Discourse Analysis of Headlines on Ideological Representation of Rifts and Desertions in Political Parties of Pakistan

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Abstract

Media studies have encountered substantial importance regarding the manipulation of public opinion in order to construct political reality. The reason for this significance is the biasness of media that is treated non- critically, and believed as transparent and apolitical by the general masses. In concern to media language in Pakistani press, it is widely accepted and commonly shared notion that media is playing its role very positively and has no ideological concerns. Therefore, it is viewed independent and free from any bias. However, this is not the case; in fact, instead of producing factual information, media discourses are ideological and serve the purpose of manipulating the ideas of its public. In this regard, data has been obtained from widely circulated two Pakistani English newspapers (The News International and DAWN). This study examines how political parties are socially, discursively, and linguistically represented in the selected Pakistani newspapers. To answer the question of biasness in media discourse, the study uses Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to investigate the representation of political parties in news reports of the newspapers from July 01, 2012 to December 31, 2012 --- a very significant pre-election period. Firstly, the analysis examines both discursive and social practices related to constructing political discourse in relation to the process of news making role of media. Secondly, the news headlines are analyzed linguistically in terms of metaphor, metonymy, transitivity, modality, lexical choices, presupposition, and intertextuality. Moreover, the news headlines are analyzed at broader social and political level in order to find ideological underpinnings incorporated in political discourse. Fairclough's (1989) model well suits the analysis of our corpus from the selected Pakistani English newspapers in order to view the representation of rifts and desertions in political parties.

Keywords: *Discourse analysis, discursivity, ideology, political discourse*

1. Introduction

Media in Pakistan is considered as a window of the world in creating awareness and a source of providing trustworthy and accurate information to the public. However, media is biased and manipulative and there are certain perspectives which raise questions on its unbiased and non-manipulative role. Firstly, media is free and independent in selection of news stories and has power to include and exclude the voices whatever it likes or dislikes. Secondly, through the use of linguistic devices in a particular way, it highlights or backgrounds the truth and

reality. Therefore, it plays a biased role in production of news discourse. The politicians are the powerful social strata who have their own personal interests to achieve, and they use media in order to constitute their discourse systematically, and to shape the worldview of the individuals of a particular social group. Thus, the study aims at finding the ideologies embedded in the discourses which are opaque and structured, in media discourses, especially that of the print media of Pakistan. The focus of the study would remain on political discourse that is the indication of discursive strategies constituted in the discourse of Pakistani English newspapers. van Dijk claims that discursive strategies affect the local semantics of text and talk, as in dominant U.S political discourse (van Dijk, 1991, 1993).

Particular discourse production motivates the discourse producer to use discursive practice that is concerned with production and consumption of the text. Philips and Jorgenson (2002) claim that the focus of the discursive practices remains on how the previously prevailing discourses and genres assist the authors of the texts to create a text and how the existing discourses and genres are applied by the receivers of the texts in both consumption and interpretation of the texts. Therefore, it is pertinent to note that it is a two way 'dialectical relationship' between discourse and social structure (Richardson, 2007, p.39). Hence, the issue is resolvable and Bourdieu opines that it is necessary to raise the problem of legitimacy to make the public aware about the motives of the text producers (Bourdieu *et al.* 2008). What do the journalists do? Andrea Mayr (2008) positions her view that power and politics of the institutions are exercised through the discourses of their members. There is an impression that journalists are obliged to provide neutral and balanced coverage of important political and social events; on the other side, this is also a fact that these organizations endeavor to maintain themselves and their position as well.

