

Power Struggle Between Supreme Court and the Government: Ideological Role of Pakistani Print Media in Representation of Swiss Letter Issue

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Abstract

Newspaper headlines constitute an essential part of media discourse, which is an important field of research in Discourse and Communication Studies. Particularly, certain features of news headlines and their role in observing and directing readers' attention have made the interface between linguistic analysis of newspaper headlines and the opinion building of the readership. In order to explore the ideological role of print media in representation of Swiss Letter Issue which resulted nullification of an elected prime minister of Pakistan by Supreme Court and the next PM of the same political party was also facing the same challenge. Three widely distributed English newspapers (The News International, DAWN and The Nation) have been selected using purposive sampling technique. Designated time ranges between 1st July 2012 and 31st December 2012, very significant pre-election period in Pakistan. To find the coverage given to the issue by the selected newspapers, total 319 related headlines were found. The data were selected through simple random sampling technique. The obtained data has been analysed by using Fairclough's three-dimensional model of critical discourse analysis, and simple statistical analysis as well. The findings of the study indicate that print media of Pakistan used manipulative strategies in construction of headlines on Swiss Letter Issue and represented the issue in a biased manner.

Keywords: power struggle, ideological representation, supreme court, Pakistani print media, Swiss letter issue

1. Introduction

The study critically investigates the ideological representation of Swiss Letter Issue in Pakistani print media. The context of the issue is related with disqualification of Syed Yousaf Raza Gilani, an elected Prime Minister of Pakistan on disobeying the court's order to write letter to Swiss authorities to bring back national wealth from Switzerland to Pakistan. On the charges that the President of Pakistan, Asif Ali Zardari was involved in money laundering with the Swiss banks when his wife, Mohtrama Benazir Bhutto (late) was the Prime Minister of the day. But the Prime Minister did not obey the orders of court and was disqualified. The data collected was published in the English newspapers (The News International, DAWN and The Nation) after disqualification of the first Prime Minister and holding the PM office by the other Prime Minister of the same party which has been represented ideologically. As media is considered as a source of disseminating true information to its public regarding certain events and the activities happening in the country. Therefore, media should portray the national events in a transparent manner. Moreover, it is responsibility of media to highlight the news in such a manner that it may guide the public truly and realistically about the issues highlighted. However, media does not play its role objectively and transparently. Pakistani educated public heavily rely on English newspapers to keep themselves up-dated with the incidents happening around the globe and within the country. English newspapers are available in the offices, libraries and hanging on fliers. In the same way, most of the English newspapers have their own electronic versions as well. Mahmood and Ali (2017) claim that large number of people read the headlines to get information about the national and international events. The headline producers are aware of this fact, so to catch the attention of the public and to construct their opinion in a certain direction; they produce the headlines imbued with certain ideologies. Critical linguists have focused the issue of ideological representation

of headline discourse, including Mustafa Elbdari (2010), Siposova (2011), Duanprakhon (2012) and Ezeifeke (2013). Similarly, in the studies conducted by Abid and Shah (2011), Raza and Sajid (2013), it is revealed that print media in Pakistan serves ideological purpose in construction of headline discourse. Nevertheless, these studies have definite limitations as their focus remained on the coverage given by print media to the politicians and political issues. Besides, the collected data of these studies is analysed by simple interpretative methods which is more a subjective approach of analyzing the text and discourse. Instead, the present study does not emphasise on the incidence of reporting given to the politicians or political issues, relatively it concentrates on the matter how the politicians, their political parties and selected issue of Swiss Letter writing are represented in print media of Pakistan. Moreover, Fairclough's three-dimensional model of Critical Discourse Analysis has been used to analyse the collected data. In addition, the headline discourse of print media on Swiss Letter Issue has not been addressed critically so far which opens up an entry point to the present study. In other words, this study discovers the phenomenon as how print media of Pakistan generates ideological representation of the issue under consideration and portrays the voice of the certain politicians, political parties and Supreme Court of Pakistan in ideological fashion.

1.1 Research Objectives

Following are the research objectives of the study:

- 1) To investigate the coverage given to Swiss Letter Issue in the selected English newspapers of Pakistan.
- 2) To explore the ideological features used in the headlines of selected English newspapers in representation of Swiss Letter Issue.
- 3) To examine the ideological representation of Swiss Letter Issue in the headlines of selected English newspapers of Pakistan.

1.2 Research Questions

Following are the research questions of the study:

- 1) To what extent the coverage has been given to Swiss Letter Issue in the selected English newspapers of Pakistan?
- 2) Which ideological features have been used in the headlines of the selected English newspapers of Pakistan in representation of the selected English newspapers?
- 3) How has Swiss Letter Issue been represented ideologically in the selected English newspapers of Pakistan?

2. Literature Review

Language is a medium of expression used by the individuals of the related communities to convey the intended messages to the audience for the determination of decoding it to serve communicative purposes. However, this communication process is not only the matter of just exchange of ideas, emotions and feelings, it serves certain ideological purposes. Large amount of theoretical and empirical literature has been produced so far related to discourse and critical discourse studies. In this concern, Dontcheva-Navratilova's (2011) notion of context; Celce-Murcia and Olshtain's (2000) belief of discourse as an illustration of spoken and written language having describable internal relations of form and meaning; Yalden's (1987) idea of language function; Foucault's (1984) notion of historicity of discourse; Whisnant's (2012) views of language as network of cultural and social institutions; Fairclough's (1992) ideas of discourse as systematically consisted of opaque relations of causality, discursive practices, events and texts, and wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes; Kress's (1990) claim of discourse as any linguistic form has no meaning in separation, nor does it possess any ideological function; Van Dijk's (1995) belief of discourse as production of ideologies in discourse and communication have been brought into consideration to explore the usage of language on the basis of its social and contextual impact and to investigate how much the language of print media is laden with social prejudices and ideals.

