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**A Critical Discourse Analysis of the Representation of No-Confidence Movement 2022
in Ideologically- Loaded Headlines of Pakistani English Newspapers**

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Abstract



This study aims at exploring that how the issue of No-Confidence Movement has been presented by the newspapers in their headlines and what is their ideological stance behind the representation of this particular event. For this purpose headlines of two newspapers 'Dawn and the News International' on the coverage of No-Confidence Movement have been selected purposively from 24 March till the decision of Supreme Court, 6th April 2022. Van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach (2016) was adopted for the purpose of critical Discourse Analysis of the Headline. Opinion and emotion words, deictic expressions, tone, style, metaphors, ideological polarization and presuppositions were analyzed from the culled headlines to reveal the mental and contextual modals of the writers in the projection of ideological stance. The analysis revealed that the lexical choice, tone, style and use of metaphors of the author of 'The News International' built the negative image of the PTI government and it showed positive attitude towards the action and speeches of the opposition, it revealed the ideology of 'The News International' as against PTI government. On the other side the positive mental modal has been depicted by the authors of the 'Dawn' through their choice of words and the tone of style while depicting certain events and statements in the headlines. Hence, Dawn newspaper showed pro-PTI attitude throughout the coverage of the No-Confidence Movement.

Keywords: Critical Discourse Analysis, Ideological Representation, Mental & Contextual Modals No-Confidence Movement, PTI Government.

Introduction

The major concern for common masses has always remained the independence of electronic and print media in the developing countries (CIMA, 2007). Pakistan is also facing the same trend. Since the inception of the Pakistan in 1947, the media remain under the control of government. Certain factors like secret political affiliation, economic dependence and sometime fear of legal action always forced the print media to portray the reality from the perspective of government (Akhtar, 2000). However, in the contemporary world, a change in the relationship of print and government has been visible. Shoeb (2008) argues that 'journalistic integrity, media liberalization, commercial interests, and media globalization have deteriorated the media's typical reliance on the government' (p. 7). An analysis of media independency and government-media relation may create interesting findings for academics and researchers.

Due to increase significance of newspaper discourse, it has been analysed by various researchers from multiple perspectives around the world. Lihua (2009) stated that there is limited research on print media discourse in developing countries. Most of the work on CDS has been conducted in developed countries (Martin and White, 2003; van Dijk, 1991). Keeping in mind this context there is needed to analyse print media text through CDS in order to foreshadow their ideological stance.

Research Question

1. How are political events represented discursively by Pakistani English newspapers, ‘Dawn’ and ‘The News’ to propagate desired political ideologies?

Literature Review

Critical Discourse Analysis

Fairclough & Wodak (1997) consider language as a social practice. They further argued, discourse is language in action in society. Recounting discourse as a social practice infers a dialectical relationship between a specific discursive event and the institution(s), social structure(s), and situation(s), which frame it: the particular discursive event is moulded by them, but at the same time it also moulds them as well. That is the reason; discourse is socially conditioned and socially constitutive as well. Critical Discourse analysis is an examination of language to find out the in-depth meanings rooted in different layers of language. Furthermore, it can also disclose prejudices of reporter/monitoring ideological group to construct reality and maintain power in a preferred manner.

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is analytically involved in exploring ideological manipulation of language that consequence in social disparities (Wodak, 2014, p. 2). Language is ideological and aids to legitimize the power of the ruling and dominant class. The ideological construction of discourse, particularly newspaper headlines as a protuberant discursive genre, is particularly concerned with the power relations and inequalities that are envisioned to be legitimized. Researches on power distribution, discursively and political ideologies in discourse designate that every word conveys on an implicit implication and a concealed power, by which 'the action of constraining and controlling the roles of the powerless members in society takes place' (Ramanathan & Bee Hoon, 2015, p. 62). Explicitly, in news headlines, the manipulation of processes and participants may be ideologically noteworthy (Fairclough, 1989, p. 122).

