

**POLITICIANS' LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE IN PAKISTANI PRESS PRE-ELECTION 2018  
ADVERTISEMENTS FROM CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS PERSPECTIVE**Dr. Waqasia Naeem<sup>1</sup> (Corresponding author), Dr. Irfan Abbas<sup>2</sup>, Saima Naeem<sup>3</sup>**Original Article**

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**Abstract**

*This research paper aims to find out language-manipulative agenda in Pakistani print media advertisements and press ideology for discursive stance by analyzing politicians' linguistic landscape in pre-election 2018 campaign strategies. It is observed that tough political competition and politicians' manipulative stance have made the election campaign and media role vaguer. By the involvement of political parties in this competitive race, various discursive techniques and stance in the advertisements are adopted for underlying motives, political fulfillments, and power which are wrapped in the agenda of ideology. This race has emerged in the shape of various discursive strategies that politicians employ to persuade and attract the consumers (voters). Likewise, in the advertisements of Pakistani print media, discursive agenda sent by advertisers (political leaders) is manipulatively communicated as Cook (2001) has said that advertisements are mendacious, and messages are encoded by the senders which can be decoded by using the theories of Critical Discourse Analysis. Therefore, this research will decode politician's extensively spread messages by using language as an analytic tool in their advertisements. Accordingly, the parameters of this research will take two newspapers i.e. The Dawn and The Express as a sample and method of the research is qualitative. Finally, this analysis will expand and promote the understanding of language manipulation which is decorated by politicians in the stance of ideology to achieve their motives by exploiting the community.*

**Keywords:** Ideology, Landscape, Language, Manipulation, Politicians,, Media, Advertisements.

**Introduction/Background:**

It is illustrated by Widdoson (2007) that Critical Discourse Analysis is linked (with & about) abuse and use of language for the maintenance of power and ideological framework. So, Critical Discourse Analysis is associated with the discovery of power and ideology in language which is used by institutions and powerful people. It is also demonstrated by Wodak and Meyer (2001) that CDA is a framework which is used to analyze the language for the extraction of opacity and making clear everything to the people. In Critical Discourse Analysis text and other types of discourse are analyzed to reveal domination, power, racism, concealed ideologies and manipulation (Richard & Schmidt, 2010). Van Dijk, (2006, p.359) is of the view that this manipulation mostly occurs in the text and talk. It does not only revolve around the power but also it highlights the power abuse known as domination. Furthermore manipulation strengthens the use of illegal agenda in the stretches of discourse because manipulators suggest others to do the things and make them believes what is belonging to their

special interest and go against the manipulated communities as politicians are trying to present in their linguistics landscape in the political advertisements. The discourse is a known as the study of language in context parallel. Fairclough (2015) explains that discourse is "language as a form of social practice (p. 55)". Similarly, Gee J.P. (2011) says that the process of language passes through saying, doing and being. However the term "Discourse" has more than one definition because it is an umbrella term. Titcher (1998) goes further and defines discourse "it integrates a whole pallet of meanings" (p.42). However, the meanings are originated in linguistic structure. In addition to this, Discourse Analysis can be explained as the survey of language in use which basically investigates linguistic systems above the sentence level (Brown & Yule, 1983). Primarily, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) was established in the significant work of Van Dijk (1993) who advocates that CDA is not only a whole model but also it is united view point for doing the analysis of linguistics and semiotics. Furthermore, he asserts that there is one component of the CDA which separates it from other form of discourse analysis, i.e. its "critical" features. In this sense advertisements also stand in language domains which are ultimately linked with mass media. Thorson and Duffy (2011) have said that foundations of marketing advertisements theories are standing on idea to sovereign over the customers and it is known fact that materialists and marketers try to exploit the needs and desires of consumers by getting their attraction through the glimpses of products in the advertisements. But the main interest of the senders of advertisements lies in the persuasion and manipulation of the customers for sale promotion as Ileen E. Kelly (2005) has said "*the industrial system has assumed sufficient size and power to render the consumer helpless in deciding what and how much is produced and purchased*". Similarly now a days in Pakistani Print Media advertisement, the stance of language manipulation is visible due to the strong political competition between various political parties and it is moving ahead day by day. Finally, the aim of this study is to decode widely spread advertisement political message in linguistic landscape with the help of Critical Discourse Analysis in Pakistan and the reason behind this research is to develop understanding of CDA among the students and teachers. However the research area is delimited by viewing on only print media advertisements only and basic stance of advertisement analysis is to expand and promote the role of English language teacher that he/she not only may enables him/herself to judge this manipulation but also may teach to students. Finally this language manipulation will be analyzed by using Huckin (2002) and Cristina-Maria (2013) approaches.

