

## **Inter-textual Analysis of Political Discourse in Party Manifestos**

**Mehwish Malghani<sup>1</sup>, Prof. Dr. Faria Saeed Khan<sup>2</sup>**

**Saima Yousaf<sup>3</sup>, Zainab Akarm<sup>4</sup>**

### **Abstract**

*Political discourse is inarguably deemed an essential tool, influencing people's perception within a socio-political zone in an imperceptible manner. The present research titled "Inter-textual Analysis of Political Discourse in Party Manifestos" revolved around a critical discourse analysis of manifestos, as presented by five most popular Pakistani political parties, pertaining to the general election, held during the year 2013. With regard to the present context, the mentioned pursuit primarily aimed at linguistically analyzing the political discourse of the aforementioned manifestos at inter-textual level. The theoretical framework used to substantiate the overall analysis centered on Fairclough's theory of intertextuality(1995) and van Dijk Ideological Square(2004). The findings of the research revealed that all the political parties under study, brought into use the discursive strategy of intertextuality in their party manifestos in order to enhance the positive self image of party to in-group people, by hunting the negative aspects of the out-group, thereby (re)constructing people's political identities and ideologies and achieving the desired hegemony in a way peculiar to itself. Research of*

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<sup>1</sup> Assistant Professor, English Department Sardar Bahadur Khan Womens University, Quetta

<sup>2</sup> Professor, Department of English University of Balochistan

<sup>3</sup> Ph.D Scholar University of Balochistan, Quetta

<sup>4</sup> Assistant Professor, English Department Sardar Bahadur Khan Womens University, Quetta

*the kind can be conducted further by analyzing the other dimensions of political discourse and the resultant ideologies, influencing the current state of affairs as prevalent around the globe with special focus on the linguistic aspects of the political discourse.*

Keywords: Intertextuality, Political discourse, Manifesto, Social cognition

## **Introduction**

There is an unfathomable relationship between language and politics. Language and politics are interdependent as language is intrinsically political and politics is manifested through language. Politics is a struggle for power in order to put certain political, economic and social ideas into practice (Bayram, 2010). In this process, language plays a crucial role, for every political action is prepared, accompanied, influenced and played by language. Politics exists for those who seek to assert and maintain their power and for those who resolve clashes of interest over money, influence, liberty and the like (Chilton, 2004). It is evident that politics is demonstrated and observed through language. Language can serve as a tool to legitimize control and achieve hegemony that can be used to achieve a number of social and political goals. This tool is often used by the politicians who start asserting their ideologies to their constituents. Politicians in particular are keenly aware that they must use powerful or persuasive language. Therefore politics and language are interlinked and interdependent and in fact, some political activities cannot exist without the use of language (Bayram, 2010). This interconnectedness and interdependence of language and politics opens avenues and creates room for research in the fields of linguistics and political science.

Critical Discourse Analysis investigates language to find out how language is used to establish power and dominance and create inequalities. “Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context.” (van Dijk, 2001, p. 352). Critical Discourse Analysis highlights the facts when viewed with a micro-eye. These facts are a key to unravel the dominating powers which either are in the forms of organizations, or are found on an individual level. The CDA according to Fairclough (1998) aims at helping the analyst to decode the hidden meanings and the ideologies which are prevalent in the society and have maintained their own school of thought. Thus the objective of CDA is to uncover the ideologies or assumptions that are hidden behind the words of our written texts or oral speech.

One important dimension of CDA is politics. “CDA sees itself as politically involved research” (Titscher et al., 2000, p.147). The political dimension of CDA entails Political Discourse Analysis(PDA). The PDA is the field of study that aims at analyzing the 'political discourse'. The PDA does not only deal with the analysis of the political discourse but it also is a critical enterprise. In simpler terms, critical-political discourse analysis focuses on the (re)production of political power, abuse of power through political discourse along with the different types of resistance against this dominance. Particularly, the PDA deals with the socio-political inequalities and domination that lead to certain discursive conditions and consequences of socio-political inequality (Fairclough 1995; van Dijk 1993b).

