

## Ideological Representation of Political Voice in the Headlines of Pakistani English Newspapers on Asghar Khan Case

Arshad Mehmood  
Shamim Ali

### Abstract

*In order to create awareness in the global social arenas, media studies have attained considerable attention in exploring ideological representation of political voice. The reason for this significance is the language of media that is treated non-critically, and believed as transparent and impartial by the general masses. Therefore, it is viewed independent and free from any bias on certain issues (Sultan, 2000). However, instead of producing factual information, media discourses are ideological and serve the purpose of manipulating the ideas of the readership. In this regard, data has been obtained from widely circulated two Pakistani English newspapers (Dawn and The Nation). This study examines the manipulation of the orders of Supreme Court of Pakistan on Asghar Khan Case. Asghar Khan is a Pakistani citizen who filed a case against Nawaz Sharif and other Pakistani politicians who were alleged to receive handsome amount from Pakistani Intelligence Agency to win the elections in the year 1990 against the most popular leader of the day, Benazir Bhutto. Therefore, the study aims at exploring the discursive strategies used by the selected Pakistani English newspapers. To answer the question of ideological representation of political voice in media discourse, the study uses Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to investigate the representation of politicians in front page headlines of the newspapers from 20<sup>th</sup> October 2012 to 31 December, 2012 very significant pre-election period. The analysis examines firstly, both discursive and social practices related to constructing political discourse in relation to the process of news construction, political parties and the regimes. Secondly, the news headlines are analyzed linguistically in terms of metaphor, metonymy, transitivity, modality, lexical choices and nominalization. Moreover, the news headlines are analyzed at broader social and political level in order to find ideological underpinnings incorporated in political discourse using Fairclough's model of Critical Discourse Analysis.*

**Keywords:** Critical Discourse Analysis, Ideology, Discursivity, Political voice, PPP, PML-N

### 1. Introduction

The job of media is to connect the people to the world community by providing information about the on-going activities, issues and happenings around the globe. It informs the people about the political issues as well. Moreover, people heavily rely on media about getting the political information. Therefore, it is the responsibility of media to provide them transparent and impartial information. However, media does not play its due role and produces political discourse in a manipulative way. Media occupies power to construct the political news in a discursive manner which apparently cannot be traced by the non-critical readership. In other words, the headlines of the English newspapers are crafted with ideological implications to represent political voice which is an entry point into the present study. This is pertinent to mention that the issue under consideration is about Asghar Khan Case which was filed in Supreme Court on 16<sup>th</sup> June 1996 on

the charges of distribution of funds to some politicians by the intelligence agencies to influence the election of the year, 1990. The honorable court issued its decision on 19<sup>th</sup> October 2012 stating that the funds were issued from the 'Election Cell' established under President Office and the individuals mentioned in the filed case proved guilty. Moreover, it was also clarified in the decision that the institutions were not found, involved in the distribution of funds. Therefore, FIA was instructed to take actions against the fund distributors as well as the politicians who received these funds. Newspapers of Pakistan protracted coverage to the issue and produced headlines and published columns as well. However, the present study included only the headlines as these are widely read by Pakistani public. In this respect, the headlines of two English newspapers, DAWN and The Nation were chosen in order to explore the way the headlines were selected and constructed.

## 2. Literature Review

Discourse is a concept somewhat difficult and fuzzy. It is mostly used by the social theorists, critical linguists and critical discourse analysts, like Foucault (1972); Fowler et al (1979) and van Dijk (1991) respectively. The definitions of these theorists are slightly different from one another owing to their own theoretical and disciplinary standpoints. Two significant uses of discourse are evident: First is formalist or structuralist view and the other is so-called functionalist view. The former view defines discourse as 'language above the clause' whose proponent is Stubbs (1983). This school of thought looks at the structural properties such as organization and cohesion and pays little attention to the social ideas. On the other hand, social aspect is emphasized by the latter view, which states that discourse is not an isolated thing rather it is a functional use of language. Brown & Yule (1983, p.1) state that: "The analysis of discourse is, necessarily, the analysis of language in use. As such, it cannot be restricted to the description of linguistic forms independent of the purposes or functions which these forms are designed to serve in human affairs".

In the functionalist point of view, language cannot be separated from the analysis of the purpose and functions of language. In this sense, discourse is considered as the culturally and socially organized. In addition, Richardson (2006) claims that the theorists who agree this definition of discourse, are the believers of the notion that languages are used to mean something and to do something. This meaning and doing is concerned to the context of its usage. In this way, to interpret a text appropriately, we have to work out what the speaker or writer is doing through discourse. Moreover, we also need to know that how this 'doing' is linked to wider interpersonal, institutional, socio-cultural and material contexts.