#### Literature Review:

Yule, G. (1996, p.129) has described that discourse analysis is a language study which perceives the psychological and social factors that can influence the communication. Fairclough and Wodak (1997) suggest that the explicit awareness of critical discourse analyst in the society is very important. It is pointed out by Tehrani and Yeganeh (1999) that aim of CDA is to reveal the imposition of power and insinuation of ideology which is failure for ordinary people to notice it. In another place Huckin (1997) points out that CDA has sensation towards the context because it looks at the text with the reference to the social context where the text is produced. CDA highlights ethical questions and standpoints in the light of social and cultural issues like ideology, gender, race and identity and how they are shown in the particular context. He says also that it is need to expose these dogmas and highlight them for the sake of justice. CDA is a type of discourse analytical research which highlights the sources like social power abuse, dominance and inequality and how they are enacted, reproduced and resisted in the text and talk (Van Dijk, 2000). Critical Discourse Analysis has assured that it is neither neutral nor unbiased so it must be studied in political and social historical context (Celece –Murcia and Olshtain, 2000). Media discourse is multidisciplinary which covers the terms of ethnography of communication, conversational analysis, cultural studies, and critical discourse analysis and so on. The political

representations of various parties or political institutions always try to maintain power, show identities and produce social relations by consuming ideologies in the discursive practices. The researches carried out in all around the world accredit its importance and promote these ideas and different types of political discourse are attracting scholars for the investigating it. "*The multidimensionality of political discourse has attracted a great deal of attention from discourse analysts*" (Bhatia, 2006, p. 173). Trask (2007) has suggested that CDA tries to explore the answers of questions like what is the aim to construct this text, which kind of people and society is being addressed in it and why? Is there any underlying agenda in suggested text and talk? Media replace all older resources of knowledge and information and understanding of world (Asmalqbal 2014, 1). In this sense Naz, Alvi and Baseer (2012, p.139) highlight that linguistics choices are helpful in the indications of meanings. Advertisements appeal to the consumer by reflecting shared values and thus, serving as an index to popular culture. This is so because by and large, consumers are the products of popular culture in which they live (Chand and Chaudry: 2011). Gee, J.P (2014, p.35) says that it is now needed to study and describe the discourses that how words function, and interact, how the feelings, thoughts, interactions and deeds allow us to enact and recognize different socially structured identities.

**Research Question:**

1- Is there any language manipulation wrapped in ideological stance for political motives in the Pakistani Express and Dawn newspapers advertising shadowed in the linguistics landscape?

**Scope/Significance of the Study:**

This study has paramount importance since it is an attempt to reveal the discursive and persuasive strategies adopted by politicians for their manipulative stance in Print Media in order to persuade the public of Pakistan at one end and on the other hand to increase the possibility of winning elections. Therefore it will give new dimensions to the linguists in understanding the real stance of media and collusive policy of politicians which is hidden under discursive ideology and power. The study will try its best to determine the principles of CDA for the sake of manipulation and discursive approaches which are useful for the achievement of politicians' goals.