Keeping in view the important relationship between politics and language, the present study investigates the discourse in the manifestos of Pakistani political parties through critical discourse analysis using theoretical triangulation; adopting two theories from CDA; Van Dijk(2004) Ideological Square and Fairclough's theory of intertextuality(1995).

### **Statement of the Problem**

There is a deep relation between political language and perceptions. Political discourse is an essential tool for establishing desired cognitive effects on individual or group behaviors by influencing the perceptions of the people. The language used by politicians play a vital role in gaining power and dominance and changing people's mindset. The area needs to be explored especially in Pakistani political context as it is significant to uncover the linguistic devices used within the discourse structures through which cognition and discourse get their meanings and functions. The present research area- PDA is not only about political discourse but also a critical endeavor. Although a great number of studies have been conducted on the Pakistani political discourse yet little attention has been paid to the discourse of party manifestos.

The public consensus in voting a particular political party is based on the party's ideology presented in the party's manifesto. This research will contribute to the body of knowledge by answering how discursive strategy of intertextuality is used in the political discourse; what goals it achieves; and in what ways political identities and ideologies are (re)constructed through discursive strategies in political discourse.

The present study is the pioneering effort in the linguistic analysis of the genre manifesto of Pakistani political parties. The research on the political discourse in the manifestos of Pakistani political parties will deal with political cognition, discourse structures and the socio-political context in which cognitions and discourses have their meanings and functions, contributing to the linguistic research.

### **Objective**

To identify the role played by the discursive strategy of intertextuality in the political discourse in party manifestos.

### **Research Question**

What role does discursive strategy of intertextuality plays in the political discourse in party manifestos?

### **Significance of Research**

The present research is a CDA based research in Pakistani political context and explores the discursive dimension of inter-textual of the 'not much researched manifesto qua genre' by entailing Critical Discourse Analysis with Political Discourse Analysis. According to Yanoshevsky (2009) research on manifestos in North America and Europe has flourished in the last three decades, focusing more on its history and general features. This points to two-fold research gap: one, lack of research on the linguistic features of this genre; second, lack of research on manifestos in Asian political context. This highlights the significance of the present study as it

focuses on thematic and linguistic features of the genre of manifesto in Pakistani political context.

### **Delimitation**

The present research is based on the inter-textual analysis of the Pakistani political party manifestos. The study is delimited to political discourse in official party manifestos for the year 2013. Five Pakistani political parties whose manifestos are critically analyzed were selected on the basis of mean of IRI, (International Republican Institute) surveys conducted in August 2012, and in November 2012.

Table 1 Political parties selected on the bases of popularity

POLITICAL PARTIES	IRI SURVEY AUG 2012	IRI SURVEY NOV 2012	GALLUP SERVEY 2013	MEAN
PAKISTAN MUSLIM LEAGUE (N)	28%	32%	41%	34%
PAKISTAN TAHREEK-E- INSAF	24%	18%	14%	17%
PAKISTAN PEOPLE'S PARTY	14%	14%	17%	15%
PAKISTAN MUSLIM LEAGUE (Q)	2%	2%	4%	3%
MUTTAHIDA QUAMI MOVEMENT	3%	4%	1%	3%

### **Methodology**

#### ***Research Paradigm***

The research is qualitative in nature which takes CDA as a method as well as a theory.

### ***Theoretical Framework***

The theoretical framework for the present study is based on theoretical triangulation. Two theories from the realm of CDA are used for the research; Fairclough's theory of Inter-textuality(1995) and van Dijk's Ideological Square(2004).

#### ***Fairclough's theory of intertextuality***

According to Fairclough "intertextuality is a matter of [recontextualization](#)."(2003, p. 51). The theory of intertextuality, basically deals with the relationship of text with the prior texts along with the role of the texts in restructuring and producing new text.

A three-dimension analytical framework for intertextuality was presented by Fairclough(1995b). The three dimensions in his framework dealt with, are 'discourse representation', analysis of discourse types on the bases of gener, and an analysis of discourses in texts.

