

Journal homepage: <https://jll.uoch.edu.pk/index.php/jll>

## Miftah Ismail's *The One Per Cent Republic*: A Critical Discourse Analysis

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### Article Info

Article History:

Received 14 June 2023

Revised 24 June 2023

Accepted 29 June 2023

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### Keywords:

One Percent Republic,

elite capture,

social contract,

critical discourse analysis,

Fairclough's three-dimensional model

### Abstract

This paper applies Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) using Fairclough's three-dimensional model to analyze Miftah Ismail's article *The One Per Cent Republic* published in Daily Dawn Newspaper. Ismail is a prominent political economist of Pakistan. He asserts that under the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, only the top one per cent of the country's people have access to resources, wealth, and opportunity, hence the country should rather be called as the One Per Cent Republic. This study aims to understand the critique of power structure, socioeconomic disparity, wealth concentration, colonial linguistic divide, elitist education, family influence, exclusive health facilities and social mobility in Pakistan as expressed by Ismail. Ismail finds this elite capture as the root cause behind Pakistan's economic, political and social issues, he therefore calls all the stakeholders of the nation to sit and create a new social contract based on inclusiveness of all social strata and viable for country's growth and sustainable human development.

### Introduction

This research paper critically examines Miftah Ismail's work *The One Percent Republic* in an effort of understanding the socio-politico-economic intricacies of Pakistan. Ismail, a well-known political economist from Pakistan, claims that the Islamic Republic of Pakistan is characterized by a power structure that concentrates resources, wealth, and opportunities exclusively in the hands of the top one percent of its population, justifying the name "One Percent Republic". This study aims to analyze Ismail's criticism of Pakistan's prevailing power structures, socioeconomic inequalities, wealth concentration, linguistic divide, elitist educational system, familial influence, exclusive healthcare facilities, and social mobility through the prism of Fairclough's three-dimensional model of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA).

To understand Pakistan's complex sociopolitical economic context and to engage with pressing concerns, CDA must be used, as this study indicates. This research aims to add to the greater conversation on Pakistan's development and the pressing need for an inclusive and fair approach to national growth and development by exposing power structures, societal inequities, and prevailing ideologies.

### Literature Review

Ismail is a famous Pakistani political economist. He has served on the position of the Federal Minister of Finance twice, prior to which Ismail had been the Advisor on Finance, Revenue and Economic Affairs, the Chairman of the Pakistan Board of Investment and also an economist at the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Ismail has always expressed commitment to economic principles rooted in neoliberal ideology and he tries to seek solutions from it, for the economic problems in Pakistan. Ismail often criticizes the concentration of wealth and power in Pakistani society, spotlighting the unequal distribution of resources and limited access to quality education in the country. His observations resonate with related studies which use CDA to uncover power relations, ideologies, and social inequalities in discourse. CDA allows for an analysis of the underlying power relations, ideologies, and social

implications within Ismail's argument. This study highlights the value of CDA in understanding the complexities of Pakistan's socio-politico-economic landscape and its engaging with critical issues.

Fairclough proposed a model of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) in his work *Language and Power* (1989). His model focuses not only the production and reception of text or talk, but also the contextualization of discourse fragments. It provides a framework for studying discourse by considering the textual, contextual, and power dimensions, and it also highlights the social aspect of language and how discourse is used to exercise social and political domination. By applying this model, insights into the complexities of discourse and the power relations embedded within it, can be sought.

Numerous studies have been conducted with Fairclough's model of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), highlighting their utility to various domains and topics. Rehman his paper "Persuasion and Political Discourse: A Critical Discourse Analysis of Imran Khan's UNGA Speech" explains the ideologies and visions of political leaders, focusing on Pakistani Prime Minister Imran Khan's speech at the 74<sup>th</sup> session of the UNGA. Using Fairclough's model, the researchers found how linguistic tools were employed to achieve political objectives. Imran Khan logically communicates his four-point agenda, addressing global issues such as climate change, money laundering, Islamophobia, and the Kashmir dispute.

The study "Critical Discourse Analysis of Martin Luther King's Speech in Socio-Political Perspective" by Muhammad Aslam Sipra and Athar Rashid is CDA of the first part of King's speech "I Have a Dream" in the socio-political context. The study applies Fairclough's version of CDA to analyze the text and elucidates social, cultural, and political inequalities based on the text and framework. However, the study has some limitations, such as analyzing only a portion of one speech due to the complexity of handling the entire speech or all of King Luther's speeches. Despite these limitations, the analysis reveals that the speech employs various textual and stylistic devices to convey a specific purpose effectively.