Critical discourse theories have their roots in Ferdinand de Saussure (1986) and passing through various significant phases view the ideas of (Bourdieu (1991); Foucault (1991); Fairclough (1989) and van Dijk (1995). It is pertinent to commence with the father of linguistics whose ideas laid foundation for the today's research traditions in discourse studies. As the focus of the discourse theories is the language which is considered as the mode of expression, means of communication and thus it is believed that it serves the purpose of exchange of ideas. As mentioned in former lines, theories of Swiss linguist and the founder of structuralist linguistics, Ferdinand de Saussure (1986) contributed much in the language and it was claimed that language is the impersonal system or code (*la langue*) from which springs the multifarious varieties of individual speech events (*la parole*). It is significant to explicate that Saussure introduced two inter-related concepts of language: *langue* and *parole*. *Langue* is a system or code that is prior to actual language use. On

the other hand, there is parole, for which he extends his view that it is what actually said or written. Moreover, he states that parole is determined purely by the individual choices, not socially at all. Fairclough (1989) claims that concept of parole (language use) is characterized by extensive variation.

The modern sociolinguistic concepts reveal that this Saussurian variation is not as he thought it as a product of individual choice; it is a product of the social differentiation: People interact with others and use language according to their different relations with them, possessing different social identities, and in different social settings to get their purposes served. So, when language is socially determined, Fairclough (1989) prefers to use the term discourse instead of language. He further argues that language has a historical perspective where economic, political and cultural unification is a part of it, as Standard English has. But there is no historical specificity regarding his concept of langue. Saussure opines that despite of their social conditions, all the language communities have their langue (system or code prior to actual language use). Furthermore, it is also significant to focus that Saussure assumed that everyone has equal access to and command of one's langue. Contrary to this, in reality, access to and command of standard languages are unequal. Therefore, the notion of langue and parole is not directly relevant to the present study, however, it establishes the initial thought of the language and sets the ground for the later theorists to accept, reject or develop the new considerations about the language.

The theories of innateness or the competence and performance presented by Noam Chomsky (1972) are not directly related to this study. However, his ideas provide the understanding that how language has been considered by different theorists and how has the notion of sign been taken into consideration through the course of time. In other words, when it is perceived that language learning is an inborn ability that establishes and develops in a certain period of time and the native speakers perform their competence because they are endowed with this faculty, consequently, this understanding does not raise a question critically on the manipulative use of language. So, this concept considered language as a transparent phenomenon. On the other hand, a twist emerged as a result of the debate, and the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu argued that the infinite numbers of expressions are produced in context of the utterance to which a speaker confronts and according to him, the habitual receptivity and productivity of our linguistic competence is socially and historically situated (Bourdieu, 1991).

Therefore, along with the concept of dialogism by Bakhtin (2010), intertextuality by Fairclough (1989) and contextual aspect of the language, it was perceived that language is not as transparent as it is considered, but it is manipulated and regulated by the power structures to their hidden intentions. Initially, the work of Bourdieu was related with the subtleties of power in society and particularly the varied and elusive ways through which power is relocated and social order is conserved not only within but also across the generations. His work frequently accentuated corporeal aspect of social life and highlighted the role of practice and embodiment in social dynamics. It is a fact that he presented his ideas through certain perspectives such as the idea of objective and subjective habitus, class-based inequality and symbolic violence with sociological and cultural perspective; however, his contribution to the language cannot be ignored.

The fact is that Fairclough (1989) covered various topics which highlight the exercise of the dominant groups to capture the resources and manipulate the cognition of the people. In addition,

regarding his views of language, he does not consider language only as the method of communication; he considers it as the instrument of power as well. He emphasizes the social role of an individual and social positioning and relationship which determine use of language differently. According to Bourdieu (1991), linguistic relations are the expressions of respective positions existing in social space and categories of comprehension which incline to replicate the self-regulating structures of the social field. This notion defines who has a right to be listened to, who can interrupt, who can ask questions and to what degree.

