
Ideological Foundations of Political Manifesto of a Neo-Right Wing Party in Pakistan

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This study has analyzed the manifesto of right wing political parties like Jamate Islami (JI), Jameeat Ulema Islam Fazal Ur Rehman (JUIF) and Tehreek-e-Labbaik Pakistan (TLP), as neo-right wing political parties. This work has analysed the case study of the election manifesto of one of these political parties in Pakistan during the elections of 2024. It has explored the ideological framework and political messaging through a thematic analysis of the manifesto as political manifestos are an important tool for parties to express the respective ideologies, core agendas, policies, and promises. A qualitative approach has been adopted to enunciate the Braun and Clarke framework for thematic analysis to examine underlying themes in the manifesto. After coding, themes were drawn and merged, resulting in five themes from the analyses: core political ideology, narratives of threat and protection, global Muslim identity, external enemies and sovereignty, governance, and welfare. The analysis shows that among these political parties, TLP constructs a consistent ideology throughout the manifesto. The core revolves around Islam and its role in governance and politics, where religious ideology and legitimacy support political authority. There was a construction of both internal and external threats which justified defensive measures and policies. The insights from this paper will contribute to broader discussions on religious populism and the influence of ideology in shaping political behaviour in Pakistan.

Key Words: Right Wing Politics, Party Manifesto, Blasphemy, Religious Populism, Ideological Framework.

Introduction

The election manifestos of political parties are blueprints for their plans, welfare programs and both domestic and international policies. Political parties organize political rhetoric, program agenda and building credibility in the eyes of the public. Political parties re-approach themselves towards public by committing to publicize set goals and agendas to attract popular support to secure votes in general elections.¹ They are regarded as powerful campaigning tools for political parties in general elections to persuade voters.² It is important to understand the significance of these political manifestos because these documents have both ideological and strategic value and these reflect the entire stance of a party: its ideology, values and insights into its mobilization strategies and broader policy goals. Therefore, the significance of political manifestos cannot be overemphasized. These are crucial for understanding how political parties frame political, social, governance and religious issues. As a result, manifestos are widely regarded as key documents that show where a party lies on the ideological spectrum, what its policy goals are, and how it plans to position itself in electoral politics. These manifestos also reflect the core principles, the 'non-negotiable' agendas, symbols and slogans of election campaigns, promises and commitments.³

From the perspective of Political science, 'the right wing' depicts socio-political actors which uphold and supports social and religious conservatism, preservation of identity and traditions. In Pakistan, these religious actors in politics and society advocates for protecting Islamic identity, socio-religious conservatism as a status quo against perceived ideas of secularism, therefore, qualify to become religious right wing. The evolution of Pakistan's right-wing politics has been thin but linear. It has progressed from adopting the Objectives Resolution in 1949 to the Islamization policies of General Zia-ul-Haq in the 1980s, each reshaping the role of religion in public life. This work attempts to make sense of Pakistan, the country's ideological identity remains contested, with successive governments and political actors interpreting Islam in ways that is aligned with their political agendas. This ongoing quest has led to the use of Islam as a political tool by various actors, resulting in sectarianism, discrimination, and social divisions. The interpretation of Islam in Pakistan's governance has been shaped by successive governments and political agendas, contributing to the country's ideological contest. This has allowed right-wing movements to thrive, leveraging religious sentiment to consolidate power and influence.

Religious-conservative parties like Jamaat-e-Islami (JI) and Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam (JUI-F) are among the most significant actors in Pakistan's right-wing landscape. In this analysis, the terms “right-wing” and “religious political parties” are used synonymously, primarily referring to groups such as Jamaat-e-Islami (JI), Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam-Fazl (JUI-F), and Tehreek-e-Labbaik Pakistan (TLP).