Amerian and Esmaceli in "Language and gender: A critical discourse analysis on gender representation in a series of international ELT textbooks", oversee the representation of gender in the American Headway Student Textbooks, focusing on the overt and covert sexism present in the series. Using Fairclough's three-dimensional model, the study systematically analyzes various factors such as character portrayal, social and domestic roles, semantic roles and titles, order of appearance, generic constructions, activities, and pictorial representation of both genders. The findings indicate that the textbooks exhibit clear discrimination against females and exploit them for advertising purposes to promote sales. The study suggests that the series promote an ideology of capitalism, instilling values and norms related to the market and benefit-seeking. Consequently, American Headway Student Textbooks serve as a medium for the hidden curriculum of perpetuating stereotypes and capitalist ideals.

Another study by Esmaceli and Amerian "Gender Representation in Iranian High School English Textbooks with a Critical Discourse Analysis Perspective" investigates the representation of gender in three English Language teaching textbooks used in Iranian high schools. Employing Fairclough's three-dimensional model, it studies various aspects of gender portrayal. The findings reveal a sexist attitude in favor of men, with women being underrepresented and subjected to gender intolerance. The study suggests that this bias is rooted in Iranian culture and highlights how the textbooks perpetuate gender stereotypes and cultural norms.

*Wafa Aljuaythin uses Fairclough's three-dimensional model to analyse how gender is portrayed in two EFL textbooks for elementary students in Saudi Arabia, in her study, "Gender Representation in EFL Textbooks in Saudi Arabia: A Critical Discourse Analysis Approach,".* To comprehend the underlying ideological functions of power relations and social conflicts, the study compares male and female occurrences, activities, graphical representations, and social positions. The results showed a gender gap that favored men and portrayed women as stereotypically marginalized. This study highlights the importance of addressing gender asymmetry in educational materials to promote equality.

The research titled "Critical Discourse: Applying Norman Fairclough Theory in Recep Tayyip Erdogan's Balcony Speech" by Rika Wahyuni Tambunan et al., employs qualitative methods and critical discourse analysis to analyze the textual, discursive, and sociocultural aspects of the speech. The textual analysis focuses on the structure, grammar, and coherence of the speech. The analysis of the practice of discourse covers the process of production, deployment, and consumption of the discourse. The socio-cultural analysis examines the situational, institutional, and social dimensions. The findings indicate that Erdogan's speech is characterized by motivational language, confidence-building, and the desire to protect and fight for Turkey's independence. The study demonstrates how Fairclough's theory reveals the linguistic features used in speech and the broader social and power relations associated with it.

### Theoretical Framework

This paper uses Norman Fairclough's three-dimensional model of critical discourse analysis to study Miftah Ismail's article *The One Per Cent Republic* published in Daily Dawn Newspaper on November 10, 2022.

According to Mullet (2017), critical discourse analysis is a qualitative investigative approach for critically elaborating, construing and articulating the ways in which discourses construct and legitimize social inequalities within a larger context. It is a method for analyzing how language interacts with power and ideology (Fairclough, 2013). While doing critical discourse analysis a piece of text or discourse is selected to be studied. ‘Language in use’ or ‘situated text and talk’ are somewhat broad definitions of discourse (Hall, 1996), Fasold (1990) says, “The study of discourse is the study of language” and George Orwell (1949) claims that “*the control of language is the key to political power*”. Michael Halliday calls discourse a unit of language larger than a sentence and which is firmly rooted in a specific context (Martin and Ringham, 2000: 51). It is communication in the medium of language (Johnstone, 2008). Van Dijk (1993, 1998, and 2011) sees it as a deliberately manipulative activity, which operates by making use of those structures and strategies that manipulate the mental models of the audience (Van Dijk, 1993: 280). In this context, Ruth Wodak (2001) regards critical discourse analysis as fundamentally concerned with analyzing opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language. Fairclough (1992) says:

On the one hand, discourse is shaped and constrained by the social structure in the widest sense and at all levels: by class and other social relations at a societal level, by the relations specific to particular fourteen institutions such as law or education, by systems of classification, by various norms and conventions of both a discursive and non-discursive nature and so forth... On the other hand, discourse is socially constitutive... Discourse contributes to the constitution of all those dimensions of social structure which directly or indirectly shape and constrain it: its own norms and conventions, as well as the relations, identities and institutions which lie behind them. Discourse is a practice not just of representing the world, but of signifying the world, constituting and constructing the world in meaning (p. 64).