Significance of Headlines

Newspapers’ headlines are the best source for the investment of ideological stance and considered as one of the most significant genres of newspapers since they can attract the attention of particular readership certainly to deliver them an outline of the social erection of the desired ideology in anticipated manner. Headlines have a vital role in orientating the public interpretation about a specific event. One projecting features of the newspapers’ headlines is ungrammaticality. They describe an event in the least possible words. Such as Abastado (1980, p.149) claims that “headlines encapsulate not only the content but the orientation.”

Herman, T., & Serafis, D. (2019) examined discursive demonstrations and emotive structures underprop an argumentative dynamic that arises from deceptively non-argumentative statements, particularly those found in newspaper headlines. Data was culled from Broadsheet newspaper of Greek on the coverage of polarized context of Greek crisis. The findings showed the representation of ideological stance and attitude in the choice of lexical item and the selection of strategies and linguistic devices. Similarly, Bonyadi and his fellow (2013) conducted a study on the headlines of newspapers editorials. The data was collected from the English Newspapers ‘The New York Times’ and the Persian Newspaper ‘Tehran Times’. Comparative textual and rhetorical analyses of the headlines of two newspapers editorials have been conducted to explore their ideological stance. Findings of the analysis revealed the subjective attitude of both newspapers’ writers towards the particular topic. However the findings revealed differences between headlines of two newspapers in terms of certain rhetorical devices and presupposition.

Ulum (2016) studies newspapers headlines on the coverage of Syrian refugees. It was a cross cultural study with the aim of investigating ideological stance of the newspapers through critical discourse analysis. He concluded both have depicted the issue according to their ideology as Turkish represented the hard conditions of refugees and European highlighted the high flow of tackling the refugees.

Seo, S. (2013) explored the discursive patterns in the news headlines of British Newspaper ‘The Guardian’ and the Chinese ‘The People’s Daily’ on the coverage of Battle for Tripoli 2011. Halliday’s Transitivity modal has been applied to explore the discourse pattern. Findings demonstrated the differences in the patterns of discursive choices of both newspapers’ headlines. The results highlighted the idea of positive self and negative other representations in terms of national positions of the two newspapers in the structure of global political power. Roohani & Esmaeili (2010)

have contrastively analyzed the headlines of two newspapers Iranian ‘Tehran Times’ and no- Iranian ‘The Times’ and found similar findings.

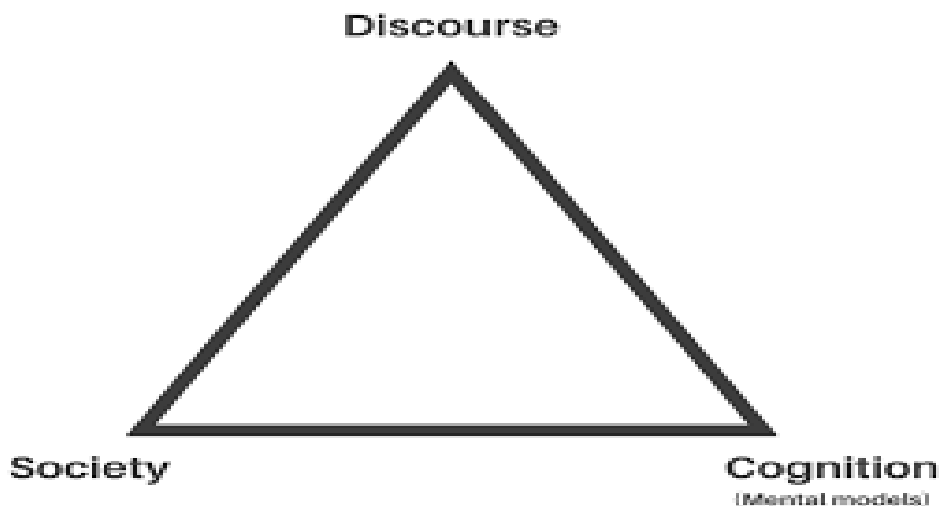
Abbas and his co-author (2019) studied the word choice in three Pakistani Newspaper’s headlines. In order to explore their ideological stance the researchers selected three newspapers: Dawn, The Nation and The News. Men and women different assigned roles and underpinned ideological stance were analysed by the application of Halliday;s transitivity modal. Results demonstrated that through the use of rhetorical devices and discursive lexical choices the newspapers authors aroused the attention and emotions according to their ideological stance. Sajid and his co-authors (2019) conducted a critical discourse analysis of the headlines of two newspapers ‘the Nation’ and ‘Dawn’. Van Dijk (2006) analytical modal of critical discourse analysis was employed. Four newspapers’ headlines from each newspaper have been selected to uncover their ideological stance. Findings revealed the same event has been depicted differently in both newspapers headlines according to their ideological stance to manipulate the public opinion and to represent people IN/OUT groups. Similarly, Abdi & Basarati (2016) have conducted critical discourse analysis of the newspapers headlines of Arab, Iran and the West. Data was collected from Al-sharq, Alwsat and Al-Jazeera from Arab; Iran Daily, Iran on-line and IRNA (Islamic republic news agency) from Iranian; Tehran Times, and finally Telegraph, New York Time and USA Today from among the Western newspapers. Norman Fairclough three dimensional modal was employed and findings revealed that Western and Arab newspapers represented Houthis as rebels; Iran represented West and Saudis as intruders. Hence, the each newspaper represented the Houthis according to their ideological stance differently.

