

# A Critical Discourse Analysis of Election Manifestos of Pakistani Political Parties

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## Abstract

Present research aims at conducting Critical Discourse Analysis of election manifestoes of the major political parties of Pakistan by using corpus-driven methodology. Corpora have been compiled from the manifestos of three major political parties: PPP, PTI and PML-N from elections 2008 and 2013. The major purpose of the study is to explore the agendas of political parties hidden in the manifestos through grammatical and lexical features. Lexical fields, passive voice, nouns, verbs, pronouns have been studied in detail in order to generate multiple meanings. Comparative study of manifestos reflects that political parties have dual contexts behind simple statements. The research is expected to be significant in the sense that it may provide the covert information to laymen and might make them more aware of the alternative choice available to them in the form of the political parties.

**Keywords:** CDA, Corpus-driven, Manifestos, Political discourse, POS.

## 1. Introduction

discourse analysis. CDA is a development of awareness against the manipulation and inequality. Vandijk(2006)Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is an approach to discourse analysis that is concerned with highlighting social issues through discourse analysis and exposes the non-transparent relations that are related to discursive practices. It unveils 'the underlying prejudices and exercise of power in the text' (Widdoson, 2000, p.157). Discourse analysis is the point where language meets ideology. CDA analyzes this ideological dimension of political discourse. It points out the job of discourse structures in constituting inequality. It has a lot to do with political discourse. Politicians use planned language in order to persuade and influence the people. They have the ability to sustain and prolong their power and to appeal the harmony of the voters through language that supports their own benefits. CDA analyzes such discourse patterns and exposes the purposes behind political statements. Manipulation is one of the vital concepts in critical discusses manipulation as an important notion of discourse analysis and offers triangulated approach to manipulation. He considers three forms of manipulation that are social power abuse, cognitive mind control and discursive interaction. Manipulation has always a relationship with cognition as it involves the process of understanding. It has positive connotation as well that can be called as persuasion. In the present study CDA evaluates the positive manipulation in which the interlocutors are active listeners and use their mind. CDA focuses on the wider socio-cultural context supporting the hidden connections and investigates how these transparent relations earn power and leadership. It analyses the language by keeping this view in mind that whatever we speak is purposeful. Language users, through their manipulative and ideological intentions strive to maintain their status naming them as reality. This is where their hegemonic control over people lies.

Manifestos are considered very important for masses of the country because they present an outlook and view of the politicians. Present study unfolds the hidden aspects of election manifestos through corpus-driven methodology and generates new insight in order to facilitate the electors. It is mainly concerned with the analysis of persuasive strategies and its ideological components. It is exploratory in nature and determines to find out the similarities and differences between the manifestos of parties. The study investigates the manifestos of three major political parties of Pakistan namely PPP, PML and PTI from year 2008 and 2013. The research studies both lexical and grammatical features e.g. verbs, nouns, pronoun, and passive vice in order to accomplish the thought representation of the political artists. Frequencies of linguistic features gathered from ANTCONC 3.2.1 have been estimated through quantitative analysis. It brings into light the common people how the political parties accomplish their agendas behind the scene by manipulating the opinion of the people.

## 2. Literature Review

"Discourse is the study of any aspect of language use" (Fasold, 1990, p.65). The purpose of discourse is to find out how speech patterns work in specific structure and how they are utilized and exploited in society. It designates the particular ways that represent the particular aspects of social life. Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is an approach to discourse analysis which is distinguished from the other forms of discourse analysis because of its characteristic of 'critical'. Fairclough (1993) opines, "Critical implies showing connections and causes that are hidden: it also implies intervention, for example providing resources for those who may be disadvantaged through change" (p.9). It was developed beyond critical linguistics and broadened the scope of

analysis. It analyzes the linguistic and semiotic aspects of the text in the light of social and political context. CDA is an interdisciplinary approach that studies the textual structures in relation to society and observes the relation of the text with other texts. Vandijk (1998) states about CDA, “Most kinds of CDA will ask questions about the way specific discourse structures are deployed in the reproduction of social dominance, whether they are part of a conversation or a news report or other genres and contexts” (p.131).

