective, the hidden ideologies of the discourse makers can be viewed. Moreover, the discourse producers have used derogatory remarks to present their distress and dissatisfaction on the electoral results besides raising severe criticism on the *leader of alleged winning party i.e. Altaf Hussain*, the noun *thug* primarily aimed at defining *others* as undemocratic, unfair and gangster group. Moreover, Karachi is metaphorically used as the city is taken as people and they are incited to react at the massive rigging in elections. The text can be exclusively framed in the theoretical perspective of *Us vs Them* dichotomy as others are projected in extreme negative connotation.

With NADRA ready 2 check Voter thumbprints against ID recordMajor change in the politicl landscape is in the making particul.(appendix v)

This particular political text was produced after the issue of alleged rigging in polls in Karachi and here the political actors have presented the notion of ID card verification with NADRA (Ahmed, Ahmed, & Shehzad, 2013). The text doesn't explicitly demonstrate that where the record of ID will be checked and what type of changes are expected to occur in political fields of Pakistan, precisely narrating the text creates ambiguities for the discourse consumers by leaving many implications behind. Contextually viewing the text is linked with *re-polling* in NA-250 a constituency of

Karachi as the political actors of PTI alleged rigging there and the verdict of re-poll was given by Election Commission after the huge protests by PTI supporters. In the next quoted extract of political discourse, the discourse makers have criticized the *unknown others* for raising objections on PTI for poor election campaigns in Karachi.

> For those complaining about no campaign in Karachi , watch out ,PTi flags will be all over karachi in 2 to 3 days , Insh..'. (appendix v)

The political actors have presented their ideology to demonstrate their political power and influence in Karachi by conducting a huge political rally there, the text is very significant as electoral campaigns were never being easy in Karachi due to poor law and order situations in the region but even under such circumstances PTI still managed to do comprehensive election campaigns there. Moreover, the text doesn't clearly state that who have objected PTI to the poor campaign in Karachi and whom they want to impress by big rallies and huge protests.

> 17 years of struggle 73rd Jalsas in 10 days He is 60 years old Fell from 16 feet height On ICU Bed,still fighting for nati'. (appendix v)

In the above presented political text, the discourse makers have portrayed an image of *an unknown agent* in a very encouraging note by stressing upon the determination of that agent to fight for the nation. Although there is no explicit reference provided in the text for that agent but implicitly the reference of *17 years of struggle and 60years ago and on ICU bed* all denoted the party leader of PTI who got injured during a political campaign just three days prior to the general elections of 2013. From a historical perspective, PTI was formed in 1996 by Imran Khan and during the struggle of 17 years, it appeared as a third major political force in Pakistan and in general elections of 2013 it became second major political power (Blank, Clary, & Nichiporuk, 2014). The embedded ideology of the discourse participants is to incite the discourse receivers emotionally just three days prior to the elections with an utmost desire to increase the vote bank by presenting a highly devoted and passionate image of the party leader.

In the pre-election political discourse, the discourse makers have attempted to depict a unique image of their in-group members as in the following text the discourse makers have provided implicit references to Imran Khan who discourage the status quo and vowed to finish the VIP culture in Pakistan.

Can any other leader share his ICU ward with 12 other common patients?? Please tell me if anyone ever has i really want…'. (appendix v)

Although there is no explicit reference given still text refers to the fall of PTI's leader just three days prior to the general elections of 2013 and thus he was taken to SKMH where he received treatment along with common patients to discourage the status quo and VIP culture (Hussain, 2012). One of the most frequently discussed agenda of PTI is a fight against VIP culture and profligate treatment given to the political elites (Abid, 2014). As PTI leaders wanted to present themselves as an anti-status quo party, so they discouraged all type of VIP cultures in their pre-electoral political discourse. Precisely viewing the text has created and presented a positive political image of the subject political figure. Within the context of positive image representation, the following text can be framed in as here the mandate of power is attributed to the public.

Thank You for your continuous support. You Inspire us to Work Harder. Because of You, PTI Will Bring Change to Pakistan'. (appendix v)

From a contextual perspective, the text was tweeted after the speech of PTI leader Imran Khan in a big political rally at his native city Mianwali and here the personal pronoun '*you' i*s used for the people of Mianwali who attended the huge political rally of PTI. The text is significant as the discourse makers have presented their gratitude to the supporters, simultaneously a strong determination is depicted to bring change in the country. Within the context of self-praise and defamation of others the following text was tweeted, here the political actors have directly accused their opponents political groups to destroy *others* constructive image and to project themselves as highly positive and fair according to the principles of *Us Vs them* contestation.

Our politics is of the masses while PML-N PPP-P is politics of money &electables. They want to protect the status quo'. (appendix v)

From a critical perspective, the opponent group is directly alleged for charges of exerting political power on masses through illegitimate means while the in-group members are claimed to serve people and work for them. Such approaches are conventional in politics (Hodge & Kress, 1993) and they are used to de-construct the image of the opposite political groups, with reference to the same ideology the criticism of PTI on PPP-P and PML-N is also conventional in the context of political rivalry between the subject party and the other groups.

Difference between Raiwind and Bilalwal House is only in the technique on how to fleece the people Different lobbies same ...'. (appendix v)

The above-stated text talks about Raiwind and Bilawal House in terms of differences and similarities. Here Raiwind symbolically refers to the native land of PML-N's leaders while Bilawal house symbolically represents the native land of PPP-P (Hoodbhoy, 2011) the underlying meanings of the text are to raise very harsh criticism on both political groups in the backdrop of corruption and manipulation. Although the political actors have not directly mentioned names of any political leader but the references are made to Raiwind and Bilawal House implicitly leads towards PPP-P and PML-N, both groups are charged for corruption and disloyalty with the people. According to Billig (2008) the agency is deleted in political discourse for specific purposes such as to manipulate factual information or to de-construct the ideologies embedded in the discourse, similarly in the above-quoted text example the political actors have deliberately deleted agency to create ambiguities for the consumers of digital discourse. The phrase *techniques on how to fleece the people* primarily aimed to portray a very bad image of the political groups as they are labeled as deceitful and corrupt, such approach is apt to the conventional contestation of *Us Vs Them*. The following text narrates Pakistan resolution day but it doesn't clearly state that how the day will be historic with reference to the issue of change in the country.

Totally shocked to learn of blast at Abbas Town Khi. Strongly condemn'. (appendix v)

The above-stated text was produced in the context of sectarian violence in Karachi prior to the elections of 2013 (Ali , 2013). The text doesn't tell about *agents of militancy* in Abbas town but still it represents the concern of the discourse makers on the tragedy, the tragic incident caused massive destruction to the sectarian group of Shia community causing death of many people including men, women and children. The text has represented the approach of the discourse participants as a highly sympathetic political group who is concerned about the sensitive issue of terrorism in the country. Moreover, the political actors have displayed solidarity with the victimized group.

Condemned the attack ag Christian community in Lhr& reminded r pl that God is Rab ul Alameen not Rabul Musalmeen ..'. (appendix v)

The above quoted political text was uttered after a tragic incident of aggression against the Christian community in the backdrop of blasphemy act in Lahore. From a critical perspective, the text leaves many ambiguities as it doesn't tell who attacked the Christian community and who caused the massive damage to them. Three significant agencies are omitted in the text such as *which Christian community got attacked,* secondly *who did this tyrant act* and the last one *who needs to learn about the divine blessings of Allah?* Contextually analyzing the text was uttered on 9[th]March 2013 when an aggressive mob attacked a Christian community in Badami Bagh Lahore and burned more than 125 houses due to alleged blasphemy act. The doctrine of PTI's leadership is very much clear and it depicts a solid stance of the political actors on the issue of sectarian violence and intolerance towards religious minorities, precisely narrating such thesis of PTI represents the political identity of the discourse makers as 'humanitarian and righteous' group who stands against biased philosophies.

> Dramatic politics - He came, he threatened, he spoke, he demanded, he negotiated, he conceded & he left'. (appendix v)

The above quoted political text raises severe criticism on others without giving any exclusive cue about the alleged agent. The text narrates the politics of others as dramatic and fake, from a contextual point of view the text was tweeted on 21st January 2013 after the deal between Tahir Qadri and Zardari regarding electoral reforms (Nangiana & Ghauri, 2013). Primarily, the text appears satirical in nature as the key terms of the discourse like *he threatened, he conceded* and *he left,* all aimed at mocking upon the political strategies of Qadri who primarily vowed to protest against the regime of Zardari till the resignation of the government but ultimately after four days of sit-in in Islamabad the subject leader decided to end the protest in the lieu of democratic deal with the government (Khan F. R., 2013). Moreover, the discourse participants have used derogatory remarks to defame the subject political leader-cum-cleric and religious scholar Qadri (of PAT i.e. Pakistan Awami Tehreek). In the beginning, Tahir Qadri vowed to refuse all negotiations with Zardari and demanded the dissolution of the government to ensure fair and democratic electoral reforms in Pakistan but dramatically the sit-in ended when a government delegate met him and this whole incident is termed as *so-called Qadri episode*by Grare (2013). The political actors of PTI reinforced the thesis of Grare (2013) as PTI already refused the offer of Qadri to join sit-in staged in front of the parliament house. In this particular text practice, the political actors have intentionally

omitted agency from the text to create ambiguity among the discourse consumers besides giving implicit cues to the strategies of Tahir Qadri and his long-march and sit-ins. From a critical perspective, the text extract exhibits the ideology of 'Us Vs Them' dichotomy as here the others are negatively projected.

> How many ears must one man have -Before he can hear people cry? How many deaths will it take till he knows -That to …'.(appendix v)

In the above quoted political discourse extract, the discourse participants have not mentioned anyone directly but alleged 'others' for their absurd, futile and inhuman attitude. The interrogative nature of discourse raises many questions on *him* for the cold attitude towards the misery of people. From a contextual perspective, the text was uttered after the carnage of Quetta on 11th January 2013 resulting in the assault of many people from Shia community (Sehbai, 2013; We are the Walking Dead" Killings of Shia Hazara in Balochistan, Pakistan, 2014). The incident called for severe criticism from a different school of thoughts on the massacre of Hazara community, many political groups demanded the resignation of Sindh PM and Prime Minister of Pakistan in the context of frequent cases of sectarian violence throughout the country in the regime of Zardari. Here the derogatory remarks are passed on the government officials who are responsible for the safety and security of people in the region, primarily the major criticism was made on former PM Baluchistan Nawab Aslam Raisani and former president Zardari and they were asked to resign from their designations as they were alleged for the massacre of Quetta.The discourse makers have deliberately missed out agency as the political actors wanted to demonstrate their implicit hatred for the alleged *government authorities.*Moreover, the text implicitly projects the *negative representation of others* to defame them.

4.1.4 Analysis of graphological devices

While analysing the political discourse a number of strategies and devices are considered/interpreted such as italicization, underlining and inverted commas etc. which reveals the underlying meanings of the text and it also helps to understand the multiple implications of the text in the broader socio-political settings in which a particular discourse is constructed, manifested and consumed (van Dijk, 1993; 1995; 2002; Sheyholislami, 2001; Wodak, 2009). According to MacDonald (n.d), one of the more significant features of inverted commas is when they are used to suggest something over

and above the locutionary meaning of a word or phrase. In many texts, this will suggest disassociation or disagreement with the surface meaning (MacDonald).

By employing the same strategy the hidden agendas of discourse makers are unpacked here, the seen below.

As custodians of democratic traditions, we will play our role in strengthening democratic process in the country'.(appendix i)

The argument is developed for a strong representation of ANP's positive political identity. The party is manifested as a strong democratic political power and the phrase *as custodian ofdemocratic traditions* represents the political strategies of ANP, the political group has presented itself as a righteous political group. Such political flag words like *democracy* and *democraticprocess* are considered highly diplomatic and manipulative and they are used to justify the discursive strategies and practices of in-group members. In the same connotation, the following text is also constructed i.e.

Articles 62,63 are aimed at setting up controlled democracy giving "pious ones" a veto over the opinion of the sovereign'.(appendix i)

The text contains many controversial claims such as it refers to the constitution of Pakistan and the sections mentioned in the discourse are linked with the eligibility criteria of political leaders to participate in the electoral process, the usage of the phrase*controlleddemocracy* and *piousones* entails a number of implications. Primarily, it can be linked with the appreciation of the constitution for selecting just the right candidates who do not need to be rejected or disqualified on the basis of 'other's opinions', simultaneously the text can be taken as satirical for *ultimatepowers* other than the law and constitutions that cannot surpass the supremacy of state. It means democracy is linked with the objectivity of the law and constitution which cannot be dictated by the others within the political context.

The next quoted texts here are linked with the issues of violence, terrorism, security concerns and threats to ANP on a serious note.

We are tied by Non voilence theory of Bacha Khan otherwise we better know how to handle these bastards, "In a gentle way, you can shake the world. Non-violence is the article of faith. "Bacha Khan quote**'.**(appendix i)

The first stance is related to ex-MNA from ANP who boldly challenged the opponents and implicitly exerted the political power of the party. The narrated text also reflects anger and aggravation against the militants, simultaneously there is a reflection of positive attribution for the founder of party Bacha Khan. Within the context of praise for the party's political ideology the next tweet represents the didactic approach of ANP, a great positivity is reflected by a high spirit of promoting peace and discouraging violence. Furthermore, the second part has highlighted the religious significance of non-violence as it is an essential element of Islamic faith (Abu-Nimer, 2008) and the same phenomenon is reinforced in this particular text.

> Incitement to violence against citizens of other ethnicity, faith and religions will be prohibited". (appendix i)

The quoted text signifies a very important social, political and religious issue in the backdrop of a blasphemy case. According to the law of Pakistan, religious minorities also enjoy the equal rights (Mahmud, 1995) and violence against them is highly proscribed and condemned. In this specific discourse extract, the political actors have given a motivation to the minority groups by promising to protect their democratic rights after getting into power. The stance adopted by ANP clearly projected their position about the protection of minorities' rights and in the sensitive time period of elections such phrases and such utterances strengthen the party position as it uplifts the status of the party as liberals and unbiased.

> PTI claims there are 'Good' Taliban and then there are 'Bad' Taliban
>
> Our party has never been 'Desperate' for talks - We've always sought all avenues possible for peace (appendix i)

These two text extracts are linked with the traditional *Us Vs Them* dichotomy, in the first stance the opponent party PTI is directly criticized for narrating the discrimination between good and bad militants as the history of Pakistan proves that militants named as Taliban brought a massive destruction in Pakistan by assassinating thousands of innocent souls (Feyyaz, 2013). So the Pakistani society cannot label militants as good or bad because they have always been an illicit, decadent and insistent source of terror and destruction in Pakistani land, under such circumstances the statement of ANP appeared in accordance with the political and social conditions of Pakistani society which faced many hostile and destructive consequences designed by the militants.

In the continuation of the former tweet the next one is too linked with the militants with reference to peace talk negotiation among government authorities and Taliban, interestingly Taliban nominated Imran Khan (Chairman of PTI) as their representative and spokesperson along with four other members of religious groups (Sehbai, 2013). As the militants 'Taliban' targeted ANP particularly and caused a great physical, political and social loss to the party (Hussain K. , 2013), so under these conditions the peace talk negotiation with militants appeared absurd in ANP's point of view and such attempts of PTI developed fury and aggression among supporters of ANP.

There are many obvious traces of frustration and aggression in the political discourse of ANP because of militants as the political group really fought hard for their physical and political survival in the region. The frequently quoted references to the violence of militants, their supporters and networks exhibited the party's position regarding their strategic moves i.e., to fight against all types of militancy and aggression. The text underpins the opinion of ANP about the extension of the tyranny of militants in KPK and in other areas of Pakistan, simultaneously text presents a critique in the form of mocking remarks on the deficiency of institutional powers to handle the issue of terrorism.

> In a reverse "strategic depth" terrorists have expanded their operational network to Karachi! Still dreaming to control Afghanistan'. (appendix i)

Contextually the tweet is related to the terrorist activities by the militants in Karachi after the assassination of ANP members in KPK, so the term *strategic moves*throw light on the policies of terrorists to bring destruction at large scale by expanding their network to different areas of Pakistan. The text reflects humiliating remarks at the government institutes who are criticized for mishandling the issue of terrorism and their failure to eradicate the perpetrators from their roots i.e. Afghanistan (Irshad, 2011). Within the same connotation, the next text also raises criticism on the government institutions for not executing proper plans to stop terrorism as the assassinations continued prior to elections 2013 and it appeared as a proof about the failures of state policies on the war of terrorism. The following text proves the thesis stated above i.e.

> Some "very active" state institutions seem to be quite inactive on the terrorist challenge to fair elections'.(appendix i)

Here *"very active"* institution refers to government institutes i.e. Election Commission who actively made policies for the fair electoral process but the essential security couldn't be provided to political actors as reinforced in these texts. According to officials of ANP, due to poor security system, many ANP workers and leaders got assassinated although the party officials requested government institutions to provide them security in the government agencies didn't respond to their requests.

> We'll officially ask election commission to provide security frpolticl gatherings

> The minimum security provided to the party's Senior Leadership and contestants has been withdrawn'.(appendix i)

In the above-quotedtexts, the political actors have presented their doctrine in an explicit way by raising a severe criticism on the election commission for their late back attitude which resultantly caused a great loss for the political party. Another text provided links to the political identity of ANP in terms of a suppressed and the intimidated party who frequently lamented on the issues of tyranny and terrorism which provided a lot of benefits to their political rivals as the text reveals.

> The situation is giving undue advantage to the party's political opponents(appendix i)

At few places during the political discourse of ANP, the party officials used very hard linguistic choices to express their acute aggravation and suspicion on the roles and beliefs of 'others' within political scenario, it was obvious through many incidents that ANP struggled for their political and physical survivals and even they implored for the support of their political opponents to stand against extremism, terrorism, and tyranny. The text presented at this juncture supports the former thesis.

> The criminal silence of political parties and the media is surprising. We feel that conspiracies are being hatched to isolate.(appendix i)

Primarily there is no direct clue given regarding the issue on which the political opponents are expected to take some solid stance, secondly, the phrase about conspiracies is also ambiguous. According to van Dijk(1995) an indirect, implicit and indistinct approach is adopted by the discourse participants when they negatively attribute others to certain political agendas. Now while talking about allegations regarding the insecurity of ANP, nobody is nominated and the notion of isolating ANP is too vague as there is no

reference provided, it might be political isolation or it might be power isolation. Apart from allegations, the political discourse of ANP appeared didactic as the political actors have suggested the state power institutions to negotiate dialogues to handle the issues of militancy and terrorism.

> The CJ-COAS & President need to sit together to put an end to terrorism" says Ghulam Bilour.(appendix i)

This tweet is very much significant as the Chairman of ANP directly addressed power elites to resolve the problem of terrorism, moreover, Chief Justice and Chief of Army Staff are called for a collaborative effort to design some strategic moves to handle the issue. Previously ANP presented severe resentment and anxiety in their discourse as they didn't get the support from the other political parties to fight against terrorism and ultimately they decided to fight this war by themselves. Contrary to the fact in the above-stated text the same political group called for the institutional powers to support them against militancy, such discrepancies in the political discourse of ANP can be interpreted in various ways. It can be termed as a democratic move because all political parties need to get support from the state power institution for their survival, a similar approach is presented by ANP.

Besides criticism on opponent political parties the elements of wit are also salient features of ANP's political discourse such as

> Javed Hashmi ka Minorities ka Vision chk PTI manifesto - "the page is under construction" LOL'. (appendix i)

The text has represented the satirical elements as the discourse makers have attempted to make fun of the opponent political group, as their vision is termed vague and blurred. These mockery remarks are given about the ex-President of PTI on 9th April 2013 regarding the party manifesto as the party could not present its clear ideology about the status and position of religious minorities in Pakistan. Meanwhile, the last phrase in the tweet also reflects humiliating remarks about the immaturity and inefficiency of the opponent party for not clarifying their ideological moves regarding minorities. Manifestos basically demonstrate ideology of a political party (Dinas & Gemenis, 2009), it also provides an outlook to masses to understand the political stances of political actors on multiple issues (Nadeem, Mahmood, & Mahmood, 2014). By keeping in mind the same importance of manifesto ANP used the weak point of PTI in order to represent their

negative impressions, although the manifesto of PTI is very comprehensive the ideology about minorities is missing.Intertextual religious and historical references are also present in the political discourse of ANP, such as one of the ANP leaders compared the war of terrorism between militants and ANP with the great historical war between the righteous Imam Hussein, grandson of Holy Prophet (PBUH) and Yazeed a disgraced ruler (Hyder, 2004). Ultimately, the righteous Imam Hussein won the war not on physical but on ideological grounds, same was expected by ANP in their opinion as they are fair and candid so ultimately they will defeat the militants and terrorists.

> Mian Iftikhaar Hussain on Dunya TV: "Yazeedi terrorists will lose on 11th May. Hussaini followers will win" InshaAlla'. (appendix i)

Besides drawing upon the historical Islamic reference, the indication of date 11th May refers to the commencement of general election 2013 and the linguistic choices such as 'Insha'Allah (Arabic word meaning by the will of God) demonstrate the religious ideology of the narrator. With reference to the war against terrorism the following political discourse of ANP appeared quiet significant, the covert references unpacks a number of underlying meanings in the following discourse extract.

> Afghan endgame seems to be a prelude to new "Buzkashi") among hegemonic forces preparing for proxy wars'. (appendix i)

In this post-election discourse, the word *endgame* refers to the final stage of chess where one of the players must win the game while from political perspective it refers to the final contest of politics in which one has to lose, in this particular text the word endgame refers to the war of terrorism invoked in Pakistan and originated from Afghanistan (Irshad, 2011). The other implication of the text is an intertextual reference to the national game of Afghanistan 'Buzkashi' in which teams on horseback contests to get possession of a headless animal cadaver and thus take it to a scoring/winning area (Canfield, 1983), but in this particular connotation the meanings are not that much simple here it refers to the continuous aggression and killing of innocent people by the militants Talibans in Pakistan and the alleged hegemony forces who tend to promote the new war trends in Pakistan instead of ending the existing war. The text claims rather put allegations on the hegemony forces that flares up the war situations in Pakistan by creating destructions and upheavals. The text also highlights the issue of the insurgency of Taliban that appeared as a major impediment to the political flux of Pakistan (Cassidy,

2012). The insurgency of Taliban and counterinsurgency within Pakistan caused the massive destruction and ANP as a major opponent party of Taliban suffered major physical, economic and political loss. Within the same connotation the next tweet is linked with the stance of Afghan President Karzai on the issue of terrorism, he strongly condemned the assault attempt on ANP leadership.

> Karzai "strongly condemns attack on Ghulam Bilour, Haroon Bilour & ANP (the founder of nonviolent struggle)'. (appendix i)

The political discourse of ANP reflects praise for the in-group member by labeling them as the initiator of non-violence, so the thesis of ideological contestation is asserted again as the positive attributes are highlighted for the in-group members. The next text extract manifested historical references about the sacrifices of ANP leaders and founders for the sustainable political career with an untiring struggle to prevail democracy in Pakistan. It refers to Ajmal Khattak and Asfandyar Wali who beard exiles and tortures during the initial stages of their political career(Husseini, 2010; Profile of Asfandyar Wali Khan, 2008).

> In past, progressiveshv been detained, tortured or forced to exile" now they are killed. (appendix i)

The text also aims at developing sympathies for the political actors by presenting their tragic stories and by narrating their political plight, here the adjective *progressives* is attributed to the in-group members of ANP.

> I myself was targeted twice with bomb blasts so how can ANP allow terrorists n Karachi' said Bashir Jan of ANP, "No matter what happens, we will not leave the field. We will not let this land be handed to extremists".(appendix i)

The discourse participants have expressed their distress by narrating the tragic incidence of militancy against the leadership of the subject party. The political actors have presented their solid stance on the issue of militancy and terrorism, simultaneously the political actors resolved to fight against the brutal forces. The text also reflects nationalism and patriotism moreover the political actors have made a strong urge to never surrender in front of violence or fanaticism.

A tribute to the in-group members is presented in the following text for the sacrifices and services of party members, it has also highlighted the issue of militancy and

terrorism prior to the elections of 2013. The emphasis of the text is on terrorism which is repeatedly discussed in a number of tweets such as

> The party will remember their services and sacrifices for ever.", "ANP was attacked 31 times during its campaign in which scores of party activists were martyred and wounded." (appendix i)

Additionally, the discourse has provided an exact number of the terrorist attack on the party that resulted in the assassination of many political workers and political members. It also focuses on the struggle of the political actors for the political support of the subject party.

> Our activists apart from burying the dead bodies of their near and dear ones, also campaigned for the party" .(appendix i)

In this text practice, the political actors have praised the struggle of their in-group members for their solid political struggle in spite of all militancy and terrorism. The political actors didn't compromise on their basic democratic rights and promised to continue their campaign for their political party.

> Against all odds: ANP holds 'largest car rally' in Orakzai'. (appendix i)

Members of ANP organized a huge rally before the general elections of 2013 to show their political power to the world. Another purpose of this specific rally was to tell the world that although there are a number of hurdles still the devotion and determination of the party is not shattered. Apart from the claims of superiority and self-praise in terms of power demonstration, there is no clue given about the other car rallies as this particular one is labeled as the *largest* one so the statement is little ambiguous and the perception of readers can be opaque as the objectivity is missing in the text.

> Eerie silence on. Tirah continues probably in 'NATIONAL INTEREST'. Justice for the people of Tirah''. (appendix i)

Here thealleged discourse criticizes the government policies about the predicament of IDPs (internally displaced people) of Tirah valley in KPK. As there was a massive confrontation in Tirah valley between militant groups so, resultantly it forced people to migrate from that land to another area of KPK to save their families and their lives (Mohanty, 2013). A plea for justice is presented for the IDP's of Tirah valley as the government did not announce a clear policy for their settlement till the time the text was

tweeted on Social media i.e. on 9th May' 2013. The text contains satirical elements here as the phrase *NATIONALINTEREST* doesn't have any positive implications rather it raises criticism on concerned authorities who did not take a solid stance to resolve the issues of IDP's. The quoted text *nation building* raises severe criticism on those political parties who did not take any solid stance against the violence and terrorism of militant groups and the political discourse reflects the indirect criticism on 'others'. The derogatory remarks on the others represent the ideology of ANP as a depressed and subjugated political group who bear huge physical and political loss due to extremism and militancy.
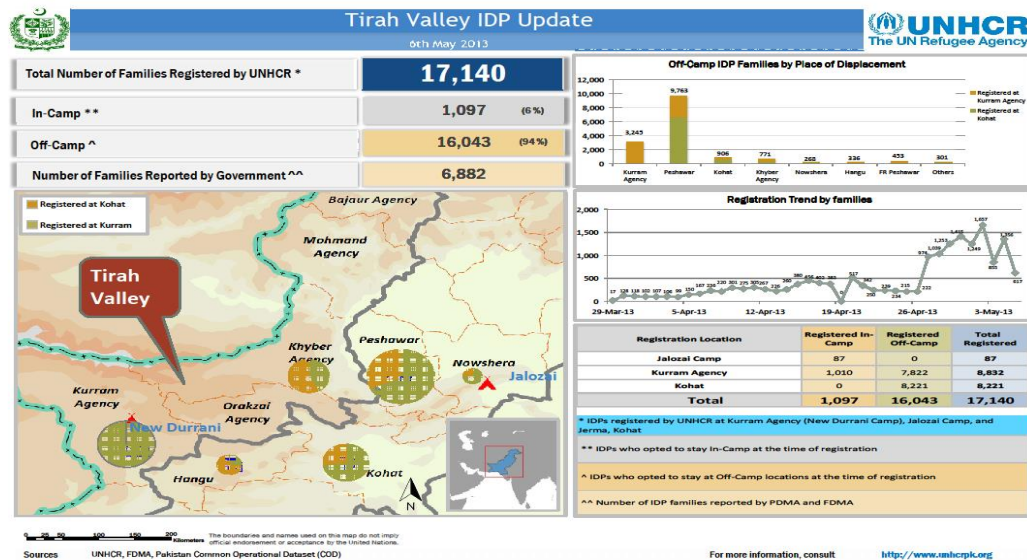
Figure 8 Source: UNHCR, FDMA, Pakistan Common Operational Dataset (COD) (2013)

> here r powerful circles in the country for whom extremism and bigotry is a "nation-building" strategy (appendix i)

The next text is quoted from the founder of ANP about the ideology of political members, it focuses upon the significance of legitimating process of ethics and moral values, simultaneously it raises criticism upon the *others* who attempted to delegitimize and de-shape the image of ANP through propaganda.

Lie does not become truth by reason of multiplied propagation & truth does not become a lie because nobody sees it." Bacha Khan. (appendix i)

The political actors passed deprecating comments upon the doctrine of those political actors who argued that ANP itself is responsible for the destruction and assassination of its political members (Haq, 2012). At certain places,the political discourse of ANP became didactic as the shift in the ideology from issues of extremism, terrorism, and allegation to ethical values likes truth and morality became vivid.

Terrorists! Dont you know the history of that land? the more you kill them the more they become resistant". (appendix i)

Here inverted commas along with exclamation marks are used to serve twofold purposes at one hand the militants are threatened, while on the other hand the in-group members are appreciated for their potency. Moreover, the text aims at motivating the members of the subject party to participate more passionately in the democratic political processes in spite of all troubles and hurdles.

ANP stands for the rights of the displaced Baloch to return to their ancestral homes''. (appendix i)

The post-election discourse of ANP represents solidarity and sympathy with the IDP's of Baluchistan after the military operation of government in 2006. Explicitly the derived meanings contain the deep sympathy and consideration for the victims of Baluchistan but implicitly the discourse aims at raising severe criticism on the newly elected government for their policies about IDP's. According to Edelman (1985)political ideologies are variously expressed in the differential, if not polarized lexicalization of political actors as depicted in the political discourse of ANP. Apart from lamenting upon the assassination, killings and bomb blast a shift in the paradigm of ANP became vivid in their post-election discourse, prior to the election most of the political discourse revolved around issues of aggression, terrorism, and anxieties but after losing the election of 2013 (KPK Assembly, 2013) a transformation in the ideology became dominant. ANP established a youth wing to activate youth after the election as the political actors have realized that the opponent winning party PTI mobilized youth and ultimately they won the elections in KPK.

The "National Youth Wing" is to be the third forum of the party', 'National Youth Wing". Haroon Bilour & MPA elect Jaffar Shah are to organise it in the coming two months'. (appendix i)

The transformation of ideology is just partially done as the embedded ideology remained the same i.e. the youth wing is supposed to be organized by the senior elected MPA of ANP, Mr. Jaffar Shah while there are a number of young political members of ANP present but none of them got a seat during 2013 elections. Precisely narrating the political actors have shown their resolution to mobilize youth for the success of the subject party in the next elections.

The overall doctrine of ANP revolves around the issues of terrorism, militancy and political immobilization. The political identity of the subject group appeared as a subjugated and marginalized political group who is striving for its survival in the regime of extreme militancy.

The following tweet displayed MQM's strong motivation of positive self-demonstration.

MQM Believes In Politics Of 'Serving Humanity''. (appendix ii)

Here the emphasis is made upon '*serving humanity*' which appears as the core agenda of MQM's policy. In addition to demonstration of positive self-image, the discourse aims at earning appreciation and support from the discourse receivers/consumers as the text is taken from a Social media network site i.e. Twitter, so the text is assumed to be read by many stakeholders in politics such as supports and workers of MQM, members of other political parties, media reports, general public etc. The political actors have explicitly constructed their identity as finest people who are willing to perform the obligatory acts of helping people etc. The next text underlines another ideological perspective of the political actors here i.e. the emphasis is given to the poor and middle-class people and an urge is made to transfer political power to the general public.

MQM announces electoral nomination forms for the ''poor and middle-class'. (appendix ii)

The text aims to stand for the weak groups who are conventionally considered as the oppressed groups and the powerful groups exercise their powers on them but contrary

to conventional ideology of politics and power MQM has claimed a different strategy i.e. they have offered support for the *classesotherthanthepoliticalelites* for transferring political power. The shift in the ideology of MQM in accordance with the transfer of institutional and state power to insubstantial groups through democratic processes of elections represents the smart political insight of MQM. In the next text the term *politicaldrones* is metaphorically used here and it highlights the political policies of MQM about multiple issues such as dual nationality of their leader Altaf Hussain, partake in the long march, issue of local body elections etc.

> Altaf Hussain will inform the nation about his "political drone" today at 5 pm', (appendix ii).

Empirically the term drones appears quite negative in Pakistani political context, especially in the backdrop of counter-terrorism issues in KPK and FATA (Johnston & Sarbahi, 2011). Implicitly, the text provokes excitement among people as the text states that the political drones i.e. press conference of MQM will unscramble a number of secrets. Moreover, the other textual examples related to the quotation marks unpack other significant aspects of MQM's ideology and identity such as the text highlights the biased and prejudiced agenda of MQM with reference to issues of the minority.

> leave comments/feedback about "Shd the high public offices of Sindh continue to be forbidden for Urdu-speaking people?" (appendix ii)

Contextually, the text is linked with the selection of caretaker CM in Sindh prior to the elections of 2013, MQM had nominated five members for the caretaker CM but none of them was selected (Siddiqi, 2013) so resultantly the discourse of MQM presented biased and inequitable comments about the treatment given to Urdu speaking people particularly in the province of Sindh. In many text extracts, MQM promoted one nation theory and they stressed upon forgetting all religious, ethnic, social and linguistic discriminations but in this particular text extract MQM itself promoted the discriminatory elements. In the above mentioned textual example, the political actors have presented themselves as the deprived and oppressed groups who do not get their democratic rights. Within the context of loyalty and patriotism, the quoted text here reflects the deep devotion of MQM for the nation as seen below.

> I'll be back if found nation in trouble''. (appendix ii)

The text is directly linked with the party leader Altaf Hussain who has been in self-exile for the last 20 years. From ideological perspective, the text stated that the political actor is highly motivated to end self-exile and come back in Pakistan if the country needs any special assistance from the party leader (Altaf Hussain), the statement is quite synthetic and contradictory to the actual political and social conditions of Pakistan as the country faced the very serious issue of terrorism and intimidation in 2013. Another important fact which proves the thesis of MQM's political actors false and slump is the persistent instability in Pakistan, especially in Karachi, as the continuous terrorism acts curtailed the solidarity and stability of the land and in such circumstances, the emotional statement of MQM's party leader appeared farce and absurd.

> MQM2013 presents election manifesto ''Empowering people'' MQM 2013 unveils ''people-centric'' manifesto for election ,AltafHussain terms MQM Manifesto ''realistic'' & ''practicable'', Promising ''real'' democracy. (appendix ii)

Prior to the election, the political discourse of MQM demonstrated the ideological beliefs of the subject party and the primary focus of their manifesto is upon democracy and empowerment of common people. In the quoted text extracts the highlighted words such as *empowering people, realistic practicable, real' democracy* are considered as the political 'flag words' because such linguistic choices appeal to the emotions of people and thus enable political actors to construct their identity with positive connotations. It can also be stated that here the political actors have attempted to legitimate their ideological beliefs with a strong urge to earn public support.

> MQM Slams 'Undeclared Operation', MQM flays 'state operation' in Mohajir areas (appendix ii)

The stated text here narrates the same ideology as discussed earlier that the political actors exclusively targeted the policy of the state and strongly protested against the search operation in Karachi, the usage of strong verbs like *slams* and *flay*s represent the aggression and anxiety of political actors against 'others' i.e. the powerful elites. The text explicitly represents the identity of MQM i.e. 'mohajirs (migrants) as the text states that 'mohajir areas' (immigrants land) are deliberately besieged by the state forces so it means that the power elites are hatching conspiracies against political workers and members of MQM for unjustified reasons. Conclusively, the text can be interpreted as an

attempt to represent the positive ideology about the in-group members along with appealing to the emotions of pro-party stakeholders besides off-putting the others. The pre-election political discourse of MQM contains severe criticism on other political parties and political groups without mentioning any exclusive reasons.

> Only ''mini Taliban'' parties have the freedom to conduct election campaig, 'Moderates Being Pushed Away From Polls'. (appendix ii)

In the above-mentionedtext extracts, no parties are directly nominated rather the term *mini Taliban* is used which carries a very negative connotation. Furthermore, the text states only those political groups are allowed to perform democratic processes (such as political movements/campaigns) who support militants and terrorists. The text is produced here in the backdrop of intimidations and violence against MQM during their pre-election political meeting and campaigns in March, April 2013 (Kazmi, 2013). Contextually, the text is linked with the series of alleged discourse generated by major political parties of MQM and PTI against each other and MQM labeled PTI as a pro-Taliban party. Here clusivity elements can be exclusively traced out as the text aims at raising criticism and hatred against 'others' which is a commonly practiced strategy of political actors. Within the same connotation, the second text extract also reinforced the previously discussed idea. Within the context of allegations and assassination the text reflects the ideology of the party, the political actors have aimed to observe mourning day to commemorate all those workers and members who got victimized by the terrorists.

> MQM observing `Day of Mourning' on YomeSoug Pakistan, MQM blames militant wing of 'a Punjab party' for Karachi blast'. (appendix ii)

Primarily, the text has displayed solidarity with the assassinated political actors of the victimized party i.e. MQM, it has also made direct allegations on the opposite political parties. Such discursive strategies are pertinent to the conventional political practices that are primarily aimed at specific agenda of constructing positive self-representation and vice versa for others. It can also be derived from the text that previously MQM has raised severe criticism on government policies for mishandling the issue of terrorism and in a number of text instances they have made rigorous allegations on the opposition political parties for creating severe problems for MQM.

May Allah Swt give PTI Chief Imran Khan Quick Recovery & Good Health 'Ameen', MQM Condemns Khan's 'Hate Speech', Vows Protest, MQM. (appendix ii)

These two text practices reflect the manipulative strategies of MQM as in the first text good wishes are made for the political leader of PTI at his injury, while in the second text extract violent protest is made on the hate speech of the same leader. The researcher would interpret these two texts with reference to their contexts, the second text demonstrates the conventional ideological practice of political actors i.e. if any allegations are made on the in-group members than resistance is displayed while in the first text instance the party has portrayed its image as positive and unbiased. To put it in elaboration the first text was tweeted on 7th May 2013 when the political leader of PTI fell down in a political procession resulting in minor injuries, the whole incident was smartly handled by the leaders of MQM who expressed sympathy and compassion for their political opponent Imran Khan. In the second text example, the political leader of PTI Imran Khan put explicit allegations on the principal leadership of MQM with reference to the assassination of PTI's political member Zahra Shahid, in response to such allegations MQM protested at the local and national level and condemned alleged discourse of PTI leadership. By looking at the two text examples the manipulative strategy of MQM can be observed as the party took dramatic stances on different ideological grounds to present their positive identity to the discourse consumers.

The text presented here is about the issue of a controversial bill which was presented in Sindh Assembly about the admission policy of Jinnah Medical University (Sindh Assembly: Jinnah Sindh Medical University Bill Passed, 2013).

Pakistan terms passage of 'Jinnah Medical University Bill' unconstitutional'. (appendix ii)

With reference to the democracy and legislation the text is significant as it highlights the stance of MQM on the issue of an important bill related to educational policy of Sindh Medical University, the interesting aspect of the text is that only MQM disagreed with some minutes of bill but in the above-stated tweet the facts appears quite different. As the text states that 'Pakistan' is against the bill and termed it as undemocratic, contrary to the facts that only MQM demanded Sindh Assembly to defer the bill while many other political actors supported it. Conclusively the text can be taken

as an example of manipulation as the political actors deliberately magnified the issues and manipulated the facts to present their pro-ideologies. The post-election discourse of MQM appears optimistic and positive as the political actors celebrated their victory in the traditional constituencies of Sindh, particularly in Karachi *Pakistan political party observes gratitude day.* The highlighted words specify the celebrations and pleasure of MQM on their victory.

Conclusively the analysis of quoted text represented a number of significant aspects of MQM's political discourse such as the political actors of MQM played the politics of allegations and protest along with a great sense of appreciation for their own members. Apart from the above-statedissues, MQM represented itself as the democratic, loyal and righteous party who highly discourage ethnic, linguistic and religious discrimination. It is also a fact that the party stressed upon the linguistic discrimination (done with Urdu speaking minority) through a number of instances, in other words, the party magnified the issue of linguistic discrimination and created ambiguity and distress among discourse consumers i.e. e-users.

