

Role of Context in the (Re)construction of Political Ideologies and Identities

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Abstract: Political discourse is considered an important instrument to (re)construct political identities and ideologies, by influencing individual's perceptions in a socio-political scenario. The present study titled "Role of Context in the Re(construction) of Political Ideologies and Identities" aims to explore how context is used discursively in the political discourse presented in the manifestos of seven selected Pakistani political parties (2013) to (re)construct people's political identities and ideologies. The manifestos of seven political parties of Pakistan are selected to be critically analyzed through Qualitative mode of inquiry, on the basis of popularity and provincial representation. The political parties included are Pakistan Muslim League (N), Pakistan Tahreek-e-Insaf, Pakistan People's Party, Pakistan Muslim League (Q) and Muttahida Quami Movement, Baloch National Party (BNP) and Awami National Party (ANP). Social Identity Theory by Tajfel and Turner (1979) is used as the theoretical framework and Critical Discourse Analysis is used as a method for the present study. It was concluded that all political parties under study brought context into use as a discursive strategy to portray positive self-image and negative image of other parties. This was done by the political parties in order to transform people's political ideologies and identities in their favor.

Key words: *Discursive strategy; Context; Identity; Ideology and political discourse*

1. Introduction

Context plays an essential role in almost all types of communication, but there is an irrefutable link between sociopolitical context and the political process. Politics achieve its utter motives through context. Politics is a struggle for power in order to put certain political, economic and social ideas into practice (Bayram, 2010). In this process, context plays a crucial role, for most political actions are prepared, accompanied, influenced and played by context. According to Van Dijk (1998), context has an integral worth in the study of social cognitive aspects. According to his main hypothesis the mind is socially constructed, therefore the context can play a vital role in the (re)construction of political identities and ideologies.

Politics is for those who wish to assert and maintain their power and also for those who intend to resolve conflict of interest over money, liberty, influence and the like (Chilton, 2004). Politics is established through context. Context 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 intend to assert their ideologies to the public. Politicians are well aware of the fact that their use of powerful and persuasive socio political context will help them achieve their political goals. Therefore some political actions and processes cannot exist without the use of context, as politics

and context are interdependent and interlinked. The discursive use of context to achieve political goals opens avenues and creates room for research in the fields of linguistics, pragmatics, psychology and political science.

Ideologies influence power while context displayed through discourse serves an important function in the construction and deconstruction of political ideologies. The notion of Ideology developed in the Marxist tradition that illustrates how cultures are prearranged in ways that enable the powerful group maintain maximum control with the minimum of conflict (Lye, 2007). Ideology can be defined as beliefs, values, perceptions and assumptions that provide an explanation and understanding of the world in which a particular group exists (Beard, 2005). Ideologies involve communication of ideas and therefore, language plays a central role in constructing and maintaining discrimination and oppression through different discursive strategies such as context. An individual's ideology is revealed through the person's use of language. At times, leaders have their own ideologies to propagate which they believe to be transmitted to their constituents. The political actors often socially reconstruct reality on the basis of personal and professional ideologies. Their messages carry controlling but coded meanings and these messages strengthen individual behavior, beliefs and collective ideologies which unavoidably affect the structuring of organizational practices and public policies; these

coded meanings and messages are evaluated through Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA).

Critical Discourse Analysis investigates language to find out how language is used to establish power and dominance and create inequalities through the use of discursive strategies such as context. "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. CDA magnifies the manipulations of language which are used otherwise in the political scenario; these manipulations are helpful in figuring out the social power of a group over the society or another group. According to Van Dijk (1996), one of the major tasks of CDA is to trace the relationships between discourse and social power. One important and most related concept to ideology is that of power. Social power refers to the hold of one group, be it an organization or an institution, over another. Our utterances carry hidden knowledge and meanings. (Van Dijk, 2000). McGregor (2006) in his paper states that "our words are never neutral". Our words have meanings that serve different purposes. Critical Discourse Analysis observations are conducted as to how different meanings in a society are conveyed through a text. 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, Meyer, Wodak & Vetter, 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, 1993).