The manifestation of identity in practices of language can further be subdivided into language, dialect, and accent which determine a varied social status for individuals. In this concern, French is a very good example because until the French revolution, the difference of dialectic usage openly represented social status and determined authority within population. Therefore, language acts as a system of power and through certain forms of mental representations, it is recognized and perceived as objective representations: as a sign and/or symbol. In addition, these signs and symbols therefore transform language into an agency of power (Bourdieu, 1991). Hence, the prestige of the language is determined through the choice of the social positions and empowers the prestigious strata of the society; therefore, such perspective of language provides the relevance to the present study which explores the authority of choice to the producers of media language. In other words, language of media is considered prestigious and the discourse producers use it in a discursive manner to manipulate the opinion of the readership the way whatever they like.

### **3. Methodology**

This is postmodern qualitative study for which the data has been collected by using Archival method. Two widely distributed English newspapers (DAWN and The Nation) were selected to obtain the data. Total number of related headlines found in the selected English newspapers was 23. Using simple random sampling technique, on the issue related to Asghar Khan Case, 8 headlines unified with lead paragraphs have been selected for analysis. Moreover, this study relies on Fairclough's three-dimensional model of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) because of its more focus on production, dissemination, as well as reception processes of discourse and social perspective of discourse than examining just the discursive text. This model opines language as a 'social practice' (Fairclough, 1989, p. 20). In addition, it also focuses on the ways social and political dominance is reconstructed by 'text and talk'. Moreover, it undertakes a dialectical relationship between specific discursive acts and the situations, institutions and social structures in which they are rooted (situational, institutional and social contexts which form and affect discourse, and in turn, discourses affect social and political reality or it can be said that discourse constitutes social practice and at the same time, it is also constituted by it (Wodak et al., 1999). The study will explore ideological features including, authentic sourcing strategy, metaphors, metonymic use of the selected corpus, modals, headlines with/without the 'speaker' and invented terms. At the end, these ideological features will be interpreted and discussed with a view to the broader social and political perspectives.

### **4. Analysis, Interpretation and Discussion**

The selected headlines of the English newspapers (DAWN and The Nation) have been analyzed and interpreted in the light of Fairclough's (1989) three-dimensional model which determines to investigate the textual features of the headlines, the interpretation of the researcher being the part of the respective social set up, and explanation of the phenomenon under consideration keeping in

view the broader social and political perspective of the focused issue under study. However, it is pertinent to present the context of the phenomenon for the convenience and better understanding of the readership. The issue is related with the involvement of the intelligence agencies in distribution of illegal money Rs. 140 million to Pakistani politicians against Pakistan Peoples Party to win the election, 1990 through 'election cell' formed under presidential office. The case was filed by Asghar Khan, a former Chief of Air Staff before Supreme Court on 16<sup>th</sup> June 1996 and known as Asghar Khan Case. The nominated respondents of the case included General (R) Mirza Aslam Baig, DG ISI, Asad Durrani and Ghulam Ishaq Khan, The President of Pakistan. The decision of the case was given by Supreme Court of Pakistan on 19<sup>th</sup> October, 2012. Pakistani electronic and print media gave coverage to this historic case. However, the present study only focuses upon the way print media highlighted this case. In order to explore the ideological representation of the said case, the data from two English newspapers (covering three months (October - December) has been selected in the form of headlines. In this respect, 10 newspapers from every month were selected by using simple random sampling technique and the researcher found only 23 related headlines. Keeping in view, the paradigm of the research which is qualitative, as well as, the requirement of the study, only 08 headlines unified with lead paragraphs were selected as the sample through simple random sampling technique.

Table 4.1: Data Presentation

No.	The Headline	Source H stands for headline, D for DAWN, N for The Nation, date, Month and Year of Publication
1	<i>Non-implementation of Asghar Khan Case</i> Observers smell a rat in PPP stance	HN07Dec.2012
2	Every penny will be recovered, says Raja	HN20Oct.2012
3	Asghar Khan Case PPP trying to find an escape, says PML-N	HD07Dec.2012
4	Recipients of poll bribe	HN28Oct.2012
5	Khakis, Muftis 'stripped naked'	HN20Oct.2012
6	In history's annals, Sharifs hands clean, PPP's dirty	HN25Oct.2012
7	<i>Asghar Khan case verdict</i> Recovery from politicians may be a hard task	HN10Nov.2012
8	Political generals guilty finally	HN20Nov.2012

Table 4.2: Textual Analysis

No.	Authenticated source	Metaphor	Metonymy	Modal	Speaker	Invented terms
1	Observers	Smell a rat	PPP		No Speaker	
2				Will be	Raja	
3		Find an escape	PML-N		PML-N	
4					No Speaker	Recipients
5		Stripped naked			No Speaker	Khakis, Muftis
6	History's annals	Sharifs' hands	PPP		No Speaker	
7				May be	No Speaker	
8					No Speaker	Political generals