Moreover, discourse has ideological effects and creates common sense assumptions to construct a particular view of the world to manipulate public opinion. This common sense and unawareness on the part of the consumers of media discourse demand instituting the consideration to divulge the hidden truth about the media discourses. Moreover, the influence of the social actors and the social relationships needs to be addressed that influences the production, dissemination and consumption of the news discourses. This study attempts to examine the systematicity of the institutional power exerted by the media as an institution and its concerns in production of a particular kind of news discourses. Moreover, to structure these news discourses, there are social, institutional, and political power relations which have their own vested interests to regulate power in the way to satisfy the expectations of the public, as stated by cotter (2001) that the significant feature in the production of media discourses is the role of audience in relation to what the media produces. So, this study has focused on

multiple aspects inter-related with one another in shaping a specific regulated and structured news discourse embedded in the headlines. Javed and Mahmood (2011) claim that headlines are forerunners to the news reports and the reader tends to read them before he/she reads the news article. Therefore, its role is to provide brief summary to the main news and it attracts the attention of the readers who, even, do not like to read the whole story, they can capture the actual point presented in the headline.

2. Headline and its function

Headline is "a unique type of text that consists of a range of functions that specifically dictates its shape, content, and structure, and it operates within a range of restrictions that limit the freedom of the writer" (Reah, 2002, p. 13). Generally, a headline tells the whole story of the news, however, main point of the whole story gets the shape of a headline (Bowel & Borden, 2000 as cited in Prateepchaikul, 2010). Headlines can be identified by their placement and are always placed above the news story and presented in bigger font size. Apart from encapsulating the news story, headlines serve the purpose of providing brief summary of the main news to the reader; thus attracting their attention as well as providing them a primary indicator of content and style of the news values of the newspaper.

3. The role of headlines

The headline plays a significant role because of its unique kind of text printed at the top of a newspaper article and written by the copy editor, not the actual author of the article. Moreover, headlines are added at the end, hence the first to be read having main purpose to draw the attention of the potential reader captivating his/her interest to read the whole article. Most of the people simply skim the newspaper pages by scanning the headlines in order to decide whether to read the lead (text) or to move on to the next one. So, a good headline is important because it is the headline which sells the newspaper and attracts the attention of the potential reader. The headlines wield power that comes indeed with discourse that is consisted of a set of meanings, images, metaphors, representation, stories, and statements that are used to produce a particular version of events.

Research Objectives

1- To ascertain the concerns of media as adherent or advocate of dominant political discourses.
2- To find out how discursive practices are embedded in the headlines of English newspapers related to political discourse.

Research Questions
1- To what extent do print media support and challenge the dominant political discourses through certain newspapers?
2- How are discursive practices embedded in the headlines of English newspapers related to political discourse?

4. Methodology

The data has been obtained from two widely circulated English newspapers of Pakistan, The news International and DAWN using Archival Method of data collection. Moreover, the headlines have been selected of very significant pre-election period (July 2012 to December 2012) by applying random sampling technique in order to investigate the biased construction of political reality of Pakistani media. To investigate the selected data, Fairclough's (1989) framework of CDA has been applied because it better suits to analyze the news headlines at three stages. Stage one is description stage which analyzes the way textual features are structured. Second stage is interpretation stage which involves the decoder's social realization of the discourse and third stage is explanation stage which views the text at broader social and cultural levels integrating the first two stages together to reconstruct the constructed reality. However, the framework does not limit the researcher to begin with any particular stage. The most profound focus is to unveil the opaque, systematic, and constructed truth embedded in the media discourse.

5. Analysis and Interpretation

The headlines from the selected corpus encompass political parties of Pakistan, especially PML-N, PPP, PTI, PML-Q, MQM and JI. PML-N is playing two significant roles in political arena. First, it is ruling in the largest populated province of the country and secondly, it is serving opposition role in the Centre. PPP (Pakistan People's Party) is ruling the country with coalition partners, PML-Q and MQM. On the other hand, JI is a religio-political party, ideologically close to PML-N and previously, it was a part of Grand Religious Alliance named MMA (Muttahida Mujlis-e Amal) formed during Musharraf era. However, PTI is newly emerging political power and considered as a threat to the government as well as other parties. The first headline shows strong position of PML-N representing that PTI is losing popularity. Third headline shows PML-N's strategy to pursue strong candidates of PTI. Similarly, headlines four and five represent efforts of MMA restoration and alliance against PPP respectively that are supposed to be the empowerment of PML-N. Moreover, headline six also portrays PML-Q as reducing the popularity that indirectly depicts the political strength of PML-N because the former party is the coalition partner of the ruling party. In the same way, headlines seven and eight indicate strong position of JI and the poor image of the ruling parties respectively and both the situations benefit PML-N. Only second headline shows less popularity of PML-N.