Most of the scholars agree that 'discourse' is a slippery term which has various connotations. Moreover, it is a very broad field that encompasses in itself a diversity of sub-fields and disciplines. Initially, the word 'discourse' was devised from a Latin word 'discursus' which means conversation or stretch of talk. The words uttered by the interlocutors or written by the writers take various forms of discourse, such as speech, lecture, everyday communication, formal discussions, addresses, religious or political orations and a lot more constituted under the term to convey certain ideas, emotions, feelings, facts, observations and experiences. These discourses are divided into spoken discourse and written discourse. The term discourse can have different meanings, 'Firstly, it is used to refer to unified, meaningful and purposive stretches of spoken and written language. Secondly, it is

used to refer to the language in action. Moreover, it is used to refer to the language of particular language variety. Therefore, discourse is a multi-disciplinary field which includes different forms of language in society. We know that language is an instrument of communication that is used to express ideas, presumptions, suggestions and information. Theorists, like Celce-Murcia and Olshtain (2000) claim that a piece of discourse is an illustration of spoken or written language which has describable internal relationships of form and meaning, for instance, words, structures, and cohesion that relate cogently to an exterior communicative function of purpose and a given audience. The exterior function or purpose can only be appropriately determined, if the context and participants are taken into consideration, for instance, all the relevant situational, social and cultural factors in which the piece of discourse befalls. This description concedes 'context' comprehensively in its premises that is important in both types of spoken and written discourses, where foregoing and succeeding fragments stimulate the choice of meaning and language means, in a stretch of text.

Most of the scholars initiate from the supposition that people are greatly expert operators of language in their everyday interaction. According to them, language is a skill at which people are already best equipped. As our life is a succession of conversations, and everyday social life is almost entirely demarcated by language. Language is certainly a social phenomenon which flourishes due to its roles to perform in society. Nevertheless, it establishes an interesting fact to notice that surface meanings are almost always different from the actual meanings and the purpose of discourse analysis is to explore how speech patterns are working in a particular framework. In this concern, Yalden (1987, p. 39) claims that 'Using a language invokes something that goes beyond the acquisition of structures and ability to make appropriate choices in the realizations of particular language function.'

On the other hand, still there remains a difference between the approaches of discourse analysts. Some of the approaches are concerned firmly with the complex structures and social mechanism of language, being used by individuals, and are more concerned with the rules of turn-taking, techniques of effective communication as well as with the issues like misinterpretations and misperceptions that emerge out of miscommunication. However, there are analysts who are broadly concerned with the opinion that life is a sequence of communication and people's talk is analysed as an indication of their aspects of life, their beliefs, ideas and partialities. Therefore, discourse is representative of the manner of thinking on the state of knowledge which reflects through the speech of a person at numerous phases in society. Moreover, a well-known discourse analyst, Foucault (1984) envisages discourse as the entirety of all the effective sentences (whether spoken or written) in their diffusion as events. In this respect, discourse refers to particular patterns of language that indicate something about an individual speaking the language, the culture that person is part of, the network of social institutions that the person is caught up in and even the most rudimentary suppositions that the person holds. This kind of analysis of language is termed discourse analysis that is very supportive in representing what talking accomplishes in people's lives and society.

People living in societies have power relations which are organised through the use of discourse which create inequality and impose restrictions on the emancipation of certain weaker individuals and groups. Here, comes the turn from discourse analysis to critical discourse analysis. In this concern, Fairclough (1992, p. 135) claims that 'discourse analysis which aims to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes; to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power; and to explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony'.

Moreover, Kress (1990) expounds that CDA is referred to language as social process among people used for representation and communication comprising visual images, music, gestures etc. Likewise, texts are produced by socially positioned speakers and writers. According to him, participants in conversation or in producing texts have no equal involvement every time; there will be a range from wide-ranging harmony to far-reaching inequality. He accentuates that any linguistic form has no meaning in separation, nor does it hold any ideological signification or function. Another critical discourse analyst, Van Dijk (1995, p. 17) illuminates the fact that 'ideologies are typically, though not exclusively, expressed and reproduced in discourse and communication, including non-verbal semiotic messages, such as pictures, photographs and movies'. To unravel the hidden ideologies of selected headlines of Pakistani English newspapers, we have used three-dimensional model of Fairclough (1989) as framework of analysis for the current study.

The present study is concerned with the role of media in making and breaking of political alliances before the general elections. Therefore, it is a crucial fact that media should play a vital role in disseminating information about the local and international events. Moreover, it is supposed that media is responsible in generating political

awareness among the public. However, numerous research studies have been conducted in Pakistan, finding that media plays an ideological role in construction of political discourse and manipulates the public opinion. Moreover, these studies also accomplish the fact that media supports certain political figures and their parties in a biased manner. As already mentioned, scholars of international repute also have focused the issue of ideological representation of headline discourse, including Mustafa Elbdari (2010), Siposova (2011), Duanprakhon (2012) and Ezeifeke (2013). Similarly, the studies conducted by Abid and Shah (2011), and Raza and Sajid (2013) claim that print media in Pakistan serves ideological purpose in construction of political discourse. Nevertheless, these studies have definite limitations as their focus remained on the coverage given by print media to the politicians and political issues. Besides, the collected data of these studies is analysed by simple interpretative method which is more a subjective approach of analysis of the text and discourse. Instead, the present study does not emphasise on the incidence of reporting given to the politicians or political issues, relatively it concentrates on the matter how the politicians, their political parties and selected issue of political alliances are represented in print media of Pakistan. Moreover, Fairclough's (1989) three-dimensional model of Critical Discourse Analysis has been used to analyse the collected data. Similarly, the other related studies adopt entirely negative look on the way to print media of Pakistan in ideological illustration of political issues. In addition, the current study portrays print media as biased and prejudiced which prefers more to protect certain politicians and political parties instead of protecting the interests of the nation and functions as a role of third political party which is an entry point to the present study. In other words, this study discovers the reality how print media of Pakistan generated ideological representation of specific political parties and related politicians before the general election, 2013.