Van Dijk Socio- Cognitive Approach

It has been presented by van Dijk (2009), it focuses on the relation between society and discourse and cognitively mediated. According to him what people write and say and the sociocultural context in which discourse is processes concerning ideologies, interpretation, knowledge have important role. From the perspective of discourse practice, this approach provides a key tool to analyse that how text production and consumption are interlink to the understanding and interpretation of discourse and hence, to cognitive process as well. It actually tries to find out through analysis the cognitive link between discourse and society. This idea of Van Dijk provides methodological grounding for discourse structures and also indicates how power is exercised through discourse in the society (Dijk, 2009). Van Dijk (2009) envisions a triangular frame for the analysis of language use that includes cognition, discourse, and society.

This three steps framework studies the following dimensions of the discourse:

- a. The structures and discursive components of a text by analysing semantic features, grammar and lexical choices.
- b. The ways in which discursive components and structures are comprehended and interpreted in terms of socially shared ideologies, knowledge and how these influence the mental modals of language users.
- c. How this discourses and the fundamental cognition behind this discourses are politically and socially practical in the construction of power and inequalities (van Dijk, 2009).



The major notion of this triangle is the mental modals and the context models:

Mental Modals: it is the subjective representation of any observation or participation in any event by the writer of speaker by using his episodic memory. Therefore, every writer and speaker has his/her own mental modal about any event or situation (van Dijk, 2016).

Context Modals: these are a particular type of mental models that exemplify the continuing communicative situation or event in which language users are engaged, they are subjective depictions, and they control how discourse is adapted or processed according to the social setting (van Dijk, 2009). The readers and writers construct context models about the communicative context in which they are engaged (Dijk, 2016). This kind of mental model reveals how it is not some type of objective social fact that controls how we write or talk, but instead our individual way of interpreting or constructing this social fact (van Dijk, 2008).

Background of the No- Confidence Movement

Pakistani opposition representatives have started a no-confidence motion against PM Imran Khan in parliament, hoping to oust Khan’s government amongst accusations he had mishandled the nation’s economy. In response to this PM dissolve the assemblies. The Prime Minister Imran Khan’s choice to dissolve the NA resulted into a constitutional political crisis in Pakistan since the combined opposition parties had submitted an appeal to the speaker of NA for a Vote of No Confidence against the PM ant it was not permitted by the Speaker. The opposition parties had been condemning Imran Khan for mismanagement of the economy, on the other side Imran Khan indicted the opposition of playing in the foreign hand particularly USA by trying to oust his government. This created a political rift in the country. When Imran Khan dissolved the National Assembly, the opposition requested to the Supreme Court to take a decision according to the law. The Supreme Court revised the petition, and within a few days passed its judgment that the dissolution of the Assembly was unconstitutional, and that the speaker should convene the Assembly’s session for the no-confidence vote. During the no-confidence session in the Assembly, the opposition voted against Imran Khan, while the PTI members submitted their resignations to the National Assembly Speaker"

