CDA OF BALOCHISTAN NEWSPAPERS HEADLINES - A STUDY OF NAWABS' STEREOTYPED IDEOLOGICAL CONSTRUCTIONS

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Abstract

The aim of this study is to assess and investigate the use of language critically, by renowned personality in Balochistan, the province chief minister Nawab Sana Ullah Zahari, in accordance with the social settings portraits, giving the glimpses of stereotyped ideological constructions there. The purpose of this study is to unveil the basic hidden ideologies and identities in nawabs' language which are also major political figures in Balochistan, through Critical Discourse Analysis by using statements given in newspapers headlines, which are believed too by the poor public of Balochistan as architect of their destiny and survival. Secondly, it is also endeavored to teach and develop understanding of Critical Discourse Analysis among English language students and teachers in Balochistan. Thirdly, this is to communicate to the poor public of Balochistan that Baloch nawabs are not creators of their destiny and survival but are actually striving for their own excellence and profligacy. The basic framework of this study is established on Critical Discourse Analysis given by Norman Fairclough (2015) theory using its tools, e.g. description, interpretation and explanation. The headlines are selected and analyzed, are only the statements of CM, for scrutinizing veiled ideologies through power of discourse in media. Therefore, CDA plays very important role for the unraveling of such stereotyped ideological constructions, like those of the Nawabs of Balochistan.

Key Words: Ideology, CDA, Balochistan, Stereotyped, Nawab

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Introduction

The history describes the fact that the privileged have always strived to coerce over the less privileged and the powerful have always struggled to dominate over the poor; and people of different areas of the world are eyewitnesses to it. With the passage of time, the approaches of privileged and powerful over less privileged and poor have changed and in this aspect, language plays very crucial role.

Fairclough N. (1989) advocates on the exploitation of language that some people are dominated by others through language contribution because consciousness is the first step towards emancipation.
Similarly, Habermas (1979) has said that,

> *"Language is also a medium of domination and social power.*
> *It serves to legitimate relations of organized force" (p. 130).*

The same situation is going on in Pakistan, as it was said by General Pervaiz Musharaf in his Public address (14 Aug 2000) that the basic issue is to empower the impoverished and make the people master of their destiny. In this sense the role of language in the ideological process is very vital, because language plays the role of bridge between people's worldly knowledge and social practice, in the sense that it reconciliates the thought and behavior.

Fairclough N. (1995) defines CDA as a discipline to study the language in connection with power and ideology and it also works to highlight the oppression and dominance of people in the form of language. He further propagates that ideology is closely associated with the language use, with special reference to the social and political background. Moreover, CDA is also utilized to survey the relations between language, ideology and power (Wang, 2010). The language use in political context stands as a sub-branch under the umbrella of CDA and is known as political discourse. The delimitation of analysis from critical discourse analysis to just on politicians, political institutions, government, media and political supporters makes it political discourse analysis. Political discourse is developed in specific conditions to achieve political goals (Al-Faki, 2014). Moreover, to achieve the discursive and hidden intentions of the politicians' critical discourse analysis is applied on political discourse.

Al-Faki (2014) says that for the proper understanding of political discourse, it is very necessary to understand politics through the analysis of language, because discourse is always biased in the representation of world. Similarly, (Jackson, 2014) claims that language is always unbiased and binary structure exists in all languages,

because direct opposite of noun, verb and adjective is there. Nonetheless, speakers' ideas and perceptions about other people are presented in the discourse.

The critical discourse analysis highlights and evaluates how ideologies are reflected in the linguistic entities and are not only used as a source of communications, but also work as a mechanism of hegemony and power. The values of language for studying ideologies are propagated by Hodge, Kress and Jones (1979) that *the systems of ideas which constitute ideologies are expressed through language. Language supplies the models and categories of thought, and in part, people's experience of the world is through language* (p. 81).

Critical Discourse Analysis is main stream in the discourse, which penetrates how ideologies are enclosed in the language, for contribution in exploiting the social power and hegemony. The term "Critical" in the field of discourse is being used in several directions, which correlates the associations of language use with organization of power. In language domain, hegemony, power, bias, social inequality and exploitation are syndicated with criticality.