3. Research Methodology

The study investigates the ideological role of Pakistani print media in representation of Swiss Letter Issue as a way, as it is power struggle between two main state institutions, Supreme Court and the government. The time selected is between 1st July and 31st December 2012 which is the most significant time frame with respect to disqualification of Pakistani elected Prime Minister, Syed Yousaf Raza Gilani for disobeying Supreme Court's orders to write letter to Swiss authorities against the money laundering of the President of the day, Asif Ali Zardari. It is pertinent to mention that the new Prime Minister, Raja Pervaiz Ashraf is on the same position of his predecessor. Pakistani print media gave coverage to the issue. Therefore, the headlines of three widely distributed English newspapers (The News International, DAWN and The Nation) were selected through Purposive sampling technique. 319 relevant headlines were explored. In this respect, 133, 84 and 102 relevant headlines from The News International, DAWN and The Nation, on Swiss Letter Issue were found respectively. For present study, 20 headlines (Appendix A) along with lead paragraphs were selected by using simple random sampling technique. The obtained data has been analysed by using simple statistical tools in order to find the percentage of coverage given to each of the three newspapers and represented through Pie figure. Before using critical Discourse Method of analysis, the headlines were grouped regarding their surface structure by adopting the method used by Mahmood et al. (2011) in their study on the critical analysis of media discourse on the issue of Pakistani budget. To analyse textual data in the form of headlines, Fairclough's (1989) three-dimensional model was used. This model was used to investigate the collected data on three levels. First level explored the linguistic features from the data. Second level interpreted the linguistic features in context to the problem/issue. Making an addition to the model, the linguistic features (metaphor, metonymy, modals, nominalization and agency) were quantified and represented through Pie figure in order to see to what extent ideological or non-ideological headlines were crafted by the discourse producers. Third level is explanation which connects itself with the first two levels and views the whole phenomenon in broader social and cultural perspectives.

4. Statistical Analysis and Application of Fairclough's Three-Dimensional Model of CDA

The collected data in the form of headlines on Swiss letter issue have been analyzed and later discussed on the basis of the following three points in order to investigate the coverage to issue given by each selected English newspaper and to examine the power struggle between Supreme Court and the government.

- Statistical investigation of coverage given to Swiss letter issue in selected newspapers of Pakistan
- Surface structure classification of selected headlines by using Mahmood's (2011) study
- Application of Fairclough's three-dimensional model for Data Analysis

4.1 Statistical Investigation of Coverage Given to Swiss Letter Issue in Selected Newspapers

Before applying Fairclough's (1989) three-dimensional model of Critical Discourse Analysis, the researchers have attempted to explore the extent to which the coverage has been given to Swiss Letter Issue in selected

English newspapers. Moreover, surface structure of the headlines has been categorized before textual analysis of the headlines. In addition, critical analysis of the ideological features has been explored and presented in tabulated form which further quantitatively analysed using simple statistics. Thus, the meaning obtained through these steps has been associated with the meaning derived from the next two levels of Fairclough's model, namely, interpretation of the textual features in their situated context, as well as explanation of first two levels in socio-cultural context of the phenomenon under study.

Before analyzing the ideological role of Pakistani print media in representation of Swiss Letter Issue, it is significant to investigate the extent to which the coverage has been given to the issue in the selected English newspapers. Following table and figure show the frequency and percentage to examine the coverage given to the issue under consideration by every selected newspaper:

Table 1. Coverage given to Swiss Letter Issue by every English newspaper

The News International	DAWN	The Nation	Total Headlines
133	84	102	319

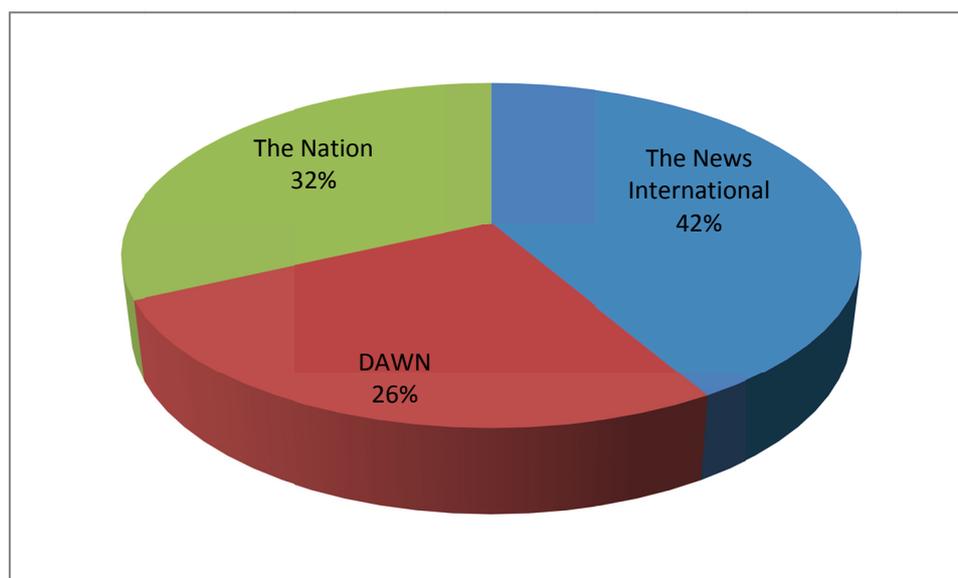


Figure 1. News coverage to Swiss letter issue

Table 1 indicates that total number of related headlines collected were 319. In this respect, The News International that is labelled as pro-government newspaper, produced, 133 headlines which make 42% of the whole selected headlines. DAWN, another Pakistani newspaper, considered as more formal and a traditional sort of newspaper has constructed only 84 headlines which form 26% of the whole collected corpus while 'The Nation' that is believed as a newspaper portraying the ideology of Pakistan has produced 102 headlines which make 32% of the whole collected data. In this way, Pakistani print media seems conscious of the importance of the issue, and it is evident that considerable amount of coverage has been given by the selected newspapers to Swiss Letter Issue; therefore, the results of the study can be generalizable.

4.2 Surface Structure Classification of News Headlines

The headlines are structured differently, and serve ideological purpose (Mahmood, 2011). Some of these headlines are plain in structure, others are constructed in a way to incorporate the speaker's voice within the headline or the speaker is separately stated at the end by using punctuation marks. Some other headlines are crafted by incorporating social and cultural constructs and are called as the 'headlines with pointers'. Similarly, some headlines are organised in addition to the main headline as a topic statement and written above the major headline. These headlines are termed as 'topic headlines. However, certain headlines are structured in interrogative form which have not been found in the selected corpus.