For Fairclough, ideology is a system of ideas, values and beliefs oriented to explaining the status quo and certain political order, legitimizing existing hierarchies and power relations and preserving identities (Chiapello & Fairclough, 2002: 187).

In his approach to studying a discourse, Fairclough provides the Three-Dimensional model which is a three-layered critical analysis of a given discourse. According to Fairclough, the first dimension is ‘text’ whereby linguistic description of the text or textual analysis is undertaken. The second dimension of Fairclough’s model is ‘discourse practice’ where discursive analysis is required to interpret the given text or discourse, and the third dimension depicts ‘language as a sociocultural practice’ where text explanation is inferred to understand the situational, institutional and socio-political role of the given text or discourse. Following is the graphical representation of Fairclough’s three-dimensional model of CDA.

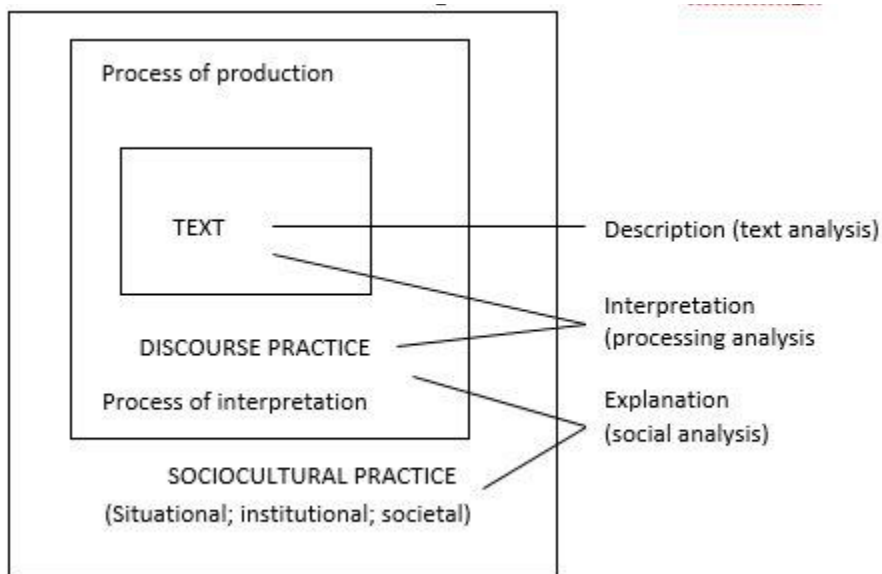


Figure 1: Fairclough’s Three Dimensional Model of Critical Discourse Analysis

Source: Fairclough, 1995: p. 98

Fairclough's three-dimensional model of CDA allows researchers to identify deeper meanings and implications embedded in a discourse. CDA, as described by Van Dijk (1998), is a valuable tool for analyzing both written and spoken materials. It helps reveal biases, differences, power dynamics, and underlying agendas within the discourse. Fairclough also emphasized the application of CDA in critically analyzing different forms of discourse to understand power structures and identify hidden intentions (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997).

### **Data Analysis and Discussion**

#### **Critique of Pakistan's Power Structure and Economic Inequality**

Ismail argues that "Pakistan shouldn't be called the Islamic Republic but rather the One Per Cent Republic" (2022). He claims that Pakistan's economy is still in its infancy since the top one per cent of the population have all the opportunities, influence, and riches. He draws the analogy of assembling a cricket team solely from players born in the second week of November to illustrate the unfair and irrational way top people are chosen in Pakistan. Through this metaphor, Ismail suggests that Pakistan's system of selecting top people is arbitrary and ignores the talent of many people who could contribute to the country's development. He also argues that Pakistan's economy is held back by this inequality, as the country is not benefiting from the full potential of its population (Ismail, 2022)

Ismail indicates that Pakistan is not truly Islamic but rather a republic for the top one per cent of people. This suggests that the current system is not in line with the values of Islam, which emphasizes social justice and equality. Hence Ismail is making a critique of the current power structure in Pakistan and calling for greater equality and social justice.