These parties draw on deeply rooted ideological traditions and adapt to contemporary political challenges, blending religious doctrine with populist rhetoric. For instance, JI, under the intellectual leadership of Maulana Abul Ala Maududi, championed the idea of an Islamic state governed by Sharia.⁴ In contrast, JUI-F, a political party rooted in the Deobandi tradition and emerging from the Jamiat Ulema-i-Hind (JUH), was formed in 1919,⁵ focuses on grassroots mobilization through its extensive network of madrassas. Unlike JI's intellectual and urban-oriented strategy, JUI-F's political strength lies in its ability to engage rural constituencies and negotiate power within the state apparatus. This role of ideology and political pragmatism exemplifies the adaptive nature of right-wing politics in Pakistan, allowing right-wing movements to reinvent themselves without abandoning core ideologies.

The post-9/11 period marks a new phase characterized by mass mobilization, street protests, and a media-savvy approach to religious populism. Rooted in the Barelvi school of Sunni Islam, the party represents a significant shift from the Deobandi-dominated religious politics. While previous groups like JI and JUI-F focused on institutional religious education and long-term political strategies, it has harnessed public support on populist rhetoric. Its capacity to mobilise major cities through mass protests, induce policy changes, and attract media attention has transformed it from a fringe movement into a significant political entity. Domestically, the growth of particular party signifies increasing discontent with mainstream parties and a perceived decline in religious and cultural values. Internationally, it reflects a broader global trend in which identity politics and religious orthodoxy are used for political advantage.

Accordingly, the themes that emerged, revolves around religious beliefs, threat perceptions, global Muslim unity, governance issues, and welfare. The study also highlights the intersections between religious ideology, national sovereignty, and social welfare in the political discourse of the party. Like other political parties there is a need to study its election manifesto on the scales of a political party; whether it incorporates economic policies, welfare programs for the overall well-being of the people and community service. The election manifesto of a political party

cannot be separated from its ideology because all aspects of practical governance are linked to ideological beliefs.

Literature Review

The existing scholarship on political party manifestos in Pakistan highlights the strategic and ideological nature of political discourse. The promises and core agendas by religious parties like Jamat-e-Islami Pakistan (JI) and Tehreek-e-Labbaik (TLP)⁶ are based on Islamic principles. Both the parties have embedded these values into respective manifestos.⁷ Some scholars argue that these documents often play a role in shaping voting behaviour, but in Pakistan they do not carry much importance. A recent study of Pakistan's political parties' manifestos argues that manifestos play a key role in shaping voter perceptions; yet in Pakistan's 2024 elections, these appear more symbolic than programmatic.⁸

An analysis of major party manifestos indicates although the parties differ ideologically, the PPP prioritizes welfare populism, the PTI promotes reformist populism, and the PML-N emphasizes on developmental-ism. Moreover, all of them focus on short-term commitments, such as subsidies and infrastructure, compromising long-term policy goals. Similarly, when economic, social, governance, and foreign policy issues were systematically reviewed, the same pattern was observed. There were ideological biases and significant gaps between speeches, promises, and practicality, which show that manifestos serve more as tools for voter engagement than as comprehensive social agreements.⁹

It is also argued that the manifestos of major Pakistani political parties demonstrate that party documents are not merely policy statements but carefully constructed texts. Political parties consistently use linguistic and structural approaches in their manifestos to project a positive image while simultaneously portraying opponents' negatively.¹⁰ This good-versus-bad dichotomy constructs in-group and out-group identities and has emerged as a central feature of political communication. This is basically aimed at persuading and mobilizing the public through ideological narratives.¹¹

Similarly, in another analysis of party manifestos from the 2013 general elections, it is argued that different parties adopt varying linguistic styles and discursive techniques. However, their underlying objective remains the same: to influence voters and secure political support of the masses. This reinforces the argument that political manifestos are not just documents. They also function as persuasive tools rather than neutral policy documents.¹² These also create in-group and out-group distinctions and

highlight that manifestos function not only to communicate policies but also to influence identities and attitudes.¹³