The aim of the researcher to analyze intertextuality is to specify which fields are related to a genre, and which discourses are drawn upon to create these fields. Fairclough further says that intertextual analysis is an interpretative activity, which depends highly on the researcher's personal judgement and experience (Fairclough, 1995b).

#### ***Van Dijk's theory of ideological square***

Van Dijk proposed a heuristic theory regarding ideologically based group behavior and group conflict. The basic notion of his theory of Ideological Square is that the ideology is represented as "some kind of basic self-schema of a group, featuring the fundamental information by which

group members identify and categorize themselves, such as their membership criteria, group activities, aims, norms, relations to others, resources, etc." (Van Dijk 2004).

Van Dijk's Ideological Square categorizes people and societies in polarized terms, in other words the dichotomy of "US versus Them". Technically speaking, the foundation of ideology is based on the biased attitudes of the community. Power and ideology give birth to prejudice among political parties. Van Dijk (2004) illustrates the phenomenon by giving the concept of "Ideological Square".

The main idea behind the Ideological square is to express/emphasize information that is positive about us and negative about them and to suppress/deemphasize information that is negative about us and positive about them. The general principle is to picture positive self-representation and negative other-representation.

The fundamental four principles are as following:

Emphasize positive things about Us.

Emphasize negative things about Them.

De-emphasize negative things about Us.

De-emphasize positive things about Them.

### **Literature Review**

Fairclough (1995a) school of thought( Gramsci, Mikhail Bakhtin, Louis Althusser, Michel Foucault,Anthony Giddens and Jürgen Habermas) came up with the notion of critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 1989; Wodak, 1996; Fairclough &Wodak 1997). According to them the task of a discourse analyst is to inspect this dialectical connection and to expose how the powerful use the language to deceive and oppress the subjugated. The CDA is not only a theory but a method also. Researchers choose the CDA as

it serves dual function, one that it describes and interprets the discourse in context, second it also explains why and how discourse works and what role it plays in the relationship between society and language.

The notion of intertextuality offers a perspective of both reading and writing texts as a way of looking at a text's interactions with prior texts, writers, readers, and conventions. Thibault (1994) explains this perspective stating: "all texts, spoken and written, are constructed and have the meanings which text-users assign to them in and through their relations with other texts in some social formation" (p.1751).

It is widely believed that Kristeva coined the term intertextuality on the basis of Bakhtin's work (Kristeva, 1986). Bakhtin (1986) argues that every text (or utterance) is dialogical, in the sense that it gains its meaning in relation to other texts. Kristeva (1981, p.36) points out that a given text is "a permutation of texts, an intertextuality: in the space of a given text, several utterances, taken from other texts, intersect and neutralize one other". Kristeva's use of the term aims to describe the complex and heterogeneous nature of discursive materials which intersect in particular textual production. For her, text is a kind of 'productivity' in which various semiotic codes, genres, and meaning relations are both combined and transformed. Kristeva (1981) refers to texts in terms of two axes:

a *horizontal axis* connecting the author and reader of a text, and a *vertical axis*, which connects the text to other texts (Kristeva, 1980). Thus, Kristeva, as does Bakhtin (1935,1981), sees all texts as being constituted out of, and understood in relation to, other texts in the same social formation (Thibault, 1994). While foregrounding relationality and interconnectedness, an intertextual perspective also undermines literary values such as originality, singularity and autonomy (Allen, 2000).