Following is the analysis and interpretation of the headlines by applying Fairclough's (1989) framework of Critical Discourse Analysis.

1- New entrant to PML-N blasts PTI (HNI 05 July 2012)
2- Ex-MNA ditches Sharifs within 24 hrs of 'joining in' snap (HD 15 Sep. 2012)
3- PML-N pursuing PTI heavy Weight (HD 12 Dec. 2012)
4- *MMA restoration by December start* (HNI 24 Nov. 2012)
    Last effort to include JI to be made soon
5- JI invites MQM for grand alliance against PPP (HNI 25 July 2012)
6- Alliance with PML-Q triggers rift in Sunni Ittehad (HD 28 Nov. 2012)
7- JI ropes in 6 religious parties (HNI 31 Oct. 2012)
8- 'Fissures' in alliance: Wattoo's fresh bid to woo PML-Q electable (HD 12 Dec. 2012)

New Entrantto PML-N blasts PTI (HNI 05 July 2012)
This headline contextualizes attempt of Sajid Ghamryani, quitting Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf and joining Pakistan Muslim League (N). However, instead of mentioning his name, he has been termed as 'new entrant' and positioned on the subject of the headline. The phrase 'new entrant' is **intertextualized** pointing to some other 'entrants' as well. In other words, above mentioned phrase indicates that among many others, the recent entrant is new one who has followed the action of joining new party, that is, PML-N. It is **presupposed** that a political worker has left his party and it is a shared belief that a satisfied political worker never quits his/her party, and if he/she initiates this action, it ultimately affects his previous party very badly. In other words, the target (second) political party gets empowered in case of welcoming the politicians from their rival parties, indicating multiple effects on both the parties. Preferably, it enhances the positive image of the party he has joined in and negative image of the one he has quitted. The same headline could be constructed like:

- **Sajid Ghamiryani leaves PTI**
- **A key person joins PML-N**
- **PTI worker enters PML-N**

Nevertheless, the published headline has particular ideological purpose which gets apparent in its choice of 'new entrant', 'blasts' and the 'positions' of the two parties mentioned in it. According to the 'lead' of the headline, 'new entrant' in a press conference exposed the ignoring attitude of PTI chairman to its old party workers and welcoming and preferring the new ones over the old members provoked the initiation of quitting their party to join the others, especially PML-N. As mentioned earlier, choice of verb could be 'leaves', 'joins' 'enters', etc., but the verb 'blasts' has been used to create particular meaning. Moreover, selection

of the word 'blasts' is a **metaphoric expression** which heightens the magnitude of the action, greatly useful for PML-N but unfortunate for PTI. In other words, blasting of PTI is in benefit of PML-N which is getting empowerment due to the entry of new members from the other parties. The question arises that how the new entries which are harmful for PTI, can be beneficial for PML-N while action is same. If the newspaper as an institution had been in favour of PTI, the same headline could be:

'New entry blasts PML-N'
Instead, the constructed headline follows the favour of PML-N rather than of PTI which highlights the tactics of news institutions embedded in headline texts deliberately chosen to create and construct the reality of their own choice. It reveals the fact that newspapers formulate the text that is in conformity with ruling parties and better suits their preferences. Therefore, media, in construction of political discourse in the newspaper headlines, is biased and consciously attempts to shape the world view of its readership.