Mahboob and Paltridge (2013) promulgate that it is essential to investigate the establishment of power and understand the source, which are put in use by the powerful strata upon the overwhelmed group. The intentions behind this paper is to explore how CDA works as a major axis to figure out the veiled ideologies and dissect the power relations in the statements of CM Balochistan, Nawab Sana Ullah Zahari. All statements are taken randomly from Express Newspapers for the purpose of analysis.

Literature Review

Sometimes misconception is present in the minds of people about the function of language only as an axis towards the information and communications. This may be regarded to oversimplify the collective use of language. As Gee J.P (2014) narrates that,

> *"many functions are performed by the language and two main functions of this human capability are to support the performance of social activities and social identities; and to support human affiliation within cultures, social groups, and institutions" (p.1).*

According to Dontcheva- Davratilova (2005) term,

> *"Discourse" is affiliated with various meanings. Essentially it is a form of disciplined, pregnant and useful piece of language.*

> *Secondly, the activities are performed in the language. Then it*
> *shows the identities and varieties of language (p.141).*

Bell (1997) considers

> *"The cultural and social parameters of the language because*
> *social realities are established in language as well as it*
> *demonstrates them."(Wang, 2009:753).*

Fairclough (2001) determines that CDA is a paradigm which reveals both veiled and unequivocal social as well as political principles and beliefs. CDA is an interdisciplined systematic approach, which surveys political and social context for the liberation of ideologies, hegemony, dominance, inequality, equivocal relationships and social power.

Fairclough (1992) delineates

> *"CDA as an analysis of discourse, which targets to methodically*
> *explore frequently blurred relationships of purpose between*
> *discourse and social and cultural processes. It not only*
> *examines how the ideologies are shaped with the relations of*
> *power in text and activities, but also investigates how the*
> *ambiguities of these connections between society and discourse*
> *are an agenda towards acquiring hegemony and power"*
> *(p.135).*

Critical discourse analysis studies all degrees and aspects of discourse e.g. grammar (phonology, syntax, semantics), style, schematic organization, speech acts and pragmatic activities.

Van Dijk, (1995) CDA pays special attention to power relation, domination and discrimination; and how these are recreated and opposed in the conversation by the members of different social groups. CDA highlights the social discursively, domination, gender issues, class differences, ethnical identities, racialism and sexual and religious harassment etc. In CDA a lot of work focuses on the deep-rooted ideological constructions, which work to reproduce and resist the social injustice and dominance.

CDA helps search power and dominance hidden in the stretches of discourse, as said by Van Dijk (2001) that,

> *" CDA is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily*
> *studies the way social power abuse, dominance and inequality*

are enacted, reproduced and resisted by text and talk in the
social and political context" (p.352).

Language is a socially determined phone phenomenon and Wodak and Fairclough (1997) have said that language is social activity, so it is an approach towards the presentation of things and position of the people; and in this sense social life is oragnized in it. Therefore, it is known as the major element of discourse and consequently ideology works parallel in it. In eighteenth century, the term ideology was prologuized by Destutt de Tracy, a French philosopher, since then it has pervaded in the works of scholars belonging to the various disciplines e.g. socially, discourse analysis and psychology. Eagleton (1991) defines ideology as,

"Generally associating with the culture, general material
process of production of ideas, beliefs and values in social life
"(p. 28).