It is important to understand that the masses give legitimacy to political parties. So, political power often relies on more than just institutional control; it is reinforced by influencing public perception of its legitimacy. Scholars note that political figures use calculated language to project authority and persuade people to believe in their actions as ideologically, morally and politically correct, justified and aligned with societal values. So, the manifestos of the political parties have become a key ground for causing influence on the masses therefore the political parties articulate their agendas, frame issues and position themselves *vis-à-vis* the public.¹⁴

Another important aspect, central to the understanding manifestos is that instead of neutral policy documents, manifestos actively create meaning. The manifesto relies on specific narratives chosen over others to highlight particular concerns. From a critical discourse perspective, this process is called 'legitimization, in which political actors justify their ideas through appeals to authority, morality, and rationality. These discursive strategies show how language links power and ideology that shape political reality.¹⁵ This is highly relevant to analyzing the TLP manifesto, in which themes of religious authority, moral order, and protection are broadly used to legitimize the political position.

An analysis of political parties' manifestos globally, suggests that the words used in political texts reflect party beliefs. In Denmark, the choice of words by left and right wing parties highlights their core ideas and views on certain issues. The findings suggest that even when discussing similar topics, each party has a distinct linguistic pattern. It shows that words matter, they influence to impact voters' behaviour. Additionally, political actors deliberately use specific vocabulary and verbal patterns to construct distinct political identities, depicting that political language is inherently value-based and never neutral.¹⁶

The question arises, what other aspects are reflected in a party's election manifesto? These manifestos serve purposes beyond just outlining policies and ideology. They also display a party's election strategy, history, and leadership qualities. The studies of European parties indicate that manifestos often include criticisms of opponents, references to past achievements, policy promises, and highlights of party leadership. The presence of these elements varies with factors; whether the party is in government or opposition, its ideological stance, size, and the leader's popularity. This suggests consistent differences in how parties convey their messages and images to the public.¹⁷

During election campaigns and manifestos, welfare promises have become increasingly prominent, and education has become a high-importance issue around the world. Studies of party manifestos across 25 OECD countries indicate that education is generally a widely agreed-upon policy area that has gained importance over time. While differences remain between left and right wing parties in their support for education, these gaps have been narrowed. This indicates a convergence in party positions on issues of global importance such as education.¹⁸

Considering the election manifestos of political parties in Pakistan, they are framed to have more symbolic appeal than tangible value. According to recent research, the role of party manifestos in Pakistan is debated. Electoral politics often emphasizes symbolic appeals, charismatic leadership, and populist slogans rather than detailed policy plans. Although almost all parties release manifestos before elections, these documents often lack specific and clearly outlined implementation plans, financial details, and measurable outcomes. Consequently, Pakistani manifestos are more often used as symbolic tools for voter mobilization than as practical policy frameworks.¹⁹

This literature generally emphasizes that political manifestos are more than just policy papers; they are an effective ideological tool. They build identities, identify opponents, and influence public opinion. All of these make it essential for examining how politics, ideology, and discourse intersect. This is especially relevant in the cases like Tehreek-e-Labbaik Pakistan TLP, where religion and political messaging are closely connected. The scholarship on TLP has critically analyzed the election manifesto of 2018 general elections which had one dimension only ‘religious populism’ with the words *Deen ko takht par laana hai* (We will bring religion into power)²⁰. This absolute manifestation of religious populism in 2018 was different than the 2024 general elections with political signaling from TLP. Its manifesto was devoid of socioeconomic vision and there was no mention of improving governance or providing public services. The entire election manifesto revolved around *Nizam e Mustafa* (System of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH)) as a solution for all governance problems without giving any practical framework.²¹ The literature on manifestos of Pakistani political parties is more general and less specific to the TLP, so this study analyses the TLP’s manifesto in detail.