**Statement of the Problem:**

After the detailed scrutiny of the concerned literature researcher is able to draw the conclusion that it is the right and specific time to highlight the language manipulation wrapped in the persuasive techniques for the hidden motives of politicians with the help of CDA because now a days (during the election campaign 2018) politicians are using all the fair and unfair means to attract their voters towards their parties support although politicians main and personal benefits are hidden behind these advertisements stance.

**Objectives of the Study:**

The aim of the study is to attempt modestly to ponder upon on the basic mechanism of manipulations in advertisements which has adopted by the politicians during elections campaign 2018. Besides, the study evaluates persuasive strategies employed by the politicians in Pakistan, using ideology for their success. The research is trying to evaluate the temptation of politicians towards their voters. Finally the research endeavors to find out the intended ideologies of politicians wrapped in the persuasive stance.

**Sample of the Study:**

More than seventy years have been passed after the independence in Pakistan but in our country, the roots of democracy are not solid as compared to neighboring countries as well as international level. However in the previous decade twice democratic governments' have completed their time

period and in present election in political campaign politicians are not leaving any stone unturned for their success. The sample of the study consists of eleven advertisements. These advertisements are taken from Dawn and Express newspapers during the days of election campaign in the month of July 2018.

**Research Methodology:**

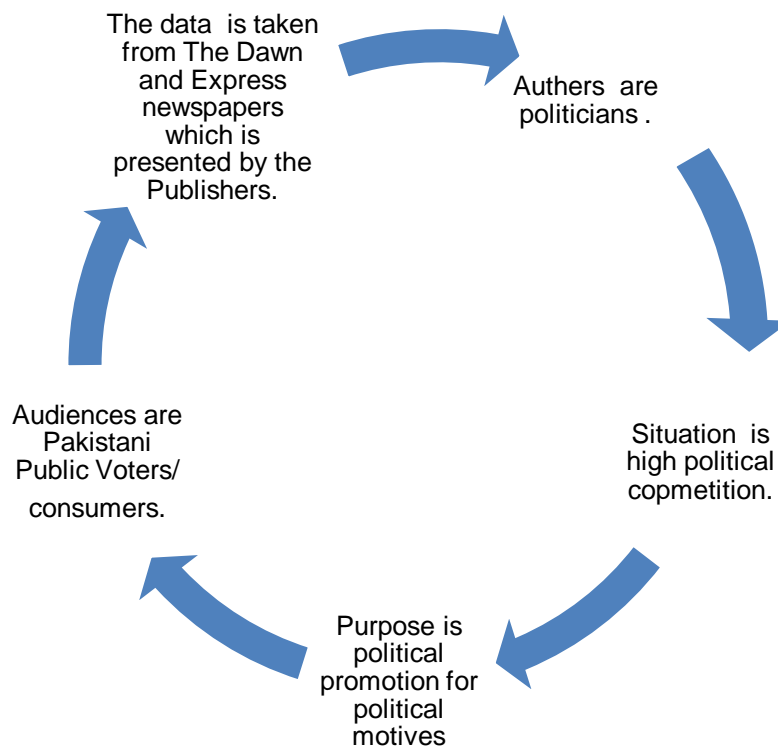
The data in this research is taken from The Dawn and The Express in the shape of political advertisements from 05 July 18 to 20 July 18 for analysis. Total ten advertisements are randomly selected from both newspapers. The two CDA models Huckin, T. (1997) and Maria, C. (2013) are applied over the selected data. First Huckin, T. (1997) model is applied and then Maria, C. (2013) points are discussed. Finally conclusion is drawn in the light of discussion.