The present study, through the lens of CDA as a method intends to explore the role of context in (re)constructing political ideologies and identities through the political discourse, by using Tajfil and Turner's (1979) Social Identity Theory as a theoretical framework.

1.1. Statement of the problem

There is a deep relation between social- political context and perceptions. Social-political context is an essential tool for establishing desired cognitive effects on individual or group behaviors by influencing the perceptions of the people. Context as a discursive strategy 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 scenario as it is significant to uncover the discursive strategies used within the discourse structures through which cognition and discourse get their meanings and functions. 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.

A manifesto is a published verbal declaration of an individual, group, political party or government that reflects the intentions, views or motives of the issuer. In the Pakistani political system, party manifestos play an important role as they are meant to highlight party's unique vision regarding major challenges facing the country and the strategies to tackle them. In addition, manifestos serve as a tool for political parties to attract a great deal of voters by presenting and projecting their vision in a manner that people find themselves convinced and endorse this document along with the party.

The public consensus in voting a particular political party is based on the party's ideology presented in the party's manifesto.

The edifice of a nation stands on a number of institutional pillars and political system is one of them. In the past, people in Pakistan had little political awareness; their approach towards political process used to be an outcome of social factors instead of political ones; important political decisions such as casting votes were made through a traditional mindset or on the basis of loyalty to a family or group without giving consideration to elements like self-identification with a political ideology. Under such circumstances, there was an ample scope for research in the field of political science. At present, there is a shift in trends and attitudes of the people towards the political institution of Pakistan which is creating more room for research in this field.

Research in Political Science helps researchers find answers to the questions that are essential to national interest. Political Science concentrates on the theory and practice regarding politics and government at local, national and international level. There is a deep relationship between the trajectory of political science, politics and critical-political discourse analysis. A great deal of research has been conducted in Pakistani political context, through the lens of Political Science yet little attention is paid to the linguistic dimension. The present study is an attempt to fill in the above mentioned gap by linguistically and thematically analyzing political

discourse focusing on variables such as politics, discourse, ideology and identity.

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.

1.2. Objective of research

To explore the role of context in (re)constructing political ideologies and identities through the political discourse.

1.3. Research questions

How are political ideologies and identities (re)constructed through the discursive use of context in political discourse?

1.4. Significance of research

This study explores the role of context as a discursive strategy at micro and macro level in the (re)construction of ideologies and political identities. Drawing on Social Identity Theory of Social Psychology this research uncovers the ways in which discursive strategies influence political identities and ideologies. This research-design gives a better understanding of the genre under study, in the hope of adding body of literature to the relevant multiple disciplines. Focusing on the party manifestos for the election year 2013, this study draws from varied yet complementary theory and analytical framework to investigate micro and macro dimensions of analysis of the political discourse. Thus the study is significant in terms of adding body of literature to multiple fields, giving a thicker comprehension of linguistic and thematic aspects of the genre of manifesto that has gained little attention in the Pakistani political research context. This research will contribute to the body of knowledge by answering how discursive strategies are used in the political discourse; what goals they achieve; and in what ways political identities and ideologies are (re)constructed through discursive strategies in political discourse.

1.5. Delimitation

The study is delimited to political discourse in official party manifestos for the year 2013. Seven Pakistani political parties whose manifestos are critically analyzed were selected, namely Pakistan Muslim League(N), Pakistan Tahreek-e-Insaf, Pakistan People's Party, Pakistan Muslim League(Q), Muttahida Quami Movement, Baloch National Party(BNP) and Awami National Party(ANP).

1.6. Methodology

The research is qualitative in nature where Critical Discourse Analysis is used as a method and Tajfel and Turner's (1979) theory of Social Psychology (Theory of Social Identity tradition/approach) is taken as a theoretical framework.

2. Literature review

The term "identity" has often been used in the context of international political studies whose explanation has been defined by number of social and psychological theories. Among them the best explanation of identity has been provided by the social identity theory proposed by Tajfel and Turner (1979). An approach established to explain the "intergroup relations" from the field of social psychology.