Fowler and Kress (1979) stressed that,
"Ideology can be studied through linguistic analysis and is
known as source of power and strength in the text. This
phenomenon is critical because the analysis not only describes
the linguistic features of the text but also interprets the text and
fundamental ideologies which work in the linguistic entities.
They say that "lexical items, linguistic forms and linguistic
processes carry specific meanings" (p. 186)

And all linguistic action is the mirror of social arrangements. Critical Linguistic is a method for studying language exploitation, where the linguistic techniques are used to scrutinize the ideologies hidden in the text (Carter and Simpson, 1989, p.91). With the help of Critical Discourse Analysis, the ideologies are constructed, confirmed, produced, facilitated, reproduced, and intervened (Birch, 1989; Fowler & Kress, 1979; Simpson, 1993). Heberman (1973) has explained that CDA is interdisciplinary device in the language, which works for discrimination and bias. The text used in our daily lives internally works for power, language and ideology. CDA elucidates the issues promoted in these relationships. Language spoken or written covers a vast sense of meanings and our social, political and historical scenarios are mirrored with the help of these meanings. So, our expressions are always controversial (Fisk, 1994). In addition to this, Thomson describes that critical

discourse analysis is an association of text (micro level) with the hidden social power (macro level).

Van Dijk (2000) explains Critical Discourse Analysis as,

> *"A branch of analysis of discourse, which is linked with injustice, power issues and inequality, which are produced, resisted and reproduced in the social and political settings (p.352)."*

Van Dijk (2006) further says that CDA

> *"Provides a sociological account of language use because of its interest in ideology, social relations and the relationship between text and context" (p. 37).*

Background of the Study:

Balochistan is rich in resources but poor and backward in development. The province is exposed to a multitude of problems, like poverty, corruption, terrorism, unemployment and political conflict. In addition to this, the territory of Balochistan is largest in Pakistan, but according to population, this is the smallest province of country. The ethnic makeup of the province, according to the 2017 census, includes 55 percent Baloch and 29 percent Pashtuns. Territorial and geographical vastness are the major causes in provincial poverty, because these issues are hindrance in adequate services of government, like educational and health coverage. Furthermore, it is not only difficult to provide good and standard basic facilities to highly dispersed population, but also impossible to provide the coverage to the social expressions in province. As it is said by (Kundi, 2008) that *despite rich mineral and gas deposits, it economically, remains poverty stricken, underdeveloped and receives only a small share of the revenue it generates*. Therefore, in this paper it is endeavored to access these phenomena by exploring the language stereotyped ideological constructions of nawabs, whose discursive ideologies are responsible for above quoted issues in the province. For this purpose, Balochistan Chief Minister statements given in express newspapers are taken for analysis, in order to probe the stereotyped ideological construction of nawabs.

Significance of the Study:

This study will bring into light the stereotyped ideologies of the nawabs in Balochistan, which remain hidden in their discursive language, with the help of Critical Discourse Analysis. Moreover, this research will expose stereotyped agenda of Baloch nawabs, who are determined towards their profligate and lucrative

determinations. Furthermore, the understanding of nawabs stereotyped agendas will be developed for all Baloch and Pashtun community in Balochistan. It is also aimed that the social, economic and educational conditions of Balochistan can be improved by increasing the awareness in the poor public. Finally, this research will strive to promote the understanding of Critical Discourse Analysis of Linguistic students in Balochistan as well as in the country.

Research Questions:
1 - Is language working in exploitation of Balochistan?
2-If yes, why they are doing so and what will be its consequences?
Methodology:
We are indebted to Norman Fairclough for giving grand and elite concepts on discourse, hegemony and power. Our struggle is to associate linguistic and social practice, as well as micro and macro level of discourse (Faiclough1989, p.97). CM speeches are the instance of political discourse which is said in language and ideological process. The CM statements belong to the media discourse; and language and social process always exist in the discourse. The aim of this research is to understand the relationships among power, ideology and language; and it is also endured to highlight how the community in Balochistan is driven through stereotyped ideological and political discourse of nawabs. The present study is focusing upon the qualitative approach of research methodology. Three dimensional model (1989) given by Fairclough,N. has been adopted as CDA model to analyze CM statements on the textual, discursive and social perspectives.