**Data Analysis of the Study:**

Huckin, T. (1997) states that there is not any specific approach for text study in critical discourse analysis although he emphasizes that one should settle its ways in determined attitude. He further suggests that researcher should read the text generally before taking it for analysis because it is a strategy to read out the data as a lay man. Then he/she may re-examine the language of data with critical approach to see the context and text for analysis to find out the results and draw the conclusion. Similarly, Cristina-Maria (2013) has introduced ten points for critical study of language e.g. associations to expert claims for advertisements. In this research two approaches are hybridized for the analysis of selected data. It is known as triangulation which helps the researcher to minimize biasness and also draws the satisfactory results.

**Genre of the Text:**

Genre is a type of communication and text which provides some sets of rules and parameters that are used in communicative matters (Cook, G.). It is further elaborated by Richard and Schmidt (2002) that genre is a type of discourse which has specific and peculiar role in communication and this role is created and identified in typical manners, arrangements and rules. Genre is a class of the text and the indication of genre is a first step towards Critical Discourse Analysis because it starts with the indication of the type of text (Paltridge, B. 2006). CDA also examines further that how the norms in the adjustment of genre are decorated by the writer to throw the influence over the readers. The proper and good knowledge about genre is also helpful for the researchers to know that what kinds of efficiencies are adjusted by the writer in intra text and inter text materials and it further elucidates that what was the purpose to omit or add the linguistic materials in the text (Huckin, 1997). Furthermore how it is known that particular text is linked with particular genre, in this sense various factors are described by Paltridge, B. (2006) which are very fruitful for this decision making. He guides that the situation, purpose and audience in any genre guides towards the type of genre. Fairclough, N. (2015) says that communities of consumers are indirectly promoted and developed by senders of advertisements and consumers serve under the monopoly of capitalists which always throws the glimpses of sympathy and respect towards them that always looks wrapped in materialist economic growth. Similarly, in the election campaign 2018 in Pakistan, the politicians of all political parties are looking dependent on advertising agencies of newspapers in order to promote the political power and reputation for their hidden motives. They are creating unique situation for their own political parties in their advertisements and whole scenario of political situation is given in the following cycle.



### Framing:

According to Huckin, T. (1997) back grounding, framing and fore grounding are closely linked with each other and these entities always try to relate the agenda that how the parts of text are highlighted and asserted and how particular text signifies the piece of writings. In this sense it is said by Fairclough, N. (1995) that framing is an intentional manipulation which is produced in the discourse. In the selected advertisements of both newspapers i.e. the Dawn and Express prominent personalities of various political parties are adjusted as a framing in their advertisements to persuade the voters. Furthermore the quotes of important figures are highlighted to show the power and authenticity of political agenda. Third, the senders of advertisements i.e. print media looks involved in the collusive stance that is visible in advertisements too. In this sense Bilawal Bhutto Zardari, Imran Khan, Mohatarma Benazir Bhutto (Late), Pervaiz Khattak, Zulifqar Ali Bhutto (Late and) Asif Ali Zardari are enough examples for the hood wink of the consumers/voters. In the language of advertisements there are visible and highlighted linguistics pieces of communication produced by almost all parties which are likely to manipulate and tempt the consumers (voters). There are many attractive and seducing quotes which are also influencing the voters towards their parties and certain political parties have used beautiful and colorful scenarios in crafty and diplomatic style that voters will be attracted by viewing these advertisements in initial glance. It has been struggled to misuse the power for political reputation and hidden motives. For instance the slogans of Pakistan People Party "Bhook Matao", Bibi kawada Nibhanahy Pakistan bachanahy and 25 July 2018 Tahreek e Insaf ke kamyabi ka din (25 July is the day of success for Tahreek-e- Insaf) etc.

### Presupposition:

Hucken, T. (2002,) has said that presupposition is a linguistic device that is used to create manipulative strategy either in the phrases or in the stretches of words. Presupposition is also defined

by Yule, G. (1996, p.25) that it is the perceptive capability which is assumed by the speakers before making an utterance. It is also defined by Hucken, T. (1997) that presupposition is in language use, function performance and understanding about its positive presented ideas and occurrence takes place at sentence levels. He further elucidates that to maintain the domination over audiences, presupposition is used and it is a way towards the language manipulation which is the ornament of discourse. Similarly, presuppositions are commonly used in selected advertisements at phrase levels which are likely to convince and detract the readers, voters and audiences and a pre planned agenda is working behind these phrases.