The theory primarily revolves around the concept of "self" and attempts to explain the ways in which individuals sense of self varies in different settings and events. Social identity theory (SIT) and its twin theory of self-categorization holds that individual can possess multiple sense of selves that correspond with several groups to which they belong, such as personal, friends, family; professional religious and national sense of self. The proponents of this idea further argued that this sense of self is "individual-based understanding of what defines the group" (p.4). In addition, at every sense of selves we have an urge to define ourselves as in-group member to distinguish ourselves from the out-group members that consequently results in positive self-esteem.

Empirical researches in the field of SIT found that individuals attach strong inclination to their in-group members at the expense of out-group even when they were assigned on "random and trivial basis" (p.5). They had no personal and subjective relationships with in-group members nor did they have any competition with out-group members but still they consider the actions, motives of in-group as better and successful than out-group. Thus the theory has strong implications for the studies of international politics because the theory claimed that psychological factors among other materialistic factors (i.e. social, cognitive and linguistic) are the root cause of why countries failed to bring harmony, peace, justice and equality among their inhabitants. Moreover, Hymans argued that the framework of social identity is not sufficient neither ready for political studies as he further elaborates that a lot of work needs to be done by the researchers and theorists to bridge the gap between laboratory setting of the majority of social identity theory research and the actual world (Hymans, 2002).

Larson and Schevchenko (2003) have analyzed foreign policy of Russia from 1985 to 1991. A shift occurs during the reign of Gorbachev who changed the foreign policy of inevitable conflict of capitalism and socialism into the policy of cooperation among

countries to find the solution of global problem. It was argued that none of the materialists or ideational analyses can explain the dynamic changes implemented by Soviet Union. Therefore Larson and Schevchenko applied SIT to find possible explanation of this historical event. The SIT theory claimed that people's sense of self depends on their social group. They assume groups' achievement as their own and consequently try to enhance the reputation of their group. One way of doing this is to reconsider group's pessimistic or undesirable features and transform them into positive ones. The findings of the present study suggests a similar scenario as manifested by Russians who introduced new government order of corporation in order to transform its negative image into positive ones so that through exercising "soft power" they could attain prominence and greatness (p.79). This strategy adheres to the core assumption that people preferred to adopt a more positive and a unique identity to distinguish themselves from out-group members.

Hogg, Terry and White (1995) compared SIT with Identity Theory of sociology. Both the theories are closely related but had never been investigated on similar grounds. Consequently this study elaborates the commonalities, differences of both the theories and sheds some light on their implications in multiple domains. Their findings suggested that identity theory can be useful in exploring identities in relation with their social interactions while social identity theory may be more effective in discovering multiple dimensions of intergroup and in "specifying the socio-cognitive generative details of identity dynamics" (p.255).

McKinley, Mastro and Warber (2014) evaluated the sense of self (as in-group) and others (as out-group) among Latinos and white population in America with the purpose of elucidating the effects of media representations. The study analyzed two case studies through the lens of social identity theory by Turner and Tajfel (1979). The first study dealt with positive depiction of Latinos in US media and analyzed the effects of positive media representation on in-group members. The findings suggested that Latinos following the positive representations began to achieve high self-esteem and favored the in-group over the out-group in certain competitive domains. In their second study they assessed the response of white population (out-group) over the positive media representation of Latinos. The results were contrary to what was found in study 1, as white population favored their own ethnicity over Latinos. In one of the example where the depiction of white baseball player was highly encouraged by the white population who gave favorable response in terms of his future success while no such encouragement and or positive response was observed when exposed to Latino player with the same ability in baseball. Thus, both the studies confirmed the core assumption of SIT regarding the in-group favoritism and positive sense of self as compared to other out-group members.

Turner, Brown and Tajfel (1979) conducted a social experiment on 62 school students between the age of 14 and 15 to explore the core assumption (i.e. in-group favoritism) of social identity theory. The study hypothesized that favoritism towards one's own group arise due to two main reasons. (1) To boost self-esteem among in-group members, and (2) to augment rivalry against out-group members for the purpose of self and group interest. The participants were randomly subjected to money reward conditions in which they were required to distribute the cash prize on high low basis to in-group and out-group members. The research measures and compares the extent, to which participants distributed monetary rewards. The results indicated that participants sacrificed personal gains to ensure inter-group monetary reward achievements and were more discriminatory and biased towards out-group particularly when it came to high prize reward.