CDA approaches the political discourse in which social structures determine the discursive practices. These discursive practices refer to the rules of socially acceptable behaviors in a particular character that help to produce and interpret a message specific message. CDA is linked with these practices in this way that it tries to create a link between these practices, actual text and larger social context. Van Dijk (1995) states that discourse analysis is actually ideology analysis. According to him, “ideologies are typically, though not exclusively, expressed and reproduced in discourse and communication, including non-verbal semiotic messages, such as pictures, photographs, movies” (p.17). Mind control and manipulation are two important concepts in CDA that are achieved through political discourse. Controlling the minds of the audience is a major trick by politicians to reproduce hegemony. Manipulation and mind control have their relation with cognition. The word exploitation can be replaced by the words ‘hidden meaning’ in CDA. Meanings of the words transform according to the speaker.

There lies a relationship between linguistics and CDA. The form and structure of the text consist of the hidden information that exists in the text and reflect the attitude of the dominant group. Wodak (2001) asserts that CDA’s interest resides in identifying how the linguistic forms are used in manipulation and exploitation. Similarly, Schaffner (1996) adds to the importance of language in analyzing the political discourse that in political discourse linguistics has a concern with linguistic structures in order to get relevant messages across the address in order to fulfil a specific function. Another thing that can be related to CDA is cognitive linguistics. Cognitive linguistics consists of a number of theories which are concerned with different aspects of linguistic structures/ conceptual structures like conceptual metaphor theory, mental space theory, frame semantics and cognitive grammar. So, cognitive linguistics is an apparent and obvious option for CDA. Its involvement to linguistic structures is confined to sentence only.

The present study reflects clear connection between language and power and shows how the power is secured through artistic use of language in political discourse. The research exposes how human beings are manipulated by politicians and it is the manipulation of their minds through construction of mental models. Bourdieu (1991) states about political discourse:

Political discourse is often important because the result of that discourse, and this in turn is why CDA is, in my opinion, an interesting approach. In other words, it is not the language itself which has wider ramifications which make it a worthy field of study but rather consequence of powerful person using that language to achieve some goal (p.188).

Manifestos are the representatives of genre of writing that is political discourse. MacDonald (2001) states in this regard that Parties usually issue a manifesto in which they outline the policies they advocate. Elections manifestos formulate ideological goals and aims (cf.ex.1). An elector can have an estimate on party’s position on ethnic and cultural and racial grounds. Manifestos facilitate the voter to base her/his decision on the basis of party’s position on issues and vision that party hold. Manifesto text can be regarded as persuasive text.

What actually CDA locates in political discourse of manifestos is very important thing because words represent the personalities. The words *right* and *almost right* convey two different meanings in political discourse. CDA lets slip the reality though linguistic analysis of the political text. One of the aims of CDA is to “demystify” discourses by deciphering ideologies” (Wodak 2002, p.6). Ideological components can be analyzed through linguistic analysis based on critical discourse analysis because linguistic behavior owns a relationship with political behavior and it constitutes a context. Political parties create a specific image through language in front of the voters. Savola (2008) has analyzed the language through linguistic features utilizing the approach of Critical Discourse Analysis. She uses lexical, grammatical and rhetorical features. She has focused on the verbs that depict their value and policies for example, *encourage, introduce and establish*. She focuses on the tense used by the political party. Similarly, Dobson (2007) also conducts an analysis by applying seven dimensions of intertextuality like discourse representation, negation, presupposition, metadiscourse, irony, coherence and subject in order to reveal the secret intentions of the politicians that reflect from their language. One central thing about CDA is that it explores a link between the textual structures and their functions in interaction to society.

CDA may be regarded as ‘identifier of expressions’ in analyzing the manifesto language. It identifies the particular and meaningful units in manifestos and other genre text. Soule (2006) monitors the construction and negotiation of meaning in Scottish political discourse. She takes a special interest in describing the rhetorical strategies used by politicians to develop an image of their identity and individuality. Our words are never disinterested (Fiske, 1994). In political discourse words and context are not indifferent to each other. Manifesto language meets two purposes. It can be used for influencing as well as persuading the electors by tracing the discursive construction key issues. CDA is the tool that exposes the facts and realities behind the words through

linguistic features. Assessment or comparison between election manifestos contains a meaningful purpose that exposes the reality in front of the voters. Sometimes, political parties are bound to keep divergence and convergence of views on similar problems. Khan (2003) conducts a comparative study on manifestos of major political parties in election 2002 in order to make the emerging trends and the focus of political forces on national issues vivid in front of the voter.