There are many instances of reported speech in the political discourse of PML-N and they are mostly aimed at self- praising, defaming of opponents and allegations on others on multiple political and social grounds. In the following text extract, the political actors of PML-N have projected their identity as the chieftain and conductor of democracy and believers of fair means for the development of the nation and for uplifting life standard of people.

> The PML-N decided to defend democracy and leave no margin for the 'undemocratic forces' in a meeting in Raiwind" "Elections are the only solution to this crisis, people should be allowed to chose their representatives", "Elections in Baluchistan should happen, no matter what". (appendix iii)

In these quoted text practices the stance of PML-N is very obvious and explicit as the political leader has presented a strong urge to sustain the electoral processes in the country despite all evil forces who attempted to stop elections which automatically leads towards demolishing democracy from the country. In the first quoted text the *undemocratic forces*are highlighted to project the intensity of the power behind the discourse as the discourse makers are determined to fight against all those elements who attempt to stop democratic means and processes. The next two text extracts are uttered in

the lieu of terrorist acts in Baluchistan that resulted in massive destruction of Shia sectarian group just very close to elections days in 2013 and in that time period the urge of PML-N to hold elections displayed the identity of the party as a strong supporter of democracy. The political identity of PML-N appeared very optimistic and sensible as they believed that through democratic means all problems of Pakistan can be resolved.

The projection of self-appreciation is continued as the next quoted texts are also related to the past achievements of the subject party.

It was Nawaz Sharif who revolutionized Public Transport in Pakistan; be it Motorway or Daewoo Bus Service", "We built Gawadar Port Karachi Lahore Airports in Our Government". (appendix iii)

According to an international research report, motorways and expressways add value to socio-economic conditions of a country and thus can be considered as an important factor for the development of a country (Komornicki, et al., 2013), with reference to the same context the above stated quoted texts of PML-N can be interpreted as in both textual examples the political actors have proudly mentioned about the construction of roads and airports during their regime in 1998. So the possible implications can be various such as, the political party of PML-N is renowned for its radical steps in trade and business industry and in their power regime they mainly focus on the economy and development and the quoted texts explicitly illustrate the same ideology, it is too significant to note that PML-N overemphasize their past achievements and use them as a strategic technique to win popularity among masses. Moreover, the political actors have presented their identity as competitive choice for the elections as they have made mega constructions projects like motorway and Gwadar port, although PML-N has claimed for construction of Gwadar port according to records, the project was started in 2002 by former President Musharraf (Shahid S. , 2007). The last tweet is too framed on the projection of fair-self and the usage of superlative adjective have magnified rather exaggerated the good governance of PML-N during their regime of 1997-1999.

In our tenure, Pakistan was the fastest progressing nation in the region". (appendix iii)

Although Pakistan had shown good progress in road constructions and trade industry after doing nuclear tests in 1998 the economy gradually declined due to sanctions of USA (MacCartney, 2011), so the claim of PML-N about the fastest progress

of Pakistan in that particular time period is not very valid. It is too evident from the text practices that the political actor have projected an idealistic image of their governance, the political actor has portrayed an optimistic image of their political regime. It is postulated that the text has proven the ideological dichotomy of van Dijkas our good deeds are magnified to meet certain political objectives.

> Because of 5 atomic blasts India changed its behaviour& Indian PM Vajpayee visited Pakistan", "Vajpayee came to Pakistan on Bus He visited Minar e Pakistan & accepted Pakistan s sovereignty". (appendix iii)

The above-quoted texts are linked with the nuclear weapons tests in May 1998 by Pakistan, primarily the agenda of nuclear weapons tests was to create power balance in the region and it was termed essential for the solidarity and sovereignty of Pakistan in South Asia (Hoodbhoy, 2009). Undoubtedly, it can be said that the nuclear tests were one of the bold steps taken by the PML-N government in 1998 to create power balance in the region and to stop Indian aggressions on borders. The second tweet has directly named Indian president Vajpayee to increase the credibility of the text. It is also interesting to postulate that the political actors have taken credit for promoting the relationship between India and Pakistan in 1999 besides praising the bold step of an atomic explosion. These tweets were aimed at the projection of a positive image of PML-N as a democratic and bold political group.

> American President Offered me 5 billion dollars but we did atomic blasts". (appendix iii)

This particular text is presented in the context of loyalties and determination of PML-N leaders who did not compromise on the solidarity of Pakistan and ignored USA pressures to refrain from nuclear tests. According to discourse participants, US government offered them a huge amount of money to restraint from the nuclear test(Singh, 2008) but they refused the offer and performed nuclear tests in 1998. The big statement from PML-N is directly targeted at earning big emotional support from the masses as the doctrine of nuclear tests is made for power balance in the region and particularly to demonstrate the power to traditional opponent country (i.e. India). The text also reflects that to secure Pakistani borders and above all to sustain prestige of Pakistan in sub-continent nuclear test were inevitable. It is also postulated that political actors have narrated text statements to move masses emotionally.

Apart from self-praise and narratives of high achievements from history PML-N has not forgotten to play another smart card, they raised a severe criticism on the concerned authorities for not pursuing the murder case of Benazir Bhutto and termed it as a big injustice.

> What can be a bigger injustice by not taking Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto's killers to task?" (Appendix iii)

There were still no significant moves in the assassination case of Benazir, although a number of stakeholders were suspected such as TTP and other militant groups no solid actions were taken against any of the suspected groups. So, with reference to this factual information, the criticism of PML-N can be rationalized on multiple political and strategic groundsas after her assassination in 2007 her own party came into power. The usage of adjective phrase *biggerinjustice* promotes hatred for the governing political institutions of 2008. Moreover, the text is aimed at raising indirect criticism on Zardari who was in power after the assassination of Benazir but still the government and other concerned authorities did not display solid advancements in her case.

The futurist and prosperous approach of PML-N is basically designed to attract masses and represent a positive identity of the party as being sincere and loyal to the nation with a strong urge to resuscitate ideal Pakistan as imagined by the founder of the nation Mr. Jinnah. It is too interesting to note here that the discourse participants have manipulated language to appeal to the emotions of people and used conventional positive –self-representation strategy to earn fame and public support as seen below.

> Never has and will never would Nawaz Sharif betray you, this is a promise to you all", "We will revive and revamp Quaid's Pakistan". (appendix iii)

Both texts are based upon the promising and futuristic approach of political actors as close to the elections, political actors frequently use promising and optimistic strategies to move an audience. It is also put forward by the analysis that the political actors have presented an idealistic image of themselves, they have promised to stay loyal to the nation. Furthermore, the direct agency has increased the clarity of the message, the political actors have projected a solid ideology by intending to implement ideology of Quaid. In the similar context as narrated above these texts are also aimed at portraying a very optimistic image of the political actors. Here many positive future plans are intended to be implemented in case of winning the electoral mandate.

We have to bring peace & harmony to Baluchistan, KPK, Sind" "In sha Allah we'll eliminate Extortion & Bhatta-Khori from Karachi". (appendix iii)

Apart from controlling law and order situation in all three provinces of Pakistan KPK, Sind, Baluchistan, the fourth one Punjab might be deliberately missed out as it was already governed by PML-N, the political actors vowed to eradicate extortion from Karachi as the city beard a great loss because of terrorism, extortion and ransom in a number of incidents. The first tweet has represented a determination of political actors to sustain peace while the next text has highlighted the spirit of the political actors to eradicate social evils from the region.

The discourse of allegation in the next tweet is directly narrated to defame the functional government of Zardari, the political actors of PML-N have used very harsh remarks and sever allegations on his governance. The traditional political rival is alleged for ignoring the education sectors and depriving youth of good jobs as seen in the following tweets.

Zardari kept Sindhi youth jobless. Sold out the jobs the Sindhi youth deserved", If Zardari would've built Colleges, Universities, Schools in Sind. Sindhi youth would be carrying degrees. "No positive change in the lives of Sindhi's". (appendix iii)

As Sindh is considered to be the strength of PPP-P from the last five decades, primarily the land was overwhelmed with the passion and strong support for Zulfiqar Bhutto preceded and for his daughter Benazir Bhutto who also got assassinated like her father. PPP-P managed to sustain its status quo in Sindh due to the popularity of Bhutto family and in 2008 the party got a remarkable lead and established the government along with allied groups. Unfortunately, the party did not exhibit any noteworthy work particularly for Sindhi's and gradually the popularity of PPP-P declined in central Punjab and Sind also (Rizvi & Gilani, 2013). In the above-quoted text extracts derogatory remarks such as *sold out jobs* are used for Zardari as he is being alleged for ignoring education sector particularly in Sindh and its adverse impact on the lives of Sindhi's is also projected. The political actors of PML-N have addressed the issue of youth with reference to the exploitation of their basic rights by the government of Zardari and these text practices are exclusively produced to defame the governance of PPP-P and to portray their negative image. In the last quoted text political actors of PML-N have generalized

the facts by narrating that the lives of Sindhi's are pathetic as there is no change brought by the functional government of PPP-P during their 5 years tenure.

NAB should inform the nation as to how did Tauqeer Sadiq escaped the country", NAB should tell us what hapened to those US$ 60 Million of Asif Zardari". (appendix iii)

Thefirst quoted texts utterance is linked with the corruption case of RPPs (Rental Power Projects) against two former Prime Ministers Pervez Ashraf and Yousaf Gillani along with Tauqeer Sadiq, ex-chairman of OGRA (Oil and Gas Regulatory Authority). The quoted text basically raises criticism on the inefficiency of NAB (National Accountability Bureau) for not taking solid actions against the massive corruption cases which caused a massive loss of Pakistani economy. After being accused of massive corruption scam, Tauqeer Sadiq fled from Pakistan to Dubai to avoid all types of court trials and as the accused political actor was linked with many leaders of PPP-P so once again in the lieu of political rivalry PML-N frequently discussed this case in media news channels to defame rather damage the reputation of PPP-P. It is too significant to note that the discourse can be taken as twofold as on one hand Tauqeer Sadiq is criticised while on the other hand the efficiency of NAB is also questioned. The alleged discourse in the second tweet directly pointed towards the money laundering case of Zardari, the disparagement of PML-N can be rationalized on certain grounds such as NAB was unable to pursue the case as it was supposed to be done in Swiss court but the government of Zardari didn't allow it resultantly there was no remarkable advancement in the case till 2012. Both quoted text practices can be farmed in the ideological contestation of political actors as *other's bad acts are over-generalized and magnified*.

The doctrine of PML-N on the issue of terrorism is very clear and it represents the solid stance of the political actors about the menace of violence in the country, in the following textual examples, the government agencies are highly objected for not taking actions on the assassination of Shia sectarian group in Quetta. From a linguistic perspective, the discourse participants have used strong linguistic items to present their thesis such as *innocent people, big tragedy and tragic incident*the adjectives are deployed here to intensify the implication of the issue in the broader national and international context.

Killing of innocent people in Quetta is a big tragedy & the entire nation is

mourning over the tragic incident", "We demand the Govt to arrest the culprits and safeguard the interests of the Hazara community in the province". (appendix iii)

Apart from presenting solidarity with the victims of terrorism the government agencies are also urged to punish the culprits of the violence in Quetta, the reflection of PML-N displays multiple implications such as primarily others are dictated and directed to show concern for the victimized group and act accordingly, secondly the text aims at developing positivity for the discourse participants as they are concerned with the peace and hegemony of the region. In the context of political rivalry and the political contestation between PML-N and Musharraf the following discourse extracts are interpreted, the second discourse extract aims at appealing emotionally to the masses.

But I won't forgive Musharraf for the crimes he committed against Pakistan

Musharraf, you didn't allow me to come back to Pakistan to attend the funeral of my father". (appendix iii)

From a historical perspective, it is proved that Musharraf did not allow Nawaz Sharif to attend his father's funeral in 2004 (Sehbai, 2004) as Sharif was deposed in a coup in 1999 and was sent into exile by Musharraf. Apart from the above mentioned case there are a number of allegations against Musharraf such as controversial case of Dr Affia Siddiqi, (Mir H. , 2010; Dr Affia Siddiqui the other voices, 2012), siege of Lal mosque, issue of drone attacks in FATA (Drones: Myths and Reality in Pakistan Asia Report N°247, 2013), illegitimate suspension of assemblies and judiciary system (Siddique, 2006) etc. Precisely narrating both textual examples carry the elements of emotional notes as the discourse seems at seeking sympathies of the masses which afterward can add *something*in the vote bank of discourse participants. With reference to the issue of Musharraf's controversy, PML-N did not forget to target the alliance parties of Musharraf i.e. PPP-P as both parties vowed to stand against PML-N and sabotage their vote bank.

Asif Zardari personally requested that he wanted to indemnify Pervez Musharraf of all the actions he did pre-2008". (appendix iii)

Moreover, the discourse participants have explicitly used derogatory remarks to humiliate both prominent leaders Zardari and Musharraf to present them as undemocratic and disloyal leaders. To proceed on with the analysis the following quoted text practices

primarily represent resentment and displeasure with the traditional rivalry political groups of PML-N rather more appropriately stating the discourse highlights severe critique on two opposition political leaders Imran Khan and Zardari to defame them.

> Economy has been destroyed, Millions have gone unemployed, and Imran Khan accuses us & exonerates Asif Zardari". (appendix iii)

From a critical perspective, the discourse was produced in reaction to the massive allegations such as money laundering, corruption etc. leveled by PTI chairman Imran Khan against Nawaz Sharif. The discourse mainly aims at raising sympathies among masses for PML-N, as according to the discourse participants the alleged party PTI and PPP-P were working in collaboration against PML-N to sabotage the reputation and vote bank of the subject party (PML-N). In short, the political actors have attempted to project a negative image of the opposition political leaders to defame them before the elections.

The derogatory remarks and mockery comments represent the political identity of PML-N as a traditional political group who use manipulative strategies to put down its opponents as the following text narrates.

> cricketers only know how to do a toss, they don't know how to solve problems of Pakistan". (appendix iii)

From a linguistic perspective, the text emphasizes upon the inability of the implied agency i.e. cricketer- turned –politician Imran Khan. The text states that although Khan is a professional cricketer yet he is a failed politician, cricketers are assumed to possess low comprehension of the real problems of a country. Now such approach of PML-N is termed as a conventional political strategy of political actors as in case of others their negative aspects are magnified. Moreover, the allegation of PML-N about the political incapability of Khan is not solid and cannot be proved on logical grounds as there is no such rules/conditions that cricketers cannot become a successful politician.

According to an international research report general elections of 2013 were the first elections in Pakistan in which youth participated at a large scale and prior to the elections all political parties displayed many incentives like jobs and education for youth on priority basis in their party manifesto (Assessing Internal Democracy of Major Political Parties of Pakistan, 2014; Nadeem, Mahmood, & Mahmood, 2014; Rehman & Naqvi, 2013) to win the support of youth. The same strategy is adopted by PML-N who

presented its full support for youth by promising employment and loans for business purposes as displayed in the following text practices.

Whole youth is here, for farmers, degree holders, skilled labor, we will give interest free loans to all" "We'll give Interest-Free Loans to Youth to promote Entrepreneurship in Pakistan". (appendix iii)

It is too important to note here that the political actors of PML-N have exaggerated the facts by narrating ambiguous expressions like *whole youth is here*and *interest-free loans to all* both phrases display the conventional ideology of political actors to magnify their good deeds and their high promises to impress the audience and *others*. It is also evident that by manipulating language the political actors have tried to contest the ideologies of the discourse receivers, by generalized and idealistic ideas the masses are emotionally moved for pre-defined political objectives of the subject party.

In the following extract of political discourse, PPP-P has criticized the militant group Taliban regarding their demand to ban co-education in tribal areas, the phrase *"IF the TALIBAN want"* primarily represents the distress and annoyance of the political actors on the irrational and illegitimate demand of the militants. The text was produced after the statement of PTI's leader in a media talk show about discontinuing co-education in the tribal areas by stating that it is one of the demands of Taliban that there must be separate education system for girls and boys even at primary levels and government should consider this demand (Khan S. , 2013).

issue is not co-ed vs non co-ed - it's the "IF the TALIBAN want" part that's alarming! (appendix iv)

The statement was highly criticized by a different school of thoughts and in response to all such criticism, Arif Alvi attempted to clarify himself on Twitter, PPP-P's leader also replied on Twitter that demands of Taliban should never be considered and advocated rather they must be discouraged. The highlighted words specify the intensity of the subject matter as militants already attempted to damage the education system in KPK, specifically by targeting the girl's schools they created many controversies in Pakistan. According to Ahmad (2012) the militancy of Taliban is aimed at destroying the education of male and female both especially in tribal areas to hinder women empowerment and to deprive women of their basic rights. So in such circumstances, the rationalizations of Taliban's doctrine cannot be done through any mean. From linguistic perspective the

phrase *IF the TALIBAN* want presents the debated thesis about the issue of co-education system in KPK. It is also evident that apart from violation of conventional grammar rules the text aims at defaming PTI indirectly as they gave a statement in support of militants (Taliban). Although the grammatical structure of the text is incoherent still the underlying meanings are significant as put forward through analysis.

> PTI Sec General said the Taliban were also Pakistanis", "We have no enmity with the Taliban, said the PTI Sec General". (appendix iv)

Both of these text practices are produced in the context of a media statement by PTI Secretary General about the status of Taliban in Pakistan. According to Secretary General of PTI Pervez Khattak, (current Chief Minister of KPK) his party has no disputes with the Taliban (TTP, Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan) and the subject party wants to have peace negotiations with the militants by considering them as a part of Pakistan. This particular controversial statement called for a severe criticism on PTI from a different school of thoughts as TTP (Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan) caused a massive destruction to solidarity and sovereignty of Pakistan in multiple terrorist activities (Zaman, 2012). Under such circumstances, the statement of PTI about the same militant group appears absurd and raises a question on the loyalty of PTI with Pakistan. With reference to the above-mentioned thesis, the quoted text extracts depict the identity of PPP-P as a devoted nationalist group that discouraged all types of alliance with the terrorist groups. The following text was produced in the backdrop of Benazir's birthday.

> Our commitment to pay the price for freedom has not been shaken". (appendix iv)

The highlighted text presented the doctrine of PPP-P to fight for freedom with a strong determination of standing with it in any circumstances, the phrase *price for freedom* is linked with the assassination of Benazir who believed in freedom from dictatorship and was a strong observer of democracy. Moreover the term *our commitment* also defines the identity of the party as a strong believer in freedom and democratic group who is not dispirited by the militancy or civil or military proxy, the text reflects the conventional strategies of the politicians who like to narrate the incidents and social events in which they appear positive and display a constructive ideology as seen in the above-quoted text.

> hello absurdity, "DNA tests in rape cases are unacceptable and should only be taken as supplementary evidence". (appendix iv)

The above-quoted text raises severe criticism on the statement of CCI (Council of Islamic Ideology) about the rape cases, in which DNA test should not be considered as the main evidence rather it should be taken as an additional material (Nangiana, 2013). The noun *absurdity* primarily mocks at the stance of CCI, as from the scientific point of view DNA can be the best source for forensic investigation particularly in rape cases it becomes as a most powerful source of evidence to work against the culprits (Semikhodskii, 2007, p. 156). The text provides a rationalization for the stance of PPP-P on the sensitive issue of rape besides defaming the others, so the text can be analyzed from the perspective of magnifying other's bad acts.

Shameful, "AseefaBZ Completely against the caretaker governments decision to abolish the PM's Polio Monitoring Cell". (appendix iv)

The above-stated text can be taken as a critique of government's policy to abolish polio monitoring cell initiated by former president Zardari in 2011, the monitoring cell was aimed at minimizing rather eradicating polio from Pakistan to improve children's health (Maqbool, 2013). From contextual point of view the caretaker government took the nonsensical step of dismantling PMC (Polio Monitoring Cell) in the midst of ghastly attack on polio workers and these attacks were highly condemned by local and international media personnel, the major reason behind abolishing PMC was the government's fear to lose polio funding from international organizations. The purpose of the discourse makers is to defame their opponent political groups to destroy their political image and popularity. The discourse of allegation mainly aims at developing negativity about *others* among masses, the same ideology is adopted and practiced by the political actors of PPP-P, as after losing elections the party refused to accept the mandate of other parties specifically in Punjab as the very text suggests.

PPP-P terms Punjab results ''manipulated''. (appendix iv)

Here the verb *manipulated* is highlighted and it refers to the official result of 2013 elections in which PML-N got a big mandate in Punjab. The post-election discourse of PPP-P represents the distress and anxiety of the discourse participants as here the blame of defeat is shifted on unknown agents just to give cover to the failure of the subject political party as seen above.

The extension...provides 4punishment 4 giving a female in marriage...4 settling a civil dispute/criminal liability". (appendix iv)

The quoted text refers to the law reforms introduced by former president Zardari about women empowerment and women rights, according to law, nobody is allowed to force women to get married in amidst of *Badla-e-Sulh/Wanni/Sawara*specifically in KPK(Abbas & Riaz, 2013). According to Abbas and Riaz (2013), in feudal and tribal areas of Pakistan, women are termed as a vulnerable group and the basic women rights are curtailed by the male members of the society, by force marriages of women were done to settle disputes that violate women rights. With reference to the same issue the former president Zardari approved an extension of *The Criminal Law (Third Amendment)* Act 2011to reduce violation of women rights, especially in tribal areas. By highlighting these reforms the political actors have tried to create and project their positive political identity to the masses apt to the ideological contestation of van Dijkas *our good acts are magnified.*

> It was PPP-P which cleaned the constitution from the amendment of dictators: Bilawal Bhutto Zardari". (appendix iv)

The above-stated text is about the legal reforms and here the political actors have praised the agenda and policies of PPP-P for making a significant contribution to promoting democracy. The 18th amendment in the constitution is termed as a bold step of Zardari's government to transfer power from president to prime minister and this step legitimized the PPP-P's promises to safeguard and promote democracy under any condition, furthermore, the amendment restored the constitution of 1973 by removing all the dictatorial amendments. Overall this particular text aims at creating a positive image of the subject political actors by quoting past achievements, so the text is interpreted in the theoretical framework of the ideological square a*s our good deeds are magnified.*

> Bibi Shaheed said – "There is not only Supreme court, there is always court of people and the court of History". (appendix iv)

The text has created a very profound picture of ex-leader of the subject political group, it states that people are the best judge of the political actors and to know about the political status of a specific political leader the best way is to assess what people think about that particular leader.The above-stated text was produced by the political actors of PPP-P to praise Benazir Bhutto who got assassinated in 2007. The quoted text reflects the unique ideology of PPP-Pas the party believes that SC is not the only authority to provide justice to people rather the court of people is more strong, the text was tweeted in the

amidst of SC verdict against Zulfiqar Bhutto in 1979. The controversial death sentence of Bhutto called for severe criticism on judiciary system and military dictators of Zia regime with reference to the same notion the above-quoted text was uttered as here the co-chairman of PPP-P Bilawal, who is grandson of Zulfiqar Bhutto, is urged to earn support of masses as the verdict of people and verdict of history is portrayed far more significant than the judiciary systems and decisions. The core agenda of the quoted text is to give an impression to the public that their power and support is bigger than any other power in the world, so the text represents the identity of the discourse producers as a democratic group who promotes democracy and public opinion.

The following text was produced in the context of PPP-P's motivation to continue its struggle for democracy and welfare of people as speculated by Benazir, the statement was declared by the speaker of Sindh assembly Nisar Khurro.

PPP-P stalwarts pledge to continue ''mission''. (appendix iv)

The quoted word 'mission' refers to the party's stance to work for *welfare of people* as stated by the speaker Sindh assembly at a lunch ceremony in the honor of newly elected MP's and MN's of PPP-P in the general elections of 2013 (Nizami & Bashir, 2013). Here the political actors vowed to work for the welfare of people in accord to the manifesto of Benazir. Moreover, the rhetoric of the political actors has exhibited the political identity of the subject party as *determined*, *democratic, and loyal*political group. Positive-self representation is evident through the text practice.

I'm not even surprised, 'Benazir murder case: Pervez Musharraf granted bail'. (appendix iv)

In the above-mentionedtext, the discourse participants have passed sarcastic remarks on the decision of the court to release Musharraf in the alleged murder case of Benazir(Ali & Raja, 2013). The phrase*I'm not even surprised* depicts the distress of the persecuted family as the alleged leader was granted bail in multiple cases i.e. proclamation of emergency in 2007, suspension of the judiciary system along with the alleged murder of former prime minister. From the critical perspective as the allegations leveled on the former president were not proved, so the court did not give any solid verdict against him and he was granted bail. The court's decision developed anxiety among the discourse participants i.e. the family of deceased prime minister simultaneously the underlying meanings of the text made loyalty and reliability of the

judiciary in suspicion as implicitly they (judges) are alleged as unfair and unjust. The discourse represents the identity of the political actors as a victimized group and it aims at developing sympathies among discourse recipients for the subject party. It is the traditional approach of the politics that the political actors shift the burden of blames on their opponents to conceal their deficiencies/faults and mistakes, the same strategy is adopted here by PPP-P as Zardari alleged *unknown international forces*for their defeat in the elections.

> International forces not happy with the PPP-P's policies in the region," Preside. (appendix iv)

The text is taken from the press release of the party leader Zardari, who attempted to rationalize the defeat of the party in the general elections of 2013 by putting massive allegations on *'others'* but according to the research report of Cohen (2011) Zardari has a bad reputation of corruption although no massive allegations could be proved against him due to lack of evidence and even that is a common practice for Pakistani politics that corrupt politicians get a safe edge. With reference to the above-quoted thesis, the ideology of PPP-P appears contradictory as the party itself had many allegations on its patrsian and loyalty so their attempt to defame *others* for their failures cannot be rationalized. It is also put forward through analysis that the political actors have tried to improved their political image by justifying their electoral defeat and by linking it to foreign elements. The post-election political discourse of PPP-P represents allegations and distress on the newly elected democratic government of PML-N on multiple grounds.

> NS taking oath from his once prisoner & today's president of Pakistan. Democracy is the best revenge". (appendix iv)

It raises criticism on Nawaz Sharif as he took oath from former president Zardari after winning a heavy mandate in the elections and furthermore by establishing a government in federal and Punjab in coalition with other political parties. The context of the text is the conventional rivalry between PPP-P and PML- N, as both have a deep history of resentment against each other, in 1996 Zardari was implicated in the murder case of Murtaza Bhutto and after suspension of Bhutto government in November 1996 he was arrested on many charges of corruption, money laundering and murder of Murtaza, he was imprisoned in all these alleged cases from 1997 to 2004 (Ziring , 2009). Moreover during the regime of Nawaz Sharif from 1997-1999 there were more alleged cases

against him and he was not released on bail during that time period, contradictory to all these facts Nawaz Sharif took oath from the same person i.e. Zardari (Sehbai , 2013) and this action was termed as a democratic process by both parties. The last phrase of the text i.e. *democracy is the best revenge* projects the bottom line ideology of the political actors as they believed in democracy as a strength and victory of a political system so the text can be framed in the theoretical perception of ideological square, as *our good and their bad acts are magnified.*

The following text contextually narrates about the government's decision to investigate the suicide-cum–murder case of a senior NAB officer, who was working upon a multi-billion corruption case of RPPs allegedly involving many high political authorities such as Pervaiz Ashraf etc.

> Govt forms judicial commission to investigate Kamran Faisal's death". (appendix iv)

The judicial commission formed by the government of Zardari faced severe criticism from the media report channels as the findings of the judiciary were termed biased, unfair and unjust about the murder case of Kamran Faisal as there were marks of torture on the body of deceased officer which reflects that Kamran Faisal was assassinated (Abbasi & Anjum, 2013) and he didn't attempt suicide. The above-quoted case raised many questions on the liability of government as the government was alleged to conceal the facts about the case of Kamran Faisal to save the gallant politicians like Pervez Ashraf etc. (Niaz , 2013). Moreover, the discourse participants have attempted to represent a positive image of the party by narrating the party as impartial and unbiased political group.

> The following text practice was produced after the injury of PTI leader Imran Khan in a public rally on 7th May 2013.

> EjazChaudhary Met with IK in high spirits says 'don't like to be in bed' Feeling much better &msg for us is to vote4Bat. He is hoping'. (appendix v)

The quoted words *don't like to be in bed* reflects the high spirit of the subject political actor as the incident happened at a very crucial time that was just three days prior to the elections when all other political groups were actively doing their political campaigns and in such conditions the injury of Khan appeared as a big loss for his

political party. With reference to the broader political context, the injury of Khan earned big support for him on social media network sites as Khan already had a huge following on Twitter and Facebook so this tragic incident added up more in his support (Boone, 2013). The last part of the text urges the supporters and followers to vote for the ascribed political group to express solidarity and sincerity with Khan, the whole text can be viewed as a conventional political paradigm as the text aims at promoting the political actors and earning democratic support from the masses.

> Didn't find such an honest & brave leader in my 50 yrs of politics' - Javed Hashmi. Salam hai tum ko IK. (appendix v)

In the above-quotedtweet, the political actors have projected their great appreciation for the party leader Imran. The discourse was generated by the former president of PTI Javed Hashmi, who termed their party chairman as an honest and brave leader, the practice of praising in-group members is very much conventional in politics as the political actors always intend to project a very positive image of their own members to impress the audience and discourse receivers.

Within the context of mourning and desperation, the following political discourse was produced.

> We are, and will remain in 'Soag' today because of the heinous crime of killing of Zahra Shahid Hussain May her soul rest in.(appendix v)

The highlighted word soag means mourning and it can be viewed within the context of the assassination of PTI's party leader Zahra Shahid in Karachi. The political leaders of PTI termed the murder of their leader as a serious crime and vowed to continue mourning in her memory (Zahra Shahid), the assassination of Zahra called for a massive support from the masses for PTI, specifically in Karachi, where the incident took place. From a contextual perspective, PTI's leader got killed on a very crucial event just a day before re-poll in Karachi on 18th May 2013 and the murder was termed *political genocide* by the leaders and supporters of PTI. Within the perceptive of protest and mourning, the next political text was also produced.

> Join PTI 'HUM DEKHAIN GAYE-UMEED RALLY' Happening right now at 3 Talwar.SMQ will also join the rally & special message frm IK will be played'. (appendix v)

Here the political actors have vowed and invited the others to join the protest against the alleged rigging in elections of Karachi on 12th May 2013, the followers of PTI are also motivated through aspiring notes like *special message from IK* and presence of *SMQ, Shah Mehmood Qureshi* i.e. vice Charmian of the subject party. Precisely narrating the text performs twofold functions as at one hand it has projected the political identity of PTI as a victimized and marginalized political group while on another hand it presents them as a united political group who is ready to fight against illegitimate forces. Moreover, the text attempts to appeal to the emotions of people to win their support.

Within the context of the political battlefield the following text is interpreted, here the political actors have urged their supporters to play their role for the success of their party.

PTI's 'volunteers of change' must come out on the morning of May 11 and play the roles they have taken upon themselves. (appendix v)

Here the highlighted words *volunteers of change* refers to a number of PTI workers who vowed to work for the party for the sake of political change in Pakistan, a mantra of PTI throughout the elections campaigns that inspired, motivated and activated the followers. From a political perspective, the word *change* is really pragmatic with multiple connotations such as it indicates a transition from conventional political ideology to a modern and unique political system that excludes the 'family and feudal political system, a common trend of Pakistani politics(Teik, Hadiz, & Nakanishi, 2014). In the pre-election and post-election political discourse of PTI, the word *change* holds a significant position as the political actors always negotiated, initiated and projected the notion of change for the solidarity and progress of Pakistan by rejecting the old politicians and introducing the new and young generation in politics as a demonstration of change. According to Jalal (2014), the slogan of change got its momentum in an urban educated lot of big cities in Pakistan as PTI got momentum, within the same connotation the doctrine of PTI is vividly clear as the followers are urged to practically contribute on the Election Day for a solid change.

On May 11 People of Pakistan would get out of the 'Same old-Same old' & go for the 'New-New' message of the Mighty Khan(appendix v)

Pragmatically narrating the text leads towards multiple implications such as the highlighted contrasting word *same old-same old* and *New –New* is metaphorically used to

refer to the traditional politicians and the new politicians in Pakistani political system. Another salient implication of the text is an urge and utmost desire of PTI to remove all conventional politicians from Pakistani political regime and elect the fresh and young politicians, as he alleged the conventional Pakistani politicians as corrupt and disloyal. Besides contrasting the conventional and new politicians, the political actors have projected their in-group member as *Mighty Khan*, to impress the audience and to develop a positive image of the subject leader. Moreover, the text was produced just two days before the elections as it was high time for fast political campaigns for all political groups, so PTI also did the same by appealing to their followers to select the new leaders in the country for a massive and constructive change.

> Pakistani politics must be considered as 'live comedy' amongst students of politics across the globe.I hope a major. (appendix v)

The discourse makers have attempted to mock at Pakistani politics by indirectly criticizing the conventional politicians and their political strategies as these are termed as non-serious and immature. The discourse attributed Pakistani politics as *livecomedy* at international level, moreover, the text primarily intends to incite hatred among discourse receivers for Pakistani politicians by labeling them non-serious and comical. The defaming strategies are conventional in politics as they are designed to win the fame and power in polls by de-constructing the positive image of others rather by creating and representing a low image of others as seen in the above-stated text. In the pre-election political discourse of PTI, the element of negative campaigns is highly prominent.

> Despite free laptops, solar panels or college internships by PML-N the youth are still crazy about Imran''’– (appendix v)

Once again the political actors of PTI have criticized the policies of their opponent groups as they have termed the laptop scheme, solar panel scheme and internship programs of PML-N as useless and complacent. PTI claimed to have the maximum support of youth, according to Markey (2013) Khan managed to get a huge support from the urban youth of Pakistan, simultaneously PTI politically activated youth at a larger scale. According to Eijaz (2013) "Imran Khan has most followers on Twitter in 2013 with 78094 followers (source: Twitter statistics of top Pakistan's politician's accounts from(http://www.socialbakers.com) for the year 2013)" and Khan inspired youth by the slogan of change. With reference to the above-narrated doctrine the claims of PTI

appeared logical i.e. in spite of the many incentives and programs from PML-N, still, Pakistani youth preferred to follow the emerging political group of PTI. Apart from promoting the popularity of Khan, his political group frequently raised objections on others groups by using derogatory remarks and defaming strategies in the backdrop of old political rivalry particularly with PML-N (Awan , 2013). So the text can be exclusively interpreted in the theoretical underpinning of 'Us Vs Them' dichotomy as others are negatively projected.

Imran Khan reaches out to young voters with 'third-way' in Pakistan's general election'. (appendix v)

The tweet is basically a news report about the strategies and political tactics of PTI during their pre-electoral campaigns. In opposition to conventional political set up of Pakistan, the proposal of PTI as a major political power appeared as a 'third option' for Pakistani people in the elections of 2013. Moreover, the text represents the ideological formation of PTI as the political actors of PTI highlighted this particular news to reflect the popularity of their group and to portray their constructive image. Such discourse practices exhibit the identity of this political group as a manipulative yet optimistic political group that is striving for power but through democratic means.

The notion of positive self-representation is continued here as the discourse makers have debated about the success of their electoral campaigns in their pre-electoral discourse.

I continued my 'Feet on Street' 2day.Must have shaken thousands of hands and embraced hundreds of people There is tremendous '. (appendix v)

The text can be viewed in the backdrop of the political campaign of PTI in Karachi and the political actors have projected himself as a *public leader* who got a massive support of the public in his campaigns. The text refers to continuous meetings and rallies of PTI for political activism and it also displayed the devotion and motivation of the subject leader for political activism and political participation particularly in Karachi, where another political group (MQM) had a strong political hold and dominance from more than three decades. In the quoted text the highlighted phrase *Feet on the street* means door to door electoral campaigns planned and exercised to promote the ideology of the subject party besides promoting and inviting the supporters to vote for the political group that is striving for power. Through analysis, it is put forward that the political

actors have created and thus projected a very positive political image of their in-group members.

PTI reflected a smart political approach by discouraging the sectarian violence and sectarian divide in the region after the tragic massacre of Quetta Alamdar road that resulted in the brutal assassination of many Shias from Hazara community.

Shia and Sunni are brothers. It is not a Shia-Sunni fight. It's a handful of terrorists.' Dharna at Governor hous..(appendix v)

The dreadful incident called for a massive protest from all school of thoughts and in the same connotation, the discourse makers have exhibited their sympathies and solidarity with the victimized group along with promoting peace, harmony and sectarian tolerance. Moreover, the text states that the militancy act are linked with the terrorist groups and they have no connection with any religious sect. Such discourse practices were highly needed in Quetta on January 13th, 2013, as one of the extremist group LEJ took the responsibility of the attack by inciting extreme hatred among Shia and Sunni groups and the difference between the two got more accentuated. The issue of sectarian violence in Pakistan got its momentum after the series of brutal militancy attacks against the Shia community particularly in Quetta and Karachi, although the divide between two was already highly significant with a long militancy history (Kumaraswamy & Copland, 2013, p. 134 ; Murphy, 2012, p. 136 ; Cohen, 2011, p. 83). The phrase '*Shia and Sunni are brothers'* displays the identity of discourse makers as peacemaker, congenial and optimistic group who discourages all types of discrimination and religious intolerance. Indirectly the text is aimed at positive self-projection of PTI to win public support in the elections.

4.1.5 Analysis of capitalization

As discourse is taken as a discursive practice and a social event, so to get a comprehensive understanding of the text there are a number of factors which needs to be analysed ranging from linguistic devices to broader socio-political structures and contextual propositions which construct or reconstruct discourse and thus contribute in the meaning-making process. According to van Dijk(1998c, 2002 & 2004) and McDonald (n.d) capitalization primarily suggests something beyond the textual meanings of the text and it leads towards multiple implications such as strong agreement or disagreement on debated subject matters within broader social, cultural and political contexts. The first

tweeted text here represents the sympathies and emotionally detached feelings of political actors of ANP in the backdrop of terrorist acts done against them during their political campaigns.

> HEART GOES OUT THE FAMILIES OF MARTYRS. CONDOLENCES TO ANP' (appendix i).

In this particular discourse practice all grammar categories are highlighted such as nouns, articles, prepositions to emphasize the intensity of the sad incident which caused severe physical, political and moral loss for ANP, the tragic incident mainly aimed at demoralizing the political spirit of ANP to hinder the democratic processes and to stop ANP from its political campaigns. The next text also exhibits the same ideology i.e. the political actors vowed to protest against the terrorists and to observe the black day in the memory of victims of a violent act.

> Sindh chief Shahi Syed announced Youm-e-Soug tomorrow "No Closure of Schools, Businesses, Transport".(appendix i)

The text presented the smart ideological move of ANP as there is no indication of blocking any social domain which might cause a burden to the economy, so the underlying meanings of the text represent a positive ideology of the subject party in the national interest. Moreover, this political text was narrated by ANP on 26th April 2013 after the tragic incident of violence in Karachi, the identity of ANP appeared here as a victimized and marginalized political group.

> PPP-P & ANP WORKERS MUST CAMPAIGN AGGRESIVLY ON TWITTER AND OTHER FORUMS.LETS DEFEAT''.(appendix i)

In this text, the political actors have motivated their workers to continue political campaigns on social media. The subject party was forced to stop its political campaigns due to extreme militancy in the region and ultimately the party officials decided to do political campaigns on social media instead of organizing the political rallies and processions. In this text practice, ANP motivated their allied political party PPP-P to continue political campaigns on social media as PPP-P like ANP became a target of terrorist groups before the elections of 2013. The elements of distress and anxiety remains dominant in the political discourse of ANP as the party kept on bearing the loss during the crucial time period of elections, although all parties were busy in their political campaigns

it was just ANP who was left odd one out and did not get chances to initiate their secure political campaigns through processions and rallies.

SO SAD, GOD PROTECT YOU'.(appendix i)

In the above text, all grammar categories are capitalized to enhance the sensitivity of the debated subject and to earn support and sympathies of the masses by quoting the tragic incidents of violence and militancy. One of the dominant figures of ANP Ghulam Bilour, fortunately, managed to escape a militancy attack in a political rally and the political actors have expressed their gratitude for his safety. Within the context of distress, allegations and apprehension ANP continued lamenting about the injustice done to them due to terrorism and militancy acts, the text primarily raises criticism on *others*for supporting militant groups.