Scholars in different fields consider the notion of 'intertextuality' from different perspectives for different purposes. These scholars could be roughly categorized into two groups. The first group is the scholars from semiotics, mainly from so-called literary semiotics. Key figures include Kristeva (1981), Riffaterre (1978), Frow (1986), Culler (1981), Meinhof & Smith (2000) and Chandler (2005). These scholars concern themselves with exploring the complex and heterogeneous nature of literary works by appropriating the concept of intertextuality. Their studies range from the search for influences or antecedents for a particular literary work to the analysis of literary conventions and codes as prerequisites for literary communication. This work has recently been extended from literary writing to studies of mass media communication, such as advertisements, TV dramas and web pages. The second group are from the area of discourse analysis and critical discourse analysis, such as Fairclough (1992a, b, c, 1995a, b), Scollon (2004), Bazerman (1993, 2004), Devitt (1991), Beaugrande and Dressler (1981), Lemke (1983, 1985, 1988a,b, 1995a,b) and White (2002). For this group of scholars, their major concern is with non-literary works. Many scholars perceive intertextuality not only as a form through which texts are interrelated, but also as a social practice that involves particular socially regulated ways of producing and interpreting discourse (Fairclough, 1992a, b, c, 1995b).

There is no single approach to analyze the complex phenomenon of intertextuality in writing production and interpretation. Approaches range from focusing on linguistic conventions such as White (2002) to social conventions such as Lemke (1995a). An elementary type of analysis is to examine the intertextual composition of a single text, describing both the explicit (e.g. the direct quotation) and implicit (e.g. mentioning of a belief or

issue of the context). According to Fairclough (1992a, b, c, 1995b), intertextuality “points to how texts can transform prior texts and restructure existing conventions (genres, discourses) to generate new ones” (Fairclough, 1992b, p.270). It is concerned with how texts are produced in relation to prior texts and how texts help to construct the existing conventions in producing new texts. In his 1995 book *Media Discourse*, Fairclough puts forward a three-dimension framework for analysing intertextuality in media discourse. This is the analysis of ‘discourse representation’, generic analysis of discourse types, and an analysis of discourses in texts (Fairclough, 1995b). To Fairclough (1992a, b, 1995b), ‘discourse representation’ is a form of intertextuality in which parts of specific texts are incorporated into a text and are usually, but not always, explicitly marked with devices such as quotation marks and reporting clauses. In media discourse, discourse representation accounts for a major part of what news is: representations of what newsworthy people have said. Fairclough (1995b) also introduces the concept of ‘discourse type’ for configurations of genres and discourses.

Fairclough (1995b) suggests that analyzing discourse types may involve complex configurations of several genres and several discourses. Discourse, in Fairclough’s words (1995b, p.76), is “a particular way of constructing a particular (domain of) social practice”, and genre is “a way of using language which corresponds to the nature of the social practice that is being engaged in”. By analyzing intertextuality, researchers try to specify which fields (topics, subject-matters) are associated with a genre, and which discourses are drawn upon to construct these fields. Fairclough(1995b) further argues that intertextual analysis is an interpretative activity, which depends highly on the researcher’s personal judgement and experience (Fairclough, 1995b). Fairclough’s main interest is in analysing intertextual

relations as power relations, suggesting that intertextuality can become a locus of contestation and struggle (Fairclough, 1992a, b). Scholars such as Devitt (1991) and Bazerman (1993, 2004) from the new rhetoric tradition have analysed intertextuality in non-literary texts. They approach intertextual relations as social practice, as more or less stable conventions of a particular discourse community. Devitt's (1991) study of the writing of tax accountants reveals that all genres that tax accountants use have strong intertextual connections with the legal tax code, but these intertextual connections are displayed and used differently in different genres.

Bazerman (1993) compares the rhetorical presentation of cited articles in modern scientific articles to the texts of the original articles to uncover the ways in which the authors construct the intertextual field to position their own argument as a powerful antidote. Bazerman in his article puts forward basic concepts and a procedure of analyzing intertextuality (2004). The basic concepts he describes include levels of intertextuality, techniques of intertextual representation, intertextual distance or reach, and translation across contexts/recontextualization. Bazerman (2004) states further that "intertextuality is not just a matter of which other texts you refer to, but how you use them, what you use them for, and ultimately how you position yourself as a writer to them to make your own statement" (p. 94). The study of intertextuality, for Lemke, is "concerned with the recurrent discourse and activity patterns of the community and how they are constituted by, instanced in, and interconnected or disjoined through, particular texts" (1995a, p.86). That is, by exploring intertextuality, the relationship between a specific text and a genre could be revealed, or, the relationship between a text and its cultural context could be partially understood.

