A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF MANIFESTOS OF PAKISTANI POLITICAL PARTIES

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A Critical Discourse Analysis of Manifestos of Pakistani Political Parties

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Candidate of **Master of Philosophy** at the National University of Modern Languages do hereby declare that the thesis**: A Critical Discourse Analysis of Manifestos of Pakistani Political Parties** submitted by me in partial fulfillment of M. Phil degree, is my original work, and has not been submitted or published earlier. I also solemnly declare that it shall not, in future, be submitted by me for obtaining any other degree from this or any other university or institution.

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ABSTRACT

Thesis Title: A CDA of Manifestos of Pakistani Political Parties

The present study critically analyses the manifestos of Pakistani political parties. It investigates how various discursive strategies are employed by the politicians to propagate their desired ideology. For the critical discourse analysis the researcher devised his own model by combining the socio cognitive model of Dijk (2004) and Wodak's DHA (2009) approach. The said model is a set of discursive techniques, political strategies and rhetorical devices. So, it is suitable for analysis, how politicians reconstruct ideologies and facts. The manifestos of both political parties are analyzed at this course level to identify different discursive techniques. These political parties are Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz) and Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan. The research is mainly qualitative in nature. However, quantification of the data has been done and different discursive strategies employed by the both political parties are quantified and represented graphically. The present study is delimited to the manifestos of Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz) and Jamaat-e- Islami. The data has taken from the official website of the both political parties. The manifestos are significant as they are the agenda of both political parties in the election 2013. The researcher has given special focus to the aspect that how different discursive strategies are employed by the politicians for the positive representation of in-group and negative representation of out-group. The findings of the present research illustrate that the rhetoric of PML-N is more persuasive in the dissemination of its desired ideology than that of JIP. Furthermore, it is an attempt that how the features of politically groomed language of the both political parties bring forth the facts. Thus, it shows that style and ideology are interrelated. Moreover, the present study suggests a distinct perspective to the students and academia for the analysis of political manifestos of Pakistani political parties.

Key Terms: Discourse, Ideology, Critical Discourse Analysis, Manifestos

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
PML-N	Pakistan Muslim League- Nawaz
JIP	Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan
DHA	Discourse Historic Approach
SCA	Socio Cognitive Approach

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DEDICATION

I dedicate my thesis to the *TEACHER* of the teachers of the globe, the holy prophet Muhammad S.A.W. After that all my dedications are to my all the teachers who have been teaching me since my childhood. Particularly, I dedicate my thesis to my sympathetic supervisor Prof. Muhammad Akbar Sajid. Furthermore, I would like to mention my maternal uncle Muhammad Asif Sani (Late) Govt H/S Sukho Chak, Narowal, who had been my teacher and a passionate guide for whole of his life. In the end all my endeavors are dedicated to my lovely, kindhearted, caring and compassionate father, Mian Muhammad Yaqoob (Late).

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This study aims to reveal the rhetorical devices used by the politicians in the manifestos of Pakistani political parties. The manifestos are outlook views and agendas with their peculiarity of political parties. They are representative of political parties and a desire towards general message. It is a type of political agenda designed by parties to prove their superiority to other parties to win election or public consent. It is an insidious weapon with the political parties to sell their ideologies to the people for their political purposes. Political and social ideologies are reflected through text and talk. Text and talk led political struggle for power that is exercised discursively by using their political, economic and social agendas. It is all based on politicization of language. Therefore, the present research is an attempt to critically analyze the discourses to these manifestos of political parties to lay bare different layers of meanings propagated to the general masses by politicizing the language in different political epochs. Different religious political parties like Jamaat-e-Islami and Jamaat-e-Ulama Islam, and others have been trying to win general consent. They have been sitting in national assembly either purely in the name of religion or politicizing the religion through different ways. It is obvious through the history of different political periods that different religious and political ideologies have been propagated differently. Sometimes, in the past, a political party placed religion at top i.e. religion is the matter of life and death for us and on some occasion nationalism i.e. *Sub sy Pehly Pakistan.*

Politics is an art to persuade the people. Political discourses are artistic moves to control the people. These political moves including persuasion and presentation of opinions depict the realities and the facts. The prime objective of the politicians is to win consent of the masses. They attain this goal by designing carefully their political manifestos. Intentionally, the selection of political rhetoric regarded as a persuasive tool. The political moves produce a rhetorical effect. So, probably all the politicians use discursive strategies in their political manifestoes to produce the desired ideology. Dijk

(2006) states that politically organized moves of language are significant tools of cognition control through prevailing ideologies. Hence, a practical implementation of discursive strategies has remained famous among the political figures across the globe.

Language plays its significant role in it. Language is a source of persuasion. Language is also a means of investing a desired ideology by employing different techniques to win public consent. Therefore, it may be said that manifestos are political tools to incorporate ideologies by using persuasive strategies, employed by the political parties to persuade the voters/electors. Persuasive strategies are a sort of struggle for political, social and educational transformation, keeping in mind the changing scenario, different political parties revise their manifestos from time to time. This is done to win general consent in order to win the victory in every coming election and by shifting their focus from one domain to another. The manifestos of political parties carry these semantic features and discursive strategies to manipulate the following things:

1. Discursive interaction

2. Cognitive mind control

3. Social power abuse

Cognitively minds are controlled by discursive interaction. Religious speeches are the best examples to understand its real implication. Different discursive techniques are employed to shape the minds of masses according to the desired ideology and then one can exercise power in society.

Fairclough (1990) suggests that political discourse is a shift from producers to consumers. It is an apparent shift in power from producers (politicians) to consumers (electors).The present study attempts to highlight connection between language, power and politicization of language. It reveals that how the power is attained through artistic use of language in political discourse.

1.1 Statement of the Problem

Manifestos are the stative point of any political party. They represent the political stances of political parties. The present study is an attempt to analyze the manifestoes of two political parties i.e. Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz) and Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan, which were put forward to represent their political in general election 2013. Additionally, it analyzes the use different discursive moves employed by these political parties to win general consent of the masses during the elections.

1.2 Objective of the study

The political parties claim to be different from others on the basis of their manifestos. The political parties keep on revising their manifestos. However, the objectives of the present research are as under:

1. To locate the use of discursive strategies employed in the manifesto of PML-N and JIP to win general consent.

2. To analyze the manifestos to lay bare embedded ideologies in them for positive self representation.

3. To document the frequency of occurrence of the discursive techniques employed in these manifestos to support qualitative findings quantitatively.

1.3 Research Question

The following main and sub research question have provided framework for the present study.

1.3.1 Main Question

1. How are ideologies represented discursively in the manifestos of Pakistani political parties?

1.3.2 Sub Question

1.   How do PML-N and JIP differ from each other in the dissemination of religious and political ideologies?

1.4 Research Methodology

The research methodology for the present research is qualitative in nature. For this purpose, the researcher draws upon different theories in the domain of CDA Dijk's (2004) socio cognitive approach and Wodak's DHA (2009). After going through their theories regarding critical discourse analysis, the researcher finds this more suitable for the present research. Therefore, the researcher has employed different linguistic categories from these theories. The levels of which mentioned models have been applied for the present research and hence by modifying these two models the researcher has devised his own amended model consisting of the linguistic categories selected from both models to be used in the present research.

However, the researcher has also analyzed the data quantitatively. This has been done by doing content analysis and counting the frequency of occurrence of different discursive moves mentioned by the said model. All this has been discussed in detail in the section of thesis dealing with research methodology. This section of the study deals with methodology used in the present study. The researcher aims at to accomplish the CDA of the manifestos of Pakistani political parties by identifying discursive strategies. Although, the present research is of qualitative in nature, contrary to that quantification of the discursive strategies has also been done by using graphical representations. The researcher has collected manifestos of two political parties i.e. Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz) and Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan.

1.5 Significance of the Study

Critical Discourse Analysis aims at developing an insight into the discursive structures of various texts and genres along with their socio-political effects. Moreover, it aims at raising awareness among the masses that how politically loaded language is used to win general consent by the politicians through their manifestos.

The present study is significant as it aims at to analyze the manifestos of the political parties of Pakistan critically that how different political ideologies have been propagated to win election by employing different discursive techniques and devices. The present study attempts to critically analyze the political discourse of the manifestos of these two parties i.e. Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz) and Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan. It is a significant comparative analysis of the manifestos of one religious and political party and one political party.

Moreover, the present study is significant that how manifestos are revised from time to time. Political agendas are included or excluded in accordance with the changing scenario. Pakistan is an ideological state, came into being in the name of religion. The aim of this research is to find out the ideologies encapsulated in the language of these manifestos. The researcher attempts to highlight the process of constructing the ideology (ies) in social perspective.

1.6 Delimitation of the study

The present study is delimited on analyzing critically political discourses of the manifestos of two political parties i.e. Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz), and Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan. In this way, the present study is delimited by taking the manifesto of one party during the general election 2013 and same as the manifesto of other party. For the data collection, manifesto of PML-N and JIP are chosen. The researcher analyses the manifestos of only these two political parties.

1.7 Organization of the study

Chapter one presents the introduction to the present study. It deals with aspects related to statements of the problem, research objectives and the main question which the present study is an attempt to answer. Moreover, it also presents the research methodology, significance of the research and delimitation of the research.

Chapter two deals with the reviewing of the related literature, operational definitions of the key concepts related to the research and the theoretical framework. In order to generate the space for the research in hand all the relevant literature has been

critically analyzed. The brief and critical overview of the existing related theories in the field of CDA have also been presented which pave the way for devising the conceptual framework.

Chapter three introduces the research design which the research has employed for the present research. It elaborated the tools of data collection, data analysis procedures and the search model amended for this research. The researcher has also described the rationale behind using the triangulation and the amended model using to main CDA theorists.

Chapter 4 deals with the qualitative and quantitative analysis of the selected manifestos. It presents the in-depth critical analysis of the manifestos. It moreover, quantitatively analyzes the data. It includes various tabular presentations which thematically categorizes the two selected manifestos. It also shows the frequency of occurrence of major discursive strategies and analytical categories.

Chapter five narrates the final findings and discussion after the critical analysis of the data. These findings help to conclude the research and fulfill its objectives. It also gives suggestions and recommendations for the future researches in the same domain. Finally, the conclusion of the present dissertation has been shown in this last chapter.

CHAPTER 2

LITERAURE REVIEW

This section of the study critically evaluates the existing literature related to the present research. Although, the researcher looked into the researches with critical perception to create a research gap for his research yet the prime objective has been on the most relatable works to the present research. This chapter discusses works already done, operational definitions of the key terms used in the present research and theoretical framework. Furthermore, all the possible theories related to discourse and critical discourse analysis in relation with power and ideology are also discussed in this chapter. This is how researcher has proceeded to devise a conceptual framework and then accordingly research methodological perspective. However, the following section deals with existing literature for creating a research gap for the present research chronologically.

2.1 Works already done

This section deals with critical review of the previous researches done by different researchers chronologically. This has been done critically to generate a gap for the present research. The followings are some of the prominent works carried out by various researchers in the most similar area of Critical Discourse Studies (CDS).

Lecocq (1985) conducted research on the speeches of former presidents of United States of America i.e. Roosevelt, Nixon and Reagon. The researcher focused on the importance of different use of metaphor in their presidential addresses. This indicated that how mental models shape different models. Those mental models are fundamentally influenced by different ideologies.

Soule (2006) carried out the research on election campaign of 2003 in Scotland. He analyzed the data of different political parties i.e. manifestos, party election broadcasts and newspaper by using Fairclough's social focus and three dimensional

analysis of discourse and Dijk and Chilton's cognitive approaches. His study explored the discursive strategies employed by political parties during the month long campaign to persuade the people.

Abbas (2005) evaluated Mr. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's speeches and Ms. Benazir Bhutto's. The researcher deconstructed the linguistic content of the speeches to explore the ideology and power hidden in their language. He concluded that their speeches are like effective advertisement.

Sana et al (2006) conducted the analysis of the speeches of Mr. Jinnah delivered on 11th August, 1947 in first constitutional assembly of Pakistan. The main focus of their research was to locate the underlined ideologies in Mr. Jinnah's speech. They analyzed the speech by employing socio-cognitive model of Dijk (2002).

Savola et al (2006) carried out a study on manifestos of two political parties of United Kingdom i.e. Conservative Party and Labor Party. They drew on linguistic and rhetoric comparison between the manifestos of these two parties. The contents of these manifestos were critically analyzed by utilizing the aspects of lexical, grammatical and rhetorical features. The findings of their analysis provided intertextuality which brought more dimensions in the study.

Dobson (2007) found out in his work that words of any individual are entirely his/her own that they are an assemblage of other and others' texts. Nonetheless, he discussed that the skill of gleaning meaning solely from the reading of texts is not sufficient. As well as adaptation of the familiar method of reading between the lines to abstract the intended meaning is also required. Thus, readers also need to read between the texts to become the linguistic paleontologists as it was also described by Kress and Hodge (1993).

Moreover, he explored that when the same readers become writers, they also need to be acutely aware that what they write or type is very probably not entirely their own. In contrast to this, present research is a rhetorical analysis of Political discourses. The researcher sees how political discourses shape mind of people to get their desired message prevalence.

Sipra (2007) analyzed speech of Martin Luther king *I have a dream*. He particularly forced on stylistic aspect and socio-political aspect of speech by employing there dimensional modal of Fairclough. He analyzed the speech on lyrical and discourse level to explore stylistic strategies.

Breeze (2010) carried out a research on British General Election of 2010. It raised high expectations due to the social and political situation of the country, both externally and internally along with the global economic crisis, the troops in Afghanistan, the anticipation of a political landslide and the accession of the Liberal Democrats to power. However, it seems apparent that the parties involved did not live up to them in terms of political debate and engagement with the issues. He set out to explore the discourses of the manifestos published by the three main parties, with a view by identifying differences in their means of relating to the electorate, and tracing their discursive construction of key issues.

Naz et al (2012) stylistically analyzed speeches of Ms. Bhutto by employing Halliday's transitivity analysis. They investigated Ms. Bhutto's art of linguistics choices. These linguistic choices show that she could use the lexis very effectively in accord with context and listeners.

Sarfo & Krampa (2013) stated that language is an effective tool used to construct an ideology, or establish a power relation of imbalance between two groups of people. The theoretical stance of the research is that political discourses are characterized or underpinned by linguistic expressions carefully selected by speakers in order to achieve a certain goal. Because it has a specific impact on listeners, that was highlighted by this research. On the other hand, the present study deals with text of political manifestos and their perceptions implicitly. The manifestos have an immense importance in political campaign. So, the researcher has selected the manifestos of PML-N and JIP for analysis to explore the hidden ideologies by employing Wodak's DHA and Dijk's socio-cognitive approach.

Khalil at el (2013) explored the political speech of Imran Khan, Chairman of Pakistan's one the leading political parties PTI: Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf. He addressed

his party workers from his bed while he was injured during election campaign. The speech was analyzed by them. They attempted to lay bare the ideologies which worked behind the given political speech. The selected speech has been analyzed qualitatively using the analytical framework of Fairclough, which he proposed in 1995. The study concludes that politicians employ certain linguistic strategies to persuade people to follow their hidden agendas.

Nadeem (2014) drew a comparative corpus driven analysis of manifestos of Pakistani political parties in order to expose the hidden ideologies through critical discourse analysis. The study was carried out on the linguistic features including parts of speech and passive construction. In the conclusion of the study, it was mentioned fact that these features do not have a regular use and they are not as impartial as they seem. But they contain a specific purpose of positive manipulation behind it that involve in social power. He concluded CDA discovers that political parties are different in the usage of lexical and grammatical features. For the analytical work, data was collected randomly in the form of manifestos of eight major political parties. In contrast to this, the present study is an attempt to locate different discursive strategies implied by the political parties of Pakistan in their manifestos and for this purpose only two manifestos of political parties are chosen for analysis.

Michira (2014) analyzed to reveal the linguistic persuasive strategies, concealed meanings and ideologies in the presidential campaign discourses in Kenya leading to 2013 elections. He used primary data i.e. speeches, party manifestos and campaign video clips to critically analyze the rhetorical devices and strategies used by the main candidate for the presidency. He argues that the language is a powerful tool that politicians seeking political power use it not only communicate their policies and ideological positions, but also to create certain perceptions in order to influence and manipulate the voters.

Ehineni (2014) analyzed the ideological uses of modals by Nigerian politicians especially in their electioneering campaign manifestos designed to elicit favorable political support from the electorate. He collected data from political manifestos the Labour Party (LP) and the Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN) used during their campaigns for the 2012 elections. The study reveals that modals such as 'will', 'shall', 'must', 'can', etc. are used by the politicians in both manifestos for persuasion, obligation,

to make promises, demonstrate political will/commitment, and quest for public support and manipulation.

Mwiinga (2015) examined the discoursal features of the parliamentary debate session of 15th March 2013 in which the immunity of the Fourth Republican President of Zambia was lifted, in order to establish the ideological implications. She makes use of Fairclough's model and Djik's framework in her analysis. She summed up her research that this particular parliamentary debate was characterized by discursive polarization in which members of parliament presented a world-view of 'Us' versus 'Them', where 'Us' positive self-presentation was juxtaposed with a negative presentation of 'Them' thereby creating in-groups and out-groups.

Sharndama (2015) analyzed the political speeches. These political speeches are many just as political forums and events are. She analyzed the inaugural Speech of President Muhammadu Buhari which was delivered shortly after his swearing into office on the 29th May, 2015. In carrying out the analysis, Fairclough's three dimensional Analytical Models was adapted. Following the model, the speech was subjected to description (text analysis), interpretation (processing/analysis) and explanation (social practice and analysis). The result of the analysis showed that an inaugural speech is a revelation of plans and hopes in the new government. The speech analyzed particularly revealed the ideologies/plans on which the new government headed by President Muhammadu Buhari intends to operate.

Muller (2016) examined the UK print press coverage of the political party UKIP and its leader Nigel Farage, and more specifically the extent to which such coverage can be regarded as objective. Nigel Farage and UKIP are interesting subjects for the study of the UK print press because of several reasons. Firstly, both UKIP and Nigel Farage tend to generate strongly worded reactions, from positive reactions about Nigel Farage's often colorful utterances to negative reactions about the 'racist' image of the party. The hypothesis of first research question, "general news articles on UKIP or Nigel Farage are more biased than articles on the supported mainstream parties", is supported by some of the aspects examined, but not by others.

Batholmeus (2016) analyzed the election manifestos of Namibian Political parties SWAPO and DTA, used in election of year 2014. He examined the stylistic features and rhetorical devices used in selected manifestos and used Aristotle's three proofs of persuasion, ethos, pathos and logos to explain the rhetorical significance of the language techniques identified. He concluded that the SWAPO party manifesto mainly used its past achievements to persuade the voters while the DTA focused on promises and future plans for persuasion.

Ghilzai (2017) analyzed the persuasive tactics of Imran Khan's political speeches as well as the covert ideology of his party's manifesto, his political maturity that enrich linguistic possessions and his aim for democracy in Pakistan in his first speech in the parliament. His study based on Fairclough's conceptions in critical discourse analysis, claiming that "ideologies reside in the texts that it is not possible to 'read off' ideologies from texts and that texts are opened to diverse interpretations" (Fairclough, 1995). The findings of the research reveal that the text of Imran's speech is linguistically rich and his rhetoric is more impressive than other political leaders.

The present study is different from the researches above mentioned and this is an endeavor to look into how Wodak's (2009) DHA approach and Socio cognitive Approach of Dijk (2004) can enhance the potential of acceptance among the masses about political manifestos.

2.2 Political Language constructs Ideologies

Language performs vital role in the construction, de-construction and re-construction, shaping and re-shaping the ideologies. Language plays a significant role in reflecting the ideologies. It makes the things commonsense. According to Derrida language is performative and it is the key creator of the social world's people experience (Edelman, 1985). It works covertly to shape the ideology of the users and at the same time it is one of the strongest means of ideological investment. Language helps in disseminating various ideologies; political, religious... (Rehman, 2004). It is the only tool which can measure, express and explain our thoughts.

Language assigns different roles and labels to different people. It is very important to understand how language works. From the perspective of linguistic analysis, language is exploited by individuals or groups of people in a society as a means to achieve a particular goal. That is, through conscious selection of particular linguistic features, such as a lexical item, or a certain way of disclosing things to elicit a particular meaning (semantics), a certain purpose is achieved by the language user which may be ideological (Khan, 2003). By using discursive power of language, mind sets are shaped or changed and particular sets of beliefs are inculcated in the minds of the people. By gradual use of language in the form of a weapon one can shape other's mind positively or negatively. It is said that victory gained by coercive power is temporary. Whereas, victory gained by discursive power is everlasting.

2.3 Social change and CDA

2.3.1 Democratization

According to Fairclough (2004) social change taking place and is taking place in the process of democratization of discourse. Democratization is considered as removal of injustice and inequalities in rhetoric and linguistic rights, compulsions and significance of groups of people. Major components of discursive democratization are connection between language and social dialects, availability of influential discourse types, omission of overt power markers in intuitional discourse types with unequal power relations. It is a tendency towards informality of language and changes in politics and gender related practices in language. (Fairclough, 1992)

The most significant aspect of democratization tends towards informality of language of written discourse in media studies. It is important to comment on the validity of the overall claims. Fairclough (1992) claims there are curiosity about how real or artificial changes have been generated. It is believed that there have been changes in the relation of power within the society. It is as more likely that power has been repressed and has been taken in different shapes rather than different social classes' people that make them equal. (Pateman,1980). The

coercive and oppressive discourse of the past, before democracy, was replaced by repressive discourse. Then relationships were not compulsory or symmetrical but the asymmetry had shrouded by such features of Conversationalization. The shapes of power could be assumed to be more coercive. In fact, kress (1989) is of the view that it has been figured out that democratization is emerging because the 'you/thou' difference that characterized overt relationship of power in English, which has been eliminated.

Kress (1989) negates this, instead of believing that relationship of power is still disseminated in English although it is spread thoroughly the functioning of language in discourse. On the following base, he believes that democratization is a myth. It seems that media text producers are displaying themselves more informal to maximize their fit agendas, with their invisible readers in order to attract more consumers in the form voters. This idea is linked with press that it tries to sustain its status quo, as it is in the present capitalist trend that they are economically strong in making profits to grasp public views. (Fowler,1991)

2.4 Discourse

The word discourse is an umbrella term. This word has a complex history. It has been used differently by different theorists. The origin of the word *Discourse* lays in Latin word *Discursus* which means conversation, speech or writing. Discourse is a unit of text used by linguists for the analysis of linguistic phenomena that range over more than one sentence. Generally, the term discourse is defined as stretch of language beyond the level of sentence. But as it has been mentioned above that discourse is an umbrella term, there can be no finality in language. Similarly, the term "Discourse" has been through various changes or through different phases of history, and these days the term discourse is taken as the verbal and nonverbal interchange of ideas. It is a mode of organizing knowledge, ideas and experience that is rooted in language with its concrete context and history.

Furthermore, it refers to any unit of language larger than a sentence. It is assumed that use of spoken and written text in a social context is called discourse. It consists of ideas in education and neon signs. Discourse can be a single meaningful or meaningless

word gesture which conveys a message in set circumstances or in a set practiced community. Language is also an identity kit and a social marker of identity in the society. Fairclough (1992) is of the view about discourse that it is far from being just a communication and utilization. This is not a language that is used but in oral and written form is viewed as a sort of societal practices. Discourse is comprised of societal realities. It is interlinked with cognition, language, interaction, power and society, comprehensively. To understand these notions, one needs to comprehend whole theories or disciplines of the objects or phenomena, are being dealt with. Thus, discourse is treated as a multidimensional social phenomenon.

