Discursive Practices of Pakistani Press through Headlines in Shaping up Political Realities

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Keywords

- Ideology
- Headline
- Discursive practices
- Reality construction
- Media

Abstract

Post-structuralist theorists think that linguistic capabilities are applied to construct identity as well as ideology, power relations, creation of knowledge and knowledge reproduction, and relations within and outside community; thus, it produces various sorts of reality versions indicating that reality is, by and large, socially constructed. Linguistic power is generally employed with the help of institutional along with organizational mechanism and hegemonic control. As a matter of fact, political discourse has this power, along with other subtleties of power, quite in contrast to the power of discursivity acquired by media; predominantly, print media carries an extensive space for the discursive construction. Pakistani media has acquired prominence as well as freedom in past years. Consequently, people have become more media dependent for opinion making; particularly, educated class, which is considered as an opinion maker, depends on newspapers. This study provides a way to understand and develop meaning making process in the representations of political eventualities. This study generates an awareness that linguistic choices employed in reporting the political ideologies is very powerful tool to affect the thoughts of readers, and, therefore, print media contributes in generating diverse opinions in Pakistani society.

1. Introduction

1.1. Background

Headlines are rich source to get a concise concept about the cultural structure. This is because the headlines are self-sufficient and can convey the meaning alone, without any description or explanation. The text is strongly reliant upon the recognition and intelligence of audience about the issues, field, and cultural set patterns (Foucault, 1983). Therefore, it relies upon the cultural values; which implies that the "meaning-deduction" is difficult without having a depictions or models of reality; that are rampant in the society. For example, the abbreviation PM refers to the Prime Minister. But the usage of this abbreviation helps to bring the audience in their own national framework and they have to assume it as the PM of their own country.

The role of Pakistani media in the set forth angle needs an adequate investigation to develop better understanding of authoritative influences, political associations and ideological familiarity, along with their controlling character in the previous. The political scenarios have been influenced a lot by the media practices, using various means and normative terminologies from media, prejudice, and authority. Apart from them, many other contribute to produce a nepotistic perspective.

By keeping this perspective in mind, political narrations and speeches are presented with different techniques to sublime to their political agendas. The present study focusses on identifying how these political speeches are framed, and who benefits the most out of it. It is due to the sole reason that the newspapers are frequently giving paramount space to political discourses.

This study helps to conceptualize the part of news papers' headlines in the affecting of politically influenced process with the help of linguistic tools, and it intends to give insightful understanding of the embedded practice of newspapers (Thompson, 1995). This study also helps to expose the mediatized discourse in Pakistani newspapers' headlines so as a place can be facilitated to develop more productive attitude towards media discourse.

1.2. Research Questions

Here below are the research questions for the study:

1. What are the discursive practices involved in presenting the political discourse of political leaders in Urdu newspapers in Pakistan?

2. How are leading Urdu newspapers influencing and constructing the discourse of Pakistani political leaders in headlines?

2. Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

Headlines are very crucial and contextual as they presuppose a specific amount of information that is relevant to a particular society. So, if you are unaware of the current social and cultural norms and trends, you won't be able to easily comprehend the headlines easily. Theorists have been mentioning various theories of news. Most of them have features of news schemata, and they are labeled as types of media discourse.

Bell examined the ideological dimension of news in the press. He further elaborated it with a methodical analysis of how the news may "misrepresent" or "mis-represent" the events. He summarizes an already done study of climate variation coverage, in which, the reports were sent back to the professional sources with an appeal to point out the accuracy level. The reports concluded that only 29% of the stories were undeniably accurate, 55% of them were faintly inaccurate and 16% completely inaccurate (Bell, 1991, p. 217).

2.1. Maneuvering through News

One characteristic makeover is exaggeration, which can be taken as the same general category as overgeneralization, as we recognize it from pigeonholes and preconceptions or "extreme case" formulations in dialogues. News discourse can also be named as rhetorical (Cook, 1998). As rhetoric deals about how the information (meaning, content) is highlighted or de-highlights—for several motives. The reason of this can be to put emphasis on the bad features of out-groups or the good characteristics of in-groups.