Luhtanen and Crocker (1992) developed a scale to measure the social or collective identity. They argued that per se social identity theory, the concept of "self" is categorized into two domains i.e. personal identity and social identity. Numerous scales have been introduced to measure and evaluate the personal sense of self in multiple domains but no such scale has been introduced to evaluate or assess the individual differences in collective identity. Therefore a measurement model with 4 subscales "(1) membership esteem, (2) public collective self-esteem (3) private collective self-esteem and (4) importance to identity" (p.302) have been introduced and experimented to test its validity and reliability. Their research studies found 4 factor model more effective than the single model in assessing collective identities of social identity theory.

3. Contextual analysis

In the light of Social Identity Theory socio political context of the discourse of party manifestos is discussed in order to evaluate the role of context in the (re)construction of political ideologies and political identities.

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 Gen 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.

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 (World: South Asia Pakistan's army and its history of politics, 1999) 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's hero Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the constitution of Pakistan and 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.

3.1. National leaders

The manifesto of PMLQ starts with directly quoting Quaid-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 plays a vital role in projecting their self-image and cognitively developing a relationship between the party and general public. Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah is the founder of Pakistan and for all Pakistanis he has the status of a National Hero. Quaid-e-Azam's quote here is serving two fold functions, firstly to have a cognitive effect on the audience by projecting PML Q as inheritor of legacy of the freedom movement, and secondly, 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 Q is the inheritor of Quaid-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. (PML N Manifesto 2013, Title Page)

PPP 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 Quaid-e-Azam's address to Pakistan's first constitutional assembly, Karachi 1947. The discursive strategy of intertextuality is used to align PPP's ideology with that of Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah. This will help the party to make people believe that Quaid's and PPP's ideology is one and the same and in this way people will identify themselves as a group who follows PPP's 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's, address to Pakistan's first Constituent Assembly, Karachi, 1947 (PPP Manifesto 2013, p. 8)

The ideology of PTI is yet another example of a party whose principles are based on that of Quaid's, whose words are quoted to positively transform people's ideology towards PTI. People believe that Pakistan came into existence owing to Quaid-e-Azam's continuous struggles, his vision and principles and being Pakistanis we must adhere to these principles. By quoting Quaid-e-Azam's principles PTI is making people believe that this party strictly follows Quaid-e-Azam's ideology hence, will help in leading people to construct public identity in favor of the party and win in-group members for them.

"We can achieve this by following the Principles of "Unity, Faith and Discipline" as expounded by the Quaid-e-Azam." (PTI Manifesto 2013, p.2)

3.2. 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 N 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 N was instrumental in inclusion of the right to education in the 18th Constitutional amendment.

"Through a series of Constitutional Amendments, including the 18th, we have transferred key powers of taxation and governance to the provinces" (PML N Manifesto 2013, p.5)

Constitutional amendments specially the 18th amendments is mentioned with reference to provincial autonomy regarding taxation and governance in order to transform people's ideology positively towards PPPP by making people realize party concern towards provincial autonomy.

"Strengthened the federation by passing the 18th Amendment and by negotiating the historic NFC Award" (PML N Manifesto 2013, p.9)

PPP claims that the party will protect the people of Pakistan. The discursive strategy of intertextuality is used by referring to the 18th 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 converge their identity with that of 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." (PPP Manifesto 2013, 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 repeatedly referred to in the party's manifesto. The advocates of 1973 constitution will identify themselves as a part of PTI.

According to 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. The Bill that is enhanced by the Sindh Assembly is specially referred 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 accept 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. (MQM Manifesto 2013, p. 1)

ANP also refers to the 18th constitutional amendment in relation to provincial autonomy. ANP shows its complete concern in implementing the 18th amendment, which will help the party win the favor of the advocates of provincial autonomy. People will change their ideology in favor of ANP and recognize themselves as in-group members of this party.