2.5 Text and Context

Context is vitally important in meaning formation. Because meaning of text cannot be conveyed until the use of context is clear. Discourse is an activation process of text by relating to a context. Style is taken as typical utilization of dialect and can be viewed as an integrating actor (Crystal, 1987). Language prefers broadest opportunities to society in its function. Language needs context to get it adjusted in the function of communication of discourse.

2.6 Discourse analysis

Discourse explains narrowly interactive and communicative aspects of language. It is a process of analyzing the text and talk by breaking them down into pieces. Yule (1983) defines discourse analysis how human beings use the language in communication.

Stubbs (1983) elaborates it as an attempt to investigate the organization of language above the sentence and clause level. Discourse analyst focuses on how meaning and structure are incorporated in text to make it implicitly comprehendible. Discourse analysts have used it more critically to examine the issues relating power, inequality and ideology.

2.7 Background of CDA

Since late 1970s discourse analysis was developed into sub-areas including speech act theory. Ethnography and CDA are considered most significant in humanities and social sciences. CDA researchers are able appropriately and relevantly produce insights into the way discourse reproduces and resists social and political changes,

inequalities, power abuse and domination. Discourse is a form of social practice. Fairclough (1989)

He further, argues that linguistic usage encodes and propagates ideological practices. The foremost aim of CDA is to explore hidden ideology in text and talk because lexis is the server of transferring the power and ideology of one group or nation over other nation or group.

2.8 Functioning of discourse

Discourse is an umbrella term which plays many roles distinctively. In discourse, these roles are actually manifold in language. Some of them are as under i.e. it creates social realities, reflects realties and are identity markers. Language possesses the traits of shaping identities in an interactional community; discourse assists to underlie these cognitive processes in constructing these identities and ideologies. Discursively, language is a tool that controls the public and their consent. People are being overpowered by discursive and influential ways of using language.

2.9 Political Discourse

It is essential to understand and to explain the role and importance of language in communication in totalitarian regimes and propagandas of any political system. (Maas 1984, 1989a, 1989b) According to Foucault, discourse is determined by society, which is termed as social practice. Basically, discourse is the result of collision; the condition of social, political and linguistic practices impose themselves practically. It works behind the subject while the actors do not understand the game.

Discourse Analysis identifies the rules which make the text fascist. Texts from diverse social and political contexts are analyzed in a sample representative of possible text of national social discourse. (Wodak & Decilla, 2006)

While critical discourse analysis focuses on political institution, decision making and everyday life organization. The present research is triggered by locating dominance and hegemony of this kind of rhetoric that is used in indirect strategies to address multiple audiences. In this respect CDA, the use of ethnography, focus groups and narrative interviews combined with more traditional data such as newspapers and political speeches. (Wodak & Krzyanowski, 2008)

From the beginning, the research on politics is co-triggered from the perspective of history of CDA. There have been many researches on DHA drawn by different researchers in all over the world. It was concerned with analysis of the relationships between discursive construction and of national sameness and discursive construction of differences loading to the political and social exclusion of specific group.

Discourse about nation and identities relays on four Discourse Macro Strategies.

1.   Constructive strategies

Aiming at construction of national identity

2.   Preservative or justificatory strategies

Aiming at the conservative and reproduction of national identities or narratives of identity

3.   Transformative strategies

Aiming at the change of national identity

4.   Destructive strategies

Aiming at the dismantling of national identity

It depends on which discursive event is under investigation or which field and domain. One important characteristic arises from the assumption of some CDA approaches that all discourses are historical and can be understood with reference to their context. Therefore, these approaches refer to such extra-lingual factors such as culture, society, ideology, and intricate ways depending on their concepts of context. Hence, the notion of context is crucial for CDA. Since, this explicitly includes social-psychological, political and ideological components and thereby, postulates an interdisciplinary procedure. CDA uses the concepts of intertextuality and interdiscursivity and analysis relationship with other texts; it is concluded that CDA opens the broadest range of factors exerting an influence on text. CDA approach emerges in connection with assumptions about the relation between language and society. It does not take relationship simply and deterministically but invokes and idea of mediation. (Halliday, 1985)

2.10 Ideology

Ideology is defined as a set of beliefs and ideas in a group of a particular culture in the domain religion and societal norms. Further it is a systematic scheme of ideas, usually relating to politics or society or to the conduct of a class or group as justifiable action and maintained regardless of the course on the vent.

Dijk (2004) contends that ideology is defined as political and social system of ideas, values or prescription of groups or other collection and has the function of organizing or legitimating the actions of the group.

Machiavelli is of the view on ideology that it is the only possible solution to deceive the people, As he puts in *Discourses, "*He who desires and wants to reform the state or city and wishes that it may be accepted and capable of maintaining itself to everyone's satisfaction. It is necessary for him at least to retain the shadow of ancient forms so that it doesn't appear to the people that institution have been changed; even though new institution should be new entirely different from past ones: for the general mass of men are satisfied with appearance, as it exists and many times moved by the things which appear to be rather than by the things that are" (De-Tracy, 2003).

Hobbes, (2002) an empiricist, defines the ideology beyond the concept of theological notion but in the domain of secularism consisted of the worship of their own ideas. Though he was a political conservative but his theory implicitly contains an assumption which is used to justify a revolutionary ring of habitual behavior. If power originates in a rational contract, rather than acquiring authority through tradition or custom, then everything we do and can be reevaluated according to the standard of reasonable enquiry, without regard for historical precedent.

Locke (2001) holds a think that there are no innate ideas and ideology, but that all knowledge driven from the experience performed in surrounding. Similarly, Holbach (2006) claims that man's mode of thinking is necessarily determined by his manner of being. It must therefore, depend on his nature, organization and modification his system receives independently of his will. He supposes that our thoughts and beliefs are determined by external circumstances, which operate us independently and our conscious intention.

In this regards, Rousseau (1996) narrates on the origin of inequality of discourses, these are our true nature exist only inside our mind due to distorting effects of civilization. Ideology, thus, originates as a 'meta-science' a science of scene. De-Tracy (1960) ideology then traces ideas, through sensation to their roots in matter. Further, he claims that ideology achieves a momentous philosophical break-through by transcending ancient opposition between matter and spirit, things and concepts.

2.11 Theory of Discourse

This term Discourse has been used in branch of linguistics, sociolinguistics and in sociology. It is moved always with the consistency of hidden meaning across the different branches of discipline. Some linguists like Brown and Yule (1983) see discourse as language in use in a context, while Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) see the discourse as an extended piece of text, which has some form of internal organization, coherence and cohesion.

Whereas, the researcher believes discourse is language in use but Sinclair and Coulthard take 'discourse' as 'text'. Discourse, cohere to Fairclough (1989), is language in form of social practice and it is the general meaning of the term that he used throughout his work. So, this concept of discourse implies that language cannot be parted from society and not however, external to it.

Language is a social phenomenon and process and language is socially conditioned process, conditioned that by other nonlinguistic parts of the society. According to Fairclough (1989) discourse employs the evidence of social trends such as oppression of social minority groups.

2.12 Politics and Language

Politics differs according to the context and objectives as well as a political answer in itself. Moreover, Politics is viewed as an endeavor for power, between those who seek to assert and maintain their power and those who seek to resist it. Some states are conspicuously based on struggles for power; whether democracies are essentially so constituted is disputable. On the other hand, politics is viewed as cooperation, as the practices and institutions that a society has for resolving clashes of interest over money, impudence, and liberty. Whether democracies are intrinsically so constituted and

disputed. Cross-cutting these two orientations is another distinction, this time between 'micro' and 'macro'. At the micro level there are conflicts of interest, struggles for dominance and efforts at co-operation between individuals, between genders and social groups of various kinds. As Jones et al. (1994) put it at the micro level that we use a variety of techniques to get our own way persuasion, rational argument, irrational strategies, threats, entreaties, bribes, manipulation anything we think will work.

What is strikingly absent from conventional studies of politics is attention to the fact that the micro-level behaviors mentioned above are actually kinds of linguistic action that is, discourse. Equally, the macro-level institutions are types of discourse with septic characteristics.

Politics involves reconciling differences through discussion and persuasion. Communication is therefore, central to politics (Hague et al. 1998). Miller (1991) says that the political process typically involves persuasion and bargaining. This line of reasoning leads to the need to explain how use of language can produce the effects of authority, legitimacy, consensus, and so forth that are recognized as being intrinsic to politics. What is the role of force? What is the role of language? As Hague et al. (1998) pointed out, decisions reached (as they must be, by definition) through communication, i.e. persuasion and bargaining, become authoritative a process that involves force or the threat of force. However, as they also point out, 'politics scarcely exists if decisions are reached solely by violence but force, or its threat, is central to the execution of collective decisions.' They are embedded in the tradition of western political thought there is in fact a view that language and politics are intimately linked at a fundamental level. It is not generally pointed out that when Aristotle gave his famous definition of humans as creatures whose nature is to live in a polis, in almost the same breath he spoke of the unique human capacity for speech.

It is obvious that man is a political animal [politikon, zoon], in a sense in which a bee is not, or any other gregarious animal. Nature, as says, does nothing without some purpose; and she has endowed man alone among the animals with the power of speech. But what does Aristotle mean by 'speech'? Aristotle's next sentence distinguishes 'speech' from 'voice'. What we can hold onto from this is the following. It is shared perception of values that defines political associations that the human endowment for

language has the function of indicating i.e. signifying and communicating. What is deemed, according to such shared perceptions, to be advantageous or not, by implication to the group, and what is deemed right and wrong within that group.

What is clear that political activity does not exist without the use of language? It is true, as noted earlier, that other behaviors are involved in particular and in physical coercion. But the doing of politics is predominantly constituted in language. Conversely, it is also arguably the case that the need for language (or for the cultural elaboration of the language instinct) arose from socialization of humans involving the formation of coalitions, the signaling of group boundaries, and all that these developments imply, including the emergence of what is called reciprocal altruism. This is not of course to say that language arises exclusively out of these motives or functions.

2.13 Genre Theory

In the researches of political manifestos genre theory is a point of interest. Palonen (1997) asserts that political manifestos are studied as a separate genre of literature. He further narrates about political manifestos; they are not a political program but are a specific text about a political context. The word 'Genre' is basically a French word that denotes the meaning of 'kind' and 'class.' It has been vastly researched and utilized in literary and media studies. And it has recently entered in linguistic. Swales (2005) asserts that genre is a fuzzy concept. He defined the genre traditionally through folk lore, literary studies, rhetoric and concluded that all these disciplines sheared certain bounders.

Vartinan and Halmari(2005) defined Genres quiet extensively from Swales' point of view as a class of communication events with a set of communication goals sheared by members of a given discourse community. Furthermore, Vartinen and Halmari (2005) say that emergence, alteration and maintenance of Genres make possible inter textually. Texts are compared and counted consciously and unconsciously with other text and detected similarities and differences between them.

In (2005) Halmari studied political text of Clinton and Reagan's speeches and found out political tactics in political text or genres. If further some categories the political text in the form of speech, press events and written doctrines. He penned down different rhetorical tactics used in different political genres. These rhetorical tactics

persuade the voters into believing that they are offering best political agenda which will be mostly beneficial for their betterment.

2.14 Ideology and Discourse

Many of the theorists believe that concept of ideology is directly related with power. Ideology performs its function to maintain power and provides a legitimacy of relation in society and power. In all the societal factors social or political, economic or cultural, ideologies sustain in every class and in every segment of society. Furthermore, ideologies neither perform in vacuum to penetrate in people's social life nor they are cognitive representation as many theorist postulate on it (Schaffner,1995). Thus they take discourse as material and observable object in the form of ideology. So, it is asserted that ideologies are always located in language.

Thompson (1984) narrated that it is a focal time to look into theory of ideology through the study of language. Same as, Gruber (1990) asserted that 'ideology is manifested itself linguistically and is made possible and created through language.'

Ideologies are created in and through languages. They are representation tags of various discourses. Similar to this, Blommaert (2005) said that ideologies are found in peculiar discourses act upon by different groups and actors. These ideologies are encoded in all genres of texts and they become carrier of their view points as representation. But like Gramsci, Barthes, Althusser, and Bourdieu have a different stance on it. They describe on it that Ideologies are not mere discourses but are transparently general discourses which represent all social and political institutions.

2.15 Language and Power

Power is considered more than a dominant voice in decision-making. Its strongest kind has the ability to define social and impose the vision of the world. These visions are inscribed in language and enacted in interaction (Gal, 1979). Language has a crucial importance in articulating, sustaining and converting existing power in the society. Ideologies are propagated through language, which make and hold the belief. This is how one can change world view of the public. Power is mostly exercised through language

and its goals are also achieved by language. Moreover, power exists in language. Language exhibits truth of more powerful group.

In Foucault's point of view power is a force and an effect which regulates and remains in web of social interaction. Furthermore, he narrates that individuals are not merely power's target but they are also main elements of power articulation. It shows that individuals are power carriers but not only it's subservient.

In the modern world and in democratic society, power does not exist in coercive form but in persuasive shape (Wodak& Kress 1989). Language doesn't appear as language meanwhile it is a system that shows its lexical system and also portrays its discursive and ideological systems. Uncritical use of language can perpetuate ethnic differences among masses. And in this action language is best means to carry such messages (Dijk, 1991). So, it is observed that language is used to manipulate the power and various purposes.

On one side language is used in manufacturing ideology while on other side it is also a tool to control the way of thinking of people. Language of media i.e. newspaper, editorial and manifestoes has a deep influence on our thinking, perception, rituals and it also determines our roles in certain contexts. It implies that language is the most lethal weapon that can control people's attitude towards a particular ideology. This is how we can make people to think in their desired paths.

Language is dynamic but not static. Gramsci says (1971) power refers to an attempt by the powerful group in the society to overcome the subordinate group to achieve its ruling over them. Dijk (2001) explains that language analysis is done of discursive manuscripts and events to explore the relation between language and power. It tells that how language is being used to produce, sustains and reproduces the position of power.

Language is a social semiotic (Wodak, 1996). Different practices of language have potential to influence on how individual comprehends and reacts. Fowler (1996) expresses that language doesn't only provide words for existing concepts but it also crystallizes and stabilizes one's ideas.

2.16 Discourse and Hegemony

The term hegemony is a very comprehensive. It covers the concepts of politics, power, and dialectal relationship of classes with a social set up (Fairclough. 1998). Hegemony is taken as power over society or over a social group completely and is often taken as 'societal concepts'. But discourse is taken as a local character. The color of discourse is reflected through various socially local institutions i.e. family, school, theology centers, work place, and courts of law and so on. Discourse is controlled and produced on such places by powerful and dominant participants. Fairclough (1995) is of the view that no discourse and social activity is ideology free. Ideological analysis attends functioning and transformations. The ideologies embedded in discursive practices are the most effective.

2.17 Introduction to Critical Discourse analysis

CDA is fast growing area of study of language. It asserts that discourse is a form as a social practice. (Fairclough & Wodak 1997) and they took context of language as an important factor. It takes special interest in the relation of power and language. Neo-Marxists explained CDA as socially cultured and economic aspects which are significant in sustaining and gaining power relations. There are a few prominent figure in the area of CDA i.e. Fairclough, (1992-2001)   Dijk (1993-2012) Gee (1990-2005), Leeuwan (1993-1996), Wodak (1996-2009) etc. It is a general belief of the theorists of CDA that it cannot be classified as a single method but seen as an approach, which comprises many perspectives and various methods for exploring the relationship between the use of language and social context.

Many CDA theorists have presented different principles of CDA in their own ways. (Dijk, 1993, Wodak, 1996, Meyer, 2001). But some of them fall on the same grounds of CDA; on the other hand, some of them are controversial. Fairclough & Wodak (1997) narrated eight principles of CDA, which are as following in summarized form;

1.   CDA doesn't only concentrate on language and language use, but also on the linguistic attributes of societal and cultural processes. It tries to explore the hidden power relationship of the social problem.

2.   Power relations are always discursive in democratic societies. CDA elaborates how this strong power relation is exercised and discussed in and through language.

3.   CDA makes up culture and society. It means it has own way of contribution to reproducing the power relation in society and culture.

4.   It has a strong influence on the cognition of an individual. Its main concern is with ideological work that is done by discourse. Ideologies are off spring of the discourse. They are produced through discourse. Textual analysis is not sufficient to understand how ideologies are produced and perceived, for the discursive practices must also be considered.

5.   It says that discourse is history. Because discourse is also understood with the reference of its history. In this regard extra lingual factors play their role i.e. culture society and ideology in historical context.

6.   CDA ties between society and text is mediated. Thus, CDA deals with link between socio-cultural procedures and syntax on the other hand. It also deals with the properties of the text.

7.   CDA is always interpretive and explanatory. It is not only textual analysis but intent to explain. These interpretation and explanations are always open ended and static.

8.   The last principle of CDA is to uncover the ambiguity and power relationship. It is scientific paradigm in relation with social factors.

2.18 Wodak's Discourse Historical Approach to CDA

Wodak is also a renowned CDA scholar like Fairclough and Dijk. She is also linguistically oriented CDA theorist. She looks CDA as 'A complex bundle of simultaneous and sequential interrelated linguistic acts, which manifest themselves within and across the social fields of action as thematically interrelated semiotic, oral or written tokens, very often as "texts", that belong to specific semiotic types, i.e. genres' (Reisegl and Wodak, 2001).

Wodak has different approach to CDA as compared to other theorists. She sees CDA from discourse historical perspective. In her approach, she incorporated and modeled the connection between fields of action, genres and texts and mainly context is linked with history. This approach is not understandable with separate operational steps but for understanding it is mandatory to take the thing from cycle of three analytical dimensions. They are recursively and systematically connected to the totality of contextual knowledge. According to her, the exact description of text can be made at both micro and macro level. The general principles of DHA are summed up as: First thing is setting and context that should be recorded accurately as much as possible, because discourse is understood, interpreted and described in its specific contextual grounds. Second thing is the content of utterances that must be confronted with historical events and facts. Third important thing is text must be prescribed on all possible linguistic levels. The analysis categories are highly dependent on research question. (Wodak,2001)

Wodak (2001) concludes the process of the discourse historic approach to CDA:

- Collect data and information about co- and context of the text on sociopolitical historical and psychological grounds.

- Set up the genre and discourse to which text linked with, then get more sample about ethnographic information.

- Map out precise research questions and explain related theories about your research question and other significant and required aspects.

- Make question researchable on linguistic grounds.

- By using theoretical approaches apply these linguistic categories to find the results.

- Sketch out the context diagram for the specific text and fields of action.

- Describe a detailed interpretation of the data and the fields of actions.

2.19 Conversationalization and Interdiscursivity

Fairclough (1994, 2003) has claimed a trend of language informality as a key component of democratization of discourse. He called this concept of Conversationalization as a method by which power markers in formal setting can be omitted. Furthermore, he argued on Conversationalization that media is being colonized by conversation. In interdiscursivity, rhetoric attributes of text are a genre assimilated into another genre.

2.20 Theoretical Framework

A number of main terms have been presented in this section of the thesis. Before this study moves further it is pertinent to elaborate some particular approaches related CDS in relation to their scholars. A clarification and definitions are given below in details. The word 'Critical' needs to elaborate further more to comprehend it more precisely.

When Wodak discussed this notion Critical for the first time with Krings in 1973, claimed that it is practical linking of socio-political with the sociologically informed construction of the society. (Wodak, 2001). However, Fairclough's stance also needs to be discussed here. He is of the view that … in human matters, interconnection, chain of cause and effect might be distorted out of vision. He says that critique is important because it makes transparent interconnectedness of the things. (Fairclough,1985).

Wodak claimed that the term 'Critical' involved having gap with data, incorporating the data in the social context, taking fair political stances and looking on self-reflection as scholar doing research. She also suggested that all those are concerned with CDA they should have application of results as their aim. These approaches and theories should be the guides of the man's action.

They are aimed at producing enlightenment and emancipation. Such theories seek not only to describe and explain, but also to root out a particular kind of delusion. Even with differing concepts of ideology, critical theory intends to create awareness in agents

of how they are deceived about their own needs and interests … One of the aims of CDA is to 'demystify' discourses and deciphering ideologies (Wodak 2001).

Fairclough and Wodak (2001) define discourse as language use in speech and writing. But Dijk (2001) defined differently, he asserted that discourse is a communication event, including with conversational interaction and written text. It is associated with gestures, facial expressions typographical layouts or any other social semiotics.

Nevertheless, Wodak also claims that CDA concentrates not only on oral and written texts as object of inquisition. She is of the view for critique to CDA, discourse needs a theorization and explanation of both social structures and processes in which individuals and groups assume their meaning in relation with text. As a result there three are major concepts in CDA: the concept of history, the concept of power and concept of ideology (Wodak, 2001).

Power is the main idea in CDA because language is chiefly intertwined in social power in many ways. Wodak says, 'Language expresses power that is concerned where there is a conflict over and a dispute in power. Power cannot be derived from language, but language can be used to assert and challenge the power. It can be subverted and altered through language. Language gives us finally expressed means for different use of power. Power is pointed out not only by the grammatical forms of language or text, but also by an individual's control of a social event that power is expressed and opposed' (Wodak, 2001).

Ideology is also a main concerned and important aspect of maintaining and gaining unequal powers. Wodak asserts that CDA obtains a special interest in the way in which language concerns ideology in a variety of social institutions. Thompson (1990) narrates ideology is a way in which meaning is constructed and conveyed by various forms. CDA, thus, scrutinizes the social contexts, the social forms and processes, which bring forth such symbolic forms (Wodak, 2001).

2.21 Different approaches to CDA

There are many CDA analysts who presented different approaches to CDA. They're different to each other on different levels and have idiosyncrasies in their approaches. CDA is taken as a program or a school as Dijk asserts about this: 'It is the most shared perspective on doing linguistic analysis, semiotic or DA' (Dijk, 1993). The researcher discusses only three prominent and central approaches to CDA i.e. the approaches of Fairclough, Dijk and Wodak respectively.

2.21.1 Dijk's Socio-cognitive Model

Dijk has a different notion than his other CDA theorists on CDA. He puts emphasis on cognition to a large extent than his fellow theorists. However, he holds believe that main aim of CDA is: it is an analysis of complex relationship between discourse and dominance (Dijk, 1993). He even gives prominent place to the Neo-Marxist in CDA, where he avers that those who control most dimensions of discourse have the most power i.e. rhetoric, style, topics, setting and participants. Whereas, it is equal to Marx's notion: 'those who rule over the source of production also regulate the outcome. Major studies of Dijk are on parliamentary debates and mass media. He particularly focused on problems of xenophobia and racial discrimination (Wodak, 2006). Dijk found a common shortcoming is CDA studies; there is the malfunction to manifest how societal structures manipulate discourse structures and how these structures are challenged and confirmed by text and talk (Wodak, 2006). He narrated that cognition is the missing link in these studies. He expands the area of CDA by including and putting emphasis on social and psychological factors. He put his efforts on triangle of discourse, cognition and society. According to Dijk, cognition, social cognition as well personal cognition is also involved. Mental, memory structures, beliefs and goals, evaluations and emotions are also involved in interaction and discourse.