The headlines selected from the English newspapers (DAWN and The Nation) are ideologically imbued as the name of any alleged person (s) has deliberately been avoided to mention which shows a particular concern of discourse producers regarding the most significant issue of the national interest. Similarly, a technique of incorporating the authentic sources in the headline text is a common practice applied to strengthen the particular view point. 'Authentic source' is referred to a presupposed reference which is commonly shared as trustworthy by the members of a society (Fairclough, 1989). For example, when we have to convince someone regarding our viewpoint, we bring a reference of the ideological terms, like, 'in a research study', 'in a survey', 'researchers', 'experts', 'observers' etc. and to which the speaker/writer is deliberately attempting to claim that the said statement is not created by him/her; instead, a reliable source is endorsing it. In this perspective, 'observers' are considered as the people who have a particular eye and expert opinion regarding an activity. In the same way, 'the history annals' is referred to the decision of the Supreme Court that is a sacred record now and is commonly considered as an authentic record because it is not from an ordinary individual but from the court of justice; therefore these are the authentic sources. These strategies have been used in the headline No. 1, and No. 6 (as the noun phrase, 'observers' and prepositional phrase, 'In the history's annals') which seem a deliberate attempt of the discourse producer authenticating the consideration that Sharif brothers are innocent. Besides, metaphors, like, 'smell a rat' and 'find an escape', 'stripped naked' and 'Sharifs' hands' in the headlines No. 1, 3, 5 and 6 also serve ideological purpose. Moreover, in the headlines No. 1, 3 and 6 'PPP', 'PML-N' and PPP have been used metonymically. In the headline No. 2 and headline No. 7, modals 'will be' and 'may be' have been used to create ideological meaning. Only headlines No. 2 and 3 possess 'speaker' whereas, the rest of the headlines have been presented in an objective way without mentioning any speaker. Invented terms, like, 'recipients' 'khakis', muftis' and 'political generals' have been used in the headlines No.4, 5 and 8 respectively to background the actual reality. The analysis indicates that both the selected newspapers (DAWN and The Nation) play game with the language of the headlines in spite of making the public aware about a historical decision of the Supreme Court of Pakistan on Asghar Khan Case.

## 5. Discussion

### 5.1 Non-implementation of Asghar Khan Case (HN07Dec.2012)

#### 5.1.1 Observers smell a rat in PPP stance

This headline explicates that PPP (Pakistan Peoples Party) which is ruling party and victim of the 1990 elections accountable to implement the decision of Supreme Court against Nawaz Sharif and Shabbaz sharif is not serious on the matter. The discourse producer has used the plural noun, 'observers' as a metonymy due to the fact that the actual agency has been backgrounded to create a specific effect showing objectivity on the part of the headline encoder. Therefore, it is presupposed that the related authorities have doubts on the intents of the said party concerning the case. Such is a technique used in media to validate their statement in concern to encompass a reference to show neutrality of the discourse producer. Verb phrase, 'Smell a rat' is a proverb, as well as, a metaphoric expression to reinforce the opinionated meaning, raising the question on the seriousness of the government with reference to Asghar Khan Case. Hence, the headline above has been contextualized in concern to intelligence agencies distributing money in 1990's elections to favor PML-N and disfavor PPP.

Besides, the case against the alleged personnel and politicians was filed in the highest court of the country which was decided in light of the indication that money was distributed to defeat Benazir Bhutto, according to which the alleged individuals should be reprimanded on the basis of law of the country. PPP is also a metonymy stated to whole of the party that is a non-human entity and cannot perform any action. It is also presupposed that the said party is trying to protect the interests of the PML-N leaders. Moreover, the headline indicates non-intentionality of PPP concerning Asghar Khan Case. Likewise, it is not the consideration of media, other political parties or politicians whose concerns are safeguarded rather it is the consideration of the impartial individuals termed as 'observers' who have doubt on the stance of Pakistan Peoples Party regarding the implementation of the said case. In fact, media should have clearly raised its voice urging the government to implement the court's decision to collect the illegitimately distributed money from the politicians, instead, it has constructed an ideological headline to raise the doubt on the government taking the support of 'observers'. In this way, media has not accomplished its accountability to raise the truth in order to serve national interests.