For Lemke (1995a) it is through intertextuality that the text instantiates the context of culture. Intertextual analysis of meaning, thus, is crucial in finding the meaning of a text. The reason for its central importance is that all texts gain their meaning not only intratextually but also, and in a more fundamental way, intertextually. Intertextual relations transcend the context of situation and depend on the context of culture (Malinowski, 1923, 1935). The immediate situation, while the most specific, is never the widest context for the meaning of text or discourse. The meanings made in different situation-types are connected in ways that are characteristic of a community's culture. Intertextuality, then, offers a bridge or interface between the context of culture and the text. In the case of the present study, intertextuality is crucial to understanding how the genre rules (i.e. the use of discourse patterns in a culture) have influenced the production of a text (i.e. the use of lexicogrammatical resources). Intertextual analysis allows us to see the 'bigger picture' of a text in terms of what its meanings are and how they relate to other meanings held in the society as framing a particular text. In this way it can be seen to be putting on display socially established patterns of meaning that are held against the larger background of the potential of all the meanings that could be held. For the purpose of analysing intertextuality, White's (2002a, b) framework for analysing 'engagement' is especially relevant to a linguistic consideration on intertextual analysis. In 'appraisal analysis', 'engagement' "is concerned with the sourcing of attitude and acknowledgement of alternative voices"(Martin, 2002, p.58) in a text.

### **Analysis**

Inter-textual analysis has been done to explore that how the political parties drew on other text or sources such as religion, the Constitution of

Pakistan or quotes of the political heroes, to strengthen their own claims, arguments and views.

According to van Dijk(1998) the text refers to texts and discourses to strengthen the claims and views. Intertextuality in simple terms refers to the identifiable borrowings from other discourses. Intertextuality is traced and analyzed in order to find its role in strengthening the argument presented by “US” and weakening the argument presented by “THEM” in order to (re)construct political ideologies and identities. The quotes in the analysis below are from the respective parties’ official election manifestos for the election year 2013.

Pakistan is a Muslim country created in the name of Islam. It was created in 1947, as a result of the struggle for independence by the Muslims, led by [Muhammad Ali Jinnah](#). A new constitution was adopted by Pakistan in 1956. The state religion of this democratic parliamentary federal republic is Islam having four provinces and four federal territories . In 1973 a comprehensive and complete constitution was adopted. This document is considered to be the most important document of the nation, which was reinstated in 1985 after it was suspended in 1977 by Zia-ul-Haq.

Throughout the history of Pakistan, military establishment has played an essential and powerful role in mainstream politics (*Cohen, 2004*).

As a result of Martial law military commanders governed as de-facto presidents from 1958–1971, 1977–1988, and 1999–2008 (“*World: South Asia Pakistan's army and its history of politics, 1999*”)

The socio political history of the nation has been characterized by political instability, military rule and [conflicts with India](#). In addition to this, the nation has been facing challenges like terrorism, illiteracy, poverty and corruption.

Thus the key elements that contribute in the socio-political and historical context of the political discourse in Pakistan, mainly revolve around religious beliefs, the ideology of the nation hero Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the constitution of Pakistan, notions related to democracy and foreign policy. In addition new policies regarding the present challenges faced by the nation are also key area of focus.

### ***National Leaders***

The manifesto of PML starts with directly quoting Quid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali's words: "The Muslim League has won and established Pakistan and it is the Muslim League whose duty it is now as Custodian of the sacred trust, to construct Pakistan"- Vision PML(Q)

Vision of any political party play a vital role in projecting their self image and cognitively developing a relationship between the party and general public. Quid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah is the founder of Pakistan and for all Pakistanis he has the status of National Hero. Quid-e-Azam's quote here is serving two fold functions, one to have a cognitive effective on the audience by projecting PML as inheritor of legacy of the freedom movement, and second, to legitimize party's own vision by relating it to the national hero. In both cases the discursive strategy of intertextuality is serving the purpose to construct and maintain the identity of Pakistani people as Pakistanis and developing hegemony by projecting the idea that PML is the inheritor of Quid-e-Azam's Muslim League.