- ***News values:*** Either the event is geographically closer or not; it is given a higher value of news if it indicates to "our own" people or if "our own" people are in them.
- ***Topics:*** Here 'us' can be called as the virtual roles that are present in all o kinds of news stories. And If in a large variety of political, social and economic subjects, the reporting of 'Them' inclines to be confined to a few subjects and themes, violence, crime, cultural conflicts.
- ***Perspective:*** a specific perspective in the description of news events. "Our" perspective appears to be the main umbrella for different ethnic skirmishes, issues of integration, and wide-ranging cultural differences.
- ***Formats, order and foregrounding:*** News schematics outline their complete plan and direction, like the discrepancy among Headlines, Leads, and other categories. They boost up the negative action of ethnic minorities or other non-European and this news are placed in the top Headlines. Apart from that, they are also dispersed all over the order and categories of reports.
- ***Style:*** Style is a specific pattern such as the assortment of words, sentence structure and other flexible expressions of primary subjects and local semantics.
- ***Rhetoric:*** Rhetorical figures, like the metaphors, euphemisms and hyperboles have a certain emphasizing and sometimes de-emphasizing impact on the news.

Nationalist ideologies also have a great impact on news and news making. There is a certain leaning, particularly when journalists express about "foreign" events or about situations of wars, riots, attacks and international competitions (Bourdieu, 1991). It is common that these situations are not covered in terms of being a conflict, instead they are discussed as the strongly polarized subjects (Tamkeen Z., Zafar U. S., & Huma B., 2017). They always put "us" into good ones and "them" as being bad ones, so far, if "our" country and "our" soldiers are in a conflict or war. (Zelizer & Allan, 2002)

The same thing also applies to patriarchal ideologies like sexism or male dogmatism. The implications of sexist ideologies are split into two: the optimistic self-descriptions of males (e.g., as solid, self-governing, autonomous etc.). Hence, metering the opposed identities,

the distinctive activities of men vs. women, dissimilar customs and morals, and diverse resources that define the position of men as a powerful entity in the society**.**

2.2. Unpredictability of Ideologies

Discourse usually does not express the direct ideologies, because context models may slab or adapt (mitigate or amplify) core ideological dogmas, when language users adjust to the condition, the spectacles, and so on. This also elucidates why ideologies are not always obvious in particular situations (Van Dijk, 2008a, 2008b).

A comparative study was done by Ahmedian (2015) on a critical comparison of *Los Angeles* and *Tehran Times.* The subject was focused on the negotiations and the terms discussed in Iran Newspaper. Hamid concluded that the two headlines taken from the rival newspaper, accused one another's behavior, very openly. *Tehran Times* was focusing on the news that Obama is changing his mind, every time; while the title news of *Los Angeles Times* focused on the deceiving characteristics of Iran. The both news channels were focused to show their positive-self representation and negative-other representation. Instead of mirroring it, they create a new reality. Therefore, all the news is captured from a certain angle.

Grue (2006) did a Critical Discourse Analysis of a film review in a newspaper. He assessed and described the expansive structures which have an impact on films. These structures give a new shape to the existing films. He gave the following conclusion that, "a shift has taken place in the field of film reviewing from essayistic to taxonomic discourse" (Grue 2006: 52). Grue further elaborated that this shift has a determining relation to the film discourse. And this shift is generally caused by the fluctuations in the film reviewing field.

Some few authors took the newspapers of Cameroon from the CDA Perspective. Fornkwa (2015) took the state's budget and did a discourse analysis of all the news and articles regarding it. He selected five news articles from four different newspapers in the country. They were: *Cameroon Tribune, The Post, Cameroon Daily Journal and The Median.* His research showed that the pro-government newspapers (Cameroon) and the private ones had a strongly incompatible ideology. Cameroon was using very optimistic and praising words to persuade the readers about the budget that it was comprehended to boost up their standards of life. Some of these expressions were including the names of different big projects like the *Motorway of Keribi-Edea, Douala-Yaounde motorway, ring road and the second bridge of wouri*. Now, what private newspapers were showing was completely clashing. They took the budget increase with a completely opposite view. They think that the budgetary rise will uplift the misappropriation done by officials in higher ranks. Fornkwa (2015: 16) hence concludes that journalists have a certain power and control over this genre-use. And this control helps them to regulate the thoughts of their readers, which (in this case) depends upon their political orientation.