### **5.2 Every penny will be recovered, says Raja (HN20Oct.2012)**

Unlike the headline No. 1, this is declaration of Prime Minister, Raja Pervaiz Ashraf about the money of some of the country's leaders which has been put down abroad, especially in Swiss Banks. Such declaration proposes that he is engrossed in bringing money or tax payers to Pakistan, the modal auxiliary verb employed here 'will be' recommends that this will take place in future sometimes and currently the authorities are not interested to do this job. The headline possesses adjective 'every' which is generally before countable nouns/things; and the word used after 'every' is 'penny' which is certainly a countable thing in fiscal matters.

It is an interesting fact to note that which money is being talked about by Pervaiz Ashraf, either he would bring back the money illegally sent by the rulers of both PML-N and PPP by looting and plundering the common masses of Pakistan or on the other side, the money of corruption which has been deposited in the commercial banks or been invested in the country's stock exchange or the money for which the Supreme Court has point and directed to, in Asghar Khan Case. Therefore, the statement gives authority to an individual to take any meaning of his own choice, especially those who are the voters and supporters of the ruling party of the day. They will be satisfied that their Prime Minister is serious in bringing the national wealth back to Pakistan. This is one reason that such an unclear statement has been dispensed from the top executive of Pakistan and it is spaced by the media personnel on its front page of the newspaper. Finally, the future tense and modal auxiliary 'will be' designates that it must be sometime in the future when the money shall be recovered, but in case what will happen if there is no timeline and the tractability can rebound this to any time in the PPP administration. Consequently, clearly there were some political objectives behind the headline in which a big statement has been promised but on the other hand, it is kept loose from its ends. Therefore, headlines are always structured in a discursive and regulated manner; as there is always some hidden agenda behind them which is embedded in their structure. In this way, it is inferred that politicians use ideological statements which are represented and promoted in media. Thus, print media does not play its impartial and neutral role in production of political discourse as it has been investigated in the selected issue.

### 5.3 Asghar khan case (HD07Dec.2012)

#### 5.3.1 PPP trying to find an escape Says PML-N

Encompassing the infinitive phrase, 'to find escape' along with the previous meaning made by the present progressive form, it is pointed out that the subject, PPP, is in some encounter or blocked somewhere. Ultimately, the said party has no intentions to take an action against the people involved in money distribution in an illegal manner to a political party, PML-N. It is interesting to see that how discursively, the headline misdirects the attention of the readership from the actual reality. It empowers the voice of the alleged party whose leaders are supposed to take the money from the intelligence agency during the general election of the year, 1990. Isn't it the responsibility of the text producer, and news institution not to select this news item or to raise the actual truth because Supreme Court has directed the case towards FIA for further action against the people who were involved in political corruption and PPP is just a political party which is not liable to take an action of the decision of the highest court of the county? Moreover, it is the statement of the speaker of the headline who is directly involved in the charges of allegations. Conversely, the matter has not been dealt in a straightforward manner.

Moreover, the headline has been premeditated on the context provided by the decision of the highest court of the country in Asghar Khan Case. This case was filed by Air Martial (Rtd) Asghar Khan in 1996 on the basis of charges of money distribution to some politicians by intelligence agencies on behalf of the then president, Ghulam Ishaq Khan to steal the mandate of Pakistan Peoples Party. The condition is that now PPP is in government and it is a great chance to implement the decision of the court. Nevertheless, after introducing the issue, 'Asghar Khan Case', that is a reference to a preceding text (intertextuality) before the main headline, in response to which the retrieving efforts of the existing political government of PPP has been highlighted. Using present progressive form of the verb 'try', the headline indicates that the government is trying to find a safe exit because it is not confident to face the reality. In other words, an individual or a group who is ingenuous never finds an escape, while the individuals or groups try to run away from the reality who realize themselves on the wrong side. The headline shows that PPP knows its weakness regarding Asghar Khan Case due to which it is not serious to implement the decision of Supreme Court.

The writer of the headline knows it well; therefore, deliberately the voice of PML-N chief, Nawaz Sharif has been emphasized to background the reality. It is presupposed that PPP is answerable for implementation of the decision but it is not willing to do so. Furthermore, it is attempted to create a particular sense that Nawaz Sharif did not take money from the agencies, if it had been so, then he would have tried to hide the case, so he is innocent, that's why he is blaming the government for not showing the concern to take an action against the alleged people after the clear decision of the court. Actually, Nawaz Sharif extended this proclamation in reaction to the press conference of the prime minister; Raja Pervaiz Ashraf to bring investigation against PML-N chief as per court's directions, hence, it is presupposed that PPP is trying to find an escape. We know that the general elections are supposed to be held after the interval of few months. Ultimately, the underlying headline appears as a counter attack on PPP by associating the strong electoral position of PML-N which is ready to fight the forthcoming contest while PPP's intentions are questioned that it is underlining the non-issues and is not ready for elections on time and is using tactics to ensure poll delay.