#### **Colonial Legacy and Elitist Education in Pakistan**

Historically, colonialism has left strong fingerprints on Pakistan's social, economic, and educational systems. The effect of colonialism, particularly British colonial control, has contributed to the formation and preservation of elitist educational institutions that serve primarily to the privileged elements of society (Qayyum, Saleem, & Shezad, 2015).

During the colonial period, educational institutions were founded largely to serve the ruling elite, preserving a privilege and power system. Ismail highlights the prominence of Aitchison College in Lahore and Karachi Grammar School, which can be traced back to their colonial origins (Ismail, 2022). These institutions were founded to educate the children of the British ruling class and have remained elite over the years.

The Cambridge schooling system in Pakistan dates to the colonial era when British influence impacted the region's educational scene. The British colonial authorities established a British-style education system, with the University of Cambridge serving as a model for curriculum and examinations (Ahmad, Ali, & Kabir, 2018). The Cambridge system was often perceived as offering a more rigorous and comprehensive curriculum compared to the local Matric system. Elite families sought educational options that provided a broader range of subjects, critical thinking skills, and exposure to global perspectives. The Cambridge system was perceived as fulfilling these aspirations and preparing students for leadership roles and success in higher education. Only a few private, elite schools use this technique. Other private schools choose 'bright' children whose parents can afford to pay for the Cambridge system from both systems meanwhile others are asked to enroll in the Matric system. (Rehmani, 2003). Both systems provide completely different curricula, topic options from any discipline, exam procedures, paper formats, styles, and levels of reliability and credibility (Naqvi, 2002).

The Cambridge system has been associated with a higher social status and perceived quality education. Elite families in Pakistan have traditionally sought to enroll their children in Cambridge schools as a symbol of prestige and access to superior educational opportunities (Ishfaq, 2009). This structure has, in some ways, divided society into elite and non-elite segments. The Cambridge education system in Pakistan is also frequently linked to private schools and institutions due to hefty tuition prices, which makes it less accessible to a significant percentage of the general populace (Rana, 2004). This limited accessibility further reinforces the socio-economic disparities and contributes to the elitism associated with the Cambridge education system.

Pakistan was described as "among the world's worst performing countries in education," at the 2015 Oslo Summit on Education and Development (Human Rights Watch, 2018). While certain actions have been done subsequently to better the chances for young people, the main issue remains class differences, such as those between the elite, middle class, and lower class (Basir, 2022).

Supporters of elite educational institutions may argue that these schools provide high-quality education and groom individuals to become future leaders and professionals. They might emphasize the long-standing traditions, networks, and connections established within these institutions, which can potentially contribute to the betterment of society.

It's important to note that this perspective highlights the belief in the meritocratic principles of equal opportunity and recognition based on individual talent and achievements. However, it does not address the systemic barriers and inequalities that may prevent equal access to these elite institutions and perpetuate social stratification.

However, the limited access to elite schools for a significant portion of the population (which according to Miftah Ismail is around one per cent of the population of Pakistan only) creates a disparity in educational opportunities. Without the same level of resources and prestigious networks, individuals from less privileged backgrounds may face challenges in obtaining the same educational advantages and opportunities for social mobility.

This situation can contribute to a cycle of disadvantage and limited upward mobility. Students from lower-income families may attend under-resourced schools that provide fewer possibilities for excellent education, extracurricular activities, and exposure to influential networks. As a result, when it comes to higher education admittance, professional possibilities, and social progression, they may face greater challenges than their classmates from elite institutions.

Moreover, Ismail's use of language such as, "*inordinate number*" and "*inordinate concentration*" suggests a critical stance toward this concentration of power and wealth. It implies that this situation is unfair, highlighting the unequal distribution of opportunities and resources in Pakistani society. The critique centers on the notion that a small group of privileged individuals continues to occupy influential positions, thus limiting social mobility for the majority.

Miftah Ismail speaking about elite capture while being part of the elite himself raises an important point about the potential bias or conflict of interest that individuals from privileged backgrounds may have when discussing such issues (Salman, 2023). On one hand, Miftah Ismail's prominence and position as a finance minister provide him with insights and knowledge about the functioning of the elite and their influence on the socio-economic landscape. However, it is important to recognize the potential limitations of his perspective due to his own elite status. The irony lies in the fact that individuals from the elite class may benefit from or be associated with the very system they criticize.