In Pakistani scenario some researchers have attempted to unveil the hidden practice of print media. For example, it has been explored that Pakistani print media for the sake of commercial gains uses idealization, temptation, objectification, exploitation, and persuasion as discursive strategies to meet their hidden agenda (M. Akbar K., M. Ramzan M., &Shazia R. D., 2017).

2.3. Theoretical Underpinnings and Method of Investigation

Ontologically speaking, this study takes the idealist supposition that there is no absolute reality; in fact, reality is constructed through interpretations and representations by social players (Blaikie, 2010). Epistemologically, this study is based on the constructionist paradigm in which it is considered that social enquiry is always subjective; hence, it is always influenced by contextual awareness and previous experiences. Therefore, this type of study reflects the investigator's view (Blaikie, 2010).

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) has been chosen as a methodology due to the nature of this study. The main theorists who have overwhelmingly contributed in the critical study of discourses are Van Dijk (1988, 1991, 1993, 1995, 1998a, 1998b), Wodak (1995, 1996, 1999), and Fairclough (1989, 1992, 1993, 1995a, 1995b, 1999). They all propagate and elaborate CDA as an area of study that focuses its emphasis on written as well as spoken manuscripts to expose discursive elements of biasness, inequality, power and hegemony.

Among the above-mentioned theorists, Van Dijk's approach to CDA seems more appropriate for the present study due to its emphasis on discourse of headlines and news reports through micro along with macro structural analyses.

According to the model proposed by van Dijk, microstructure means analysis to identify the semantic relations among various textual elements. This relationship can be analyzed among syntactic, lexical, propositional and many other rhetorical components of that text. Moreover, features like direct/ indirect reporting or quotations, to give factual look to the news items have also been studied.

According to Van Dijk the headline and the leads define the key information in the cognition of reporters, and on that ground they express the news item. Headlines are different from the rest due to the fact that they generate greater impact on readers' memory and acceptance. If they have diverse information/knowledge or set of beliefs, they will get less influence of the media construction of what is important and what is not. Similarly, Van Dijk (1988) points out that the news schemata, which he terms as superstructure schema, are arranged ensuing a pattern that is comprised of:

(i) a summary that contains headline and the lead;

(ii) a story that tells the situation consisting of episodes and backgrounds;

(iii) consequences that includes closing remarks and conclusions.

The above-mentioned parts of a news item are arranged in terms of how relevant they are; therefore, even a common information contained in headline matters. Van Dijk (1998) believes that to make transparent research to identify ideological dichotomy in discourse, researchers should analyze it through certain tools and parameters: first of all, one needs to examine the context that may be of political, social or historical implications of that particular conflict. Secondly, one should analyze power relations, various groups and issues complicating the situation; besides, s/he should consider Us versus Them positioning in the discourse. Next is to unveil the presupposed and the implicit concepts in discourse. Lastly, one should examine formal structures that include lexical choice and syntactic structure. By applying the above-mentioned model, a researcher may find his/her proper way to (de)emphasize polarized views of various groups.

The present study has applied the above mentioned points as a foundation for analysis of data. The data for this research is made up of 50 newspaper headlines collected from 3 newspapers of different publications published between June 25, 2018 and July 25, 2018. The newspapers used for this study are *Express*, *Jang and Dunya*. The number of headlines from each newspaper is 17, 11 and 22 respectively.

3. Analysis of Data

The analysis has been done in three sub sections. The first examines the lexical choice and the second discursivity in headlines to report the general election campaign during 2018. The third sub section presents the ideological differences manifested through words in the headlines to address how expressions shape readers' thoughts. Out of 11 main headlines published about the election related discourse in Jang, eight headlines were of Mian Nawaz Sharif or his party, PML-N, three were of Imran Khan or PTI, and there was no main lead story about leaders of Pakistan Peoples' Party, Mr. Bilawal Bhutto Zardari or Asif Ali Zardari despite. Express newspaper gave 17 headlines regarding political activity in one month, and out of them, the newspaper selected 8 statements of Mian Nawaz Sharif, 8 statements of Mr. Imran Khan and only one of Asif Ali Zardari for main headlines. Dunya newspaper divided 22 of its headlines in all three parties by giving 12 headlines to Mian Nawaz, 8 to Mr. Imran Khan and 3 to Mr. Bilawal Bhutto Zardari.