#### **5.4 Recipients of poll bribe (HN20Oct.2012)**

The headline has been crafted in the context of Air Marshal (R) Asghar Khan, who wrote a letter to former chief justice of Pakistan, Sajjad Ali Shah listing the politicians with the amounts they allegedly received in the 1990 elections. This has become one of the mega scandals in the history of Pakistani politics and since the case has been taken by the apex court of the country; it has been extensively discussed in the news and public spheres. The political implications of this scandal can be huge and it can turn down the future of any political party or its representative, who has taken kickbacks from the intelligence agency of Pakistan. The headline starts with nominalization, a process of transforming verb into noun to attract the focus of the readers.

After highlighting the context of the news item, now turning towards its analysis one can say that the writer of this news item has successfully maneuvered written words and has made the meaning totally ambiguous. If we go deep and dig out, there are more than ten recipients of this deal happened between premier politicians and intelligence agency, but here by just mentioning 'recipients' the writer has tried well to achieve the goal. The goal is to keep its true essence and meanings hidden, for instance, who are recipients, it is not clear from the text, maybe it is given in the body of news story but headlines go without its clear mark. Here, the headline is clearly shying away to fix the responsibility and does not make it clear to the reader about the corrupt elite of Pakistani politics.

By summing up the interpretation of this pithy and ambiguous news item, it can be stated clearly that now-a-days, newspapers and their policies are not non-political, if there is a big news item which is bound to shake the political balance and upset the status quo; it would be managed journalistically and with the style and techniques of language. The headline producer can play with the language and make the ordinary reader confuse to come up with clear meaning of the headlines given.

#### **5.5 Khakis, Muftis 'stripped naked' (HN20Oct.2012)**

The headline is very catchy, crafted with a purpose to win the attention of the intended reader. It recaps us of the pronounced political alliance against Pakistan Peoples Party during the 90's decade. PML, JI, JUI, ANP and NPP had shaped biggest group in the history of Pakistan by the name of Islami Jamhori Itihad, notably known as IJI. The state-of-the-art expansion in this regard informs us about the Supreme Court decision in the said case, which reveals the conspiracy of all these political parties to make an alliance just to oust PPP from the elections for their vested interests.

This is important to note that the headline commences with the noun phrase, 'KHAKIS' which is an implicit reference towards Pakistan Army, reason being that MI (Military Intelligence) and ISI (Inter-Services Intelligence) allegedly played an important role in the election of the year, 1990. MUFTIS here clearly represent all those religious political parties which were indulged in this dirty game of politics with the name of religion, Jamat -e- Islami and Jamiat Ulema-e- Islam were the two biggest names in this regard. So, along with the politicians of the country, these religious political leaders were involved in keeping PPP out of the elections. The verb employed here is 'STRIPPED' past participle of strip, functions as metaphor which means to uncloak, representing the action done by someone on the branded parties. In the selected headline, 'intransitive verb' has

been used to hide the agency which is involved in symbolic undressing of the 'KHAKIS' and 'Muftis' to emphasize the implied meaning to create hype among the readership.

Consequently, it can be said that implication of Pakistan Army and religious leaders have been symbolically declared as 'naked' which means that the above stated institution as well as religious leaders have been exposed for what they have been doing in benefitting each other rather than serving the nation. The headline is silent about those who are alleged in the Supreme Court Verdict. In other words, in Asghar Khan Case, supposed alleged party is PML-N to receive the poll bribe; ISI is supposedly alleged to grant the handsome amount to Mian Nawaz Sharif and other politicians for winning the elections of 1990. But neither the headline speaks about ISI (Pakistani Intelligence Agency) nor writes about Nawaz Sharif and other political leaders. Instead, it diverts the attention of the readership towards the neutral institution (Pakistan Army) and politicians of the religious parties (with respect to Asghar Khan Case) without demarcating them from those who were involved with this matter. This reveals the fact that Pakistani print media crafts ideologically impregnated headlines to misguide the public.