Terrorists exposed their Friends & Foes, now the choice is for the people to have peaceful Pakistan or a hub of terro''.(appendix i)

This particular text practice categorically differentiated between binary oppositions i.e. '*Friends and Foes*' of terrorists and here the term *Friends* refers to all those elements who were backing the tyranny group for illegitimate political agendas and *Foes* means all the persecuted groups who stood against militants and resultantly they suffered a lot. As already mentioned that political actors of ANP frequently expressed their anxiety and their hatred for the militant groups as the political and democratic processes of ANP were deliberately hindered by these tyranny forces. Moreover, the political actors of ANP were politically paralyzed as due to incessant attempts of assaults against the leadership of party the political campaigns were delimited. It can also be observed that the term *Friends* is used to criticize those elements who publically debated rather advocated the thesis of militant groups to rationalize their policies and stances (Bokhari & Senzai, 2013). Such as PTI's leader Imran Khan debated that there are two groups of Taliban and these two groups can be differentiated on the basis of their ideologies later on Imran had to face extreme criticism on the above-mentioned thesis.

PTI claims there are 'Good' Taliban and then there are 'Bad' Taliban. What is unclear is which one of these are at''.(appendix i)

The previously debated controversy is reinforced here as the indirect reference is presented to Imran Khan who claimed about the marked differences between militant

groups and termed them as good and bad Taliban. Furthermore, Imran Khan attempted to rationalize the thesis of militant groups in Pakistan before elections 2013 when Taliban were already assassinating many political leaders of different political parties so in such conditions any justification about militant's thesis appeared highly objectionable and absurd for all political parties. At one hand militant groups' persistently targeted ANP political actors while on the other hand, an urge to support one of the political members of ANP by the same militant group raised a number of questions at broader social and political spectrum. The political text was constructed and represented by Bushar Gohar (MNA of ANP) and it carries multiple implications which are discussed here, primarily the text raises criticism on the militant groups for their biased agenda and contradictory policy as the support for Ghulam Bilour (a renowned figure of ANP) by the militants appeared unjustified and irrational because the same militant group caused serious damages to ANP in 2012 and 2013. Contextually narrating the text critiques the ideology of militant group as the violent group claimed to be harmless for *some people* because of shared religious agendas and common stance.

> TTP hv Said they will not Attack Ghulam Bilour After he Announced the HeadMoney of that filmmaker'.(appendix i)

The political discourse of ANP raised extreme disparagement on the negligence of government institutes for mishandling the sensitive issue of IDP's of Tirah valley, an important tribal area of KPK that suffered a lot due to the insurgency of militant groups and the combat between military forces and violent groups. The underlying meanings of the highlighted text i.e. NATIONAL INTEREST is highly significant as the term is used in a derogatory manner and the tone of the political actors is sarcastic, as mentioned earlier the people of Tirah valley were forced to leave their homelands because of the state operation against militants in 2003.

> Eerie silence on Tirah continues probably in 'NATIONAL INTEREST'. Justice for the people of Tirah''.(appendix i)

Although the government agencies promised to settle down the issues of IDP's but contrary to the facts the issue was seriously mishandled (IDPs in FATA: Issues and Challenges, 2013) which resultantly developed anguish among the victimized groups and quite apt to the conventional political agendas the political group of ANP exploited the facts and used the issue for political reasoning. According to FRC (2013), the clashes

between military and terrorist groups caused an escalation in the IDPs catastrophe as the government's plan for the rehabilitation of IDPs has still not been fully put into practice. So under the above-stated circumstances the political discourse of ANP exclusively aimed at rationalization of their political identity as the supporter of victimized groups (in case of Tirah valley) and as advocates of human rights.

Previously narrated text raised severe criticism on the opponent political group while the next quoted text narrates highly positive image of the *in-group* members according to the conventional dichotomy of *Us vs Them.*

> Nationalists is actually Sons-of-the-Oil vs Sons-of-the-Soil Respects for ANP''.(appendix i)

The biblical references are used here to symbolize the morality and grace of ANP as a righteous party who aims at preaching the fair and loyal diplomacy without putting itself into conspiracies. Moreover, the term*Sons-of-the-Oil* refers to the two authorities, viz. the civil and sacerdotal, through which God communicates his grace to the Church (Bible Hub Zechariah 4:14 , 2004), so the text can be viewed in the context of Us Vs. Them dichotomy as the in-group members is represented as the right people who follow the right ways and ultimately leads towards democracy in terms of political stability and sustainability. In addition, the term *Sons–of-the Oil,* may refer to the ones who struggle for the political power with pre-conceived agendas of hegemony while the *Sons-of-the-Soil* are the ones who do not run after mere political power rather they have refined agendas within the national interest of the masses.

The post-election discourse of ANP displays a strong determination of the political actors to re-organize the strategic plans of the party by focusing much on the youth and by developing a strong organization for multiple political purposes.

> Along with the formation of the "National Youth Wing", ANP has also decided to better organise Pakhtun Students Federation & Nangyalay., The "National Youth Wing" is to be the third forum of the party for engaging the young along with PkSF & Nangyalay Pakhtun (appendix i)

The above stated both texts were tweeted on 22nd May 2013 one week after the general elections, although ANP got defeated even in its own strong areas still the spirit of the discourse participants appears high with a strong urge to motivate youth and to

sustain political struggle. Moreover, the political actors have represented their positive identity as they decided to learn from their mistakes and also determined to perform better in next elections by engaging youth in political activities.

In this particular text extract, a number of grammatical categories are highlighted and these capitalized words primarily underline the determination of the political actors of MQM to persist their [political] activities in spite of all violence done against them.

Terror Attacks Not To Deter PPP-P, MQM And ANP'. (appendix ii)

The text does not state the political determination of MQM only rather it displayed alliance of the subject party with other political parties like PPP-P and ANP. Historically narrating MQM often made an alliance with PPP-P and ANP (Newberg, 2002) after the elections of 1988, so the same strategy is reinforced here as they have equally praised the allied groups for their high spirits against terrorists. It is also a conventional political strategy that the political groups create and thus break alliances according to their own interests. The text practice highlights the positive ideology of the discourse makers as they have demonstrated their political insight by discouraging militant acts and by promoting the positive spirit of allied political groups.

There's No discrimination in the MQM on the basis of language, nationality, and religious beliefs, I am Son Of Sindh, Ready To Sacrifice Life For It, Says Altaf Hussain'. (appendix ii)

These two text extracts appeared quiet contradictory as political actors promoted their identity as an unbiased and fair political group that discourages all types of discrimination such as ethnic, regional, linguistic, religious etc. but in the second text extract, the party leadership has created rather promoted ethnic discrimination by displaying passion and devotion for only one specific area of Pakistan. Taking the text at linguistic level, in the first extract an adjective 'No' is stressed to intensify the noun 'discrimination' within the context of ethnicity while in the next text example all nouns, pronouns, verbs, and prepositions are capitalized to signify rather magnify the passion and devotion of MQM's leadership for a specific area of Pakistan (Sindh). While analyzing the underlying meanings of the text it can be understood that the text represents the biased agenda of the discourse makers as it promotes ethnic discrimination through stating such emotional sentences.

ALTAFHUSSAIN HAS BEEN MAKING PRACTICAL EFFORTS FOR RELIGIOUS AND SECTARIAN HARMONY SINCE DAY FIRST: MQM PAKISTAN'. (appendix ii)

In this statement, all words are highlighted and they display a positive image of the leaders of MQM for their efforts to develop nexus among ethnic groups and reduce all types of discrimination. The text can be interpreted within the context of clusivity as the positivity is explicitly linked with the in-group members and according to the theoretical perspective of van Dijkpositive traits are associated with self-representation to support the pre-defined agenda of seeking agreement on certain policies or to disseminate on critical subject matters. In another text extract, the discourse participants have used political flag word like *peace* to represent their ideological stance, the text primarily presents twofold ideas at one hand the political actors consider themselves as peaceful and serene while on the other hand there is an indirect message to the violent groups i.e. MQM is not a weak political group and can demonstrate its political power.

OUR PEACEFULNESS SHOULD NOT BE CONSIDERED AS OUR WEAKNESS'. (appendix ii)

The text was produced after the assassination of an MPA of MQM Manzar Imam, who was targeted by the terrorist prior to the general elections of 2013, now the discourse of MQM appears very tactful here as they explicitly did not address any political group or political members but implicitly they have conveyed their message to the 'assumed opponents' i.e. MQM also possess power but they don't exert it as they want to represent themselves as benevolent, confiding and peaceful party. To proceed on with the analysis the next political text appears here very interesting and tactful as the political actors have attempted to play their cards on the hot issue of terrorism which caused severe physical, social and political damage to many political groups in Pakistan.

Liberal Parties Are On Target Of Terrorists: AltafHussain, Progressive Parties Have No Freedom To Run Poll Campaign: AltafHussian'. (appendix ii)

Both text examples are aimed at earning political support from masses by narrating tragic incidents of terrorism against MQM, specifically before the elections as the text was tweeted on 3rd May 2013 and elections were held on 11th May 2013, so in this critical time period the political actors intended to raise their vote banks through all possible mean. Moreover, the interplay between political moves and strategies are

significant as in both tweets plural noun parties is used which means that it is not just MQM who is being targeted by the violent groups rather there are many other victims of terrorism, although the explicit references about the other parties are not given here still the agenda of MQM is successfully manifested. Within the context of politics, such discourse practices are mainly designed not only to incite emotions of public but also to seek agreement on controversial issues and complex debates.

> MQM, ORANGI TOWN, QASBAH COLONY, A MOHAJIR NEIGHBOURHOOD IN KARACHI, TALIBAN TERRORIST, STRIKE ANOTHER MQM OFFICE, ENLIGHTENED AND SECULAR FORCES HAVE TO JOINTLY STRUGGLE TO SAVE Pakistan – ALTAF HUSSAIN, DEMONSTRATION AGAINST TERRORISM IN KARACHI, KPK AND BALUCHISTAN(appendix ii)

These text extracts are associated with the major acts of violence against MQM on 27th April 2013 when highly populated areas of Karachi got victimized by the brutal groups and caused a huge damage to MQM. In the above stated tweets, the discourse participants have highlighted all words to emphasize the significance of the tragic incident, simultaneously the texts are aimed at stimulating the political agenda of the political actors i.e. to promote the linguistic ethnicity of MQM by stating the word *MOHAJIR NEIGHBOURHOOD* and representing their identity as *victimized group*. Another salient feature of this political discourse is the biased agenda of MQM as the political actors have mentioned the name of *KARACHI, KPK ANDBALUCHISTAN* with reference to protest against terrorism in Karachi but the fourth major province i.e. Punjab is missed out now this omission might be taken as premeditated because MQM frequently alleged involvement of Punjab's political parties in terrorism against MQM. The text has manifested the clusivity elements also. In the above-quotedtext, MQM has called for *SECULAR AND ENLIGHTENED* forces to manifest solidarity rather alliance with the (implied) agendas of MQM, the ambiguity of the text lies in the implicit debate about these forces as the direct reference to any of them is omitted.

The following analysis discusses the critical stance of MQM about a highly controversial issue of Pakistani politics i.e. the trial of Musharraf in different cases of treason, corruption, assassination etc. Contextually analysing Musharraf was disqualified from elections in 2013 and later on he was arrested for suspending the constitution twice,

detaining the judiciary system, assassinating Benazir Bhutto and an ethnic political leader of Baluchistan, Akbar Bugatti, now under these critical circumstances the take of MQM is highly complex as they implored for Musharraf with reference to his trial and treason cases. The support of MQM for Musharraf appeared very controversial because by keeping in mind the allegations on Musharraf, it was not a smart political move of MQM to show solidarity or alliance with him, especially prior to the elections.

> Musharraf Be Given Right To Defend Himself: AltafHussain, MQM Wants Musharraf Given Chance To Defend Himself AltafHussain'. (appendix ii)

The hidden agenda of the political actors can be the alliance of MQM with Musharraf, although in their media discourse MQM denied any alliance with Musharraf but their support for him than appears quite contradictory and questionable. The political manoeuvring in the region particularly in Karachi, strengthen the political alliance and political detachment policies in different time periods such as in the past MQM had demonstrated a clear alliance with Musharraf by supporting his referendum in 2002 and coalition with different political groups in 2002 and 2007 (Shahzad, 2011) so the same practice might be sustained in 2013 as a political strategy to safeguard various implied political interests.

> Historical 26th MQM Labour Division Covnention WATCH LIVE ON MQM WEB TV, 26TH LABOUR DIVISION CONVENTION HAS STARTED PLEASE WATCH LIVE ON MQM WEB TV'. (appendix ii)

These text examples are linked with the MQM's celebration of Labour Day on 28th February 2013. The political actors have highlighted all grammar categories related to the Labour Division wing of MQM i.e. an organization developed by MQM to protect the rights of labors all over Pakistan. The ideology of the party is to display support for the basic rights of labors and discourage all kinds of exploitation done against them, in all text extracts the supporters of MQM are encouraged to participate in the party event to show solidarity with the policies of the party. Contextually, the text basically emphasized upon the positive policy of MQM to take care of the working class as the party always claimed that they are 'for middle-class' (Mitra, Enskat, & Spiess, 2004; Bates, 2004) and their agenda is to support poor people   not to exercise their power through illegitimate means and illicit strategies. The same phenomenon is reinforced in the above mentioned political text.

Within the context of terrorism and hostility the political discourse of MQM stressed upon their compromising attitude to develop peace and solidarity in Pakistan, in this particular text practice the political actors amid to end their strike in the lieu of sectarian violence in Karachi which caused a huge disaster in the region (Ali R. , 2013). The discourse of distress, anxiety, allegations and displeasure continued as the political actors sustained their attempts to represent themselves as victimized and marginalized groups to increase their vote bank by narrating the tragic incidents of violence, aggression, assassinations, inequity, and discrimination. In the same continuum, the next discourse can be seen.

MQM PROTEST AGAINST DELIMINATION of Karachi'. (appendix ii)

Here the elements of distress can figure out as the discourse makers have expressed their discontentment at the delimitation of 11 national and provincial assembly constituencies in Karachi (Ashfaque, 2013), furthermore, the party vowed to challenge the decision in court. In this particular text, the discourse makers have highlighted all grammar categories in the sentence and they are all linked with the policies and strategies of the political actors that is to deprecate the *opposite power group* by opposing their actions and decisions. As in this text, the ideology of the political actors is to represent themselves as the *oppressed group*, the discourse implicitly aims at portraying the negative image of the *implied group* who forced them to react and protest about certain political issues, such strategies are common among the political actors as find in many studies.

VOTE FOR RIGHT VOTE FOR KITE Pakistan, It's Now or Never, Make your Vote Count, WAKE UP PAKISTAN TIME TO VOTE'. (appendix ii)

All these political texts were tweeted on 10th and 11th May' 2013 i.e. a very crucial time period as Pakistan had its 12th general elections on the same date so the discourse practices produced on these dates appeared more direct, precise and highly biased as the text states that 'VOTE FOR KITE' means support MQM. According to Iqbal (2015), political actors manipulate language to accomplish various political functions, moreover, language is an indispensable part of the political communication which enables political actors to obtain their agendas. The same phenomenon can be observed in the above-stated texts as in all three instances the strategies of the discourse participants is to persuade people to win their support which was highly required in the

elections. The ideological manipulations are created, sustained and articulated through discursive discourse structures and language appears central to it by keeping in mind the same phenomenon MQM's political discourse can be interpreted as biased and manipulative. In addition, the capitalized idiom *Now or Never* displays the futuristic approach of MQM along with the unequivocal element of persuasion which mainly aims at increasing the vote bank. According to Walgrave and Aelst (2006) the campaigns which political actors do before the election day is fundamentally different from the routine time period as the discourse construction (close to election days) contains more elements of celebration, optimism, positive and vivid self-presentation, persuasion and strategical manipulation mostly aimed at defaming the others by raising extreme criticism on other's agendas and policies.

> I ask Allah swt to protect Pakistan & rid off evil Extrimism& Terrorisms from Pakistan 'Ameen' Altaf Hussain, MQM Expresses His Sadness over PTI Chief Imran Khan's Injury, Progressive Parties Have No Freedom To Run Poll Campaign'. (appendix ii)

These discourse practices were constructed on 6th and 7th May'2013 i.e. one week prior to the 12th general elections. By making their critical analysis many implications needs to be discussed here, primarily the texts manifested the political identity of the party as philanthropist, patron, cooperative and marginalized as the sympathies are shown for the opposite groups members, secondly the political identity of MQM is manifested as marginalized group with reference to the terrorist acts done against them to impede their political campaigns. Apart from the above-mentionedthesis, the political actors have vowed to bring prosperity in the country by eradicating social evils like terrorism. Conclusively, the bold words in the text have implicitly exhibited positive and optimistic attributes about the in-group members of MQM i.e. quiet apt to the conventional strategies of ideological contestation. The last extracts of MQM's political discourse highlighted the political stances of the party i.e. the party is represented as philanthropist, patron and the democratic group as the linguistic choices specified such as *Serving Humanity and Empowering People*.

> MQM Believes In Politics Of 'Serving Humanity', AltafHussain, MQM2013 Election Manifesto 'Empowering People' (appendix ii).

The manipulated language has reinforced the conventional strategy of the political discourse with reference to the party's objectives and construction of political identity. Moreover, the discourse makers have projected themselves as a pure democratic group that believes to empower people and to serves humanity. Precisely narrating politicians often make big promises with the masses to solve big issues and to provide them their basic needs just to win the votes and the same phenomenon is exercised here by the political actors of MQM.

In the first example of capitalization the text was constructed just three weeks prior to the general elections of 2013 and before the democratic process all political groups tried to launch fast campaigns through electronic and social media for political activism and political mobilizations, simultaneously many political groups kept on doing negative campaigns against the opponent groups. With reference to the same thesis, the political actors of PML-N urged the concerned authority ECP to devise proper measures so that the media sources can be used in constructive ways rather than in character assassination and defaming of others.

ECP should devise a mechanism, so that Electronic &Social mediabe used to counter attacks on gatherings". (appendix iii)

The approach of political actors appears suggestive and constructive here. Pakistan has been facing the severe menace of terrorism since last two decades which caused major destruction in many areas specifically in FATA, Karachi, and Baluchistan, due to the same reason many of the Pakistani political parties manifested solidarity with the affected people. The same approach is exhibited in the following text practice.

Nawaz Sharif strongly condemns Alamdar Road and Airport road Bomb Blasts in Quetta'. (appendix iii)

In the above-quoted tweet the hidden agenda behind the capitalization of grammar categories is to show sympathies and solidarity with the victims of a violent act, secondly, the discourse is aimed at winning support from the masses by showing the positive ideology of the party. Moreover, the highlighted words exhibit the ideological stance of the political actors as the words are capitalized to stress upon their significance. As mentioned earlier that prior to elections political actors tried to discuss and highlight such issues that can move masses and project the sincerity and loyalty of the subject groups. A similar phenomenon is observed in the above-narrated text as the political actors have

given an impression to their audiences that they are really concerned with the problems of Pakistani people. Additionally, the text also reflects the solidarity of PML-N with the victimized political group.

We have to prove that we're a Law-Abiding Nation". (appendix iii)

The phrase 'Law-Abiding Nation' is capitalized to exhibit a constructive identity to the audience and to present an affirmative ideology. It is a common strategy of political actors that they always want to portray a positive image of their in-group members and by deploying manipulative strategy they win public support rather through rationalization of their ideology they persuade audience for multiple political agendas as in this particular case PML-N constructed its identity as a righteous and conscientious group. Now it is too interesting to note here that the discourse is uttered on behalf of *us* i.e. a generalized way of approaching or addressing masses and the implied agency can be *the others* to whom this righteous identity is aimed to be projected.

The discourse of contentment and satisfaction reflects the confidence of the political party and its high spirits prior to the general elections of 2013 in this particular discourse extract the political actors have highlighted Arabic word *Alhamdulillah* which literally means all praise to Allah and mostly spoken by Muslims and Jews (Lightfoot, 2010) after attainment or accomplishment of a high task. Conclusively, the discourse participants have displayed their satisfaction on the selection of a competitive team for the mega event of general elections 2013, the highlighted words represent the significance of the elections as they are important for the transition of political power among political actors and thus considered as highly important for democracy of a country.

After proper scrutiny, Alhamdulillah PML-N has a worthy team for the upcoming General Elections". (appendix iii)

According toKuhne (2010) elections are not merely tools for democratic participation rather they are a fierce contest for the position of leadership, power and also for access to resources. With reference to the same context, the political actors of PML-N have stressed upon the words *General Elections* that mainly depicts the aspiration of the political actors towards the attainment of political power through democratic means. Since the political actors have attempted to construct their identity as a righteous party so they reinforced the ideology of democracy, fairness, deference and obeisance and this identity are manifested through smart linguistic choices such as in the following text the

discourse makers have highlighted the significance of law implementation without any discrimination.

> It's time we choose one. Either Rule of Law or Preferential Law for Elite. Law should be same for all'. (appendix iii)

The discourse can be linked with the court orders about the arrest of Musharraf in multiple alleged cases such as detention of judges, suspension of the democratic system and the siege of Lal mosque, in the context of a long conspiracy between PML-N and Musharraf (Siddique, 2006). The doctrine of PML-N about strict compliance with law and orders implicitly represents the grudges and resentment of PML-N against the alleged political figure i.e. Musharraf. According to media reports, the bail of Musharraf was suspended on 19th April 2013 in the alleged case of judges detention but still he managed to flee from court (Boone, 2013) and the aggression and anxiety expressed by PML-N can be associated with the same act i.e. the political actors wanted to have strict compliance of court orders for all and elites should not be dealt as an exception. The highlighted phrase *Either Rule of Law or Preferential Law for Elite*demonstrate the identity of PML-N as a law-abiding group and before the commencement of general election 2013 such ideological stance create a good image of a political group to the audience/masses.

> It is important that Baluchistan has a vibrant & active Administration, Police & Law Enforcement Agencies". (appendix iii)

The highlighted words in the text are *Administration, Police, Law Enforcement* and *Agencies,* all these linguistic elements are explicitly linked with the menace of terrorism in Baluchistan that caused a massive destruction in the province and the text represents the identity of the political actors as concerned and sincere political group who cares about the peace and protection of the Pakistani people. Apart from raising criticism on the opponent groups the discourse of PML-N is full of promises and aspirations for a bright and prosperous future, the political actors vowed to employ everyone without discrimination.

> We will give jobs to Every One We will give Loans to People". (appendix iii)

According to Iqbal (2015) Pakistani politicians vowed big promises before the general elections 2013 to increase their vote bank and to impress audience for the sake of winning support which ultimately lead towards power, in the similar way the discourse of

PML-N can be viewed as the basic aim of the political actors here is to appeal to the emotions of people by giving them high incentives and great opportunities. The highlighted words in the text referred to the equity and impartial approach of the subject party as the text promotes equality and fairness in terms of opportunities for people. Overtly, the text describes positivity for the masses but implicitly the text promotes the positive reputation and constructive identity of the discourse participants with reference to Us Vs Them dichotomy.

According to Mufti (2014, p. 137) Nawaz Sharif appeals to his audience by quoting his past achievements rather it is right to say that the most common strategy of PML-N is the reinforcement of the glorious triumphs of their regime. They frequently boast about the construction of infrastructures, industrial reforms, defense strategies, economy revival etc and by quoting the above-stated themes the political actors expect to get the support of people again to establish their government. The next quoted text narrates the above-stated thesis.

We brought respect to Green Passport in Our government All Over The World". (appendix iii)

Now here the political actors have employed generalization as the text claims that during the regime of PML-N Pakistan got high esteem all over the world, the text can be interpreted in multiple contexts such as in 1998 Pakistan performed nuclear tests following India (Chakma, 2013) which resulted in many sanctions from USA and ultimately the economy of Pakistan also got down (Bragg, et al., 1999). Simultaneously, the nuclear test helped to sustain power balance in the region and from the perspective of devoted nationalist, the nuclear tests brought honor and pride to Pakistan as the majority of the Pakistani's celebrated the event. In the above quoted text the highlighted adjective phrase 'Green Passport' refers to the national identity of Pakistan and the text can be viewed as a self-praising practice as the aim is to highlight the *association between regime of PML-N and respect of Pakistani identity* so the discourse can be better analysed from theoretical perspective of ideological square as *our goods* are magnified and maximized.

Both of the following political text extracts presents the identity of PML-N as optimistic and prosperous group as the discourse participants have explicitly demonstrated high level of confidence by believing in their victory in the general

elections of 2013, in the first tweet the adjective ONLY is capitalized to rule out all others form being victorious.

> PML-N will be the ONLY name on 11th May election day from Khanewal", The Love, The Respect, The Honor, The Passion, The Junoon All For PML-N. (appendix iii)

The former tweet also exhibits the positive and optimistic approach of the discourse participants as the highlighted grammar categories have a positive connotation and depict the positive ideology of PML-N. Both texts can be interpreted from clusivity perspective as the positive attribution is explicitly made for the in-group members and others are exclusively ruled out. Within the prospect of self-praise and appreciation the following discourse extracts can be fit in as in all three examples the discourse participants focused on the construction and representation of positive self-image from multiple perspectives such as with reference to their doctrine with USA on the issue of nuclear testing (New Scientist, 2004) and their support for flood victims in 2010 and 2012 and their solid stance against corruption.

> Alhamdulillah, not even a paisa of Corruption has been proved on me, if it does, hold me accountable", "In time of Flood Shehbaz Sharif was Working Day & Night in Layyah for Flood Victims" "I told the US President that the Pakistani Nation is A Self-Respected & a Resilient Nation". (appendix iii)

In the first discourse extract the noun 'Corruption' is highlighted to disapprove the allegations leveled by NAB against the discourse participants while in the second tweeted text the whole text is capitalized to maximize the efficiency and services of the discourse participants for the flood victims of Layyah in 2010 (Kharal, 2013). The last extract of the political discourse aims at appealing to the emotions of Pakistani audience by labeling them as *Self-Respected* and *Resilient Nation* in the backdrop of nuclear testing in 1998. The text explicitly praises Pakistani nation but implicitly the text projected the smart ideology of PML-N as the political actors aspired to be praised by the people by narrating their past achievement.

Apart from praising themselves another significant feature of PML-N's political discourse is the frequent instances of defaming their opponent groups by passing derogatory and humiliating remarks in both direct and implicit ways. In the first instance two major political opponent groups of PML-N i.e. PPP-P and PTI are implicitly

criticized i.e. PPP- PTI in the backdrop of alliance between these two groups against PML-N, so the humiliating remarks like *Champion of Change* and *Champion of Corruption* are passed on Imran Khan and Zardari respectively to defame both of them.

This so-called Champion of Change has joined hands w/the Champions of Corruption to hit PML-N's vote bank". (appendix iii)

The derogatory remarks are aimed at rationalization of PML-N's grudges and rivalry against both opponent groups to win sympathies from the masses and to save their vote banks for elections 2013. One of the common strategies of politicians is to pass derogatory and humiliating remarks on opposition political parties (Barcelona, Benczes, & Ru, 2011, p. 147) and the same strategy is practiced by PML-N here. Khan is tagged as *Champion of Change* and Zardari as *Champion of Corruption*, both tags are aimed at disgracing the nominated political leaders implicitly as their names are not exclusively mentioned. The following text can also be linked with the previously debated text and the agenda here is the same that is to humiliate the policies of the opposite political groups.

A person who abrogates the Constitution not once but twice & PPP-P gives that person a Guard-of-Honour". (appendix iii)

Primarily the text has raised serious objections on Zardari for supporting Musharraf in the alleged cases of judges' dissident and suspension of constitution, treason etc. (Siddique, 2006; Oldenburg, 2010) etc. It also raises severe criticism on undemocratic former President Musharraf who suspended Pakistan's constitution in 1999 and by illegitimate means governed Pakistan for 9 years. It was the regime of PML-N which was suspended by the military dictator and in these critical contexts, the alliance of PPP-P with the alleged political figure developed anxiety among political actors of PML-N. Moreover the discourse participants have metaphorically mocked upon the alliance of two groups as the phrase *Guard of Honour* indicates the support of PPP-P for Musharraf as *Guard-of Honour* is the prestigious military act that is presented to the highly esteemed political figures in order to tribute their services and amenities, so it cannot be presented to any alleged person regardless of his ex-record or designation.

The post-election discourse of PML-N has exhibited their strong urge to solve the energy crisis in Pakistan by proposing feasible plans for the relief of common man.

Efficiency, Transparency & Provision of Maximum Relief to the Common Man would be the hallmark of the Energy Policy, The New Energy Policy will focus on correcting the Demand & Supply Balance & as well as the Cost of Production' (appendix iii).

The capitalized words in both texts are linked with the energy policy and it is vowed by the discourse participants that the plan would be designed and executed to give relief to common man with reference to the cost, production and consumption of electricity as prior to the elections the subject party frequently promised with the nation to resolve the energy crisis after gaining power in the elections so the above-stated texts can be considered as a positive move of the PML-N to fulfil their promises with the nation. Moreover, the text has projected positive-self presentation of PML-N as they have exhibited sincere concerns to solve issues of Pakistani people on practical grounds. Although the text presents the old promises which were made before elections but still their reinforcements after winning the electoral mandate creates a positive political identity of the subject group.

There was worst 'Rigging' in the history of Pakistan'. (appendix iv)

In the above quoted political text, the discourse participants of PPP-P have expressed their distress and discontent with the election results, the highlighted word *Rigging* refers to the manipulation of the result. The political actors have deliberately attempted to defame the winners by leveling allegations on the liability of the elections, the text states that such unfair electoral processes were never held in the history of Pakistani politics. Moreover, the text can be framed in the theoretical perspective of van Dijk, T.A (1989, 1993, 1995 & 1998c) as the others are defamed to portray their bad images.

PPP-P ye TEER benazir hai (This arrow is Benazir)', 'jiya Bhutto, jiya Bhutoo, Zinda ha Bhutoo zinda ha, zinda ha BIBI....(Bhutoo is alive and Bibi is alive). (appendix iv)

In the pre-election political discourse of PPP-P, the political actors have attempted to appeal to the emotions of Pakistani people by narrating the tragic assassination of Benazir. In the above-quoted text, the word *TEER* i.e. arrow is metaphorically used for Benazir Bhutto so that the discourse receivers can be provoked to vote for the subject party. According to Wolpert (1993), when Zulfi Bhutto started his political campaign in

Sindh the land was overwhelmed with the slogan of *Jiya Bhutto i.e. Live Bhutto* and the people of Sindh were highly devoted and motivated to vote for their desired leader. Even after the assassination of Bhutto in 1979, Pakistani people showered their great support for him and for Benazir Bhutto. Moreover, the slogan i.e. *zinda ha Bhutto zinda ha means Bhutto is alive* (Wolpert, 1993) got more popularity in the country. In the same connotation PPP-P used this slogan for winning sympathies of the people after the assault of Benazir Bhutto according to Zulfiqar (2011) PPP-P leads the elections of 2008 in the backdrop of sympathetic votes (which the party received after the assassination of Benazir). Contrary to 2008 elections the poor performance of PPP-P caused a big damage to Zardari and the party got badly defeated in 2013 elections even the slogan *ZINDA HA BHUTTO ZINDA HA (Bhutto is alive Bhutto is alive)* did not work well. Zardari regime was not a success for democracy as the governance of PPP-P was unable to stabilize the economy and the corruption was on its peak and the worst element was the involvement of cabinet ministers in the massive corruption cases. So under such circumstances, the rhetoric of PPP-P did not move the masses and the slogan *ZINDA HA BHUTTO ZINDA HA* remained ineffective in elections of 2013.

In the following text, the political actors have passed derogatory remarks to defame *others* and to highlight the positivity of their in-group members with reference to the murder of former Governor Salman Taseer due to his controversial blasphemy views.

Let them bark, facts won't change – ur father IS a hero + will always be!'
(appendix iv)

Here the text reflects the smart political strategy of PPP-P as the party has presented the deceased politician as a hero although different school of thoughts highly criticized the deceased leader for calling *blasphemy law as a black law*and the murderer (Mumtaz Qadri) of the governor was labeled as a hero by multiple religious groups and lawyers who showered him with rose petals as he appeared in front of the court (Mohanty, 2013, p. 192). With reference to the assault of the deceased governor the political discourse of PPP-P refelts extreme distress and anguish for those who termed the murder of former governor justified and appropriate, the phrase *Let them bark* exhibits the political ideology of PPP-P as the political actors attempted to defend their in-group members by calling them hero and slandered the opposites by using depreciative

linguistic elements. In other words, *others* are degraded and their image is negatively portrayed.

With reference to the allegations and distress, the following extract of political discourse represents the same ideology as here the political actors have attempted to raise sympathies among the masses for the subject party by portraying the in-group members marginalized and victimized.

> Killed OUR leader-MY mother, OUR ppl, minority minister, governor, took OUR gov's son, took OUR PM's son. Pak IS bleeding'. (appendix iv)

The highlighted pronoun "OUR" primarily displays the strong association of the political actors with their own group members as the personal pronoun is specifically used to represent the strong ideology of the party within the context of being a victimized and marginalized group. On one hand, the plight of Zulfiqar Bhutto is described while on the other hand assassination of many political leaders of PPP-P have been discussed to raise sympathies among masses. The chronology of the tragic incidents are presented to portray the identity of PPP-P as a marginalized and victimized group just to earn the sympathy and support of the masses which furthermore may lead the party towards victory in general elections of 2013 as happened in 2008 (Zulfiqar, 2011). Interestingly the discourse makers have not mentioned the agency responsible for all the tragic incidents rather no criminals are explicitly nominated but *OUR people* are depicted as oppressed, powerless and subjugated group akin to the theoretical perspective of the ideological square as our tragedies are magnified to get sympathies of others.

> Issue is not co-ed vs non co-ed - it's the "IF the TALIBAN want" part that's alarming! , Co-ed controversy perfectly acceptable to give in to the TALIBAN'S demand for the abolition of'. (appendix iv)

The above quoted both texts were produced in the context of militant attempts to stop girl's education in the tribal areas of Pakistan as the militants wanted girls to remain illiterate by destroying their schools (Berntsen, 2008, p.106). Contextually narrating the text depicts the identity of PPP-P as a supportive group of women empowerment by opposing all the elements who caused any threats to women rights and their education, the highlighted phrase *IF the TALIBAN want* refers to the press conference of a senior PTI leader Pervez Khattak who defended the demands of Taliban to ban co-education in KPK. In both text practices TALIBAN is stressed upon to represent the intensity of the

militancy issues in KPK, the rhetoric of PPP-P clearly demonstrated the ideology of the party as a righteous and unbiased political group and as a great supporter of women rights.

In the post-election political discourse of PPP-P, the political actors have vowed to continue their struggles to overcome their previous mistakes and to revise the policies of the party so that the political group can win the next elections.

> PPP-P not going anywhere. We NEED this time to re-structure. Party never got a chance after SMBB. Look forward'. (appendix iv)

In this particular text, the highlighted word NEED reflects the determination of the political actors to restructure the policies of the party after the assassination of the party's main leadership. According to Blank, Clary, & Nichiporuk (2014), PPP-P drew just 15.2 % support at the national level by losing more than half of its support after the completion of its democratic tenure in 2013. According to the thesis of PPP-P, the party lost 2013 elections due to the assassination of party's leader Benazir Bhutto contrary to the fact that in 2008 PPP-P won elections because of sympathy vote. Moreover, people were moved because of the assassination of Benazir and they ultimately supported the party of a deceased leader in 2008. With reference to the linguistic perspective, the language of the discourse participants reflects an optimistic approach as the determination is shown to review and reconstruct the party's strategies.

In the following text, the political actors have highlighted their positive political acts rather their democratic success i.e. first time in the political history of Pakistan a democratic government completed its five years tenure and former president Zardari made a record by addressing 6th joint sessions of parliament.

> President Asif Ali Zardari Will Be The 1st President To Address A Joint Session of Parliament For 6th Time'. (appendix iv)

In this particular political text, all linguistic categories like nouns and prepositions are highlighted to stress upon the significance of the event for Pakistani politics history (Fairn & Watson, 2015, p. 141). So the text can be linked to the US vs Them dichotomy of van Dijk as the identity of the in-group members is represented as very constructive, democratic and positive political group. The overall discussed topics of PPP-P's political

discourse are a mantra of democracy, the transition of democratic power, the tragic death of Benazir and allegations of others for all failures in elections.

An analysis of capitalization is presented here to see how political actors have represented their political identity.

Only PTI has the Political Will to Implement a Counter-Terrorism Strategy. Determined to Bring Peace Progress Prosperity''. (appendix v)

The above-quoted tweet narrates about the political policy of the subject party it also displays a strong determination of the political actors to devise and implement a strategic plan to fight against militancy in Pakistan and to promote peace in the region. Moreover, the textual practice reflects the political identity of the political actors as a fair and democratic group that is determined to boost peace in the country. Additionally, the text has projected clusivity elements too as here all other political groups are ruled out from the list of democratic and determined political entities and only PTI is termed as a smart democratic group who can propose a solid counter-terrorism strategy in Pakistan.

The PTISMCOC is the first step towards control of Social media median on a general scale'', PTI as always are trend setters. (appendix v)

In the above quoted political extract, the bold word '*PTISMCOC* refers to *Pakistan Tehreek-e- Insaf Social media Code of Conduct*. The text basically aims at promoting the ethical aspect of party's policy as the political actors have proposed the policy of behaving on social media network sites within certain ethical norms and limitation and they have termed their policy as pioneer attempt in the same context. According to officials of PTI, the party proposed its SMCOC to refrain its followers from using any foul language for the opponent groups and media personnel, the policy of social media code of conduct is supposed to be followed by all e-users. Such text practices are aimed at portraying a very positive image of the party and its members apt to the strategic notes of *positive self-representation*.

Putting PTI aside. ImranKhanPTI Belongs to WHOLE Pakistan. I Salute you Son of Soil!. You Give us REASON to be''. (appendix v)

In the above-quotedtext, the discourse makers have highlighted the adjective *WHOLE* and attributed it to the party leader Imran Khan. The text primarily reflects the stance of PTI about the popularity of their leader Khan as the discourse makers claimed

that the *WHOLE* country exclusively owns the leader, moreover the text is pragmatically significant as Khan cricketer-turned-politician already enjoyed great fame as being an international cricket star (Nugent & Shore, 1997, p. 48). The phrase *Son of* Soil, refers to the loyalty of Khan with his land, in other words, it represents the in-group members as a fair, patriotic and devoted group. The whole text can be viewed as a perfect example of self-praise and self-appreciation in a broader social, political and societal context, in addition, the elements of clusivity can also be viewed in the text as the text is inclusive of positive attributes for the party leader. With reference to the previously debated thesis the next text can also be linked, once again the political leaders have praised their in-group members for being a *true leader* for the nation.

> IK is THE pl person! No glass walls or armed guards dividing him from his supporters at jalsas!'' Watch TV channels now…'. (appendix v)

In the text the discourse producers have highlighted the definite article '*THE'* to attribute the party leader as *pl person* that is pretty unconventional in the Pakistani political context as Pakistan has an aristocratic political culture where power is maintained, sustained and exercised only by the powerful politicians (Cochrane, 2009). So in such conditions, the claim of PTI to have a leader from the common people and for the common people aims at earning public support for the upcoming elections of 2013. The highlighted text has represented the identity of the discourse maker as an*Awami leader i.e. leader of people*opposed to the traditional Pakistani political set up, moreover, Khan addressed his political public rallies without any special security in other words he wanted to bring revolution in the country by standing in the people fearless and confident. Such political statements and political demonstrations have presented him as a charismatic *man of people*. It is postulated through analysis that the political actors have created and presented a very positive image of their in-group members.

From a contextual perspective, the text was produced in the context of a strong determination and motivation of the discourse makers to earn maximum public support in the pools of May 2013 as the text states.