CDA includes corpus methodology in research as well. Corpus studies have two approaches that are corpus driven and corpus based approach. Concordance line in corpus methodology opens new directions of analysis in political discourse of manifestos. It shows the words in the context in which they are used. Computational tool in discourse analysis really help the researcher because it combines the qualitative and quantitative approach. Computer generated concordance helps a lot in CDA. It allows the researcher to describe the semantic and syntactic properties of the lexical items exhaustively. Exact number of occurrence is always better than generalization. Mautner (1995) details the concordance as given below:

This is the most ‘mechanical’, but none the less important, application—the concordance is the most useful research tool, allowing the analyst to retain a much firmer grip on the corpus than would otherwise be possible. This is likely to pay off handsomely both in the research as well as in the writing up-stage (p.24).

Hote and Lemmens (2009) have carried out a corpus based study of labour election manifestos (1997, 2001, and 2005). It is an analysis of change and improvement in the discourse of new labour. The study proves that new labour has proved herself as the representative of new and positive change. This success is achieved by careful use of language. They have used metaphors of change. WMatrix software has been used for corpus analysis and corpus comparison. A mix method approach has been used for the validity of results. They have collected the data on the basis of frequency from keywords. A concept of newness has been presented that invites a positive interpretation.

CDA is one of the clear options for corpus based studies. Computational analysis helps in CDA by unraveling those discourses which construct the reality, identities and social relations. There lies difference in corpus linguistics and CDA.

Many researchers have conducted the study by combining CDA and corpus methodology. Jaffries and Evans (2013) have conducted a corpus based study of British manifestos (1900-2010). This study investigates the use of term ‘Choice’ that comes across different changes with the passage of time. They used corpora in order to discover the timings and speed of the rise of this politically significant word choice. Concordance lines revealed that certain structures containing the word choice were repeated by the political parties. Each file was loaded to the computer corpora programme WMatrix (2009). Researchers in CDA contend that the meanings of the words like choice, freedom and democracy change with time in order to become good and more effective over time.

This study, in contrast to other researches, is comparative and exploratory in nature. It uses corpus driven methodology and finds out the use of nouns, verbs, pronouns, adjectives, and passive voice in manifestos.

### 3. Methodology

The study uses corpus driven methodology for critical discourse analysis of election manifestos. Eight manifestos have been chosen from year 2008 and 2013 and combined into complete text file. The corpora have been tagged by using CLAWS c7 Tagset and Multi Dimensional Analysis Tagger (MAT). Concordance lines have studied in order to extract the parts of speech (nouns, verbs, pronouns) and passive voice and to calculate the frequencies through ANTCOnc 3.2.1. Word Smith 4 has been used to calculate the keywords. The data has been collected from the instances occurring in manifestos through keyword list and frequency. Data has been interpreted on the basis of usage of linguistic features in manifestos.

### 4. Data Analysis and Discussion.

The following discussion focuses upon lexical and grammatical features (passive voice, singular and plural nouns, verb/present form/past form/ modal auxiliaries) of the study.

#### 4.1 Passive voice

Passive voice plays most significant role in producing the context that is not apparent. The frequency of agentless passives in PPP is 504. The occurrence of passive voice in PML is 632 and it has 263 occurrences in PTI manifestos.

Table 4.1 Frequency of passive voice in manifestos

	PPP 2008	PPP 2013	PML 2008	PML 2013	PTI 2008	PTI 2013
Passive voice	153	351	179	453	95	168

In passive construction though the agent is unknown, yet it is known and can be identified by the reader easily.

CDA discovers that different parties use passive voice for the same purpose. The major difference lies in frequency. Passive voice is a clear option for all the parties. PML-N uses the passive construction recurrently as compared to all other parties. CDA investigates that the agent is anonymous but still it can be recognized that they are talking about their own achievements during their time. Passive voice is used by all the parties for objectivity and to quit responsibility because if the agent is unknown, the expression is softened. It happens wherever parties talk about the improvement. Passive voice is a trick to achieve the hidden agendas and it helps to make things less decisive that favors the interests of parties.

Merit based job system will be established (PTI).

The first fibre optic infrastructure for telecommunication was also installed during this period (PML).

Gilgit Baltistan was given self rule (PPP).

#### 4.2 Pronouns

Pronominal choice has a direct link with cognitive manipulation. The most important thing is to whom political parties refer when they use specific pronouns. Present study uses personal pronouns (*I, We, They*) and possessive pronouns (*my, our, your and their*).