All Nawab Sana Ullah Zahari's statements have been studied from the front page Express Quetta newspapers; during his CM tenure, which have been read and viewed by the maximum people. To maintain the intensive interest of the readers, for proving the hypothesis, five statements of CM Balochistan have been taken for CDA as a sample. The study aims to highlight stereotyped ideological constructions which are produced, resisted and maintained in the discourse for the uplifting of hidden motives in the Balochistan province and simultaneously, mutually connected textual properties and power issues are investigated in the interpretative portion of the paper, which is also explained in the Fairclough work. At the same time this paper undertakes to expose hidden ideologies that are wrapped in the textual structure. Our analysis of the paper is dependent on "three dimensional method of discourse analysis" Fairclough (1989). Critical Discourse Analysis develops the connections at micro level (textual) with the macro level. The power issues (social,
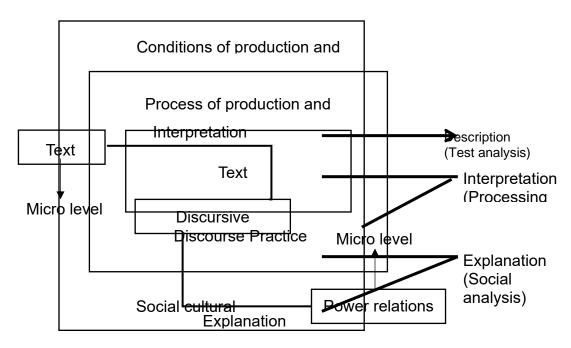
cultural, practice) and discursive practices overlap the micro and macro level as shown in the figure.

According to him, discourse analysis has three stages, essentially which are as under:

Description: It highlights the textual formal properties.

Interpretation: It is associated with text and interaction. It looks at the text as a process of production as well as an excess in interpretative process.

Explanation: It highlights the interactional and social contextual relationships with social determinism and the process of production, explanation and social consequences.

Analysis:

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Source: Express Quetta Newspapers Headline Front Page Dated 20-5-2017

English Translation: To stop the development of Balochistan every intriguery will be made unsuccessful (Nawab Zahari). The enemies of Pakistan do not want that province and country to progress.

At lexical level in the the Zaharian discourse, the responsibilities are shared by CM by using the words "Nakam bana dain gay". In the given phrase "gay" indicates the use of pronoun we. The use of "we" tells that CM is not alone and "we" is the indication of all Balochistan political power and unity of political strength in the province. Then he uses the lexis like development and intrigue, which have contradictory sense and it also indicates that the situation in Balochistan at tribal level as well as at political level is unparalleled. These words might be the indications towards these issues in ideological sense. Fairclough, N. (2015, p.108) says that those who have power always struggle continuously to exploit common sense ideology, so same is the case with Zaharian discourse and he (1989,p.124) says that *one should be sensitive to possible ideologically motivated obfuscation of agency.*

Chief Minister of Balochistan made the above mentioned statement after the murder of poor laborers in Katch. Apprantely CM is seeming aware of his responsibilities and is determined to wipe out all obstacles regarding the hindrance in Balochistan's development, but in fact the social condition in the province is very much deteriorated. The terrorist attacks are engulfing the province. The clouds of poverty are visible in the social settings and basic issues like unemployment and inflation are prevailing everywhere but CM is looking very satisfied. His above given statement is indicating that he is addressing the multitude of the people to condemn the nefarious people in Balochistan, as well as in the world, who are working for the destruction of humanity. However on the other hand, CM is looking to provide strengthen the grass roots of diplomacy, because he is saying further that " the enemies of Pakistan do not want province and country to progress" because in Pakistan as well as in the Balochistan everyone knows that enemy does not want development in Pakistan. Furthermore his speech is indicating the typical elitist system of province that CM is not showing any glimpse of sympathy towards the

murderers, but indirectly he is belittling the poverty and helplessness of poor community in province. On the other hand CM is acknowledging the economic crises in the province which is leading factor towards the social instability and terrorism. CM also knows about the facts that in the province the issues like economic crises are serious in nature and their solution will be a challenging task. He is not only determined towards the solution of crises but also working in language for the pacification of the peoples as Gee (2014,p.2) has said that saying things works parallel with doing things and being things. So Zaharian discourse is not only saying about the deteriorated condition but also explaining that we will do against such activities and it is the provincial cabinet power to stop every intrigue against the development. Zaharian discourse is filled with the central government which is expressed also by the CM in the given discourse.