> The Time Has Come. It is up to YOU to Make History. Get Out The Vote for PTI on May 11'˙(appendix v)

The first part of the text *The Time HAS Come* refers to the Election Day as according to Khan he waited for this particular days for 17 years andthe third person

pronoun *YOU* is exclusively used for all the supporters of the discourse *producers, they are being urged to Vote for PTI.* The text is highly significant as it was produced in a very crucial time period i.e. just a week before the general elections of May 2013, so in such critical conditions, the political actors enthusiastically motivated their supporters to participate in the electoral process for the change. There are a number of factors which affect the voting behavior of the voters such as social and political pre-dispositions, a structural representation of political groups and their ideologies, persuasive strategies of the political actors etc. so electoral campaigns predominantly affect the electoral process and electoral results. With reference to the same thesis, the political actors of PTI exhibited their political ideology and their political stance i.e. they want the maximum participation of their supporters to get the democratic power through polls.

Within the previously debated doctrine once again the political actors reinforced their identification as a determined and confident group with positive energies and high spirits that is aimed at motivating masses for their support, the text was uttered in the context of a pre-poll political rally in Lahore two weeks prior to the elections of 2013.

Congratulations to ALL! InshAllah NayaPakistan! Here is the awesome view of Tsunami from top of Minar-e-Pakistan ..'. (appendix v)

The underlined word *ALL*, reflects the positive attribution of the political actors about the supporters and followers who attended the political rally, as electoral processes reflect the political activism and political participation so the political actors have highlighted the significance of the same thesis as seen in the text example. Moreover, the political actors of PTI demonstrated their hope and political activism, they appreciated the political rally and applauded their supporters for political participation. In this particular discourse practice, the keyword*NayaPakistan* refers to the party slogan i.e. *NewPakistan* with reference to the urge of political actors to introduce rather offer a *third option* for the Pakistani nation through democratic means. The overall coherent meanings of the text demonstrate an optimistic approach of the discourse participants about polls and the democratic success.

According to Murphy (2012, p. 161) *Pakistan has a serious issue of nepotism*as power gets transferred to the relatives and members of same political leaders (Christiansen, Kirchner, & Murray, 2013) that resultantly develops aristocracy and corruption in the country. The same thesis is reinforced by the political actors of PTI.

When 65% of our politicians DO NOT PAY THEIR TAXES - pushes 25 million children to a life of Poverty & Deprivation'. (appendix v)

Here the highlighted phrase *DO NOT PAY THEIR TAXES,* represents the solid stance of the discourse producers about the tax evading politicians who caused major damage to the economy of Pakistan and increased poverty ratio also. According to Epstein & Limage (2008) 32.2% of Pakistani population lives under poverty line where children mostly suffer from malnutrition and their basic needs are unfulfilled, moreover, the issue can be resolved but due to the weak government institution, bureaucratic apathy, mismanagement and lack of funds, the issue remains the same (p. 236).

The text has primarily raised criticism on those political figures who do not contribute to the economy of the country rather they damage it by evading taxes. With reference to the same thesis, the above-narrated tweet can be analyzed as the political actors of PTI have expressed their deep concern with the poor class of society and they have alleged the tax evading politicians for the pathetic condition of poor children. Precisely narrating from the linguistic and contextual perspective the political actors have done negative-representation of others to defame them. With reference to the issue of tax-pay, the next political discourse is also contextualized as here the problems resulted from tax evading are extensively debated.

The Real Cost of NOT Paying Taxes 55 Million Women & Children in Pakistan DO NOT have access to CLEAN DRINKING WATER'. (appendix v)

From a linguistic perspective, the bold words like *NOT, DO NOT, CLEAN DRINKING WATER,* all have negative connotations as they held the tax defaulter's responsible for the serious issue of inaccessibility of pure drinking water to women and children in Pakistan. In the previously quoted text the politicians are directly alleged for being tax defaulters and in this particular discourse practice, the misery of women and children is implicitly linked with the criminal act (i.e. tax evasion) of Pakistani politicians. In the above quoted both tweets, the political actors have explicitly deprecated *others* through negative attribution and this approach of discourse makers is quite akin to the theory reticle premise of '*Us VsThem*' dichotomy.

We will work for the Weak and the Poor - Imran Khan, We will provide Minorities Equal Rights - Imran Khan, We will build Nataion instead of roads

construction, Nations are build by Education & Knowledge but not by infrastructure'. (appendix v)

Above quoted all discourse practices produce in the context of electoral campaigns of 2013. Here the political actors vowed to bring revolutionary changes in the country by solving the major issues of poverty, education etc. Moreover, the political actors have presented their promising approach to provide equal rights to minorities and to decrease the poverty ratio in the country. Apart from proposing optimistic plans to educate people, the text also raises criticism of the *others* who preferred to improve the infrastructure instead of education sectors, the text provides an implicit reference to PML-N government as during their regime they spent a huge budget on infrastructure like motorway (Waseem M., 2006, p. 129) and metro bus service etc. The last tweet reinforced the thesis of PTI about the development of Pakistan, the political actors believed that the most important element for the progress of Pakistan is education not the roads and bus services. The aspiration of PTI to promote education in Pakistan projected the profound political ideology of PTI. From the critical perspective, the text promotes the positive self-representation and it also projects clusivity elements as the inclusive category of *we* revolves around positive attribution.

Imran Khan dares to Dream BIG & the He naturally Wins BIG others just cheat and try to look big'. (appendix v)

Two weeks prior to a political rally in Lahore the above-stated text was uttered, here the political actors have magnified the dignity of their in-group members by attributing positive traits. The highlighted phrase *Dream BIG and Wins BIG* points towards the political ambition of Khan to bring radical changes in the conventional political system of Pakistan after getting strong political power through elections. The main agenda of the subject political party was a strong urge to introduce massive political reforms in a transparent and unbiased electoral system with the active participation of youth. A significant contextual reference of the text can be traced back to the cricket career of Imran Khan as a cricket team captain who inspired, lead and won the cricket world cup for Pakistan in 1992 (Gupta, 2006, p. 963). From a critical perspective, the text can be viewed as a conventional practice of *positive self-representation* as in-group members are praised and other are deprecated and defamed. Within the similar connotation, the next text is also presented as here the bold words 'ONLY HOPE' are

metaphorically used to refer to the desperate political urge of the ascribed political group striving and struggling for change in Pakistan.

> I Repeat what I said in 1996 - Tehreek-e-Insaf is the ONLY HOPE'. (appendix v)

The text once again reinforces the idea of exhibiting the political group as the changing factor for the solidarity of the country as here the phrase *ONLY HOPE* projected the exaggerated thesis of discourse participants. Moreover, the political actors have presented themselves as the sole option for the progress and development of Pakistan. In the pre-electoral discourse, the political group attempted their best to impress upon their audience through above mentioned political strategies and techniques to boost up their vote bank. The first part of the text contains contextual reference to the initial stages of the party formation although the party did not get a lot of attention and fame in their first elections in 1997 and won just one seat in 2002 elections but the same group emerged as the third largest political group in Pakistan by securing 29 national assembly seats and making government in KPK in 2013 elections (Boughzala, Janssen, & Assar, 2014; Perumal, Daughter of the Enemy: A Unique Historic Novel, 2013). So in such conditions, the in-group members who stayed with the party for last seventeen years, presented their motivation and devotion to the party by believing in the leadership of Khan. Moreover, the text contains clusivity elements too as all others are excluded for positive attribution and they are implicitly termed as unsuitable for positive leadership.

Within the context of *positive self-representation,* the following text can be interpreted as an exclusive example as here the political actors have explicitly presented the positive attribution of their group.

> pls do not abuse our opponents.WE are different..WE will speak the truth, WE will fight agstinjustic …'. (appendix v)

The political actors have presented here certain promises with reference to moral and ethical norms. As the text was produced after the announcement of SMCOD (Social media code of conduct) by PTI, so the political actors have encouraged their followers to avoid foul language for the opposite political groups and to follow an ethical code of conduct while campaigning on social media. Precisely narrating the text has focused upon the ethical aspects of political campaigns, simultaneously the discourse participants have used a didactic approach to reinforce their ideology of tolerance and justice. Another significant factor is the positive and constructive representation of in-group members as

they are termed 'different' in their behavior and approach. Primarily the text is aimed at the positive representation of in-group members and others are excluded from these moral categories.

> NO to family politics YES to worker politics. I urge to youth of all parties to stand up and push their parties to ..., Critics may say anything but fact remains fact. It's Only PTI whre one ordinary tailor n party worker can become th ...'. (appendix v)

In the first tweet, the political actors have discouraged nepotism and status quo in Pakistan. As Pakistan has a feudal political system so these powerful elites (feudal) transfer political power to their families and resultantly working class people get very few chances of political representation and political participation.With reference to the same notion, the politics of PTI appeared as a revolt against the traditional political system as the political actors aimed to discourage VIP culture and status quo and focused more upon the political participation and representation of working class. The text represents the political identity of the subject party as a democratic and righteous group that challenges the status quo and strive for democratic power. The second tweet is the example of positive self- representation as here PTI is exhibited as *commonman's party* that focuses on the common people and their rights. Precisely narrating the text has reinforced the thesis of *positive self –representation*.

In the post-electoral political discourse, PTI has exhibited deep gratitude for the supporters of KPK as PTI established its first government in any province of Pakistan during their seventeen years of the political career(Perumal, Daughter of the Enemy: A Unique Historic Novel, 2013).

> Many Many Congratulations to People of KPK You Proved Once Again they you want CHANGE!!! Inshallah together we'. (appendix v)

From historical perspective the governance of PTI in KPK is the continuation of change process as KPK is the only province of Pakistan which has experienced a variety of governance in the previous 10 general elections i.e. from 1970-2013 (Rizvi & Gilani, 2013), the highlighted word *CHANGE* reflects the political identity of the discourse makers as a determined group striving for new strategies and emergent political policies in Pakistani politics with the key agenda of *change.*Moreover, change is termed as a key slogan of the subject party's political policies and manifesto. Within the context of change, this specific text practice is produced here, the discourse makers have reinforced

and promoted the notion of new Pakistan with reference to the massive transformation of power termed as *CHANGE*. The text has projected positive self-representation of the subject group.

At certain places, PTI has used a satirical tone that primarily projects the extreme distress and dissonance of the political actors with election commission of Pakistan as the chairman of ECP is labeled as a biased and unfair person. Similarly, the alleged leader is termed as incompetent and inclined to rigging the elections and manipulating the results.

Incompetent or COMPLACENT. Especially FAKHRUDDIN G IBRAHIM. He had the audacity to congratulate the nation'. (appendix v)

The text is considered sarcastic because the discourse makers have objected the chairman of ECP for his boldness regarding the alleged manipulative results of general elections of 2013.In this text, the bold words C*OMPLACENT* and *FAKHRUDDIN G IBRAHIM*are highlighted for negative attribution, so it is conventional in the political discourse practices that the political actors highlight the *bad aspects of others* to defame them and ultimately to earn *good repute for themselves*.Political actors have disgraced the ECP chairman as he is alleged for rigging yet he is applauded for boldly sharing the unfair electoral result with the public. Moreover, ECP chairman is disgusted by tagging him shameless indirectly and by encouraging his alleged unfair strategies. The allegations of the discourse makers continued throughout their post-election political discourse as a number of times the political actors alleged ECP and opponent political groups for rigging.

Many of you witnessed RiggingAgainstPTI | Results are still not finalized. PTIeFamily You Inspire Us. We will NOT Give Up! (appendix v)

Here a determination is manifested to continue the struggle against the alleged rigging, such discourse practices can be termed as a reflection of the extreme distress and displeasure of the subject political group with the liability of electoral results. The exclamatory remarks presented through bold words like *We Will NOT Give Up and You Inspire Us*, are aimed at creating a positive political identity of the discourse makers. An urge to struggle for justice is presented and people are termed as the support of the ascribed political group. Simultaneously, a spirit of intimacy is also vividly depicted as the political actors have called their supporters as their family to represent a different image of their political party.

Karachi witnessed Rigging - Punjab witnessed Rigging - what more proof does the ECP need to investigate un-free & un-fair elections, FACT - ECP admitted Elections on May 11 in Karachi were not free and fair - ECP sleeping on its own statement? unFREE & unFAIR elections'. (appendix v)

These both extracts of political discourse are an exhibition of the dissatisfaction with the electoral results of general elections of 2013 as the political actors have labeled rather nominated Sindh and Punjab for unfair and biased polling results. According to ECP, some discrepancies were observed during the polls at some constituencies of Karachi, so ECP decided to conduct re-poll under the security of rangers, moreover the issue was raised by the political actors of PTI who recorded and observed *rigging in elections.* In the last text the bold words 'unFAIR and unFREE' stressed upon the thesis of PTI i.e. to have unbiased and fair elections free from political pressures, so that the true mandate of people can be gained. Interestingly PTI leveled allegation of rigging in Punjab and Sindh where the subject party couldn't get a heavy mandate but they did not show any reservations about the electoral result of KPK as they won elections there and thus formed their government. Precisely narrating the *positive self-representation* and *negative representation of others* is done for the particular political agendas.

After the victory of PML-N in the general elections of 2013, the electoral mandate was termed as biased and unfair by PTI and they leveled many implicit allegations on the unknown agents.

So is it another Script written at Washington, Endorsed by Riyadh, Approved in Rawalpindi and Implemented by handpicked'. (appendix v)

Here the first reference is made to the capital of America Washington DC, and the second reference is about the capital of Saudi Arabia Riyadh and third reference is made about Rawalpindi as there is general headquarter of Pakistan military forces. According to Ayoub and Subrahmanyam (1972), GHQ has a significant role in Pakistani politics rather the influence of military always affected the broader picture of political transition in Pakistan, so within the similar context, PTI alleged military forces for their unfair support of PML-N in 2013 elections. Moreover, the political actors have equally alleged US, Saudi and military interference in Pakistani politics and termed them as an illegitimate force who manipulated the electoral results by helping PML-N in polls. As a reaction to the alleged rigging in the elections of 2013, the political actors of PTI arranged a huge sit-

in in Karachi demanding ECP to re-poll in few constituencies of Karachi in the lieu of alleged unfair and biased results.

> Hapening now sit in at millinueum. AND WE HAVE NOT FORCED ANYONE TO SHUT DOWN SHUTTERS OF SHOPS this is PTI (appendix v)

In the text the bold words are used to make indirect criticism on the conventional political culture of Karachi in which the strong political group of MQM often forced local public to shut down business and transportation system in case of strikes or protest on certain political issues, according to Verkaaik (2004), weekly strike calls to shut down markets are common strategy of MQM to protest against terrorism in Karachi (p.16). So with reference to the same thesis, PTI indirectly objected the political strategy of MQM along with promoting the political strategies of PTI for not forcing people to stop their business, in other words, the political actors displayed their political identity as a peaceful and logical political group that is concerned with the economy of the country. Simultaneously the discourse makers tag themselves as a unique group with emergent political strategies and policies. Precisely narrating both text practices can be interpreted in the context of *Us vs Them* dichotomy, as the in-group members are positively attributed.

4.2 MACRO ANALYSIS

4.2.1 Analysis of contextual proposition

According to thesis of critical discourse analysis the context of every discursive event is essential to analyse if the embedded meanings need to be unpacked, so in this particular text every single discourse contains multiple ideologies and cannot be comprehended in isolation without relating with the social and political contexts (van Dijk, 1995; 2002; Fairclough & Wodak, Critical discourse analysis, 1997; Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999). According to Beard (2000), it is important to study the language of political discourse because it displays how do elites' i.e. powerful political figures gain power and exercise power through a number of discursive strategies. In other words, the language of political discourse reflects how power is exercised through political discourse, moreover, it also displays the various discursive strategies deployed by the political actors within political and social context. Blommaert (2006) postulated that context and contextualization is infinite so the ultimate meanings of the text cannot be derived and the same phenomenon is observed in this particular study.

According to van Dijk(2002) political discourse is comprehended at two important contextual levels, at a socio-political levelof description, political processes and structures are constituted by situatedevents, interactions and discourses of political actors in political contexts, and(b) at a socio-cognitive level of description shared political representationsare related to individual representations of these discourses, interactions, andcontexts (p. 205).

To understand any discourse practice it is important to underpin the real context in which a particular discourse is produced, the contextual significance of every utterance leads towards a comprehensive understanding of the text. In this section, a detailed analysis of the political discourse is done to highlight how social and political contexts constitute the political identity of the political actors. By keeping in mind the same phenomenon, the following text is analyzed.

I am the follower of Baacha Khan. (appendix i)

A clear and direct link can be traced out of this data where the great affiliation is demonstrated with Bacha Khan a name given to Khan Abdul Wali Khan a leftist activist and the most influential figure of ANP from 1890 to 1988 (Korejo, 1993). His services are highly regarded by the Pushtoons and his political ideology is highly esteemed by the followers of ANP (Taqi, 2010). The societal structure of the typical land areas known as KPK is widely known for its Pushtoon ethnic group, additionally, the major political support of the land is too dedicated to the parties who represent Pushtoon in the majority and ANP appeared as one of the foregrounded parties who represented the majority of Pushtoon in Pakistan. The Awami National (ANP) is basically a left-wing, secular, Pushtoon nationalist party deriving its basic strength and support from KPK (Assessing Internal Democracy of Major Political Parties of Pakistan, 2014) and the statements given by the party members about Bacha Khan mainly depicts their association with him. Concurrently, it exhibits the idea that a positive synergy is built within group members to achieve specific political agendas and the same phenomenon is exercised by the political actors of ANP. Furthermore, in the stances as stated below the political actors have appreciated the valor of the party in the context of its protest against the violence of Taliban.

I strongly condemn the killing, I strongly condemn the attacks on ANP leadership, I strongly protest at the systematic targeting' (appendix i).

In the tweet, the political actors have discussed the terrorists attack party leader, ex-federal minister Ghulam Ahmad Bilour and his nephew Haroon Bilour which they managed to survive. The text not only narrates the tragic incident of terrorist attack on the party leaders Bashir Jan in Karachi (Rehman 2013) but also rationalized the security concerns of the subject party. Moreover, the party officials often requested the electoral authorities for some solid security arrangements before the elections of 2013. The text has done here twofold purposes, at one hand it has justified the party's point of view regarding security threats to its party members, and while on the other hand, it attempted to win the sympathy of voters. Moreover the phrase *attack on ANP leadership* provides very significant implications in the political context of 12th general elections of Pakistan, it was observed that ANP faced maximum number (37) of terrorist assaults between January 1st to 15th May' 2013 (Elections 2013: Violence against Political Parties, Candidates and Voters, 2013) despite all these assaults attempts the party continued its struggle and participated in legislative political process i.e. the party contested elections. The text has also demonstrated the political instability of the region, a targeted area of militants as discussed by Shah (2012) and ANP appeared as one of the victimized group. A prominent leader of ANP, Haroon Bilour presented a devoted statement after the assassination of his father Bashir Bilour (Ahmad, 2012).

I will continue to carry on my father's legacy'. (appendix i)

Such discourse practices serve twofold purposes, on one hand, it portrays thestrength of the discourse participants and secondly it appeals to the readers to earn their sympathy. Additionally, the vigorous text displays the party's manifesto to condemn the intimidation and terrorism prevailing in KPK (Elections Manifestos 2013, 2013). Along with a strong political stance to continue participation in the electoral processes, ANP also presented sympathetic statements for the victims of terrorism in the tribal area of KPK.

Apart from dissent and eminence against the terrorism, the *discourse of resentment* is also an essential element of ANP's political discourse.

Hear Aaj, Mashriq hell-bent on declaring my degree fake. If wishes were horses...irresponsiblejournalism'. (appendix i)

In the contextual implication of above-narrated discourse practicethe proverb *wisheswere horses*, *beggars would ride* consigns the fake-degree case of Bushra Gohar, a former MNA (Minister of National Assembly) and the party represented resentment to the

journalist community who highlighted the fake degree case (Haq, 2013). Implicitly, the discourse contains elements of satire and the sarcastic tone aims at teasing the *others*who wanted the case to be provedagainst one of the leading figures of ANP, the media sources highlighted the case prior to the elections and many political parties criticized ANP for presenting illegitimate and unfair political leaders. At the end, the alleged leader proved the fake degree case wrong and thus she qualified for the elections (Sehbai, 2013). In the context of Us Vs Them dichotomy, it can be seen that the erroneous acts associated with one's group are always de-emphasized and other's off-putting are magnified as observed in this stance.

> My grandfather used to say: These are real pakhtoon, honest brave and'...(appendix i)

Explicitly the political discourse here contains and exhibits strong features of positive self-reflection, the quoted source Akhtar Abbas, another political figure expresses here to praise and appreciation for the ethnic Pushtoon group by affirmative adjectives such as brave and honest. Generally, Pushtoons are renowned due to their valor and courage, so the same phenomenon is used here but purely for political purposes. As the societal structures and discourse structures collectively constitute the macro socio-political practice and language appears central to it (Bachmann, 2007), so both these structures have projected the ethnic and political identity of the subject party as a righteous group.

> MY words can't erase her loss, but my heart goes out to the woman who lost her husband and a 6-year old son in a violent'. (appendix i)

The above-stated text practice is produced by the ex-federal minister of KPK Aziz Ahmad Bilour, who expressed deep regrets and condolence at the targeted killing of an ANP's candidate for the general election of May'2013 (Sadiq Zaman Khattak). Aziz Ahmad is the brother of Bashir Bilour, another renowned leader of ANP, who got assassinated in a terrorist attack in 2013. Here contextually the feelings of compassion and commiseration demonstrated the spirit of affiliation and camaraderie with the victimized woman who lost her son and husband. The usage of idiom *MY words can't erase her loss, but my heart goes out* exhibits the discourse of aggravation at the incessant assassination of ANP leaders, workers, and members, the political identity of ANP officials appears here as perturbed and infuriated.

We are, without a doubt, the most affected party, we are unable to launch mass mobilization campaign'. (appendix i)

In the above-narrated discourse practice, the discourse participants have expressed exasperation and infuriation, which the party was facing due to the constant assassination of party leaders and workers. The text here represented the vulnerability and apprehension of the political actors with reference to the political immobility of ANP in the crucial time period of elections. The previous discourse expressed the anxiety and frustration of the political actors but the next text has projected the intent and determination of the political actors to exert power and to fight against the militants as narrated.

We always oppose Taliban, We All stand With ANP as they are fighting our war against extremism, We are tied by the non violenece theory of Bacha Khan'. (appendix i)

By scrutinizing the text, the embedded agenda of the political actors of ANP can be critically assessed, in the first stance the discourse expresses the strong fortitude and incite to stand with the party stratagem i.e. to counter the militants and discourage terrorism in the region. Simultaneously, the motivational defense strategy of the party is reinforced by the use of the adverb*always* which exhibits the intensity of planned action i.e. to discourage violence. The discourse of ANP's vice President appeared here intriguing as she narrated *Nonviolence theory* of the oppressed party, concurrently the spirit of taking a stand against the violence exhibits strong determination of the subject political group for the democratic cause. Arguably the text can be linked with an urge to epitomize power against the opposite groups. The texts also demonstrate an intimacy and determination of the party supporters as a token of solidarity and camaraderie, precisely narrating the text contains high appreciation for the in-group members. Moreover, the text fits in the theoretical underpinning of *Us Vs Them dichotomy* as the in-group members are highly praised for their positive traits.

WatanYaKafan - We stand by what we believe in - Our struggle for peace continues, we are fighting a war for survival of peace, sovereignty & integrity'. (appendix i)

The first text is produced in the backdrop of ANP's new slogan prior to the election of May 2013 i.e. watan ya kafan means country or shroud, a logical and pertinent

catchphrase, materialized from the formidable fight against the repression and militancy. The text reveals the patriotic spirit of the discourse makers as they demonstrated determination to defend the country on the cost of their lives even, such emotional expressions primarily made to incite people to support the discourse makers in the broader political context. Moreover, the inexorable endeavor of the political actors is embedded in the phrase *struggle for peace continues* and it appears as their virtual perspective.

> We Congratulate teen activist Malala Yousufzai for making it in TIME magazines list of most influential people'. (appendix i)

The text has presented the political group as a strong supporter of women education. The child activist was targeted by a militant group who were against the women education but she (Malala) continued her struggle for education (Yousafzai & Lamb, 2013) and her efforts are highly acknowledged by the political actors of ANP. As Social media is a faster mean of communication and messages can be easily transferred to the global world in very short time (boyd & Ellison , 2007) so it was utilized by Pakistani political actors to convey their ideologies to the masses. The statement of local ANP leader Shahi Syed, about participating in the legitimate democratic process i.e. elections exhibited the political maturity of the party. The linguistic choices represented the political identity of the ascribed group as the determined political party who supports democratic processes and thus believes in democracy. The first tweet as stated below displayed the same ideology.

> We are a political party and we will not boycott the elections, We are the Talibans first enemy Our condolences go out to the families of the victims(appendix i)

Contextually these discourse practices were articulated by ANP head in the backdrop of massacre of an ANP member (Mukarram Shah, a local party leader) prior to the elections of 2013, the text is substantial as it reflects the sturdy belief of party leadership to perform political activities and a determination not to surrender against violence and aggression. According to Asfandyar Wali, although a number of their constituents suffered due to hostile acts of terrorization and coercion (Elections 2013: Violence against Political Parties, Candidates and Voters, 2013)but still they will contribute in the political process. The interesting factor is the hidden ideology of protagonist in the phrase *political party and not boycott elections* as the militants

frequently stressed upon the context of their violent acts i.e. just to restrain ANP from participating in the democratic process but still the victimized political party vowed to support democracy through any mean. Consequently the constant and intense militant's assault to menace the leadership of ANP did not emerge thriving as recurrently manifested in the discursive discourse practices of ANP.

The political discourse of ANP became both defensive and offensive as one of the opponent political group i.e. PTI alleged ANP for showcasing the acts of terrorism against itself to get the sympathy of masses which can facilitate ANP in elections. The Twitter data of both parties provided evidence of allegation on each other before elections and this text is too uttered in the same connotation, according to the statement of ANP leader Bushra Gohar the spokesperson of PTI ShireenMaziri held ANP responsible for all terrorists attacks its party members and workers (Ahmad & Khan, 2013).

> whatever happening with ANP is due to their own actions, does this apply to Imran K'. (appendix i)

The political discourse of ANP contained textual references of anxiety and uneasiness even when the party was in power still it had faced sequential terrorist's attacks on its leadership such as an assassination attempt on CM of KPK on 15th February 2013 proved the above-mentioned thesis (Abbas Z. , 2013). CM of KPK Ameer Haider belonged to ANP and this political affiliation caused a call for assassination attempts on the leadership of the party. Arguably the text states that the murder attempts are done to disrupt the functional process of democracy and peace in the region.

> Today's attack is infact meant to sabotage the ongoing peace process'. (appendix i)

As discussed earlier although syntactical selections affects the interpretation process it becomes vital when studied in relation to the context.

> They are against me because I am against Honour Killings of our Pakistani women'. (appendix ii)

The above-stated text was produced by MQM after the tragic incident of violence done against Pakistani women in Okara on 26th April 2013, the women were shot dead by her family members for the sake of 'honor' (Pakistani Women's Human Rights Organization, 2010). In this text extract, the approach of MQM appeared humanistic and

philanthropist as an urge to support women right is made and all type of violence done against women is highly condemned. Moreover, such discursive practices (re)construct the identity of the discourse participants as positive and accommodating. The next quoted both texts are linked with the ideology of MQM about Pakistan women and an explicit support is shown for women rights and severe criticism is raised against all those tyranny forces which attempt at harming women through any mean.

> I cannot see my sisters, daughters and mothers of Pakistan being ill treated by the Taliban, Women of Pakistan are being terrorised by Taliban, Malala Yousuf is an example of Taliban cruelty, do you want this to continue? (appendix ii)

The first textual example appears very emotional and appealing as it highly emphasized the women rights by narrating the plight stories of Pakistani women and the next textual extract represented the reference of violence against young Pakistani education activist Malala Yousafzai who got victimized by the terrorists as she was getting education and the terrorist group Taliban discouraged rather highly opposed women education in Pakistan (Yousafzai & Lamb, 2013). Contextually discussing the text is produced in a critical time period i.e. one week prior to the 12th general election and in that time period, all discourse practices appeared highly sensitive because every discourse utterance effected upon the vote bank of MQM. Moreover, the stance of MQM regarding women education and women respect is primarily aimed at uplifting the status of women and to display a highly positive portrayal of party's policies and strategies. Within the context of women rights, the next text extracts can also be interpreted.

> banning women frm voting AltafHussain declared this agreement is inhuman undemocratic un-Islamic & against basic & fundamental rights, Banning women from voting in Lower Dir is against basic human rights of women, Disenfranchising women is a violation of their basic human rights, Banning women from voting in Lower Dir is in-human'. (appendix ii)

In all these textual examples the emphasis is given on the democratic rights of women, the text was constructed in the backdrop of Lower Dir a tribal area of KPK, where some negative political elements worked against women rights and threatened women to vote (Navasky, 2013). As mentioned earlier the discourse was constructed one day before election so the text is considered as highly significant because the women rights is always being a hot issue of discussion for the political actors, the same strategy is

adopted here by the political actors of MQM they attempted to represent their identity as women rights activist who stands with the basic democrat rights of women and is not abundant by any negative tyranny forces. Contextually speaking the social context of the discourse is very important as KPK is comparatively considered as a conservative area where women rights are mostly exploited in patriarchy society (Naz, Khan, Rehman, Daraz, & Hussain, 2012). The text elucidates that social, and political factors collectively contribute information of women status in KPK and in the male dominating traditional areas like Dir, the conditions are more severe where women are more subjugated and tyrannized under high pressures. Additionally, it can also be narrated that egalitarianism in power relations and decision making is uphill task because most of the social and political domains are male-oriented (Naz, Khan, Rehman, Daraz, & Hussain, 2012) and in such critical circumstances the exploitation of women rights is quite akin to the societal norms of KPK. Moreover, it can also be stated that the discourse of MQM is quiet prudent as the discourse has targeted a specific sensitive area with reference to the critical issue of women rights so such discourse practices win public support and enhance positivity of the discourse participants.

In this textual practice, the *Us vs. Them* dichotomy can be vividly observed as the political actors have represented themselves as fair and loyal democratic parties who do not violate logical rules of democracy and avoid to adopt illegitimate means of power attainment. The text appears very interesting from the contextual point of view as one day prior to this tweeted text the deputy convenor of MQM openly talked about the alliance proposal with the opposite political groups, so this particular text thus seems contradictory.

> MQM does not make deals in the darkness of night & runaway through back door'. (appendix ii)

The history of alliance between MQM and PPP-P has been a hotly debated issue during the electoral process in 2013 as both parties had a long history of shaking hands and thus leaving each other in the backdrop of severe allegations from both ends (Shah S. , 2013). So in the historical context of political alliance the manipulative language used by MQM can be interpreted at multiple levels such as it can be an attempt to defame*others* and secondly, it can be an ultimate goal of discourse participants to represent their positive ideology by narrating against all other forces which threatened the

democratic political processes. Another implication can be the conventional approach of politics i.e. based upon a plain agenda of raising severe criticism on others to get attention and support from the audience but without giving any explicit reference to any nominated group or party.

> I may not be allowed to come to Pakistan but I will continue to work for the people of Pakistan MQM, Altaf Hussain: I am struggling for Pakistan and its disadvantaged people, Altaf Hussain: My 35-year struggle is not for personal gains or for the benefits of a few families, AltafHussain: Those who dare to stand up are persecuted and implicated in false cases'. (appendix ii)

The above quoted all tweets have been taken from the political discourse of MQM on 30th January 2013. The text practices arecontextually linked with the self- exile of MQM's party leader Altaf Hussain (Akbar, 1998; Bahadur, 1998), who stayed in the UK since 1992, the text contains elements of distress, discontentment and allegations on *others* for a number of political reasons. Within the socio-political context, the party leader negotiated some illegitimate strategies of fleeing from Pakistan when the government started a *clean up*operation against the militant and violent groups in Karachi (Declan, 2013), under these critical circumstances the party leader raised a number of allegations against government policy in the lieu of targeting MQM workers and leadership. To proceed on with the discussion, the approach of Altaf Hussain appears illogical as he was never stopped by the power institutions to enter Pakistan, so his statement doesn't have a logical strand. Simultaneously, it might be linked with the manipulative and biased agenda of MQM to represent itself as a suppressed group who got victimized by the opposing forces (government institutions) (Ahmar, 1996). With reference to the representation of *Us*, the above-stated tweets are very significant here the political actors wanted to win the support of the masses and they also want their followers to praise their services for the rights of Urdu-speaking people.By looking at the implications of the tweet it can also be derived that an intentional attempt is made by MQM to indirectly criticize and alleged the *others* for disparaging and obliterating the real spirit of democracy by transferring political power among conventional ruling political figures of the country. The last tweeted text of MQM also displays the extreme discontentment of the party leadership with reference to the severe allegations made on MQM leadership by the opponent political groups and higher authorities of the government also, such as murder of Dr Imran Farooq, money laundering terrorism acts in

Karachi (Chronology for Mohajirs in Pakistan, 2014) etc. and in all these cases MQM's leadership was directly labelled (Khanzada, 2013). In reply to these allegations, the discourse of MQM is apt to the traditional approach of politics in which the blame game is considered as the most effective political strategy for face-saving as practiced by the political actors of MQM. In short, the text produced in the context of appraisal for the political career of MQM along with a strong denial to all sever allegations made on the party leadership can be fit into the theoretical framework of *ideological contestation,* in which the negative attributes of the in-group members are not highlighted and vice versa for the others.

> PPP-P has closed the doors of the prospect of any electoral alliance with the MQM by taking back cases against killers Karachi Pakistan, MQM is not a party of turncoats'. (appendix ii)

The first political text can be linked with the biased agenda of PPP-P, who dramatically withdraw police cases against the notorious gangsters involved in assassination attacks against political workers of MQM, before the withdrawal of the police cases PPP-P get into alliance with MQM and vowed to stand by the party in all political issues (Zuberi, 2013). In these circumstances the discontent of MQM can be justified as the long-term history of alliance, coalition and opposition supports the debated subject i.e. the series of allegations and doubts on loyalties of each other has been a common practice in the political context of PPP-P and MQM over the last two decades. Furthermore the phrase *party of turncoats* refers to the political flag words with a pre-defined agenda of raising criticism on others for multiple unjustified political reasons, in other words to legitimate the proposed point of views the political actors set back on such issues. It is also evident from the analysis that the 'others' are termed as dishonest and disloyal while the in-group members are called loyal and honest. So the text can be framed in the theoretical perspective of the ideological square as *other's bad aspects are magnified*.

The next political texts were tweeted after the terrible violence act in Quetta resulting in the killing of many people from Shia sect, the text contains an element of anxiety, sorrow, and sympathies with the victims of terrorist attacks in Quetta.

> AltafHussain expressed sympathies to the families of the people killed in the Kirani road blast ShiaGenocide AltafHussain has demanded the govt to arrest ta

terrorists responsible for ta devastating blast on the Kirani road in Quetta (appendix ii)

The attitude of MQM as a wise political group can be observed through this text as the concerned authorities i.e. the institutional powers are urged to show responsible behavior after the terrible incidence of violence against a targeted sectarian group. The linguistic choices deployed by MQM are highly appealing such as *sympathies, devastating blast, terrorists* in the backdrop of demonstrating solidarity and support for the affected/victimized sectarian group. Within socio-political context, the text is very significant as it was proposed before the elections of 2013 and in the crucial time period of elections all political actors attempt to highlight their positive attributes to gain the public support and hide all negative aspects, the same phenomenon can be viewed in the political text of MQM. The next texts extracts are also linked with the genocide of sectarian group of Pakistan belonging to Quetta, here the political actors have vowed to call for military forces to handle the law and order situation in the specific area of Quetta which appears contrary to the basic ethics of democracy, as the text indirectly calls for dictatorship in the country.

> MQM Asks PresidentZardari should tell Nation if it would become Necessary2Call Army only when500,1000,2000or even3000 people would B killed , President Zardari should explain the criteria to the nation which would be used to determine for calling the army: MQM Quetta'. (appendix ii)

The above-stated text extracts were tweeted on 18ᵗʰ February 2013 one day after the violent act of terrorism against Shia sects and the linguistic manipulation is also highly plausible here as the direct criticism is made on the legislative policies of the state; the discourse of MQM consists of severe allegations and denigration on the deficiency of state policies as the issues of terrorism was totally mishandled by the government simultaneously the proposal of military dictatorships is also subject to high charge. Within the political context of Pakistan, the statement of MQM calls for many questions as in a number of instances MQM represented itself as a democratic political group who strongly believes in democracy but contrary to the fact the above-narrated doctrine of MQM disapproved the ideology of MQM. According to Przeworski and Limongi (1993), if dictatorship prevails in a regime than it might appear as a strong threat to the growth and development of a state and the best option thus can be the democracy only, so under

such circumstances the proposal of MQM violates the conventional rules of democracy and devastates the political manifesto of MQM.

> AltafHussain MQM Strongly condemns burning of Chrisitian homes in BadamiBagh Lahore Pakistan ,AltafHussain: Just as it would unlawful, unethical & inhumane 2 blame all the Muslims 4 the fault of few individuals'. (appendix ii)

The above-quoted tweet is derived from the political discourse of MQM on 9th March 2013 in the backdrop of alleged blasphemy in Christian colony Lahore resulting in the massive destruction of masses and fuelling the extreme wave of hatred and disharmony among religious minorities in Pakistan(Tanveer, 2013). The didactic approach of MQM aims at developing harmony among religious minorities along with strong condemnation of the responsible tyrannized elements behind the tragic incident of Badami Bagh Lahore (Aslam, Jafri, Hussain, & Wahab, 2013). To proceed on with the analysis, the incident took place in the alleged blasphemy act against a Christian in Lahore, and the incident turned the violent mob against the whole Christian colony and it ended in the burning of more than 150 homes of Christians in that area. Within the political context of Punjab where MQM doesn't keep a stronghold, the above-stated doctrine of MQM may be interpreted as an attempt to win the public support by showing sympathies with the religious minorities typically on the sensitive issues of religion. So the manipulative language used by the political actors is highly subjective and represents the identity of MQM as a solicitor group who is willing to advocate the issue of religious tolerance to promote peace in the region.

The issues of women rights is always central in the field of politics, rather it is appropriate to state that in the typical Pakistani political context almost all political actors try to stage their manifesto on the hot issues of women rights and women deprivations, the same ideology was reinforced by MQM leadership on one day before the election.

> MQM Demands Women's to be given equal rights in all aspects of life & Minorities to be made Equal Citizens'. (appendix ii)

Now the last part of the text leads towards multiple implications as there are a number of minorities in Pakistan such as ethnic, linguistic, religious etc. so the text might be generalized for all minorities in terms of their basic rights rather the protection of their rights is more appropriate and apt to the ideological stance of the MQM's manifesto (Akhtar N. , Ethnic Politics in Pakistan, 2013; Empowering People: MQM Manifesto

2013, 2013). Within conventional political context blame game is considered as dominant tactics of hegemony and manipulation through which the political actors exercise their power and represent a highly sophisticated image of their in-group members, the same strategy is exercised here by the party officials of MQM as the text advocates the notion of tolerance and forbearance and promotes the mantra of peace in the region.

> I want2Apeal 2 all workers of MQM Pakistan to act with patience & not respond even if our opposition use abusive language'. (appendix ii)

Within the context of the transformation of power and transition of political affiliation, the above-quoted text is highly significant as it was uttered after a major change in the politics of Sindh when a senior MNA of PPP-P Nabil Gabol, joined MQM by leaving his party after 25 years. After this incident, a number of objections were made against the loyalty and sincerity of Nabil Gabol. So under these critical conditions, the stance of MQM leadership can be interpreted as highly diplomatic and apt to the principles of smart politics as the party leadership advocated for the tolerance against the harsh attitude of the opponents in order to represent a polite and gracious image of the in-group political members. As seen in the following text

> act with patience, if our oposition use abusive language'. (appendix ii)

The political insight of MQM is credible here as the text focuses upon concealing the dark side of the text and promoting the positive edges i.e. as the political transition made by Nabil Gabol was obvious for severe criticism because he left his parent party after a long-term i.e. 25 years, so the leadership of MQM was expecting a hot wave of criticism on Nabil Gabol and the precautionary attitude of MQM to stay calm and peaceful thus can be perfectly framed in the conventional Pakistani politics.