#### **5.6 In history's annals, Sharifs hands clean, PPP's dirty (HN25Oct.2012)**

In the selected headline, the lexical item 'Sharifs' is the family name of two brothers, Mian Shahbaz Sharif is the chief minister of Punjab and Mian Nawaz Sharif is the party chief of PML-N in the year 2012. Likewise, in Urdu language, the same word has positive connotation and is referred to 'gentle person(s)'. The plural noun 'hands' functions as metaphor because 'clean hands' are denoted to the honest people and mutually perceived as appreciative in Pakistani society. On the other hand, 'dirty hands' are referred to the corrupt and dishonest people. In the headline, Sharif brothers have been highlighted as honest people while Pakistan Peoples Party as the party of corrupt people. This is an interesting and noteworthy fact that we find violation of parallel rule because positive image is associated with individuals 'Sharif brothers' and negative image is associated with whole of the party, 'PPP'.

On the other hand, in case of making comparisons, both the participants should have been individuals or parties but in the headline specified above, individuals are compared with a political party which is virtuously intentional and subjective approach used to highlight the positive image of those who are favourite to the media persons. Similarly, the headline portrays biased representation of the issue on the basis of the fact that in the elections of 1990, the PPP is characterized as dirty one and the alleged politicians are termed as honest and innocent people. For example, if both the brothers are innocent in Asghar Khan Case, how Pakistan Peoples Party is corrupt because the intelligence agencies had been involved in conspiring defeat of the stated party in those elections and the ultimate benefit would have been given to Nawaz Sharif. Therefore, the interpretation reveals that media in Pakistan is prejudiced in description of the individuals or parties and does not construct balanced discourse in highlighting the truth. The headline is contextualized as a result of PPP propaganda machinery bearing in mind, the concoction of designs against it in retort to the Supreme Court's judgment in Asghar Khan Case. The testimonial is reinforced with orientation to an authentic source 'history's annals'. In possessive form, 'history's annals', history is incarnated as a living entity which keeps records related to the innocence of Sharif brothers. The preposition, 'in' is functioning as metaphor, stipulating the 'containment' of records which have been conserved. Conversely, it is implied in the headline that the rival politicians or parties concocted plot against the brothers and vanquished their propaganda

apparatus, they can't change the well-maintained records that are considered as 'history' now. Therefore, interpretation reveals that print media in Pakistan is prejudiced in construction of political voice, so it should revise its policies to benefit its readership.

### **5.7 Asghar Khan case verdict (HN10Nov.2012)**

#### **5.7.1 Recovery from politicians may be a hard task**

This headline demonstrates the uncertainties of the text producers and raises a question mark on the freedom of press in production of political discourse and climaxes the fact that media in Pakistan has not its self-governing policy concerning the matters of national interest. Using the strategy of backgrounding the names of the political parties or the particular individuals involved in the illegal action of getting money to stop over the victory of a political party, as well as, hiding the names of the officials of the intelligence agencies clearly supports the notion that media is not doing its obligations evidently and transparently. Similarly, everything has been indistinct with the use of metonymy, 'politicians' though, all the politicians are not convoluted in the illegitimate action of sabotaging the majority of a political party of the country. Moreover, in the presence of clear-cut orders and the names of the alleged persons, the media is still hesitant to raise the truth. In this way, media is depriving the public for their right of getting the true information of the incident happened two decades back in past and which is related to the future of the country and its citizens.

Unlike other headlines from the selected corpus, the headline prompts nominalization, a practice of renovating the verbal action into noun and integrating it in the start of a statement or news item for emphasis. The perpetrators have been termed as 'politicians', a generalized term for all the individuals of the same political strata. It is worth mentioning that in Asghar Khan case verdict, top officials of intelligence agencies have also been found guilty in distributing illegal funds to stop Pakistan Peoples Party come into power in the elections of 1990. Though, they have deliberately been avoided to be integrated into the headline and all the focus rests upon the politicians. Consequently, 'recovery from politicians' highlights the fact that politicians are persuasive people and they would not be agree to obey the orders of the court in paying back the amount of Rs. 140 million. In other words, they are represented as corrupt, as well as, dishonest, on the basis of proposition that they are not eager to pay back the amount taken from the intelligence agencies. The use of modality, 'may be' indoctrinates the weak possibility for the recovery of the amount mentioned above from the politicians. Moreover, the job has been characterized as hard one. In other words, the politicians are the more powerful strata than the concerned institutions, like, FIA which is meant to recuperate the money from them. The headline is impotent to state the speaker because the speaker in the headline has not been mentioned and the intention is to express objectivity of the headline which allows the discourse producer to incorporate the preferred linguistic structures and lexical choices to generate a particular impact. Only the lead text provides a direction to the source, who is an official from the interior ministry, requesting anonymity. Therefore, the analysis and interpretation highlights the fact that print media in Pakistan uses ideological tactics in construction of political voices.