A: 25 July Tahreek-e-Insaf ke kamyabi ka din (PTI presupposes that 25 July is the day of Success.)

B; In the BhokMataoProgramme (PPP presupposes that there is hunger in Pakistan)

C; Roti, Kaprra Makan, Elam, Sehat sub KOAam (PPP presupposes that there is hunger, poverty, lack of knowledge and health in Pakistan)

However, after a detailed study of advertisements in the selected data there are various glimpses of presupposition used by the producers and writers of advertisements to manipulate the consumers or to attract them towards their own political parties. Presuppositions also influence the mind of readers in advertisements and force the readers to change their already made decisions. Furthermore Hucken (1997) clarifies that presuppositions are infamously manipulative because it is difficult to challenge them.

#### **Agency:**

Agency is defined as entity or a tool used in the performance of actions and it is stated by Hucken, T.(2002) that semantic agent is more authoritative instead of agency and its repetition enhance its status. In the selected discourse the powerful agents are used so that politicians may manipulate their voters by using the linguistics landscape. Behind this agenda they are either trying to convince the voters or working for their fame and prosperity. Van Dijk (2006, p.362) says that social actors (agents) are needed to fulfill personal and social requirements in order to exercise social control over the others which make them able to create coercing effects over the others. In the same way in all the selected advertisements agents are trying to gain social control over the public in Pakistan with the help of social and discursive manipulation.

For Example, Bilawal Bhutto Zardari and Imran Khan

#### **Modality:**

Modality is an aspect that is associated fundamentally with Systemic Functional Linguistics and it is drawn on the Critical Discourse Analysis. Halliday, M.A.K. (1994, p. 75) explains that modality is known as the judgment of speakers regarding possibilities and obligations what he/she has said. In the selected data the use of epistemic and deontic modalities is visible which is another steps towards the manipulation as deontic modality is used for commitment of futures action and politicians make commitments about their future action.

Examples:

Ready to govern Pakistan

PPP ke kafafi ujarat

Rot, Kaprra Makan, Elam, Sehat sub KO Aam

**Topiclazation:**

Topiclazation is a position known as start and topic of sentence elements which shows the topic in sentence (Hucken, T. 2002, p.8). In all selected advertisements topiclazations are so illuminated that producers' manipulation and diplomacy are very evident and the agenda behind the lofty manipulation is seducing voters. For instance, in the given advertisements the topiclazation is like NA 53 and Imran Khan are so powerful that they can influence the audiences for the collection of votes. It has been seen that in political discourse, such kinds of topiclazation not only works to change the cognitive values of readers/viewers but also develops new ideologies for their future change and brightness.

**Insinuations:**

Huckin (1997) points out that insinuation is the remarks which are cleverly indicative. He further propagates that insinuations have double meanings and these elements can be very powerful in any type of discourse. Hodge and Kress (1998) have called the insinuations as an ideological complexity. Similarly, in the following advertisement the insinuating signs are clearly decorated for the sake of manipulation. In the given advertisement most renowned and popular personalities in the present election are shown and simultaneously it is told that Imran Khan is coming (Imran Khan is coming). It is clearly indicated that insinuation is going towards the demand of vote in the given advertisements.

**Circumlocution:**

Circumlocution is a use of large amount of the words unnecessarily in speech or communication to convey the idea. According to the sample and title of the study there is a likely an argument that politicians are using circumlocutions as tool to attract the voters for their party support and vote banking. The politicians show positive face for their own self (us) and negative face for others (them) for the satisfaction of the public and achievement of political agenda. Obeng (1997) has said that politicians are adept to avoid the realities and can cover the face. In addition to this Van Dijk (2000) propagates that politicians can make relevant additions for their own political motives. They not only highlight their own group beneficiary details in order to show their progress but also provide the negative views about their opponents. In the selected figures of advertisements, many are presenting large amount of words which is a way to hide reality by covering the face and to present fake ideology.