Similarly, the Title Page of the PML (N) manifesto is a combination of intertextual quotes of the sayings of Qaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali and Allama Iqbal's poetry. The discursive strategy of intertextuality is used to

fulfill the micro ideological purpose . This use of intertextuality is to relate PML(N) with the vision of Quaid and Iqbal in order to transform people's ideology positively towards PML(N).

Are we going to allow ourselves to be overwhelmed by the immensity of the task that is confronting us and let our new-born State fonder under the cruel and dastardly blows struck by our enemies? This is challenge to our very existence and if we are to survive as a nation and are to translate our dreams about Pakistan into reality, we shall have to grapple with the problems facing us with redoubled zeal and energy.

Quaid e Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah. (Title Page)

PPPP has also referred to Quaid-e-Azam in the preamble of its manifesto. The preamble holds an essential role in developing a positive self image, and cognitively linking the minds of the people with party's ideology. The preamble of PPP begins by quoting lines from Quid-e-Azam's address to Pakistan's first constitutional assembly Karachi 1947. The discursive strategy of intertextuality is used to alive PPPP ideology with the ideology of Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah. This will help the party to make people believe that Quaid's and PPPP's ideology is one and the same and in this way people will identify themselves as a group who follows PPPP ideology which is also the ideology of Muhammad Ali Jinnah.

We are starting in the days where there is no discrimination, no distinction between one community and another, no discrimination between one caste or creed and another. We are starting with this

fundamental principle that we are all citizens and equal citizens of one State. Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Address to Pakistan's first Constituent Assembly, Karachi, 1947 (p.8)

The ideology of PTI is based on the principles of Quaid-e-Azam. Quaid-e-Azam's words are quoted which will positively transform people's ideology towards PTI. People believe that Pakistan came into existence on the basis of Qaid-e-Azam's vision and principles and being Pakistanis we must adhere to these principles. By quoting Quid-e-Azam's principles PTI is making people believe that this party follows Qaid-e-Azam's ideology which will lead to construct public identity in favor of and win in-group members for PTI.

“We can achieve this by following the Principles of “*Unity, Faith and Discipline*” as expounded by the Quaid-e-Azam.” (p..2)

### ***Constitution of Pakistan***

Similarly Constitution of Pakistan is referred to, by all political parties a number of times keeping in view the importance of its socio political context. Constitutions play a very vital role in the progress of any nation. Any positive addition by PML in the constitution can transform people's ideology positively towards PML. Emphasizing its role in the inclusion of the right to education and bring it into account in the manifesto through the use of the discursive strategy of intertextuality, can in-group that category of people who are advocates of the right to education and also those who remained marginalized in this context.

PML was instrumental in inclusion of the right to education in the 18<sup>th</sup> Constitutional amendment.” (p. 5)

“ Through a series of Constitutional Amendments, including the 18th, we have transferred key powers of taxation and governance to the provinces” (p.5)

Constitutional amendments specially the 18<sup>th</sup> amendments is mention with reference to provincial autonomy regarding taxation and governance in order to transform people ideology positively towards PPPP by making people realize party concern towards provincial autonomy.

“Strengthened the federation by passing the 18thAmendment and by negotiating the historic NFC Award” (p.9)

PPP claims that the party will protect the people of Pakistan. The discursive strategy of intertextuality is used by referring to the 18<sup>th</sup> amendment and NFC Award to legitimize their claim. The claim to protect the people projects the power to do so which has a cognitive effect on the mind of the people and people willfully accept the party’s power in order to get protection in the nation. This strategy also makes people identify themselves as party supporters and positively transformers peoples identify towards PPPP.

“It believes in federalism and functional autonomy of the provinces, based on the spirit and fundamental principles of parliamentary democracy as envisaged in the 1973 Constitution.”(p. 2)

PTI has advocated federalism, functional autonomy of the provinces and parliamentary democracy. In order to legitimize its point of view, 1973 constitution is referred to. The advocates of 1973 constitution will identify themselves as a part of PTI.