The context of discourse is relevantly defined with the cognition and social dimensions. These elements are required detailed analysis, only a study and talk including with cognitive and social thoughts will not do. He further says that on the

amalgamation of these perspectives may one reach an adequate description of social problems (Dijk, 2001).

Presupposition is essential in understanding the nature of the social power for the analysis of social dimension. Such powers deal with traits of connections between social groups. These powers have special connection to form the context of discourse and communication. Dijk asserts that powerful groups have unusual entrance to discourse. Their power and dominance can be measured by their rule and access to discourse. The most effective form of the dominance is when a mind of dominated can be influenced that they accept it and act accordingly demanded interest of powerful group.

Power means control mainly by one member or one group over other individual and group. Such control relevant to action and cognition: that is, a powerful person or group can limited the action of other person or group. It also influences their minds. In modern world, cognitive power is considered as the most effective tool to access the public consent. It is enacted by persuasion, manipulation and dissimulation. These are the strategic ways to change the mentality of others in one's own concentration (Dijk, 1993).

Modern power has a foremost cognitive aspect. Such mind control or accessibility to public mind is conceptualized in term of social meaning. 'Power is socially shared action in social groups and an action as well as it is a mental operation as thinking, inference and learning. Social cognition is embedded in the minds of public. They are presupposed because they are shared publically. In fact, ideologies are essential social cognition that reveals the vital purpose, aim, interest and values of groups (Dijk, 1993).

Dijk (2001) narrates that context plays a significant role in cognitive model. But he further says there is no finite theory about context. Moreover, he sets forth his own thoughts on it, where he asserts that there is a difference between global and local context. It is defined by the socio-political and cultural and historical structures where any communicative event occurs. Later this gives the sociolinguistic concept of accommodation theory; what we say and how we say; it depends on to whom we are saying and who is speaking, where and when and with which rationale.

This shows the ways of idea of context model. It forms a cognitive model that controls many of the traits of discourse making and comprehension, which permits to subjective interpretation of social situation (Dijk, 2001). These models are important because they are the bridge between mental information and actual meaning in discourse production. They don't link society and discourse but also persons and societies. Without these models we are not able to explain and illustrate how these social structures influences the discourse structure and vice versa (Dijk, 2001).

Dijk (ibid) defines the event model and context model as mental representation, which is an important notion to understand about the event and the situation language speakers speak and write. Because facts are cohered, defined and interpreted by the language users. These store the memory in episodic forms: that is, the part of long term reminiscence in which people stock up their knowledge and opinions about these stored episodes they learn experience or read/hear.

CDA deals the social factors like power, inequality and domination. It focuses on organization, institutions and groups but as it needs analysis of social cognition or social representation and according to Dijk (ibid) personal, group and cultural knowledge are important factors as well attitudes and ideologies. To explore how language speakers use power in or by their discourses thus one requires examining those properties cause of overcoming other. These properties can be different in the functions of social power. Therefore, Dijk (ibid) proposes one should focus upon following linguistic marker: word order, intonation and stress, lexical style, coherence, lexical moves, implication, presupposition, allusion, and vagueness (Dijk, 2001).

While Meyer (2001) narrates, all these linguistic devices are more or less liable to speaker control, even though not always deliberately controlled or controlled by the language users. On the other hand, CDA deals with the ways polarize the representation of in-groups (us) and out-group (them). This is done continually portraying positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation, where our positive sides and ideas are emphasized and our negative things deemphasized and vice versa. Such 'Othering' can be done on different level.

Speakers and writers may stress on our good actions by topicalizing positive meaning. This is by using positive lexical items related self-description, by giving details about good things and less about bad things by positive metaphor and hyperbole. Such formal aspects of dominant discourse not only express power but also construct a desired mental model. It influences the manipulation and control of mind.

However, the context is the most central element in a polarized model. But, it should be made sure that statements that entails positive evaluation of 'US' or negative 'THEM' are both credible and persuasion, discourse structures like those are mentioned are discussed below:

- Argumentation: the negative evaluation follows from the 'facts'.
- Rhetorical figures: hyperbolic enhancement of 'their' negative actions and 'our' positive actions: euphemisms, denials, understatements of 'our' negative actions.
- Lexical style: choice of words that imply negative (or positive) evaluations.
- Storytelling: telling above negative events as personally experienced; giving plausible details above negative features of the events.
- Structural emphasis of 'their' negative actions, e.g. in headlines, leads, summaries, or other properties of text schemata (e.g. those of news reports), transitivity structures of sentence syntax (e.g. mentioning negative agents in prominent, topical position).
- Quoting credible witnesses, sources or experts, e.g. in news report (Dijk, 1993)

2.21.2 Discourse Historic Approach by Wodak

In Bersteinian and Frankfurt school, Wodak describes discourse historic approach bases on its model of sociolinguistics. For Wodak and her followers: it is an attempt to put systematically all present background knowledge in the analysis and interpretation of many layers of any written or spoken discourse. (Wodak, 2006). This branch of CDA has got its focal point in politics. She elaborates this notion further and leans towards Grinth (1996) , adds that discourse could be understood a sequential interconnected linguistic act which is shown in the social fields of action; whereas, text belongs to specific semiotics i.e. Genre. Moreover, she argues discourses are open and changeable system. Some new

topics can be created through discourse and interdiscursivity and intertextuality allows for new fields of actions.

Wodak's DHA is formulated to make able the analysis of indirect biased utterances, and in fact to recognize and to depict the codes and references contained in prejudiced discourse. She never tried to conceal CDA's political agenda nor its practical implication and applicability. The fundamental purpose of this approach is to find out the guidelines for non-discriminatory language use towards female. It also provides specialist opinions for courts on anti-Semitic and racist language use by the newscasters and newspapers.

DHA touched three major aspects of complex concept of social critique.

1.   Text and discourse immanent critique

It aims at determining inconsistencies, paradoxes, dilemmas and self-contradiction in text internal or discourse internal structures.

2.   Socio-diagnostic critique

It is concerned with the demystifying exposure of the possibly persuasive or manipulative character of discursive practices. The analyst has to exceed the purely textual or discourse internal sphere and make use of her or his background and contextual knowledge.

3.   Prognostic critique

This contributes to the transformation and improvement of communication (Wodak 2001).

Wodak (ibid) asserts that discourse is a form of social practices. Though, she differentiates between idea of text and idea of discourse. She put endeavor, text is materially durable products of linguistic action. Whereas, genre is fixed use of language linked with particular activity. Fields of action are observed as social realities which help to constitute and to shape the module of discourse.

Wodak's school of thought looks the concepts of 'context' as crucial for CDA analysts. She talks about four aspects of this notion 'context'.

1.   Language and texts internal co-text

2.   The intertextual and interdiscursive relationship between utterances, text, discourse and genres.

3.   The extralinguistic social/sociological variables and institutional frames of a specific 'context of situation' (middle-range theories).

4.   The broader socio-political and historical contexts, which the discursive practices are embedded in and related to ('grand theories') (Wodak 2001).

Wodak presents three dimensions in her DHA. She sets up the particular lists of topics of a particular discourse with racism, anti-Semitism, national or ethnic components and then looks into the strategies of discursivity. Wodak's discourse historic approach looks into the discursive polarization of 'US' versus 'THEM'. She takes it the foundation of discourses of prejudice/discrimination. She considers five questions in prejudice and discriminatory discourses as fundamental base in discursive elements. The following questions are as:

 1. How are persons named and referred to linguistically?

 2. What traits, characteristics, qualities and features are attributed to them?

 3. By means of what arguments and argumentation schemes do specific persons or social groups try to justify and legitimize the exclusion, discrimination, suppression and exploitation of others?

 4. From what perspective or point of view are these labels, attributions and arguments expressed?

5. Are the respective utterances articulated overtly? Are they intensified or are they mitigated? (Wodak 2001)

These five major questions show us the way to five discursive strategies. These are presented in the table below:

| Predication | Labelling social actors more or less positively or negatively, deprecatorily or appreciatively | Implicit and explicit predicates stereotypical, evaluative attributions of negative or positive traits explicit predicates or predicative nouns/ |

		adjectives/pronouns collocations explicit comparisons, similes, metaphors, and other rhetorical figures (including metonymies, hyperboles, litotes, euphemisms) allusions, evocations, and presuppositions/ implicatures other
Argumentation	Justification of positive or negative attributions	Topoi used to justify political inclusion or exclusion, discrimination or preferential Treatment
Perspectivation,	Framing or discourse representation Expressing involvement Positioning speaker's point of view	Reporting,description, narration or quotation of (discriminatory) events and utterances. Deictics direct, indirect or free indirect speech quotation marks, discourse markers/particles metaphors animating prosody other

She is of the view that various forms of discrimination and polarization can be discussed by argumentation strategy and topoi. These topoi are content related and obligatory for conclusion rules. They connect the arguments with conclusion (Wodak, 2003).

Wodak has given the list of topoi, described as follows:

1. Topos of advantage or usefulness
2. Topos of disadvantage or uselessness
3. Topos of definition or Topos of name-interpretation
4. Topos of danger or topos of threat
5. Topos of humanitarian
6. Topos of justice
7. Topos of responsibility
8. Topos of burdening
9. Topos of finance
10. Topos of reality
11. Topos of numbers
12. Topos of law
13. Topos of history
14. Topos of culture
15. Topos of abuse

The topos of advantage can be defined as when an action is positive and useful; the individual will perform in it. The topos of disadvantage almost is an opposite assumption of it. The topos of definition involves: if an action, a name, a person or a thing is named or a particular trait, a quality or an attribute is given to it.

The topos of danger or threat: if a person performs something against the specific danger or threat. The topos of humanitarianism could be paraphrased by the conditional: if a political action does or does not conform to human rights, one should or should not perform it.

The topos of justice is based on the principle equal rights for all, whereas the topos of responsibility could be summarized by the conditional because a state or a group is responsible for the emergence of specific problems, it or they should act in order to find solutions to these problems. The topos of burden is causal if burdened by specific problems, act in order to diminish those burdens. The topos of finances is, if something costs too much money or causes loss of revenue, one should perform actions which diminish the costs or help avoid the loss. The topos of reality could be said to be

tautological: because reality is as it is, a specific action should be performed. The topos of numbers if the numbers prove a specific topos, a specific action should be performed. The topos of law/right simply implies that if a law prescribes or forbids something, the action has to be performed or omitted. The topos of history means that one has to learn by the lessons of history, whereas the topos of culture is slightly cultural relativistic following the argumentation scheme to facilitate because the culture of a specific group is as it is, specific problems arise in specific situations. Finally, the topos of abuse is paraphrased by the conclusion rule that if a right or an offer for help is abused, one should change it, or the help should be withdrawn (Wodak 2001).

2.22 Norman Fairclough and orders of Discourse

Fairclough is known as the most renowned as neo-Marxist among the CDA scholars. He argues that CDA should be used as a means in struggle against domination and exploitation (Wodak, 2006). Meyer narrates that he takes it as middle range theory in which he detects the social conflicts in Marxist tradition and tries to explore its lexical demonstration in discourses, in special elements of dominance, resistance, and difference. Discourse is not the product of social structures but it confirms and strengthens produces, and recapitulates the existing societal structures. Discourse is socially constitutive and socially constituted against the background of socio-cultural and political forces. Fairclough asserts that CDA pursues emancipator goals, which means: CDA fluctuates between a focus on action and a focal point on structures.

According to Fairclough, CDA is the analysis of dialectical associations amid semiotics and other constituents of social practices. Semiotics is roughly three ways in social practices:

(1) It is a part of social activity within practices,

(2) It shapes in representation, and

(3) It forms in the performance of specific position within social practices. Semiotics as part of social activity represents genres, in the recital discourses and in the performance of positions it builds styles. (Fairclough, 2001).

A social practice works in particular way which builds a social order. Fairclough persists, and it is the semiotic component of a given social practices that he calls an order of

discourse. His main focus is intertextuality, 'how in the interpretation and production of a text people draw upon other texts and text types which are culturally available to them'.

This production and consumption of text is submitted as an order of discourse. It is a composition of configuration genres and discourse linked with a given social field.

Fairclough recommends three dimensional frameworks, discourse practice, consisting of discourse and socio-cultural practice. These three types of analysis are mentioned below:

1.   Analysis of cultural and social practices which enclose texts and discourse practices.

2.   Analysis of text production, consumption and distribution of discourse practices.

3.   Analysis of texts.

Meyer narrates that Fairclough's method is like Wodak's, his method is pragmatic and problem oriented. He sets out to recognize and elaborate the social problem to be explored. Then he sets off for structural analysis of the context, then the interactional analysis focusing on linguistic features. His analytical framework is represented below:

1. Focus upon a specific social problem which has a semiotic aspect; go outside the text and describe the problem and identify its semiotic aspect.

2. Identify the obstacles to it being tackled, through an analysis of:

a) the network of practices it is located within b) the relationship of semiosis to other elements within the particular practice(s) concerned

c) The discourse (the semiosis itself)

- Structural analysis: the order of discourse
- Interactional analysis
- Inter-discursive analysis
- linguistic and semiotic analysis

3. Consider whether the social order (network of practices) in a sense 'needs' the problem.

4. Identify possible ways past the obstacles.

5. Reflect critically on the analysis. (Meyer, 2001 & Fairclough, 2001)

2.23 Fields studied by CDA

CDA deals with media and politics, texts and talk, in society, typical and non typical studies and political discourse. CDA concerns with unequal power relations in the social variables. It answers that discourse is reproducing or challenging the socio-political powers. Politics and media are the major subjects of CDA. These subjects have pivotal role in discourse bearing institutions (Bell & Garrett, 1998).

Dijk is of the view that role of politics; politician and political discourse are major fields of study of critical discourse analysis. CDA determined the prevailing problems in society by order of need. CDA critically analyses these problems in power, those are dependable, those who have the sources and the opportunity to sort out these problems. (Dijk, 1986, Wodak & Meyer , 2001)

Wodak (2001) asserts that language is not powerful on its own. Language obtains power by the powerful users/speakers/writers. So the main concern of the CD analysts is the discursive strategies of domination. Power people use discourse such as politicians that becomes vitally important research data. This elucidates why critical linguistics selects the viewpoint of those who are suffering and it critically analyses the language of those who are in power and responsible of existing inconsistencies and inequalities. However,   Dijk's (ibid) stance is different than Wodak, he asserts that CDA concentrates on social power but it completely neglects personal/individual power.

Social power is foundation on privileged admittance to socially significant resourced such as income, wealth, position, status, group membership education and knowledge (Dijk, 1993). Moreover, politicians have special right to use the discourse by desirable quality of their business. As they have direct access to public and media. Dijk tries to determine their dominance and power in conditions of their access and power over discourse: controlling the mind of the people particularly through text and talk (Dijk, 1993).

Wodak (2005) focuses on politics particularly, and she sees politicians as specific mind shapers of public interests and opinions that react and reflect to the distinctive anticipation of transforms in mess opinion and to the verbalization of changing awareness of affected parties and social groups (Wodak,2001). This develops the relationship amid

politics, media and people very multifaceted. Discourse analysts have not been able to grant transparent answers about who manipulates who, who influences who and how these persuasions are engaged. By concluding this, the analysis of politics and political discourse is indispensible; they want to generate guidance for upcoming conducts by dominant groups.

2.24 CDA and Media Discourse

Fairclough focused on mass media with an assumption that media language is translucent. Media houses are represented as neutral bodies, which they only provide space for locally formulated space for public discourses; they show states of affairs and state policies impartially. This is fair and complete fallacy. Fairclough persists 'that one shouldn't overlook that journalists have rather a high-flying role in their own precise, they do not only 'mediate' others (Fairclough, 1998). He is of the view that journalists are the agents that shape in mass media.

Media discourse refers to interactions that take place through a broadcast platform, whether spoken or written, in which the discourse is oriented to a non-present reader, listener or viewer. Though the discourse is oriented towards these recipients, they very often cannot make instantaneous responses to the producer(s) of the discourse, though increasingly this is changing with the advent of new media technology, as we shall explore. Crucially, the written or spoken discourse itself is oriented to the readership or listening/viewing audience, respectively. In other words, media discourse is a public, manufactured, on-record, form of interaction. It is not ad hoc or spontaneous (in the same way as casual speaking or writing is); it is neither private nor of the record. Obvious as these basic characteristics may sound, they are crucial to the investigation, description and understanding of media discourse. Because media discourse is manufactured, people need to consider how this has been done both in a literal sense of what go into its making and at an ideological level. One important strand of research into media discourse is preoccupied with taking a critical stance to media discourse, namely critical discourse analysis (CDA). It is important that people continually appraise the messages that they consume from their manufactured mass media. The fact that media discourse is public means that it also falls under the scrutiny of many conversation

analysts who are interested in it as a form of institutional talk, which can be compared with other forms of talk, both mundane and institutional. The fact that media discourse is on record makes it attractive for discourse analysts and increasingly so because of the online availability of newspapers, radio stations, television programs and so on. Advances in technology have greatly of set the ephemerality factor that used to relate to media discourse, especially radio and television (where it used to be the case that, if you wanted to record something, it had to be done in real time.

Another promoter of CDA, it is a type of social practice applying the critical theories to the unclear relationship (Janks, 1997). Mention to the concept above, the critical theories of CDA will relate a language to power which reveals the characters of oppressors. Temporarily, Dijk (2003) declared that social structures influence how the mental representation of a social group. In this case, show up the essential point in a text or not may be influenced by the subject of a conversation. CDA is indicated as an interdisciplinary multi-methodical approach, it is not a discipline which is isolated by its own. Then facing the critical discourse studies term, CDA is more investigated arrangement of critical theory and application itself (Van Dijk 2009).

Wodak and Mayer (2009) and Dijk (2009) made the aims and principles of

CDA that are engaged in reviewing CDA studies:

- CDA is not focused on theory or even a particular discipline but it is more focused on a problem like its applying presented to the society in layman's term.

- CDA explains unplanned opinion to describe the phenomenon in investigating and providing justification for why interpretations are more effective than others.

- As critical research, CDA is supposed as a social research that is consisted of the social problem, perceptive of human rights, power abuse such as racism, sexism, classism, and social inequality.

- Content of CDA concerns various theory, methods, and applications in serious problems that are not held in society

- CDA is interested to open social inequality whereby investigates the dominant group in society who are pointed to discursive injustice.

- How to uncover CDA as a method of critical analysis which plays a crucial role in sorting out the hidden ideologies and giving attention to the power of media discourse studies.

However, the specific aim is to investigate CDA approach to the related studies. The theories of social discourse are included in linguistic usage. It is used to analyze the social and political events in society. Discourse is known as social practices that build up the power among various creatures. The fact, this consequence is appearance and ideological practice which present the power of discourse and indicate various perspectives from worldviews in society itself. Fairclough (1992) declared that "language use in society is a form of social practice rather than an individual activity". This idea is connected to the occurrence of rules and ideologies in discourse. A social group which performs economic or even political activities may have purposes which are crucial to their social appliance and the content of these propositions have the lead and direct to the occurrence of ideology. Based on the social theory of Fairclough (1992), he proclaimed three principles which are able to be said the appearance of social practice.

Based on the social theory of Fairclough (1992), he proclaimed three principles which are able to be said the appearance of social practice.

1. Discourse is the composer. It gives contribution in forming and reflecting of social structures.

2. Social practices create a social identity and social connection in various creatures and classes in society.

3. Social practices involve knowledge systems and belief that show the identities, relations, and ideas as other functions of language.

Although like that, its importance is the relationship among social structures, social practices, events, and semiotics are included into a dialectical relationship (Fairclough, 2009). Based on this theory, Fairclough (1992) also has created three models in the dimensional form in CDA which consist of text, social practice, and discursive practice. These features are related to semiotics as analysis formed to clarify the existence of a phenomenon and show up the discursivity of discourse. Commonly, the dimension has three approaches that have a purpose because it will be easy to understand if it is related to social context. The first dimension is text making text analysis that relates to

linguistic and discursive practice. However, language has a variety of features that are difficult to analyze each of the features. So, Fairclough classified to divide linguistic features that are grammar, vocabulary, text structure and cohesion (Fairclough, 1992; Jorgensen and Phillips, 2002). Discursive practice is the process that how to produce, distribute, and consume a text which is formed by social practice. Theory of ideology can be said as multidisciplinary that generally manages social group minds based on characteristics that are their identities, norms, goals, and positions. Besides that, ideology is a framework of consumption reviewing the cognitive ideology or even social factor in that process. Social cognition is a system of socio-cultural knowledge in an exact group, culture, and its society itself. For example, how to present the term us versus them are related to positive and the negative belongings. The functions of cognition are to control attitudes, organize, and monitor of a social group. All of those terms are based on experiences of a person that is submitted as models. So, this model is the principal unit which controls the human attitudes.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter deals with methodology used in the present study. It employs a modified research method by drawing upon Dijk (2004) and Wodak's (2009) models. This has been done keeping in mind the existing data and the prominent categories found in the data. For this purpose, the researcher has gone through the data critically after that he has prepared the list of analytical categories in the manifestos of both political parties. Then, the researcher critically reviewed the existing research model of Dijk (2004) and Wodak (2009). This has been done to know what analytical categories are common/ different in the data used for the present research and the research models mentioned above. In the section that follows, the researcher has discussed in detail the analytical categories of Wodak's (2009) and Dijk's (2004) research models. He has devised operational research model by including and excluding some of categories.

3.1 Data Collection and sampling

Data has been collected through the manifestos of two political parties of Pakistan. The researcher has collected manifestos of both political parties i.e. Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz) and Jamaat-e-Islami, used in the campaign of 2013 general election. The manifestos have been taken from the official websites of the both political parties. Moreover, by random sampling, the texts of the both manifestos have been analyzed critically at macro level. The analysis has been done at intra-manifestos level. This work is of qualitative in nature.

3.2   Main Research Agenda

Discourse Historic Approach is an interdisciplinary approach. This interdisciplinary approach can be seen on distinguished levels i.e. proposition terms, practices and research itself. It does not focus on particular linguistic items because it is problem oriented. This theory and methodology is elastic. These propositions techniques incorporated that is useful in comprehending as well as elaborating some object / problem that is going to be analyzed. The research most of the time includes field works and

ethnographic aspects to locate the things those are going to be analyzed. DHA is abdicative. It constantly moves between empirical data and theory which is obligatory. Numerous and multiple genres are gone through. DHA investigates inter-textual and inter-discursive relationship. In DHA recontextulization is the vitally significant procedure in joining the genres, topic and arguments. This context of history is most of the time investigated and incorporated in inter-polaration of discourse as well as text. Keeping in view of all the procedures and steps and particular problem under investigation, the tools and categories are defined for analysis. Major propositions provide as enterprise give aim of analysis.

3.3 Categories of analysis

The particular discourse-analytical approach functional in the forth study consigned to be three-facet: after firstly having recognized the specific stuffing or topics of a meticulous discourse with racist, anti- Semitic, nationalist or ethicist ingredients, secondly the discursive strategies (including argumentation strategies) were investigated. Then thirdly, the linguistic means (as types) and the specific, context-dependent linguistic realizations (as tokens) of the discriminatory stereotypes were examined.

In the following section, the researcher has described from an abstract viewpoint some of the discourse-analytical tools useful in the analysis of discourses about racial, national and ethnic issues. There are several discursive elements and strategies which, in our discourse-analytical view, deserve to receive special attention. Selecting the most occurring rhetorical means by which persons are discriminated against in an ethicist or racist manner by the questions. The questions are mentioned below.