4.2.1 Plain Headlines

These headlines are simple statements which are describing the news in a simple way. Although, ostensibly it seems that these headlines are neutral, however, there are hidden ideologies embedded even in these headlines and it is CDA which highlights these hidden ideologies. Following are the headlines working as plain headlines:

- Presidential reference goes to SC today (HD07Dec.2012)
- SC summons Shahbaz, Raja Riaz on October, 17 (HNI05Oct.2012)
- Musa held by ANF, released by SC on bail (HD14Sep.2012)
- Raja calls for respect of all institutions (HD19Oct.2012)
- Political parties welcome SC ruling (HNI20Oct.2012)

4.2.2 Speech as Headlines

These headlines use either direct or reported speech of a person and the name is incorporated in the headline or shown in front of the statement. The headlines possessing 'speech' are:

- Imran vows march on capital if SC harmed (HNI15July2012)
- SC objects to use of govt. ads for promoting leaders (HD28Nov.2012)
- Those with people's mandate have right to rule: PM (HNI25July2012)
- Those in power act only after summoned by courts: PHC CJ
- Parliament is supreme, has mandate to legislate: Zardari (HNI20July2012)
- Clash between institutions may delay elections says Gilani (HNI16Sep.2012)
- Some people think parliament still under attack: President (HNI05Nov.2012)
- Raja calls for respect of all institutions (HD19Oct.2012)

4.2.3 Headlines with Pointers

These headlines possess certain elements which make the readers aware of the comments mutually shared by the members of the same larger social group. Following are such headlines which depict different perspectives of political inclinations of different newspapers:

- Raja ready to do 'Herculean task' (HN27Sep.2012)
- PPP opts again for head-on collision with SC (HNI25July2012)
- Govt. now harassing intimidating honest officers for obeying SC orders (HNI25July2012)
- Allies favour PM's appearance in court (HD26Aug.2012)

4.2.4 Topic Headlines

These headlines are structured with the help of an upper headline, called topic headline which summarises the whole story in few lexical items and are written in bold font to strengthen the actual main headline. Following are the topic headlines:

- *Contempt of court notice* (HN16Dec.2012)
Political parties urge MQM Chief to appear before SC
- *'Judiciary, parliament have transformed politics'* (HD11Nov.2012)

Democracy is here to stay: CJ

- *Balochistan law and order case* (HNI20Sep.2012)
If president, PM can't do anything, let the court decide: SC

4.3 Application of Fairclough's Three-Dimensional Model for Data Analysis

To examine the ideological representation of Swiss Letter Issue, Fairclough's (1989), three-dimensional model of Critical Discourse Analysis has been used for this study. First level of this model views whether or not the ideological features including metaphor, metonymy, modals, nominalization and agency have been used in the selected text. Fairclough's three-dimensional model of CDA has three step-analysis which includes:

- Description (Textual analysis)
- Interpretation

- Explanation

4.3.1. Description (Textual Analysis)

Table 3. Headlines with ideological features (textual analysis)

No.	Metaphor	Modals	Metonymy	Nominalization	agency
1)	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
2)	Parliament under attack	.....	.....	.....	.....
3)	Reference goes	.....	SC	Presidential reference	Absent
4)	March on capital	.....	SC	.....	.....
5)	.....	.....	SC	.....	.....
6)	.....	.....	PML-Q, SC	Disqualify	.....
7)	.....	.....	SC	.....	.....
8)	.....	.....	SC	.....	.....
9)	.....	.....	Allies	.....	.....
10)	Clash between institutions	may	.....	Clash	.....
11)	.....	.....	ANF, SC	.....	Absent
12)	Herculean task	.....	.....	.....	.....
13)	head-on collision	.....	PPP, SC	.....	.....
14)	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
15)	.....	.....	Govt., SC	.....	Absent
16)	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
17)	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
18)	.....	Can't	SC	.....	.....
19)	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
20)	.....	.....	Political parties, SC	.....	absent

Table 4. Total no. of every ideological feature

Metaphor	Modals	Metonymy	Nominalization	Absence of agency	Neutral headlines
6	2	18	3	4	5

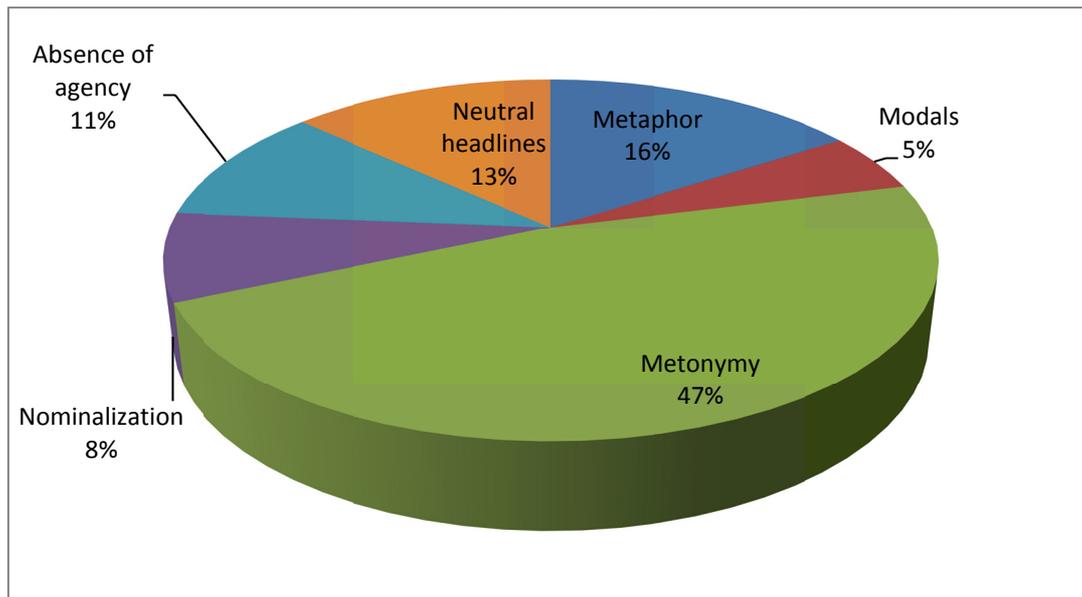


Figure 2. Ideological features

4.3.1.1 Interpretation of Ideological Features (Textual Analysis)

Tabulated and graphical data indicates the frequency and percentage of ideological features encompassed in the headlines. In this respect, most frequently used feature is metonymy because 18 times it has been used which forms 47% of the total headlines. Second frequently used element is metaphor that shows 6 headlines which makes 16% of the whole headlines. Least used feature is the modal; only 2 headlines have been found from the selected newspapers which form 5% of the whole data. However, 3 headlines with nominalization and 4 headlines with absence of agency were noted which make 8% and 11% respectively. Hence, 05 headlines were found without any ideological feature encompassed in these headlines. Significant coverage has been given to the headlines related to Swiss Letter Issue which has answered the first research question in a positive way. In this respect, 'The News International' has covered the issue greater than the other two newspapers. Likewise, 'The Nation' has covered the issue more than 'DAWN' which has also given ample coverage to the issue although lesser than the other two newspapers. This greater coverage shows that Pakistani print media is conscious to allocate the space to an important national issue to a significant level. Moreover, substantial fact is that the newspapers produced certain types of headlines including plain headlines, and speech as headline and others mentioned in the preceding lines. They also incorporated the speaker in the headline and sometime, the speaker has been written at the end of the headline to show objectivity. Similarly, 'headlines with pointers' and 'topic headlines' have also been found which according to Mahmood (2011) is a particular structure of headlines permitting the discourse producer to embed his/her own choice and therefore, serve ideological purpose. Furthermore, significant numbers of headlines were constructed with the help of ideological features to create certain intended meaning regarding the issue.