Ex-MNA ditches Sharifs within 24 hrs of 'joining in' snap (HD 15 Sep. 2012)
The headline 2 is crafted in the context of a common tactics of some politicians to get their political weight increased in front of their respective party chiefs by holding the meetings with their rival politicians or joining other parties if stay unsuccessful in achieving the desired assurances from their own party chiefs. Ex-MNA, Ahmed Raza Monika exercised the same practice, held meeting with sharifs but he met Ch. Pervaiz Elahi, deputy prime-minister and announced his joining of PML-Q the other day. Instead of writing his name, he has been termed as Ex-MNA and given the subject position, but the purpose of his particular representation seems to show his expertise dodging the powerful politicians: Sharif brothers. The verb 'ditches' has been used **metaphorically** because there is cross-domain comparison. In other words, the word 'ditches' is generally used to emphasize a danger, especially if someone falls in a hole on road or a path. However, in the present circumstances, the individuals have not been fallen but befallen by the subject, Ex- MNA (PML-N). Moreover, the adjective 'Shrifs' gives paradoxical meaning. For example, in Urdu language, 'sharifs' are referred to persons very gentle in nature, whereas 'Sharifs' is also referred to the two brothers: Mian M. Nawaz Sharif and Mian M. Shahbaz Sharif. Time mentioned is just 24 hours that is very short time for the process of deal between Ex-MNA and Sharifs. The word 'Snap' is a **metaphor** which also shows cross-domain comparison taken from animal hunting domain that is used to capture the animals. The phrase 'Joining in' has been highlighted with the use of inverted commas because Ex-MNA's assurance of this action reveals the cause of hunting down Sharifs. Metaphor, we know, shifts the truth and puts emphasis on the issue and reconstructs reality. The newspaper agency doesn't look supporting a greater **ethical value** nor **downgrades** the one which is not a virtue. In other

words, the underpinned tactic in the headline is never appreciated in good societies and is condemned because it is a hypocratic exercise, not showing straight-forward policy or turning against on some justifiable parameters. It is a shared understanding that leaving a party by a political leader creates a negative image, while joining a party **represents** a positive image. In other words, leaving or joining a party by political leader determines the level of popularity of the concerned party. In this sense, the writer has crafted the headline in a metaphoric way, confusing the action and diverting its negative effect from sharifs by representing them as innocent people.

PML-N pursuing PTI heavy Weight (HD 12 Dec. 2012)
In our political culture, goggling into the others' private affairs and depriving them of their valuables is considered as a matter of pride and attributed as our victory. In other words, dragging the strong political candidates from the other political parties is symbolized as a political norm to enhance the morale of one's own supporters and declining the morale of the opponents and their supporters. The headline 3 stays in acquiescence with the same tradition and re-strengthens this notion. The present progressive form of the verb 'pursing' refers to the consistently made efforts of the party on subject position. Therefore, Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz that is used as **metonymy** appears vigilant in its attempts to contacting the electable members of the other party on the object position which is newly emerging political party. 'Heavy weight' is a **metaphoric expression** generally used in well-organized cultural fight competitions (kushti) where the heavy weights contest with their counterparts. In other words, it is emphasized that success in its efforts will improve political power of PML-N. In turn, the rival party that is PTI will get weakened because already existing political condition of PML-N has not been foregrounded. In this manner, the headline portrays the former party (PML-N) with a positively brighter image which has no threat of losing its heavy weights and this retention along with the addition of the latter party's heavy weight will surely enhance its unmatchable powers. In this way of headline construction, Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf rests as a passive object and its voice is left silenced without pointing to its concerns or reaction regarding the said attempts of PML-N. It is pertinent to mention the political circumstances in the country and other relevant particulars for better comprehension of the situation presented in the headline. In this regard, we know that the chief of Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz remained exiled and out of power after 1999 takeover of General Pervaiz Musharraf. However, they are ruling in Punjab for the last five years in coalition of Zardari government but their popularity graph has decreased to some extent due to their role as friendly opposition. On the other hand, under the charismatic leadership of Imran Khan, Chairman Tehreek-e-Insaf, Mian brothers are facing strong opposition and seem staying on defensive position because of massive political demonstrations on Minar-e Pakistan and around Punjab. In other words, there was a prevailing

consensus that PML-N had been losing its popularity. Therefore, the headline establishes a logical foundation for showing optimistically adopted radical and far-reaching strategies to ensure change in the empowerment of the party positioned on the subject. Therefore, these tactics of media surely strengthen our viewpoint that media constructs the reality in a **discursive manner** and does not publish the exact information for public.