1. How are persons named and referred to linguistically?

2. What traits, characteristics, qualities and features are attributed to them?

3. By means of what arguments and argumentation schemes do specific persons or social groups try to justify and legitimize the exclusion, discrimination, suppression and exploitation of others?

4. From what perspective or point of view are these labels, attributions and arguments expressed? 5. Are the respective utterances articulated overtly? Are they intensified or are they mitigated?

According to these questions, the researcher is interested in five types of discursive strategies, which are all involved in the positive self- and negative other presentation. By strategy generally means a more or less accurate and more or less intentional plan of practices (including discursive practices) adopted to achieve a particular social, political, psychological or linguistic aim. As far as, the discursive strategies are concerned, that is to say, systematic ways of using language, the researcher locates them at different levels of linguistic organization and complexity (see Table 3.1).

Table 3.1

1. Usefulness, advantage	9. Finances
2. Uselessness, disadvantage	10. Reality
3. Definition, name-interpretation	11. Numbers
4. Danger and threat	12. Law and right
5. Humanitarianism	13. Histories
6. Justice	14. Cultures
7. Responsibility	15. Abuses
8. Burdening, weighting	

3.4 Discourse Historic Approach by Wodak

Like Fairclough, Wodak is also a linguistically orientated CDA scholar. She sees discourse as a complex bundle of simultaneous and sequential interrelated linguistic acts, which manifest themselves within and across the social fields of action as thematically interrelated semiotic, oral or written tokens, very often as "texts", that belong to specific semiotic types, i.e. genres (Wodak. 2001).

Wodak's approach is a discourse-historical perspective on CDA. In this approach the connection between fields of action, genres, discourses and texts is described and modeled, and context is understood mainly historically. The discourse-historical approach is both hermeneutic and interpretative, with some influence from cognitive science (Wodak, 1996). This approach is understood not as a sequence of separate operational steps but as a cycle in which the three analytical dimensions are systematically and recursively related to the totality of contextual knowledge. The exact

description of individual texts and the analysis of larger corpora of data allow statements to be made at both micro and macro levels. The general principles of the discourse-historical approach may be summarized as follows.

First, setting and context should be recorded as accurately as possible, since discourse can only be described, understood and interpreted in its specific context. Second, the content of an utterance must be confronted with historical events and facts. Third, texts must be described as precisely as possible at all linguistic levels. Categories of analysis at the linguistic level highly depend on the research question (Wodak. 2001). Wodak (2001) summarizes the procedures of the discourse-historic approach to CDA:

• Gather information about the co- and context of the text (social, political, historical, psychological, and so on).

• Establish the genre and discourse to which the text belongs, and then sample more ethnographic information: locate texts on similar topics, texts with similar arguments, macro-topics, field of action and genres.

• Formulate precise research questions and explore neighboring fields for explanatory theories and other aspects that need to be considered.

• Operationalize the research questions into researchable linguistic categories.

• Apply these categories sequentially to the text using theoretical approaches to interpret the findings that result from the research questions.

• Draw up the context diagram for the specific text and the fields of actions.

• Make an extensive interpretation of the data, returning to the original research questions and the problem under investigation.

This methodology aims to be pragmatic since the categories of analysis are developed in line with the research questions, with a constant movement back and forth between theory and empirical data. The historical context is always analyzed and integrated into the interpretation, although there exists no stringent procedure for this task.

DHA is a triangulatory approach. It is based on a concept of `context' which takes into account four levels. These four levels are discussed below.

1.   The immediate, language or text internal co-text;

2.   The inter-textual and inter-discursive relationship between utterances, texts, genres and discourses;

3.   The extra-linguistic social/sociological variables and institutional frames of a specific `context of situation'.

4.   The broader socio-political and historical contexts, which the discursive practices, are embedded in and related to.

Table 3.1

Strategy	Objectives	Devices
Referential/nomination	Construction of in-groups and out-groups Discursive construction of social actors, objects, events, and actions.	membership categorization biological, naturalizing and depersonalizing metaphors verbs and nouns used to denote processes and action
Predication	Lablling social actors more or less positively or negatively, deprecatorily or appreciatively.	Implicit and explicit predicates stereotypical,evaluative attributions of negative or positive traits explicit predicates or predicative explicit comparisons,similes, metaphors, and other rhetorical figures (including, hyperboles) allusions, and presuppositions/ implicatures other.
Argumentation	Justification of positive	Topoi used to justify

	or negative attributions	political inclusion or exclusion, discrimination or preferential Treatment
Perspectivation,	Framing or discourse representation Expressing involvement Positioning speaker's point of view	Description, narration or quotationof (discriminatory) events and utterances. direct, indirect or free indirect speech quotation marks, discourse markers/particles metaphors animating prosody
Intensification, mitigation	Modifying the epistemic status of a proposition	Intensifying or mitigating the illocutionary force of (discriminatory) utterances modal particles, tag questions, subjunctive, hesitations, vague expressions, etc. hyperboles, verbs of saying, feeling, thinking

3.5   Van Dijk (2004)-Socio-cognitive Approach (SCA)

In Dijk's view, the various linguistic approaches in the study of discourses have their shortcoming in their inability to establish correlation between discourses to its wider socio-cultural context in which they are created. Dijk's (1995) methods for scrutinizing and exploring the embedded ideologies consist of three main premises i.e. social, cognitive and discourse analysis. The social analysis deals with the inspection of the

overall societal structures which is the `context'. The discourse analysis is chiefly deals with the study of text and its textual features such as syntax, structures and lexical.

Dijk's model combines the two traditional approaches in media studies i.e. interpretive and social tradition. Former is the text based while later is context based. However, what makes his approach to stand out in the cognitive analysis. For him it is a socio-cognitive-which is a particular system of mental models and representations in the group members that mediate between society and cognition. In the study of media discourse he is of the view that mental models, as created by the media, control the way people speak, act or think about the particular event or social practices including others.

His analysis of discourses is also a form of ideological squares analysis where his model of ideological square elucidate that how texts represent "positive self-representation" laying bare the hidden and tacit US vs THEM relationship is central to the research framework of Dijk (2004). He explains that one, who wishes to expose the ideological dichotomies inherent in the discourses, needs to analyze it from the following dimensions (1998b).

a. Examining the historical, political and social context of the discourse.

b. Identify the conflict and its main players.

c. Analyzing the groups involved and what type of power relations and conflicts they hold. Exposing what is implicit and presupposed.

d. Examining the structures at all levels i.e. different lexical choice and syntactic patterns, in a manner that helps to (de) emphasize the dichotomous or polarized opinions of the groups involved.

Dijk's (2004) critical social analysis is a combination of different strategies and techniques through which one can decode the complex discourse structures that have ideological underpinnings. He studies the semantic meanings, style, syntax patterns, morphology and the lexical choices to completely understand the hidden meaning of the discourse. He has provided the explanations of various linguistic categories which are

important for the critical analysis of the targeted discourse. The chief categories are as follows:

Actor Description

The way in which actors who are doing some actions in a discourse are described is called actor description. They are described according to certain ideologies like they could be shown as members of in-group or as out-groups. Similarly their function and identity can be specific or unspecific. The descriptions of the actors are never neutral rather they have often argumentative and rhetorical roles within the text.

Authority

In argumentative forms of discourse, authority figures or powerful figures are mentioned in order to support the proposition and to build credibility. . International organizations, political leaders or scholars are usually the authority figures mentioned in the political discourses.

Topos

Those arguments which are taken as self-evident, for granted and often present a kind of standard agreement in the discourses are Topoi. Categorization It is the classification of different groups according to their particular characteristics and to attribute them either positive or negative qualities by using different lexicals.

Comparison

In media discourses, it is often used to compare one group with another and similarly, by using different metaphors speakers in texts compare in-groups and out-groups

Consensus

It is a kind of political strategy which shows nations' solidarity, cohesion and unity in racists or political discourses. It is used to show the wider interests of the nation and in-group unification against out-groups.

Disclaimers

Disclaimers are employed for the purpose of face saving and to highlight (our) positive attributes and (others) negative. It also has a purpose to show humanitarian values but at the same time to create negative image of others.

Distancing

It is used to show us/them polarization in the discourse and it is shown by using those words or lexical which imply the distance between in group speakers and the out-groups.

Dramatization

It is a rhetorical strategy which is used to exaggerate certain facts or characteristics of the in-group or out-group, which are in one's favor. It is often used with hyperbole.

Evidentiality

Different claims and propositions in the arguments are made more reasonable by showing some evidence. This may be done by quoting reference of the authority figures.

Empathy

It is used for the in group members when they are shown as victims of something. It can also show empathy with the out groups depending on the ideological or political perspective behind it. It is also used as a face saver when used with "but".

Example/Illustration

Powerful strategy in argumentation is to quote concrete examples in the form of stories or vignettes which can add more plausibility. It is also a form of empirical proof and examples often have many semantic and cognitive purposes.

Generalization

Different claims are made broader by generalizing the concrete events or examples in the discourses. Different quantifiers or expressions of time and frequency like (most, always, constantly etc.) are used for the purpose of generalization.

History as a lesson

It is an argumentative move to create a relation between the present and the past (positive or negative) events. Such comparisons between the historic events and the current one can take more generalized forms where they become a topos and serve to make "lessons of history".

Hyperbole

Hyperboles are the semantic-rhetorical categories used for the emphasis or the enhancement of the meaning. Metaphors are also use to give hyperbolic impression.

Implication

Information in the discourses is left implicit because it may be inconsistent with aim of positive self-representation. Such forms of implicit knowledge can be inferred by shared attitudes, ideologies and knowledge and they also serve politeness and face-keeping strategies.

Lexicalization

In discourses certain words or lexical items are specifically chosen to convey the intended meaning .They are deliberately used over other words of similar meanings to fulfill certain goal or to convey the point of view if the reader.

Metaphor

Metaphors are the persuasive semantic-rhetoric figures which are used to make the complex and unfamiliar meanings more concrete and recognizable.

Number Game

Objectivity in the discourses is obtained through the use of statistics and numbers. The depict facts against mere point of views and perspectives.

Polarization

Polarizations show in groups and out groups as two poles it shows the dichotomy of US versus THEM.

Presupposition

Certain propositions are conveyed in an indirect and implicit ways in the texts whose truth value remains unchallenged and they are taken as for granted and understood.

Repetition

Few ideas or opinions are repeated again and again in the texts to give them more importance and emphasis over others.

Situation Description

The ways in which description of the situation is done is important for creating specific impression. Such descriptions have implications in the causes, evaluations and the consequences.

Vagueness

Vagueness is indicated through the usage of vague quantifiers like (few, a lot), adverbs (very), adjectives (low, down, up) and nouns like (thing). Vagueness shows lack of clarity and often used to retain certain information hidden.

Victimization

Through victimization out groups are shown as threats and dangerous whereas in groups are portrayed as the victims of such threats.

The researcher has analyzed the manifestos of Pakistani Political parties in the present research from the following selected categories from Dijk's and Wodak's model like Authority/Evidentiality, Topos, lexicalization, Dramatization/Hyperbole, Number game, History as lesson, Generalization, Metaphor, Distancing, Implication, Disclaimer and Comparison. In the section of Quantitative analysis, frequency of occurrence of the following categories has also been mentioned by the researcher.

3.6 Operationalized model

For the present study the researcher has used an operationalized model. Out of above mentioned theorists the researcher has devised an operationalized model for the present research. This has been done in accordance with the emerging analytical categories from the data from the present research. The different categories mentioned above illustrate that no single model can be used comprehensively to analyze the data at various levels because there are different layers of meaning in the texts of the discourses. Dijk (2004) and Wodak's (2009) models have helped the researcher to find the discursive practices of the political discourse. This model provides a number of analytical categories or devices like metaphor, disclaimer, hyperbole, categorization etc. which have enabled the researcher to identify the argumentative and rhetoric moves of the discourses.

Some of the categories which were not present in the present data have been excluded and similarly, some of the categories which were not present in Dijk and Wodak's Model but present in the present data have been included. This is how the researcher has the amended model by including and excluding analytical categories.

The data are represented in the tabular form after finding the analytical categories in the manifesto of political parties i.e. PML-N and JIP. Furthermore, sub-columns describe the frequency of occurrence (FOC) and page number where these analytical

categories are explored by the researcher. Prominent analytical categories of the devised research model for the present research are listed below.

- **Actor Description**

  The way in which actors who are doing some actions in a discourse are described is called actor description. They are described according to certain ideologies like they could be shown as members of in-group or as out-groups. Similarly their function and identity can be specific or unspecific. The descriptions of the actors are never neutral rather they have often argumentative and rhetorical roles within the text.

- **Allusion**

  It is a discursive technique that refers to a well-known story, event, person, or object in order to make a comparison in the readers' minds. For instance, imagine a writer needs to explain her main character's struggle against an overwhelmingly powerful opponent.

- **Authority**

  In argumentative forms of discourse, authority figures or powerful figures are mentioned in order to support the proposition and to build credibility. International organizations, political leaders or scholars are usually the authority figures mentioned in the political discourses.

- **Distancing/ Othering**

  It is used to show US vs THEM polarization in the discourse and it is shown by using those lexical which imply the distance between in group speakers and the out-groups.

- **Dramatization**

  It is a rhetorical strategy used to exaggerate the negative traits of others and to highlight the specific characteristics which differentiates out-groups. It is often used with hyperbole.

- **History as Lesson**

    It is an argumentative strategy to create a relation between the present and the past (positive or negative) events. The comparison between the historic events with the present ones when become more generalized then they become Topos and also serve the purpose of showing "history as a lesson".

- **Hyperbole**

    Hyperbole is a rhetorical category used with the purpose of enhancing the meaning. Metaphor is also used to give exaggerated impression. It has semantic implications in political discourses.

- **Implication**

    Certain facts and information are left implicit in the discourses if they don't match with the idea of positive self-representation. Such forms of implicit knowledge can be deduced by shared attitudes, ideologies and social knowledge. They also serve as politeness and face-keeping strategies.

- **Lexicalization**

    In discourses certain words or lexical items are specifically chosen to convey the intended meaning .They are deliberately used over other words of similar meanings to fulfill certain goal or to convey the point of view if the reader.

- **Metaphor**

    Metaphors are the persuasive semantic-rhetoric figures which are used to make the complex and unfamiliar meanings more concrete and recognizable.

- **Number Game**

    Objectivity in the discourses is obtained through the use of statistics and numbers. The depict facts against mere point of views and perspectives.

- **Polarization**

Polarizations show in groups and out groups as two poles it shows the dichotomy of *US* versus *THEM*.

3.7 Summary of the Chapter

This chapter introduces the amended model used for the present research. Moreover, the researcher has discussed the rationale of employing amended model in the present research. This has been done by keeping in view the present data and hence the modifications have been made in the existing theorists' models in accordance with present data. The next chapter discusses in detail the analysis of manifestos of mentioned parties at the mentioned levels.

CHAPTER 4

DATA ANALYSIS

This chapter presents the qualitative analysis and the frequency of occurrence of the discursive techniques used in the both manifestoes i.e. PML-N and JIP.

4.1 Findings of the research

Content analysis is an exploring tool used to decide the occurrence of definite vocabulary inside the manuscripts. Investigators investigate the incidence, denotation and associations of such vocabulary and perceptions then make assumptions about the messages within the texts, the writer(s), the audience, and even the culture and time of which these are a part. Texts can be defined broadly as books, book chapters, essays, interviews, discussions, newspaper headlines and articles etc. Texts in a single study may also represent a variety of different types of occurrences. To conduct a content analysis on any such text, the text is coded or broken down, into manageable categories on a variety of levels, word sense, phrase, sentence, or theme and then examined by using one of content analysis' basic methods that is conceptual analysis. Moreover, it is applied to examine any piece of writing. Content analysis is used in fields ranging from marketing and media studies, to literature and rhetoric, ethnography and cultural studies, gender and age issues, sociology and political science.

4.2 Analysis of the Data

4.2.1 Actor Description

The discursive technique Actor Description describes the actions of some actors in discourse. These actors are described according to certain ideologies like they could be shown as members of in-group or as out-groups. Similarly, their function and identity can be specific. The descriptions of the actors are never neutral rather they have often argumentative and rhetorical roles within the text.

The following table illustrates the examples of frequency of occurrence of actor description as highlighted in the manifestos of two mentioned parties.

Table 4.2.1: Discursive Technique *Actor Description* of PML-N and JIP

Pakistan Muslim League Nawaaz (PML-N)			Jamaat-E-Islami (JIP)		
F.O.C	Page No.	A Personal Message From President PML-N	F.O.C	Page No.	Preface
1	03	As the nation prepares ,… Actor: The Nation	1	06	Pakistan is passing through,.. Actor: Pakistan
2	03	The nation recognizes the role … Actor: The Nation	2	06	The specter of terrorism is targeting mosques, … Actor: Specter
3	03	The nation recognizes the instrumental role … Actor: The Nation	3	06	Our rulers have turned the army … Actor: Our Rulers
4	03	The same League that made Pakistan an invincible … Actor: League	4	06	America and its cronies have eroded … Actor: America and its cronies
5	04	Pakistan Muslim League (N) is the only political party, … Actor: Pakistan Muslim League (N)	5	06	The nation finds itself in a quagmire … Actor: The Nation
6	05	The PML-N fully demonstrated its ability … Actor: The PML-N	6	06	Leaderships lack integrity… Actor: Leadership
7	05	I invite you all to join,… Actor: I	7	06	Laws and constitutions fail to deliver… Actor: Laws and

					constitution
8	05	The Party initiated basic reforms… Actor: The party	8	07	Voters are fully responsible for bringing … Actor: Actor: Voters
		<u>Economic Revival</u>	9	07	If voters elect sincere and upright individuals … Actor: Voters
09	08	PML-N is fully aware of the fast declining... Actor: PML-N	10	07	I do not ask you any reward … Actor: I
10	09	Pakistan has to create several mutually reinforcing engines … Actor: Pakistan	11	07	Jamaat-E-Islami is not merely a political..… Actor: Jamaat-E-Islami
11	09	PML-N will give special priority to the following sectors … Actor: PML-N	12	07	Jamaat understands and believe in the day of judgement… Actor: Jamaat
12	09	PML-N will pursue mineral exploration and abstraction with Actor: PML-N	13	08	Jamaat-E-Islami professes a concept of life … Actor: Jamaat-E-Islami
13	09	PML-N will focus on motorways, dams, housing projects … Actor: PML-N	14	08	They cannot achieve their goals … Actor: They
14	11	PML-N fully understands the gravity of the present global … Actor: PML-N	15	08	Jamaat-E-Islami intends to bring changes … Actor: Jamaat-E-Islami
15	11	PML-N is determined to bring about fundamental… Actor: PML-N	16	08	Workers of Jamaat-E-Islami are approaching you… Actor: Workers of Jamaat-E-Islami
16	11	PML-N will shape a better Pakistan … Actor: PML-N	17	09	Jamaat-E-Islami has never been alone at the helm … Actor: Jamaat-E-Islami
17	13	Pakistan has to intensify participation … Actor: Pakistan	18	09	Al-Khidmat Foundation is providing education and health care facilities…. Actor: Al-Khidmat

					Foundation
18	13	PML-N will ensure that we do not sacrifice our long term gains … Actor: PML-N	19	09	We are thankful to Allah Almighty … Actor: We
19	15	The PML-N would strive … Actor: The PML-N	20	09	Jamaat-E-Islami keeps promises it makes … Actor: Jamaat-E-Islami
20	16	the PML-N successfully curtailed the circular debt … Actor: The PML-N	21	09	Its leadership and workers are un-wavering, competent and honest … Actor: Leadership and workers
21	16	PML-N has ability to confront the strong and powerful … Actor: The PML-N			
22	18	PML-N will initiate following actions to turn around … Actor: The PML-N			
23	19	PML-N in continuation of far reaching reforms in … Actor: The PML-N			
24	20	PML-N will engage the business community in decision making…. Actor: The PML-N			
25	20	Pakistan will face extraordinary risks since 2008… Actor: Pakistan			
26	20	PML-N is fully aware that hardly any … Actor: The PML-N			
27	22	Pakistan is blessed natural energy resources… Actor: Pakistan			
28	23	PPP led coalition has almost doubled electricity prices in the past four years… Actor: PPP			
29	23	PML-N has a clear energy vision … Actor: PML-N			

30	27	What we envisage is to tackle circular debt and system losses… preferred producer. .. Actor: We			
31	31	PML-N will reclaim and irrigate additional land … Actor: PML-N			
32	31	PML-N will give high priority to ecologically sound development policies … Actor: PML-N			
33	32	PML-N will seek Parliamentary approval for adding a new article 'Right to Food… Actor: PML-N			
34	32	PML-N will launch a coherent social protection plan … Actor: PML-N			
	A New Framework for Social Change				**Protection of Women Rights**
35	35	PML-N's social agenda includes of Education and Health … Actor: PML-N	22	22	Islam holds women in great honor … Actor: Islam
36	36	Pakistan has finally taken a historic step forward … Actor: Pakistan		**Care of Down Trodden & Afflicted**	
37	36	Pakistan Muslim League (N) is determined to bring about an educational revolution… Actor: PML-N	23	26	Thousands jamaat workers relentlessly provided services and spent mill rupees in rescue and relief operations … Actor: Jamaat workers
38	40	PML-N will aim at a threefold increase of GDP by 2018… Actor: PML-N	24	26	Government will help NGOs in their efforts to feed famished, prove helter to homeless, … Actor: Government
39	40	PML-N will introduce a comprehensive National Health Service across…			

		Actor: PML-N			
40	42	In Islam, women enjoy a place of honor and dignity … Actor: Women			
41	43	PML-N believes that it is our youth… Actor: PML-N			
42	44	PML-N is fully conscious of the importance … Actor: PML-N		**Minorities Rights**	
43	45	The PML-N considers religious minorities... Actor: PML-N	25	31	Minorities will enjoy rights to education, employment and other civil liberties … Actor: Minorities
		Democratic Governance			**The Islamic state at Madina: An Ideal strive for**
44	47	PML-N is deeply committed to the following … Actor: PML-N	26	10	The state not only took responsibility of each individual's livelihood in his life time... Actor: The state
45	48	PML-N is fully committed to devolve political … Actor: PML-N			
46	52	The public sector will play a major role as an enabler… Actor: PML-N			
		The employment challenge			
47	62	PML-N will strengthen the policy and advocacy … Actor: PML-N			
48	62	PML-N will develop a skilled labour force to meet the challenges... Actor: PML-N			
49	63	PML-N considers overseas Pakistanis are a major strategic asset … Actor: PML-N			
50	63	PML-N will ask Banks and DFIs to offer special			

		products … Actor: PML-N			

Language is one of the best sites to invest ideology and this is how in or through language positive self and negative other representation is made. Similarly, in the manifesto of PML-N and JIP, it is quite obvious that this technique of positive self and negative other representation has been used in the both manifestos at the same time but with different frequency of occurrence. This analytical device of actor description has been used repeatedly as mentioned earlier. The technique of actor description, in particular, is used to represent the people belonging to in group positively and people belonging to out-group negatively.