**Associations:**

Cristina-Maria (2013) has said that association is a very powerful technique for persuasion which can be employed in advertising. In the given advertisement; the politicians are showing their narrow associations with the voters and public for election winning. In addition to this she informs that politicians try to produce such remarks with association which has already liked by the voters or it is their core need such as education, health and purified water and in this sense they create very powerful strength of emotional transferring. They include many types of techniques in associations like images of renowned people, nostalgia, fuzzy claim and promise for their voters' attraction during elections campaigns. They not only insinuate the public with these techniques of associations but also induce among them the feelings of comfort, joy and pleasures. In the associations politicians use such emotionally loaded expression that voters may not understand their cleverish agenda.

**Exaggeration:**

According to Thorson and Duffy (2001) exaggeration is a kind of puffery which is used as a "harmless superlatives". Both authors point out that the basic aim of the puffery is to induce the audiences' emotion instead of reason. It is also a kind of association with the promotion of false promises. The

best example in this sense is seen in figure one “Bhook Matao Programme” slogan used by Pakistan People Party. Basically it is promise to the voters that by giving vote to the Pakistan People Party their hunger and poverty will breathe its lost that it is clear an over exaggeration. Similarly in another advertisement given by Pakistan Tahreek e Insaf, it is claimed that Insha Allah Imran Khan will be Prime Minister of Pakistan.

**Explicit Claims:**

Cristina-Maria (2013) says that the argument clearly stated or demonstrated is known as explicit claim. So, in the given advertisements, there are also the glimpses of explicit claims, for example, Pakistan Tahreek-i-Insaf (PTI) claims explicitly that it is ready to govern Pakistan Insha Allah and Insha Allah Imran Khan will be the Prime Minister of Pakistan. Similarly, in some other advertisements, Pakistan People Party claims that “BB kavadani bhanahy Pakistan ko bachanahy”. In this statement PPP claims that only Pakistan safety is included in the said party government. Then there is another claim that Teer par moharlagain etc. Explicit claims are a way towards manipulation and discursiveness.

**Context:**

According to the selected advertising stance, it can be argued that political competition was growing day by day in Pakistan in past but now a day during the election campaigns 2018; it was reaching at the climax between the various parties. There is a great uncertainty about coming election and all parties are working at the idolized political agenda for their own motives and finally they are struggling to produce, attain, retain and sustain power through their advertising ideology.

**Conclusion and Findings:**

The selected two different language newspapers advertisements i.e The Dawn and The Express were analyzed using two different model of the CDA for the better analysis and finding. Finally by summing up the discussion after the analysis of political advertisements from both resources it can be argued that both newspapers are working collusively at the same parameters. It also can be said that language manipulation is evident and it is central to political discourse in Pakistan. More ever in Pakistan almost all the Political System has well awareness with this persuasive technique and all parties are using this agenda to gain sympathies and favours of the voters. Although there are a few political parties which are more active and ardent in this discursive strategy like Pakistan Tahreek-e-Insaf and Pakistan People Party in the selected newspapers. These parties are using more skillful techniques in the advertisements in the shape of manipulative ideologies and hyperboles. The expert and skilled use of linguistic devices are facilitating the politicians to make claims with voters and win their hearts. There was not any visible special winning or losing election glimpses from any political party in the advertisements although Pakistan Tahreek -e- Insaf enthusiastic and optimistic in the the advertisements. However the analysis developed the better understanding of Pakistan pre-election political scenario. At the end it is come to know that language and politics works parallel and to understand one it will be need to understand other because they survive in each other.