4.3.2 Interpretation and Explanation of Selected Headlines

To investigate the ideological representation of headlines related to power struggle between Supreme Court and the Pakistani government of the day, now second and third steps of the model (interpretation and explanation) have been applied, after the application of first step of Fairclough's three-dimensional model of CDA. These steps are used to connect the analysis of first step with second and third steps and cultural and social context of the discourse production in the form of headlines are brought into consideration. Therefore, selected headlines are investigated one by one to examine the meaning embedded in the headlines.

4.3.2.1 Those in Power Act only After Summoned by Courts: PHC CJ

The headline begins with phrase, 'those in power' and continues with verb phrase, 'act only' which reverberates the spirits of retuning the roles of powerful elite of the country only incumbent with the court's engrossment of motivating their consciousness for the commitment of their national duties. Otherwise, there is incompatibility that has been reckoned on the part of politicians to resolve the core issues which goes on waiting for their attention to be paid. However, the headline has backgrounded the voice of politicians by foregrounding the voice of Chief Justice of the court.

4.3.2.2 Some People Think Parliament still under Attack: President

This headline raises the voice of the president of Pakistan inaudibly against Supreme Court of the country. The phrase, 'some people' is vague semantic choice may be referred to the government, general public or other power institutions. But it is evident that the speaker in the headline strongly thinks about the possible action of the hidden agency, that is Supreme Court. The word, 'still' intertextualizes the pre-existing critical situation in the relationship of two key state institutions, judiciary and parliament. Disentitlement of the ex-Prime Minister, Syed Yousaf Raza Gelani is labelled as judicial attack and the same position is expressed prevailing upon the parliament premises. Consequently, when the individuals, groups or parties do not calculate their own responsibilities, duties or even commit faults and weaknesses, eventually, they consider themselves innocent and call others as oppressors.

4.3.2.3 Presidential Reference Goes to SC Today

The headline starts with adjective phrase, 'presidential reference' not something related to the government because president Zardari is the most powerful position bearer. At one side, he is the president of his party, and on the other side, he is the president of the country as well. So, the headline gets strategical commencement. It has been crafted in context to the encounter between judiciary and president office on the appointment of high court judges. Like many other countries, in Pakistan, Supreme Court recommends the judges to be approved or disapproved by the president. The discourse producer endeavored to get the attention of the readership on the presidential reference (which is not an animate entity), as an alternative of many other headlines where living subject is created more recurrently. In this connection, verb 'goes' is symbolically written because something

goes on its own is animate but the subject 'presidential reference' doesn't fall under the category of an animate agent which is shown ready to go to Supreme Court.

4.3.2.4 Imran Vows March on Capital if SC Harmed

The clash between judiciary and legislature has increased to the extent that opposition parties have also joined one or the other institution as a group on various issues, significantly, in NRO case. In this context, Imran Khan, newly emerging politician on political arena has joined his voice in favour of judiciary. The ruling party is under stress due to expected disqualification of another prime minister, Raja Pervaiz Ashraf. Thus, Pakistan Peoples Party's senior members force the president for tough time to Supreme Court. The preposition, 'on' in the headline functions as a metaphor, whereas, the noun, 'capital' functions as metonymy, the symbol of political power where the elected representatives of public rule over. In this respect, noun phrase 'march on capital' generates an imprint of attack on the power-center of the government. This connection is strengthened with conditional clause 'If SC harmed' that is inter-dependent with previous clause, 'march on capital'. Here, 'SC' is a metonymy and 'harmed' functions as a metaphor. Hence, 'SC' which stands for Supreme Court has been portrayed as a living entity that can be harmed, whereas the agency from this headline is left out. We know that agency is the government of Pakistan People's Party that is in direct conflict with Supreme Court. Conditional clause is mostly used by powerful individuals, groups or parties and functions as a threatening mode for the rivals or enemies.

4.3.2.5 Contempt of Court Notice

Political parties urge MQM Chief to appear before SC

MQM is an opposition party of the time and Supreme Court has been empowered in this headline. The construction of the headline divulges the fact that alleged person, 'MQM chief' is urged to appear before the Supreme Court. The background of this statement rests on threatening and offensive language of MQM chief against judicial institution of Pakistan. The headline advocates the supremacy of law which should be respected by everyone and, as the court is symbol of justice, so the said alleged leader is not an exception. The subject choice, 'political parties' is purposely incorporated, sanctioning the notice of the court, whereas, in fact, some of these parties have been blamed in the past to attack on the supreme law institution, as well as, launching hostilities as well. The choice of verb 'urge' and use of infinitive 'to appear before' are denoted to the preceding efforts (intertextuality), including the event of contempt of using offensive and threatening language, as well as, to the text produced by the Supreme Court in (contempt notice). Consequently, the news headline seems in favour of Supreme Court which is a positive sign on the part of print media of Pakistan.

4.3.2.6 Disqualify Sharifs, PML-Q Urges SC

This is a unique headline begins with imperative mode urging the highest court of the country to disqualify Sharifs. The word, 'sharifs' is referred to two brothers, Nawaz Sharif and Shahbaz Sharif, PM of Pakistan and Chief Minister of Pakistan. The title 'sharifs' has two connotations: at one hand, the word 'Sharif' (in Urdu language) is considered as a gentle person who is not involved in negative activities, thus, this inference is ironical that undoubtedly a gentle person never gets himself tangled in such actions which can lead him to disqualification. Additionally, it is contradictory as well, when both the words, 'disqualify' and 'sharifs' are selected together because sharifs (gentle persons) can't be disqualified. This kind of linguistic choice in direct speech is used to defend the two brothers designating them gentle persons (sharifs) which creates sympathetic feelings in the minds of the readers and at the same time negative connotation for PML-Q, it realizes the readership that they are dictating Supreme Court to take action against the gentle persons. It is important to note that PML-Q, a political party, is in alliance with the government indirectly and attempts to criticize the court that why only this government is under the attack of judiciary while there are certain other political leaders who need to be disqualified but supreme court is biased because of its attention only towards the government and this contradictory action does not fulfil the requirements of justice.