There is a frequent use of actor description device has been used 50 times for positive self and negative other representation in the manifesto of PML-N. PML(N) has represented itself positively. Moreover, a special kind of political scenario is developed for the investment of the ideology that has been propagated by this particular party. It is mentioned in manifesto of PML-N that 'Pakistan' is confronting a number of challenges like energy crises, a good image across the world, lack of infrastructure and economic problems etc. Here, PML-N is trying to inculcate the desired ideology that PML-N is the only party which can resolve the issues of the state and this party has also been working according to the ideology of Pakistan as visualized by Quaid-e-Azam and Allama Iqbal . This is how persuasive technique actor description has been used to win the consent of people. It implies that PML-N is nothing else than the party founded by Quaid-e-Azam and it is exactly working to make Pakistan strong. It is propagating its positive image in terms of policies mentioned in its manifesto to take the country on the road of progress.

Still, another point is being highlighted that this party has made the defense of country strong by making Pakistan Nuclear power.

There is one thing obvious from the manifesto of PML-N that it believes it can only make safe it, if Pakistan has atomic power. The present scenario proves that having nuclear weapons is not a security for a country to make progress rather the people should be well-educated and economically stable. These are the things that can make our country strong. As far as the positive self qualities are concerned, the stress has been made by highlighting this particular party in the form of bringing reforms in infrastructure, foreign policy, economic development, establishing industry and having nuclear power more than everything. The manifesto of PML-N implies that this is the party which established Pakistan and can serve Pakistan up to best extent. Hence, in this way the people are persuaded to vote this party in the upcoming elections. So, this is how language as an insidious weapon has been used to win general consent on the contrary the manifesto of a counterpart, JIP focuses on Islamization in the country. It wants to bring the religious reforms in the country, fair justice system of courts. JIP focuses on making the people aware about other political parties like PML-N that is making the country a slave of America . The other political parties have become a tool in the hands of superpowers like America and they are working like a slave for the interest of America. Therefore, the manifesto of JIP also carries the art of linguistic spin or persuasion like clutches of America and working for American interests. The Americans command us like slaves so this is how an atmosphere is being formulated which propagates JIP's desired ideology. ``

Hence, one of the significant features of the JIP manifesto is the use of actor description. At the level of actor description, it highlights clash between the government

and the Army, which implies that wrong foreign policies and the wrong steps of the government can make the country slave. Now, its worst stage has come where the Army of Pakistan is killing the Pakistanis. This is how this party is trying to propagate its desired ideology through its manifesto by employing the device of actor description. If the people of Pakistan want to free the country from the slavery of America and Western powers and they want to bring peace and Justice, the only option left for them is to vote JIP. One thing is more important as far as the use of the actor description is concerned in manifestos that there is repeatedly the use of first person pronoun WE, which indicates solidarity in nation and concept of unification of power which implies that this particular party is very powerful, there are maximum people around them who can hold their ideology. Some other persuasive techniques have been implied which is mentioned below as "whole of my body is full of injuries where should I apply the balm" these are metaphorical lines. Metaphorically, JIP is taking Pakistan as body and injuries connote the crises and the losses made by the previous governments. This is the result of the wrong policies and it has become almost impossible for all the political parties where to start the reformation. This is how by employing the device actor description 69 times in the manifesto of this particular party that highlights the only option left for the public is to vote JIP.

One important comparison, Nawaz Sharif has been represented as alternative of Quaid-e-azam and Allama Muhammad Iqbal and his vision is exactly as the vision of Mohammad Ali Jinnah and Allama Muhammad Iqbal. On the other hand, in the manifesto of religious political party (JIP), it is obvious that the previous government and political parties lack in sincere, competent, selfless and patriotic leadership who should

be capable to take the nation on the heights of glory. This is how competing discourses have been used to assert self superiority. This is how discursive technique of positive self representation and negative other representation has been implied.

It has been discussed earlier, the discursive technique, actor description is used to represent itself in a way that one should receive it as a sole and complete authority to tackle the exiting political chaos and fuss. While, the PML-N manifesto represents that PML- N is the only party that knows the needs of the country. They are competent in resolving the prevailing problems those are being faced by the country. Among these issues, the highlighted ones are construction of the motorways, building of the dams and housing projects. Moreover, PML-N claims in its manifesto that it shall shape a better Pakistan with the help of its economic policies. For this purpose, PLM(N) asserts it shall successfully curtail the circular debt to minimize inflation and deflation into the country. And it is the only party that can confront and dissolve the enigmas countered by the country with its strong and powerful policies. Furthermore, PML-N can initiate certain financial reforms for the betterment and development of the country. This repetition of Actor (PML-N) time and again is just to give importance to the party, having Aladdin's lamp to root out the troubles of the state.

All such persuasive strategies are used to persuade the masses. PML-N has used highly persuasive language in its manifesto. It has shown that the party is much conscious to win the consent of public by using discursive techniques. This is done for positive self representation.

On the other hand, JIP uses the actors i.e. voters, Jamaat-e-Islami and pronoun 'They'. JIP is of the view that the state (Pakistan) is passing through a critical situation like terrorism, inflation, social unrest, unemployment and many other social evils. This party (JIP) points out that the terrorists are targeting the innocent people and to the mosques, to achieve their aims and objectives and government is dumb and mum. It appears as if the government is helpless before these terrorists. It also indicates that the state appears to be a colony in the hand of foreign countries that are reaping advantages and benefits for their own set goals and purposes. Moreover, there is a lack of leadership and integrity in the country. Under all these conditions, there is deterioration of law and order in the state, and no writ of state is shown over the masses. JIP targeted America and its allies that they are intervening into political, social, educational and cultural norms of the country.

As far as social reforms are concerned, PML-N's stance is liberal. This political party has more focused on educational and health reforms. Its main agenda is to facilitate the masses of the country. PML-N is keen towards taking momentous and historic decisions for the progress of state. The actor 'Pakistan' and 'PML-N' are two conjoin things. They have been portrayed as the two sides of the same coin. So, if the people of Pakistan want to see their country as progressed state, they should elect PML-N as ruling party in election 2013. This party has the ability to confront the problems prevailing from last three decades like Load shedding, terrorism and political anarchy. As it is mentioned in the manifesto of PML-N, that this party is the only party that is serious to bring social reforms, educational revolution and honor and dignity of the country across the globe. Whereas, JIP holds a strong believe in religion and religious rituals. JIP uses 'Islam' as

main actor in its discourse. This shows its conventional view point about political affairs. So, JIP seems much orthodox about religious performances. JIP is more intend towards religious practices. JIP believes that our state problems have only one solution to follow Islamic teachings. Because, religion is a strong bond that keeps the people intact beyond all the differences. Another example of actor description is also used of the term 'Jamaat Workers'. JIP represents its workers very active. They are providing all the possible services to the people of Pakistan. Although, they are not in power, instead of it, they are not reluctant to work for the nation and country. So, here the implied ideology is, Jamaat Workers can perform even better if are in power. After coming in power, they will save and rescue all the rights of down trodden and afflicted. So, they are trying to persuade the people that they should elect JIP as the party for rule to eradicate the problems and issues of the people of Pakistan.

In the section of media reforms, PML-N represents itself a democratic party: gives more importance to the media houses. This is the party that can protect their legal and legitimate rights of media. On the other hand, JI uses pronoun "WE" which reveals that this party is the guard of media houses and rest all other parties are the just mongers and political deceivers. Their catchy slogans are just persuasive strategies and nothing else. They are entangling the masses by this political activity, while their performances will not be same.

The following table reproduces the list of lexical items which have been used by both the political parties to represent themselves. PML-N used the discursive strategy, actor description 69 times on the other hand, JIP used same device 31 times in its

manifesto. Here lies the difference that how PML-N used more persuasive ways by using actors i.e. Nation, PML-N and Muslim League etc, to win public consent.

The following graph introduces quantification of Actor Description, has been used by the both political parties i.e. PML-N and JIP.

Graph 4.2.1: Visual comparison of discursive technique Actor Description
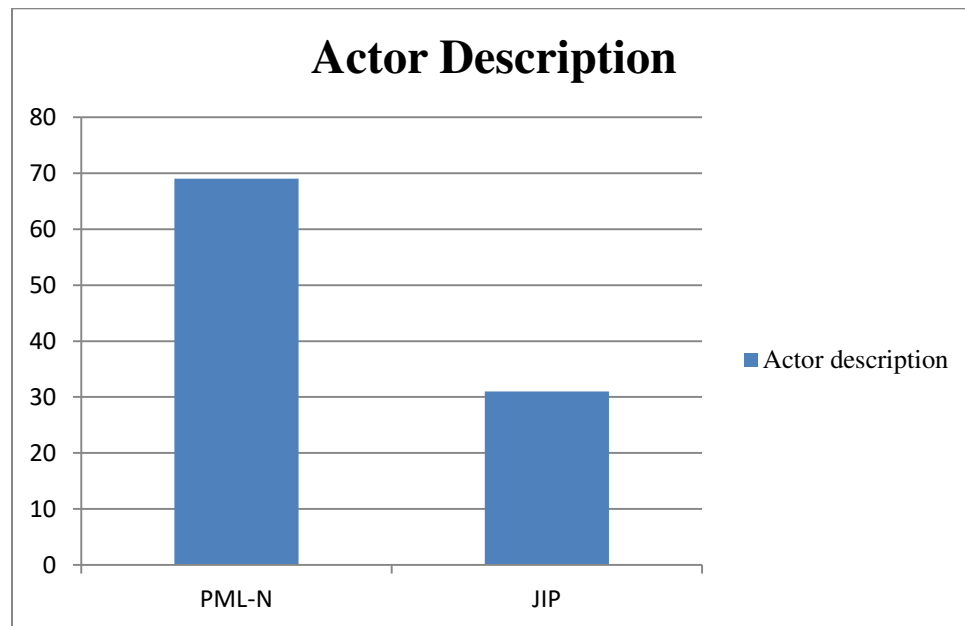
4.2.2 Allusion

It is a discursive technique that refers to a well-known story, event, person, or object in order to make a comparison in the readers' minds. For instance, a writer needs to explain his/her main character's struggle against an overwhelmingly powerful opponent. He/She would use such discursive technique. The examples of "Allusion" mentioned in the manifestos of both the political parties have been listed below in the following table.

Table 4.2.2: Discursive Technique *Allusion* of PML-N and JIP

Pakistan Muslim League Nawaaz (PMLN)			Jamaat-E-Islami (JIP)		
F.O.C	Page No.	**A Personal Message From President PML-N**	F.O.C	Page No.	**Preface**
1	04	Pakistan Muslim League (N) is the only political party which has the vision, proven track record, and an experienced and competent team to fulfill the dreams of Pakistan's founding father…	1	06	"Indeed , Allah commands you to render trusts to whom they are due and when you judge between people to judge with justice. Excellent is that which Allah instructs you. Indeed, Allah is ever Hearing and Seeinh." Allusion: (Al-Nisa , 4:58)
2	05	A summary of main achievements of PML-N in both of its tenures is given in the Annexures for the keen readers… Allusion: Annexure	2	06	"[And they are] those who, if We give then authority in the land, establish prayer and give Zakah and enjoin what is right and forbid what is wrong. And to Allah belongs the outcomes of [All] matters." Allusion: (Al-Hajj , 22:41)
		A Charter for Inter-Provincial Harmony			
3	68	"If you do judge, judge between them justly. Allah loves the just." Allusion: (Surat al-Maida, 42)	3	07	Al-Quran says, "Why do you say what you do not do?" Allusion: (61:3)
		Corruption and	4	07	"I do not ask any reward

		Accountability			from thee; my reward is with Allah" Allusion: Al-Quran
4	77	"May the curse of Allah be upon the briber, the bribe recipient, and the mediator between them." (Hadith)			
		Militancy and Terrorism			
5	85	"Whoever kills another one without justifiable cause, surely he is killing all of humanity. And whoever saves the life of another one, surely he saves the lives of all of humanity." Allusion: (Sura Al Ma'aidah: Ayah 32)			
					The Islamic state at Madina: An Ideal strive for
			5	10	Caliph Umar once said: if a dog dies of thirst at the banks of the Euphrates, how shall answer for that to Allah."

Pakistan is an ideological state got in the name of religion. It was the slogan of Muslim League during the British Raj. *Pakistan ka matlb kia? La Ilah ha ilallah.* Religion is the matter of life and death for the Muslims of Pakistan. Most of the political parties use the religions as an insidious weapon to persuade the people to win the vote in election. With the same persuasive technique both the political parties are representing themselves in their manifestos. It is important to note that the frequency of occurrence of the term allusion is same in the manifestos of both political parties i.e. 5 times. They have used the discursive technique Allusion, with same frequency of occurrence; both the parties have used the Allusions from Holy Quran five times which shows their equal stance on religion. They both have given equal importance to religion to persuade the people. While, PML-N focuses on justice and other social evils like bribery and killing of other human beings which indicates that PML-N is mainly concerned with the societal changes in society. On the other hand, JIP focuses on personal characters of Pakistanis as mentioned in Allusion "Why do you say what you do not do?" JIP wants to establish

Islamic system by the practices of religious rituals like establishing the prayer, giving Zakat and forbidding the people from wrong doings, as it is mentioned in its manifesto.

The use of discursive technique Allusion has great importance in political discourses. Discourses are always understood and interpreted through the reference whether they are from religious manuscripts or from historical writings. These allusions are persuasive strategies to let the people think in a way the writer or speaker wants it to be propagated. In the data under analysis, both the political party used the religious as well as historical allusions in their manifestos. PML-N used religious allusions five times, whereas JIP has more curtsy towards religious allusions and used it more than 4 times. Although, both the political parties gave importance to the religion because, Pakistan was emerged on the name of religion.

People most often have been exploited in the name of religion. This is obvious here in the manifestos of the parties. Both the parties have done their best through manifesto to win the consent of the people for the coming election. As the allusion no 4 narrates "I don't ask any reward from thee: my reward is with Allah". JIP convinces the people of Pakistan by narrating the Holy Quotes from the Holy Quran. By serving the people, we don't seek any reward from the people but our actual reward is from the divine power, Allah Almighty.

The following table reproduces the list of lexical items which have been used by both the political parties to represent themselves. PML-N used the discursive strategy, Allusion 5 times on the other hand, JIP used same device 5 times in its manifesto. The quantification of discursive technique Allusion shows that both parties are very much conscious about dealing with religion and religious matters although it is mentioned in quantitative analysis that they have different stances to deal with religion. There is no difference in the use of this discursive technique but above mentioned examples from the text indicate their thematic differences.

The following graph shows the quantification difference of discursive techniques of the both political parties.

Graph 4.2.2: Visual comparison of discursive technique Allusion

4.2.3 Authority

In argumentative forms of discourse, authority figures or powerful figures are mentioned in order to support the proposition and to build credibility. International organizations, political leaders or scholars are usually the authority figures mentioned in the political discourses. The under mentioned table illustrates about the examples of discursive technique 'Authority'.

Table 4.2.3: Discursive Technique *Authority* of PML-N and JIP

Pakistan Muslim League Nawaaz (PML-N)			Jamaat-E-Islami (JIP)		
Sr. No.	Page No.	A Personal Message From President PML-N	Sr. No.	Page No.	Preface
1	03	Under the leadership of the Quaid-e-Azam in accordance with the vision of Allama Iqbal… Authority: Quaid-e-Azam Allama Iqbal	1	06	Washington bluntly declared that attacks would continue … Authority: Washington
2	04	My party's manifesto… Authority: My party	2	07	Allah's commandments… Authority: Allah
3	05	I invite you all to join us... Authority: I	3	07	Guidance provided by the Prophet (PBUH) Authority: Prophet (PBUH)
		Economic Revival	4	07	Al-Quran says …. Authority: Al-Quran
4	13	Authority: SAARC , ECO and WTO	5	18	The ill-gotten wealth plundered during different period and lying in foreign banks will be brought back in the light of the UN Rules… Authority: UN
		A New Framework for Social Change			**The Islamic state at Madina: An Ideal strive for**
5	40	PML-N will aim at a threefold …..United Nations. Authority: United Nations	6	10	The Islamic state at Madina is our ideal where…….teachings of Quran and sunnah Authority: Quran and Sunnah
6	42	In Islam, women enjoy a place of honor and dignity that is unparalleled in history…	7	10	Caliph Umar once said:if a dog dies of thirst at the banks of the Euphrates, how shall

		Authority: Islam			answer for that to Allah." Authority: Allah & Caliph Umar R.A
7	42	The place of both men and women in Islam… Authority: Islam			
		Democratic Governance			
8	47	Authority: Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah			
		A Charter for Inter-Provincial Harmony			
9	68	"If you do judge, judge between them justly. Allah loves the just." (Surat al-Maida, 42)… Authority: Allah			
		Corruption and Accountability			**Eradication of Corruption & Recovery of Ill-Gotten Wealth**
10	77	"May the curse of Allah be upon the briber, the bribe recipient, and the mediator between them." (Hadith) Authority: Allah	8	18	UN Rules and Regulations and with the cooperation of the Swiss authorities… Authority: UN & Swiss Authorities
11	77	In line with the rich traditions of Islam and successful experiments in the developed countries…			
		Foreign Policy and National Security			**Sovereign , Independent and Dignified Pakistan**
12	80	Tolerant Islamic state, as envisioned by Allama Iqbal and the Quaid-e-Azam… Authority: Allama Iqbal & the Quaid-E-Azam	9	11	We believe that the only solution to the Kashmir dispute lies in holding plebiscite in the light of UN resolution…. Authority: UN
13	81	…consonance with the Quaid-e-Azam's belief in good relations with all countries… Authority: Quaid-E-Azam	10	11	Islamic institutions world-over, including the Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC), will be galvanized in a concrete way towards a shared sense of defending the sanctity of the Holy Quran and the holy Prophet (PBUH) and other symbols of Islam…

14	81	..with important international economic blocks, such as the EU, ECO, SAARC, ASEAN and SCO… Authority: EU, ECO, SAARC, ASEAN and SCO…	11	11	Dependence on ,IMF assistance and external finance will be phased out by…. Pakistan… Authority: IMF
			Justice for All		
			12	17	The Quran and Sunnah (Shariah) shall practically be made the supreme Law of the country… Authority: The Quran and Sunnah (Shariah)
			13	22	Islam holds women in great honor … Authority: Islam

Language is a tool to construct the ideology as well as to challenge the ideology. For this purpose, some of the techniques are employed by the speaker/writers. Same as in the manifestos, certain techniques are used by the both political parties. The discursive technique, the researcher is dealing with here, is authority. It is earlier defined; this is a support proposition by international organizations, political leaders and scholars. This is how with the help of comparative discourses in the form of manifesto applying different linguistics and discursive technique the technique of positive self representation and negative other representation has been highlighted.

In critical discourse analysis, authority is used as a persuasive strategy to persuade the people. This is a convincing way, while one uses some historical figure as a supportive tool. This strategy is employed to persuade the people to win their consent. For this purpose, political leaders, religious figures and international organizations are

mentioned to put a strong impact on the readers. Such strategies are helpful to maintain a balance between the people and leaders. This shows that public and political leaders are on the same page. In this regard, PML-N uses the political figure, Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah the founder of Pakistan and the co-founder and national poet Dr. Allama Muhammad Iqbal. This indicates that PML-N is a real nationalist party, and has much affiliation with their political gurus. It is always ready to face the emerging issues of Pakistan and to resolve them. Then after these two political figures, PML-N used "Islam" as another tool of persuasion. PML-N shows that although, it is a political party yet they are equally interested in religion. On the other hand, JIP represents the religion as a fundamental tool of persuasion in its manifesto. Language is always equipped with such persuasive tools to grasp the attentions of the masses. The following graph represents the percentage of the frequency of occurrence of the discursive technique 'Authority'.

Graph 4.2.3: Visual comparison of discursive technique Authority
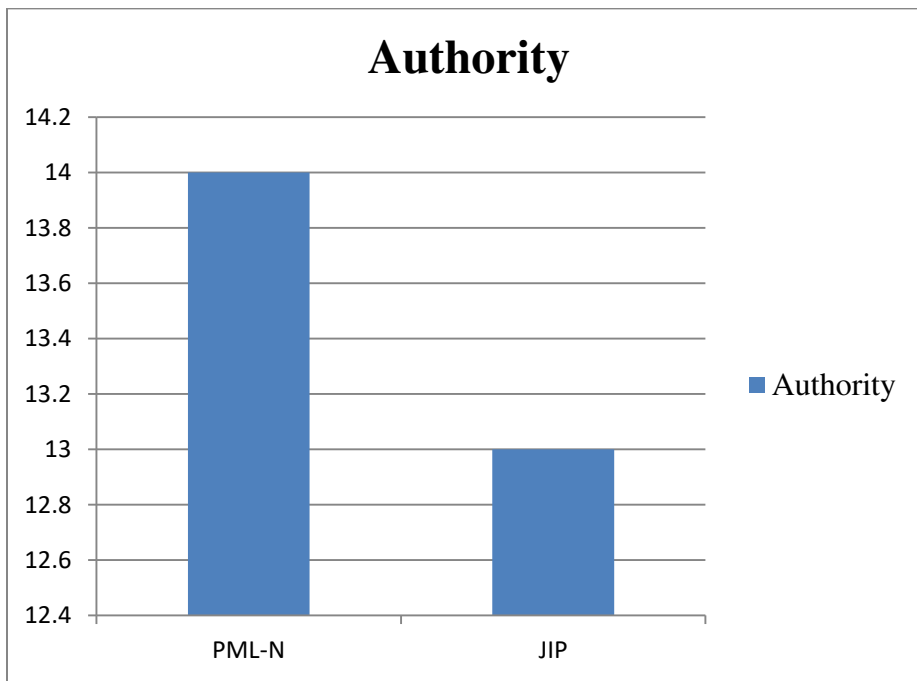
4.2.4 Distancing/ Othering

This discursive technique is used to show *US* vs *THEM* polarization in the discourse and it is shown by using those lexical which imply the distance between in group speakers and the out-groups. The under mentioned table demonstrates about the examples of the discursive technique 'Distancing/ Othering'.