Methodology

This study has used a qualitative thematic analysis of the TLP manifesto to examine the party’s ideological stance, threat perceptions, and governance

approaches. The primary data consisted of the TLP manifesto, which was obtained from the TLP's official website. The document is 5 pages long with a 25-point agenda. It was thoroughly reviewed to ensure comprehension of both the ideological and policy content. Thematic analysis has been selected because it effectively identifies, analyses, and interprets recurring themes within the text, providing a systematic way to understand how the manifesto conveys political and religious messages. A six-phase framework, which includes familiarization with data, generating initial codes, searching for themes, reviewing themes, defining and naming themes, and writing the report, remains the foundation for conducting thorough thematic analysis.²²

As per Braun and Clarke (2022), "Themes do not passively 'emerge' from data but are actively produced by the researchers through their systematic engagement with, and all they bring to the data set"²³. They termed it "Reflexive Thematic Analysis," as the researcher's background, assumptions, and decisions influence the analytical process.²⁴ Building on this perspective, the analysis in this study was shaped by the researcher's interpretive role, including how research questions were framed, the patterns that caught the researcher's attention, and the choices made during coding and theme development. While the research focus guided the initial codes, the process remained open allowing the manifesto to serve as a guide for identifying recurring patterns and meanings.

Coding Process

The analysis requires careful reading of the text of the manifesto²⁵; the repeated reading with a keen eye is done to become familiar with its structure, language, and main arguments. This helped the study recognize common ideas, speech patterns, and emphasis on ideological narratives. During this process, initial ideas and codes were recorded in line with the research questions, such as "Anti-corruption," "Welfare," and "Religious Authority." After obtaining the initial codes, the manifesto was closely examined to find patterns and recurring ideas that naturally appeared in the text. This process led to the identification of new concepts such as "World Islamic Bloc" and "Protection of nuclear assets," ensuring that the analysis remained rooted in the manifesto itself rather than external influences.

Code Assigning and Refinement

Relevant sentences and paragraphs in the TLP manifesto text were assigned codes based on their content. For example:

Sanctity of the Last Prophet” → tagged as Blasphemy/Prophet sanctity, *Khatm-e-Nabuwwat*

“Support oppressed Muslims in Palestine, Kashmir, and around the world” coded as *Ummah* solidarity, Global Muslim victimization.

“Interest-based economic system will be abolished” is coded as an Islamic economy.

Theme	Code	Example Quotes from Manifesto	Interpretation
1. Core Religious Ideology	Prophetic Sanctity and <i>Khatm-e-Nabuwwat</i>	- “sanctity of the Last Prophet.” - “finality of Prophethood.”	This served as the party's core ideological basis.
	Sharia Enforcement and Moral Regulation	- “method taught by the Holy Prophet.” - “through Islamic laws and penalties.” - “prevent evil among the people.” - “establish the Islamic system - “practical implementation of the constitution and laws of Pakistan.”	This shows the party is dedicated to maintaining morality through Sharia. It clearly connects religion to government.
2. Threat, Protection and Moral Order	Threat to Islam Defense of religion	- “All measures will be taken to protect.” - “shield present and future generations from new challenges, particularly atheism, religious extremism, and Qadianism.” - “Vigilance and efforts for the protection of nuclear assets and enhancement of all types of defensive capabilities will not be	This demonstrates that TLP frames both internal and external threats to Islam and Pakistan. It constructs a defensive and protective ideology.

		compromised under any pressure.” - “Strict vigilance will be maintained against internal and external conspiracies against Islam and Pakistan.”	
3. Global Muslim Identity and <i>Ummah</i> Solidarity	Palestine / Kashmir Islamic bloc	- “support oppressed Muslims in Palestine, Kashmir, and around the world.” - “protect the lives and property of oppressed Muslims in economically and militarily weaker Islamic countries.” - “World Islamic Bloc”	This demonstrates victimization framing and global Muslim solidarity. It also positions the party as the protector of the <i>Ummah</i> and emphasizes Muslim unity.
4. External Enemies and Sovereignty	Anti-India Anti-Israel Foreign interference	- “Relations with India will be based on non-interference, and efforts will be made to resolve the Kashmir issue under the United Nations resolutions and the aspirations of the Kashmiri people.” - “Israel will not be recognized as a state.” - “foreign interference in religious affairs, politics, health, education, social affairs, and all other sectors will be eliminated.”	Demonstrates a clear stance on India, Israel, and foreign actors, showing foreign policy aspirations. It also emphasizes sovereignty and national/religious protection.
5. Governance Welfare State	Welfare Public Service Delivery	- “Necessities such as affordable electricity, gas, and clean water to every individual will be	This highlights the manifesto’s commitments to social and economic