Table 4.2 Pronouns in manifestos

	PPP 2008	PPP 2013	PML 2008	PML 2013	PTI 2008	PTI 2013
We	50	573	8	34	16	29
Our	29	536	11	46	44	16
Us	03	11	0	5	1	2
They	06	19	9	7	4	3
Their	28	98	15	55	27	27
Them	07	25	9	24	10	7
I	0	2	0	2	0	1
Me	0	0	0	0	0	4
My	0	4	0	1	0	1
You	0	1	0	3	0	2

Personal pronouns have a stronger link with the connection of influence, authority and solidarity. All the personal pronouns are used correctly whether consciously or unconsciously because people are very clearly excluded or included. However, 'we' pronoun and its variants are most important among them as it refers to the thing that is most important for political parties.

All the parties use pronoun 'we' for different purposes like for nation and party. One feature is common in all the parties that they use pronoun 'we' as party frequently. However, PPP makes a clear difference in the frequencies of 'we' as nation and 'we' as country. The frequency of *we* as nation in PPP manifestos is 37 whereas it has 586 occurrences for *we* as party. PML has 25 occurrences for *we* as nation and 17 frequency for *we* as party. Similarly, PTI has 21 frequencies of *we* as nation and 24 occurrences for *we* as party. CDA points out that 'we' and 'us' for party is used by all the parties to highlight the good characteristics of the speaker. It is manipulation of mind. Political parties try to convince the people by telling about their achievements in their era and their future plan whatever they will do for the country and for the pinched masses if they will rule. *We* is used for nation where politicians want to show a kind of unity and they make them ready to face the hardships of circumstances. People are prepared to fulfill their obligations as nation of Pakistan. CDA discovers that *we, our* and *us* are used by the parties when they want to share the responsibility.

*We are here to revive the confidence of the people by instilling hope and restoring national dignity and laying foundation for a sustainable growth and development (PML-N, 2013).*

*However, we as nation over the last 65 years have not recognized that it is the duty of the state to ensure minimum facilities and basic necessities for its total population (PTI, 2013)*

*We will reduce social and economic inequalities between various classes, between provinces, within provinces and genders establishing a just society (PPP, 2008).*

CDA evaluates that *they, their, them* are the pronouns that are used in negative connotation. However, *they* is used in neutral sense most of the times. Politicians try to prove the opponents less as suitable. PPP is the only party that uses '*they*' in negative connotation. The other parties use it in neutral sense where public, servants, workers, military forces are focused. Such kind of discourse invokes the concept of *Us/ Them* and calls upon the positivity for '*Us*' and negativity for '*Them*'. Pronoun *I, me and them* reflect the responsibility of the leader and his involvement and interest in the affairs of country. The occurrence of *I* in PPP manifestos is 2 whereas it is 2 and 1 in PML and PTI respectively. CDA examines that *You* is a most important pronoun. PPP and PML use *you* as specific pronoun with 1 occurrence. *You* in specific sense refers to opposition. It is used in generic sense for nation or whole world. The study has proved that these pronouns help in persuading the

voters. Their own benefits are involved behind all the important pronouns.

### 4.3 Nouns

Nouns are the most important part of any sentence. Present study involves ten singular and ten plural nouns that have been selected on the basis of frequency.

#### 4.3.1 Singular Nouns

Table 4.3 Singular nouns in manifestos

	PPP 2008	PPP 2013	PML 2008	PML 2013	PTI 2008	PTI 2013
Policy	22	97	21	37	31	48
Investment	7	40	5	37	21	12
Growth	27	33	8	33	24	13
Country	16	64	35	29	14	33
Party	51	245	4	8	2	3
Health	23	105	13	32	15	24
Democracy	9	31	12	8	2	0
Youth	7	39	10	25	9	14
Market	8	16	3	12	4	3
System	14	37	18	60	29	26