Material and Method

The nature of this study was qualitative. It was a comparative critical discourse analysis of the two English Newspapers ‘Dawn’ and ‘The News International’ of Pakistan. The newspapers were selected by employing purposive sampling technique, which is often used in qualitative research (Morgan, 2014). The analysis was conducted to find out the ideologies of the newspapers in the context of No-Confidence Movement in Pakistan 2022. For the purpose of analysis, the headlines of the selected newspapers were collected online from the archive of newspaper’s websites. For the selection of headlines, the topic of No-Confidence Movement was selected. Hence, the newspapers headlines from 24 March, 2022 till 6th April, 2022 were selected for the purpose of analysis. Van Dijk Socio – Cognitive Approach (2016) was adopted for the Critical Discourse Analysis of this study. This approach has been adopted to investigate the ideological associations and the socio-cognitive perspective of the authors of these newspapers. This approach believes in discovering those social, political and cultural structures that can help people to understand the reality (Lakoff, 2007). It also focuses on the ways in which discourse is used to perceive and actualize power and ideology in a society (Martin and White, 2005).

In order to reveal the ideological stance of the newspapers while representing the No-Confidence Movement the socio- cognitive mental modal and context modal of the writer through the choice of lexical item, metaphor, presupposition, evidentially have been analysed. In order to truly understand the ideology of the newspapers, the attitude of the writers while stating any headline and polarization between US (in-group) and Them (out-group) have been analysed.

Theoretical Framework

The following features of Socio-cognitive approach (Van Dijk, 2016) have been identified from the collected data for the purpose of analysis:

Table 1. Theoretical Framework

	Linguistic Features	Examples	Interpretation
1	Meanings	Confident Imran	shows positive mental model
2	Opinion and emotion words	I think etc	mental models
3	Deictic or indexical expressions	This, Now etc	context model
4	Evidentials	I saw, heard, read	context models

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5	Metaphors	“All eyes on Supreme Court”	mental models of experience
6	Ideological polarization US vs Them	“We are here to protect the country but they just did corruption.”	personal mental models of specific events
7	Presuppositions and implications	Vote, not umpire’s finger, will decide	Mental Model

Analysis

Table2. Headlines from ‘The News’ International (24 March- 6th April, 2022)

1	“Won’t resign, will spring a surprise: PM Imran Khan” (The News, 2022-03-24).
2	“Vote, not umpire’s finger, will decide: Bilawal” (The News, 2022-03-24).
3	“Crucial NA session today The News” (The News, 2022-03-25).
4	“It’s categorical, Imran Khan won’t malign institutions” (The News 2022-03-26).
5	“People will come out only to oust PM Imran: Maryam Nawaz” (The News, 2022-03-26).
6	“Imran Khan done with polishing; now licking boots” (The News, 2022-03-27).
7	“Type of plot that Bhutto faced being hatched: PM” (The News, 2022-03-28).
8	“Imran loses majority as MQMP strikes deal with opposition” (The News, 2022-03-30)
9	“Beginning of the end for Imran’s govt” (The News, 2022-03-31)
10	“End game : no way out” (The News, 2022-04-1).
11	“PM has been clean bowled, but he is crying on pitch instead to leaving the ground” (The News, 2022-04-2).
12	“Final countdown for PTI govt” (The News, 2022-04-3).
13	“All eyes on SC as country plunge into constitutional crisis” (The News, 2022-04-4).
14	“Decision after hearing all parties: SC” (The News, 2022-04-5).
15	“No evidence of Conspiracy against Imran govt” (The News, 2022-04-6).