### **5.8 Political generals guilty finally (HN20Oct.2012)**

The headline encompasses the word, 'finally' which intertextualizes certain other endeavors to divulge the alleged persons. To blame Generals is considered a big charge that must be taken

seriously by all stake holders. In this concern, one thing is conspicuous that guilty individuals are represented by using plural noun, 'generals'. Therefore, one can generalize this headline to all the generals who have been involved in politics, whereas, there are particular generals who are suspected in this case. Instead, the names of the alleged generals could be mentioned in the headline so that the nation would be able to recognize them. However, the actual identity of the alleged generals has been back grounded intentionally. This makes it quite noticeable that there is an implication of involvement of all the three star generals of the day into this kind of controversy which is baseless. The headline is ended with an emphatic adverb, 'finally', which makes us think that this is the first time it had happened and there is no preceding history of proclaiming Army people as guilty. There must be some tangible investigation behind this story which makes this report sounds as true and more remarkably as believed to be true. Therefore, this is a strong point to raise that the four word heading is telling us a lot and there is a whole mystery involved in this kind of statement which is completely fuzzy.

Similarly, the headline is unequivocally stating Army men as politically active other than their job to safeguard the country. Usually, Army has nothing to do with the politics but in Pakistan, the equation is opposite, because in different times, Army has been playing active role not only in running the country but has toppled many democratically elected governments. This is a context in which this statement has been given but interestingly there is no mentioning of agency; that is to say from the statement, it is not clear who said this? This is making the above statement more complex and ambiguous because the newspaper is not stating the name of the person who gave this audacious proclamation. The next more appealing and alarming situation is to say that Generals are guilty. Perhaps, this is the reason; there is inconspicuousness in it, the person who said it, does not want to be nominated due to several personal, political, and social reasons. Consequently, if media claims to be unbiased and impartial in construction of every kind of discourse, it should not be fearful of any consequences which the media related personnel may face as a result of raising the truth for the betterment of the country and nation.

## 6. Conclusion

The paper summarizes from the analysis and interpretation of the selected issue that print media uses certain ideological and discursive strategies in a biased manner by deploying the linguistic items of the headlines in a prejudiced way. Instead of highlighting the alleged individuals of Asghar Khan Case, the actual reality has been downplayed. This is the moral and constitutional right of the citizens to be well informed about the significant issues related to their political leaders and high profile officials of the country's reputed institutions. This can help them to elect the right and honest people as their rulers who can adopt and implement constructive and progressive policies for the development and the prosperity of the nation. However, media seems to have no such concerns to create awareness among the public and it has played manipulative role regarding the representation of political leaders and their parties in Asghar Khan Case.

## Referances

- Bakhtin, M. M. (2010). *The dialogic imagination: Four essays* (Vol. 1). University of Texas Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1991). *Language and Symbolic Power*, edited by JB Thompson and translated by G. Raymond and M. Adamson. *Cambridge: Polity*.
- Brown, G., & Yule, G. (1983). *Discourse analysis*. Cambridge University Press, 1.

- Chomsky, N. (1972). *Studies on Semantics in Generative Grammar*. The Hague: Mouton.
- De Saussure, F. (1986 [1916]) *Course in General Linguistics*. La Salle IL: Open Court Publishing.
- Fairclough, N. (1989). Language and power. *London and New York: Longman Group UK*.
- Fairclough, N. (1989). Language and power. *London and New York: Longman Group UK*, 20.
- Foucault, M. (1972). The archaeology of knowledge (AM Sheridan Smith, trans.).
- Fowler, et al. (1979). *Language and Control*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Richardson, J. E. (2006). *Analysing newspapers: An approach from critical discourse analysis*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Stubbs, M. (1983). *Discourse analysis: The sociolinguistic analysis of natural language* (Vol. 4). University of Chicago Press, 1.
- Sultan, M. (2000). Globalisation, Media and the Kashmir Dispute. *Strategic Studies*, 4.
- Wodak, R. (1999). *The discursive construction of national identity*. Edinburgh University Press.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (1991). *Racism and the Press: Critical Studies in Racism and Migration*. Routledge.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (1995). Power and the news media. *Political communication and action*, 9-36.