The discourse of allegation is continued here as the party officials implicitly alleged a prominent political group of Punjab in the backdrop of terrorism act done against the political actors of MQM during electoral campaigns, the text provokes extreme distress for the opponent political groups for illegitimate support of the militant groups just a week before the elections.

> MQM blames militant wing of 'a Punjab party' for Karachi blast'. (appendix ii)

According to Walgrave and Aelst (2006) the discourse practices constructed close to the elections days differ from the usual political activities as the shift in the focus gets

vivid in terms of the political strategies and political actions, the same phenomenon can be observed in the political discourse of MQM as the political actors adopted aggressive approach to defame the *others* by highlighting the illegitimate political tactics exclusively associated with *others*.The first extract of political discourse is uttered in the context of the long march of Nawaz Sharif against Zardari in 2009 (Sabir, 2012). The long march was primarily held for the supremacy of judicial system and to challenge the illegitimacy of Zardari and former Prime Minister Gilani in 2009 in the context of their oath taking from the unconstitutional former President Musharraf. The text can be interpreted from the theoretical perspective of van Dijk (1989, 1993, 1995, 1998c, 2002 & 2006) focusing upon *Us vs Them* dichotomy, as here the in-group members are appreciated for their support of the democratic process.

> we stood up for law, we got judges restored! Now Supreme Court is only accountability. Law is & should be same for all!'. (appendix iii)

The personal pronoun *we* is repeatedly used here to reinforce the positive moves of the discourse makers and their services to promote law and judicial system with the spirit of law-abidance for all regardless of status or any other discriminatory features. The next tweet reflects the determination of the discourse makers to stand for a prosperous country free from terrorism and militancy and the discourse is uttered in the backdrop of target killing of a PML-N's leader Mian Taimur in Karachi in January 2013 (Khan S. , 2014). Apart from political context, the text can be interpreted in other multiple contexts, such as one implication of the text is to express the solidarity and sympathy of the discourse makers with the victimized agents, secondly the text aims to instigate masses against the current law maintenance organization for their failure to control aggression in the region. The linguistic elements in the text depicted the smart ideology of the discourse makers to earn the sympathy of the masses as seen below.

> PML-N is struggling 4 such a future of this nation where no 'Taimur' will leave his loved ones like this iA'. (appendix iii)

In the following textual example, the discourse makers have implicitly projected their identity as a modern and sincere political group who works to build the economy of Pakistan by presenting mega transportation projects like metro bus service in the provincial capital of Punjab governed by Shahbaz Sharif(Husnain, 2013).

What a beautiful picture ... imagine this is not from anywhere BUT PAKISTAN! The Metro Bus System will be'. (appendix iii)

Moreover the text demonstrates the high appreciation for the metro bus service which indirectly aims to praise the policies and work plans of the discourse maker's themselves as they had initiated and completed the project, the text was tweeted at inauguration ceremony of the bus service and the basic agenda of the discourse participants here is to represent their identity as a constructive and advanced political group. The text can be interpreted as a conventional political strategy of the discourse makers as before the electoral process all political actors' attempted to present their paramount images to the audience to get their support.Another significant feature of PML-N's political discourse is to defame other groups and parties just to get the political power during the electoral process and it is not a new strategy as all over the world the political actors commonly practice this technique. According to Hornby (2004), the term derogation refers to *showing a critical attitude towards others or insulting others* and the political actors use derogatory remarks to criticize others for their policies or strategies. The same phenomenon can be observed here as the political actors of PML-N have raised severe criticism on the LEA's for their failure to stop militancy acts in Baluchistan, in the context of sectarian violence against Shia group in Quetta in 2013.

It's the failure of the security agencies to arrest the culprits involved in the deadly blasts in Quetta". (appendix iii)

The discourse participants have tried to rationalize their thesis regarding the failure of government agencies to sustain peace in Baluchistan and to control terrorism, the discourse was uttered in the backdrop of series of militant attacks on sectarian group of Shia in 2013 and the culprits groups like LEJ and Taliban's who were involved in these activities were not arrested and punished by the security agencies. Conclusively, it can be derived from the text that context basically provided support to the discourse makers to legitimate their alleged discourse for the opponent group and to defame them apt to the principles of ideological contestation. By highlighting other's negative attributes, political actors earn fame and power and the same phenomenon is exclusively exercised in the above-narrated text extract.

No electoral alliance between PML-N and ASWJ...Leadership has categorically denied the false news! Media should take tht in (appendix iii)

The above-stated discourse represents the defensive approach of discourse makers in response to the allegations on them for the illegitimate support of a sectarian militant group. According to alleged groups, there were many instances of explicit and implicit support of PML-N for the extremist sectarian religious group LEJ, which was latterly termed as ASWJ group, moreover, it was too alleged that PML-N allied with ASWJ for seat adjustment in Punjab and KPK. Although PML-N's political actors frequently refuted all such allegations as ASWJ and LEJ were alleged to be involved in sectarian violence against Shia group in Baluchistan and KPK but still such allegations defame the political image of the subject group. The rationalization presented by PML-N was really needed to create their positive political image, so the text is interpreted from the perspective of *Us Vs Them* dichotomy as *the negative aspects from the identity of in-group members is clearly excluded.*Rationalization and justification on the sympathetic grounds are attempted by PML-N to raise criticism on opponents and simultaneously to present themselves as a victimized group who thus automatically deserves public support as it is obvious in the following text.

> The journey we were forced to leave behind in 1999 & the destination is more important to us than power (appendix iii)

The context of the discourse is the tragic undemocratic incident of Pakistani politics when General Musharraf suspended the elected government of PML-N in 1999 and deferred the constitution (Siddique, 2006; Oldenburg, 2010), he also forced the political leaders of PML-N Nawaz Sharif and his allied to go in exile in Saudi Arabia for 10 years. The political actors of PML-N have smartly presented their thesis as they focused upon serving nation and their aspiration is primarily not to get power rather just to facilitate people, the embedded meanings are to attain power and to rule the country. The following texts are also linked with the undemocratic strategy of Musharraf to rule the country for 8 years through illegitimate means.

> Musharraf should be arrested, who is he not to obey the Court orders", "All those responsible for the 1999 coup, including all Army Officers should be tried & convicted on Treason charges". (appendix iii)

From the contextual point of view, the discourse basically aims at defaming the convicted military figures who planned against the regime of elected governance of PML-N in 1999 and conclusively caused severe damage to democracy and judiciary of Pakistan

(Siddique, 2006). Another salient feature of the above stated political discourse is an attempt to present the political identity of political actors as a fair and democratic group who aspires to punish all those elements that sabotage democracy in the country through illegitimate means. The discourse of criticism and allegation is continued as the discourse makers have raised serious criticism on the functional government of Zardari for sectarian violence in Baluchistan. They have also presented a strong urge to hold elections there in spite of all militancy acts and hurdles.

> Where is governance in Baluchistan, where was the CM Baluchistan, PM & President on Hazara massacre issue?", "Elections in Baluchistan should happen, no matter what (appendix iii)

The text projects the distress and anxiety of the political actors on the massacre of a sectarian group of Shia who got victimized by the militant group of LEJ and the government were unable to take any solid action against the violent group, so this political context provided an opportunity to the discourse makers to defame LEA and government.

The following discourse practices can be viewed in the context of traditional political strategies where the discourse makers put allegation on others and by defaming others they improve their own image and win public support as seen in these texts.

> Electricity cost was increased for farmers in last 5 years of PPP-PFail Government", "Former PM Gillani spent 50 billion Rs of govt funds which can only be seen in private banks(appendix iii)

In the first text, the government of Zardari is highly criticized for inflation and it is labeled as *'Fail'* government while in the second text Gillani is alleged for massive corruption during his political regime. From clusivity perspective, the discourse is aimed at highlighting the '*bad aspects of others* and resultantly to develop negativity about others by quoting bad incidents as seen in the above-mentioned discourse. The political actors have presented others as corrupt and disloyal figures who damaged the economy of Pakistan and caused serious damage to energy resources. It is also significant to note that during 2013 and even today one of the biggest problems of Pakistan is an energy crisis, so in such circumstances, PML-N magnified the issue to develop resentment in masses for the concerned authorities. Similarly, as PML-N has held Zardari and Gillani responsible for energy crisis and economy disaster, so masses will definitely develop resentment

against these figures. It is postulated that the political actors have magnified *other's bad deeds* to defame others apt to the conventional ideological contestation.

> If I'm not able to eliminate Load Shedding in 2 years, then I'm ready for any punishment from your side" ", "in our tenure there was no load shedding", "Our development works in Jhang, speaks volume of our seriousness to deliver to the people". (appendix iii)

These extracts of political discourse present the futuristic approach of PML-N as they promised to solve the energy crisis of Pakistan and also applauded themselves for multiple development projects in different cities of Punjab. The futuristic approach of PML-N is aimed at winning people's support while the next two texts represent the conventional political stances of PML-N in the context of self-praise and self- conceit. The context of next tweet is the long march led by Nawaz Sharif in 2009 against the regime of former President Zardari to sustain democracy in the country through reviving judiciary system (A Long March to Justice: A report on judicial independence and integrity in Pakistan, 2009).

> You all told me, go Nawaz Sharif, go for the LongMarch & get the Judiciary Restored". (appendix iii)

The text also states that the political actors followed the suggestion of the public in the national interest and attempted to sustain democracy in Pakistan. The underlying meaning of this text is to project the political image of the subject party as democratic and patriotic political group. Apart from quoting the past achievements many promises/offers are mad as seen below

> We have plans to connect Murree via major transport links such as direct train links", "We have made plans for getting rid of water shortage here, improving tourism via improving the area", " Karachi to Multan travel by Bullet Train will be only of 3.5 hours' (appendix iii)

Here the first text expresses great promises for improving infrastructure in the most visited tourist place of Punjab that is Murree, as PML-N government is renowned for developing infrastructures during their regime, so the same notion is debated here during an address to a massive rally before the elections (Sadaqat , 2013). The political leadership of PML-N vowed great promises to the nation while addressing a huge rally in

Multan and Kot Adu. They also made a number of allegations on former President Zardari for poor governance and they wished for the fair trial of former President Musharraf. The political actors of PML-N vowed to run bullet train from Karachi to Multan and Lahore after winning elections and it can be interpreted as a common strategy of political discourse as the political actors try to use all means to win public support.

The discourse makers did not ignore the sensitive hotline topics of Pakistani politics during their electoral campaigns, they frequently debated the topics of terrorism and drone attacks in FATA which caused serious damage to the targeted areas. The reaction of FATA people towards a regime of Zardari and Musharraf was very harsh and negative, so under such critical conditions, PML-N used the above-stated context for their political purpose and through condemning drone attacks they attempted to win the support of FATA people. With reference to above-debatedpremise, the following text is analyzed.

> If Drones could be stopped through Dialogues, what's the point of shooting them down?". (appendix iii)

Although here nobody is explicitly labeled or criticized but implicitly the text levels allegations on the government agencies for mishandling the issue of drone attacks and a failure to propose a solid policy in the same context. The coalition and alliance between PPP-P and PTI caused serious issues for PML-N as the discourse makers in the following text expressed their dissonance and desperation to fight against the allied groups (Awan S. , 2013; Gishkori, 2013; Manan, 2013), who levelled many allegations on PML-N in the sensitive time period of elections. These texts are aimed at negative projections of others. The dissonance and displeasure of PML-N's political actors are explicitly projected in the following text practices.

> Asif Zardari has become so desperate that he is using Imran Khan against PML-N & Nawaz Sharif", "cricketers only know how to do a toss, they don't know how to solve problems of Pakistan". (appendix iii)

In the first text, Imran Khan is critiqued on his derogatory statements about PML-N's leadership while in the last text the same ideology is projected by PML-N as they mocked upon PTI's leadership that they can just play sports and disqualify them for political regimes. Mainly the distress is linked with the coalition between PPP-P and PTI and out of discontentment PML-N passed critical comments on both political group, so the discourse can be framed in the context of clusivity as the out-group members are

excluded from positive attribution. The post-election discourse of PML-N also expresses promises to deal with all the social and political issues of Pakistan and the political actors vowed to solve all the problems through possible resources especially in the sector of health, education, and peace. The tweet here represents the same ideology as previously stated.

> he Govt was working on War-Footing to improve the Health Services & control the challenges it currently faced , Hospitals would be Upgraded, Doctors would be appointed & Labs set up at all the Hospitals in Punjab (appendix iii).

> Moreover the political actors have represented their identity as a prosperous group who aims to facilitate the masses through serving them in all important sectors of life, so it can be derived from the text that the political actors have projected their identity in high profile and through positive attributes akin to the framework of ideological square i.e. *highlighting our good deeds and positive aspects.*

In this first instance, the political actors of PPP-P have represented their resentment at the tragic incident of a militant action against the sectarian group of Shia community (Ashfaq & Shah, 2013).

> These are inhumane actions! Please pray for all those lives who were forcefully taken today'. (appendix iv)

> From contextual perspective, the discourse condemns the militancy attacks and termed it as an inhuman act against innocent people, according to media reports the attack was planned to be attempted on Ali Ibn-Abu-Talib Imambargahbut fortunately it blasted far from it (Ashfaq & Shah, 2013), the violence against Shia community did not happen first time in Baluchistan in 2013 rather there were numerous instances of terrible incidents of terrorism against the subject community in the regime of PPP-P. The phrase *forcefully taken* and *inhuman actions* exhibits the distress and anxiety of the discourse participants on the plights of victims, simultaneously it depicts the identity of the discourse makers as humanistic and kind political group.

> Bilawal Bhutto Zardari has strongly condemned the attack on Sindh High Court Judge Justice Maqbool Baqir – Pakistan'. (appendix iv)

> From the contextual point of view, the text narrates the tragic incident of attempted attack on Sindh High Court judge in the context of its verdict against the

banned extremist Islamic group TTP (Khan & Khan, 2013),. The targeted judge was alleged by TTP to give extreme statements against them and they termed the judge as *'secular'* who deserve to be punished according to the offenders. From a linguistic point of view, the adverbial phrase *strongly condemns the attack* demonstrated the ideology of the discourse makers as a righteous political group who stands by justice and harmony in the region and discourages all types of illegitimate acts. The discourse is akin to the theoretical prospects of Us vs Them dichotomy, as here *we are presented as a democratic and righteous group*in the region. In the following extract of political discourse, the in-group members are praised and presented as an interminable political icon.

shaheed Rani, you lived so shall you live; a figure larger than life!' (appendix iv)

The term *shaheed Rani* refers to Benazir, the idiom *a figure larger than life* presented a tribute to the leader of her political career. Another salient feature of the text is the conventional political approach of PPP-P as the party always quote a reference to Zulfiqar Bhutto and Benazir Bhutto to move the audience emotionally and thus to earn their legitimate support for great political power. In the general elections of 2008 PPP-P got massive success in the context of *sympathy votes* after the assault of Ms. Bhutto (Zulfiqar, 2011). The post-election political discourse of PPP-P contains severe criticism on the winning political groups along with allegations of *support and alliance with militant groups.*

Disgusted by the PTI MNA who called for the release of Mumtaz Qadri ! Qadri is a murderer!' (appendix iv)

The text was produced by PPP-P after the statement of PTI's political leader Mujahid Ali Khan (Nangiana, 2013) in the support of executioner of Salman Taseer (Chaudhry, 2011). Moreover, the text reflects the conventional policy of politics in which the negative acts of opponents are magnified to defame them and to portray their bad images. The use of derogatory remarks is a conventional political strategy to denounce and degrade the opposite political groups, the same strategy is exercised in the above-mentioned text. The political actors have presented the idea that if somebody supports the criminals than that person creates incredibility about his own character, similarly as PTI supports the murderer of Salman Taseer, so the credibility and positivity of PTI is also doubted.

Pakistan demands end to U.S. drone strikes -- for the ninth time: (8 attempts made between 2008-201…, Congratulations PM Nawaz Sharif and Congratulations Pakistan Democracy'. (appendix iv)

In the above stated first political text, the discourse makers have presented their solid stance regarding the issue of drone attacks as the text states that the drone attacks must be stopped for solidarity and sovereignty of Pakistan. The text was produced in the context of Zardari's 6th address with the joint session of parliament (Gishkori, 2013), the political actors vowed to seek solutions for the critical issue of drone attacks as it has caused a massive destruction in the tribal areas of KPK (Drones: Myths and Reality in Pakistan Asia Report N°247, 2013; Khan & Rehman, 2014). Once again the idea of *ours goods are highlighted* is reinforced to represent the ideology of the political actors in the broader political context. In the second tweet, the discourse participants have represented their ideology as a democratic group who is welcoming the legitimate processes and stands with all the positive moves and strategies to uplift democracy. According to Tessler (2011), *the best system for all times is a democracy,* and smart political leaders support democracy and such jurisprudence of governmental policies and strategies are considered positive and encouraging.Here the discourse participants have expressed extreme dissatisfaction with the judicial system regarding the murder case of Benazir, here the allegations are made on the court for granting bail to the alleged assassin of the deceased leader.

Extremely disappointed in the court's decision to grant bail for Musharraf; yet again justice is being obstructed'. (appendix iv)

According to Willner, Weiner, Hero and Briggs assault of Ms. Bhutto increased anti-Musharraf feelings in Pakistan. Within the similar context, the political actors of PPP-P have expressed their resentment on bail of Musharraf as PPP-P held him responsible for the death of their deceased leader. The political actors of PPP-P have projected their identity as victimized and targeted group who is striving for justice of Benazir's death case. In this particular text, the political actors have created a negative image of others as they didn't provide justice to the victimized group (PPP-P). The text depicts the political identity of PPP-P as a depressed but righteous political group who believes in justice and doesn't support personal revenge.

We don't want politics of confrontation nor do we want to derail the democratic process, Latif Khosa PPP-P, PPP-P will play strong role in senate and of opposition in National Assembly – Pakistan'. (appendix iv)

As democracy is the hallmark of nation's development, diplomacy, and political stability, so the supporter of democracy are also labeled as loyal and fair political groups who strive for the solidarity and honor of the country, the same thesis is debated in the above-mentioned text. In the first instance, the discourse makers determined to protect democracy by not creating any illegitimate strategies or moves, while in the second tweet an urge is shown to become strong leftist group without causing any damage to the democratically elected government of PML-N in 2013. Both extracts of political discourse manifested a very optimistic and positive identity of PPP-P apt to the principles of clusivity as inclusion is made for the constructive representation of in-group members. In the pre-election political discourse, the discourse makers exhibited their positive and optimistic political ideology as the party claimed to be sincere with the people who believe in serving people.

PPP-P has always followed the politics of principles for the welfare of the people: President Women Wing PPP-P Faryal Talpur'. (appendix iv)

Here the text is produced by a senior member of PPP-P who claimed to be a big supporter of human rights and the text demonstrates the ideology of the party as a righteous group that works for the welfare of people and follows the principles of fair politics. The conventional strategy of PPP-P represented its image as highly democratic and humanitarian group whose top priority is people's welfare, thus the doctrine of PPP-P seconds the theoretical underpinning of van Dijk(1989, 1993, 1995, 1998c, 2002 & 2006) about *positive self-representation*. Once again political actors have reinforced the ideology of self-praise as they have praised themselves for being fair and loyal to the nation in general and a supporter of women right in particular. It is a conventional strategy of the politicians that they like to quote their success stories during/after their political regimes to impress the audience, the same thesis is reinforced here as the political actors of PPP-P have narrated about their political and governance strategy.

PM Raja Pervez Ashraf has approved the regularization of services of 105086 Lady Health Workers'. (appendix iv)

With reference to health sector and health measures Pakistan doesn't carry a high profile, at provincial level particularly in rural areas the health facilities are very much inadequate (Afzal & Yusuf, 2013)in such conditions LHWs (lady health workers) made a good contribution by providing basic health facilities to women of rural areas and the decision of PPP-P government to regularise the jobs of LHWs is a commendable step as it aims to improve the services of the LHW's. The discourse of self-praise and appreciation is continued as here the political actors have reinforced their stances as being a democratic and righteous group that believes in negotiation and dialogue for peaceful resolution of all political issues as seen in the next text.

> Peaceful agreement between government and Tahirul Qadri during Long March is a victory of democracy'. (appendix iv)

The text was produced in the context of the long march of Qadri against the government of PPP-P in 2013 as the leadership of Tehreek-i-Minjha- ul- Quran along with other political groups staged a sit-in in Islamabad and demanded Zardari government to resign but the demonstration ended up after the negotiation of government officials with Qadri. PPP-P termed the negotiation as the victory of democracy and once again the political actors attempted to portray a positive image of the party by highlighting their efforts for sustaining democracy in the country. The text can be framed in the ideology of van Dijk (1989, 1993, 1995, 1998c, 2002 & 2006) regarding the *positive representation of in-group members.*

> This is unacceptable & condemnable that how our Christian Brothers being attacked in Lahore.Govt must protect minorities'. (appendix v)

The above-quoted text is produced in the context of a sad act of violence against Christian community of Lahore in the alleged blasphemy case (Tanveer, 2013). Contextually narrating the Christian community of Lahore got victimized of severe violence by a violent mob in alleged blasphemy act, the charged mob persecuted all innocent members of Badami Bagh Christian community and pelted their houses with stones and then set them on fire. With reference to the same case, the ideology of PTI reflects the concern of the political actors with the victimized group, the political actors have adopted a humanistic approach by showing a deep solidarity with the subjugated group simultaneously the text forces the governmental authorities to protect the minorities. The linguistic choices like*our Christian Brothers* demonstrate the positive

ideology of the political group as it demonstrates intimacy and solidarity with the minorities, the overall doctrine of PTI is positive, humanistic and affirmative.

> PTI the only party which provides equal opportunity for woman to play a vital role in the society. Support Women in EI, Women are the strength of the nation, they play important role in the formation of a better society'. (appendix v)

Both tweets are produced in the vital political context of electoral campaigns of PTI as the discourse makers have highlighted the participation of women in society. Similarly, the texts have stressed upon the significance of women participation in the society, the first text represents the identity of the political group as a righteous group that stands for women rights. The phrase *women are the strength of the nation* depicts the ideology of the political group as a believer of women rights.during electoral campaigns, the political parties who talked about women rights, were expected to get more support of women. Contextually narrating the text was produced on the International women day and PTI's women wing celebrated the event and vowed to promote women participation in elections, precisely describing the text creates a positive identity of the political actors.

> No struggle can ever succeed without women participating side by side with men.
> - Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah Pakistan'.(appendix v)

This particular text was produced by PTI to highlight the thesis of women participation in politics for development of Pakistan. Here the text states that the founder of Pakistan Jinnah stressed upon the equality of women in society and he presented the thesis of gender equality because nations cannot progress without equal participation of men and women. The political actors have reinforced the thesis of women equality to relate their ideology with Jinnah. Moreover, the implicit agenda of discourse makers is to develop their positive political identity that may help the discourse participants to get public support. It is evident through contextual analysis that the political actors have presented their positive yet unique political ideology by giving special attention to women rights and women education for the development of Pakistan. So such tweets have reflected political maturity and political insight of the discourse makers.

> Criminals allowed to kill at will in Karachi while law enforcers mere spectators Imran Khan, PTI Condemns the AbbasTown Blasts which has resulted in the loss of lives of innocent people'. (appendix v)

These texts were produced in the backdrop of terrorism act in Abbas Town Karachi, resulting in the assassination of many innocent people from Shia community (Siddiqi, 2013). The first text raises severe criticism on LEA and terms them as inefficient and inept as they could not effectively handle the issue of militancy in the region particularly in Quetta and Karachi. Moreover, the issue of militancy in Quetta and Karachi got momentum in 2012 and 2013, particularly targeting Shia community. Such incidents called for a severe criticism of the government authorities and all school of thoughts condemn this incident. These particular discourse practices were uttered just two months prior to the general elections of 2013 and at that time all political groups attempted to represent their best image and optimistic approach to the discourse receivers to earn maximum support in the elections, with the same agenda the political actors of PTI demonstrated their identity as a supportive group who condemns all type of violence and militancy in quiet explicit way.

Apart from demonstrating a strong view against the militant groups another significant element of PTI's political discourse is their stress on the education policy.

> Mother tongue and/or Urdu to be the medium of instruction in all public and private schools up to Class VIII Pakistan, One system for all not possible unless all students in every province use one medium of instruction'. (appendix v)

Khan and his party focused much upon the same medium of instruction for all in Pakistan to finish all type of discrimination as debated in their political manifesto (PTI Manifesto Elections 2013, 2013), moreover the proposed plan was implemented by the same political group after the establishment of government in KPK. Here the first political text represents the stance of the subject group about the most important issue of the country i.e. medium of instruction in the educational system. The political actors of PTI stressed upon the significance of medium of instruction and proposed the idea of implementing the same medium of instruction throughout Pakistan (PTI Manifesto Elections 2013, 2013) to challenge status quo and to discourage social inequalities. Both text practices displayed the identity of the political groups as optimistic groups that proposes plans in the national interest and such text practices are important before the commencement of general elections of 2013.

> PTI becomes only Pakistan Political Party to unveil its Environmental Policy'. (appendix v)

PTI proposed its environmental policy by focusing upon the emergent need of radical steps to resolve the issue of pollution and to develop a healthy environment in Pakistan. The eco-green policy of PTI asked for the cooperation of government agencies and people to create practical strategies and effective measures to *grow green Pakistan*. It is too important to discuss here that it was just PTI that proposed its environmental policy in its election manifesto of 2013. Such discourse practices served twofold purposes as at one hand it magnifies the positive aspect of the in-group members, while on the other hand, it raises criticism on others for not showing any concern about the environment. The following text was produced in the context of an electoral rally of PTI in Lahore and the discourse makers have linked this public rally with the historical event of 1992 world cup (Nauright & Parrish, 2012).

> Before 23rd March, I am getting a feeling that I had before 1992 World Cup'. (appendix v)

The text here performs twofold purposes i.e. at one hand it has presented the optimistic approach of the discourse makers as they tried to associate their public rally with their great performance in the world cup of 1992, secondly, the discourse participants aimed to develop positive emotions among the discourse receivers by quoting the success stories. Precisely narrating the text appears prosperous and sanguine as the political actors have presented themselves as highly motivated and enthusiastic group who is striving for political power. As prior to the polls the political actors strived to impress their audiences with big promises and high aims to win maximum votes, so the same approach can be seen in the following text practice. Here the political actors have proposed idealistic plans to bring vital changes in the country so that the issue of inflation, unemployment, and corruption can be resolved.

> PTI Chairman says if voted to power his party will evolve a system that would address unemployment, price hike, attract, PTI becomes the First Pakistan Political Party to announce Policy Vision for Disabled Persons'. (appendix v)

The political actors have promised to solve the issue of unemployment and inflation if they win the elections. Besides above-stated vows PTI appreciated itself for proposing a profound policy for the deprived class of society (disabled persons), they also claimed to be the pioneer in this regard. Moreover, the discourse practices are aimed at positive self-projection apt to the theoretical perspective of *Us Vs Them dichotomy*.

Chief justice should take suo moto notice of murder of my son says father of Kamran Faisal.WILL U DO IT SIR !!!' (appendix v)

The above-quoted text was produced after the murder-cum-suicide of a senior NAB officer who was investigating the RPP (rental power plants) cases in 2013. This particular text forces rather demands a sue-motto action of chief justice to investigate the mysterious death of the NAB officer as he was involved in a high-level investigation of massive corruption case, the former Prime Minister Pervaiz Ashraf was also alleged in the RPP case. Contextually, the text was re-tweeted from the father of the assassinated officer who frequently demanded justice from the Supreme Court. Although the text explicitly provokes sympathies for the deceased officer but implicitly the text raises criticism on the liability of Supreme Court as the phrase *WILL YOU DO IT SIR!!!*Suggests. Here three exclamation marks are used in an interrogative way mainly aiming at questioning the credibility of the supreme state department. Precisely narrating the text has presented negative representation of others to defame them and to develop bad feeling among people for the subject department.Imran Khan strongly condemned US drone attacks and termed them illegitimate, irrational and an open violation of human rights and UN charter for peace etc. i.e. KPK,

Imran Khan has strongly condemned a drone strike by US in Waziristan which claimed over a dozen lives on Sunday, Obama justifies drones as just war of self defence!Absurd!Just war killing innocent civilians in FATA?Obama shd'.(appendix v)

Drone attacks were condemned by many Pakistani people as these attacks have violated the international law of human rights and they have also threatened the solidarity and sovereigntyof Pakistan. Within similar context, the above-quoted text reflects the ideology of the political actors about US drone policy and its consequences, as the attacks caused the death of many innocent Pakistani people in KPK and FATA, so it has developed high resentment among people of affected areas against the USA. Pakistani people have a deep resentment for drone attacks and they are fuelled more by their leader's public admonition of these attacks. So under such circumstances, the political leaders who openly condemned these drone attacks automatically won public support as happened in case of Imran. Similarly, the success of PTI in KPK is associated with its anti-American and anti-drone rhetoric (Khan & Rehman, 2014), the second tweet has

raised harsh criticism on US President Obama for his narrative about the justification of drone policy. Moreover, the political actors have used derogatory remarks about the standpoint of US president regarding drone attacks in FATA and termed it as *absurd*, such critical comments project the political identity of the discourse makers as a *nationalist and partisan group*that stands for sovereignty and solidarity of Pakistan, according to the aspirations and motives of people. In the pre-election time period, such rhetoric of PTI appears very smart as the political actors emotionally motivated the people of KPK by asserting their point of view about anti-drone and anti-US policy.

> PTI is the only party that has given 35% of its electoral tickets to youth, The only political leader who regularly faces millions of people with no bullet proof shield between him & the masses-Imran Khan, The only political leader who is not corruptible &nonpurchasableIK'. (appendix v)

The above-quoted text practices are exclusively used to praise the in-group members of PTI for their loyalty and sincerity etc. The first text represented the manifesto of political actors about youth participation and the discourse makers have focused on the political participation of youth by involving them in political processes. Similarly, PTI promised to give at least one-third representation to youth to challenge nepotism and conventional political trends in Pakistan, the above-stated thesis of PTI confirms their political ideology of *change.* The other two texts have demonstrated a conventional political thesis based on the manipulative strategies of self-praise, as the political actors have deliberately attempted to project their party leader as *non purchasable and not corruptible* akin to the theoretical perspective of the *ideological square.*Moreover, the text projected their own group leader as unconventional as he doesn't follow the traditional status quo and challenges the VIP political culture. It is too significant to note that the text promotes the positivity about the in-group member by portraying their leader as *leader of common man,* the text was produced in the context of an electoral campaign of PTI in Sargodha and the party leader addressed the massive public rally without bulletproof glass screen (Siddiqi, 2013). In the broader socio-political context, the discourse can be placed as an emergent political strategy as it exhibited a unique trend in conventional political set up of Pakistan. One of the most widely debated topics of PTI's political discourse is the stress on the political participation of youth as the young voters are motivated and encouraged to perform their role in polls.

METROBUS Compare this Rs30 billion to the Rs16.5 billion allocated to the health sector for the entire province of Punjab'.(appendix v)

In the above-narratedtext, the political actors of PTI have raised severe criticism on the inefficient budget policies of the PML-N government. From a contextual perspective, the text is aimed at criticising the infrastructure policies of PML-N in Punjab, as the text states that the government has allocated a huge budget for the metro bus service while they have ignored the serious issues of health sectors etc. (Hasan, 2014). Moreover, the huge investment of PML-N on road infrastructure got criticized by a different school of thoughts as many believed that there are a number of issues like energy crisis, poor health facilities, unemployment etc. that needs to be addressed on priority basis instead of new infrastructures. Likewise, the political actors of PTI objected the political insight and political strategy of PML-N to portray their bad image before elections.

The post-election political discourse of PTI revolves around the issue of *rigging* in elections with a strong urge to re-poll in certain constituencies, moreover to achieve these agendas the political actors arranged a huge protest against ECP and many sit-ins throughout Pakistan, particularly in Karachi. The following text reinforces the above-debated thesis as here the discourse participants have highlighted the issue of unfair and biased elections in Karachi and a huge protest against it.

Not a single bulb broken; no shop forced to shut down; no bus/car torched... Th is isPTI.. No damage to public property…, Im proud of all Karachiets that they had awakened at the right time. Be strong fight for ur future, fight against injusti…'.(appendix v)

The political text serves twofold purposes i.e. at one hand it appreciates its own struggle against rigging and the participation of its supporters in the huge protests while on the other hand, it raises indirect criticism on a dominant political group of Karachi. The text is aimed at the positive projection of in-group members and vice versa for the others. The same group (MQM) was alleged for rigging the electoral mandate of PTI in Karachi and thus the protests were held to implicitly condemned MQM (Ali R. , 2013; Manzoor, 2015). In the first tweet, the phrase *This is PTI. No damage to public property*implicitly targets MQM which is quite renowned for *violent protests and strikes'* (Mishra, 2004). The text also highlights clusivity elements too as the others are excluded

from positive attributive categories and only the subject party is added up. The former extracted political text also manifested the same ideology as here the discourse participants are highly encouraged for their active participation in the protests against unfair polls and the phrase *strong fight for ur future* displays the crucial standpoint of the political actors i.e. to stand against injustice and rigging. Such strong determination of the political actors depicted their consistent political approach and thus projected their identity as devoted and steady political party.

> We demand a recount with biometric verification on any 4 out of the 25 seats listed by PTI. Essential to restore confide…, PTI Chairman Imran Khan appeals to Pakistan Chief Justice to take notice of Election Poll Rigging'. (appendix v)

As mentioned earlier that the post-election political discourse of PTI revolves around the issue of *rigging,* so here again the political actors stressed upon the investigation of the polls in certain constituencies. Simultaneously the political actors urged Chief Justice to inquire the issue of *rigged polls*, in the former text practice the approach of political actors is quite humble as the word *appeal* demonstrates. From a contextual perspective, the discourse extracts manifested the identity of the political group as a victimized group that is striving and struggling for justice through democratic means in the context of *alleged rigging.* Moreover, the narrative of PTI about the reliability and liability of polls rather *rigged polls* faced high criticism from multiple schools of thoughts who termed the protests and allegations of the subject group as a result of frustration after losing the mandate which the political group was expecting. Conclusively, it can be stated that the political actors represented their positive and democratic identity by requesting the concerned authorities to use lucid and legitimate means to investigate the issue of *fair/unfair* elections, rather the political actors rationalize their doctrine by addressing/involving judiciary authorities. Such strategies are used by the political actors to demonstrate their positive image as frequently practiced by the subject political group.

4.3 Summary

The overall linguistic and contextual analysis has presented the political identity of ANP as a subjugated, oppressed and victimized political group who is striving for its political existence. Moreover the linguistic choices reflected a lot of distress and anxiety of the subject party. Besides putting allegations on others, ANP tried to get sympathies of

masses by quoting a number of tragic instances. It was too observed through analysis that in pre-election political discourse the political group used a lot of positive adjectives to boost up its political identity as a brave, patriotic and righteous group but the post-election discourse presented a different ideology. In post-electoral political discourse ANP adopted defensive and aggressive attitude, as the subject political group provided many justifications for its electoral failure. At few places, the subject political group held militants responsible for their failure but they did not highlight the issue of their own poor governance from 2008-2013. So, it is also postulated that ANP has fluid political identity and the subject party tried to create ideological dichotomy by doing negative attribution of others and positive attribution of itself. Another salient feature of analysis is linked with the clusivity elements as they are frequently exercised in the political discourse of ANP. There are frequent instances of inclusion and exclusions as positive attributes of the in-group members are magnified while in case of others they are minimized, similarly negative attributions from in-group members are excluded while for out-group members they are magnified. Although the researcher has tried to analyse the discourse practices within socio-political context but still more extended meanings can be derived

While discussing about the political discourse of MQM, some highly debated issues are the support for women rights and women participation in electoral process. The political actors often debated about the exploitation of *Urdu speaking people's rights* in Pakistan and highlighted the issues of other religious and ethnic minorities in the country. It was also vivid through linguistic and contextual analysis that the political actors often discussed about the issues of militancy and terrorism in Karachi and held many *other groups/political parties* responsible for it. They often lamented about the political conditions of the country and criticized the role of poor governance of Zardari regime. It was too imperative to note that the political group projected its own image as peaceful, lawful, patriotic and national political group who discouraged the politics of aggression but in a number of textual references they themselves exercised the verbal aggression against the other political groups. Through linguistic and contextual analysis it was also found that the political actors chanted the mantra of peace and solidarity and thus projected their political identity as a positive group, they also made negative attribution of others.

The analysis of PML-N's political discourse has revealed a deliberate deployment of multiple rhetorical strategies to articulate a highly persuasive ideology to appeal to

sentiments of masses. A frequently debated issue of PML-N's political discourse is a strong urge to promote democracy in Pakistan through legitimate means. The political actors have also quoted recurrent references of Musharraf's military regime and dictatorship and they also alleged other political groups for planning conspiracies against them. It is too obvious from the analysis that there are frequent instances of high aspirations for youth in terms of opportunities and employment, and a strong urge is also made to handle energy crisis in a best possible way. The study also demonstrated deployment of de-legitimization strategic plans to threaten the militancy and terrorist groups to uphold peace and prosperity in the country, there are frequent instances of severe allegations and criticism on the opponent groups on multiple political, social and personal grounds. It is too postulated that PML-N has projected futuristic aspirations along with great promises to resolve major issues of the country through diplomatic means and strategic plans. Conclusively, the overall discourse pattern appeared very positive for the in-group members while for the others it is the other way round.

The overall doctrine of PPP-P revolves around the lamentation upon the great loss of party's leadership due to terrorism and the political actors mostly tried to win sympathies of the masses by portraying their tragic stories. There are few instances of the achievements of the subject party as they didn't have many on their credit during their governance. Another salient feature of PPP-P's political discourse is allegation on others for defaming the party along with a demonstration of a solid stance against the militants and terrorist groups. The most frequently debated issue was the assassination of Benazir Bhutto. PPP-P adopted defensive attitude most of the time and pleaded for justifications of their failures by relating them to the internal and external proxy. Through linguistic analysis, it is also evident that the political actors mostly used positive adjectives to portray their political ideologies and identities while narrating about others the use of derogatory remarks remained central to discourse.

It is postulated through linguistic and contextual analysis that the rhetoric of PTI was very positive in pre-election discourse but the post-election discourse represented a totally different ideology. *The mantra of change* remained central to a number of discourse events which got replaced by the *mantra of rigging* after elections. An imperative feature of the analysis is linked with the focus of PTI on youth and women as the political actors often initiated, debated and thus projected their emphasis upon political participation of women and urban youth in electoral processes. It is also

important to discuss that in pre-election political discourse PTI remained focused on positive politics by vowing to revolutionize education and health sector but in post-election political discourse that same political group took a different stance and shifted its focus on politics of allegation and distress. It is also evident through analysis that the linguistic choices used for the in-group members reflected the notion of *positive-self representation* while for others a number of *negative attribution* remained central to discourse. Moreover, the shift in the focus of PTI's ideology is linked with their distress as the subject group couldn't get the electoral mandate which it was expected before the elections. Although the subject political actors discussed a lot about fair politics and represented their political identity as a fair, democratic yet unique political group that believed in unconventional political means and doesn't support politics of confrontations but the post-election political discourse represented a totally contradictory image. It is also postulated through analysis that the political actors have exploited digital political discourse to represent their political identity as a moderate political group who understands and thus aims to resolve the main issue of country like energy crisis, environmental pollutions, women rights, youth enterprise, militancy etc. overall doctrine of PTI revolves around the issue of positive self-representation besides projecting negative identity of others. Another significant element of the analysis is about the recurrent usage of clusivity elements as the discourse makers have frequently exercised multiple categories of inclusion and exclusion for the projection of positive political identity.