Analysis of the Headlines of ‘The News’

In the first given headline of the front page, the PM Imran Khan has been shown as social actor and his claim has been mentioned that he would not resign from his designation of Prime Minister of Pakistan rather he will ‘spring a surprise’. This **Metaphor** (*spring a surprise*) has been used to show the negative **Mental modal** of the writer towards the Prime Minister Imran Khan, that he would definitely play another game to protect his designation. In another excerpt, Bilawal Bhutto is major social actor who is claiming against PM Imran Khan by calling him Umpire that he would not decide about the future of Pakistan rather voting would decide. The use of **Metaphor** ‘*Umpire’s fingers*’ represents negative **Mental Modal** towards Imran Khan by putting him into Them (outer group) in the context of No-trust movement. Since the opposition is demanding vote for the future decision of the country. Furthermore, the use of Metaphor ‘*not umpire’s finger, will decide*’ also **presupposes** that already decisions have been taken and everything is being done by the will of Prime Minister Imran Khan. In the third headline the **Hyperbole** ‘crucial’ has been used for National Assembly’s session that it is going to be held on 25th March, 2022. Due to the severity of issue the exaggeration has been done from the side of the author just to create a sense of sensitivity for the scenario. Here, in fourth headline, the author is giving the point of view of PM Imran Khan that it’s definite he wouldn’t malign institutions. It is actually creating a positive image of Imran Khan and showing the neutral ideology of the newspaper towards the current scenario of No-trust motion. Institutions here referring to National Assembly and Supreme Court of Pakistan. Hence the Metonymy of institution has been used to indicate high institutions of Pakistan. The use of categorical **presupposes** that Imran Khan has not maligned the institutions in the past as well. In fifth headline, the major social actor is Maryam Nawaz, who is categorically threatening to PM Imran Khan that he will be overthrown by the people. Here, the **hyperbole** ‘people’ has been used to exaggerate and to represent as all people are against Imran Khan. Again in this headline the negative **Mental Modal** has been presented against Imran Khan from the side of speaker and author as well. It is also representing the polarization between **US and Them** that people are **In-group** with Maryam Nawaz and Imran Khan is from **Out-group**. In headline no 6, The **social actor** is Imran Khan in this headline who has been portrayed with negative **Mental Modal**. ‘*Done*’ and ‘*now*’ has been used to indicate **Two times**. ‘*Done*’ represents past time and ‘*now*’ represents the current time. At the same time ‘*noe*’ is also a temporal deictic that represents the **context model**. **Metaphor** ‘*polishing, now licking boots*’ indicates **negative image** of the Imran Khan that he did service of the army earlier for getting this designation. The use of **Temporal deictic expression** ‘*now*’ represents that currently he is requesting with more degradation to the establishment for saving his designation. The language user represents the current situation of

Imran Khan in negative way. The headline no 7 reminds back the time of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto when he performed such daring tasks of calling OIC conference in Pakistan and spoke confidently in UNO assembly and in response to such actions the US hatched a plot against him and sentenced him to death. Imran Khan is **social actor** here, who is describing his scenario in the context of no-confidence movement. The PM has used intertextuality to represent the current situation by referring back to the plot constructed against the Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto. This allusion of Bhutto represents that the same plot has been constructed against Imran Khan to overthrow his government. On the other side it seems a **metaphorical** statement as well, since Imran Khan has been compared with Bhutto here on the basis of circumstances. This headline also **presupposes** that whatever is going on currently, Imran Khan is not guilty man rather innocent in this issue and all others are only plotting against him. Overall, Imran Khan has been positively presented in this headline. The choice of words reveals the positive **mental model** of the author by stating this statement of Imran Khan.