Table 4.2.4: Discursive Technique *Distancing* of PML-N and JIP

Pakistan Muslim League Nawaaz (PML-N)			Jamaat-E-Islami (JIP)		
F.O.C	Page No.	A Personal Message From President PML-N	F.O.C	Page No.	Preface
1	04	The challenge ahead of us is not only to re-establish the supremacy of law… Distancing: The challenge ahead of us	1	07	They have catchy slogans and make tall claims. Distancing: They have catchy slogans
2	03	Distancing: We understand the enormity of the multiple challenges confronting the nation…	2	09	Distancing: Its leadership and its workers have relentlessly been serving its people…
3	04	Distancing: We are all aware of the enormous damage done to the country…	3	12	Distancing: We condemn all types of terrorism, be it by the state or by non-state actors…
4	04	Distancing: The challenge ahead of us is not only to re-establish the supremacy of law…	4	12	Distancing: We will rid Pakistan of present state of chaos …
5	04	Distancing: My party's manifesto…	5	19	Distancing:We will introduce an Islamic educational system ..Ideology of Pakistan…
6	04	Distancing: Ours is not an agenda only meant to merely overcome the current crises…	6	20	Distancing: Our greatest national asset is our youth…
7	04	Distancing: We are here to revive the confidence of people by ….	7	20	Distancing: We can neither achieve peace nor ….We will give priority to solving the problems of youth…
8	04	Distancing: Pakistan Muslim			

		League (N) is the only political party which has the vision…			
9	04	Distancing: We will do this by building consensus on major national issues ….			
	04	Distancing: We are also committed…			
10	05	Distancing: We also achieved notable success in resolving inter-provincial issues…			
`11	05	Distancing: We achieved this milestone by concluding…			
12	05	Distancing: I invite you all to join us in our mission …			
	Economic Revival				
13	08	Distancing: PML-N is fully aware of the fast declining trends in all macro-economic indicators…			
14	08	Distancing: We have witnessed a worse double digit …			
15	11	Distancing: We will ensure that ample credit is available to the private sector… industrial hubs…			
16	12	Distancing: Our Industry and Trade policy will focus …			
17	13	Distancing: Our trade negotiations with international players including World Trade Organization (WTO) will be aimed at …			
18	13	Distancing: We will succeed with our "Trade not Aid" policy.			
19	13	Distancing: we will encourage infrastructure building and financing institution …			
20	13	Distancing: our focus will be on the development of the agricultural, industrial, water …			

21	13	Distancing: we do not sacrifice our long term gains for the comfort of meeting our short term objectives…			
22	14	Distancing: We will create incentive program for the private sector …			
23	14	Distancing: We will start especially-designed employment program …			
24	15	Distancing: We will ensure that as a result of sound macro policies …			
25	16	Distancing: we will completely resolve the issue of circular debt…			
26	16	Distancing: we will eliminate VIP culture …			
27	16	Distancing: We are aware that the fundamental reforms… strong cartels…			
28	17	Distancing: we will target to improve the tax to GDP ratio to 15% by 2018. …			
29	17	Distancing: We recognize that in order to improve the overall taxation environment ….			
30	20	Distancing: PML-N will engage the business…			
31	20	Distancing: PML-N will take initiative of promotion of IT, tourism …			
32	20	Distancing: PML-N is fully aware that hardly any country …		**Education**	
		A New Framework for Social Change	8	19	Distancing: We will introduce an Islamic education system in Pakistan…
33	35	Distancing: we need an education system that promotes creativity …	9	20	Distancing: Our greatest national asset is our youth. However, they are in distress….
34	43	Distancing: PML-N believes that it is our youth which…,	10	20	Distancing: We can neither achieve peace nor progress

					…
35	44	Distancing: PML-N is fully conscious of the importance sporting activities play……	11	20	Distancing: We will give priority to solving the problems of youth. …
				Minorities Rights	
			12	31	Distancing: We will ensure and protect constitutional and legal rights of all minorities…

One of the most important analytical categories is Distancing / Othering. This technique is used to present people belonging to in-group positively and out-group negatively. It is also used to express solidarity, and distance with a particular group. The following above mentioned table reproduces some of the important examples of distancing /ordering picked from the manifestos of both mentioned political parties. We are here to revise the confidence of the people instilling hope. Distancing is one of the important categories used by the PML-N. Its Manifesto is filled with first person pronouns I and WE. Here, *We* stand for unity, strength, mission mode and indirectly manifesto represents that no other political party is in a position or has ever done something to revive the confidence of nation. This is the only party who is and who has been attempting to impart confidence and hope among the people towards a prosperous Pakistan. This is how people belonging to in group are positioned positively and people belonging to all groups represented negatively. This is the technique to represent the people and express solidarity and distancing repeatedly. They used the first person pronoun I and We that have been used 35 times. This implies that PML-N is fully United and carries the confidence where as the other parties are not. Pakistan's growth and economic development by counting the attributes of PML-N manifesto repeatedly carries

the planned activities of the party in the form of making The Economy strong, providing job, to bring the people together and create a better image of Pakistan among the other nations of the world. So, this is how by using the linguistic spin of distancing and Othering, PML-N is trying to represent itself positively on the counterpart, the manifesto of JIP highlights that it is evident from the history, the services rendered by this party has never been done by other party the most people are witnessed. This is how that it is representing itself positively encounter good deeds and good performance of its ministers in the reforms. They have brought their services in making Karachi a prosperous city. The manifesto of this party claims that this is the only party in Pakistan who has done its best to bring Islamic laws and code of life in the country and once again the achievements of its party are mentioned in the form of establishment of Al-khidmat Foundation, Islamic education system, health facilities and religious education centre. This is how both the parties are trying to represent themselves positively at linguistic level and an attempt has been made by the both parties to express the solidarity to win the consent of the people. The following graph represents the percentage of the frequency of occurrence of the term 'Distancing'.

Graph 4.2.4   Visual   comparison   of   discursive   technique   Distancing
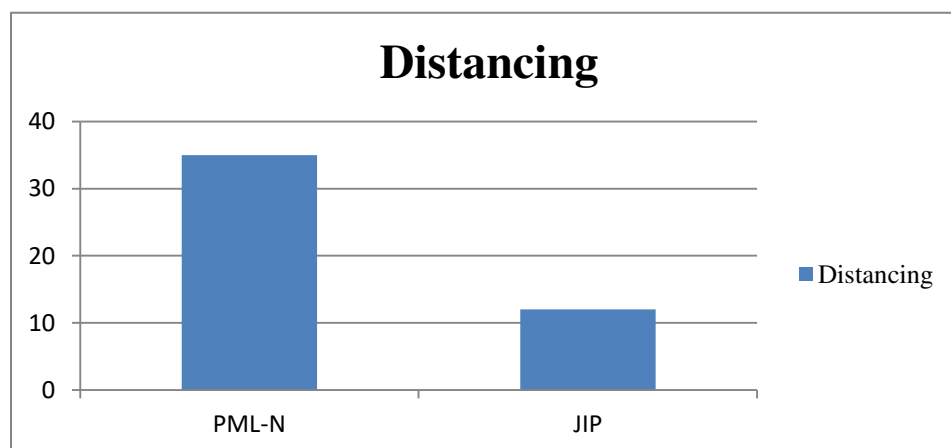
4.2.5 Dramatization

It is a rhetorical strategy used to exaggerate the negative traits of others and to highlight the specific characteristics which differentiates out-groups. It is often used with hyperbole. The following graph represents the percentage of the frequency of occurrence of the term 'Dramatization'.

Table 4.2.5: Discursive Technique *Dramatization* of PML-N and JIP

Pakistan Muslim League Nawaaz (PML-N)			Jamaat-E-Islami (JIP)		
F.O.C	**Page No.**	**A Personal Message From President PML-N**	**F.O.C**	**Page No.**	**Preface**
		Economic Review			
1	11	Dramatization: Reducing bureaucratic procedures to speed up decision making …			
2	12	Dramatization: All exports will be sales tax free…			
3	12	Dramatization: A Technology Up-gradation Fund will be created …			
4	12	Dramatization: Private and public sector organizations will be brought together …			
5	12	Dramatization: Reduce the upfront cost of investment for prioritized sectors…			
6	12	Dramatization: Industrial parks, both for large and small industries will be developed and expanded…			
7	12	Dramatization: Clusters will be developed for industries such as gems and jewelry, leather….			
8	12	Dramatization: An Export-Import bank (EXIM) will be set up to deal exclusively…			
9	12	Dramatization: Multinational Corporations (MNC's) in Pakistan will be encouraged to expand their production			

		facilities …			
10	12	Dramatization: The investment strategy will be focused on encouraging buyers- driven FDI,			
11	13	Dramatization: A Bureau of Infrastructure Development (BID) will be established …			
12	15	Dramatization: At least 1,000 clusters of 500 houses each for lower income families will be developed…			
13	16	Dramatization: we will eliminate VIP culture and launch an austerity …			
14	19	Dramatization: PIA shall be transformed into a profitable and reputed airline of the Region…			
15	20	Dramatization: Institutions will also be strengthened…			
16	27	Dramatization: Investment of about US$ 20 billion to generate 10,000 MW of electricity in the next 5 years will stimulate overall growth of the economy…			
		Agriculture and Food Security			
17	31	Dramatization: PML-N will reclaim and irrigate additional land for allotment to landless women..			
18	31	Dramatization: PML-N will give high priority to ecologically sound development……			
19	32	Dramatization: PML-N will seek Parliamentary approval for adding a new article …			
20	32	Dramatization: PML-N will launch a coherent social protection plan in national disasters …			
		Democratic Governance			
21	48	Dramatization: Reforms to strengthen criminal justice			

		system shall be taken for speedy justice…			
22	57	Pakistan acquires world-class expertise within 5-years in at least the following emerging technologies:			
		A Charter for Inter-Provincial Harmony			
23	70	Dramatization: A National Language Commission will be set up by the PML-N government to develop….			
24	70	Dramatization: PML-N will ensure that the census due since 2008 is carried out as early as…			
25	70	Dramatization: Trust and Reconciliation Commission will be established to discover …			
26	70	Dramatization: Exchange of rural and urban youth will be undertaken…			
27	71	Dramatization: PML-N is committed to the creation of Hazara, South Punjab and Bahawalpur Provinces…			
28	74	Dramatization: Alternate Dispute Resolution (ADR) will be launched…facilitate its adoption…			
29	77	Dramatization: An autonomous National Accountability Commission which is administratively, functionally and financially independent…			
		Implementation on Manifesto			
30	88	Dramatization: (N) has already set up Sub–Committees on different subsectors or issues consisting of all the stakeholders …			
31	88	Dramatization: PML-N will			

		ensure submission of periodic reports to the cabinet on the implementation of the Manifesto by a special cabinet sub-committee…			

Dramatization is a discursive technique which is particularly used to enhance the meaning of the required consent. It particularly involves in exaggeration of the facts. As the study explores, PML-N used the discursive technique dramatization 22 times in its manifesto. Whereas, JIP has probably no use of such dramatization as far as the researcher has gone through its manifesto.

Furthermore, in the table 2, PML-N states that all exports will be sales tax free. If the state does not implement any kind of taxes, the developmental role of the state shall be ruined for the reason; there are certain issues like health, education, and infrastructural development (railways and road). Moreover, there is governmental machinery that keeps on working requires wages that cannot be paid without taxes. In this way, the statement given above has no value in this regard. So keeping in view this statement, they are beyond the facts and PML-N has dramatized the facts to persuade its voters to win the GE 2013.

PML-N expresses that for decision making, it is the need of the hour to curtail the member of bureaucracy. The party opines that due to considering the fact that by doing so; the process of decision making can be speedy. The party forgets the things that bureaucracy plays an important role in the administration of the country. If they pestered, it shall retaliate in some way or the other. Next, PML-N indicates that the export will be sales tax free, which appears very odd and strange thing for no country. Moreover, if the

government imposes tax free export, how shall it be able to run its financial affairs? Hence, PML-N does not have any divine source to fulfill the necessities of departments. Apart from all above mentioned things, PML-N says that it shall create technology up-gradation fund but it did not mention which department of technology shall be developed and progressed. It is seen that there is tremendous short fall of power supply in country. It is such a jinnee that is out of control of the government. Before PML-N and different other political parties have been claiming that they shall bring the short fall to an end but couldn't fulfill their promises. So, it is direly needed to mention and let the masses know which areas of the technology shall be enhanced and to which extent. So from this, it just appears a reverie. In the same way, at another point in the manifesto of PML-N, there is a point that industrial parks shall be set up for both small industries and large industries, but no attention is paid towards what is described in the manifesto.

Above all else, investment in the country paves the way for the development of the country for which it is considered to strengthen the back bone of the country with respect to finance but, investors invest the capital only if they find the law and order situation useful and beneficial to them because they do not want to lose their capital of investment. At any rate, if someone has a bird's eye view at our country, there is unrest and deterioration in the situation of law and order. Under such circumstances, how is it possible for an investor to do investments under such circumstances? There are suicide attacks, bomb blasts and even mosques and temples are not safe from the hand of such culprits and ruffians. So, the claim of PML-N emerges null and void that multinational companies will be encouraged in Pakistan for the expansion for business and production facilities will be granted to them because without peace and the stability of government,

foreign investors will not invest anything in Pakistan. The following graph represents the percentage of the frequency of occurrence of the term 'Dramatization'.

Graph 4.2.5 Visual comparison of discursive technique Dramatization
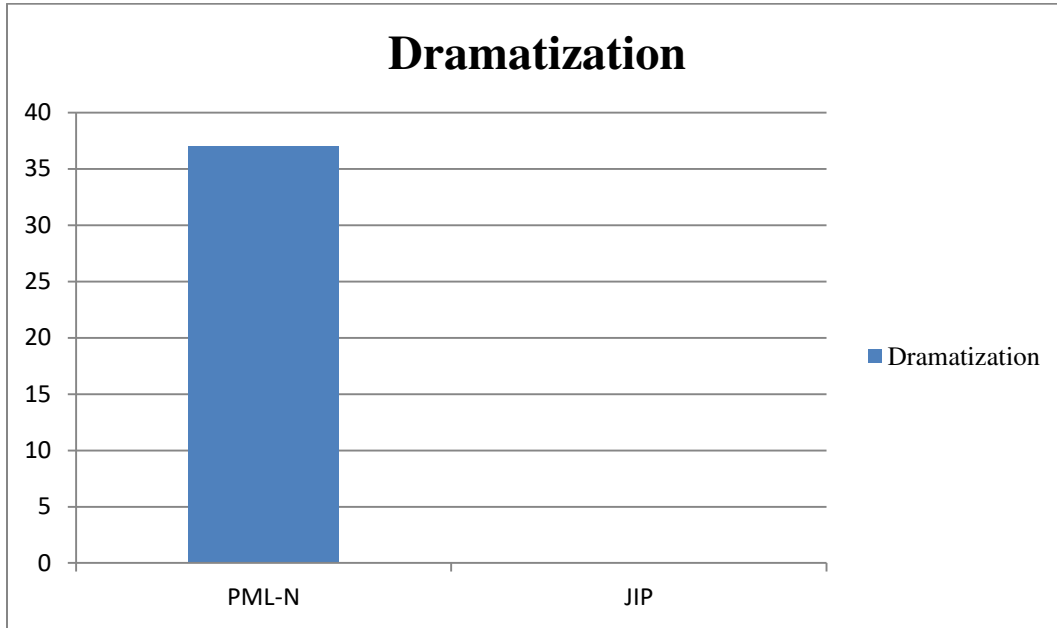
4.2.6 History as Lesson

It is an argumentative strategy to create a relation between the present and the past (positive or negative) events. The comparison between the historic events with the present ones when become more generalized, then they become Topos and also serve the purpose of showing "history as a lesson". The following graph represents the frequency of occurrence of the discursive technique 'History as Lesson'.

Table 4.2.6: Discursive Technique *History as lesson* of PML-N and JIP

Pakistan Muslim League Nawaaz (PML-N)			Jamaat-E-Islami (JIP)		
F.O.C	Page No.	**A Personal Message From President PML-N**	F.O.C	Page No.	**Preface**
1	03	History: Which built the infrastructural and policy framework for economic development in 1990s…	1	12	History: In the bloodshed in Karachi on the 12 of May, 9 of April, 12 of Rabi-ul-Awwal, 10 of Muharram, and during the months of July and August, 2011 …
2	04	History: In the past decade at the hands of authoritarian rulers and their inept and corrupt successors after 1999…			
3	05	History: During both its tenures in power…			
4	05	History: From November 1990 to April 1993, the Party initiated basic reforms…			
5	05	History: Two historic accords i.e. the Water Accord of March 1991, and the fourth NFC Award of April 1991…			
	Economic Revival				
6	08	History: worse double digit inflationary spell than the present tenure and that was in PPP's first government from 1972 to 1977…			

7	08	History: As in the 1990's, PML-N's top priority will be the revival of growth rate from less than 3% in the past five years to over 6% during the next ….			
8	15	History:			
9	15	History: During the past five years, Pakistan has more than…			
10	15	History: On 30th June 1999 has increased to over Rs. 13,500 billion by the end of 2012 …			
11	15	History: During our second term from 1997 to 1999, the PML-N…			
12	16	History: When PML-N government was dismissed in October 1999...			
13	18	History: PML-N government in its two tenures in the 90's had turned around in less than 2 years between 1997 and 1999…			
	Energy Security: Continuous Availability and Affordability				
14	22	History: after 65 years of independence …			
15	22	History: Legacy from the previous dictatorial regime …			
	Agriculture and Food Security				
16	29	History: Irrigation in the 1970's and 1980's, the total cropped area has increased by one third to 24 million hectare, growth rate of 5.4% in 1980's and 4.4% in the 1990's…..			
	Democratic Governance				
17	47	History: "Charter of Democracy" signed on May 14, 2006 in London between the leadership of			

		PPP and PML-N			
	Speedy and Inexpensive Justice				
18	73	History: PML-N played pivotal in the restoration of the superior judiciary in 2008-09, …			
	Militancy and Terrorism				
19	86	History: The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in December 1979.			
	PML-N's Achievements in its First Tenure				
20	91	History: PML-N's first tenure lasted for only two and a half years, from November 1990 to April, 1993, …			
	PML-N's Achievements in its Second Tenure				
21	94	History: The Population Census which was due in 1991 was delayed…			
22	94	History: NADRA was set up in April 1998…			
23	94	History: carry out nuclear tests in May 1998…			
	PML-N's Struggle for Democracy				
24	95	History: The defiant speech of Mr. Nawaz Sharif on 17 April 1993 transformed ….			
25	95	History:PML-N leadership and workers courageously fought martial law regime from 1999 to 2008 and 3 November, 2007 emergency…			
26	95	History: The culmination of the struggle for strengthening the Judiciary, came on 16 March 2009…,			

History has much importance in discourse. Sometimes, discourse cannot be understood without knowing history. By analyzing both the manifestos of PML-N and JIP, it's been explored that PML-N has used historical references 26 times in its manifesto. On the other hand, JIP has used it only once. PML-N remained in power more than two times before the year 2013 while JIP has never got the chance to rule country in particularly federal government. Due to this reason, this party does not have any particular historical references to show off its performance. Apart from all this, JIP was capable enough just to make its government only in one province and has no experience of federal government. The manifestos of both the parties are minutely observed with reference to history, it presents that PML-N reference with respect to economical development with social development. JIP has provided references regarding bloodshed and chaos that took place on some of the important events like Rabi-ul-Awal and Muharram. In this way, PML-N has vivid superiority to JIP. The later party does not provide any historical reference above the economical development which is the back bone of the country. The following graph represents the percentage of the frequency of occurrence of the term 'History as Lesson'.

Graph 4.2.6: Visual comparison of discursive technique History as lesson
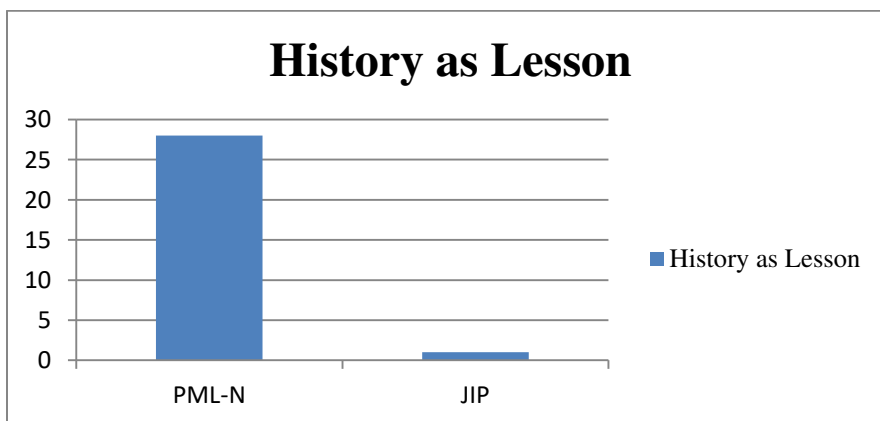
4.2.7 Hyperbole

Hyperbole is a rhetorical category used with the purpose of enhancing the meaning. Metaphor is also used to give exaggerated impression. It has semantic implications in political discourses. The following table illustrates the frequency of occurrence of the discursive technique 'Hyperbole'

Table 4.2.7: Discursive Technique *Hyperbole* of PML-N and JIP

| Pakistan Muslim League Nawaaz (PML-N)			Jamaat-E-Islami (JIP)		
F.O.C	Page No.	**A Personal Message From President PML-N**	F.O.C	Page No.	**Preface**
1	03	Hyperbole: It is the same League that established Pakistan under…	1	06	Hyperbole: Government is evidently both helpless and insensitive.
2	03	Hyperbole: It is the same League which built the infrastructural and policy framework…	2	06	Hyperbole: Bribery is growing without check.
3	03	Hyperbole: The same League that made Pakistan an invincible Nuclear power…	3	06	Hyperbole: Lewdness and immodesty are being promoted in and organized manner.
4	04	Hyperbole: The challenge ahead of us is not only to re-establish the supremacy of law and respect for democratic institutions…	4	07	Hyperbole: JI is not a political party
5	04	Hyperbole: My party's manifesto for the coming elections presents a comprehensive, all-embracing agenda for national renewal and real change …	5	09	Hyperbole:JI has never been alone at the helm of country's affairs.
6	04	Hyperbole: The manifesto sets out a realistic and sound framework for pulling back the nation from the edge of abyss …	6	20	Hyperbole: our national asset is our youth. However, they are in distress...
7	05	Hyperbole: PML-N brought about changes in the national economy…	7	23	Hyperbole: All external debt will be paid off within the shortest time…
8	05	Hyperbole: revolutionary			

		changes …			
	Democratic Governance				
9	51	Hyperbole: Police laws will be reviewed to transform the police force into a depoliticized …			
	Media , Art & Culture				
10	66	Hyperbole: Freedom of media shall be respected and guaranteed…			
	Speedy and Inexpensive Justice				
11	73	Hyperbole: Reduce the huge pending backlog of cases at every level…			
12	73	Hyperbole: Provide justice at the proverbial 'doorstep'…			

Language is highly metaphorical. Metaphor enhances the meaning of language. It is a strategy which is employed to exaggerate the facts. Metaphors are covertly ways of persuasion. So, PML-N has tried its best to use hyperbole to persuade the people. As it tells that this is the same league which has established Pakistan. Muslim League was the party of founder of Pakistan but it faced multiple fractures and divisions with the passage of time. It was almost finished in 1970s from Pakistani political scenario. Its revival began in 1980s and today one of the fractions PML-N has managed to become a formidable electoral machine. Most interesting is the way the League and many fractions have evolved. However, in last decade most of its major factions especially PLM-N has been moving back to the party's original centrist position even to the extent of gradually disowning the ideological stances were adopted in 1980s. So by keeping in view the history, it is hyperbolically said the PML-N is the fonder party. History has explored that ML didn't remain in its real position after the emergence of the two new states in subcontinent. Whereas, JIP narrates that Government is evidently both helpless and

insensitive. This is an overstatement. The governments cannot be helpless in any affair of the state. They are powerful in all respect. Because state owns many resources that make them strong enough to face every challenge.

The following graph introduces the frequency of occurrence of the discursive technique Hyperbole.