All these pronouns are interrelated to each other and play a significant role in strengthening the roots of the country. However, each party shows a different frequency for these nouns. Every government introduces some plans and policies that are a source of hope for people. The noun *policy* is frequent in PPP manifestos with 119 frequencies. PML uses it with 58 frequencies and PTI has 79 frequencies of *policy*. CDA discovers that PPP has covered many aspects of *policy like* fair job *policy*, Benazir Bhutto *policy*, reconciliation and trade *policy*, security and education *policy*. However, all the parties are agreed on the importance of the foreign *policy*. Second noun *investment* has a relation with *policy*. Progress of the country depends upon *investment* in schemes and projects in the whole year. Present study finds out what kind of *investment* is given importance by the political parties. CDA discovers that PPP shows a special kind of concern in describing the investment in different programs. It discusses fisheries and livestock investment, investment for shelter, trade and IT based future, whereas PML talks about investment in education and electricity. Though all the parties discuss the investment in a better way, yet PP discusses the things in wider range. PTI and PML discuss the things in objective way. *Growth* ratio is most important factor related to the economy of the country. The economy may collapse with the fall down of *growth*. Usage of *growth* is worth noting. PPP has 60 frequencies of *growth*. Both PTI and PML have 41 occurrences. *Growth* is associated with 'will'. All the parties use it with future reference. 'Will' is used by all the parties as it makes the statements more likeable and engaging to the public. PPP predominantly talk about their future intentions by using 'will' when they refer to *growth*. There are very few sentences about the past in which the situation of crises by other governments is discussed by the party. PML discusses pre-crises situation of their era. However, PTI focuses on suggesting the solution. The use of *will* is not dominant in PTI manifestos. CDA recognizes that the use of *growth* in PPP manifestos is aspiring as it gives a hope.

CDA lays bare the context of the word *country* in manifestos. CDA estimates that politicians use *country* repeatedly in order to show their deep worry and unease for Pakistan. Different political parties show a negative picture of the other parties by mentioning all the calamities and catastrophes and then present a solution. PTI uses only 4 sentences against the previous disasters and focuses upon its own work. However, PPP uses another weapon what they have given to the country in their era. It is tricky thing used by PPP. The next important noun is *party*. When political parties try to prove themselves as different and matchless due to specific characteristics, they use the word *party*. The concept of *us/ them* can be applies here. CDA evaluates the usage of *party* in manifestos and highlights the similarities and differences. Frequency makes it clear which party is supporting its own 'party' instead of the country. The occurrence of *party* in PPP manifestos is 296. It occurs 12 times in PML and 5 times in PTI manifestos. CDA discovers that the other two parties prefer their own country and services for the country. But PPP keeps on introducing itself as *party* and its sacrifices. PPP is the only party that uses 'will' while giving reference to their party. Similarly PPP uses 'our' with *party* in its manifesto 2013. It adds exclusion and indifference to other things. *Health* is interrelated with schemes and plans of the country. The most significant use of *health* is found in PPP manifestos because it gives a detailed description and raises unique points regarding health. The frequency of health in PML is 45 whereas it occurs 39 times in PTI manifestos. Though almost every party gives proper attention to the *health* but PPP raises the point of LHV in villages and mentions cure of all the dangerous diseases in rural areas. Another important noun is *democracy*. It is PPP that uses it 40 times. However, the occurrence of democracy in PTI is 2 whereas it occurs 10 times in

PML manifestos. PML and PTI use *democracy* in a very general way by saying that they are committed to revival of general *democracy* in the country and do not suggest proper plans. CDA discovers that PPP manipulates the audience by claiming their priority for democracy in country. PPP presents the solution but does not mention the steps that may lead to the solution. This study exposes through CDA that what kind of things are considered necessary for the *youth* of the country so they may be able to develop. The centre of attention of all the parties is the employment and education of the *youth*. The occurrence of *youth* in PPP is 46 whereas it is 35 in PML and 23 in PTI manifestos. All the parties share some common features regarding youth empowerment in Pakistan as they are holding the bridle of the country. The difference is frequency. Another noun *market* is concerned with the economy of the country. CDA divulges the uses of *market* in election manifestos of the parties. The occurrence of *market* is 24 in PPP manifestos. PML uses it 15 times whereas it occurs 7 times in PTI manifestos. PTI talks about improvement in capital *market* only. PML discusses stock *market* besides capital *market*. PPP discusses improvement in stock *market*, local *market*, social *market*, job *market* and financial *market*. PPP suggests proper planning for the improvement of market, while the other parties do not recommend plans. They just keep on claiming. It is the only party that discusses the achievements of the past era in order to manipulate the opinions. Similarly, noun *system* is also one of the important nouns. CDA explores that every party tries to elaborate the *system* and recommends improvements. Every party has different preferences regarding *system*. PPP talks about its accomplishments of past in this noun a well.