جنگلات کی غیر قانونی کٹائی کرنیوالے قومی مجرم ہیں معاف نہیں کرینگے

Source: Express Quetta Newspapers Headline Front Page Dated 22-10-2017
English Translation: The illegal cutters of forests are national criminals, will not forgive.

In the given discourse there is denotatum towards the illegal cutters of forests (them) and the use of pronoun "them" is the identification of others than Zaharian group. He totally excludes himself and his group with the use of pronoun "them" for the forest cutters .With the use of pronoun "them" nawab Zahari is trying to prove his group as honest and loyal whereas the opposition group is known to have crimes and theft. CM essentially condemns the greed and irresponsibility of those individuals who are involved in illegal activities and are the criminals in forests cutting because he is not only fully aware about the province financial crises but also visualizing the collective failure of the administrative system in province as it is confirmed from the above mentioned CM's statement given in the newspapers. He is also understanding that such incidents are common due to feudal corruption (Nawabism). He knows the reality that such criminals are prosecutable but simultaneously his helplessness in front of feudal system (Nawabism) is very clear because he says that "will not forgive".

CM's above given statement also indicates that province accountability mechanism is not standardrized, working improperly; and due to the unstable accountablity system such crimes are common in the province. These crimes are the sign of resistance in the provincial development and will deteriorate the economic and social condition there. The weak economy and dispersed social circumstances will bring into light low health and educational facilities. Secondly it is a well known fact that in the given majority, Balochis have dominated Balochistan's provincal government, controlling Governor/Chief Minister position for last 35 five years (Roll,M.2008,p.30-1).

Furthermore in Balochistan the tribal social structure is very much influenced and every tribe has his own ideology, so forest cutting is indicating rebel nature of the tribes and multiple ideological unity in the province. In Balochistan there are two main ethnic groups e.g. Baloch and pakhtoon. Nawab Zahari's discourse is adressing indirectly these two ethinic group but his language is very powerful. It is looking that there might be the discurivity and hidden agenda like politics etc because Fairclough,N.(2015,p.104) says that ideologies are embedded in the features of discourse. So in the Zaharian discourse it looks that there might be the power effects , which are having portraits of stereotyped ideological construction.

Source: Express Quetta Newspapers Headline Front Page Dated 15-5-2017
English Translation: The criminals of Gwadar episode will have to undergo the loss.

Nawab Zahari, in the given discourse, uses the pronoun "them" by saying "criminals of Gwadar episode" which determines the unknown entites. So in the Zaharian discourse it is ambiguous in this sense that entities are not recognized. It can be indication towards many people. Nawab Zahari might be controlling the minds of people and giving the power glimpses, showing the manipulated identities. Gaawar port is associated with the provincial, national and international benefits, but Mirza (2013,p.25) says about Balochistan that the survival of the Baloch tribal

leaders is associated in strong power maintenance over the poor and deprived population tribes and Baloch feudal knows that the development in tribal areas will weaken their influence in the area.

The clash between the provinces and backwardness is the main interest of feudalism there. Destiny of poor public is influenced by the feudals and the personal interest lies in traditional jealously and culture. In the above lines there is a reflection of internal scenarios of Balochistan regarding the tribal, social, economic and regional conditions in province. Instead of above given facts, Nawab Zahari is determined to take steps for the poor Baloch mankind victimized in terrorism attack. He advocates at the cruelties and sufferings due to terrorism at Gwadar port, which are engulfing the national as well provincial strategies in the promotion of seaport. In the Zaharian discourse there is also declaration of money for murdered and injured and in this sense Iqbal, Danish, Tahir (2014) have said that *big money as award is the best way to maintain their power and confidence among them.* So it is another access towards the use of power and control. Zaharian discourse is coercing all the sufferers in the Gwadar terrorism attack. CM, with the declaration of money, is trying to influence power over the whole labour in Balochistan. After such kind of statements by the CM, poor public of Balochistan is handicapped to think negatively about provincial government and CM is establishing such kind of relationship that the sufferers are understanding him as their own.