		the foremost responsibility of the Islamic government.” - “housing for homeless individuals.” - “free education” - “Special attention will be given to the agricultural sector, with free irrigation water...” - “Industries will be provided with inexpensive gas and electricity... trade-friendly government policies will be implemented.” - “Media and social media will be regulated by an ethical code.” - “promotion of tourism across the country”.	welfare. Here, TLP portrays governance and welfare as morally responsible and accountable.
	Governance and Accountability	- “Bribery, favoritism, political interference, and nepotism will be categorized as serious crimes.” - “financial accountability of influential individuals, making stringent decisions swiftly.” - “Protocols will be abolished”.	TLP gives great emphasis on anti-corruption and institutional reform
	Islamic Economic System	- “elevation of Islamic principles.” - “interest-based economic system will be abolished”. - “An Islamic economic system will gradually be introduced.”	Here it displays Islamic economic principles as central to governance and public welfare.

Passages were sometimes linked to multiple codes when themes overlapped. So the codes were reviewed and grouped into broader themes to reduce overlap and increase clarity. For example:

“Anti-corruption narrative” + “Justice reform” → Governance and Accountability

“Protection of nuclear assets” + “Vigilance against conspiracies” → Threat, Protection and Moral Order

Theme Development

The final set of themes reflected the main dimensions of the manifesto’s discourse:

1. Core Religious Ideology
2. Threat, Protection and Moral Order
3. Global Muslim Identity and Ummah Solidarity
4. External Enemies and Sovereignty
5. Governance, Welfare and Socio-Economic Policies

Tabulated version of codes and themes

The tables below show a summary of codes, themes, and some relevant codes from the manifesto.²⁶

Analysis

The analysis of manifesto of the mentioned political parties especially with reference to specific one shows that it puts great emphasis on the narrative of threat and protection. It also frames internal and external challenges as existential risks to both the Islamic state and the Muslim community. It repeatedly highlights actions “to protect” and “to shield” current and future generations from new threats such as atheism, religious extremism, and *Qadianism*. These were presented as dangers to moral order, progress, and stability in society.

Significantly, the internal-threat perspective is reinforced by references to national security, including monitoring of nuclear assets and defence, illustrating the link between religious and state security. Overall, its manifesto expressed a protective ideology that justifies assertive governance by blending religious protection with political and military

vigilance. This positions the party as defenders of religious and moral integrity and national sovereignty.

Below is a theme-wise analysis with relevant quotes from the manifesto.

Core Religious Ideology

A careful consideration of the manifesto one can argue that the document's foundation lies in an emphasis on religious legitimacy and moral authority. The manifesto stresses the “sanctity of the Last Prophet” and the “finality of Prophethood,” highlighting the central concern and defending the boundaries of this core belief. TLP became a new face of religious populism in Pakistan which combined politics with street power.²⁷ TLP is also one of the first officially declared parties that follows the *Barelvi* school of thought, and it has a zero-tolerance policy towards blasphemy. It rose from a protest movement to a political party which focuses on the finality of the Prophet (PBUH).

The party promotes two fundamental *Barelvi* principles in an exclusive manner: *Khatm-e-Nabuwat* (the finality of Muhammad's prophethood) and *Namoos-e-Risalat* (preserving the Prophet's dignity/honor).²⁸ Consequently, the TLP has created a hybrid identity by fusing populist ideology and politics around religion.²⁹ TLP emerged as a case of “religious populism and vigilantism,” finding that its rhetoric deliberately exploits the “emotional insecurities of the...disenfranchised masses”. Its success centers on framing “the people” in sacred terms and legitimizing aggressive action against perceived blasphemers.³⁰ This narrative reflects in the manifesto as well.