"ANP will ensure full implementation of the 18th Constitutional Amendment, particularly with regards to oil, gas, water and power, energy, health and education." (ANP Manifesto 2103, p. 4)

3.3. 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 (N) 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 by the party. The discursive strategy of intertextuality is used to positively transform the ideology of the parents and all Muslims towards PML (N).

"The PML(N) promises to work on legislation which protects the basic rights of the child as enjoined in the Quran and enunciated in the UN Child Rights Convention." (PML N Manifesto 2013, p. 27)

The preamble of the manifesto of PTI begins with reference to the vision of an Islamic republic that advocates modernization, tolerance and freedom for all. The discursive strategies of intertextuality are used to refer to Islamic vision by promoting religious freedom for all hence, leading to in-group all Muslims on one hand and minorities on the other. In this way not only the Muslims but also the non-Muslims will identify themselves as members 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." (PTI Manifesto 2013, p. 2)

3.4. 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 focuses 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.

For example in the lines below, BNP by incorporating the discursive strategy of intertextuality and referring to foreign policy of Pakistan actually implies a strong criticism of the past policies adopted by the political parties in government. The use of intertextuality is serving two functions; one by highlighting weak areas of the

previous foreign policies and its impact on the nation, the said party has framed negative cognition for the other parties, second the party has projected its own positive self-image by showing its political will to establish a foreign policy that is positive and independent.

Pakistan's Foreign Policy since the beginning has been under the influence of external forces. Its policies have been under the influence of military and political strategic plan of external forces. In the external affairs Pakistan has practically given up, due to which Pakistan has lost its dignity as an independent state. In fact the nation has become the slave of external forces. The government of Pakistan since the beginning has adopted the policy of frigid relations with the neighboring countries. Till day with most of the neighboring countries Pakistan have frigid and bad relations. For the accomplishment of an independent, positive, foreign policy we will take measures on the following bases: (BNP Manifesto 2013, p.3).

PML (N) also refers to the foreign policy, it states in the manifesto that the security and foreign policy of Pakistan needs review. This implies that the foreign policy of the country is not satisfactory and needs improvement and this improvement will be brought by PML (N) thus, by referring to this policy the party has used the discursive strategy of intertextuality to win peoples vote by transforming their ideology and making them 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." (PML N Manifesto 2013, p. 80).

PPP 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 PPP 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 initiate 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." (PPP Manifesto 2013, 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 focused 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, urbanization and Kashmir conflict etc. All the parties under study have ideologically used the context of the mentioned areas and addressed the said areas in order to shape 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.

4. Findings and conclusion

Contextual analysis of the selected manifestos pertaining to the aforementioned political parties revealed the socio-cognitive aspects related to the overall paradigm of ideology construction. The sociological and cognitive dimensions of ideologies construction in the present analytical context, centered on Van Dijk's contributions explicating the role of contextual details in the reconstruction of socio-political ideologies. The section of analysis primarily focused the theological, constitutional, and international concerns, shaping the ideological structure of Pakistan in general and Pakistani nation in particular. A diachronic as well as synchronic elaboration of concerned ideologies and their dynamic role during the general election 2013, revealed the emphatic and categorical impact of discursive practices in the life of a nation.

According to Van Dijk (1998) Context has an integral worth in the study of social cognitive aspects. According to him the main hypothesis of the context model is that the mind is socially constructed. In the light of Social Identity Theory, socio political context of the discourse of party manifestos was analyzed and the study explored that context plays a vital role in the (re)construction of political ideologies and political identities.

Pakistan is a democratic parliamentary federal republic with Islam its state religion. Muhammad Ali Jinnah was the founder of Pakistan. A new constitution was adopted by Pakistan in 1956. In 1973 a comprehensive and complete constitution was adopted. This document is considered to be the most important document of the nation. In addition, throughout the history of Pakistan, military establishment has played an essential and powerful role in mainstream politics.

As a result of Martial law many military commanders governed as de-facto president.

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's 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 areas of focus.

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, urbanization and Kashmir conflict etc. All the parties in question have ideologically incorporated the context of the mentioned areas so to frame people's ideology in their favor or to portray a negative image of their counterparts. 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. All the parties have took advantage of the context to establish a positive cognitive link between the party itself, with the context that the party may relate to, and the public.

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