4.3.2.7 SC Summons Shahbaz, Raja Riaz on October, 17

Unlike many other headlines, the speaker in this headline is back grounded and the voice of Supreme Court has been foregrounded in an objective way encompassing it on the subject position. The headline is invented in milieu of news reports by Raja Riaz, a politician from the opposition party who blames the chief minister, Punjab, Mian Shahbaz Sharif for having dual nationality. The court issued notices to both the political functionaries to appear before it. It is pertinent to mention that in its well-known decision of 20th September, Supreme Court clearly declared that a parliamentarian holding dual nationality will be disqualified to contest election. Besides, some journalists were also summoned by the court who carried Raja Riaz statement of dual nationality against

the chief minister. Here, 'SC' is a metonymic expression which changes the burden of issuing the notice from chief justice to the institution and we know that institution itself is unable to take an action. Actually, not the institutions, but the people working in an institution are responsible to initiate an action. So, this headline is neutral and shows no concern with Swiss letter issue.

4.3.2.8 SC Objects to Use of Govt Ads for Promoting Leaders

Supreme Court is irritated on the government to obey its orders, so it issues orders on orders to the government to enhance the pressure momentum to soften the government. In this connection, the headline was created in context of seeking explanation by Supreme Court from the ministry of information technology concerning the use of government ads, endorsing high officials by presenting portraits and lending prominence to government's accomplishments in a specific sector. In other words, top level politicians, holding main spots in government are tangled in self- projection with public money; thus, nobody permits exercising such misconducts. In the headline, SC is a metonymic use shifting the action of an individual to an institution and we know that action against such misconducts of exploiting public money can be taken by chief justice not by the institution itself. The word, 'leaders' gives general sense which in local context is taken negatively and is used as a neutral term, while, the lead paragraph recognizes the president, prime minister and minister of information technology who are recipients of benefit from public money. The headline consciously hides the 'agency' from the text involved in extension of the action of 'promoting leaders' in government ads. Information minister and other related authorities are accountable for holding check and balance connected to the use of public money through media.

4.3.2.9 Allies Favour PM's Appearance in Court

The headline is consisted of SVO structure of English language, but the subject is not an individual rather it is a collective noun, 'allies' which is metonymic expression. This statement is in context to the verdict of Supreme Court for prime minister, Raja Pervaiz Ashraf who has been directed to appear before court not for obeying its orders of writing letter in money laundering case to bring the looted money back to the country. Mainly, the ruling party was hesitant to throw another PM to meet the same fate of the Ex-PM, Syed Yousaf Raza Gilani who was disqualified by Supreme court in the same case. The use of verb, 'favour' gives positive connotation and the noun phrase on object position, 'PM's appearance in court' strengthens the possible action which supports the government to send their PM to fulfil the requirements of justice. In this way, the government could get the sympathy of the public. The use of the word, 'allies' on subject position is very significant emphasizing the fact that government is not alone on this issue, rather, its allies also favour and would support the PM to present before court.

4.3.2.10 Clash between Institutions may Delay Elections Says Gilani

The overall theme of the headline is ironical creating a message for Supreme Court to stop forcing the government to write letter to Swiss authorities to bring the looted amount of the nation back to country. There is already existing tension between two important pillars of the country on the issue of writing letter to Swiss authorities in money laundering case against the then president of the country, Asif Ali Zardari and his wife. This issue had already disqualified one of the elected prime ministers and the second was still facing similar situation. The highest court of the country, Supreme Court stands on very strong position to bring the nation's money back to country whereas the government is showing reluctance in obeying the orders of the court. It is noteworthy fact to view the construction of headline in a particular manner. Nominalization and metonymy have been merged in one word 'clash' on subject position. It is well-known fact that the word, 'clash' has negative connotation which also shapes the headline catchy to fascinate the interest of the audience inspiring them to read the whole text. Moreover, 'Clash' is a metaphor derived from 'war domain' highlighting the fact that state institutions are in confrontational situation. Here, the word, 'institutions' functions as metonymic expression which hides the actual individuals and indicates the clash between institutions rather than people working in them. The use of model auxiliary verb 'may' shows possibility and connects the clash with delay in elections. Therefore, through this implied threat, the government warns the Supreme Court not to put pressure on them because this pressure will result in the delay in elections and ultimately the loss of nation for which SC will be responsible.

4.3.2.11 Musa Held by ANF, Released by SC on Bail

Apparently, this headline has no connection with Swiss letter issue but in a so-called objective way, it is part of the discourse of blame game of both the institutions, SC and the government with each other. The headline portrays dramatic scenes creating climax and anti-climax at the same time, in the way, as the protagonist is picked up by Anti-Narcotics Force and gets released by the involvement of Supreme Court. Musa is the Member of Parliament and son of Syed Yousaf Raza Gilani, the ex- prime minister of Pakistan. Two conflicting verbs generate a dramatic scene when they are understood along with relevant institutions. One of the institutions is

ANF (Anti Narcotic Force) and the other one Supreme Court. Placement of verbs and equivalent setting of institutions express the power struggle going on between both of them. The headline designates a ludicrous situation which highlights the lack of co-ordination between these state institutions. It is notable fact that one institution holds the alleged person while the other one releases him on bail. However, the main theme of the headline appears that SC is misusing its power and takes biased decisions to show unbiasedness regarding the ex-PM disqualified by the same institution.

4.3.2.12 Raja Ready to do 'Herculean Task'

The headline is structured in context of power struggle between judiciary and parliament. The person is addressed with family title instead of his official title, PM creating a sense that there is no other way left by Supreme Court rather to meet the same fate, the ex-PM met in confrontation with judiciary on the same issue. The lexical choice 'ready' with 'Raja' fortifies the person situated on the subject position of the headline to face the challenge that has been termed as 'Herculean task'. It is important to note that the person on subject position is Raja Pervaiz Ashraf who is the prime minister of Pakistan. The proposed task has been replaced with a metaphoric expression referring to Hercules, the Greek demigod, who is famous for his strength, valour and numerous far-ranging adventures, especially the one in which he involves when the king of Thrace and his daughter seek his assistance in defeating a tyrannical warlord. The adversary of the PM has not been declared but the socio-political background is clear that the contending entity is Supreme Court which has already disqualified a Prime Minister of the same political party.