3.1. Lexical choices in Headlines of Newspapers

3.1.1. Dunya Newspaper

- *Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif*

The lexical choices selected for Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif clearly depict the image that he is under stress and institutions including those who matter in the government formation are trying very hard to not let his party come in power again. For example, the uses of words like *qabl iz waqat dhandli, party wafadar, jail, intakhabat main takhir, bardasht etc.* carry a very important direction to generate impact upon the minds of the readers who were about to vote one of parties contesting election. Some headlines have been used to generate a feeling of sympathy in the hearts of the reader by choices words to show him a very strong person.

- *Mr. Imran Khan*

The lexical choices selected for Mr. Imran Khan evidently depict the image that he is aggressive, proactive and preparing to launch a rigorous campaign to win election. The choices also indicate that he has made his mind to enter into power corridors. For example, the uses of words like *mulkger ehtajaj, N league zumadar, iqtadar, partian nakam, shafaf intakhabaat etc.* indicate a very significant clue to generate impact upon the minds of the readers who were about to vote one of parties contesting election. Some headlines have been used to generate an impression that all the parties are corrupt by choices of words to show him a righteous person.

- *Mr. Bilawal Bhutto Zardari*

Mr. Bilawal Bhutto Zardari has been given very less space in the main headlines, three out of twenty two, but the choices of lexical items are very significant in terms of providing him support in connection with the past of Pakistan Peoples' Party and its leadership. In this way, the new leader can get some advantage to be relevant to the present political situation. The choices are indicative of meaningful terminologies like *Zia Musharaf baqiyat, muqabala, mukhalifeen, sabaq sekhana, hum, Pakistan ke saath* etc. Though the space given to PPP is limited, yet the linguistic support in terms of nouns, adjectives and verbs portray them very relevant and powerful leaders who are ready to face challenges as they have faced in the past.

3.1.2. Express Newspaper

- *Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif*

The lexical choices selected for the headlines in *Express* newspaper for Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif portray as if he is struggling to manage things on many fronts, and institutions including those who matter in the government formation are against his party; therefore, hurdles are being created in election campaign. For instance, lexical choices like *dhandli, kulsoom ki bemari, majboori, election se qabl, aain torney wala, woot ko izaat, etc.* carry a very important direction to generate impact upon the minds of the readers who were about to vote one of parties contesting election. Some headlines have been used to generate a feeling of sympathy in the hearts of the reader by choices words to show him a very strong person.

- *Mr. Imran Khan*

The lexical choices selected for Mr. Imran Khan in headline of *Express* newspaper strongly portray that he is proactive, forceful and uses threatening expression for his opponents. He has been portrayed by the newspaper in headline by choosing the words like *zaalmoo ko jail, Allah ne hakomatm blackmail nahi ho ga, choot boltey rahe, neutral empire, shukrane ke nafal, corrupt hokumat, naam ECL main dalna etc.* and this lexical selection for Mr. Khan indicates a very significant clue that he is ready to win elections. This perspective of reporting generates an impact upon the minds of the readers who were about to vote one of parties contesting election. In few headlines, he has been portrayed as a person who has already won the elections and now he is establishing his future line of action.

- *Mr. Asif Ali Zardari*

Mr. Asif Ali Zardari has been given very less space in the main headlines, one out of seventeen, but the choices of lexical items are very significant in terms of providing him support by setting headline: *Nawaz Sharif ne mulk tabah ker dia, hum mulk ko buhran se nakalain ge*. In this headline, the term *tabak* and *buhran* are very significant portraying him very loyal to the soil of the land. Though the space given to PPP is limited, yet the linguistic support in lexical choices is very important.

3.1.3. Jang Newspaper

- *Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif*

The lexical analysis of headlines published in Jang during one month of election campaign during June 25, 2018 to July 25, 2018 is very interesting and different from the rest of the newspapers. It is almost one sided reporting in the sense that out of 11 relevant headlines regarding political scenario in Pakistan, 8 headlines carry Mian M. Nawaz Sharif's statements. The close analysis of lexical choices reflects the impression that he is the only leader in Pakistan having courage to stand against the odds and who is suffering due to establishment. The discourse in those headlines is very interesting. Lexical choices like *atamy technology ki bunyad, dhamake k sehra, kush log, multawi, tehqiqati commission, riyasat ke baqi satoon, bunyadi haqqooq etc*. portray that all the institutions were working against him; and he is being penalized due to being righteous leader. The most interesting headline is: *chief justice mera case mungwa ker phanci dedain ya jail bhaij dain.* A very strange terminology has been devised through lexical choice giving the image that he is innocent and he is being teased through various ways.