4.4 QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS

In this section, the quantitative analysis of data is done. The researcher has used socio-cognitive model of van Dijk (1989, 1991, 1993, 1995, 1998c, 2002 & 2006) for data analysis, as this model specifically deals with media discourse (Sheyholislami, 2001; Todolí, Labarta, & Dolón, 2006), so it is frequently used for the analysis of media text in broader social, cultural and political perspective. As the data of this research is taken from social media network sites, so the above-stated model appeared suitable from the analysis perspective. Moreover, the central premise of the socio-cognitive model is to relate context with the text to unpack the hidden ideologies of discourse makers, with reference to the same thesis the researcher has presented a detailed analysis of contextual references in the earlier sections of this chapter (see sections 4.1-4.7). Apart from the link between

text and context, a significant feature of van Dijk's model (1989, 1991, 1993, 1995, 1998c, 2002 & 2006) is the analysis of ideological square i.e. Us Vs Them dichotomy, it primarily deals with how discourse makers represent themselves and others through specific linguistic choices. In this section of the analysis, the researcher has also focused on the same phenomenon to see how discourse makers have used *pronouns* to project their political identities.

According to Bramley (2001), pronouns are not the mere representation of a person, number or gender as proposed by conventional grammar rather they have wider and complex function such as *construction and representation of identity etc.* It was also postulated that politicians commonly use pronouns to construct their identities and to signify alignments and boundaries between themselves and others (Bramley , 2001). Within similar context Halliday & Hasan (1976) proposed that *I* is a term which can be exclusively used for self-reference, Benveniste (1971, p. 218) termed *I* as the reality of discourse as it signifies the boundaries between self and others. Moreover,Watson, Batchelor, & Claxton (1999), focused upon the significance of pronouns in the political communication, it was also debated that pronouns are specifically used for pre-defined political agendas. Similarly, Malone (1990) stressed upon the *identity boundaries,* he demonstrated that *we* are exclusively used for *institutional identity* and it denotes ideologies of the discourse makers and their particular agendas. So it is imperative to study personal pronouns in broader political context to analyze the issue of identity (re)construction and (re)presentation as Bramley (2001) argued that personal pronouns like *I, we and you* reflect intimacy and inclusion in discourse while *they, their and them* develop differences and exclusion so their usage in a certain discourse practice profoundly indicates some extended meanings beyond the textual level. By keeping in mind the same thesis here the analysis of personal pronouns is presented, the researcher has focused upon the frequencies of personal pronouns to see how they are being exploited in the text for (re)construction and representation of political identity and how they indicate clusivity.
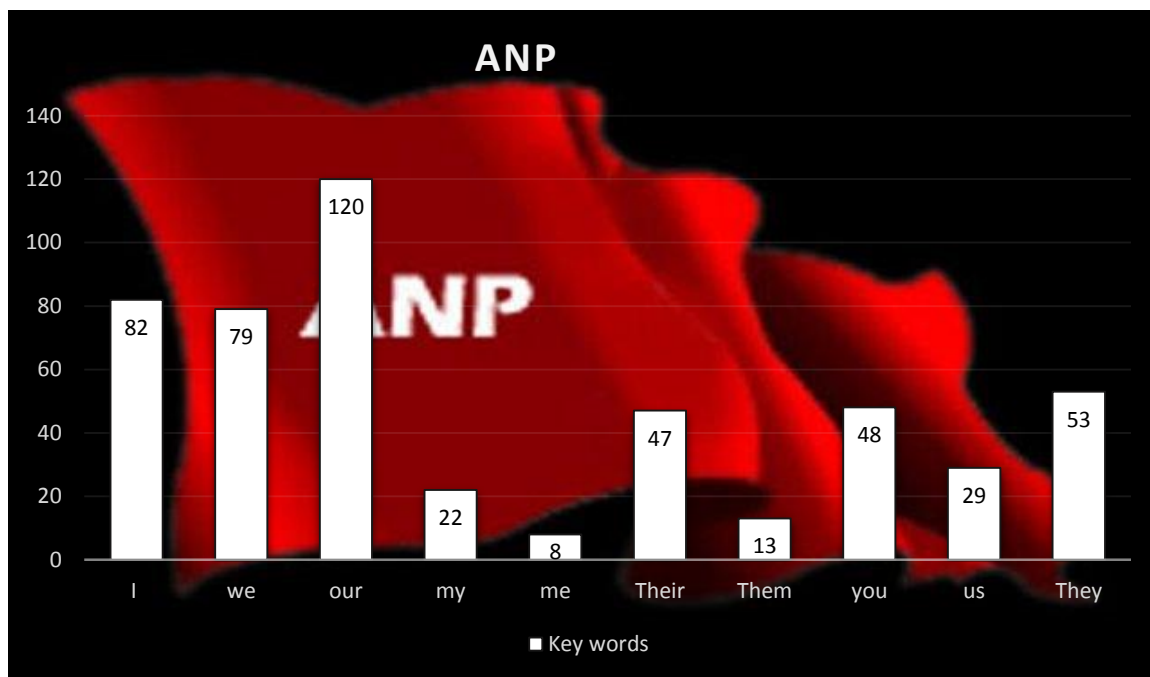
Figure 9 Frequency of Personal Pronouns in Political Discourse of ANP

According to Obeng and Hartford (2002) personal pronouns like I, we, us our represent inclusion in political discourse while they, them and their denote exclusion. Simultaneously, the inclusive categories demonstrate the existence of multiple individuals/groups in political processes. Within similar context the political discourse of ANP is presented here, it is found that the pronoun *our* has the highest frequency (120) and the discourse makers have used it in positive connotation as seen in the following examples.

> our political struggle, our resolve against extremism, our mission for peace, our martyrs in Karachi, our struggle against extremism, Our heartlfelt condolences go out to the families of the martyrs, Our party is very clear about women votes, Our martyrs are our heroes, our countrymen are butchered in a suicide attack'. (appendix i)

In the above-stated text examples, the political actors have presented themselves as subjugated and victimized group that is struggling hard to deal with the issue of militancy and terrorism. Apart from the projection of depressive acts, the political actors have mentioned their solidarity with the victimized members and they have shown their deep concern about protection of women rights. Moreover, the political identity of ANP is exhibited as a determined, devoted and peaceful group that is ready to fight against

extremism and militancy. *I*have asecond highest frequency (82) in the political discourse of ANP and it also reflects the above-stated ideology as the discourse makers have manifested their political identity as a *victimized yet determined group* that is not willing to surrender in front of militants as seen in the next examples.

> im not afraid of Taliban, I myself was targeted twice, I condemn the brutal murder, I condemn the attacks, I strongly condemn the killing of ANP candidate Sadiq Zaman, I think election commission intervening against personal attacks, I wish JI PML-N IK PTI condemn blast of ANP ANPMarkaz office'. (appendix i)

Besides lamenting the loss of itsin-group members in terrorist acts the political actors raised severe criticism on the opponent political groups for their negligence and non-cooperation to deal with terrorism. Moreover, the discourse makers have projected their political identity as a courageous and strong group that is not scared of militants. These particular discourse practices are narrated in the context of extreme militancy against ANP prior to the elections of 2013 as a number of ANP workers, members and supporter got victimized by the terrorists. The lexical items present*positive self-representation* besides provoking others to took and thus exhibit a solid stance regarding the hotly debated issue of militancy.

Another significant inclusive category of the personal pronoun*we*have athird highest frequency (79) in the political discourse of ANP and the political actors have mostly used it to demonstrate their political ideology as a democratic political group as seen in the following examples.

> We believed in democracy, we always oppose Talibans, we condemn these criminal attack, we exposed the Talibans, we not only condemn drones, we strongly condemn the cowardly attack, we will play our roles, we will not boycott the elections, we stand with anp, we will our mandate, we will rectify our mistakes'. (appendix i)

In the above-stated discourse practices, multiple themes are debated such as primarily the discourse makers have projected their strong belief in democracy that is the hallmark of the ideal political system, secondly, the political actors have strongly condemned militancy acts in the region. Another salient feature of above-stated discourse is a strong determination to uplift democracy in the region by challenging all illegitimate forces that threaten the democratic process. By analyzing the last two tweets it can be stated that the

political actors have exhibited their positive perception by promising to learn from their mistakes to perform better in the future democratic processes. Contextually narrating ANP badly lost its mandate in 2013 elections and most of its members held militants responsible for their defeat. The political actors have aggravated the issue of militancy and termed it as the sole reason for their defeat in the elections of 2013. Factually narrating people don't need mere promises to support a specific political group or political figure in electoral processes rather they need performance and welfare projects to stand with a specific political group. As ANP was unable to please its supporters during its political regime of five years from 2008-2013, so resultantly they didn't get the expected support of masses and lost the elections of 2013. From linguistic perspective the usage of *political flag words* like *we believe in democracy, play our role better etc.* indicate the perception and ideology of the subject leader as a fair and courageous group who is ready to challenge the negative forces of the region to uplift democracy. In the above-narrated discourse practices the political actors have persuaded their audiences by narrating their political identity as subjugated/marginalized yet determined political group who is struggling for its survival from militants. The analysis reinforces the theoretical assumptions of the socio-cognitive approach of van Dijk (1989, 1993, 1998c & 2002) as the inclusive categories of pronouns are used to portray the affirmative and positive ideology of the political actors. The exclusive personal pronouns i.e. *they, them and their* indicate exclusion and these are mostly used for negative attribution of others as practiced by ANP. Within similar context, the following digital political discourse is analyzed.

> They are terrorists, they can attack us, they kill our people, they tear down my flags, They have martyred our children, They have to run to Lahore for permission'. (appendix i)

In the above stated all textual examples the political actors have labeled others as a terrorist in quite an explicit way simultaneously they have projected their own identity as a marginalized group that is struggling for its survival. Moreover above quoted examples display the identity of *others* as terrorists and militants who bring destruction to the subject party and cause severe damage like attacking and killing of people etc. Similarly, the last tweet primarily raises criticism on PTI, an opponent political group of ANP who won the polls of 2013 in KPK, an area which was previously ruled by ANP for five years. Here the political actors have alleged PTI for being dependent on the

provincial government of Punjab for decision making. Contextually viewing PTI and PML-N (current provincial government of Punjab) have a traditional political rivalry and intense relationship as PTI alleged PML-N for rigging the elections of 2013, so in these conditions, the allegation of ANP on PTI appear conventional yet absurd.

Conclusively it can be derived from the text that the three personal exclusive pronouns *they, them and their* have less frequency in the text as compared to the inclusive personal pronouns *I, we, our* and these pronouns serve the function of identity construction. So the inclusive pronouns have manifested positive identity of the in-group members while the exclusive pronouns have displayed the negative identity of others apt to the theoretical aspects of the socio-cognitive model of van Dijk (1989, 1991, 1993, 1995, 1998c, 2002 & 2006). Here the analysis of MQM's political discourse is presented, the statistical analysis of the text discusses the personal pronouns as political identity markers.
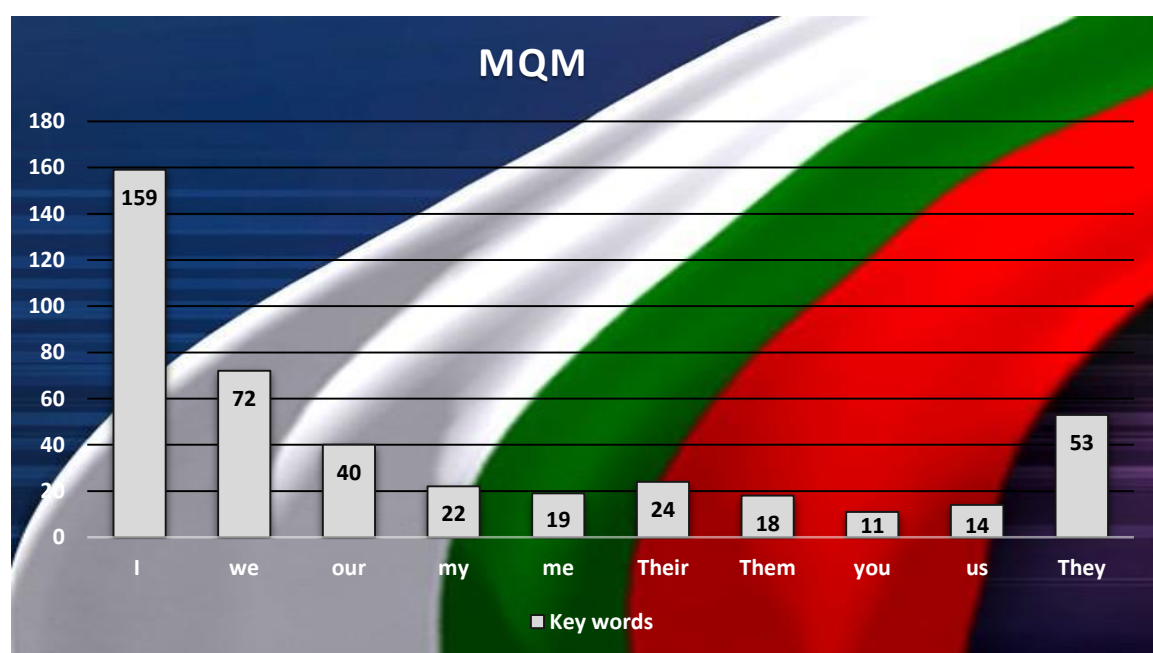
Figure 10 Frequency of Personal Pronouns in Political Discourse of MQM

The highest frequency pronoun in the digital political discourse of MQM is *I* (159) and the political actors have used it in positive connotation as seen in the following examples.

> I hope Nawaz sharif will do justice, I urge the youth to understand, I strongly condemn attacks on JU, I salute all workers and supporters of MQM,I request the nation not to vote for pro-Taliban, I want to transform current Pakistan into Jinnah Pakistan, I never surrender to Medieval Feudal System, I am preaching peace even today, I want to make Pakistan strong and prosperous'. (appendix ii)

In the pre and post-election political discourse, MQM has reflected its political identity as a reformist and patriotic political group who is well aware of all national issues such as extremism, terrorism, injustice etc. Besides highlighting these issues the political actors have projected their political identity as a non-violent, diplomat and peaceful group that is striving for the peace in the region. It is interesting to note here that the discourse participants have projected themselves as a righteous group who stood by the judiciary system and strives for peace and harmony in the country. At few places, the political actors have projected a didactic approach by suggesting the newly elected PM Nawaz Sharif promote justice in the country for solidarity and development of Pakistan. Simultaneously, the discourse participants have discouraged nepotism in the country and suggested people support anti-Taliban political groups to eradicate the menace of militancy from Pakistan. The overall approach of discourse makers is optimistic and encouraging as they want to promote peace and prosperity in the region and condemned all type of illegitimate forces. The second highest frequency pronoun is *we* (72) and the political actors have used it for the projection of their positive identity as seen in the following examples.

> We will not surrender in front of terrorist, we made Karachi beautiful, we will establish schools and universities, we are with armed forces, we are not deterred by bomb blasts, we swallowed bitter pills for democracy, we will not be discouraged by terrorists, we love peace'. (appendix ii)

The political actors have displayed their identity as a courageous and righteous group that is ready to fight against militants to promote peace in the land, secondly the discourse makers have promised to promote education in the country for the sake of progress and development. Moreover, the political actors have exhibited themselves as a democratic political group that is central to an ideal governance system. It is also reflected in the discourse practices that the political actors have a futuristic approach and they are optimistic also as they are not discouraged by the terrorism and their democratic spirits also appeared very high. While narrating about the stance of MQM about peace in Karachi, their statement appeared quiet controversial because the political group was alleged by many for causing terrorism in the city.The above quoted all examples of the political text reinforced the previously debated thesis about the representation of political identity as in all extracts the political actors projected themselves as a determined, devoted and patriotic group that is struggling for democracy and challenges all

illegitimate dictatorial and tyrants forces. Another salient feature of their political identity is their urge to develop an educational system by constructing schools and colleges etc.

As compared to inclusive categories of personal pronouns the exclusion pronouns are less in frequency i.e. *they them and their,* simultaneously these pronouns are exploited by the political actors for manipulative agendas as seen below.

> They [PTI] demonstrate their political immaturity, they want to push us back, they always betrayed us, they are against me, they want to impose their way of life on us through terrorism'. (appendix ii)

Here the political actors have labeled others as terrorists and condemned their acts of violence while in another discourse extract they have explicitly criticized their opponent political group and termed them as immature in the lieu of alleged rigging in general elections of 2013. Precisely narrating the text primarily raises severe criticism on *others* for threatening the democratic processes and causing damages fair political practices. At the same time, the in-group members are viewed in the mirror of loyalty and sincerity and the aristocratic system is also challenged to bring reforms for the oppressed public.

The next analysis focuses on the political discourse of PML-N, the statistical analysis of personal pronouns reflects the political identity of the political actors.
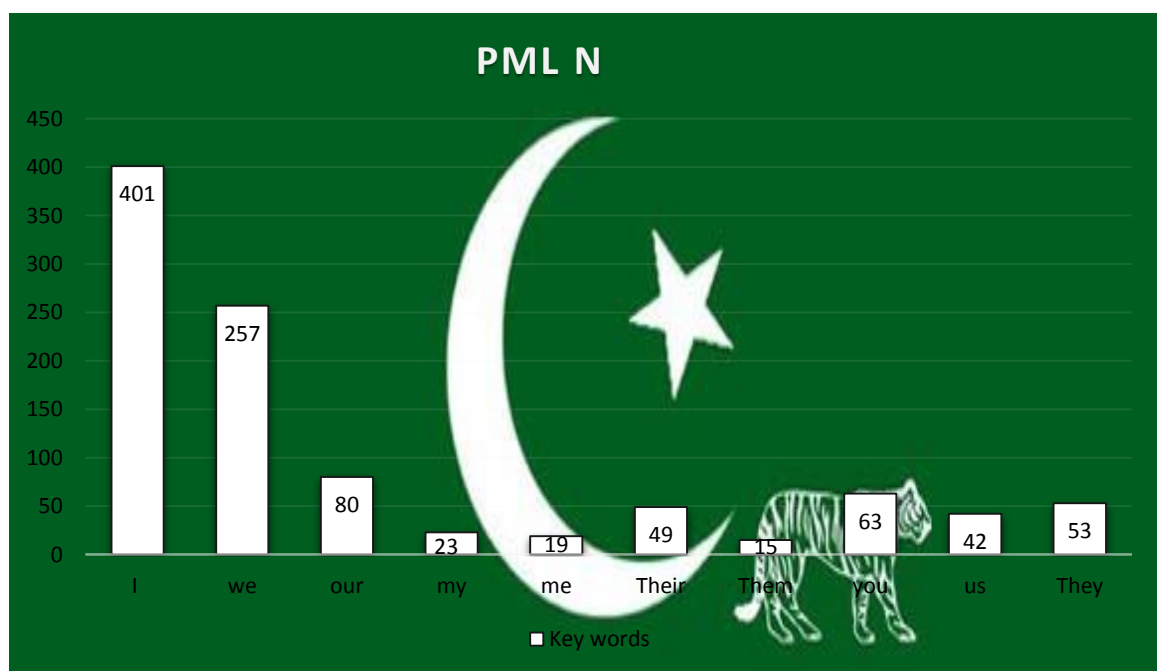
Figure 11 Frequency of Personal Pronouns in Political Discourse of PML-N

In graph no 3 the most frequently quoted personal pronoun is *I* and as there is a marked difference between the frequency of 'inclusive pronouns *I, we, our* and exclusive pronouns *they, them and their.* The inclusive pronoun category like *I* (401) demonstrates the highly positive image of in-group members as seen through the following discourse extracts.

> I would present a power policy in 20 days, I cannot use vulgar language against anyone, I can see around me is youth, I refuses to compromise on Pakistan national interest, I urge you to vote for experience leadership, I ve no personal vendetta against Musharraf, I have no stains of corruption on me, I categorically reject the allegation against Nawaz Sharif and me'. (appendix iii)

One of the most common agenda of political actors is the stress upon fair politics without any personal grudges against any other political leader, simultaneously the political actors have displayed a strong determination to bring revolutionary changes in the country after getting power. The political actors have projected themselves as a fair, democratic, incorrupt, upright and ambitious group that motivates youth to participate in electoral processes. Another interesting subject matter debated by PML-N is to resolve all important issues of Pakistan such as terrorism, energy crisis etc. on priority basis after winning the polls of 2013. Apart from previously mentioned vows, the political actors claimed to be neutral and unbiased in their political approach, specifically in the case of former president Musharraf. Contrary to the fact the claims of Nawaz to remain neutral in case of Musharraf proved fake as in a number of instances Nawaz demanded the trial of Musharraf and alleged him for infidelity and disloyalty.

The other inclusive personal pronoun *we* (257) depict the ideology of discourse makers as fair and progressive political group as seen in the following examples.

> We want to make it a transparent process, we reiterate our resolve to end energy crisis, we talk about solving unemployment issues, we want peace in Pakistan, we are going to win elections, we brought respect to green flag, we have the team to resolve the crisis, we aspire to bring change, we build motorways, highways, dams, we are not here with empty promises, we will give loans for small business, we conducted the atomic test'. (appendix iii)

The electoral political discourse of PML-N is full of high promises with abundant and frequent references to the past achievements of the subject party. Moreover, the

political actors have aspired at bringing change in Pakistan by resolving energy crisis and promoting education system along with vows to create jobs for the youth. The political actors have exploited the inclusive category of personal pronoun for magnifying their past achievements such as the construction of motorway, highways and atomic explosions etc. Additionally, the discourse can be taken as the best example of the self-praise as political actors have appreciated themselves very openly and attributed a number of positive traits to themselves akin to the theoretical underpinning of Us Vs Them dichotomy. While analysing the political discourse it is found that the political actors have used negative attributes for *other*s as *other*s are charged for blaming the subject party and they are also alleged for being loan defaulters etc. it can be concluded from the text that the political actors have dedicated more personal pronouns for self-praise and positive self-depiction and there is less focus on negative attribution of others.
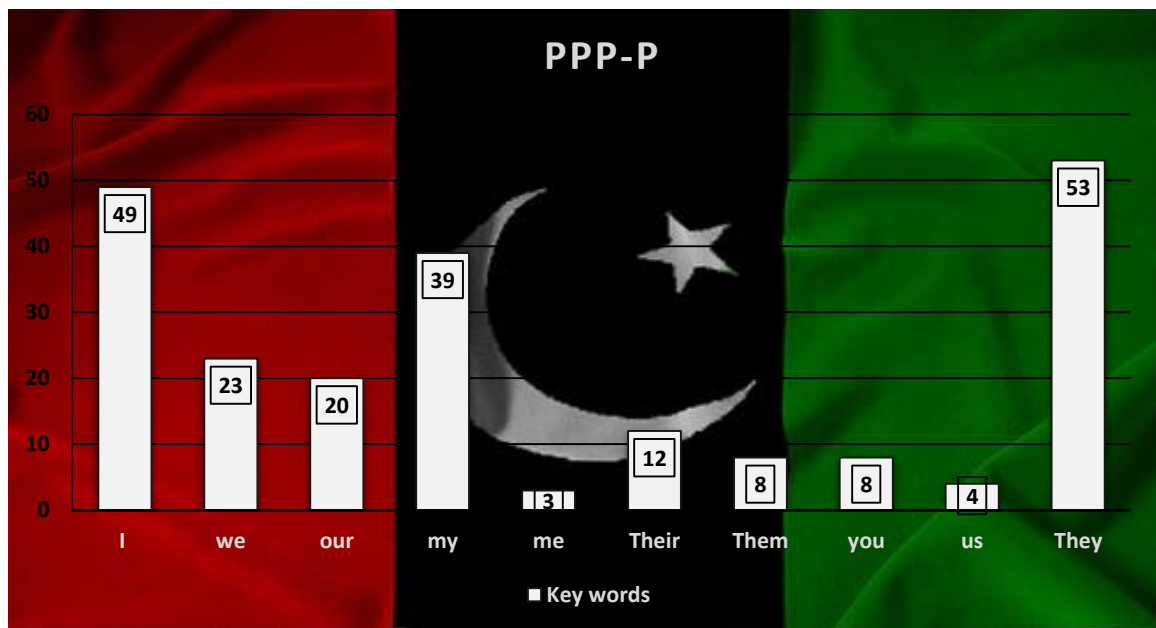
Figure 12 Frequency of Personal Pronouns in Political Discourse of PPP-P

Here the exclusive category of the personal pronoun is higher than the inclusive category as the frequency of *they* is more than the frequency of *I* while in case of other categories the frequency of *we and our* is higher than *their and them.* It is found through analysis that the personal pronouns *I, we, my and our'* are used to highlight the identity of the political actors as a peaceful and prosperous group that believes in solidarity of Pakistan and discourages all type of militancy as seen in the following examples.

I will always raise voice of people, I want to thank all those who supported, I'm proud of our shia brothers, we want a polio-free Pakistan, We don't want politics of confrontation, We will protect Pakistan of BB Shaheed, we all are Bhutto, My vote is against terrorism'. (appendix iv)

As previously narrated the text is aimed at promoting the promising and optimistic approach of political actors, particularly the concern about the health sector and solidarity with a sectarian group of Shia both strengthens the previously debated thesis. Another important identity marker of PPP-P is *Bhutto* i.e. the political actors metaphorically label all followers of the subject party after the name of assassinated leaders of PPP-P i.e. Zulfiqar Bhutto and Benazir, moreover the discourse makers demonstrated their strong determination to follow the ideology of Bhutto. It is too stated that there are frequent references to the strong association with Bhutto's ideology and the murder of Benazir and Zulfiqar Bhutto was termed as a great sacrifice for democracy. Simultaneously, the political actors claimed to challenge the conventional politics of confrontation and proposed the policies of reconciliation and appeasement. In the following examples, the exclusive categories have depicted the aggression and distress of political actors about *others* as they are termed as supporters of militants.

Talibans real success is that they bet on the winners, They thought they could silence my grandfather by hanging him, They promised not to attack Khan and Sharif'. (appendix iv)

Besides putting allegations on others particularly the winner political groups of 2013 polls i.e. PML-N and PTI, the political actors have also criticized *others* for the assassination of Bhutto in 1979. Conclusively stating the political actors have exploited inclusive and exclusive personal pronouns for construction and representation of their positive political identity, the political actors have emotionally appealed to the discourse receivers by quoting the assassination of Bhutto, simultaneously they have projected themselves as fair, democratic yet marginalized group while others are portrayed as aggressive, unfair and undemocratic. The next analysis is done to highlight the political identity of PTI as exhibited through *personal pronouns*.
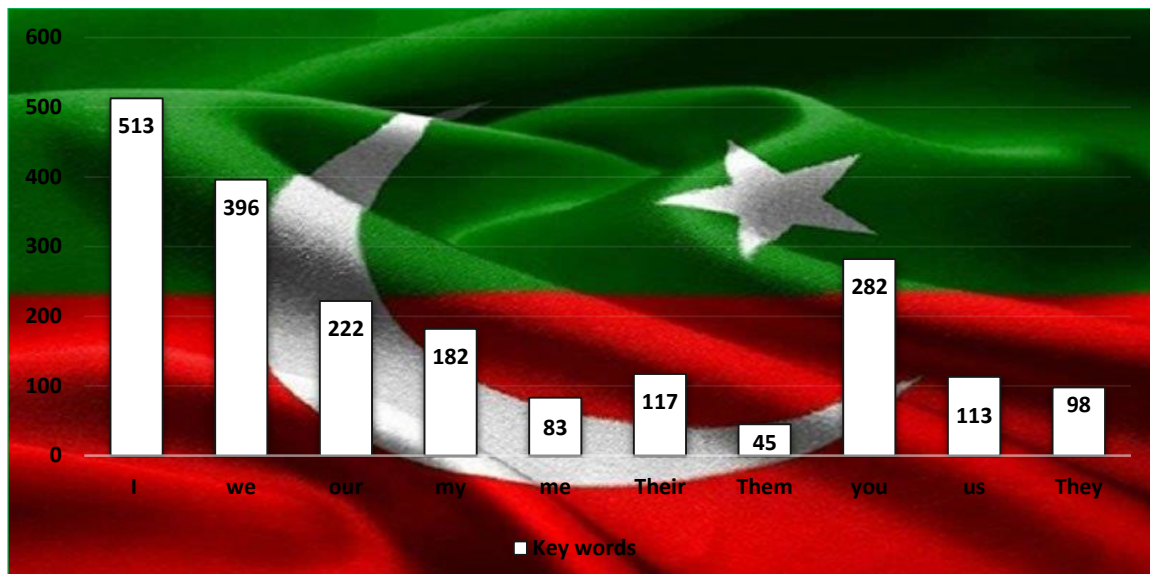
Figure 13 Frequency of Personal Pronouns in Political Discourse of PTI

In the political discourse of PTI, the most frequently used personal pronouns are *I* (513) and *we* (396), and these pronouns are exclusively used for positive self-representation as seen in the following textual examples.

> I salute the youth and women protesting, I'm confident of victory, I'm hope for nation, I condemn the attack on AN, I will protect your tax money, I'm in politics because I'm worried about you, I'm raising my voice against rigging every day, I'm shocked to see Zahra Shahid dead'. (appendix iv)

In all these tweets the personal pronoun *I* highlight the political approach of the discourse participants as the fair and democratic party that is willing to stand against all type of terrorism, simultaneously the discourse participants vows to work for the progress and prosperity of the country and labeled themselves as *hope and change* for Pakistan. The political actors have exploited the inclusive personal pronouns for their political agendas, as the discourse makers claimed to join politics for the prosperity of common man. Apart from promoting their positive ideology the discourse makers have also depicted their political identity as a subjugated and victimized group with special reference to the alleged rigging case in Karachi and the controversial death of party leader Zahra Shahid before re-poll in Karachi on 19th May 2013. It is too significant to note that the political actors have motivated the youth and women to participate in the electoral process to uplift democracy in Pakistan and to bring change. PTI specifically targeted

youth for electoral support and encouraged them to participate in the polls to support the subject party.

> We have changed Pakistan, We suspect Rigging happened in 25 seat, We Want a Safe and Happier Karachi, We strongly condemn the murder of Zahra Shahid, WE HAVE NOT FORCOED ANYONE TO SHUT DOWN, We demand free and fair elections in Karachi, We will never let them hijack our victory, We want justice, We promise to provide equal education and health, We absolutely condemn violence against anyone, We condemn terrorism, We are with Imran khan for change , We reject the old and discredited ,We believe that change comes only through ballots, We Trust Our Great Leader Imran Khan, We stand with soldiers of pak army'. (appendix v)

In the above quoted all extracts of political discourse the inclusive personal pronoun is exclusively used for the portrayal of the highly positive image of PTI, particularly the party leader is represented with smart attributes such as *great leader and marker of change*. The political actors have represented their political identity as a fair, peaceful and righteous group that condemns all types of illegitimate means in politics and believes in the power of democracy for real change in the country. The political leaders have also narrated their doctrine against the militancy and tyranny in the region besides promoting the mantra of peace and progress. Another salient usage of the inclusive pronoun*we*are used to encourage the participation of women and youth for their political participation and support for the subject party. In connection to the conventional political strategy of the politicians, the political actors of PTI have also raised indirect criticism on others for f*orcing people to participate in protests* as one political group i.e. MQM often forced people to shut down businesses and transports for their protest calls in Karachi (Verkaaik, 2004). Apart from charging others for using illegitimate means to force people for public protests, the political actors have frequently quoted references about rigging in elections, rather it is more appropriate to state that the post-election political discourse of the subject party revolves around the *complaints about rigging*. The political actors have presented their case as a marginalized political group whose electoral mandate was stolen by the undemocratic forces by illegitimate means, so they have termed other political groups as biased and unjust.

As compared to the inclusive personal pronouns *I* (513), *we* (396), *our* (222), the exclusive personal pronouns *their* (117), *them* (45), *they* (98) are less frequently used by the political actors of PTI.

> They have seen that karachiets have awaken that's why they did their filthy jobs, They want to save status quo, 80 coffins they only ask for justice, These are the people who protect their own interest & loot this country, It's time to rise up against their tyranny'. (appendix v)

In the above quoted textual references, the political actors have alleged others for a number of reasons such as they are being charged with corruption, rigging, and terrorism. The third tweet refers to Quetta massacre in which many innocent people from Shia community got killed. After the tragic incident of violence, the people of Quetta protested with the dead bodies of victims and they demanded the government to execute the terrorist group behind the tragedy of innocent souls. Although PTI often claimed to do different and unconventional politics but contrary to the fact they used the typical strategies of blaming other political actors by labeling them as looters and traitors.

4.5 Summary

It can be concluded from the text that the political actors of all political groups have exploited the inclusive and exclusive pronouns to (re)construct and (re)present their positive political identity. They mainly focused on thenegative projection of their opponent political groups and in the context of political rivalries, they blamed others for all the plight and problems of the country. A hotly debated issue was the terrorism and drone attacks and all political groups condemned the drone attack and presented a strong urge to eliminate the menace of terrorism from Pakistan. It is interesting to note that almost all political group except PPP-P used inclusive pronouns more than the exclusive ones and they also attempted to highlight their past achievements specially PML-N. Another salient feature of analysis was the *focus upon youth* as all political groups' targeted youth for political support and political participation and they also addressed and encouraged women to step forward and play their role in the progress of Pakistan. Some political groups like ANP and PPP-P narrated their tragedies more by using personal pronouns and recurrently quoted their tragic past stories while PML-N and PTI preferred to highlight past achievements than the past tragedies.

Precisely narrating it can be derived from the quantitative analysis that political actors have highlighted the aspirations and positive attribution for the in-group members by inclusive pronouns, while the exclusive personal pronouns are used to raise criticism and allegations on the opposite/out-group members.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Critical Discussion

According to Fiske (1994)*our words are neverneutral*rather they always present biased agenda of discourse makers in broader social and political context. And as language is central to discourse (Fowler, 1991) so it is inevitable to analyze the language to comprehend the real meanings of the text as it appears in the different communicative events. Furthermore, discourse is considered as a way of expressing beliefs, values and ideologies etc., given the power of written and spoken discourse Critical discourse analysis is necessary for defining, inferring, analyzing and evaluating social life as reflected in the text (Luke, 1997). Moreover, it attempts to irradiate means in which the prevailing forces in a society create versions of reality that promotes and thus supports their own interests. Within similar context, the researcher has used CDA as a method and as an approach to analyze the political discourse in broader social and political context.

In this particular study, the researcher has analyzed political discourse of five major political parties of Pakistan i.e. ANP, MQM, PPP-P, PML-N and PTI. As the discourse is taken from a sensitive time period of elections 2013, so the research findings appeared very interesting. The researcher believed that these discourse practices are reliable as they have been taken from Twitter and they have their exact dates, so they appeared interesting too. The pre-election political discourse of ANP revolved around the issue of militancy and terrorism, the political actors lamented upon the targeted killing of their in-group members and complaints about hindrances in their political campaigns. Rather political actors represented their political identity as subjugated and marginalized group. Besides the issue of militancy and terrorism, the political actors frequently quoted references to their political ideology of peace and humanity and they discouraged the politics of confrontation and extremism. Simultaneously, many allegations were made

upon others for their illegitimate support of the terrorists and for conspiracies against the subject party. The post-election political discourse of ANP is defensive as the political actors have attempted to justify their defeat in general elections of 2013 and related it to militancy and terrorism. Moreover, the political actors presented an optimistic approach by vows to rectify the electoral mistakes to perform better in the next elections, so their political identity appeared optimistic and positive. According to theoretical underpinning of a socio-cognitive model of CDA, positive-self representation is done through linguistic and textual descriptions and mostly it revolves around power structures, sometimes to get and sometimes to resist power, same ideology was clearly observed in the political discourse of ANP. Persuasion of ideological beliefs was done through inclusion and exclusion, and it was also frequently practiced by the political actors of ANP.

The political discourse of MQM also revolved around the issue of militancy and terrorism and the party frequently complained about the aggression against their in-group members that caused hindrance in their political campaigns. Moreover, the political actors discouraged the ethnic, linguistic and minority discrimination in the country but implicitly the party itself promoted the issue of ethnic and linguistic discrimination. Furthermore, the political actors focused upon the politics of allegations besides depicting a highly positive image of their in-group members, simultaneously the political actors presented their political identity as a democratic, unbiased, fair and righteous group that vows to fight against all illegitimate and tyrant forces. Apart from vows to fight against terrorism the political actors represented their political identity as victimized and marginalized group by quoting numerous references of assaults, bomb blasts, and other militancy acts in order to increase their vote bank as the discourse was produced prior to the elections of 2013. MQM also defended its alliance with other political parties and framed this alliance in pure national interest. A salient feature of their political discourse was a strong focus on women right and women participation in all fields of life for the progress of Pakistan. It is also imperative to discuss the anti-drone and anti-Taliban policy of MQM to increase its vote bank and to improve the positive political image of the subject party. There are frequent instances of severe criticism on poor governance of PPP-P and the subject political group alleged the current government (before 2013) for all the problems in Pakistan. Precisely narrating, it is derived from the linguistic and contextual analysis that the ideological dichotomy remained central to all discourse practices of MQM as the *positive attribution of ourselves* and *negative attribution of others* remained dominant.

While analyzing the political discourse of PPP-P, it was derived from the textual and contextual elements that the political actors have represented their political identity as nationalist and victimized political group as they termed the assassination of their party leader Zulfiqar Bhutto and Benazir Bhutto as a sacrifice for democracy. Secondly, the political actors presented the thesis of reconciliation and politics of harmony by ignoring all types of confrontations and political rivalry with the opponent political groups as seen in a number of tweets. PPP-P attempted to construct and present its political identity as a suppressed and victimized group to appeal to the sympathies of people and thus to win their support in the elections of 2013 as happened in 2008 elections (Zulfiqar, 2011). Simultaneously, the political actors raised severe criticism of rigging in elections and related their defeat in elections with unfair polls and terrorist acts. Like conventional political strategies, the political actors of PPP-P also kept on narrating their past achievements like Benazir Income Tax Support Program and Polio campaigns during their governance of five years to impress their voters and followers but unfortunately all these tactics didn't work well and ended in worst defeat of the subject political group in 2013 elections. The overall rhetoric of PPP-P appeared diplomatic as the political group intentionally initiated and debated those political issues in which their weakness couldn't be explicitly identified. PPP-P also presented their anti-drone policy but contrary to the fact, the number of drone attacks was highest during the regime of the same political group, so in such conditions, their anti-drone policy didn't appear very much stimulating for the public. PPP-P mostly plead for the justice and also urged for a fair investigation of Benazir murder case, interestingly the party itself didn't play a smart role and even in their own ruling period, the murder case couldn't be handled well. Moreover, there were a number of text instances in which the political actors exercised clusivity elements by tagging positive attributions to their own group members and vice versa for others. So the exclusive marker of *positiveself-attribution*is common in the political discourse of PPP-P.

With reference to the representation of positive, optimistic, promising and loyal political identity PML-N appeared as one of the most active political group on social media. The political actors represented their constructive political identity by quoting abundant references to their past achievements during their political regimes to appeal to their voters. The political actors frequently mentioned the construction of motorway and highways, atomic explosions, laptop schemes and industrial reforms for development of Pakistan. The political actors of PML-N presented their political identity from two

perspectives, as at one hand they appeared as strong, devoted, and reformist political group while on the other hand, they projected themselves as marginalized and victimized group (with reference to the dictatorship of Musharraf and self-exile of Nawaz Sharif). PML-N often quoted references for the fair trial of Musharraf and termed him a traitor and his punishment was regarded essential for the peace and progress of Pakistan. It was also postulated through analysis that PML-N often alleged their opponent political groups especially PTI for negative campaigns and blamed them for destroying positive image of the subject political group. Another salient feature of PML-N's political discourse is their stress upon youth and industry, the political actors' vows to support youth to find jobs or run a business to improve the economy of Pakistan. It is too imperative to discuss that PML-N often promised to resolve the issue of energy crisis and revive the economy. Another significant topic of their political discourse is an anti-drone policy but they didn't show any special interest to devise anti-drone policy at government level. The researcher found that PML-N demonstrated more positive political identity in post-election discourse as they won the elections. It was also evident from the analysis that the political group often condemned the ethnic and linguistic violence and urged the nation to remain united for the solidarity and progress of Pakistan. Apart from praising itself for atomic explosions and motorway schemes, the political actors blamed other political groups on a number of grounds. The regime of Zardari was termed as a complete failure by the subject political group and Zardari was called as a hypocrite, biased and disloyal political leader who damaged the economy of Pakistan and created a number of problems for the Pakistani nation. Similarly, MQM and PTI were also criticized much by the subject political group and they were alleged to plan conspiracies against PML-N. It is postulated through linguistic and contextual analysis that *Us vs Them dichotomy* is clearly manifested in the political discourse of PML-N as the in-group members are positively attributed while others are negatively portrayed.