4.3.2.13 PPP Opts Again for Head-on Collision with SC

Like previous headline, this headline highlights the crucial issue existed between top state institutions, judiciary and executive concerning the writing of letter to Swiss authorities in money laundering case against the president, Asif Ali Zardari and is specified continuously in Pakistani media for last couple of years. PPP, Pakistan Peoples' Party, on the subject position is also ruling party of the day. The verb phrase, 'opts again for head-on-collision with SC' reflects very severe situation. In this respect, Supreme Court's orders serve as interference in its authority and is applying different tactics to ensure its supremacy. Nevertheless, judiciary's stance is more stirred to national benefits and bids chance to get the billions of dollars of national wealth back to country for the betterment of public. On the other hand, alleged person of the case is placed on the president post. Prime minister is escalating between the powers of two institutions. Legally and ethically, the PM is bound to obey the orders even if they are against his own party head and legally stays disobedient for not fulfilling his official responsibilities and deadlock condition is predominant over the country in connection to the issue between these state institutions.

4.3.2.14 'Judiciary, Parliament Have Transformed Politics'

Democracy is here to stay: CJ

This is a headline different from rest of the other headlines with respect to negative expressions, representation of clash and tension between two institutions. In the italicized headline above the main headline, two subjects have been used to display the close conformity of both institutions in transfiguring the progression of political system in Pakistan. Still, the ground veracities do not favour the insinuation of the joint collaboration of these two institutions. Supreme Court had been struggling to get its reintegration and functions as an independent institution predominantly since Musharraf era. On the other hand, parliament has been attempting to protect itself against judiciary which often forces it to bring the national wealth from the foreign banks. Furthermore, the government had been appointing the officers on the key posts, who had their cases in different courts of the country. In this situation, question arises that how these two state institutions have transformed the process of politics whereas in skirmish with each other. It is supposed that political and democratic system in the country has reinforced its roots and there is no danger for democracy which is an ironical situation.

4.3.2.15 Govt. now Harassing Intimidating Honest Officers for Obeying SC Orders

The speaker is silent in the headline and the expression is given as someone objectively observed the situation and crafted this statement. It divulges negative actions of the government without using an auxiliary verb and selecting present progressive form emphasizing continual procedure to which the said state institution is involved in. Time adverb 'now' is very disapprovingly used which raises the point to former concerns of the government concerning defiance of Supreme Court orders and a suggestion of the novel strategy of the government. The progressive form, 'Harassing and intimidating' both are passionately charged lexical items used to exhibit the strength of exercises going on necessitating the said action. It is presumed that there are honest officers who have a strong will to perform their duties honestly and the government is worried of these honest

officers whose reports can damage its interests. The word 'obey' implicates that Supreme Court is a reputable institution and the honest officers intend to obey the orders of the said institution that creates disturbing situation for the government due to the fact that it knows its weak position on the issue. Previously, the government had some other strategy because of absence of the current honest officers and 'now' it has adopted a policy of threatening and frightening the said officers to influence the process of justice.

4.3.2.16 Raja Calls for Respect of all Institutions

The headline begins with Raja, family title whose existing status is the PM of Pakistan. The headline producer has raised his voice against the Supreme Court without mentioning it in the headline. It is a known reality that every state functions efficiently and protects the prosperity of the people when all its institutions work within their ambit; if it does not happen so, the things get overturned. A developing country like Pakistan has an ironic history of interruption of one institution in the matter of another. Thus, democracy could not get its roots strong in this country. Generally, the army rulers launched ventures against the elected elites and judiciary maintained their take-overs. On other junctures, politicians lashed on the judiciary and dismayed it. Similarly, the judiciary disqualified the elected prime minister; current example of the former PM of PPP on corruption cases is palpable. The above headline has its grounds with similar last case stated in current times. This displays the continuous clash between the top state institutions.

4.3.2.17 Those with People's Mandate Have Right to Rule: PM

The speaker in the headline is leader of the house himself who initiates our attention to consider the stimulus behind extension of this didactic statement. The headline commences with a complicated subject 'Those with people's mandate' pointing to politicians elected on public vote and have mandate. Linking verb, 'have' shows possession of right to rule. It means SC which issues orders to the government is indirectly criticized in an inherent way as it does not have the right of ruling. If we view the headline from the beginning, it replaces the elected members using the demonstrative pronoun 'those' denoting not only to one individual 'Prime minister himself' but almost all the politicians collectively. Additionally, it relates them with the process of polls in a democratic system using the phrase 'people's mandate'. In other words, it is presumed that in democracy, people exercise their right of vote to elect their representatives to serve the people of the country. Consequently, these elected people are considered genuine members who have legal and constitutional right to rule over them.

4.3.2.18 Balochistan Law and Order Case

If president, PM can't do anything, let the court decide: SC

This headline is conditional begins with lexical item, 'if' and follows the official titles, president and PM. Moreover, it extends with negation by using modal auxiliary verb 'can't do'. In other words, the conditional clause implies that both the officials are not conscious to work properly, then they are advised to stop working. The headline supposed that in response to the indifference shown by the top leadership of the country on significant matters, it licenses the highest court of the country to take actions to settle down these issues. As mentioned earlier, the statement is conditional which necessitates cause and effect relationship. In other words, president and prime minister are accountable to pledge actions but they are not presenting their interest to solve them. So, to run the matters of the nation and country, Supreme Court stands answerable to decide. The verb phrase, 'can't do anything' is purposeful which along with 'can' exhibit certainty of an action but the headline imposes the condition of the inability by using 'can't do'. This is an indication that prime minister and president are not serious in solving the core issues of the country. Additionally, the word, 'anything' exhibits hesitancy of both the top authorities to set any conceivable solution and positions them stuck up in taking actions.