- *Mr. Imran Khan*

Jang has picked only three statements of Mr. Imran Khan though he spoke at various occasions in public gathering and gave very important political statements. The choices are to undermine his public impression by selection of themes and lexicons. Vocabulary used by Jang to depict his statement is important, for example, *shikayat, nainsafi, karkun, scandal, kitab ki ishaat, election jeetna etc*. Just to elaborate or explain one word to understand the trick the newspaper has used is the use of *scandal* in headline. It refers to very exploited position of him due to black mailing by his ex-wife, who had written a book against him to defame him. This headline has just given a hint to that issue to revive things in the minds of the readers.

- *Mr. Bilawal Bhutto Zardari*

Jang newspaper has not selected any of the statements of Mr. Bilawal Bhutto Zardari nor of his father, Asif Ali Zardari. Not to mention at all, gives a clear indication that they are not relevant. In critical discourse analysis, this phenomenon has a peculiar importance; therefore, not to mention doesn't mean that it was just omitted it has deep meanings.

Data show that the above mentioned key lexical elements have been used in Pakistani newspapers to portray political impression of political parties near general election 2018. The use of vocabulary like nouns, adjectives, auxiliary verbs and action verbs that causes publicity, sell political slogans, enhance credibility, and suggest more democratic values, is very common in almost all the newspapers.

3.2. Discursive Underpinnings in Headlines

Headlines in the newspapers selected for the present study have been analyzed how media has produced them for public. Specific examples of newspaper headlines that create

discursivity in the discourse regarding political leaders near the election to influence general public are as given below.

3.2.1. Dunya Newspaper

- *Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif*

Dunya newspaper has given maximum space to Mian Nawaz Sharif in terms of number of headlines, its subtlety of discourse, selection of topics to be given as headlines and placing of arguments in which his stance could be more easy and forceful to the public. All the topics selected for headlines show the impression that he is pro-democratic and the whole system is against him; therefore, he has to fight against all the odds for the sake of public and he is giving sacrifices in this war of principles. The headlines picked up topics like *his wife's illness, working of institutions against him, court cases that are unjust, imprisonment, pre-poll rigging against him etc.*

- *Mr. Imran Khan*

The overall impression of Mr. Imran Khan generated through the headlines has been modified in terms of selection of arguments and placement of discourse. Placement of arguments shows that he is eager to win the election even at the cost of his ideological stance against corruption. One of his statements shows a very sharp contrast with that of his opponent published in the same headline: *intakhabat main aik minute ki takheer berdasht nahi: Mian Nawaz Sharif and inakhabat waqat per hine chahain: Imran Khan*. The tone of Nawaz Sharif is aggressively presented and that too in a negative sentence, while Imran Khan's tone is mild and suggestive. The NS tone is emotional for his followers while tone of IK seems a message to those are managing elections.

- *Mr. Bilawal Bhutto Zardari*

The portrayal of Mr. Bilwal as well as of his father, Asif Ali Zardari, is powerful and aggressive though they were given space only in three headlines out of twenty two. It means that the newspaper has its own priority list and they are also playing the role of power player in this political game. However, the discourse selected for representation has very meaningful and powerful connotations. For example, *Mukhalifeen ko sabaq sekhain ge, Benazir bhi kisi ki beti thi, muqabal Zia Musharaf baqiyaat se ha.* The newspaper has presented their most powerful arguments in the headlines through which they can attract their voters.

3.2.2. Express Newspaper

- *Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif*

Express newspaper has tried to create balance in one month by giving surprisingly giving equal number 0f headlines, eight each, to the two rivals: Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif and Mr. Imran Khan. However, the discursivity lies in the selection of topics and nature of angles set to build arguments to create impact in the minds of the readers.