MMA restoration by December start **(HNI 24 Nov. 2012)**
Last effort to include JI to be made soon
The headline is originated with **nominalization** 'last effort' where the word 'last' could be used as verb in the statement but it is a deliberate expression to make the headline catchy to raise curiosity offering the reader to go through the whole story of the lead paragraphs. 'Last effort' also functions as **intertextuality** referring to other numerous efforts made in the past because 'last effort' never comes first. In other words, accessing to the 'last effort', various sequential efforts precede the following one because everything commences from the first step. The lexical item 'effort' possesses positive connotation that alternatively is denoted to the sincere efforts. Therefore, the headline indicates an honest attempt that is the only one particular attempt for the matter incorporated in the later part of the headline. In other words, no other endeavor would be made after this last effort. The issue has been declared in the upper headline that is the restoration of MMA 'Muttahida Mujlis-e-Amal', a religious alliance formed in the elections of 2002, designed and supported by an army official, general Pervaiz Musharrf to encounter the threat of popular political parties of the state that have a large support in the northern area where religious sentiments is at large. However, in the election 2007, Jamait Islami boycotted the poll contest and Muttahida Mujlis-e-Amal had been disintegrated and dispersed. Numerous efforts have been made to gather all the religio-political powers under the same flag but could not prove fruitful. In the same concern, the headline refers to a last effort for the restoration of MMA within a specified time frame, by December 2012 in order to appear in the upcoming general elections. Nevertheless, JI 'Jamaat-e-Islami' is deliberated more close to Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz and stands on a better position to choose MMA or PML-N. Therefore, the headline reveals the intention of including JI as soon as possible. The headline is also constructed in an objective manner where the agency has been backgrounded. Restoration of MMA has been instigated due to the emergence of a new political party, Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf, headed by cricketer-turned politician with a slogan of change in the country and the same party has won greater popularity in the area where religio-political parties have been coming to power. Similarly, the same party has created challenge for feudalism and status-quo and attracted the attention of the people in urban areas of Sindh and Punjab. That's why behind the restoration of MMA, not only the religio-political parties are interested in but PML-N and PPP are also attempting to create challenge in

Khyber Pakhtun Khwa, at the home of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf to meet this challenge. Consequently, the objective strategy used in construction of this headline favours the preference of PML-N and PPP as well.

JI invites MQM for grand alliance against PPP (HNI 25 July 2012)
The political parties embedded in the headline include Jamaat-e- Islami, Muttahida Qaomi Movement and Pakistan Peoples Party. It is important to note that both the latter parties are coalition partners in the government while the former party had been the part of a religious alliance, Muttahida Mujlis-e- Amal in Musharraf era. In this way, JI and MQM are holding peripheries and their alliance has no natural proximity regarding their current positioning in Pakistani politics as well as in their ideologies. In this scenario, the invitation of the former party to the latter itself stays ironical. Nevertheless, the headline **presupposes** that invitation of JI to MQM is a genuine one and there is a dire need of a grand alliance. However, the causes of forming coalition against PPP have not been mentioned. Mostly, the alliances are formed against the bad governance, corruption or law and order situation to pressurize the government for reforms in the problem areas. Similarly, more commonly shaped alliances are electoral alliances. On the other hand, the invitation of the probable alliance has its roots in the purpose of pressurizing the government to announce the poll date, while the headline under-analysis reflects the alliance for upcoming elections because it is proposed against the political party, PPP, not of the government. In this way, just by the replacement of the word government with PPP, the whole context has been shifted. The verb 'invites' functions as a **metaphor** which is generally used in extension of social relations. In addition, it is a general conception that two ideologically different individuals, groups or parties find association and closeness for a great cause or to serve personal interests. In the current situation, the lexical item 'grand' shows that JI endeavors to forge an alliance to contest PPP in the upcoming general elections since overthrowing the party from power is out of question because of very short time to general polls. The phrase 'grand alliance' implicates some pre-efforts of JI with proposed assurances of other parties due to the fact that only these two parties cannot form a grand alliance. Moreover, invitation to MQM points out the concerns of Jamaat-e-Islami to challenge PPP in Sindh because MQM retains its power there. Therefore, the headline has shifted the reality from its actual context of JI's intentions to forge an alliance for pressurizing the government to get poll date soon, to an electoral alliance.