Ismail in his article "One per cent Republic" (2022) says that Aitchison College in Lahore has produced half of our Supreme Court justices and federal cabinet ministers. A specific observation regarding the concentration of power in certain institutions provides assessable information about the representation of individuals from this school in positions of authority, specifically mentioning the "Supreme Court judges and members of the federal cabinet". This concentration of power in specific institutions raises questions about the fairness and transparency of the selection process for these positions. It suggests that there may be a potential bias or lack of meritocracy in the appointment of Supreme Court judges and members of the federal cabinet.

### **Wealth Concentration in Pakistan: A Historical Perspective**

Shahid Javed Burki, former Finance Minister of Pakistan in his article in the Express Tribune states that the super-rich, constituting 0.001 per cent of the population, earn 180 times more than the poorest 18 million (Burki, 2011). By highlighting the enormous income discrepancy between the super-rich and the lowest group of people, he subtly implies that wealth is distributed inequitably. But Dr. Mehboob ul Haq, a Pakistani economist, international development theorist, and politician who also served as Pakistan's Federal Minister of Finance from 1998 to 1998, recognized the problem as early as the 1960s, a little over ten years after Pakistan's independence from both the British Raj and Hindu rule.

Dr. Haq claims that the economy of Pakistan was dominated by twenty-two families owning sixty six percent of the country's total industrial assets, seventy percent of insurance and eighty percent of its banking. He placed Adamjee's family on the third slot after the Dawoods and Saigols. Most of these original twenty-two families are now either out of business or play a much-reduced role in the current economic affairs of Pakistan (Sehgal, 2022). A Chinese saying that goes "wealth does not last beyond three generations" is appropriate here. Ismail's reference to Dr. Mahbub ul Haq's identification of the twenty-two families highlights the historical reality of wealth concentration in Pakistan. However, by only focusing on these specific families, Ismail overlooks the complexity of wealth distribution in the country. This oversimplification fails to acknowledge the broader range of actors and institutions that contribute to the concentration of wealth, potentially perpetuating existing power structures.

"Today too we can identify as many families who control a high proportion of national wealth" (Ismail, 2022). Without providing specific evidence or elaboration, Ismail acknowledges the continued existence of families with significant control over national wealth. However, by aligning it with the previous mention of the "twenty-two families," Ismail perpetuates the notion that the same families remain dominant, disregarding the emergence of new influential players in Pakistan's economy. This overlooks the evolving dynamics of wealth accumulation and concentration and fails to account for the changing landscape of economic power.

Ismail (2022) argues that the concentration of wealth is a global phenomenon, particularly in emerging nations, and is not limited to Pakistan. The issue is that many of the same families continue to hold significant financial power five decades after Dr. Haq's identification. By emphasizing that this is not a unique problem to Pakistan, Ismail

might be attempting to shift the focus away from his own status as an elite in Pakistan and instead position the issue as a broader societal concern. By stating that “many of the same families” still control wealth after five decades, Ismail indirectly acknowledges the lack of significant change or redistribution of wealth over time.

### **Challenging Generalizations about Success and Family Influence**

In Pakistan “almost every successful Pakistani owes his success to his father’s position” (Ismail, 2022). This statement generalizes the success of almost every successful Pakistani, attributing it solely to their family position. It is simplistic to believe that all successful Pakistanis attribute their success only to their family histories, even if it is true that family ties and inherited money may play a factor in a person’s success, ignores the skill, perseverance, and hard work of great businesspeople in Pakistan who have made major economic achievements, such as the UK’s richest Pakistani, Malik Riaz, the proprietor of the Bahria Town Group, is one of Pakistan’s well-known real estate tycoons. Despite his wealth being known in the country, many remain unaware of Riaz’s humble beginnings, with his first job being as a clerk for the military engineering service. Anwar Pervez, on the other hand, is a person of modest beginnings who worked as a bus conductor in Bradford, England, for his first employment (Rehan, 2022).

It is acknowledged that Pakistan’s entrepreneurial landscape may have faced challenges however, recognizing and appreciating the accomplishments of those who have successfully built businesses, created jobs, and contributed to economic growth without relying solely on family wealth or connections is crucial.