Political dynamics are evident in the statements; most of them are the actual sentences spoken by the speaker. But discursivity can be observed in each headline. One headline shows that pre-poll rigging is going on and public should stop through protest. In other words, it's a call to stop what's happening around; it's a feel of distrust on the system. In another headline, the ideology of atomic blast that occurred twenty years ago, has been used to reply the present corruption charges. Discursivity can be identified in the argument that it was an offer to the state and not to the person. The newspaper has given favorable space to the speaker in the selection of arguments.

- *Mr. Imran Khan*

The discourse selected for Imran Khan in the headlines also gives a favor in terms of creating impact on the readers. Some of them are as follows:

a. *Allah ne hakomat di to zalmoon ko jail main dalain ge*
b. *Naey purine ke baat nahi, election lerhney ki science janney walo ko hi ticket dain ge*
c. *Bajli buhran ke zamadar N league ke wazeer e azam hain, 5 saal qoom se choot bolte rahe*

The discourse generated in headlines tells the popular sentiment of the party workers; therefore, these statements supported to build the argument of the party. Most of the headlines give the feel that they are going to won the elections.

- *Mr. Bilawal Bhutto Zardari*

There is only one statement taken as main headline in Express newspaper to reflect the political stance of Pakistan Peoples' Party and that too of Mr. Asif Ali Zardari and not of the Chairman. The main headline is as follows: *Nawaz Sharif ne mulk tabah ker dia, hum mulk to buhran se nikalain ge.* This statement is a clear cut an election campaign telling the masses that the conditions in the country is not good, and they will take it up from the crisis.

3.2.3. Jang Newspaper

Newspaper Jang has given 11 main headlines for political coverage, and 8 have been selected from NS's statements and only 3 from IK's statements. The specific analysis is as under.

- *Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif*

The selection of statements and the formation of those statements in catchy phrases and their placement with the help of black color in headlines is very prominently portrays that Jang newspaper has compromised its impartiality. The selection of syntax is also very much significant in headlines. Here are few examples:

The discourse set in headlines indicates that various elements are against democracy, which means that he wants election. The arguments tilt towards generating personal and emotional feeling in favor of NS.

- *Mr. Imran Khan*

There are only three main headlines in Jang carrying statements of IK. Only controversial issues were given place in lead stories. Two are as follows:

a. *Kitab ki ishaat ya scandal se party ko nuqsan nahi hoga*

b. *Agla election jeetna ha, ticket usko dain ge jo uski science janta ho*

The first leading headline has taken a discourse that has personal connotations, and it is a weak point of the speaker. Though it is a euphemistic expression, yet it has pointed out towards a negative impression of IK's personal life. The second shows that he is desperate to win election at every cost.

- *Mr. Bilawal Bhutto Zardari*

Jang newspaper has not selected any of the statements neither of Mr. Bilawal Bhutto Zardari nor of his father, Asif Ali Zardari.

3.3. The Ideological Differences

Ideology is built through lexical choices; the choice used in headlines can unveil ideological positioning of a newspaper. The words can also shape the kind of ideology readers conceive in their minds after reading the headline. The processes through which words have been employed determine the types of mental construct among readers. Linguistic choices employed are either consciously or some time unconsciously principled and hence, are systematic as well as ideologically positioned. To address and analyze concepts or thoughts of identity, Us vs Them dichotomy come into consideration, and these terms are generally employed by rivals specially in media to present opponent's negative and their own selves' positives to the audience.

Facts from data show that Dunya newspaper headlines during election campaign carry words and develop discourse of their own choice and most often favored a specific ideology. They use connotative words and phrases to set a specific discourse. To develop a discourse, the headlines have been made by commenting over leaders' statement. In many cases, passive expressions have been used. All the expressions help individuals construct an image with preferred ideological settings. For example, *Benazir bhi kisi ki beti thi*, carries a complete set of ideological beliefs. To understand this, a complete history of PPP needs to be read and understood.

Express newspaper again used ideological rich vocabulary to influence readers' mind. For example, *corruption, 5 billon dollars, shukraney ke nafl, neutral empire* are highly rich in ideological connotations favoring to build a specific set of approach in the minds of the readers.

Jang newspaper in its headlines has shown this tendency of incite ideological concerns, and the tilt particularly in favor of Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif, is very much obvious. Syntactical techniques including generalization, passivization and US vs THEM dichotomy can be identified in headlines. A large number of lexicons portraying negative ideology about the opponents were identified.