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Figure No:1



Figure No:2



Figure No:3

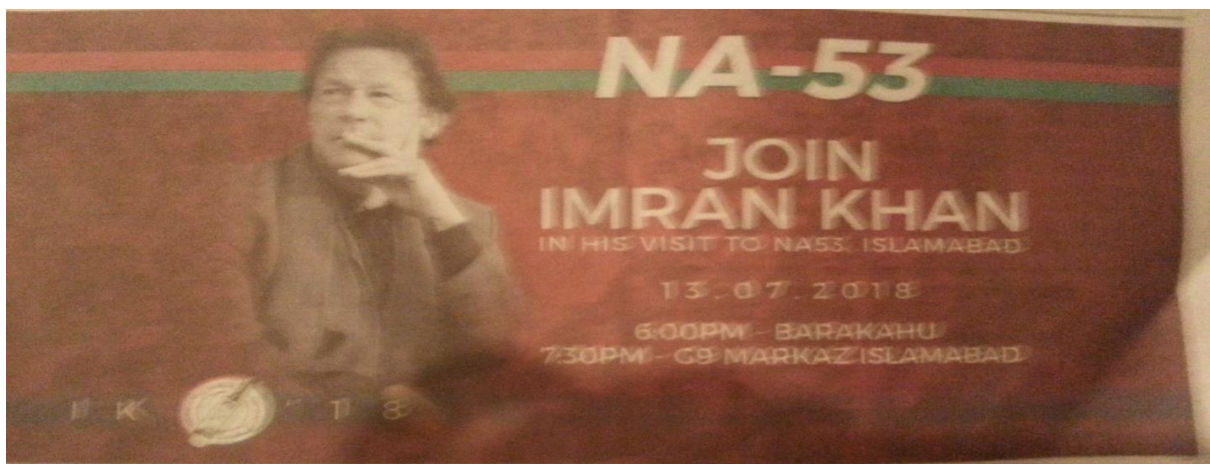


Figure No:4



Figure No:5



Figure No:6



Figure No:7



Figure No:8



Figure No:9



Figure No: 10

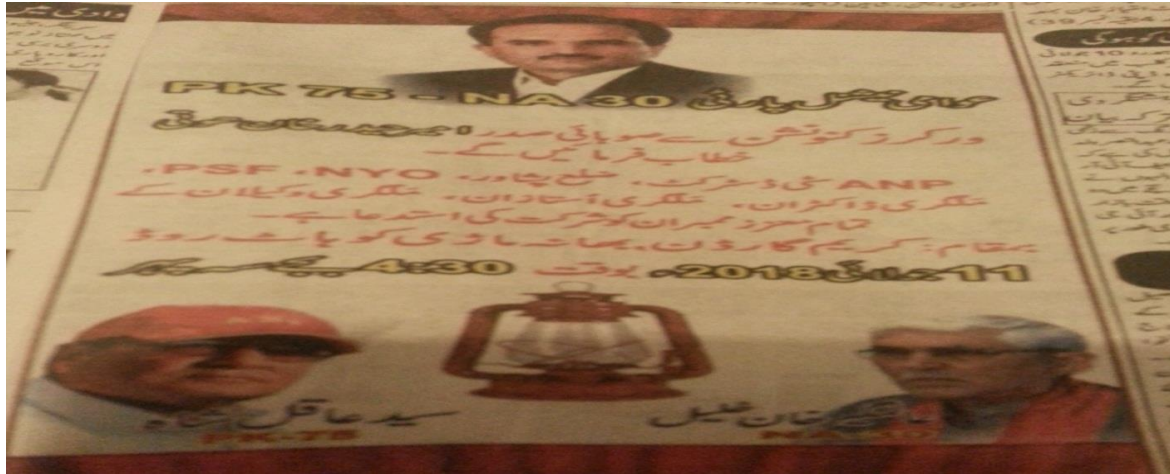


Figure No: 11