Graph 4.2.7: Visual comparison of discursive technique Hyperbole
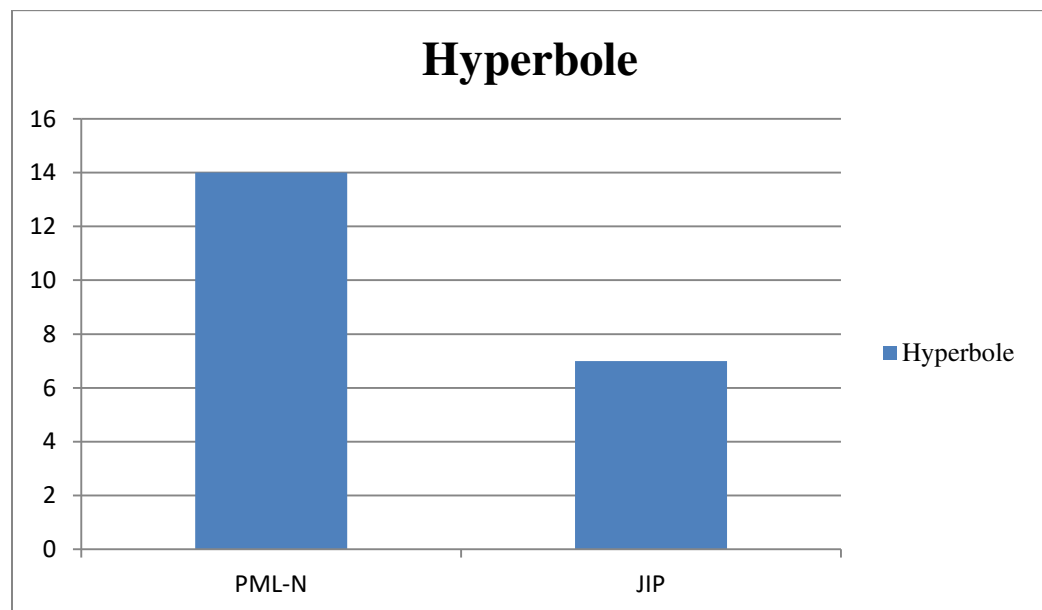
4.2.8 Implication

Certain facts and information are left implicit in the discourses if they don't match with the idea of positive self-representation. Such forms of implicit knowledge can be deduced by shared attitudes, ideologies and social knowledge. They also serve as politeness and face-keeping strategies. The following table represents the percentage of the frequency of occurrence of the term 'Implication'.

Table 4.2.8: Discursive Technique *Implication* of PML-N and JIP

Pakistan Muslim League Nawaaz (PML-N)			Jamaat-E-Islami (JIP)		
Pakistan Muslim League Nawaaz (PML-N)			**Jamaat-E-Islami (JIP)**		
F.O.C	**Page No.**	**A Personal Message From President PML-N**	**F.O.C**	**Page No.**	**Preface**
		Economic Revival			**Curbing Inflation**
1	08	Implication: Optimum utilization of the country's physical and human resources …	1	14	Implication: Make sweeping changes in the taxation system. Indirect taxation will be drastically reduced. …
2	08	Implication: Full exploitation of the technological potential in industry and agriculture …	2	14	Implication: The prices of six essential commodities - flour, sugar, ghee, rice, lentils and tea will be reduced by at least 20%…
3	08	Implication: Sound macro-economic policies to reduce deficits in the budget …	3	14	The middle man in the supply of vegetables and fruits will be eliminated to reduce their prices…
4	08	Implication: Democratic governance which requires supremacy of the constitution and the rule of law in order to reduce corruption…	4	14	Implication: All taxes included in the electricity and gas bills will be abolished...
5	09	Implication: Attracting foreign investment in the agriculture and livestock...	5	14	Implication: Strict measures will be taken against hoarding and profiteering…
6	09	Implication: Converting at least 50% of the remittances by Overseas Pakistanis into investments …	6	14	Implication: Ulema, lawyers, journalists and consumers will be set up at 74 different levels to determine and control

					prices….
7	09	Implication: Large-scale infrastructure projects are catalysts for boosting the economy …	7	14	Implication: Consumer Courts will be set up at Tehsil level …
8	09	Implication: Pakistan holds sizeable reservoirs of oil, gas and other minerals. …	8	14	Implication: excessive taxation on petroleum products and profiteering will be curbed…
9	09	Implication: A vibrant domestic commerce is a pre-requisite for innovation entrepreneurship, quality assurance and product development …	9	14	Implication: Law will be enacted to make indexation of wages mandatory…
10	10	Implication: Budget Deficit will be brought down to 4%.			**Economic Policy**
11	10	Implication: Inflation will be brought down to single digit in the range of 7 or 8% …	10	23	Implication: All external debt will be paid off within the shortest possible time. No new debt will be incurred and the policy of self-sufficiency will be adopted …
12	10	Implication: Industrial manufacturing will be taken up to 7 or 8%...	11	22	Implication: Non-development expenditure will be reduced by at least 30%. This will be achieved by cutting down expenditure on lodging and traveling of government functionaries…
13	10	Implication: Investment GDP ratio will rise to 20% …	12	22	Implication: Taxation system will be simplified, system of fixed tax will be introduced for small shopkeepers. No new taxes will be levied. General Sales Tax (GST) will be abolished. Tax-net will be broadened by reducing taxation rates...
14	12	Implication: All exports will be sales tax free…	13	22	Implication: Special projects for investment by overseas Pakistanis will be prepared to help,

					preference Will give to the Pakistani investors…
15	12	Implication: A Technology Up-gradation Fund will be created in the public sector to support new investments in priority sectors …	14	22	Implication: Evils like interest, hoardings, profiteering lottery, gambling, bribery, smuggling, and lavish spending will be uprooted …
16	12	Implication: Private and public sector organizations will be brought together to establish an Equity Fund …	15	22	Implication: Interest-free banking system will be encouraged. Madhaarbs and musharaka partnership will be vigorously promoted…
17	12	Implication: Reduce the upfront cost of investment for prioritized sectors…	16	22	Implication: The system of collection of Zakaat and Usher will be reformed, distribution of Zakat on political and regional bases will be discouraged…
18	12	Implication: Industrial parks, both for large and small industries will be developed and expanded…	17	22	Implication: Slum dwellers will be awarded ownership rights…
19	12	Implication: Clusters will be developed for industries such as gems and jewelry, leather….	18	22	Implication: Salaries and pensions will be indexed to inflation. ..
20	12	Implication: An Export-Import bank (EXIM) will be set up to deal exclusively with finances related to the export of capital goods and other manufactured items…	19	22	Implication: social security system will be devised to distribute adequate allowances to children, old people, widows, orphans, unemployed, and disabled_ Special homes will be built for the destitute…
21	12	Implication: Multinational Corporations (MNC's) in Pakistan will be encouraged to expand their production facilities …	20	22	Implication: Soft term interest free loans will be given to low-income sections of the society for education of their children, construction of houses and purchase of transportation…
22	12	Implication: The investment	21	22	Implication: Land grabbing

		strategy will be focused on encouraging buyers- driven FDI…,			will be uprooted and government officials abetting these practices…
23	13	Implication: PML-N's preferred policy will be to develop infrastructure projects s…	22	22	Implication: All revenue will be collected through banks instead of Patwaris…
24	16	Implication: PML-N has the ability and the political to confront the strong and powerful interest groups …			
25	17	Implication: To broad base the tax system through greater use of an IT data base… Implication: Steps will be taken to ensure elimination of money laundering and whitening of black money…			
26	18	Implication: Appoint independent and professional boards who in turn will appoint competent CEOs of state enterprises …			
27	18	Implication: The immediate task of the boards and CEOs will be to manage these corporations effectively and to plug the losses…			
28	19	Implication: Assign quantifiable targets and monitor on regular basis…			
29	19	Implication: Stop every kind of political interference in the affairs of these enterprises…			
30	19	Implication: Undertake deep-seated and urgent reforms in the relevant sub-Sectors…			
31	19	Implication: Identify enterprises which need to be privatized and assign targets to the privatization …			
32	19	Implication: Operational standards will be prescribed and complete autonomy will			

		be given to achieve them…			
33	19	Implication: PIA shall be transformed into a profitable and reputed airline of the Region…			
34	20	Implication: Pakistan Business and Economic Council shall be established, chaired by the Prime Minister …			
		Energy Security : Continuous Availability & Affordability		**Overcoming Energy Crises**	
35	23	Implication: PML-N has a clear energy vision to ensure that gas and electricity can be supplied to all urban and rural consumers …	23	15	Implication: Timely payments to power generation units and to ensure continuous supply to them of gas and petroleum…
36	24	Implication: Creation of a Ministry of Energy and Natural Resources through the merger of Ministries of Water and Power and Petroleum and Natural Resources…	24	15	Implication: Effective control on theft of electricity and line losses. Recoveries from major defaulters...
37	24	Implication: Reforms of National Electric Power Regulatory Authority (NEPRA):	25	15	Implication: An end to corruption and excessive spending within power-supplying companies.
38	24	Implication: Reforms of Distribution Companies (DISCOs): a) Corporatization and privatization of DISCOs.…	26	15	Implication: Conservation of power. Buying electricity and gas from Iran and Central Asia...
39	25	Implication: Reforms of Generating Companies (GENCOs)… Payback period of this investment is about one year…	27	15	Implication: Buying electricity from China. Completion of on-going power-generation projects on war-footing.
40	25	Implication: Permanent elimination of circular debt.…	28	15	Implication: Construction of 5 major dams with national consensus.
41	26	Implication: Rationalization	29	15	Implication: Power

		of energy tariffs in line with international prices across all fuels …			generation by run-of-the-river hydroelectric plants at potential locations on rivers, canals, and hill-torrents.
42	26	Implication: Reforms of Oil and Gas Regulatory Authority (OGRA)…	30	15	Implication: Expediting generation of power through coal with assistance from China.
42	26	Implication: Aggressive wellhead pricing for Oil and Gas exploration companies in order to substantially increase production of oil and gas…	31	15	Implication: Power generation through wind mills in Gharu, Keti-Bunder, and at other feasible locations.
44	26	Implication: High priority to import gas through pipelines…	32	15	Implication: Solar energy projects will also be initiated. Through efficient planning, cost of installing these projects shall be reduced.
45	26	Implication: Expeditious setting up of coal and LNG import terminals, and coal transportation facilities…	33	15	Implication: Nuclear and geo-thermal energy potential of the country will be utilized.
46	26	Implication: Development of Thar coalfields and setting up of at least 5,000 MW of new coal fired power plants …	34	15	Implication: Within the short period of ears, the Jamaat-e-Islami promises provision of 50,000 megawatts of power InshaAllah…
47	26	Implication: Developing consensus among the various stakeholders to facilitate setting up hydropower …			
48	27	Implication: Developing alternative renewable energy sources, such as solar, wind, bagasse, biogas, and biomass projects…			
49	27	Implication: Setting up national energy efficiency standards…			
50	27	Implication: Introducing			

		solar-thermal water heaters for domestic and industrial use…			
51	27	Implication: Decentralizing and creating a wholesale market for electricity…			
	Agriculture and Food Security			**Abolition of Feudal System and Introduction of Agricultural Reforms**	
52	29	Implication: Turn agriculture into a fully-viable economic …	35	13	Implication: The land holdings (jagirs) granted by the British Raj …
53	29	Implication: Focus on small farmers as the real back-bone of the rural economy …	36	13	Implication: Government shall purchase all property .
54	29	Implication: Fisheries and horticulture will be given special incentives…	37	13	Implication: Subsistence units of wastelands will be given to landless cultivators on the s…
55	30	Implication: Revitalize corporate agriculture to overcome the limitation of the small land owners …..by professional managers …	38	13	Implication: Income from agriculture will be taxed. However, the agricultural income tax rates will be such that do not hurt poor farmers and agriculture workers…
56	30	Implication: Reform the agriculture credit system to ensure that at least 50% of the total is provided to small farmers and that land owners …	39	13	Implication: Interest on all outstanding agricultural loans will be waived…
57	30	Implication: Convert Pakistan into a large net exporter of food and high-value crops to regional markets …	40	13	Implication: Interest free loans will be provided to farmers on affordable terms…
58	30	Implication: Build consensus on the basis of the 1991 Water Accord to allow new water projects …	41	13	Implication: Islamic insurance (Takaful) will be setup for protection of farmers' labor and agricultural products…
59	30	Implication: Increase irrigation intensity through fuller utilization of available water resources by	42	13	Implication: Agricultural inputs will be made available to farmers through Zarai Taraqiati

|					
		expanding the on-farm water management program, and generating hydel electricity on a large scale from local water reservoirs and small dams …			Bank which will be payable upon harvest or sale of crops….
60	30	Implication: Launch major program of aquifer recharge in arid and semi-arid areas of Cholistan, Thar and Baluchistan to ensure that water flows from tube wells installed in these areas can be sustained…	43	13	Implication: Solar energy will be introduced among farmers…

Although, in every election PML-N has been a staunch supporter of discovering and utilizing of Pakistani golden reserves such as oil, gas and other minerals yet did not fulfill after elections and leaving the nation in a fool's paradise which is injustice for Pakistani nation. Implication is a persuasive strategy helps the political figures to get the people attached with them. Some of the part of information is always kept implicit to interpret the socially shared knowledge.

In the manifesto another claim is usually made by PML-N that it would give boom in the field of commerce, entrepreneurship and product development in the country but this claim never be accomplished. The next claim made by PML-N is to decrease the budget deficit in the country but this has also proved a mere claim. PML-N promises of lessening the inflation in the country but did complete it. The rise of industrial manufacturing is also a non-accomplished claim by PML-N.

The following graph reproduces the frequency of occurrence of the discursive technique Implication.

Graph 4.2.8: Visual comparison of discursive technique Implication
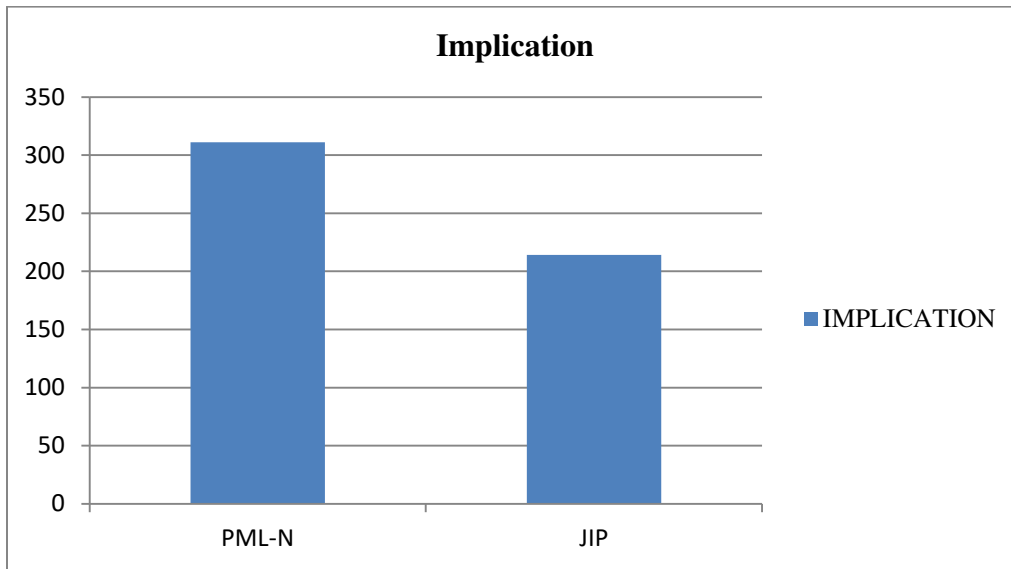
4.2.9 Lexicalization

In discourses certain lexis and words are chosen on purpose in order to convey the desired meanings and ideology. They are deliberately used meanings to attain certain goal or to convey particular point of view to the reader. The following table introduces the frequency of occurrence of the discursive technique Lexicalization.

Table 4.2.9: Discursive Technique *Lexicalization* of PML-N and JIP

Pakistan Muslim League Nawaaz (PML-N)			Jamaat-E-Islami (JIP)		
F.O.C	Page No.	**A Personal Message From President PML-N**	F.O.C	Page No.	**Preface**
1	03	Invincible nuclear power…	1	06	Worst phase, kidnapping , rampant, tailspin …
2	04	Poor governance, deteriorating law, order situation, repeated breaches of sovereignty, widespread corruption, galloping inflation, unprecedented load shedding, massive unemployment, increasing poverty…	2	06	Grueling people, ever-rising inflation, power black outs, rising prices of gasoline, rubbing, bribery, lewdness, immodesty, deprave, societal violence. specter of terrorism , espionage apparatus ,cronies , eroded , bluntly, escape ,
3	04	Socio-economic development, generating opportunities and jobs, based on equity, fairness, justice, foundation of democratic principles, and rule of law…	3	06	Sincere , honest , competent , self-less , ambitious , opportunistic , self seeking , power seekers ,
4	05	Founding father, ethnicity, progressive, prosperous…	4	07	Havoc wrought phony leadership, linguistic parochialism, catchy slogans, ideological party, comprehensive Islamic way, nonchalant behavior, tyranny…
5	05	inter-provincial issues …	5	08	Strength , effectiveness , anomaly , ambit , fallacies , catalyst , Quran and Sunah , Al-Khulafa-Ur-Rashidin , stanch opponents , Knightly , Quagmire

6	05	Revolutionary changes , The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, Galvanize , Talibanization, political servitude, jihadi rhetoric , amend , surveillance ….	6	09	Helm , public welfare network , answerable to Allah , quagmire , self sufficient
	Economic Revival			**Economic Policy**	
7	08	Enormous economic challenges , incompetence poor governance , high inflation , revival of the economy , supremacy of constitution , wasteful expenditures ,	7	23	External debt , interest , profiteering lottery , gambling , bribery , smuggling , lavish spending , madhaarba , masharaka , zakat and usher , slum dwellers , orphans , unemployed , destitute , land grabbing , patwaries ,
8	09	Reinforcing engines, age of globalization , Pakistani diaspora , mineral exploration and abstraction , vibrant domestic commerce ,			
9	10	Budget deficit , revamping ,			
10	11	Conducive borrowing, industrial hubs,			
11	12	Technology up gradation fund , equity fund , industrial parks , export-import bank , multinational corporations ,			
12	13	SAARC & ECO , WTO , trade not aid , crippling economy ,			
13	14	National trade corridor, mass transit facilities , provincial highways , irrigation system, power generation system , Pakistan poverty elevation fund ,			
14	15	Public sector enterprises , quasi-fiscal activity,			
15	16	Circular debt , elimination of VIP culture , NFC ,			
16	17	Taxation environment , IT database , tax payer compliances ,			
17	18	Self assessment, audit compliances , sacred trust , fiscal targets ,			
18	19	Privatization commission ,			

		stifled growth , crumbling manufacturing sector , rising un employment ,			
19	20	Promotion of IT , tourism, global financial crises , Pakistan business and economic council ,			
	Energy Security: Continuous Availability & Affordability			**Overcoming energy crises**	
20	22	Worrisome , curse of load Shedding , dictatorial regimes , coal reserves , N.G resources ,	8	15	Fast tracks strategy , timely payments , effective control , major defaulters ,
21	23	Rental power projects, expensive electricity, menace of gas load shedding,	9	15	conservation of power , buying electricity and gas , completion of projects , construction of dams ,
22	24	Small hydel and biomass projects,	10	15	Wind mills , solar energy projects
23	25	Corporatization and privatization, Retrofitting, furnace oil boiler, coal fired boiler, circular debt,	11	15	Nuclear and geo thermal energy
24	26	Rationalization,			
25	27	Renewable energy resources, solar-thermal water heater, lingering energy crisis,			
	Agriculture and food security			**Abolition of Feudal System and Introduction of Agricultural Reforms :**	
26	29	National GDP, Largest sector of economy, employment, irrigation, livestock, fisheries, horticulture, forestry,	12	13	Vestiges of feudal system , feudalistic policies , land holdings , confiscated , council of Islamic ideology ,
27	30	Water reservoir, small dams,	13	13	tenants landless farmers ,
28	31	Global warming, cancer of water- logging and salinity, natural disaster, model villages,	14	13	irrigation facilities , interest free loans , Islamic insurance , social energy tube wells ,
29	32	Pro-poor growth strategies,	15	13	electricity and diesel ,
30	33	Dynamic mechanism, target subsidies, orphans, widows, disabled person, insurgencies,	16	13	computerized pass book
	A new framework for social change			**Education**	
31	35	Social justice, Harness, speedy justices, empowerment of youth and women, key driver, equalizer, universal education, mass poverty,	17	19	Islamic education system , uniform education system, ear marked, technical and vocational education , professional education,

					students' unions ,
32	36	Demographic dividend, demographic challenges, huge reservoir, dynamism, national education emergency, eradicate illiteracy, national literacy movements,			
33	37	National curriculum council, fiscal incentives,			
34	38	Science competition, digital revolution, students career counseling, Danish school, education endowment fund,			
35	39	Madrassas, autonomous monitoring and evaluation authorities, Reading culture,			
36	40	Entrepreneurship, innovation, preventive health strategies, vulnerable poorest segments,			
37	41	Mobile health units, critical care units,			
38	42	Diabetes, hepatitis, HIV, cardiac disorder, Effective hospital hygiene,			
39	43	Improve legislation, violence against women, child abuse, female literacy,	18	21	Maternity homes, emergency facilities, cardiac renal , liver failures, cancer, aids, T.B , drug abuse, homeopathy, Tib-e-Unani,
40	44	Fiscal incentives, depoliticize,	19	20	National asset, self employment schemes,
41	45	Freedom of worshipping, Hindu marriage bill,	20	22	great honor , shriah , dowry , marriage with Quran , Wanni , Karo Kati , honor killing , triple talaq , maternity leave , cottage industry,
	Democratic Governance			**Islamic state at Madina an Ideal to Strive for**	
42	47	Charter of democracy, effective parliament, vigilant media, ethics committee,	21	10	Our pride , welfare system , teachings of Quran and Sunah , flow of wealth ,
43	48	Transparency and accountability, Military dictator,	22	10	Zakat and alms giving , caliphs , amaals , ameers , business , trade,
44	49	Optimum devolution, fight corruption,	23	10	Industry , agriculture , un rest , violence , pillage , charity ,

| 45	50	Result based management, foster information, computerization system,			
46	51	Police force depoliticized, Thana Culture,			
47	52	Information and communication Technology, reduction of File Culture,			
48	53	ICT and Automation, prevention of Cyber crime, e-Libraries, e-Commerce, IT Labs			
49	54	Soft ware industry, IT Parks,			
50	55	Technology dissemination, social media ,			

Lexicalization is a discursive technique which is employed to provide a certain cognitive effect of the reader or hearer in which words play the role of carrier. These carriers have a special impact on special events and facts. Certain lexis plays a significant role in distortion and in formulation of ideology towards a set aim by the author and speaker. PML-N has used influential lexicalization in 81 pages of its manifesto. On the other hand the JIP has used lexicalization in 37 pages. In the preface of PML-N, it is demonstrated that country is standing on the verge of chaos and the state of the nation is pathetic. So, here in Pakistan, there is one political party that posses the vim and vigor to bring the country out of such chaos by the nuclear power. Whereas, JIP harps on the string that there is worst phase kidnapping, inflation, and power black outs that is leading the country toward and uncertain condition that lead to destruction. Moreover, PML-N yells at power governance law and order, corruption, wide spread of unemployment that is prevailing in the country. Contrary to that JIP hollers at rising prices of gasoline, bribery, lewdness, terrorism and opportunistic power seekers. In both the cases, PML-N and JIP are in conflict with each other and have their own axis to grind. The words that have been propounded above are the clear indication that the parties are just playing with words to propagate their political agendas to masses. Language is always loaded with multiple meanings, embellished and adorned to attract the public toward their own objectives. In the century of democratization, it is not easy to push the people by the

coercive use of power, so persuasion is the best and effective tool to urge masses for desired consent.

"Be brief, for no discourse can please when too long" Cervantes (1600) states about discourse. As he clearly narrated that language remains more effective and potent when it is, brief and feasible to comprehend because the brief words remain too long in the memory and play a pivotal role on the personality and about the personality of the person and the leader respectively. So for as, the manifestos are concerned, these must be short for the subjects to go through them and must have an influential stance on the readers.