4. Conclusion

Present study was carried out through critical discourse study of Pakistani Urdu newspapers' headlines depicting political discourse during election campaign of 2018. The data for this research is made up of 50 newspaper headlines collected from 3 newspapers of different publications published between June 25, 2018 and July 25, 2018. The newspapers used for this study are *Express, Jang and Dunya*. The number of headlines from each newspaper is 17, 11 and 22 respectively.

The findings reveal that all the newspapers used high sounding lexical items like adjectives and modals along with metaphors to condemn political leaders and state institutions to instigate readers. Besides, lexicons manifesting tension have been found in all newspapers. These seem to present the political bifurcation and polarization among the public regarding political issues due to the hegemonic control.

The tendencies to highlight negative 'them' reflect that every newspaper stresses on political rivalries to be presented instead of presenting their problem solving ideologies and conviction to give solutions to the problems to take country to the progressive side. They have not employed soft language anywhere to reduce tension; no use of rhetorical questions to address long standing issues through political struggle. They construct a negative identity of political institutions to a great deal. No statement could be identified in main headlines of the esteemed newspapers having country wide readership to develop ideologies related to national dialogue, inclusiveness, unity and integration. All the political actors have been presented, though they willingly approach to be so, in headlines showing incompatible ideologies.

The certain very serious concerns regarding the ideology of representation were also identified during the study. It was the imbalance of providing equal space in the newspapers. Jang newspaper has shown its clear inclination towards giving generous space to Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif in contrast with the other political leaders. Moreover, the ideology represented through black color in key statements by NS or critical allegations on other leaders particularly Mr. Imran Khan, shows the biasness in the political representation. Though other newspapers were not exception, yet it was given an impression of fair place in the representation at least in case of Mr. IK; however, the representation about the PPP has been of less significance in all the newspapers.

Summarily, Pakistani Urdu newspapers have been an indispensible source to impart information. However, linguistic choices they have employed in reporting the political ideologies during the election campaign of General Election 2018 is very powerful to affect the thoughts of readers, and it has portrayed in generating diverse opinions in Pakistani society. These could have implications for pedagogy as students could be taught the power of words in portraying and shaping ideologies. Some of the issues raised in this study can definitely be helpful to both linguistic students and media persons dealing with reporting

and editing. The study is a linguistic contribution to investigate dynamics of elections. A lot more work can be done on many similar linguistic dimensions like pragmatics and sociolinguistics about the political ideologies in newspapers so as to increase the validity of the work.

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Appendix

DUNYA Newspaper

اہلیہ کی حالت بہتر ہونے پر واپس جاؤنگا، نواز شریف

ٹکٹ جیتنے کی صلاحیت رکھنے والوں کو دے رہے ہیں عمران خان

مخالفین کو سبق سکھائیں گے

مقابلہ ضیاء مشرف کی باقیات سے ہے

بیوروکریسی اور گورنر خیبر پختونخوا کو تبدیل کیا جائے

نثار اپنا فیصلہ خود کریں عمران

بڑھتی لوڈشیڈنگ عمران خان کا کل سے ملک گیر احتجاج کا اعلان

جیل میں بھی عوام کا ساتھ نہیں چھوڑوں گا نواز شریف

ن لیگ کے دنوں وزیراعظم بجلی بحران کے ذمہ دار ہیں: عمران

کاغذات نامزدگی پر پارلیمنٹ اور ریاست کے باقی ستون کہاں کھڑے ہیں؟

ادارے کمزور، 30 سال اقتدار میں رہنے والی پارٹیاں ناکام، عمران خان

قبل از انتخابات دھاندلی کا آغاز ہو چکا ہے، نواز شریف

کئی شہروں میں طویل لوڈشیڈنگ ذمہ دار نگران حکومت، نواز شریف

ٹکٹ صرف پارٹی وفاداروں کو ملے گا الیکشن میں تاخیر برداشت نہیں، نواز شریف

ووٹ کو عزت دو کا مطلب ہے گو عمران گو، نواز شریف

انتخابات میں ایک گھنٹے کی بھی تاخیر قبول نہیں، نواز شریف

وقت پر ہونے چاہئیں، عمران خان

آج کا دن تاریخی، حکومت مدت پوری کر رہی ہے، نواز شریف

اسد درانی کی گفتگو اہم معاملے کی تہہ تک جانے کیلئے قومی کمیشن بننا چاہیے، نواز شریف