#### 4.3.2 Plural Noun

This study has 8 most frequent plural nouns that are areas, women, provinces, projects, farmers, rights, measures and efforts.

Table 4.4 Plural Nouns in manifestos

	PPP 2008	PPP 2013	PML 2008	PML 2013	PTI 2008	PTI 2013
Areas	18	51	23	32	17	2
Women	18	87	13	24	14	13
Provinces	8	50	6	33	9	2
Projects	3	23	1	26	3	4
Farmers	6	33	5	9	5	3
Rights	16	80	10	15	6	6
Measures	8	33	11	17	5	5
Efforts	2	28	7	12	3	0

These nouns are also interrelated to each other and expose the intentions and interests of the parties in a best way. First of them is *areas*. CDA evaluates which party prefers the area for development the most and which area is being neglected. The frequency of area in PPP is 69 whereas it is 55 and 19 in PML and PTI respectively. PML is the party that gives priority to the development of rural and under developed *areas*. In contrast to PML, PTI focuses upon urban development more than the rural *areas*. PPP maintains a balance among these areas. PPP claims to increase the Lady Health Worker Service in rural *areas*. CDA notices that PPP has the most appreciative usage of *areas*. It has a balance in rural and urban *areas*. It talks about agricultural and health issues and housing schemes in rural areas.

‘*women*’ is the noun that owns importance because it covers half of the population of the country. CDA evaluates how political parties attract the public by describing those rights that are not in the fate of Pakistani *women* till now and how *women* are represented by the parties. All the parties talk about the development of *women* but in a different way. Each party discusses the protection of *women*. PPP mentions points like reserved seats for *women* in FATA. It is the only party to initiate Benazir Income Support Program for the poor *women*. PML gives high priority to *women* borrowers in micro credit program and plans to irrigate additional land for *women* haris. All the parties have introduced programs but major difference lies in frequency. The occurrence of women is 105 in PPP manifestos. PTI uses it 37 times whereas it occurs 27 times in PTI manifestos. CDA explores how *provinces* are viewed from the eye of politicians. *Provinces and Areas* are the pronouns that are interrelated to each other. CDA analyzes that PTI seems less interested and less instructive as compared to the other two parties. The other two parties present the issues of the *provinces* differently but seem interested in them and suggest the solution to the problems. PML suggests improving infrastructures of *provinces*, economical condition by adopting specific economic policies and land record projects for the *provinces*. Both PML and PPP talk about terrorism and education in *provinces*.

Another important noun is *projects*. All parties confidently tell about their incoming projects in order to make the audience happy. All the parties use energy projects in their corpora due to lack of energy in Pakistan. Plans are related to the future as well as past. However, some are the suggestions for the betterment. The results prove that PPP uses *projects* in manifestos for future intentions as well as past achievements. However, the other two parties refer to it for future and a suggestion for the good. PML puts emphasis on infrastructure *projects* and water *projects*. It talks about housing, dams and motor ways. CDA explains that PPP is always more strategic

and successful in convincing the reader.

*Farmers* is an important noun. Agriculture is its back bone. Without *farmers*, agriculture department cannot flourish as they are the managers and rescuers of the field. This study explores that to which extent *farmers* are given importance. PTI as such does not introduce the schemes that may favor their interest. It does not talk about facilities and support for the *farmers*. PML provides a security to *farmers* and announces schemes for the *farmers* in a better way as compared to PTI. PML and PTI's focus is on small *famers*. PPP is the party that introduces schemes for *farmers* and facilitates agriculture department. PPP talks about women famers for the first time. CDA considers how political parties present the *rights* of the people in manifestos and which *right* is preferred. Right is also one of the important nouns. Political parties draw the concentration of masses by ensuring them that they will be offered their basic privileges. It is PPP that is frequent in the use of *rights* with 96 occurrences in manifestos. The frequency of rights is low in PTI with 12 occurrences and it is used 25 times in PML manifestos. PML prefers the inheritance and basic *rights* of females in the light of religion. PPP discusses the *rights* of females and laborers but in a very general way. However, PTI does not even touch the issue of female *rights*. However, it is a fact that PPP discusses all the *rights* in a very general way and discusses those *rights* that come later and do not give proper solution to the issues and seems less interested as compared to other parties. It keeps on appreciating their leaders who defended the *rights* of the people. It is a persuasion trick. Similarly, the use of pronoun 'we' and 'our' is dominant in the start of the sentence that is also a reference towards fulfilling their political objectives.