PML-N opines that democracy has vital importance and pivotal role in the uplift and development of the country. Moreover, the party insists that an effective and strong parliament is required to work independently and properly to run the country. Not only this but also the media whether print media or electronic media, must play its role enthusiastically in moral, political and social norms of the country. It should also pave the way to provide proper outlet for pent up feelings of the masses so that their emotions may be drained out. PML-N is of the view that there is corruption in the state affairs.

Graph 4.2.9: Visual comparison of discursive technique Lexicalization
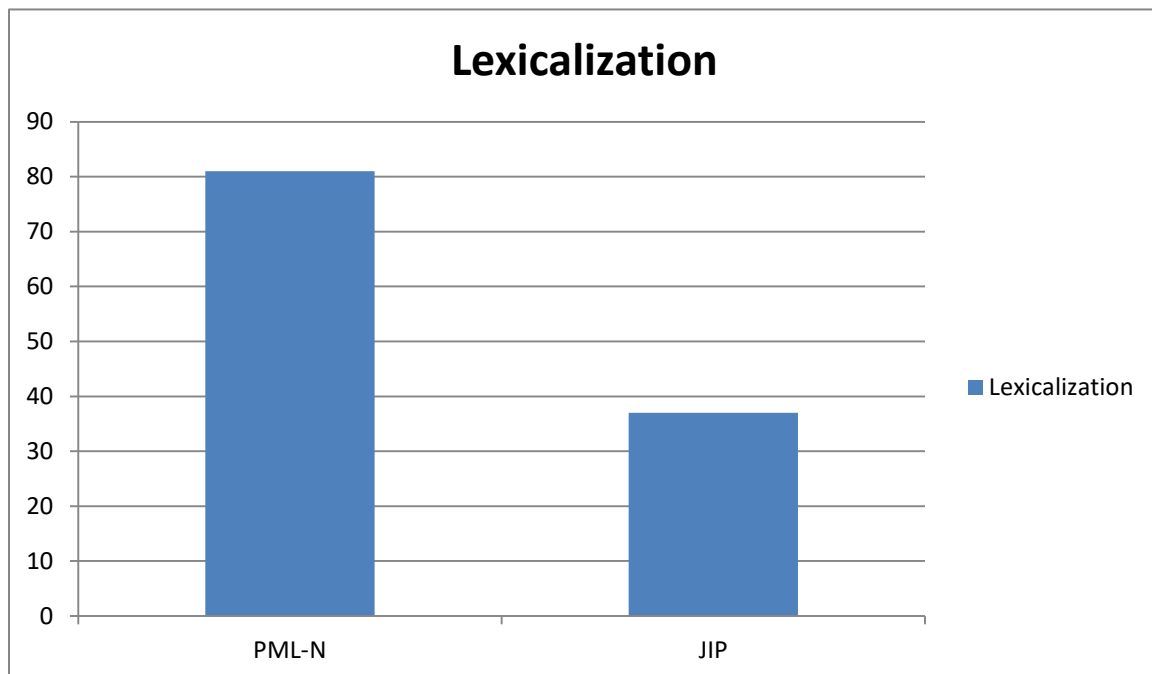
4.2.10 Metaphor

Metaphors are the persuasive semantic-rhetoric figures which are used to make the complex and unfamiliar meanings more concrete and recognizable. The following table introduces the examples of frequency of occurrence of the discursive technique Metaphor.

Table 4.2.10: Discursive Technique *Metaphor* of PML-N and JIP

Pakistan Muslim League Nawaaz (PML-N)			Jamaat-E-Islami (JIP)		
F.O.C	Page No.	**A Personal Message From President PML-N**	F.O.C	Page No.	**Preface**
1	04	edge of abyss …	1	18	Whistle blowers will be rewarded handsomely and guaranteed full protection…
2	04	Pakistan's founding father…			
		Democratic Governance			
3	47	the democrat par excellence Father of the Nation …			
4	51	Thana culture…			
		A Charter for Inter-Provincial Harmony			
5	68	Founding father…			

Metaphors are highly symbolic words those have various connotations. PML-N has more tendencies in using metaphorical language for rhetorical effect as compared to JIP. So for as pragmatic of Pakistan politics is concerned, masses know the background of both the parties, PMLN is purely a political and liberal party whereas JIP is basically a religious party that came in politics due to some accidental reasons. So the long political career of PMLN gives it an advantage as monger of political twister. JIP has never relished the taste of power in centre. So they have less experience of governance and manipulation of discursive political power through language. Language is not ideologically free. It always has social meanings and these meanings are pragmatically

understood. The following graph introduces the frequency of occurrence of the discursive technique Hyperbole.

Graph 4.2.10: visual comparison of discursive technique Metaphor
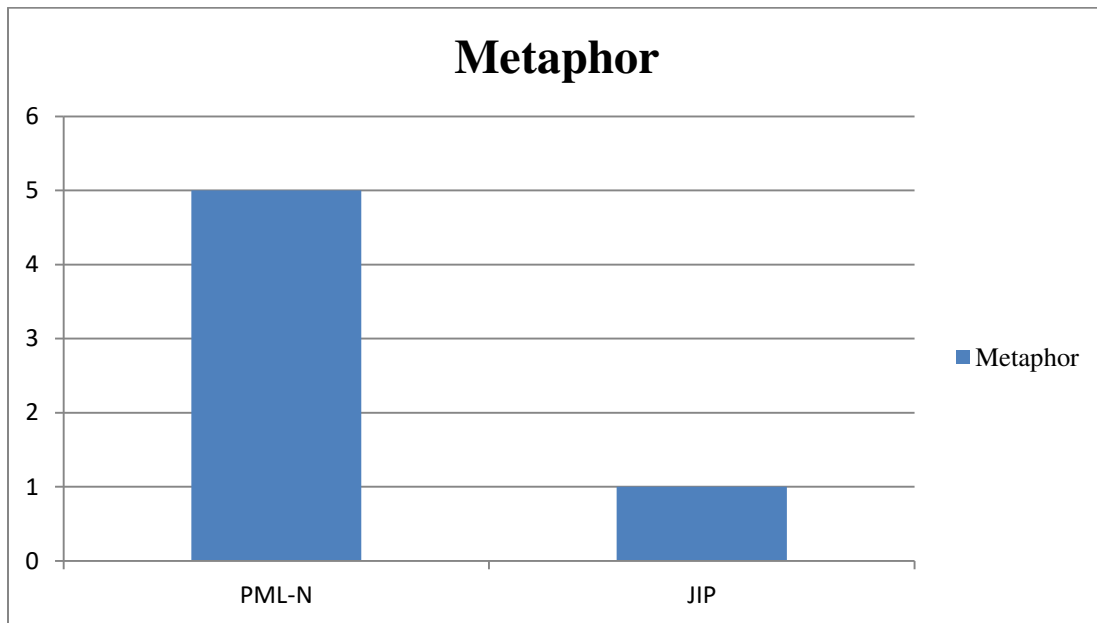
4.2.11 Number Game

Statistics and numbers are often used in discourse to add objectivity and more validity. Number Game depicts facts against mere point of views and perspectives. The following table introduces the frequency of occurrence of the discursive technique number game.

Table 4.2.11: Discursive Technique *Number Game* of PML-N and JIP

Pakistan Muslim League Nawaaz (PML-N)			Jamaat-E-Islami (JIP)		
F.O.C	**Page No.**	**A Personal Message From President PML-N**	**F.O.C**	**Page No.**	**Preface**
	Economic Revival			**Economic Policy**	
1	08	Number Game: Pakistan with a dismal annual average growth of 2.9%.....	1	23	Number Game: Non-development expenditure will be reduced by at least 30% …
2	08	Number Game: GDP growth rate from less than 3% in the past five years to over 6% during the next five years ….			
3	09	Number Game: GDP ratio from 12% at present to at least 20% in the next 5 years…			
4	09	Number Game: Converting at least 50% of the remittances by Overseas Pakistanis into investments…			
5	09	Number Game: These remittances currently stand at US$ 13 billion a year …			
6	10	Number Game: Budget Deficit will be brought down to 4%...			
7	10	Number Game: Tax to GDP ratio to increase			

		from 9% at present to 15% by the end of 2018…			
8	10	Number Game: Losses from State Enterprises amounting to approx. Rs. 400 billion …			
9	10	Number Game: Inflation will be brought down to single digit in the range of 7 or 8% by…			
10	10	Number Game: Industrial manufacturing will be taken up to 7 or 8%...			
11	10	Number Game: Investment GDP ratio will raise to 20%...			
12	11	Number Game: Manufacturing 18% of GDP and 13% of total employment…			
13	11	Number Game: which has declined from an average of 7% to less than 3% in the past 5 years must be restored…			
14	15	Number Game: At least 1,000 clusters of 500 houses each for lower income families will be developed…			
15	15	Number Game: In 2011-12, only about 14% of total credit was provided to the private sector…			
16	15	Number Game: the annual debt servicing has crossed Rs. 1,000 billion …			
17	15	Number Game: Pakistan's total public debt which was less than Rs. 3,000 billion on 30th June 1999 has increased to over Rs. 13,500 billion by the end of 2012…			
18	16	Number Game: In October 1999, tax to GDP			

		ratio was a respectable 13.8 %, which has since declined and is presently around 9%...			
19	17	Number Game: We will target to improve the tax to GDP ratio to 15% by 2018…			
20	18	Number Game: These loss-making entities are presently bleeding to the tune of Rs. 400 billion per annum …			

Statistics has a great importance in media discourse. In the world of objectivity, people believe in facts and figures that are presented to them because they do not have any access to the related departments to know the exact position of what is going to happen. So they are bound to believe in that they are being shown in the form of number game. Number game has great importance in economic policies particularly. The statistics does show the economic growth of the country through the numbers which highlights its statistical significance. PML-N due to its long voyage in political scenario has a tremendous advantage over JIP therefore, the former party has utilized the number game probably 85 times in its manifesto and JIP has probably used it 28 times. This shows that JIP is still wet behind the ears and polls apart in comparing with PML-N. PML-N in its manifesto talks about increasing GDP, decreasing the dismal situation of economy; giving privilege to overseas Pakistanis in doing investment in the country as well inviting the foreign investors to the country on the other hand, JIP does not provide such evidences in its manifesto. It just converses about providing jobs to unemployed population increasing to provide these facilities the masses.

Graph 4.2.11: Visual comparison of discursive technique Number Game
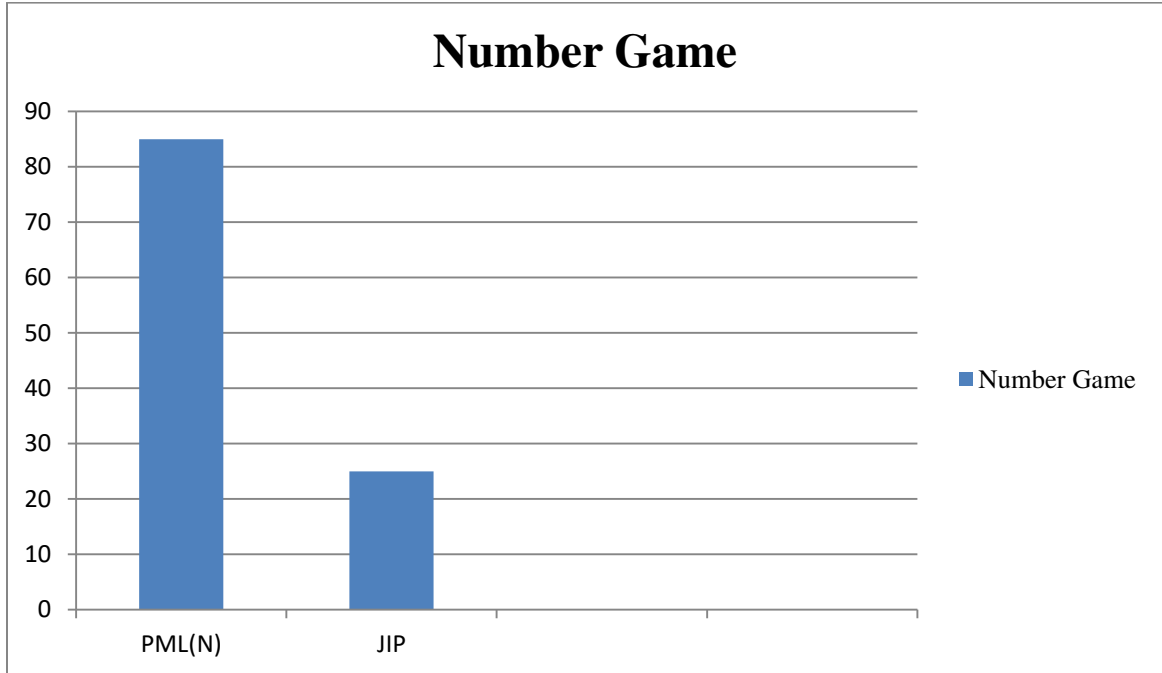
4.2.12 Polarization

Polarization creates a dichotomy between in-groups and out-groups and shows two groups or in-groups and out-groups as two distinct poles. The following table introduces the examples of frequency of occurrence of the discursive technique Polarization.

Table 4.2.12: Discursive Technique *Polarization* of PML-N and JIP

Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N)			Jamaat-E-Islami (JIP)		
F.O.C	Page No.	**A Personal Message From President PML-N**	F.O.C	Page No.	**Preface**
1	03	Polarization: We understand the enormity of the multiple challenges confronting the nation…	1	07	Polarization: They have catchy slogans and make tall claims…
2	04	Polarization: We are all aware of the enormous damage done to the country…	2	09	Polarization: Its leadership and its workers have relentlessly been serving its people…
3	04	Polarization: The challenge ahead of us is not only to re-establish the supremacy of law…	3	12	Polarization: We condemn all types of terrorism, be it by the state or by non-state actors…
4	04	Polarization: My party's manifesto…	4	12	Polarization: We will rid Pakistan of present state of chaos created by the terrorism thrust upon it by external forces…
5	04	Polarization: Our's is not an agenda only meant to merely overcome the current crises…	5	19	Polarization: We will introduce an Islamic educational system …
6	04	Polarization: We are here to revive the confidence of people by instilling hope and restoring national dignity …	6	20	Polarization: Our greatest national asset is our youth…
7	04	Polarization: Pakistan Muslim League (N) is the only political party which has the vision…	7	20	Polarization: We can neither achieve peace nor progress without addressing the issues of the youth. We will give

					priority to solving the problems of youth…
8	04	Polarization: We will do this by building consensus on major national issues ….			
9	04	Polarization: We are also committed…			

Polarization is a discursive technique used for self glorification and positive self-representation and negative other-representation. It is used in political discourse to highlight the positive traits of self and negative characteristics of others. This technique is particularly used in political speeches, dialogues and political manifestos. It is a rhetorical device that convinces people in accord with desired consent to inculcate to the devotees, volunteers and followers of the political parties to make them believe whatever their favorite political parties is doing, is absolutely correct. And that the party government is on the way to development and progress. In this way, the volunteers put their body and soul together and they leave no stone unturned in the discussion in favor of their political party. PML-N has used polarization 43 times and in contrast JIP has used 27 times.

In polarization, personal pronouns are very significant i.e. WE/US/OUR and are commonly used to express authority and self importance. For instance, PML-N in its manifesto, states at another place in the same manifesto giving importance to the party. The political leader of the party opines that these two instances are sufficient enough to draw the conclusion that the party leader is highlighting the positive aspects of its party and does not give minute importance to the other party though how much might and lofty agenda the other party posses. In this way, PMLN tries to prove its superiority and supremacy to the rest of the political parties.

The following graph represents the frequency of occurrence of the discursive technique Polarization.

Graph 4.2.12: Visual comparison of discursive technique Polarization
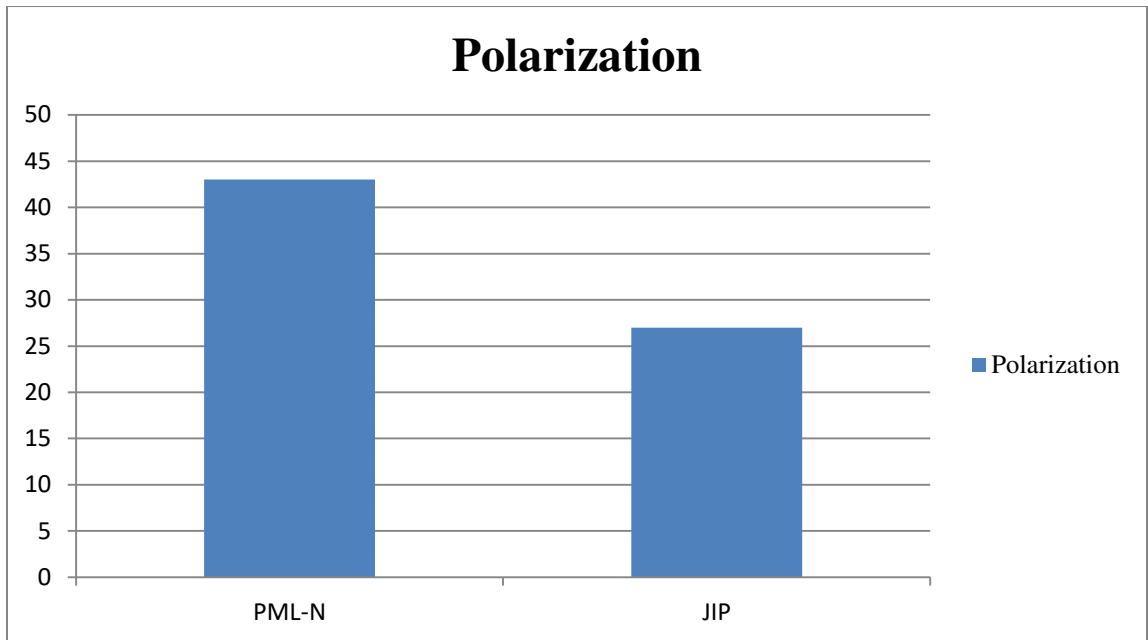
Table 4.3: Comparative representation of discursive techniques used in the Manifestos of both Political parties

Discursive techniques	Jamaat-e- Islami	Pakistan Muslim League(N)
Actor Description	31	69
Allusion	05	05
Authority	13	14
Distancing	12	35
Dramatization	0	37
History as lesson	01	28
Hyperbole	7	14
Implication	214	310
Lexicalization	37	81
Metaphor	1	05
Number Game	25	85
Polarization	27	43

CHAPTER 5

FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

5.1 Summary and Discussion

The present study aimed at to explore the discursive strategies present in the manifestos of Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz and Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan through critical discourse analysis. The research aimed to reveal the ways of disseminating desired agenda among masses by the political parties in their election manifestos. Before concluding the study, it would be beneficial to have a bird's eye view of the chapters.

The present research consists of five chapters. The very first chapter introduces the introductory details of the study. It gives important concepts and ideas and highlights the significance of politicized language. It also introduces aims of the study, research queries, importance of the research, statement of the problem, and methodology employed by the researcher and the objects of the study have also been enlisted in the same chapter. Chapter 2 deals with literature review, works already done in the area of political discourse then it moves towards the operational definitions of major concepts and key teams of the present research. The framework employed in the study and operational definitions of key terms have also been discussed in this chapter. Third chapter, the research methodology section introduces the methodology employed in the present research. The researcher elaborated CDA frameworks; Wodak (2009) and Dijk (2004). By using these two models researcher has devised his own amended model. The chapter four, the content analysis section presents critical discourse analysis and the quantification of the data. It covers the details of frequently used discursive strategies and their frequency of occurrence. The fifth chapter consists of findings of the thesis, discussions and suggestions.

5.2 Findings of the Present Research

The present study explores discursive strategies of political parties. It investigates how various discursive strategies are employed by the political parties to propagate their desired agenda. The research has been conducted through Dijk, (2004) and Wodak (2009) with mentioned discursive strategies. The findings of the research show that how various ideologies are represented in the political discourses through discursive strategies. It indicates the present political trends related to manifestation of politicization of language. The findings of the research explain that PML (N) has utilized a variety of discursive strategies to disseminate its ideology and desired agenda. The major arguments of PML-N are on economic revival, social change, militancy and terrorism, energy supply, production and accountability. PML-N supported its agenda by using dominant features of these discursive strategies, in result PML-N gained maximum number game in the seats of National Assembly in July, 2013 general election. Whereas, JIP could not possible meet the standard adopted by PML-N. JIP has used less number of discursive strategies as compared to PML-N.

In the present research, it is mentioned that each political party has tried to represent itself positively and other negatively. This has been done through the highly politicized use of language. Such language has been used deliberately which promotes certain ideologies that provide political affiliations with the political parties. Both the parties have used such diction which indicates their modern, moderate and peacekeeping face on lexical level. Somehow the findings describe more or less both the parties have used discursive strategies as a source of driving certain ideologies in the minds of masses.

The emerging major themes from the data help to describe the impression building of the political parties over the masses. The prevalent ideologies divulge that they are the only ones who can bring reformation in Pakistan. PMLN particularly wants to get rid of nexus of orthodox notions. This indicates their liberal approach to politics while on the other hand JIP is still revolving around the conservative notions and narrow mindedness. They strongly believe that our problems have a dire need of strong faith in religion and on its teachings. JIP has consistently portrayed other political parties as ant-Islam and anti-ideology of Pakistan. The comparison of the manifestoes of both political

parties shows their position for others as others. JIP represented the green picture of Pakistan which propagates the message; state needs extremely such measures that can resolve persecution issues and terrorism. Both the parties have articulated about all major and minor issues of Pakistan but their stances are different. Every party seeks sanctuary through the use of artistic language just to consolidate its agenda.

PML-N has used actor description 69 times on the other hand JIP used it 31 times. Discursive technique Allusion was used 5 times by the both parties. Same as PML-N used Authority 14 times where as JIP used it 13 times. PML-N has much discrimination over JIP in the use of Disclaimer. PML-N used it 35 times while JIP just 6 times. JIP could not have the quality of being dramatized to itself, hence it did not use dramatization in his manifesto in contrary to JIP, PML-N used dramatization 37 times nearly. History as lesson has been represented 28 times by PML-N but JIP did just once. Hence, the researcher explored the mostly asserted discursive technique implication. It has used 310 times by PML-N and JIP 214 times. Thereafter, PML-N has supremacy in the use of lexicalization over JIP. PML-N used it 81 times whereas JIP used 37 times. Similarly, the researcher has explored after the analysis that PML-N is a strong party in the use of rhetoric in its manifesto.

In the present research, the data has also been quantitatively analyzed. Quantitative analysis shows that PML-N surpasses JIP in using politically loaded language and discursive strategies in its manifesto. The present research has explained all the possible discursive strategies presented in both manifestos and portrayed them graphically as well. Graphs indicate the quantitative differences of discursive strategies of both the manifestos of the political parties.

5.3 Suggestions

The present research has critically analyzed the use of discursive technique employed by the political parties in their manifestos. It falls in the domain of political discourse. It has been a comparative analysis of two political parties i.e. Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz) and Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan. There are more than six hundred major and minor political parties in Pakistan registered in Election Commission of Pakistan.

The researchers can analyze the manifestos of other political parties and canvass can be more broadened by including the manifestos of other religious and political parties. Additionally, the manifestos of the political parties during previous two or three elections can be analyzed.

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