امن و امان کی بہتری کیلئے غیر معمولی
اقدامات کرنا ہونگے، نواب زہری

Source: Express Quetta Newspapers Headline Front Page Dated 10-11-2017

English Translation: For the improvement of law and order, extraordinary steps will have to be taken.

In the given discourse it is unknown and unclear that who will take the steps for law and order improvement. So Nawab Zahari is again using the vague type of language structure, which is giving the indication towards stereotyped ideological construction. Furtermore Nawab Zahari is using such kind of constructive words like "extraordinary, improvement and steps" that poor Baloch public may become positive in the interpretation. He also tries to develop very close relationships with Baloch public that CM is their real well-wisher. But the internal circumstances of the area are seen as it is said by Mirza (2013, p.26) that *there are numerous divided tribes and villages along the border with several frequented and unfrequented*

routes, thus facilitating illegal movement across the border. It has a negative impact on security situation of the province. In the opposite of the situation, CM utilizes hegemony and power in the discourse. He is looking determined towards the peace and stability in the given discourse. He is also ready and willing for taking the steps for empowerment of province and this is the best way to enjoy power, confidence and control among the public.

Source: Express Quetta Newspapers Headline Front Page Dated 15-05-2017

English Translation: Not fearing from the bomb blasts, will clean the terrorists. Fairclough, N. (1989, p.33) says that *the state is the key element in maintaining the dominance of the capitalist class, and controlling the working class.* Similarly in the given discourse Nawab Zahari is not only trying to use the language for the dominance of poor public, but also he is using the linguistic techniques to control the minds of people by saying will clean the terrorists. He further says freedom of our country and defense of autonomy is our collective responsibility. In the given statements, again Zahari is sharing the responsibility by the use of pronoun "our" and showing the unity of the nation and pronoun "our" again indicates that Nawab Zahari is indicating, by the use of "our", towards himself and his Muslim League and political group. Furthermore, in the given picture he is also trying to promote the Muslim League (N) ideology by distributing the laptops. In other words Zaharian discourse is promoting his politics, instead of focusing the national stability, autonomy and terrorism. He is using very powerful tool of the nation, "youth", to promote his political agenda by giving them laptops from national treasury.

Discussion and Results:

In the Zaharian discourses following stereotyped ideological constructions are very common in all selected statements:

a. There is a frequent use of pronoun "our", which initially indicates that there are many linguistics entities and Nawab Zahari is not alone. Then he

always looks determined towards sharing the responsibilities, which highlights ideological process in the discourse. It also conveys the power relations between the consumer of discourse and audiences of discourse are unequal. Nawab Zahari always uses future tense, which conveys that multiple biased ideological activities are working in the discourse, like power, hegemony, manipulation, veiled ideologies and stereotyped constructions.

b. He also intermingles the political agenda with the provincial stability and unity. In this sense he manipulates the poor public with stereotyped ideological process for hidden motives and makes fake promises for the survival of his power and nawabism.

c. Nawab Zahari tries to promote his ideologies by wrapping them in the agenda of pragmatism. Almost all the speeches state Zaharian discursive process, because power effects always hover over the discourse.

Conclusion:

In short, political discourse cannot be free from bias and ideology; and can be interpreted by using linguistic tools. Analysis of the paper describes that stereotyped ideological constructions are embedded in the Zaharian discourse, indicative of underlying conflict. The key ideological assumptions are fitted in the political slogans for the sake of peoples' satisfactions and nawabism growth. The discourse spreads in multiple directions, which fluctuates between hidden agenda of politics and feudalism. Finally, it is also discovered that there is representation of suppression in stereotyped ideological stance with veiled motives.

Limitations of the Study:

Our intentions in the papers are totally focused that how the language works. We just select the CM statements as presenter of whole province. Our concern is to promote the understanding of CDA instead of hurting Nawab Sana Ullah Zahari.

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