Another complementing aspect to the core ideology is the commitment to enforcing Sharia, as seen in statements such as “through Islamic laws and penalties” and the imperative to “prevent evil among the people”. These passages illustrate how the party situates religious practice at the centre of governance, linking religious authority to political legitimacy. Statements like “All measures will be taken to protect the sanctity...” show that the party would go to any extent, including protest calls, emotional appeals, collective action, and sacrifice, to honour its core ideology.

TLP also frames the state as the ultimate authority, positioning it as the guarantor of social harmony and moral order in society through an Islamic lens. It emphasizes that “under the spirit of Islam, the rights of minorities will be safeguarded in every way,” while simultaneously asserting that “efforts will be made to eliminate sectarianism.” At one level, these statements project an image of inclusive nature and stability, positioning the system as providing justice and protection to all citizens. However, this

inclusion is articulated within a broader religious framework in which rights and protections are defined by the “spirit of Islam”. The TLP’s manifesto has repeatedly emphasized religious norms as a guiding principle. The manifesto portrays the TLP as a moral guardian, highlighting that adhering to Islamic principles is crucial not only for personal virtue but also for social order. In doing so, the party creates a narrative in which protecting faith is linked to administering justice and social governance, offering both ideological reasoning and motivation for supporters.

Threat, Protection and Moral Order

Building on religious ideology and authority, the manifesto creates a strong narrative of threat and protection. The internal challenges such as “atheism, religious extremism, and *Qadianism*” are portrayed as dangers to the moral and social fabric of society. To prevent society from these ‘harms’, vigilance and preventive measures are required. Statements like “Strict vigilance will be maintained against internal and external conspiracies against Islam and Pakistan, and foreign interference ... will be eliminated” demonstrate how the party frames these as existential threats. This portrayal then legitimizes assertive measures in both religious and political domains.

An important aspect is that this protective discourse extends to national security, including references to safeguarding nuclear assets and maintaining defensive capabilities. This highlights how the manifesto merges religious and state security concerns. It not only justifies proactive governance but also encourages supporters to see the party as a vital protector of both the faith and the state. This protective framing also extends to national security, with the manifesto stating that “vigilance and efforts for the protection of nuclear assets... will not be compromised under any pressure.” These statements reinforce a narrative that portrays the state as a protector not only of religious values but also of strategic and military sovereignty.

Ummah and the Global Muslim Identity

Like other religious right-wing parties in Pakistan, TLP also constructs its Muslim identity. In the manifesto, it extends its protective narrative to include a global Muslim perspective. It urges to “support oppressed Muslims in Palestine, Kashmir, and around the world” and to defend “the lives and property of oppressed Muslims in economically and militarily weaker Islamic countries.” It also promotes creating a “World Islamic Bloc,” which strategically positions the party within a broader transnational network of Islamic solidarity and Muslim *Ummah*. This framing

emphasizes the ‘victimization and oppression’ of Muslims worldwide and portrays Pakistan as a moral leader and protector of justice for the *Ummah*. This narrative-building and global outlook enhance the party’s ideological influence by connecting domestic religious authority with international activism focused on the Muslim world. So by framing the protection of the Muslims as both a moral and political duty, the manifesto integrates its domestic goals with global religious issues. This consequently encouraged solidarity based on identity and increased mobilization among supporters who identify with broader Islamic causes. The TLP’s Gaza marches and protests in 2023 and 2024 demonstrated how it made itself relevant to the broader audience³¹ while maintaining its core ideological roots.

External Enemies and Sovereignty

Another aspect closely linked to threat framing is the depiction of external enemies and the assertion of national sovereignty. The party labels India and Israel as opponents, stating that “relations with India will be based on non-interference” and that “Israel will not be recognized as a state.” The manifesto also highlights resistance to all forms of foreign interference across all sectors. This positions TLP politically and portrays external actors as both ideological and political threats. This framing strengthens the party’s nationalistic rhetoric, highlighting vigilance and assertiveness as key to governance.