The 1973 constitution is a unique and historic document, because it was passed unanimously by the Parliament representing all political parties in the country. The subsequent battering that it took has left it in tatters. There is a need to go back to the beginning and revive the Constitution in letter and spirit, by doing away with the amendments and laws which go against the basic.

Article 25-A of the constitution and the Bill that is enhanced by the Sindh Assembly are specially refer by MQM in order to high light party's concern to make education free and compulsory for the children from age 5 to 16 . The discursive strategy of intertextuality is used to portray a positive image of the party so that the people transfer their ideology in favor of the party and identify themselves as in group members of the party and also willfully except party dominance.

“Since Sindh Assembly on the initiative of MQM has already enacted a Bill in conformity with the provisions of Article 25-A of the Constitution, it is high time that all the provinces follow suit and take measures on war-footing to make education compulsory and free for the children of this age.” (p. 1)

### ***Religion***

Being fully aware of the importance given to Islam by the Muslims, and especially Pakistanis who struggled for an independent Pakistan in the name of Islam, all parties have ideologically used the beliefs, values and norms of Islam.

It is promised by PML to protect the basic rights of the child. To provide credibility and emphasize the importance of child right, Quran and UN and Child rights convention are specially referred to. The discursive strategy of intertextuality is used to positively transform the ideology of the parents and all Muslims towards PML.

“The PML promises to work on legislation which protect the basic rights of the child as enjoined in the Quran and enunciated in the UN Child Rights Convention.” (p. 27)

The preamble of the manifesto of PTI begins by referring to the vision of an Islamic republic that advocates, modernization, tolerance and freedom for all. The discursive strategies of intertextuality, used to refer to Islamic vision which will lead to in-group all Muslims at one hand and minorities on the other hand by referring religious freedom for all. In this way not only the Muslims but also the non Muslims will identify themselves as member of this political party.

“The PTI agenda of resurgence articulates the long neglected aspirations of our people and spells out the vision of a modern Islamic republic that advocates tolerance, moderation and freedom to practice the religion of one’s choice.” (p. 2)

### ***Foreign Relations***

Being second most populous country and a nuclear power, Pakistan holds an important status internationally (*Colgrove, 2010*).

Pakistan's geo strategy and foreign policy primarily focus on national security, economy and territorial integrity. In addition, one of the key

concerns of Pakistan's foreign policy is to cultivate close and cordial relationship with other Muslim nations.

Keeping in view the socio political importance of the foreign policy all the parties under study have over and over again referred to the foreign policy.

PML(N) also refers to the foreign policy. It states in the manifesto that the security and foreign policy of Pakistan needs review. This employs that they existing recruit and foreign policy is not satisfactory and needs improvement and this improvement will be brought by PML(N) thus by refereeing to this policy the party has used the discursive strategy intertextuality to win peoples vote by transforming their ideology and making people identify themselves as in group members of this party.

“The PML(N) is committed to a thorough and comprehensive review of our national security and foreign policy, to bring it in consonance with the hopes and aspirations of the people.” (p. 80)

PPPP also claims that due to the party's efforts it was made possible to end Pakistan's isolation and bring Pakistan in good relations with other countries in order to strengthen its claim PPPP refers to its foreign policy portraying a picture that the party frames such an independent and multidimensional foreign policy which has developed positive relations with other nations. This strategy will develop a positive image of this party and a negative image of other parties who were unable to develop such politics. This would ultimately help the party achieve hegemony and people would start identifying themselves as group members of this party.