*Measure* is a noun that is discussed by PTI in a limited range. It discusses the issues generally. It does not discuss the burning issues of the country like education, electricity, health and minorities and citizens. *Measures* for economic policy, financial support to all citizens, law enforcement, PPP is the only party that takes *measures* on burning issues like education and inflation. CDA shows that it is a trick to win the hearts by showing deep concern for the people. Government's *efforts* in every field give anticipation to the disappointed people. It is a beat way to inspire the public by telling them about their *efforts* in all the fields. Effort is the last noun. The noun *efforts* occur in PPP manifestos 30 times. It is less frequent in PML with 19 occurrences. PTI gives less importance to showing *efforts*. CDA evaluates that PPP and PML are the parties that have planned *efforts* related to the burning issues of the country. PPP wins its game and discusses lot of issues. However, PTI does not seem interested in *efforts*. PPP talks about *efforts* on improving productivity and crop diversification, agricultural markets and exports. It can be claimed that PPP uses all the nouns in a broad way. On the other hand, PML's shows *efforts* to provide clean water and healthcare and education needs as well as security that lacks in Pakistan.

#### 4.4 Verb

##### 4.4.1 Modal Verbs

Modal verbs are complex phenomenon of English grammar. They play different roles and communicate various meanings. This research examines the use of modal verbs in manifestos. These modal verbs deliver both epistemic and deontic meanings in manifestos.

Table 4. 5 Modal Verbs in manifestos

	PPP 2008	PPP 2013	PML 2008	PML 2013	PTI 2008	PTI 2013
Will	233	472	153	386	50	221
Shall	7	2	53	65	12	6
Would	5	3	10	19	37	13
Can	12	49	17	32	12	16
Could	1	1	2	4	0	3
May	0	4	2	3	1	0
Must	4	16	6	6	6	7

All the above given modal verbs are the representative of the mood and attitude of the speaker. The frequency of modal auxiliaries in PPP manifestos is 809. It has 758 occurrences in PML and 384 frequencies in PTI manifestos. In manifestos of political parties statements are moulded according to the will and desire of the politicians. Politicians play on the words and conceal the true information from the public through the use of these modal verbs. Less use of modal verbs shows that there are less uncertainty and vagueness in manifestos. PTI usually gives clear statements. PML and PPP have overuse of modal verbs in their manifestos that shows that their sentences and statements are complex.

*Will* and *can* are two most frequent modal verbs in manifestos. The frequency of *will* in manifestos is 705, 509 and 271 in PPP, PML and PTI respectively. *Will* is used in manifestos for predictions and showing willingness. It refers to epistemic meanings. It raises a hope. *Can* refers to possibility and chance that makes the voter hopeful that they are opting the best option. *Shall* and *would* are used for estimation and *would* is used for expectation. Both of these auxiliaries are pre planned that develop and estimation and a strong expectation for

the desired future.

*The PPP will be tough on crime (PPP, 2008)*

*Recruitment in police shall be ensured on merit (PML).*

*Facilities would be sustained and suspended (PTI).*

CDA makes the dual meanings behind the simple words clear. Similarly, *could* is used in manifestos for probability. CDA examines that *could* is used where politicians want to show others as misfit and depict their own ability. It is dominant in PML with 6 occurrences. *May* is used for hypothetical condition which gives a situation that may be wrong or right. Parties use *may* where they lack the confidence. Use of *may* is not frequent in PTI. It is found in PML and PPP. It depicts that they lack confidence and surety of what they are saying. *Must* is the last and rare modal verb in manifestos. *Must* is the modal verbs that puts on a heavy responsibility upon the shoulders of the politicians. CDA points out that PTI has direct statements that are less ambiguous. On the other hand, PML and PPP try to play on words and give fake hope to innocent masses in order to win their confidence.

#### 4.4.2 Present form of verb

Ten verbs have been selected on the basis of frequency. All these words show a kind of improvement in the country that itself is a trick of manipulation.