Alliance with PML-Q triggers rift in Sunni Ittehad (HD 28 Nov. 2012)
This headline contextualizes the decision taken by SIC (Sunni Ittehad Council) chief, named Sahibzada Fazal Kareem who is representative of a religious party, to develop an alliance with PML-Q in order to appear in forthcoming elections. However, the decision was opposed by other sections of the former party

because the said party itself possesses the alliance of 32 other parties who seem to be bypassed. Just a few hours after the announcement of decision, some other parties dissociated themselves from it, and dismissing Sahbzada Fazal Kareem from the chairmanship, they appointed Pir Syed Mahfooz Mashdi as an officiating chairman. In other words, the other political parties of SIC alliance were not either willing or ensured trust for alliance with PML-Q. The Alliance is an agreement determined in long interests of every group or party to pleat and wield power against the rivals on common terms. Most of the small groups or parties necessitate such alliances to maintain their representation and identification and go through this process developing mutual consensus. Regarding the power status, both parties are not larger parties, standing more or less on fourth or fifth number in Pakistani political arena. In this concern, their alliance signifies a sensible decision, however, the headline structures negative connotation. On the other hand, the text does not reflect its opposition with alliance, rather, it directs to some misunderstanding or clash in Sunni Ittehad Council. The implication between the text lines is a shared knowledge on social level that one thing which generates negative change in other thing, in turn, symbolizes itself as an evil. Therefore, it is presupposed that the members within SIC do not like PML-Q worthy of initializing an alliance with it. PML-Q is a **metonymic use** on the basis of its representation like humans and if something happens or happened in SIC, so there would be some persons unlikable in that party, not the party itself. Similarly, the 'object' of the headline, SIC, is also a **metonymic use** because like PML-Q, there are people who could have been opposed. Moreover, rift is a **metaphoric use** on the basis of the fact that basically concrete inanimate entities can experience such process, not the conceptual entities, like parties. Shifting the reality, instead of applying it on physical object (humans) to conceptual entities and creating an event which is not possible in this case, new meaning has been created representing that PML-Q is non-popular party and no one likes to have an affiliation or alliance with it.

JI ropes in 6 religious parties (HNI 31 Oct. 2012)
The headline is catchy as well as informative. JI (Jamiat-e-Islami) is a religious party which has its manifesto to bring Islamic system in Pakistan. Religious parties have strong roots in Khyber Pakhtun Khwa province due to the existence of religious values in that society. JI as a **metonymic expression** initiates an action that is managed by its influential members, not the party itself. Action mentioned is a **metaphoric use** in the sense that using some tactic, other political parties have been gathered under the same cover. In other words, JI is represented as a dominant force and 'religious parties' as dominated entities. 'Ropes in' is commonly shared cultural meaning of the verb 'ropes' with preposition 'in' highlighting the negative role of the said religious party in concern to win the favor of the other parties. In addition, it indicates the temporariness of action that may be returned back. It is **presupposed** that the

coalitions framed in a forceful way are never durable and as the time passes, these coalitions break up because of their formation in a hasty manner or on insubstantial basis. In other words, JI has lured and won the favor of the six other parties but this coalition may last for elections because there are no durable grounds which have resulted in this coalition. Such kind of alliance was formed in Musharraf time which won the elections and surprised the national as well as international community. A general consensus about these religious parties reflects that in the presence of their stereotypical ideology and lacking tolerance and harmony, how they resolved their conflicting issues and their MMA alliance not only got victory in elections but also remained successful in making their government in Pakhtun Khwa. In spite of creating negative expression regarding the said party, its positive image was also possible but it is the policy of every news group to construct the reality in its own concern.