As mentioned earlier that the political actors have represented their political identities through manipulative discourse strategies and as the discourse was produced and consumed in a very sensitive time period i.e. prior to the elections of 2013, so the findings of the results also appeared interesting. In the political discourse of PTI, the most salient identity marker was the high-level self-appreciation as the political actors attempted to portray their political identity as a unique loyal, innovative, fair and democratic political group who has an exclusive agenda to change Pakistan by the

support of youth. Apart from the mantra of change, the political actors presented their political identity as an insightful political group that has a deep concern to reform education and health system along with an exclusive anti-drone policy. It is important to discuss that PTI appeared as the only party who had a very firm and strong anti-drone policy and the subject political group explicitly claimed to stop the drone attacks in Pakistan after getting the political power. PTI also displayed its strong anti-US policy and the political group discouraged and opposed the US policies about Pakistan. It is also postulated through analysis that the subject political group introduced some new policies in Pakistan like environmental policy, uniform educational system policy etc. the subject political group presented its positive image by introducing a unique policy for the disabled people, the first time in the history of Pakistan. A frequently quoted reference in the political discourse of PTI is 'world cup 1992' as first time Pakistan won under the captaincy of Khan. For the projection of a positive political identity PTI, strongly focused upon the political participation of women and youth in the electoral processes. The political group called youth, their strength and promoted and encouraged youth the support them in elections. Although PTI claimed to become an unconventional political party of Pakistan but it is evident through linguistic and contextual analysis that the subject party also adopted conventional political strategies and often alleged other for being disloyal, unfair etc. the political actors alleged PML-N and PPP-P for destroying economy and education and health system of Pakistan and they exclusively alleged MQM for all militancy and terrorism in Karachi. PTI also alleged PPP-P for the alleged murder of Faisal (a senior Nab officer who was investigating RPP) with reference to RPP corruption case and demanded a fair trial of Zardari and Mushraff before the elections of 2013.

The overall approach of PTI before the elections appeared highly active, optimistic and positive rather futuristic as the political actors firmly believed in their profound victory at a very large scale but the facts turned up differently. A dramatic change was clearly observed in the post-election political discourse of PTI as the *mantra of change* got replaced by the *mantra of rigging* and the political actors frequently lamented upon the alleged rigging in the polls and termed the elected government of PML-N as *unconstitutional and undemocratic.* Such transition in the political discourse of PTI has reflected the political identity of the subject party as an immature and emotional political group who attempted to represent its case without sound logical grounds.

Another debated topic in the post-election political discourse of PTI is *sit-ins and protests.* The political group staged a series of protest against alleged rigging in the elections and blamed a number of political groups and state institutions like ECP for the defeat of the subject group. The post-election political discourse of PTI appeared negative and pessimistic. It is evident through linguistic and contextual analysis that the political group has displayed high appreciation for the in-group members apt to the ideological dichotomy of *Us vs them*and they are positively attributed while the others are negatively portrayed.

Conclusively it can be stated that through critical discourse analysis the political identities of the discourse makers became vivid as these political identities were embedded in the text and otherwise were difficult to reveal and comprehend. The overall analysis of political text provided an insight into the ideological formation and representation of the political identities as constructed and manipulated by the political actors in broader social and political context. A significant finding of the study is that the contemporary mediums have provided new way of political communication but shift in paradigm of political campaigns (from conventional media to emergent/contemporary media) does not demonstrate a remarkable change in conventional themes of political discourse as legitimizations of identities and ideologies remained central to almost all discourse practices. This study analyzed political discourse for a critical insight into the ways through which political actors (re)present their political identities and manifest clusivity with special reference to Pakistani political context. Although the mainstream medium of political campaigns and political activism is mass media and electronic media in Pakistan during the last decade social media emerged as a new medium for political activism and political campaigns as seen in the general elections of 2013. Contextually narrating the cricketer-turned-politician Imran Khan basically floated the idea of political campaigns on social media network sites, primarily targeting urban youth and women such strategies motivated other political groups also to initiate their political campaigns on digital media. One imperative scholarship of this particular study is to highlight how contemporary means of political communication like social media Network Sites, specifically Twitter facilitates political actors to communicate their ideologies and beliefs to their audience. It is important to discuss here that Twitter as being an effective medium of communication requires its users to be precise while narrating about any particular issue as it allows users to write just 140 characters in one tweet. Due to This particular

feature of Twitter, its users adopt a direct and relatively precise approach for projection of their ideas and perceptions. Moreover, users try to convey their messages to the users in minimum words (as the limit is 140 characters). The researcher was moved by this unique feature of Twitter and thus tried to explore political discourse there with the perspective of identity (re)construction and (re)presentation.

While going through the existing literature about political discourse studies it was found that critical discourse analysis can be a valued lens for the analysis of political discourse. Moreover, critical discourse analysis provided solid theoretical foundations for investigation of critical issues like (re)presentation of identity, a manifestation of ideologies etc. It is not impleaded that social media has totally transformed or replaced mass media or electronic media for political communication or political activism but on the basis of analysis (in Chapter 4) it is stated that political actors are well aware of global impact of social media in all fields of life and they have effectively utilized it for electoral campaigns and political processes in 12th general elections. It is found during and even after the analysis that the power of social media is very significant as the number of followers for all political parties increased in the last three years (see appendix vi).

The findings of the study have provided a solid foundation about the utility and popularity of social media for political actors as they have effectively used digital discourse for multiple objectives such as for identity (re)presentation and (re)construction. *Politicalidentity* as presented in digital political discourse can no longer be taken as a static entity carrying fixed or static meaning rather it has appeared as a flexible construct as political actors have demonstrated it in various forms and connotations. It is also postulated that the political actors have manipulated their political identity in discursive discourse structures, such as for legitimacy of certain ideological acts and moves that may appear unjustified otherwise. Political discourse on social media is characterized as *multi-meanings* as it carried multiple meanings of discursive discourse practices and became evident in a number of instances. It is also identified that political actors have exploited Twitter not only for (re)presenting their own political identity but also for *deconstructing/reconstructingother'sidentity*.

According to scholars, political actors utilize social media for (re)presentation of their ideological beliefs to their followers and e-users, simultaneously inherent nature of interactive digital media has encouraged users to collaborate, contribute and thus interact

actively. In the similar connotation political actors are not perceived as a passive receiver of political information through digital media rather they are termed as active participants of the political process. They initiate, elaborate and thus persuade the ideological beliefs of their audience through multiple discursive strategies.

Influence of global trends of contemporary means of communications like Twitter, Facebook etc. have provided a shift in the field of political communication specifically in electoral campaigns as per findings of the study. Similarly, the trends of contemporary means of communication have gradually started tapping into the bottom-up culture of politics by adopting participatory approaches, particularly in electoral time. In order to unpack recurrent trends of identity (re)construction and identity (re)presentation within multifaceted structures of social and political context, the current study is conducted. In the current study, theresearcher has taken identity (re)presentation as a manifestation of political actors' ideological contestation that is formally linked and exercised at inter-group levels. The study has also argued that the issue of political identity in terms of (re)construction and (re)presentation is imperative in Pakistani political and social context where new means of political communication appear as a challenge to the existing realities. Thus the purpose of bringing political identity into studies of social media and Critical Discourse Analysis is not only taken as a challenge for the researcher in this specific scholarship rather it is termed and treated as an innovative source for revealing the hidden ideologies of the political actors by inferring the interplay of language in specific social and political context.

As the perspective adopted by the researcher is unique in Pakistani political context so there was a need to develop a comprehensive theoretical and methodological framework to handle the issue sensibly. For the above-debatedstance, a theoretical framework was developed to investigate how political actors manifest their political identities on Twitter, theory triangulation was done to meet the objective of the current scholarship. It is also imperative to debate about the nature of data and the time period in which the data was collected, Pakistan had its 12th General Elections on 11^{th}May 2013 so the researcher decided to collect data in that crucial time period to get a better insight into the issue of political identity (re)construction and (re)presentation. In similar context the data for the current study was taken from January-June 2013, primarily it is better to term that data is representative because it reflects the pre-election and post-election ideological manifestation of the political actors so it was expected to exhibit the political identities

more vividly as the political actors had to target the audiences for attainment of electoral power. Pakistan being a developing country have a traditional political system stemmed from the conventional rules of politic and for political activism, political mobilization, political campaigns, and political communication traditional media sources like newspaper, TV etc. have been used. One of the frequently used medium for political communication specifically for the electoral campaign is mass media and electronic media in Pakistan and the trends of rallies, demonstration and marches remained central to the subject matter. But in the 12th general elections,social mediahas also emerged as an effective medium of political communication as a number of political parties exploited SNSs for certain political agendas prior to elections.

Social media conveys messages effectively and faster than traditional media, given the same reason, politicians develop interactions and communications through social media along with traditional media for political objectives. Political communication has become very complex in the last decade as political actors have focused upon decreasing gaps between their audiences and themselves as for this purpose they need to adopt such communication tools which can facilitate the above-stated objectives, under such conditions Twitter has acted as an effective and valid tool for political communication. Twitter enables *decentralization* of power and legitimacy for political actors as political actors interact with discourse receivers, simultaneously it makes communication process continuous and fluent. The current study has also focused on similar point as debated by Coleman (2012) that (re)presentations need conversation not mere consultations, as they really need to get the ways into the daily political talks at various levels ranging from individual to groups.

Findings of this study are significant as they suggest that political actorhas exploited social media network sites for multiple purposes but as the focus of researcher was on identity (re)construction and identity (re)presentation so only those discourse practices are discussed which contain identity markers. As the sample of the study is five major political parties of Pakistan so separate analysis of each party's political discourse is presented here.

5.2 Reflection on ANP's Political Discourse Analysis

The analysis categories for the current study are macro-propositions, local semantics, agency, graphological devices, capitalization, and contextual propositions.

Moreover, the analysis is conducted through theoretical framework of political discourse analysis, socio-cognitive model, social identity theory, social media theory, and clusivity theory. Based on the theoretical and methodological grounds of this particular research the findings suggested that ANP has displayed multiple political identities. The micro and macro analysis suggested that the pre-election political discourse of subject party has manifested a totally different ideology as ANP adopted the sympathetic tone and appealed to the masses for sympathy votes but post-election discourse projected an apologetic doctrine. The political actors attempted to represent their political identity as a marginalized and victimized political group that bears a big loss due to the extreme tide of Talibanization in KPK (see chapter 4). In pre-election and post-election political discourse although ANP incited people for *sympathy votes* they remained unsuccessful and ultimately they attributed their defeat to terrorism and militancy. Contrary to the allegations of ANP on militants for their defeat the research findings suggested that popularity of Khan and poor performance of ANP caused their downfall. It was found through linguistic and contextual analysis that besides above-mentioned facts the political actors represented themselves as peaceful, democratic and insightful political group and vice versa for others. While narrating the macro analysis it is also found that the political actors stressed upon women education and women rights and thus presented their identity as *modern and civilized* political group particularly in sensitive rural areas of KPK where women education is a hard issue rather where Taliban strongly discourage women education. The claim of ANP about women rights proved wrong as in general elections of 2013 the subject party along with another political group made seat adjustment in Dir district and banned women from casting their votes, rather they snatched the basic democratic women rights. ANP depicted its political identity as a nationalist political group as they forced rather criticized government for their poor policy about IDP's of Tirah valley and urged for practical solutions of the ascribed issue. The linguistic choices reflected the political identity of ANP as a subjugated group striving for its survival and mostly lamenting about militancy and terrorism.

Through linguistic analysis, it is postulated that the overall doctrine of ANP is very pessimistic as the party didn't launch active political campaigns in general elections of 2013 but the post-election political discourse of the subject party manifested a different ideology as political actors promised to rectify their mistakes. It is also evident through linguistic analysis that the subject party intended to encourage political participation of

youth and thus to transform their political strategies accordingly. Precisely narrating political discourse of ANP reflected the political identity of in-group members in very positive means while for the others negative attribution is made. Moreover, it is also found that political actors have frequently exercised inclusive and exclusive categories of representation in a number of discourse events. Furthermore, the theoretical underpinnings of the socio-cognitive model that political actors represent others with negative attributions and vice versa for in-group members proved in the digital political discourse of ANP. It is also significant to debate that in post-election political discourse, ANP announced its *Social Media Political Wing* with maximum participation of youth to improve the political communication of the subject party. The shift in the ideological stance of ANP regarding political communication is an indication that the political group is familiar with the new trends of political activism and political participation with reference to digital media. One significant implication of this thesis is the fact that in 2013 elections PTI appeared as a big political force and as PTI remained very much active on social media so ANP also determined to follow the similar strategies to get electoral support in next elections. The study has indicated that the political actors have manipulated language for their political objectives and they never like to highlight their weak points to their audiences. It is interesting to discuss here that ANP reviewed its political policies in post-electoral discourse and that is an indication of positive insights of the subject party particularly about political campaigns and political mobilization on social media.

A significant element of the current study is the fact that ANP needs to revolutionize rather rationalize its political policies and instead of lamenting about the tragic old stories of terrorism it needs to improve its own political visions and insights.

5.3 Reflection on MQM's Political Discourse Analysis

From theoretical and methodological insights it is argued that the linguistic patterns of MQM's political discourse presented a dynamic and strong image of the ascribed party. According to theoretical underpinning of socio-cognitive model of van Dijk, T. A, one of the imperative aspects of political discourse is a struggle for power that is attained through multiple linguistic and rhetorical devices. Political actors display multifaceted identities through discourse patterns such as sometimes they strive for power and sometimes they struggle for power resistance etc. Keeping in mind the same stance

the political discourse of MQM projected the identity of the subject group as subjugated and weak political party who is struggling for the basic rights of mujaharis, the fifth linguistic group of Pakistan. Contextually narrating MQM is termed as one of the largest secular political group of Pakistan that basically presented the notion of ethnic identity and demanded equal rights of muhajir. As mentioned earlier that MQM has projected multifaceted political identity as in many text instances it appeared as a marginalized group but there is certain evidence in which the same political group appeared dominating, determined and vocal. Another significant aspect of their political identity is their stress upon equality and on democratic means in politics as viewed through linguistic analysis. Within similar context, the discursive discourse patterns suggested that the political actors have smartly used political tactics by debating the hot issues like militancy and terrorism in Pakistan specifically in Karachi. The findings of the study have suggested a contradictory ideology of MQM as the subject group projected itself as a victim of militancy and terrorism but their discourse patterns appeared aggressive and repulsive. Moreover, it is also found that although MQM frequently raised and debated issues of violence, aggression, and militancy but still the political group got accused of violence and militancy by itself. Strike calls of MQM are rightly termed as a major disaster for the economy of Pakistan besides negatively affecting the education sector and many other state departments. It is argued in the study that MQM didn't appear as an insightful political group because for them the best solution of Pakistan's all problems is a strike call or a violent protest as they exhibited in their discourse. Another interesting aspect of the contextual and linguistic analysis is linked with the political immaturity of MQM as the political actors violently and aggressively reacted on many national and international political issues and targeted the opponent political group with irrational allegations as seen in a number of text instances.

The contextual propositions of MQM's political discourse displayed contradictory facts such as they narrated their political identity as a national and democratic group that discourages all type of prejudice and discriminations but in many tweets, they encouraged and supported ethnic and linguistic discrimination. So the claims of the subject group about being a patriotic and democratic political group proved wrong as instead of supporting nation their discourse practices evoked hatred and incited discriminations at the national level. Another interesting finding of the study is about MQM's doctrine of women rights and women representations, in a number of text instances, the political

group encouraged women education and women participation in societal activities. According to theoretical perspective of clusivity theory, political actors frequently exercise inclusive and exclusive trends in discourse such as in case of others their negative activities are magnified and positive are excluded while in case of one's own group members all positive attributes are added up and negative traits are excluded to portray a constructive image. A similar trend is found in the political discourse of MQM as in case of opponent group members all positive attributes are excluded and in case of own group members, all positive elements are added and highlighted. From the linguistic analysis, it is found that overall doctrine of MQM is constructive and positive for their in-group members while for others the political group put many allegations and labeled them as unfair, biased and aggressive. MQM held foreign elements and other political group responsible for all instabilities and glitches in Karachi, simultaneously their rhetoric appeared didactic too as they frequently quoted religious and historical references to support national integrity and peace. As mentioned above that, on one hand, MQM presented the mantra of integrity, unity, and peace in the region while on another hand they initiated, promoted and encouraged linguistic, political and ethnic differences.

The overall linguistic and contextual analysis of MQMQ's political discourse has projected many contradictions, within the perspective of Pakistani politics it is a common practice of politicians that they manipulate language according to situations to get their political objectives and the same phenomenon is vividly exercised by MQM. It is postulated that MQM is a strong and vocal political group who plays the politics of dominance and hegemony. The ideological square of van Dijk, T.A is vividly displayed in the political discourse of MQM as the political group used a number of linguistic devices and contextual narration to de-construct other's identity and to project their own positive identity. In Pakistani political context, the doctrine of MQM regarding its loyalty and sincerity with the people of Karachi is very critical as Karachi experienced an extreme tide of terrorism, instability, and hostility in last two decades. A number of elements contributed in the plight of Karachi so it is difficult to exclusively label a single entity for the demise but the contradictory role and dual policies of MQM are also not easy to be ignored. Although MQM selected and thus represented very smart rhetoric to save its own positive image but the hostility and prejudice promoted by the subject political group has raised a number of questions on the credibility of MQM as a peace promoter political

group in the region. Similarly, the rhetoric of aggression and resentment doesn't support the claims of the subject group about peace, equality, and patriotism in the region.

5.4 Reflection on PML-N's Political Discourse Analysis

While analyzing the political discourse of PML-N a lot of aspirations are observed such as the rhetoric of PML-N exhibited it as *insightful*, *fair*, *democratic* and *experienced* political group that approaches its audience for a vote by quoting many examples of high achievements from the past. According to theoretical underpinning of van Dijk, T. A's socio-cognitive model, political actors discuss and highlight those contextual narrations in which they appear positive and optimistic and the same phenomenon is emphasized by PML-N in multiple tweets.

From the linguistic and contextual analysis, it is found that political discourse of PML-N revolves around the notion of self-praise and self-achievement, as the political actors dedicated maximum discourse for their positive-(re)presentation with big promises to serve the country and to bring industrial revolution. Moreover, the findings have also suggested that political discourse of PML-N exhibited their political identity as a moderate, optimistic and revolutionary political group that is striving for strong political power to change Pakistan. In addition, the political discourse of PML-N can be perfectly fit into the theoretical underpinning of socio-cognitive model of van Dijk as *our good deeds are highlighted* and *other's bad aspects are magnified*. Apart from self-praise the political actors frequently passed derogatory remarks on the political immaturity and poor performance of rival political groups like PPP-P and PTI etc. the linguistic analysis has suggested that the linguistic choices used for portraying of other political groups are disgusting and revolting.

Apart from praising themselves for construction of motorways, atomic testing, andlaptopschemes, the political actors kept on putting many allegations on their *political rivals* in the context of prevailing corruption, militancy and poor law and order situation in the country (*especially inZardari's five years regime.*) It is too evident that PML-N frequently narrated the tragic incident of the dictatorship of Musharraf and by force-exile of the subject group to win sympathies of masses and to get electoral support. So the motives behind quoting such incidences are multiple, at one hand the discourse makers present themselves as a subjugated group who deserve sympathies of people while on the other hand, they incited hatred for the alleged rivals. The linguistic and textual analysis

has suggested that by quoting such incidents the political actors attempted to move public emotionally which may contribute in their electoral wins and interestingly it really worked for PML-N as they won the elections of 2013. It is put forward through linguistic analysis that PML-N represented its political identity as a democratic, efficient and patriotic political group that is extremely concerned about the welfare of Pakistani public and have broad visions. In addition, the political identity of PML-N as projected through linguistic choices is very constructive and unbiased with minimum concern about their own benefits. One imperative analytical feature of PML-N's political discourse is their vows and future prospects as the political actors aspired to solve the main national and international issues in case they win elections of 2013. In a number of text instances the political actors promised to eradicate the menace of terrorism, militancy, corruption etc., interestingly the same promises were made by all other political groups in pre-post electoral discourse and are not fulfilled yet. Moreover, the analysis also advocates that the political actors have attempted to attract e-users by portraying bright future prospects and promises to bring change in domains of health, education, infrastructure etc.

Conclusively it is postulated by the research findings that the pre-post-election political discourse of PML-N has depicted a positive political identity of the subject group that struggled for power to fight against militancy, corruption, inflation and a weak economy. The political group has adopted a constructive rhetoric of motivation, optimism, and reconciliation with a minimum stress on personal benefits and a maximum emphasis on nationalism and solidarity. Moreover, the inclusive and exclusive categories of representation are repeatedly and frequently exercised by the discourse makers to assert its smart political ideologies to the masses. From text to context there is no significant shift in the paradigm of positive self-representation as the discourse practices and contextual narrations kept revolving around the positive portrayal of the in-group members. In case of their own group members, all negative traits are excluded and minimized while in case of others they are magnified. PML-N initiated, debated and elaborated the failure of Zardari regime in a number of tweets, they accused Zardari of theenergy crisis, inflation and economy disaster etc. The overall rhetoric of PML-N has presented the group as confident and optimistic political group that is ready to support the nation after getting political power simultaneously they have displayed great concerns about the problems of Pakistan. Moreover the linguistic choices also reflected a positive

ideology of the ascribed group as they are ready to bring revolution in the country by creating opportunities, specifically for youth.

Issues of representations and manifestations are central to political discourse studies because politics is implicitly linked with the on-going process of transitions from ideological formations to ideological moves and so on. Political actors keep adapting ideologies and identities according to the political situations, so political identities cannot be exclusively termed as a static or fixed identity. The similar phenomenon was vividly observed in the political discourse of PML-N as its political actors kept moving from dominant to subjugated and thus to optimistic entities who are totally self-less and internally motivated political actors always willing to work for a positive revolution in Pakistan. Moreover, the positivity as reflected through textual and contextual elements has significantly contributed to the victory of the subject political group as seen in the results of 2013 elections.

5.5 Reflection on PPP-P's Political Discourse Analysis

Rationally narrating the research findings have advocated that PPP-P was the only group in legitimate political power at the time of elections but contrary to the fact the political group didn't get any solid victory in general elections of 2013. PPP-P presented its political identity as *a democratic, national and earnest* political group that had sacrificed its leadership to uplift democracy in the country, this particular identity was constructed and manifested in the context of the assassination of Benazir Bhutto and Zulfiqar Bhutto. From the linguistic and contextual analysis, it is postulated that PPP-P claimed to be a democratic group because first time in the history of Pakistan a democratic government completed its five years without the eruption of any internal or external proxy and that is the biggest achievement of the subject group. An interesting phenomenon which researcher found is the defensive attitude of PPP-P because they often implicitly held others responsible for their worst defeat in general elections of 2013 and linked it with many *elements* like rigging by the winner group and unfair role of ECP etc. The rhetoric of PPP-P seemed defensive in pre-post-election political discourse and it contained a number of pessimistic elements as the political group did not talk much about future prospects and aspirations. Besides remaining defensive it is also found through linguistic analysis that the political group is very careful about its political image and thus

designs its rhetoric accordingly. The linguistic choices used for the representation of the political identity of in-group members are positive and vice versa in case of others.

Another salient feature of PPP-P's political discourse is their urge to motivate people for *sympathy votes* as the political group did in the previous general elections of 2008 right after the tragic assassination of party's leader Benazir in 2007. As per research findings, political identity of the subject party is labeled as *fractious* and *fretful* political group that mostly complaints about *others* negative roles in their devastating failure. Although the poor performance of the subject party from 2008-2013 may be termed as a major cause of their downfall. With reference to the socio-cognitive model of van Dijk, T. A, the political actors have highlighted their identities with positive attribution while in the case of others they magnified their mistakes and manipulated the situations and facts accordingly. A similar phenomenon is observed in the political discourse of PPP-P as the group never highlighted the issue of its own poor governance from 2008-2013 specifically regarding peace and national security issues. But such attitudes are vastly acceptable in political domains of Pakistan because politicians like to play blame games in which they take credit of all positive acts while in case of problems and failures they like to relate it with an internal and external proxy. So such practices appear normal in Pakistani political cultures as almost all political groups (in the sample of study) blamed others for their failures and praised themselves for all success and positive acts.

Overall linguistic and contextual analysis of PPP-P has recommended that the political group has frequently exercised inclusive and exclusive categories of representation as they have magnified the assassination of Bhutto but deliberately excluded the issues of their weak governance and poor foreign policies (from 2008-2013). So it is also observed that the political group attempted to project themselves as weak, subjugated yet determined political group who pertinently pleaded for sympathies of masses for electoral support. Despite all governance failures yet PPP-P expected masses to support them as seen in their political discourse patterns and this approach represents their illogical ideology. Another interesting finding of the current study is linked with the post-election political discourse of PPP-P, although they blamed foreign elements and ECP for their defeat still they congratulated their rival political groups for their electoral success and such discursive discourse strategies reflected their political maturity. It is postulated through analysis that overall discourse of PPP-P remained defensive yet positive for the portrayal of their political identity.

Political discourse reflects that political actors never like to show the dark side of their in-group members to the audiences, the similar phenomenon is observed in the current study. The political actors do not want to discuss their weakness to the audiences so they simply highlighted the instances in which they appear positive or subjugated. In case of PPP-P, the political actors didn't have much to share with the audiences as during their regime they didn't make any remarkable progress in any field so they preferred to narrate just tragic stories to the masses. Another interesting thing observed by the researcher was the defensive approach of the discourse makers as they exploited social media to impress the ideologies of people to win electoral support. Moreover, the political stances of the subject party appeared fluid because the political group frequently sang the mantra of democracy, fair electoral processes, and reconciliation during their rule but after losing elections the same electoral processes were termed as biased and unfair (arranged by the subject party itself). So the discourse of allegation and accusations prevailed the post-electoral rhetoric. Simultaneously inclusions and exclusions also facilitated the discourse makers to set boundaries between their positive self-representations and vice versa for the others.

5.6 Reflection on PTI's Political Discourse Analysis

To proceed on with the discussion about the research findings the researcher here discusses PTI as a newly emergent political group in Pakistani politics that opposed and challenged the conventional political systems and introduced a new way of electoral campaign and electoral participation by using social media network sites and by motivating youth to support them in general elections of 2013. The findings have suggested that PTI smartly used social media for election campaigns and presented their political identity as an unconventional, patriotic, motivated and emergent political group that was striving for legitimate political power to bring *change* in the country. Linguistic and contextual analysis have postulated that the political group have focused upon youth and thus adopted the strategies of innovative politics by motivating urban youth and women to come up for the ascribed group. The political identity of PTI as presented through linguistic analysis is *democratic, optimistic and innovativepoliticalgroup* that strongly believes in the power of vote for all type of revolutions. According to research findings, the discursive discourse practices have presented the ideology and identity of the subject political party as an optimistic, promising and energized a group that strived only for democratic power to bring reforms in health and education sector etc. Precisely

narrating through linguistic and contextual analysis PTI manifested its identity as a promising political group that urged to deal with menaces of nepotism, atrocity and militancy etc., moreover the political actors have presented a strong anti-drone and anti-US doctrine that primarily urged and stimulated the voters in KPK, an area that suffered a lot due to US drone policy and resultantly developed deep resentment in the masses against the USA. According to research findings as PTI condemned and opposed the drone policy of US so people of KPK supported PTI in elections of 2013 and the party established a provincial government there on the basis of above-narrated doctrine. So it is stated that PTI played smartly in KPK as they have exploited the views of people about sensitive issues of drones and US policies and by supporting the ideologies of people about these issues PTI managed to get a solid victory in elections of 2013.

According to theoretical underpinning of the socio-cognitive model of van Dijk and clusivity theory, the political actors relate promising and optimistic traits to their own group members while in case of others they discourage all types of positive attribution. The above-mentioned thesis is explicitly demonstrated in the political discourse of PTI specifically in post-election discourse practices. The researcher noted that opposite to futuristic, positive and optimistic approach in pre-electoral discourse, PTI exhibited totally different attitude in post-election discourse. It is evidently viewed that throughout their post-election discourse the political actors kept blaming others for rigging and biases, simultaneously the rhetoric of PTI changed from optimistic to pessimistic and thus aggressive. Moreover, the linguistic choices used in post-election political discourse looked intense and violent as the political group projected its deep resentment on electoral results.

From the linguistic analysis, it is also viewed that there are many pieces of evidence of extreme distress and disappointment in post-election political discourse as the subject party leveled many allegations of rigging on opposite political groups, ECP, and foreign elements and held others responsible for their failure. So the research findings also assessed that the pre-election discourse of PTI was very motivating, positive and encouraging but the post-election political discourse appeared aggressive, destructive, negative and agitated. It is interesting to discuss here that the subject political group managed to get a massive success in general elections of 2013 as they won 35 seats and second highest votes while in 2002 the same political group won just one seat but contrary to all these facts the aggression in the post-election political discourse of PTI can

be linked with their political immaturity. It is found that instead of celebrating the first major political victory PTI spared maximum time for offensive political strategies and kept on blaming multiple political and non-political elements for their failure in three provinces other than KPK. Such political strategies and acts questioned the political vision and maturity of the subject party that leveled a number of allegations on the winning electoral groups and their allied groups.

It is also put forward through linguistic and contextual analysis that the political actors have frequently exercised inclusive and exclusive categories of negative and positive representation as seen in a number of tweets. Simultaneously there is frequent evidence of positive-self representation and negative-representation of others.

PTI as being an emergent power in the traditional Pakistani political culture made its space well through smart political strategies, especially the optimal use of social mediaenabled the subject group to project its ideologies smartly to the audiences. The subject group appeared as a major political force because the political actors targeted the right group of audience for electoral support, the mantra of change worked for the party well. It is also significant to debate that the effective political campaigns on social media really worked for the subject party but the support on social media and real electoral results presented comparatively different ideology. The researcher postulates that the support of social media couldn't be exactly translated into a massive electoral victory as the political group was expecting before elections but still it remained effective to some extent.

At the end of theses analyses, it is found that these contemporary means of communication offer new platforms for political communication but shift in the paradigm of political campaigns and political communication (from conventional media to contemporary interactive digital media) does not demonstrate a change in the themes of political discourse practices as legitimizations of identities and ideologies remained central to discourse practices.

5.7 Contribution of the Research

After viewing the detailed findings of the current scholarship it is stated that the study has offered a new lens to the analysis of digital political discourse in Pakistani political context but still there is a room for research development in the insight and contribution of this specific research.

5.7.1 Academic Contribution

There are always great opportunities for future developments in all research fields, same is the case in the current study as future researchers can make significant contributions with extended theoretical and methodological framework. In last decade a great revolution is observed all over the world in the field of political communication as political actors have adopted new mediums for political activism, political mobilisations and electoral campaigns all over the world, Pakistani political scenarios also got affected by this trend and electoral campaigns got its momentum in the 12th General elections in May 2013. Building on the insights of recent work in social media studies and political discourse, the researcher has outlined few inclinations in this research that highlight novel challenges for future investigators. The study has debated that new dimensions in the field of digital political text, from the perspective of political identity, has opened up *newvisions* for the future research developments. As this *new visibility* is brought by new forms and actors of society who are consistently engaged in the process of interaction and these interactional patterns occur outside the sphere of traditional media approaches, simultaneously they ask for the divergent emergence of theoretical and methodological insights to establish comprehensive meaning-making processes. It means that existing interactional and communication patterns in interactive digital media discourse are far more complex than the traditional media as the stakeholders in case of digital media disseminate information at larger and vibrant scale and require more consistent and logical means and modes of analysis to develop clarity in the perception of e-users. Political identity (re)construction and identity (re)presentation both are important constructs of current scholarship and they are part of a broader challenge to invite and engage further developing theories and concepts to analyze the social media discourse from multiple perspectives in terms of research contribution and developments. The intersection between digital political discourse, societal structures and identity (re)presentation has formed a dialogue between the need of expansion of theoretical framework for constancies across researchers, and to highlight the impact of debated issues of this specific research in terms of diversity and complication.

Moreover the issues of power, dominance, hegemony, alliances etc. can be subject to future scholarships in digital media discourse, simultaneously a great deal of contribution can be made upon the link between the impact of digital political discourse on the ideologyof e-uers.

5.7.2 Linguistic Contribution

The researcher has tried to represent an extensive debate on the issue of political identity by bringing together the conceptual framework of political discourse analysis, sociocognitive mode, clusivity theory, social media theory and social identity theory with specific reference to Pakistani political context. The study has also discussed in detail how political actors have

manipulated linguistic devices and strategies to achieve their political objectives. A significant contribution of the current scholarship is that it has highlighted the role of social media as an emergent medium for political actors to achieve political aims and objectives. As ANP, MQM, PML-N, PPP-P, and PTI all attempted to manipulate the factual information on social media about their past political activities rather they projected and highlighted only those events and those incidents in which either they were subjugated or in which they got some positive political aspirations and appreciations. The study has presented an extensive debate on the linguistic features of the social media political discourse, similar methodological frameworks can be deployed by the linguists to highlight the significance of linguistic devices for ideology representations etc. moreover the study is significant in Pakistani political context as it has highlighted the fact that Pakistani political actors are not unaware of the global significance of the social media and can rightly utilize it in more optimal way with profound directions and utilities.

The researcher takes this study as a foundation that will lead to various future research prospects as listed below.

For Linguists and Academicians

- In the future studies images, pictures and hyperlinks can be evaluated along with linguistic features of political discourse to address the issues of political identity (re)construction and (re)presentations.
- It is also recommended that in future studies instead of analysis of each party's individual political discourse a detailed analysis of each political actor's political discourse can be done to address the issues of political, ethnic and regional identities from a linguistic perspective.

- The current research is done to address the issue of political identity construction and (re)presentation on Twitter, future researchers can combine data from Twitter and electronic media for more elaborative researches.

- Future research developments and contributions can be built for stylistic, rhetoric and critical analysis of political discourse on social media.

- It is also recommended that more studies can be conducted to investigate the pragmatic features of digital political discourse from multiple lens and perspectives.

- It is too suggested that future researchers may take into account the issues of propaganda and manipulation by investigating linguistic devices as they appear in the digital political discourse.

- It is suggested that future scholarships can be developed to investigate the issues of power, hegemony, dominance etc. in digital political discourse.

- It is also recommended that instead of taking just one social media network site i.e. Twitter, future scholars may take into account other social media network sites like Facebook, blogs etc. to study political identity issues.

The researcher has offered a new lens for critical discourse analysis of political discourse on social media, specifically on Twitter and it is one of the major contributions in the existing literature as previously there was no such research conducted in Pakistan at a larger scale. As already mentioned above that this study is a foundation for the future scholarships and similar rather advanced research studies can be conducted on the theoretical basis of current study for comprehensive results. Moreover, the advancements and implications of the study will be highlighted after the dissemination of outcomes to educational institutes at national and international levels.

Although researcher has attempted to get comprehensive insights from the debated issues of the current study still there are many areas left untouched due to time constraints and other delimitation which can be explored in the future studies. The researcher is keen to share the findings of the current study in literary societies and educational forums for comprehensive feedbacks and new perspectives.

On the basis of current outcomes, it can be stated that Pakistan is not out of the digital media sphere and Pakistanis are well aware of the impacts and scholarships of new media so they are also keen to use the available utilities in divergent fields of life. As politics is

one of the significant fields so the political actors have employed the platform of social media effectively for their political communication and political campaigns.