Furthermore, Ismail’s statement is narrow focused on American rich individuals while disregarding successful individuals from other countries, including Pakistan’s neighboring countries, who have built their empires from scratch without relying on generational wealth such as Jack Ma from China, co-founder of the Alibaba Group, one of the biggest e-commerce platforms in the world, and a successful entrepreneur. He built Alibaba from scratch and transformed it into a global tech giant. Ma’s success story highlights the potential for individuals to rise from humble beginnings to become influential figures in the business world; Narendra Modi, while widely recognized as a prominent political figure and the current Prime Minister of India, had worked as a tea vendor assisting his father in their family tea stall in Gujarat before entering politics and becoming a prominent personality in Indian politics.

By solely highlighting American examples such as Bill Gates, Mark Zuckerberg, and Jeff Bezos, Ismail overlooks the global diversity of self-made entrepreneurs and fails to recognize the accomplishments of individuals from different backgrounds and regions. Ismail’s exclusion of such stories creates an incomplete narrative and undermines the efforts and achievements of individuals who have overcome various challenges making Ismail’s analysis limited and failing to provide a comprehensive understanding of the global entrepreneurial landscape.

### **Success and Social Mobility in Pakistan: Beyond the Family Background**

Ismail generalizes the experiences and aspirations of individuals from different backgrounds. While it is true that certain professions or industries may exhibit a pattern of familial influence or tradition, it is crude to assume that every individual from a particular background is bound to follow the same path.

Ismail’s statement also overlooks the agency and choices individuals have in shaping their futures. While societal constraints and limited opportunities may pose challenges, it is important to acknowledge that individuals can defy expectations and pursue different paths based on their interests, talents, and determination.

Moreover, in his statement, “a driver’s son is constrained to become a driver, a jamadaar’s son is destined to become a jamadaar, and a maid’s daughter ends up becoming a maid” (Ismail, 2022), Ismail gives a deterministic view of social mobility, suggesting that one’s destiny is predetermined solely by their family background. This disregards the role of individual effort, hard work, and personal resilience in achieving success. It fails to acknowledge the countless examples of individuals who have overcome adversity and social barriers to achieve remarkable accomplishments in diverse fields. Additionally, by focusing solely on occupational or professional trajectories it reduces the notion of success to narrow occupational categories, neglecting the rich diversity of talents, passions, and aspirations that individuals possess.

### **The Linguistic Divide and English as a Gatekeeper in Pakistan**

Ismail calls ‘English as a gatekeeper’ in Pakistan. “Top corporate and other professionals only come from the urban English-educated elites, especially from the two schools (Aitchison College Lahore and Karachi Grammar School)”, says Ismail (2022). He clarifies that the linguistic divide in Pakistan is not of Sindhi, Punjabi, or other regional languages, it is between English-speaking elites versus non-elites who cannot speak English well. This system, according to Ismail, is exclusive and prevents people from non-elite backgrounds from accessing these positions. The bureaucracy and the military, which are the only influential fields into which non-elites may break, are likewise organized in a fashion that supports this elite system. It suggests that the country’s system is not based on meritocracy. Furthermore, Ismail argues that the lifestyle of people in the highest echelons of bureaucracy and the military is like that of British colonial officials, which reinforces the idea that the system is not truly Pakistani.

### **Is Pakistan's Political System Dynastic and Undemocratic?**

According to Ismail, political power is mainly concentrated among individuals rather than political groups. All the way down to the local level, where politicians come from 'electable' families, meaning that their fathers and grandfathers have all previously held public office (2022). Hence, Ismail identifies the political system of Pakistan as dynastic. It is undemocratic and does not allow for a change in leadership.

Ismail highlights the issue of political power in Pakistan and how it is concentrated in individuals rather than political parties. He argues that on the top leadership level political dynasties operate, in addition to the local level politics where families of electable hold power. These electable maneuver to become stakeholders of every possible government. Also, these electable families function as a swing to make and break the governments. Thus, Ismail makes a critique of the current political system in Pakistan and urges for greater democratic participation and representation.

### **Addressing Education Inequality and Talent Retention**

Ismail (2022) claims that less than one percent of Pakistani children receive proper education. While it is true that Pakistan faces challenges in providing quality education to all its citizens, the specific percentage mentioned lacks context and evidence. Ismail suggests that many brilliant children in Pakistan do not complete their education and end up in menial jobs. Even though it is true that socioeconomic issues might impede educational performance, it would be unjustifiable to blame only the children's intelligence for this. A child's educational path can be severely impacted by elements including poverty, a lack of resources, and social limitations.