4.3.2.19 Parliament is Supreme, Has Mandate to Legislate: Zardari

Almost every headline represents the continuous power struggle between judiciary and parliament on Swiss letter issue. President Zardari is the speaker of the headline. In this connection, he declares his own institution as supreme. In other words, Supreme Court is not supreme because praise of one entity sometime is dispraise of other entity. This is fact that Pakistan experiences power struggle between two highest institutions that are exercising dominance over each other proving their supremacy in terms of legislation and independence. The Supreme court opines the inevitability of compliance of its orders by the relevant ruling authorities on several issues, like, appointment of high court judges, writing letter to Swiss authorities, appearing of prime minister before the court, as well as, in various other matters. Similarly, the government dislikes any kind of interference in the said matters. Hence, both have scrambled themselves in the issues irrespective of their concerned nation serving duties. It is very difficult to define who is right and who is wrong. But we find that media portrays them in an ideological manner.

4.3.2.20 Political Parties Welcome SC Ruling

Integrating two metonymies, the headline has been organized to generate haziness to shift the reality from the people to institutions. In this respect, the phrase, political parties divulge that the people who can welcome something or not, have been back grounded, or in a way, undergrounded. In the socio-political circumstances, parties do not function; these are the living beings who function because the political parties are non-physical entities. Likewise, SC doesn't have capacity like persons to function, while, the headline is giving it the role it is unable to play. The headline is invented in active voice form where the 'political parties' is the subject with transitive verb 'welcome' and SC ruling is the object. Adjective phrase 'political parties' functions as collective noun with metaphoric use of verb 'welcome' because it has been derived from the source domain, celebrating social situations where the distinguished guests are welcomed and applied to the target domain 'judicial proceedings.

5. Findings of the Study

Newspaper headlines portrayed the issue under consideration in a way that the actual facts are seen nowhere, and it seems that both the state institutions are involved in a state of power struggle. For instance, the metaphoric use of the phrase, 'Parliament still under attack' in the headline 2 depicts Supreme Court as a hegemonic power which is attempting to destroy the democratic process. In the same way, the phrase, 'clash between institutions' indicates that both the powerful institutions are on a way to destroy each other. On the other hand, allocating voice to the statements of Supreme Court, in the phrases, 'head on collision' and 'Raja ready to do Herculean task' in the headline No. 10 and 12, the obstinate behavior of the government has been highlighted. Moreover, most of the headlines are encompassed with metonymic expressions and instead of referring the constructed statement of the individuals; the agents have been nominated as the groups which is an ideological and discursive way of expressing the reality of the matter. Besides this, the headline No. 10 and 18 indicate the use of modals, 'may' and 'can't do' simultaneously. The former headline shows the possibility of delay in elections as a result of clash between institutions which has an implicit threat to Supreme Court. In other words, if there happens delay in elections, ultimately, the army will take over the country and the democratic process will be stopped and the onus of probability will go on Supreme Court. The latter headline uses modal, 'can't do anything' which is a criticism on the inefficiency of the government because Supreme Court functions as speaker which states that in case of absence of ability in the government, Supreme Court should be allowed to make its own decision. Other techniques used by discourse producers have commonly been observed in the selected headlines that observe the process of transferring the verb into noun and excluding the agency from the headline. In this respect, headlines 3, 6 and 10, respectively started with the noun phrase or verb phrase, 'Presidential reference', 'disqualify' and 'clash' omitting the subject from the headlines to create ideological effect. In other words, the sentence structure in the English language is subject-verb-object while this syntactic arrangement has not been followed in most of the headlines. However, some of the headlines were found neutral which make 13% of the whole selected headlines without carrying ideological features. For instance, the headlines No. 1, 14, 16, 17 and 19 were neutral ones.

6. Conclusion

The outcome of the discussion is rooted in the theoretical and practical aspects of the study. It has confirmed the theoretical and methodological stance of Fairclough's (1989) model of Critical Discourse Analysis revealing the fact that media language as well as syntactic structure of the headlines is not transparent and unbiased, rather it is manipulative and discursive which has represented Swiss Letter Issue in an ideological manner. Moreover, this study has observed how ideology works in the construction of newspaper headlines. Working within the discipline of Critical Discourse Analysis, this study depicted that the newspaper headlines not only have general rhetorical and graphological features but there are also certain hidden ideologies of the discourse producers behind the apparently simple statements. Editors of the local newspapers present the news meant for the common and the national readers. These are presented in a way to aware the uninformed readers. While in English newspapers, those items are presented for the foreigners or highly educated and intellectuals of the country. Certain opinions and evaluations are also represented in the news headlines. But the selection of these speech headlines depicts the political inclinations of the editors, who select either those political statements and themes which annoy the audience towards certain institutions. This can be concluded that a single news item is presented in different papers in different perspectives keeping their political inclinations in view.

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Appendix

Table 2. Presentation of data

Headline No.	Selected Headlines	Source (H stands for headline, N stands for The Nation, NI for The News International)
1)	Those in power act only after summoned by courts: PHC CJ	HNI16Sep.2012
2)	Some people think parliament still under attack: President	HNI05Nov.2012
3)	Presidential reference goes to SC today	HD07Dec.2012
4)	Imran vows march on capital if SC harmed	HNI15July2012
5)	<i>Contempt of court notice</i> Political parties urge MQM Chief to appear before SC	HN16Dec.2012
6)	Disqualify Sharifs, PML-Q urges SC	HN22Dec.2012
7)	SC summons Shahbaz, Raja Riaz on October, 17	HNI05Oct.2012
8)	SC objects to use of govt ads for promoting leaders	HD28Nov.2012
9)	Allies favour PM's appearance in court	HD26Aug.2012
10)	Clash between institutions may delay elections says Gilani	HD03Sep.2012
11)	Musa held by ANF, released by SC on bail	HD14Sep.2012
12)	Raja ready to do 'Herculean task'	HN27Sep.2012
13)	PPP opts again for head-on collision with SC	HNI25July2012
14)	<i>'Judiciary, parliament have transformed politics'</i> Democracy is here to stay: CJ	HD11Nov.2012
15)	Govt. now harassing intimidating honest officers for obeying SC orders	HNI25July2012
16)	Raja calls for respect of all institutions	HD19Oct.2012
17)	Those with people's mandate have right to rule: PM	HNI25July2012
18)	<i>Balochistan law and order case</i> If president, PM can't do anything, let the court decide: SC	HNI20Sep.2012
19)	Parliament is supreme, has mandate to legislate: Zardari	HNI20July2012
20)	Political parties welcome SC ruling	HNI20Oct.2012

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