“ Framed independent and multi-dimensional foreign policy, focusing on better relations with our neighbours and ending Pakistan’s isolation.” (p.10)

In addition to the major elements mentioned above, it was explored that the political discourse in the manifestos of Pakistani political parties has been based on the major institutions such as judiciary, Law enforcement, education, agriculture and tourism, as all these institutions contribute and have a strong socio political and historical context. Additionally, the challenges faced by the nation also provide context to the political discourse such as Economy, Science and technology, Terrorism, water supply and sanitation, Immigration and Role of women in Pakistani society, media, urbanisation and Kashmir conflict etc. All the parties under study have ideologically used the context of the mentioned areas in order to frame people’s ideology in favor of the particular party or to set people’s mind against other parties. This context is also used by the political parties to highlight the similarities between the party and the general people and to sort differences between the other political parties and the public.

### **Findings**

The aim of the study was to explore the role played by the discursive strategy of intertextuality in party manifestos. It was found out that all political parties under study have brought into use the discursive strategy of intertextuality in their party manifestos. It served the objective of strengthening their claims, legitimizing their arguments or to authenticate their point, in order to project a positive self image and a negative other image. The major and common sources of the intertextuality used by the political parties were basically religion, our national heroes; Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah and Alama Iqbal and the Constitution of Pakistan.

These common sources were used by the party to show that the party carries the same legacy of our national heroes or as inscribed in the Constitution. The use of these sources helped the parties project a positive self image. In addition all political parties brought into use the discursive strategy of intertextuality by referring to their political leaders or by quoting them in order to build a positive self image. For example PPPP time and again quoted or referred to MothramaBanazir Bhutto and Shaheed Zulifiqar Ali Bhutto in its manifesto, in order to show that no matter their leader is no more in this world still the party is based on the same ideology. In addition the parties also referred to the policies that they developed to picture their positive self image or the policies that the other parties established in order to picture their negative image by referring them being not up to the mark. Thus in the party manifestos, all political parties used the discursive strategy of intertextuality to in group people and to transform people's ideology in favor of the party or against the other parties and to achieve hegemony.

### **Discussion**

The profundity of relationship existing between the nature of political language and the perception constructed as a result, within any social zone, can never be undervalued. Political discourse structures the cognitive attributes of individuals in a social community, in an imperceptible manner. Political dominance gained by the hegemonic influence in any society, seeks to establish a kind of environment in which the desired discursive practices exert their dynamic role. With regard to the context, it is of vital significance to explore and understand the linguistic devices as employed by politicians in a socio-political setting. The inclusive domain of political discourse analysis offers many of the comprehensive conceptual angles, used as analytical

lenses through which political discourses and the resulting construction of social ideologies can be analyzed.

At inter-textual level of analysis, the researcher explored the elements of intertextuality evinced in the manifestos presented by all of the sample political parties to express their viewpoints regarding major areas of concern including minority rights, Kashmir issue, Educational reforms, health based concerns, financial crises faced by the nation , constitutional amendments, and restructuring foreign policies. The expressed intents delivered and propagated through manifestos, aimed at accentuating the image of the concerned political parties and their leaders as responsible, conscientious, and diligent. The other side of the same message aimed at degrading and disgracing the political leaders of the challenging and the rival parties.

### **Conclusion**

The present study dealt with an extensive inter-textual analysis of the party manifestos of Pakistani political parties. The data was analyzed on the bases of Van Dijk Ideological Square (2004) along with the theoretical footing of Fairclough's theory (1995) of intertextuality. After the analysis of the data it was concluded that all the political parties under study, brought into use the discursive strategy of inter-textuality in their party manifestos, in order to Cognitively influence people by creating a link between them with the party.

### **Recommendations for Further Research**

The present research is qualitative in nature that commits to studying the subject in its natural form and which does not call for the manipulation of variables and/or the prior commitment to a single theoretical view of a target phenomenon. Therefore the research relies directly on the text

interpretation in order to answer the research questions, in which the analysis both at production and reception level is done through the interpretation of the discourse of the party manifestos. The present research has not brought into account the reception of the cognitive influence of this political discourse by gathering data from the people who are cognitively influenced by this discourse. For further research a survey can be conducted regarding how the use of discursive strategies in the political discourse cognitively effect the people and in what ways their ideologies are transformed, identities are constructed identities and hegemony is achieved, in order to further authenticate or challenge the findings of the present study.

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