Moreover, Ismail asserts that Pakistan is a "graveyard for the talent and aspirations" of its people (2022). While brain drain and the loss of talented individuals to emigration can be a concern for any country, it is essential to consider the multiple factors contributing to this phenomenon such as, economic opportunities, political stability, and social factors are all elements that can influence talent retention and development.

It is crucial to notice what Ismail failed to acknowledge is that Pakistan has produced exceptional individuals in various fields, including science, literature, and peace activism, who have achieved international recognition such as Arfa Karim, a Pakistani student and computer prodigy who became the youngest Microsoft Certified Professional in 2004 made into the Guinness Book of World Records, Pervez Hoodbhoy, a Pakistani nuclear physicist and activist, Muniba Mazari, the Iron Lady of Pakistan shortlisted as 100 Inspirational Women of 2015 by BBC. She also made it to the Forbes 30 under 30 list for 2016, Abdul Sattar Edhi the great philanthropist of Pakistan and many more. However, there is always room for improvement in terms of providing quality education, creating opportunities, and fostering an environment conducive to talent development.

### **Child Malnutrition and Undernutrition in Pakistan**

Ismail cites data from UNICEF highlighting that "forty percent of Pakistani children under the age of five are stunted, another eighteen percent are wasted and twenty eight percent are underweight". It implies that a high percentage of Pakistani children go to bed hungry most of the time and are likely to die before even turning five. Ismail uses the discursive strategy of personalization to suggest that this is a problem that affects all of us and that we need to take responsibility for addressing it.

### **The Urgent Need for a New Social Contract: Taking Responsibility**

Ismail calls people to have a new social contract. The current social contract which the country is following since its inception has not produced the results it was supposed to, argues Ismail. On the other hand, it has rifted society into an unending vicious cycle of poverty, an existential threat, and a struggling economy. Ismail thinks that this social contract is no longer admissible to materialize the vision of Pakistan. Today, the country has become a One Percent Republic because of this social contract. Hence it needs to be substituted.

The idea of social contract was propagated by famous philosophers including Thomas Hobbes in his book Leviathan, John Locke in his works of Two Treaties of Government and Jean-Jacques Rousseau in his book The Social Contract. They all believed that man lived in the State of Nature in the pre-political era. The state emerged because of a Social Contract among the people. Hobbesian social contract produces a powerful monarch whom he names the Leviathan. Lockean social contract advocates a representative form of government, whereas Rousseau's social contract gives birth to the concepts of popular sovereignty and general will.

Although Ismail does not clearly mention the sort of social contract he suggests, being a neo-liberal economist, he would desire Rousseau's model of state. Ismail does not align himself with the ideas of socialism and controlled economy moreover. According to Ismail, only key structural changes can provide a better future for the country, for which all the stakeholders of this nation would need to enter a new social contract based on meritocracy and providing equal opportunities to all the social classes.

### Conclusion

In conclusion, our analysis of Miftah Ismail's article *The One Per Cent Republic* using Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) through Fairclough's three-dimensional Model has shed light on the pressing issues plaguing Pakistan's society. Ismail's keenness on the prevailing power structure, socioeconomic inequalities, wealth concentration, and unequal access to essential resources resonates with related studies employing CDA to uncover power relations and social inequalities in discourse.

Ismail's opinions have tremendous weight and urgency given his distinguished record as a Pakistani political economist and former Federal Minister of Finance. He promotes the need for a more inclusive and equitable social contract that addresses the underlying causes of the nation's economic, political, and social issues by stressing the concentration of wealth and power among the top one percent of the population.

Fairclough's three-dimensional Model of CDA provided a valuable framework for understanding the complexities of Ismail's discourse, revealing the underlying power relations and ideologies shaping his arguments. Through this analysis, we gained insights into the socio-political implications of the prevailing power dynamics in Pakistan and the urgent need for change. Our study shows the usefulness of discourse analysis in understanding the realities of our society and serves as a platform for further research into the transformative potential of inclusive policy.

This research highlights the value of employing CDA in comprehending and addressing critical issues within Pakistan's socio-political-economic landscape. By engaging with such perspectives and uncovering dominant ideologies, we can take significant steps toward fostering inclusivity, reducing discrepancies, and promoting sustainable human development for the nation.

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