Subsequently, by linking external sovereignty with religious and moral authority, the TLP constructs a narrative that argues defending Pakistan’s independence and integrity is inherently connected to defending Islam. Through this positioning, it reaffirms its role as a leader in both national and religious issues. These kinds of narratives and rhetoric are also used to influence the masses and are directly tied to national and religious sentiments.

Governance and Welfare State

The manifesto provides detailed information on governance, accountability, and public welfare. It strongly advocates for governance reform through a framework that integrates accountability of the government and office holders with religious principles. It states that “bribery, favouritism, political interference, and nepotism” will be considered serious crimes. It also reinforces the importance of accountability and the establishment of an independent body to manage the financial liabilities of people in government and authority.

There was a great emphasis on merit-based recruitment, highlighting the importance of “educational qualifications and professional skills” for public jobs, and corrupt practices will face penalties. Economic governance is also addressed through tax reforms designed to eliminate “bribery, blackmail, and harassment” and lessen the burden on citizens. Additionally, the manifesto supports the enforcement of *Zakat* and *Ushr* and advocates for Sharia-based management of donations to help the needy as much as possible.

The pattern that has been observed is that the manifesto blends ideological goals with practical governance and social welfare initiatives. The manifesto consistently emphasizes the state’s duty to ensure basic needs, such as “affordable electricity, gas, and clean water” for all, along with “housing for homeless people” and “free education.”³² Additionally, it outlines economic and agricultural support, as well as trade-friendly policies for industries. In addition, the manifesto calls for an Islamic economic system, noting that the “interest-based economic system will be abolished, and an Islamic economic system will gradually be introduced.” The manifesto also addresses social justice, especially woman rights, by proposing the creation of a ‘special institution’ to safeguard their legal and Sharia-based rights. It emphasizes strict action against violence and oppression. These initiatives position the state as both a regulator and protector, combining anti-corruption measures, welfare policies, and moral surveillance.

Another aspect that remains consistent throughout the manifesto is the reliance on Sharia, showing that governance and rights are understood within a religious framework, in which accountability, justice, and protection are closely linked to Islamic law and moral values. By integrating social welfare, governance, and economic policy, the party offers a vision of a state that is simultaneously moral, practical, and consistent with its ideology. It connects public service with legitimacy and mobilization.

To develop a cohesive governing agenda, the TLP manifesto integrates religious beliefs, threat perception, global Muslim unity, political independence, and social welfare into a unified ideological foundation. Religious legitimacy underpins both moral and social regulation, while threats justify protective actions. At the same time, commitments to welfare and accountability highlight the party’s aim to deliver tangible benefits to society. Collectively, these aspects form a manifesto that not only expresses ideological beliefs and values but also seeks to uphold religious standards

and rally support. All this framing establishes the party as the primary guardian of both the religious and national identity.

Conclusion

Thematic analysis of the manifesto of neo-right wing party reveals that the party has created the ideological structure that integrates religious authority, threat perception, global Muslim solidarity, national sovereignty, and social welfare into a unified political narrative. The emphasis is on the “sanctity of the last Prophet” and the “finality of Prophethood” shows how religious legitimacy supports both moral and political power. It also reinforces the core ideology of TLP which revolves around ‘Islam, Pakistan and *Awam* (People/Masses)’. Threat and protection narratives also emerged as key to the manifesto, legitimizing assertive governance and moral supervision. Internal issues like atheism, *Qadianism* and religious extremism are depicted as existential threats. On the other hand, external entities such as foreign governments and Israel are seen as political and ideological enemies. This threat perspective justifies the party’s defensive and domineering posture and actions. Pakistan as a Muslim state is given importance within a global Islamic context, emphasizing the protection of oppressed Muslims worldwide. It calls for support of the Muslims in Palestine and Kashmir, highlighting transnational solidarity. It incorporates global Muslim victimization into its core agenda.

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