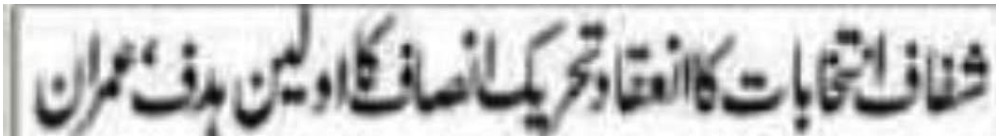
مریم نواز کا احتساب عدالت میں بیان قابل مذمت

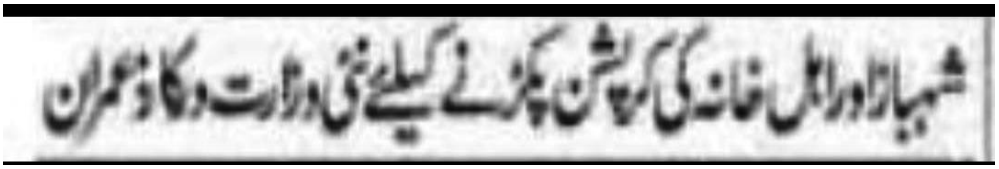
بیٹی کو کٹہرے میں کھڑا کرنا مہنگا پڑے گا، نواز شریف

بینظیر بھی کسی کی بیٹی تھی، پیپلز پارٹی

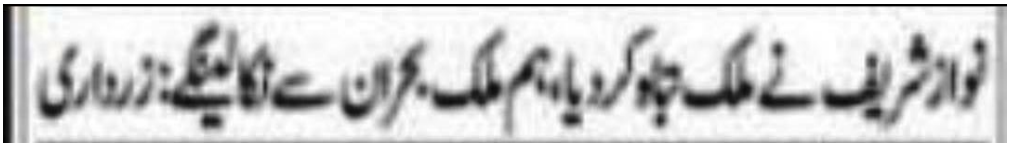
مشرف کے دائیں ہو کر رہے گا

اسد درانی کی کتاب پر قومی کمیشن بنایا جائے، نواز شریف





EXPRESS Newspaper



کدھر گیا آرٹیکل 6 اور غداری کیس
آئین توڑنے والا کیسے الیکشن لڑ سکتا ہے نواز شریف
بجلی بحران کے ذمہ دار (ن) لیگ کے وزرائے اعظم ہیں 5 سال قوم سے جھوٹ بولتے رہے عمران خان
سپریم کورٹ کے فیصلے کے بعد پارلیمنٹ کہاں اور باقی ستون کہاں کھڑے ہیں؟ نواز شریف
ذوالفقار کھوسہ تحریک انصاف میں شامل، نیوٹرل امپائر الیکشن کرائیں عمران خان
ووٹ کو عزت کا مطلب کہ عمران کو عوام دھاندلی کے سامنے ڈٹ جائیں نواز شریف
سروے اکثر گمراہ کن ہوتے ہیں الیکشن میں ہم ہی کامیاب ہونگے عمران خان
کرپٹ حکومت سے نجات پر قوم شکرانے کے نوافل ادا کرے عمران خان
کرپٹ ہوتا تو ایٹمی دھماکوں کے بدلے کلنٹن سے 5 ارب ڈالر لے لیتا نواز شریف
عمران خان تھوک کر چاٹ رہے ہیں اسد درانی کے انکشافات پر قومی کمیشن بنایا، سلامتی کمیٹی کا ہنگامی اجلاس بلایا جائے نواز شریف
ہم نے امپائر کی انگلی اٹھنے کا انتظار کئے بغیر ترقی کا سفر جاری رکھا وزیر اعظم
شہباز شریف کیخلاف کام کرنیوالے تمام افسروں کے نام ای سی ایل میں ڈالے جائیں عمران

JANG Newspaper

Citation of the paper

Qadeer, A., Tahir, A., Chishti, M. I., & Ali, Z. (2020) Discursive practices of Pakistani press through headlines in shaping up political realities. *Erevna: Journal of Linguistics and Literature*, *4*(2), 51-70.