'Fissures' in alliance: Wattoo's fresh bid to woo PML-Q electables (HD 12 Dec. 2012)
The headline contextualizes the deliberation in PML-Q camp to review its alliance with PPP due to the attempts of Mian Manzoor Wattoo persuading the potential Q candidates including a minister from the party.The word 'fissures' within the inverted commas highlights the intention predominant in the headline. Moreover, it has been used as a **metaphor** to demonstrating slits or cracks in a physical entity. However, it has been applied on a nonphysical or abstract entity referring to the political relationships of PPP and PML-Q. The word 'alliance' is a **metonymic expression** which has been used as a collective noun instead of nominating the only affected parties to highten the magnitude of the happening at a greater level and out of the boundaries of the two parties mentioned in the headline. Similarly, the phrase 'fissures in alliance' substantiates the recently mentioned conception highlighting the assertions of cracks in alliance. The reason is associated with action of the subject 'Wattoo', a PPP stalwart expert in his attempts to alluring the potential candidates of other political partner PML-Q. The word 'fresh' has been intertextualized with his previous attempts of doing the same action of wooing the potential candidates of allied party and despite Zardari's personal assurance to Chauhdri Shujat not wooing their candidates and of seat adjustments as well, the alleged hawk of PPP continued his negative tactics . Therefore, it is **presupposed** that cracks in the relationship of both the parties have appeared now which were already existing. Wattoo is always in attempts to fixing dagger in the back of his allies and it is his fresh attempt where the word 'fresh' functions as **intertextuality referring in reverse to the old attempts of the said leader** to woo the others' potential electables. 'Bid' is referred to the statement of the number of tricks or for a price offered in order to buy something at an auction or in business, whereas the word 'woo' is used for an attempt to get love of a women in order to marry her. Both lexical terms possess negative connotations and are referred to the malicious

attempts of Manzoor Wattoo to buy the favour or conscience of the PML-Q's potential electable candidates. The headline implies that the said action of the subject has created misunderstanding between the allies and there is no more electoral unanimity between them. Eventually, we find that more emphasis has been laid upon the segregation, division, misunderstanding, and disagreement inspite of condemning the action of Wattoo that is immoral. In other words, if we ponder over the focus of the headline in context with beneficiaries of the highlighted situation, we cannot ignore the intentions of the writer in compliance with empowerment of PML-N which is a rival party and could have been damaged due to the seat adjustment of PPP and PML-Q in Punjab province along with Imran factor as well. However, the news item captures and triggers the shared understanding of its readers that failure of one's opponent is reversely proportional to its success.

6. Conclusion

The paper summarizes the results related to the manipulative role of Pakistani print media in construction of political discourse to influence the public opinion, especially before the general elections with reference to the research questions and to the basic assumptions of the study. In this respect, the study has confirmed and answered the basic questions.The analysis of headlines reveals the fact that media manipulates the reality in its own way. It does not serve the role of representing the reality. For example, in some situations, print media plays its role as a guide for politicians to show them direction towards making and breaking alliances with like-minded or unlike-minded individuals and parties and is deliberately involved in constructing public opinion to support such alliances. We have found that media constructs political discourse in discursive manner by using certain linguistic devices, such as metaphors, metonymic expressions, passive voice construction, modals, nominalization, intertextuality, and presupposition. In other words, media raises projected truth, selecting linguistic items from cross – domains to shift the reality towards the intended concerns. In fact, it is the responsibility of media to highlight the policies and programs of political parties related to the progress and development of the country and welfare and prosperity of the public; however, media projects their rifts and desertions in a very systematic manner. Therefore, media does not play its transparent role in spreading factual information, thus it attempts to manipulate the public opinion in favor of certain political parties.

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