Table 4.6 Present form of verb in manifestos

	PPP 2008	PPP 2013	PML 2008	PML 2013	PTI 2008	PTI 2013
Strengthen	0	26	2	2	5	2
Develop	0	16	1	4	10	3
Encourage	0	20	1	2	9	4
Reduce	0	4	0	10	4	6
Ensure	3	32	8	6	9	10
Establish	0	21	0	5	5	2
Improve	1	21	4	8	3	4
Need	1	18	0	5	2	1
Promote	2	92	4	6	6	1
Provide	2	37	7	9	11	6

All these verbs show development and claims about improvement in the country. However, they are less frequent. PPP has 291 occurrences of present form of verb. Similarly, PML has 81 frequencies and PTI has 103 frequencies of this modal verb. CDA discovers that PML seem less interested in the matter of emancipation. In other words, a question arises whether these parties are making the people fool. Mostly these words are used with 'will' and simple use. CDA discovers that parties show lack of curiosity and attention towards future actions. *strengthen, develop, encourage, establish, improve, promote* are also the noteworthy present form of verbs. They declare the fact that what are things that must be promoted, encouraged, establish and developed in the country. PPP is the party that covers many aspects of problems of the country but in a very broad way. PPP gives priority to security issues. However, other parties also raise the issues in accurate way but PPP leads in frequency and covering the issues. Another verb that is most striking is 'Need' that is more frequent in PPP manifesto, less frequent in PTI manifesto and PML 2013. However, it is absent in PML 2008. It refers to the fact that to which extent politicians concern the needs of the masses. Parties lack the vision. The needs mentioned by PPP must be adored. They want to fulfill the basic need like security, better healthcare, and better schools for the people. PTI and PML ignore the basic issues and focus upon less important things that come under facilities not needs. Pakistan is the country that needs many things that should be reduced. *Reduce* is also a most prominent and unusual verb. However, CDA uncovers the fact that 'reduce' is not used in PML 2008 and PPP 2008. It is less frequent in rest of the manifestos. PML says that injustice, country's dependence on the foreign loan and theft of electricity must be reduced. PTI gives priority to reduce federal taxes and non development government taxes. PPP mentions income loss and power tariffs that must be reduced. CDA discovers that PML covers many aspects as far as verb *reduce* is concerned. These verbs have a relation with each other. CDA discovers that parties lack insight and proper planning.



#### 4.4.3 Past form of verb

Past form of the verb has extremely low occurrence in manifestos. The overall occurrence is low.

Table 4.7 Past form of verb in manifestos

	PPP 2008	PPP 2013	PML 2008	PML 2013	PTI 2008	PTI 2013
Brought	1	5	0	3	0	0
Initiated	1	12	0	1	0	0
Introduced	6	4	0	1	0	0
Increased	2	2	0	2	0	0
Transformed	0	3	0	2	0	0
Established	1	11	0	1	0	0
Gave	6	5	0	0	0	0
Took	5	3	2	2	1	0
Built	2	4	0	1	0	1
Made	1	5	1	5	1	1

The findings show that the use of second form of the verb is not appreciative in manifestos because most of the times they are used in past tense in order to describe the future plans. It is less frequent in future sentences in which it is used to describe the positive points of the government or the party. Sometimes, it is used to portray the negative points of the opposition on the basis of their pastworks. CDA discovers that past form of the verb is used in order to defend the government whether by describing their positive points or the negative points of the opposition. However, it is only PML that has described the negative points of their opponents. PPP usually focuses on past.

*Military dictators introduced a new system of local bodies to serve their own political agendas (PML 2013).*

Parties present a flashback picture of the party that shows that they are trying to convince the voters. The focus on future is not prominent.

#### Conclusion

Present study has conducted a comparative corpus driven analysis of manifestos of Pakistani political parties in order to make publicize the hidden context through critical discourse analysis. The study pulled out the linguistic features including parts of speech and passive construction and mentioned the fact that these features do not have a regular use and they are not as impartial as they seem but contain a specific purpose of positive manipulation behind it that involves social power. CDA discovers that political parties are different in usages of lexical and grammatical features. PPP mentions all the issues of the country in detail and gives proper plans for them. However, PTI and PML provide minor details of important issues of the countries like education, health and economy and agricultural, facilities. They fail to give a proper solution to these issues. PPP offers innovative and pioneering ideas for the development of the country like women farmers and Benazir Income Support Program (BISP). PPP leads both quantitatively and qualitatively in describing the basic issues of Pakistan. PPP tries to convince the reader by describing flashback and flash forward picture of the country. On the other hand, PPP and PTI put less focus on their past works and more focus on their future plans. These differences are found in the parties of the same countries that is quite natural thing. Sometimes, the difference is only the frequency that is not fixed. However, one similar thing is common that all the parties hide meanings behind the words.

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