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APPENDIX A: TWEET FILES I-V

I) ANP Tweets

- Our condolences go out to the families of the victims. Jun 30, 2013

- RT FazalAfghan1: ANPMarkaz PSF loralai Balochistan.Qasam shaheed aur shuhda.e.kuchlak ki bersi 6 july ko degree college main hogi. Jun 29, 2013

- video speech of Sardar H. Babak: ANP parliamentary leader in KP Assembly https://t.co/x7NVAtdect BushraGohar a_siab Jun 28, 2013

- listen to sardarhbabak ANP parliamentary leader in Pakhtunkhwa Assembly during the 1st session of the assembly https://t.co/x7NVAtdectJun 27, 2013

- Ex-minister Syed Aqil Shah and other party leaders addressing to ANP District Working Committee meeting in Haripur. http://t.co/R3PiAJOVM3Jun 27, 2013

- RT a_siab: Narratives justifying extremism and violence are products of twisted minds of Zia era. They should be challenged for their des… Jun 26, 2013

- ANP strongly condemns the attack on Justice Maqbool Baqar Rizvi in Karachi. Our condolences go out to the families of the victims. Jun 26, 2013

- ANP stands for the rights of the displaced Baloch to return to their ancestral homes. Jun 24, 2013

- BushraGohar, a_siab visited Bugti's protest camp 8 D-Chowk, Isd. to show our solidarity. Protestors demanding their right to return home. Jun 24, 2013

- RT dHazaras: InsafPK Shokat Yousaf Zai sahab, Mian Iftikhar bannay kay liye Jiger chaheye ANP Peshawar PTI ANPMarkaz Jun 22, 2013

- RT a_siab: Pa yawa zhaba wayel sara Pashto kRo ; waley heas na shoo la yo bal khabardar. Khushal Khattak. True even today. Jun 21, 2013

- RT MYQaisrani: PTI Govt KPK Info Minstr who succeedd ANP's Mian Iftikhar reminds me: Zaghoon k tsarruf mein Uqaboon k nsheman ANPMarkaz … Jun 21, 2013

- ANP condemns the killing of MQM MPA Sajid Quraishi in Karachi. Our thoughts and prayers are with his family. Jun 21, 2013

- کو نشانہ بنانے کی پرزور... http://t.co/2Y8WGihRVQJun 21, 2013

- ANP strongly condemns the suicide attack in Gulshan Colony, Peshawar. Our heartlfelt condolences go out to the families of the martyrs. Jun 21, 2013

- Mardan, ANP Madan's DWC meeting was addressed by Senator Afrasiab Khattak, Senator Azam Khan Hoti and Mian... http://t.co/8d8kCeaxJgJun 20, 2013

- Nowshehra, ANP Provincial President Senator Afrasiab Khattak, Mian Iftikhar Hussain, Arbab. M Tahir addressing at... http://t.co/uvwuAJ9azmJun 20, 2013

- a_siab & Iftikharanp attended District Working Committee meetings of ANP in Peshawar, Charsadda & Mardan. Jun 20, 2013

- ANP strongly condemns the attack in Mardan that claimed the life of MPA Imran Mohmand and others. Our condolences go out to their families Jun 18, 2013

- a_siab, iftikharanp and Sardar Hussain Babak addressing to ANP Charsadda working committee at Wali Bagh Charsadda. http://t.co/cpLCnLXEPHJun 17, 2013

- Fwd: ANP Press release 15.6.2013 and anp pictures http://t.co/IlPeg1PJFaJun 17, 2013

- Fwd: ANP Press release 15.6.2013 and anp pictures http://t.co/5AxURLgbqrJun 17, 2013

- ANP Gen. Sec. in Peshawar addressing at DWC meeting of ANP Peshawar. http://t.co/w5GvFr1PIHJun 17, 2013

- Peshawar: ANP leaders are addressing to the district working committee meeting in Peshawar http://t.co/jwzUeOmASdJun 17, 2013

- ANP strongly condemns the attacks in Quetta. Our heartfelt condolences go out to the families of the victims. Jun 15, 2013

- RT a_siab: saadmohseni we condemn these criminal attacks in Kabul.Our hearts and prayers are with the victims and their families. Jun 11, 2013

- RT a_siab: Afghan endgame seems to be a prelude to new " Buzkashi" among hegemonic forces preparing for proxy wars. Pashtun lands in the e… Jun 11, 2013

- RT a_siab: Neither the presidential speech nor the speeches by the PM mentioned the plight of 1.5 million FATA IDPs. Is it the domain of … Jun 11, 2013

- RT Khushal_Khattak: Thoughts / prayers are with him MT "asadullahmayar: Firing on ANP leader Shahid Khan in Mardan injured with his drive… Jun 10, 2013

- Karachi, ANP kay Shaheed Naveed Awan our Muhammad Sarfraz ki Namaz e Janaza Aaj baad Namaz e Zohar Lasbela Chawk pe ada ki Jaegi. Jun 09, 2013

- Lasbela Chawk pe Firng se ANP Lasbela Ward K Sadr Naveed Awan,GS Sarfraz Khan Shaheed hogoe. RIP Jun 08, 2013

- Pakhtoons thank you sir Jun 07, 2013

- Weapons scam allegations Ameer Ghazan Khan Hoti challenges NAB approver statement in Peshawar High Court. http://t.co/PjUnBpNMy9Jun 07, 2013

- Police Aslaha scandal; Haider Hoti kay bai Ghazan Hoti nay apnay uper lagaey gaey alzamat kay khelaaf Peshawar High Court say rajoo karlia Jun 07, 2013

- Weapons scam allegations Ameer Ghazan Khan Hoti challenges NAB approver statement in Peshawar High Court. Jun 07, 2013

- ANP Sindh nay 8 June ko honay walay polling kay bycott kaa elan kardia; Bashir Jan kee press Conference. Jun 06, 2013

- ANP has always struggle for strengthening democracy and the democratic institutions and we will continue with this struggle. Asfandyar Khan. Jun 06, 2013

- Asfandyar Khan said that he hopes the new government will hopefully take a clear stand against terrorism as the previous government. Jun 06, 2013

- Asfandyar Wali Khan has also expressed his hope that the new govt will do whatever it can to counter the menace of terrorism in the country. Jun 06, 2013

- Asfandyar Wali Khan has expressed his hope that the new government will work towards strengthening democracy and the democratic institutions Jun 06, 2013

- President ANP Asfandyar Wali Khan has congratulated the new government for taking oath. Jun 06, 2013

- Senator Shahi Syed of ANP nay Nazimabad may Ranger kay HQ par dasti bomb kay hamlay ke muzammat kee hay Jun 05, 2013

- ANP Sindh kay Sadar Shahi Syed nay wazir azam bannay par Nawaz Sharief ko mubarak bad di hay Jun 05, 2013

- ANP Sec. Foreign Affairs Dr. Haider Ali Khan addressing at Khwazakhila. http://t.co/z5qtysdhtWJun 05, 2013

- A full view of ANP Pakhtunkhwa's PWC meeting held in Peshawar today. http://t.co/B1ScCThvz7Jun 04, 2013

- ANP Pakhtunkhwa kee Subai Mejlis Amla ka 9 gentay ka ijlas Afrasiab Khattak ke ihtetami taqreer kay saat ahtetam pazeer. Jun 04, 2013

- a_siab ANP president in Pakhtunkhwa concluding 9 hours long PWC meeting held at PC Peshawar. Jun 04, 2013

- ANP Pakhtunkhwa ke PWC kay ijlas ka mahol majmoie tawar par hush gawar raha hay. Party mamalat par arkan ka josh qabil deed hay. Jun 04, 2013

- Former CM Pakhtunkhwa Ameer Haider Khan Hoti now addressing to the ANP PWC meeting in Peshawar. Jun 04, 2013

- ANP Pakhtunkhwa ke Provincial Working Committee ka aham ijlas gazushta 8 genton say Peshawar may jari hay aor ab bi kai aham taqarer baqi Jun 04, 2013

- Senator Mohammad Azam Khan Hoti speaking at ANP PWC in Peshawar Jun 04, 2013

- Ex-minister info. Pakhtunkhwa Mian Iftikhar Hussain Iftikharanp now addressing at ANP PWC meeting. Jun 04, 2013

- Party Parliamentary leader in Pakhtunkhwa Assembley sardarhbabak addressing now at ANP PWC meeting Jun 04, 2013

- Nawabzada Mohsin Ali Khan, Aimal Khan and ex-minister Sitara Ayaz also spoke at ANP PWC meeting. Jun 04, 2013

- Said Fareen of Shangla, Senator Ilyas Bilour & Shoaib Khan of Malakand among those addressed at ANP PWC held in Peshawar. Jun 04, 2013

- RT BushraGohar: KlasraRauf Response to allegations issued but was not published.Get info from all.Allegations must be investigated &actio… Jun 04, 2013

- Ex- minister Mureed Kazim addressing to ANP PWC after the speeches of ex-minister Zarshed Khan & Malak Darya Khan. Jun 04, 2013

- ANP sec. foreign Affairs Dr. Haider Ali Khan addresing after the speech of Imran Mandouri of Mardan at PWC meeting Jun 04, 2013

- ANP PWC meeting started again after the lunch break with the speech of Hussain Shah Yousafzai of Lower Dir Jun 04, 2013🔗

- Lunch & prayer break at ANP Pakhtunkha PWC being held in Peshawar Jun 04, 2013🔗

- Dr. Mian Iftikhar Hussain has spoken to ANP Pakhtunkhwa's PWC followed by Syed Rahim, ex-MPA from Buner. Jun 04, 2013🔗

II) MQM's Tweets

- AltafHussain expressed grief and sorrow on the martyrdom of Ajmal Beg http://t.co/WGJZ30pIGP MQM Karachi Pakistan May 28, 2013 🔗

- MQM assures full cooperation for restoring a durable peace in Karachi but action should be taken by force of law http://t.co/qrypKi4fo1May 28, 2013 🔗

- LEA's are carrying out illegal arrests of MQM Workers&Subjecting them2Brutal torture in captivity: AmirKhan http://t.co/QydFehSDQEKarachi May 28, 2013 🔗

- MQM condemns attack on lady polio workers in Peshawar http://t.co/wcIGYq8YeR Pakistan May 28, 2013 🔗

- Incidents of sectarian killings are a challenge for the government and law-enforcing agencies http://t.co/xoPPshn5kl MQM Karachi Pakistan May 28, 2013 🔗

- Altaf Hussain condemns the murder of senior lawyer Kausar Saqlain in Karachi http://t.co/0u1iCgm68a MQM Pakistan May 28, 2013 🔗

- QET AltafHussain MQM Address to General Workers Meeting Jinnah Ground 26thMay2013 - http://t.co/6l512TEbor Ary-Geo News Coverage Pakistan May 27, 2013 🔗

- MQM can play every possible role in steering Pakistan out from energy & other crises: Haider Abass Rizvi http://t.co/AUyoD6MAaMKarachi May 27, 2013 🔗

- Ahmed Saleem Siddiqui, Javed Kazmi&Saif Yar khan R nominated as Coordinators4Central Coordination Committee of MQMhttp://t.co/VgLnIwB7Ot May 27, 2013 🔗

- Altaf Hussain announces a 10-member new Karachi Tanzeemi Committee of the MQM http://t.co/EX1ZC3TAXE Karachi Pakistan May 27, 2013 ⏏
- Altaf Hussain announces 23-member new Co-ordination Committee of the MQM http://t.co/n3xp3Vx5dm Karachi Pakistan May 27, 2013 ⏏
- Pic9:Historical Record-Breaking MQM General Workers Meeting Jinnah Ground 90 Azizabad Pakistan PakkaQilaMassacrehttp://t.co/K1FCkNpTRV May 26, 2013 ⏏
- Pic8:Historical Record-Breaking MQM General Workers Meeting Jinnah Ground 90 Azizabad Pakistan PakkaQilaMassacrehttp://t.co/pFID6SO5ZJ May 26, 2013 ⏏
- Pic7:Historical Record-Breaking MQM General Workers Meeting Jinnah Ground 90 Azizabad Pakistan PakkaQilaMassacrehttp://t.co/gQVZjsZ8PW May 26, 2013 ⏏
- Pic6:Historical Record-Breaking MQM General Workers Meeting Jinnah Ground 90 Azizabad Pakistan PakkaQilaMassacrehttp://t.co/E2cNFrc24l May 26, 2013 ⏏
- Pic5:Historical Record-Breaking MQM General Workers Meeting Jinnah Ground 90 Azizabad Pakistan PakkaQilaMassacrehttp://t.co/D21Nm7EQ96 May 26, 2013 ⏏
- Pic4:Historical Record-Breaking MQM General Workers Meeting Jinnah Ground 90 Azizabad Pakistan PakkaQilaMassacrehttp://t.co/WW6fjOwV3s May 26, 2013 ⏏
- Pic3:Historical Record-Breaking MQM General Workers Meeting Jinnah Ground 90 Azizabad Pakistan PakkaQilaMassacrehttp://t.co/137qALioJ2 May 26, 2013 ⏏
- Pic2:Historical Record-Breaking MQM General Workers Meeting Jinnah Ground 90 Azizabad Pakistan PakkaQilaMassacrehttp://t.co/eUMCW0dOxI May 26, 2013 ⏏
- Pic1:Historical Record-Breaking MQM General Workers Meeting Jinnah Ground 90 Azizabad Pakistan PakkaQilaMassacrehttp://t.co/WaxL7uFfIq May 26, 2013 ⏏
- Pic14 MQM General Workers Meeting 26May2013 Preparations JinnahGround Azizabad Karachi Pakistan PakkaQilaMassacrehttp://t.co/mnpGIF6rlx May 26, 2013 ⏏
- Pic13 MQM General Workers Meeting 26May2013 Preparations JinnahGround Azizabad Karachi Pakistan PakkaQilaMassacrehttp://t.co/2O0l2hTVd0 May 26, 2013 ⏏
- Pic12 MQM General Workers Meeting 26May2013 Preparations JinnahGround Azizabad Karachi Pakistan PakkaQilaMassacrehttp://t.co/df0CfCmqvt May 26, 2013 ⏏
- Pic11 MQM General Workers Meeting 26May2013 Preparations JinnahGround Azizabad Karachi Pakistan PakkaQilaMassacrehttp://t.co/wspyLC01fY May 26, 2013 ⏏
- Pic10 MQM General Workers Meeting 26May2013 Preparations JinnahGround Azizabad Karachi Pakistan PakkaQilaMassacrehttp://t.co/uD5XJI7j1D May 26, 2013 ⏏

- Pic9 MQM General Workers Meeting 26May2013 Preparations Jinnah Ground Azizabad Karachi Pakistan PakkaQilaMassacrehttp://t.co/L3n7WEF1eR May 26, 2013

- Pic8 MQM General Workers Meeting 26May2013 Preparations Jinnah Ground Azizabad Karachi Pakistan PakkaQilaMassacrehttp://t.co/Xlc0U2sDje May 26, 2013

- Pic7 MQM General Workers Meeting 26May2013 Preparations Jinnah Ground Azizabad Karachi Pakistan PakkaQilaMassacrehttp://t.co/d1Kyuih7D0 May 26, 2013

- Pic6 MQM General Workers Meeting 26May2013 Preparations Jinnah Ground Azizabad Karachi Pakistan PakkaQilaMassacrehttp://t.co/aiWh1T0OuP May 26, 2013

- Pic5 MQM General Workers Meeting 26May2013 Preparations Jinnah Ground Azizabad Karachi Pakistan PakkaQilaMassacrehttp://t.co/yQzNduG8XJ May 26, 2013

- Pic4 MQM General Workers Meeting 26May2013 Preparations Jinnah Ground Azizabad Karachi Pakistan PakkaQilaMassacrehttp://t.co/CFJPECm00Z May 26, 2013

- Pic3 MQM General Workers Meeting 26May2013 Preparations Jinnah Ground Azizabad Karachi Pakistan PakkaQilaMassacrehttp://t.co/cBJPZxIcFB May 26, 2013

- Pic2 MQM General Workers Meeting 26May2013 Preparations Jinnah Ground Azizabad Karachi Pakistan PakkaQilaMassacrehttp://t.co/PB9yseCe2j May 26, 2013

- Pic1 MQM General Workers Meeting 26May2013 Preparations Jinnah Ground Azizabad Karachi Pakistan PakkaQilaMassacrehttp://t.co/pi6Su49gxQ May 26, 2013

- Pic4: Funeral Prayers of Amir Farooqi bhai North-Nazimabad Sector Karachi Pakistan MQM PakkaQilaMassacrehttp://t.co/ZSR7oD4KEe May 26, 2013

- Pic3: Funeral Prayers of Amir Farooqi bhai North-Nazimabad Sector Karachi Pakistan MQM PakkaQilaMassacrehttp://t.co/rPaOQBd1VN May 26, 2013

- Pic2: Funeral Prayers of Amir Farooqi bhai North-Nazimabad Sector Karachi Pakistan MQM PakkaQilaMassacre http://t.co/PolIklxHI1May 26, 2013

- Pic1: Funeral Prayers of Amir Farooqi bhai North-Nazimabad Sector Karachi Pakistan MQM PakkaQilaMassacrehttp://t.co/mXSezBNDre May 26, 2013

- MQM voices concern over illegal confinement of 20 workers http://t.co/vIZJvBnxbF MQM Karachi Pakistan May 25, 2013

- Altaf Hussain appeals people and workers to pray for the well-being of Anis Qaimkhani http://t.co/1brJKrZBv5 MQM Karachi PakistanMay 25, 2013

- MQM has taken a decision on the issue of joining the government http://t.co/AQ33XiGSbZ 2/2 MQM Karachi Pakistan May 25, 2013

- A point raised by Altaf Hussain was explained ambiguously which gave rise to the impression that the http://t.co/Js6SCDnMhc 1/2 PakistanMay 25, 2013

- MQM has not taken any final decision on joining the government or sitting in the opposition http://t.co/xGRs5uxb5w Karachi PakistanMay 25, 2013

- After getting power one gets desirous which is a natural phenomenon: Altaf Hussain http://t.co/xXst5FGUOE MQM Karachi Pakistan May 24, 2013

- MQM condemns Rangers raids & arrest of workers in its strongholds http://t.co/ErB6r7KtMo MQM Karachi Pakistan May 24, 2013

- The person recommended for the Co-ordination Committee should be educated and honest http://t.co/jK1WL3iTuD MQM Karachi Pakistan May 24, 2013

- Altaf Hussain asks sectors to recommend one name each for the Co-ordination Committee http://t.co/f5VVrGiIlK MQM Karachi PakistanMay 24, 2013

- I have never preached corruption, fraud, and misuse of position to workers: AltafHussain http://t.co/2tiiANvULk MQM Karachi PakistanMay 24, 2013

- Address to provisional-dissolved Co-ordination Committee&office-bearers of various wings of MQM http://t.co/5hmLGeHANB PakistanMay 24, 2013

- Our struggle is not aimed at spreading hatred against any nationality or segment of society: AltafHussain http://t.co/1YoIBSUUx0 PakistanMay 24, 2013

- General Worker's meeting of the MQM will now be held on Sunday, 26th May http://t.co/iGi0YikFDA MQM Karachi Pakistan Jumma Mubarak May 24, 2013

III) PML-N's Tweets

- PMLN CDA has been directed to initiate action against Road Contractors who're not meeting Targets or have used Sub-Std Material Ch Nisar Ju 30, 2013

- PMLN Unauthorized Staff working at the Offices & Residences of CDA Officers would be sent back to their Original Place of Duty Ch. Nisar Jun 30, 2013

- PMLN All Unauthorized Staff working for Retired & Unentitled Police Officers would be immediately withdrawn Ch. Nisar Jun 30, 2013

- PMLN Processing of Mercy Petitions would be restarted as per the rules & all processed cases be sent to Presidency for decision Ch Nisar Jun 30, 2013

- PMLN A Transparent List of the Actual No. of Missing Persons would be prepared after Due Consultations with the Security AgenciesChNisar Jun 30, 2013

- PMLN Interior Ministry's Task Force on Missing Persons would be formed next week for preparing a Trans Policy in the light of SC's orders Jun 30, 2013

- PMLN The Committee has been formed on the directions of the Federal Minister for Interior & Narcotics Control, Chaudhry Nisar Ali Khan. Jun 30, 2013

- Int. Min has formed a Comm. on the case Dr. Aafia, which will present its Recom. to the Cabinet to facilitate her repatriation to Pakistan. Jun 30, 2013

- PMLN Ch. Nisar has assured Support & Coop to UK on the issues of Illegal Immigration, Drug Trafficking, Money Laundering & Terrorism. Jun 30, 2013

- PMLN KalabaghDam wouldn't be started until a Nat. Consensus is achieved, it can't be built at the cost of Federation's VitalityIshaq Dar Jun 30, 2013

- PMLN In his visit to China, PM Nawaz would impress upon the Chinese Auth. to construct Economic Zones from Kashgar to Gwadar Ishaq Dar Jun 30, 2013

- PMLN Tenders would be opened Internationally to import Liquefied Natural Gas (LNG) in a Transparent Way Ishaq Dar Jun 30, 2013

- PMLN The Govt would not succumb to any pressure regarding Pakistan-Iran Gas Pipeline, but there are Practical Glitches Ishaq Dar Jun 30, 2013

- PMLN Govt is giving huge subsidy on Power as the Consumers have to pay Rs9/unit while the Actual Gen Cost is almost Rs14.9/unitIshaq Dar Jun 30, 2013

- PMLN All Discretionary Funds of Ministers as well as the Prime Minister have been withdrawn Ishaq Dar Jun 30, 2013

- PMLN The Opp. has the right to criticize Govt policies. The Govt accommodated around 21 proposals of the Opp. in the Budget Ishaq Dar Jun 30, 2013

- PMLN In the last 5½ Years, the volume of Loans have surged to Rs. 14 Trillion Ishaq Dar Jun 30, 2013

- PMLN Over a period of 52 years, different Govts in the past took Loans amounting to a total of Rs. 3 Trillion Ishaq Dar Jun 30, 2013

- PMLN The Fiscal Mismanagement resulted in huge Foreign Loans Ishaq Dar Jun 30, 2013

- PMLN The Govt neither accepted any Unreasonably Harsh Conditions of IMF conditions in the past nor will it do so this time Ishaq Dar Jun 30, 2013

- PMLN People have given us mandate to eliminate Load Shedding, therefore practical steps are being taken to solve this Crisis CM Shehbaz Jun 30, 2013

- PMLN Education, Health, Agriculture, Livestock, Industry, Trade & all Sections of Life have been affected by the Energy CrisisCM Shehbaz Jun 30, 2013

- PMLN Energy Crisis has adversely impacted the Economy CM Shehbaz Jun 30, 2013

- PMLN Practicable Recommendation should be submitted for Launching Energy Gen Projects & Fin. Models should also be prepared CM Shehbaz Jun 30, 2013

- PMLN Chief Minister Punjab Shehbaz Sharif directed that the Report regarding Viable Energy Projects should be submitted at its earliest. Jun 30, 2013

- PMLN Provision of Relief to the people is our Top Priority. We'll discharge this responsibility efficiently CM Punjab Shehbaz Sharif Jun 30, 2013

- PMLN Negotiations with Turkish Companies would be given final shape with regards to Generating Energy through Waste CM Shehbaz Jun 30, 2013

- PMLN Action would be taken against those not working after getting License of Coal-Mines & their Licenses would be cancelled CM Shehbaz Jun 30, 2013

- PMLN Ongoing Energy Situation can be improved through ensuring positive use of Mineral Resources CMShehbaz Jun 30, 2013

- PMLN Reforms are needed for Capacity Building of the Energy Dept. & Services of Qualified Experts have been acquired CMShehbaz Jun 30, 2013

- PMLN The Committee also studied Proposals for Promoting the use of Solar Energy in new Housing Schemes & newly-constructed Comm. Plazas. Jun 30, 2013

- PMLN Punjab Cabinet Comm considered steps for launching Energy Generation Projects through Biogas, Solar, Biomass, Wind, Hydel & Bagasse. Jun 30, 2013

- Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif chairs a review meeting on New Energy Policy at PM Office in Islamabad on Monday,... http//t.co/H0qNySqdIKJun 25, 2013

- PMLN Energy Mix & Utilization of Natural Resources would be applied to achieve the desired results PM Nawaz Sharif Jun 24, 2013

- PMLN Minimization of Human Involvement & Digitalization of Elec Dist, the Corruption & Theft would be efficiently checkedPM Nawaz Sharif Jun 24, 2013

- PMLN Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif appreciated the Ministry of Water & Power for taking steps for the Automation of Distribution System. Jun 24, 2013

- PMLN Pakistan would be back on the Path of Progress & Development as part of the Govt's initiatives PM Nawaz Sharif Jun 24, 2013

- PMLN Dedication, Zero-Tolerance to Corruption, Better Management & Use of Modern Technology would yield Better Results PM Nawaz Sharif Jun 24, 2013

- PMLN Maximum Efficiency Level will be kept as the Benchmark for the Energy Policy to get Maximum Results PM Nawaz Sharif Jun 24, 2013

- Potential Investors (Local/Foreign) are being contacted & apprised about prospects of Better ROIs in the Energy SectorPM Nawaz Sharif PMLN Jun 24, 2013

- PMLN Energy Policy would transform Red-Tape Paradigm to Red-Carpet one & provide Max facilitation to Public & Investors PM Nawaz Sharif Jun 24, 2013

- PMLN Efficiency, Transparency & Provision of Maximum Relief to the Common Man would be the hallmark of the Energy Policy PM Nawaz Sharif Jun 24, 2013

- PMLN The New Energy Policy will focus on correcting the Demand & Supply Balance & as well as the Cost of Production PM Nawaz Sharif Jun 24, 2013

- PMLN The common man will be provided Relief & transparency will be maintained in the new Energy Policy PM Nawaz Sharif Jun 24, 2013

- PMLN Govt of Pakistan to initiate High Treason Case against Fmr Dictator Gen(R) Pervez Musharraf PM Nawaz Sharif http//t.co/vvHPeSFHI8 Jun 24, 2013

- PMLN Pakistan will make a strong case of Increased Market Access for Pakistani Goods JavedMalik Jun 23, 2013

- PMLN US is Pakistan's major Trading Partner. There is a huge potential to expand Trade between the two countries JavedMalik Jun 23, 2013

- Finance Min Ishaq Dar, Minister Khawaja Asif & JavedMalik will represent Pakistan at the Pak-US Business Conference in Dubai on 25th June Jun 23, 2013

- PMLN Foreign Investors are more Confident to Invest in Pakistan under leadership of Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif JavedMalik Jun 23, 2013

- PMLN Pakistan-US Business Conference aims to expand Biz & Trade Relations between Pakistan & US JavedMalik [Adviser to Nawaz Sharif] Jun 23, 2013

- PMLN Nawaz Sharif's election as Prime Minister Pakistan has renewed Investor confidence JavedMalik Jun 23, 2013

- PMLN New Road & Railway Networks need to be built to connect China with Pakistan & boost Economic Activity PM Nawaz Sharif Jun 22, 2013

- PMLN Missing links in the Existing Roads & Railway Networks need to be built on urgent basis PM Nawaz Sharif Jun 22, 2013

IV) PPP-P's Tweets

- killed over a dozen in Badhabaer area.... http//t.co/DpzuklSWhQ Jun 30, 2013

- President Zardari has strongly condemned the explosion in Hazara Town Quetta & expressed deep grief over the loss of the precious lives. Jun 30, 2013

- PPP Patron-in-Chief BBhuttoZardari has strongly condemned the blast in Hazara Town, Quetta - Pakistan Jun 30, 2013

- RT AseefaBZ These are inhumane actions! Please pray for all those lives who were forcefully taken today Shia Genocide Quetta Jun 30, 2013

- RT AseefaBZ With President Asif Ali Zardari and David_Cameron http//t.co/J7F3L2mF8w Jun 30, 2013

- RT BakhtawarBZ Condemning is not good enough. STOPShiaGenocide Quetta Jun 30, 2013

- British Prime Minister David_Cameron with AseefaBZ and President AsifAliZardari_ - PPP Pakistan Jun 30, 2013

- President Zardari strongly condemned the blast in Peshawar that killed over a dozen in Badhabaer area - http//t.co/2PDki507aa … PPP Jun 30, 2013

- President Asif Ali Zardari wishes Mandela a speedy recovery - http//t.co/7LQYJMhtoP … PPP Pakistan Jun 30, 2013

- President Asif Ali Zardari have strongly condemned the killing and injuring of innocent people in Peshawar blast. - PPP Pakistan Jun 30, 2013

- PPP leaders to meet disgruntled workers - http//t.co/7p0mBZDNfR … - Pakistan Jun 30, 2013

- Pakistan biggest supporter of peace in Afghanistan Zardari - http//t.co/UVznWrxU0z … PPP Jun 30, 2013

- RT BakhtawarBZ Re tweet below issue is not co-ed vs non co-ed - it's the IF the TALIBAN want part that's alarming! Jun 26, 2013

- RT BakhtawarBZ Co-ed controversy perfectly acceptable to give in to the TALIBAN'S demand for the abolition of... http//t.co/hWXnCEiMom Jun 26, 2013

- RT BakhtawarBZ w BBhuttoZardari (June 21st 2013) http//t.co/tLKtDgwehI http//t.co/WaeBXUC1HG Jun 26, 2013

- Sindh Assembly continues discussion on provincial budget http//t.co/K8flaYObOe … PPP Pakistan http//t.co/VQcx3ykEVy Jun 26, 2013

- RT BakhtawarBZ We're back on the swiss case carousel! Let's waste more money+time on a 15yr old allegation (proved multiple times 2b poli… Jun 26, 2013

- PPP Chief BBhuttoZardari has strongly condemned the attack on Sindh High Court Judge Justice Maqbool Baqir - Pakistan Jun 26, 2013

- President Asif Ali Zardari has condemned the Karachi blast - PPP Pakistan http//t.co/6c49AcecBZJun 26, 2013

- President Asif Ali Zardari has strongly condemned the blast at Burnes Road Karachi -... http//t.co/9mn04Kh3ykJun 26, 2013

- RT AseefaBZ gatesfoundation and rotary join together in a new partnership to EndPolioNow . We want a PolioFreePakistan and a PolioFr… Jun 26, 2013

- President Zardari has strongly condemned the attack on Judge Maqbool Baqar & directed the authorities to ensure best medical assistance PPP Jun 26, 2013

- GilgitBaltistan Budget2013 PPP led government budget's 8 unique features - http//t.co/Wdp5RLrrve … Jun 26, 2013

- I posted a new photo to Facebook http//t.co/Lp0QNAlxi9Jun 22, 2013

- New Federal budget promotes crony capitalism & even its against 18th Amendment - Raza Rabbani Tribune http//t.co/TIaQYcIYLIJun 22, 2013

- New Federal budget promotes crony capitalism & even its against 18th Amendment RazaRabbani Tribune http//t.co/OgLuRaYpYr via etribune Jun 22, 2013

- President Asif Ali Zardari strongly condemns killing of MQM MPA Sajid Qureshi - Pakistan Jun 22, 2013

- President Asif Ali Zardari condemns attack on madrassah during Friday prayer - Pakistan Larkana, 21 June 2013... http//t.co/abY2tB0zE6Jun 22, 2013

- RT BakhtawarBZ Happy 60th 2my mother. 60dozen roses laid on ur grave. Miss u every minute. Tribute made 17 http//t.co/Pn3LlyyTVv http… Jun 22, 2013

- RT AseefaBZ Roses for my mother/leader for her 60th birthday HappyBirthdaySMBB http//t.co/JiUeDkFU4uJun 22, 2013

- RT AseefaBZ A party that calls itself a movement for justice seems to be committing injustice to the family of Shaheed Salman Taseer Jun 22, 2013

- President Asif Ali Zardari & Ms. Aseefa Bhutto Zardari laying flowers onShaheed Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto's grave.... http//t.co/37eOYRlTy5Jun 22, 2013

- I posted a new photo to Facebook http//t.co/vHQTh2LC9mJun 22, 2013

- President Asif Ali Zardari donating blood on the 60th birth anniversary of Shaheed Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto http//t.co/avxTeKJRvwJun 22, 2013

- Ms. Aseefa Bhutto Zardari donating blood on the 60th Birth Anniversary of Shaheed Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto http//t.co/dEjpNShBCaJun 22, 2013

- Minister for Jail and Prisons, Manzoor Wassan took serious notice of attack on central jail, Karachi - PPP Pakistan Jun 22, 2013

- No serious damage yet reported says Minister for Jail and Prisons, Manzoor Wassan - PPP Pakistan Jun 22, 2013

- I took over the control of jail & prisons departments two days ago says Minister for Jail and Prisons, Manzoor Wassan - PPP Pakistan Jun 22, 2013

- There are several members of banned organizations in central jail, Karachi says Minister for Jails, Manzoor Hussain Wassan - PPP Pakistan Jun 22, 2013

- Well done PPP MT AseefaBZ MT CapitalTV_News Pakistan has broken World record of India by planting more than 7 lac mangroves. Sindh Jun 22, 2013

- RT AseefaBZ Letter of protest Foreign media want declanwalsh back in Pakistan http//t.co/BXtLVbmwlsJun 22, 2013

- Ms. AseefaBZ donating blood on the 60th Birth Anniversary of SMBB - HappyBirthdaySMM PPP Pakistan http//t.co/360XrHMf37Jun 22, 2013

- Sindh chief minister Syed Qaim Ali Shah has allotted portfolios to his cabinet members. - http//t.co/UsWUWaC6AJ … PPP Pakistan Jun 22, 2013

- DG Rangers Rizwan Akhtar calls on CM Sindh Syed Qaim Ali Shah today and briefed him on law & order situation in Karachi - PPP Pakistan Jun 22, 2013

- CM Sindh pays rich tributes to Shaheed Mohatarma Benazir Bhutto - http//t.co/pauOVK0s1B … PPP Pakistan Jun 22, 2013

- President Asif Ali Zardari donating blood on the 60th birth anniversary of SMBB AseefaBZ - PPP Pakistan http//t.co/MgU44M9lmLJun 22, 2013

- Benazir's birthday President Asif Ali Zardari donates blood - http//t.co/q0oNerB5pW … PPP Pakistan Jun 22, 2013

- I posted a new photo to Facebook http//t.co/hgwCmBhsO9Jun 20, 2013

- .sharmilafaruqi Happy Birthday Shaheed Rani.. http//t.co/wEQy7eBlYhJun 20, 2013

- RT ZAIDAZIZpk BenazirBhuttoFC For dictators across the world—Democracy is the greatest revengeBenazir Bhutto HappyBirthdaySMBB http/… Jun 20, 2013

- RT KasimGillani Happy Birthday SMBB! You are dearly missed. http//t.co/zKyKoGoh7cJun 20, 2013

- RT snjay_ Shaheed Rani, you lived so shall you live; a figure larger than life! ZindaHyBenazir http//t.co/WP3duxMs61Jun 20, 2013

- RT BenazirBhuttoFC Our commitment to pay the price for freedom has not been shaken..-Benazir Bhutto HappyBirthdaySMBB http//t.co/PjvC… Jun 20, 2013

- I posted a new photo to Facebook http//t.co/QNcT7dAjWxJun 20, 2013

- Message of PPP Patron-in-Chief, BBhuttoZardari On 60th birth anniversary of SMBB on 21st June, 2013 -... http//t.co/whKKtrvALEJun 20, 2013

- Message of President Asif Ali Zardari on 60th birth anniversary of Shaheed Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto June 21, 2013.... http//t.co/jsqLWsbHn9Jun 20, 2013

- RT AseefaBZ A party that calls itself a movement for justice seems to be committing injustice to the family of Shaheed Salman Taseer Jun 20, 2013

- RT AseefaBZ Disgusted by the PTI MNA who called for the release of Mumtaz Qadri ! Qadri is a murderer! Jun 20, 2013

- RT AseefaBZ Just visited Garhi Khuda Bux with my father and laid 60 dozen roses for my mother SMBB http//t.co/rphjrpSqJ5Jun 20, 2013

- RT BakhtawarBZ Crazy comes in 3s end of co-education also on the table (Now awaiting retraction of all 3 as individual opinions) http… Jun 20, 2013

V) PTI's Tweets

- RT ArifAlvi Excellent APC by PTI in Khi on Rigging & Khi violence. Resolutions on Suomoto by CJ, Fingerprint check, Repolling & 2 catch Z…May 27, 2013 ⊡

- RT ArifAlvi Had metng with many workers from Saddar, Hijrat, Punjab, Hazara, & City Railway colonies. Looked at issues and decided on pos…May 27, 2013 ⊡

- RT ZohaibWazir Pakistan Tehreek e Insaf won second most votes in Pakistan election http//t.co/UavYxY1SyG May 27, 2013 ⊡

- RT _FAFEN Only ways to assess scale of rigging, if any, are Forms XIV, XV, XVI & XVII, citizens should submit FOI requests for release of…May 27, 2013 ⊡

- RT Hammad_Azhar There needs to be serious investigation regarding failure of caretakers to release funds for IPPs.Who pressurised? PMLN? May 27, 2013 ⊡

- RT Farooqtariq3 ArifAlvi I salute the teacher who tried best to safe lives of school children, gave life, hero, AWP demand highest civ… May 27, 2013 ⊡

- RT Hammad_Azhar Its better to stand on principles and lose rather than suck up to the status-quo families and win.Form is temporary,class…May 27, 2013 ⊡

- RT AhsanRashidPTI awaiting recount with thumb impressions in PP 156-insha Allah good result expected May 27, 2013 ⊡

- RT AliHZaidiPTI On May 24th I submitted my petition to the ECP in Islamabad with foolproof evidence including 4 CDs of videos. Lets see h…May 27, 2013 ⊡

- RT omermeyer You are never a loser until you quit trying. May 27, 2013 ⊡

- RT ImranKhanPTI The Caretakers shd immediately sensitize themselves 2 the suffering of the nation & provide relief against the excessive …May 26, 2013 ⊡

- RT ImranKhanPTI The Caretakers are aggravating the divide between rich & poor with poor bearing brunt of the fallout from rising prices a…May 26, 2013 ⊡

- RT ImranKhanPTI The inability of the Caretakers 2 release the required funds for easing up on load shedding is unacceptable. May 26, 2013

- RT ImranKhanPTI Unprecedented utility price hikes & load have been taken to a level where the country has no electricity except 4 a few h…May 26, 2013

- RT ImranKhanPTI I strongly condemn the spiralling load shedding across Pak at a time when temperatures are also soaring. May 26, 2013

- RT ImranKhanPTI Ejaz Ch, President PTI, is in Gujrat today to condole with families of the children killed in school van blast on behalf … May 26, 2013

- RT EjazChaudhary Would you believe this flower (Hashim Ali. 7years) was burnt to ashes in the tragedy in Gujrat. http//t.co/FFwciewhQ1 May 26, 2013

- RT EjazChaudhary Dawood Altaf the only survivor of ill fated wagon,which was burnt to ashes with 15 children http//t.co/OTCxbozr3Y May 26, 2013

- RT ArifAlvi I strongly condemn Senate res. asking 2 stop 650 MW supply 2 Karachi.Such positions coming from Senate r harmful 4 intra-prov… May 26, 2013

- RT ArifAlvi IK presided over PTI MNAs mtng from his bed as he has to continue bedrest until June 20 Congrtltd Karachi leadership & people…May 26, 2013

- RT ShireenMazari1 Loadshedding every alternate hour - 12 hrs - in Islamabad! Seems Khi only place where no loadshedding! Ironic! May 26, 2013

- RT AndleebAbbas Only in Pakistan 17 school children can be burned alive and the government just condoles..yeh behissi ka alam.. May 26, 2013

- RT ShireenMazari1 SympaticoSoul Imran Khan of course! May 26, 2013

- RT MunazaHassan Deeply saddened by the loss of innocent lives in Gujrat, my heart goes out 2 the parents may God grant them the courage t… May 25, 2013

- RT ShireenMazari1 It was also decided that Dr Arif Alvi will be PTI's Chief Whip in Parliament! Our conquering hero from Karachi! May 25, 2013

- RT ShireenMazari1 PTI MNAs-elect mtg with IK! Hashmi PM candidate; Shahryar Afridi 4 Speaker; Munazza Hassan 4 Dy Speaker. Was gt meeting… May 25, 2013

- RT ShireenMazari1 SaifullahNyazee Saif is tweeting again! Master organiser! May 25, 2013

- RT EjazChaudhary Very much sad on the death by burning of 17 school childern in Gujrat,who is responcible for this crime,can't share the …May 25, 2013

- RT ImranKhanPTI Today I am holding mtg with all r MNAs elect to discuss r strategies in parliament as a strong opposition! May 25, 2013

- RT ImranKhanPTI Saddened to hear of school van exploding in Gujrat killing 20 children. Safety of school transport must be ensured! R Chi…May 25, 2013

- RT omermeyer ECP must start recounting with fingerprint verification. Its Important to restore voter's belief on Ballot May 25, 2013

- RT HniaziISF President Barak_obama there is a HungerStrike going on in the illegal PRISON on the illegal land-The MUSLIMS IN Guantanam… May 25, 2013 ⌐

- RT Hammad_Azhar We demand a recount with biometric verification on any 4 out of the 25 seats listed by PTI. Essential to restore confide…May 25, 2013 ⌐

- RT Atta_ur_rahman Main tamam alaqai zubano ka ahteram karta hon...taham Urdu ko Pakistan mei ittehad ki alamat samajhta hon ImranKhanP… May 25, 2013 ⌐

- RT Atta_ur_rahman Pakistan mukhtalif mazahib masalik aur qomiyat ka watan hey...aur karachi in sub ki numaindgi karta hey ImranKhanPTI May 25, 2013 ⌐

- RT QasimSuri Watch PTI on May 25th Qasim Khan Suri at 11AM live on PTV Bolan in Morning Show. May 25, 2013 ⌐

- Video Imran Khan's Message to the Nation at PTI Dharna at D-Chowk. https//t.co/7m2XAyHF1g Pakistan | Islamabad May 25, 2013 ⌐

- PTI Chairman Imran Khan appeals to Pakistan Chief Justice to take notice of Election Poll Rigging http//t.co/crrBbJjkIe | Elections2013 May 25, 2013 ⌐

- RT Hammad_Azhar Restoring confidence of ppl in the ballot is whats at stake..not seats or power but the very essence of democracy.Recoun… May 24, 2013 ⌐

- RT FauziaKasuri Giving up dual citizenship small price for my belief in IK and my country..pray that I can work, along with my leader, f… May 24, 2013 ⌐

- RT FauziaKasuri The process of rebuilding Pak has started.Imran Khan has already brought CHANGE .In time, there will be a NAYA PAK, Insha… May 24, 2013 ⌐

- RT ShireenMazari1 Obama's drone speech was an attempt to justify violations of int law, Pak sovereignty & killing of innocent civilians. … May 24, 2013 ⌐

- RT ShireenMazari1 Obama justifies drones as just war of self defence!Absurd!Just war killing innocent civilians in FATA?Obama shd rec…May 24, 2013 ⌐

- ImranKhanPTI This change is a process we have changed Pakistan, urges CJP not to let people down as they had confidence in free elections May 24, 2013 ⌐

- ImranKhanPTI appreciates PTI workers from all over Pakistan to sit here in the Dharna against rigging - this is standing up for Pakistan May 24, 2013 ⌐

- ImranKhanPTI CJP- People have trusted you - please do not let them down - the people will not have faith on the system in the future May 24, 2013 ⌐

- ImranKhanPTI thousands people came out to trust the democratic system - they have been let down May 24, 2013 ⌐

- ImranKhanPTI says we suspect Rigging happened in 25 seats - just pick four and evaluate by thumb imp if this rigging was massive May 24, 2013 ⌐

- Watch ImranKhanPTI address the D-Chowk Dharna live from Lahore - http//t.co/LMGwJTtsF7 May 24, 2013 ⌐

- ImranKhanPTI calls these elections RO-Elections and urges them to hold them accountable May 24, 2013 ⌐

- ImranKhanPTI appeals the ECP to stand up to restore the peoples faith in the democratic system May 24, 2013 ⇱

- ImranKhanPTI starts his address to D-Chowk RiggingAgainstPTI Dharna watch live - http//t.co/LMGwJTtsF7 May 24, 2013 ⇱

- Up next Chairman ImranKhanPTI address to the D-Chowk RiggingAgainstPTI Dharna - watch live - http//t.co/LMGwJTtsF7 May 24, 2013 ⇱

- Javed Hashmi addresses the D-Chowk RiggingAgainstPTI Dharna - watch live - http//t.co/LMGwJTtsF7 May 24, 2013 ⇱

APPENDIX B

Comparison of ANP's Follower (2013 And 2015)

Comparison of MQM's Follower (2013 and 2015)

Comparison of PML-N's Follower (2013 And 2015)

Comparison of PPP's Follower (2013 And 2015)

Comparison of PTI's Follower (2013 And 2015)