Again in headline 8, Imran Khan has been shown **Major Social actor** here, as after the announcement of MQM joined opposition the number of opposition seats became 175, remaining less numbers of seats of PTI. Here, the choice of words in conveying the message has negative connotation hence, the negative **Mental modal** of the author is represented against Imran Khan. In headline 9, metaphorically negative **mental modal** of the author has been depicted by telling about alignment of all opposition parties. When combined opposition parties demonstrated 199 parliamentarians. Beginning of the end also **Presupposes** that prior to that it was not sure that his government is going to end so here is the start of the end of this government. It has negative connotation and shows the polarization between US and Them. In headline 9 the use of **Metaphor** 'End game' represents the end of PTI government. Again it has negative connotation towards the PTI government. In the second part author says there is no way of salvation for the PTI government. The whole sentence represents the negative **mental modal** of the author regarding PTI government. In headline 10, PM is the major actor, whose failure has been **presupposed** even before the decision of the Supreme Court. Hence, the use of **Metaphor** 'Clean Bowled' represents his defeat and the ideology of the newspaper author in the current scenario. Another **Metaphor** 'he is crying on the pitch' represents his pity condition as he is weeping publically on his defeat. In the last part of the sentence 'instead to leaving the ground' indicates as he is not willing to leave his designation or he is not willing to accept his defeat. The complete headline depicts the negative **mental modal** of the author towards Imran Khan. The headline no. 11 represents the use of **Metaphor** 'countdown' that indicates the wait for final decision of Supreme Court about PTI govt. In the 12th headline the first **Metaphor** 'all eyes' represents the whole masses/ all parties of Pakistan or the world are on the decision of Supreme Court. The second **Metaphor** 'Country plunges into constitutional crisis' shows that due to the decision taken by Imran Khan as he violated the constitution's Article 6, so now the country has been entered into a difficult situation. In the final headline on the day of decision of Supreme Court, the author's negative **mental modal** represents as he says that now PPP will celebrate the defeat of PTI government. The term selected has been used to refer the Imran Khan which has negative connotation so; it represents negative **Mental Modal** of the writer towards PTI government. The tone, style and choice of words in the last two headlines indicate whatever the decision taken by SC was correct. It also presupposes that Imran Khan was guilty. Hence it depicts negative Mental Model of the author towards Imran Khan.

Table3. Headlines from Dawn Newspaper (24 March- 6th April, 2022)

1	"Confident Imran says 'will have last laugh'" (Dawn, 2022-03-24).
2	"No – trust on agenda as 'fateful' NA sitting begins" (Dawn, 2022-03-25).
3	"Pardoning graft cases would be treachery, says PM Imran Continu-ing his onslaught on rivals who seem determined to kick him out of power through a no-trust vote, Prime Minister Imran Khan on Friday said if he pardoned the former rulers in the cases of kickbacks and bribery they were facing, it would be tantamount to treachery" (Dawn, 2022-03-26).
4	"Nerves on edge as capital braces for showdown" (Dawn, 2022-03-27).
5	"PM unveils 'foreign plot' against his govt" (Dawn, 2022-03-28).
6	"With first wicket down, PDM vows to oust PM" (Dawn, 2022-03-29).
7	"PM can only show 'threat letter' to CJP: minister" (Dawn, 2022-03-30).
8	"Key ally's exit leaves Imran without majority" (Dawn, 2022-03-31).
9	"Vote on PM's fate must wait till Sunday" (Dawn, 2022-04-1).
10	"Possibility of showdown on Sunday worries opposition" (Dawn, 2022-04-2).
11	"Imran 'trying to trigger civil war', says opposition" (Dawn, 2022-04-3).

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- 12 “Assembly dissolved, crisis triggered; only beleaguered Imran Khan remains PM” (Dawn, 2022-04-4).
 13 “SC warns against ‘taking undue advantage’ of turmoil” (Dawn, 2022-04-4).
 14 “SC ruling on deputy speaker’s action likely today” (Dawn, 2022-04-5).
 15 “Russia condemns US ‘attempt to punish Imran’” (Dawn, 2022-04-6).
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Analysis of the Headlines of ‘Dawn’ Newspaper

In the first headline the writer is trying to convey the power of Imran Khan regarding No- confidence Movement, he still has the ability to overcome this situation by taking action that will be proved a final laugh from the side of Imran Khan in the form of victory. The use of **Adjective** ‘*confident*’ for Imran Khan showing the positive **Mental modal** of the writer towards Imran Khan and the use of **Metaphor** ‘*last laugh*’ represents the final victory of the Imran Khan. It **presupposes** that now Imran Khan is quiet and waiting for his time to play his card for getting final victory. In the second headline the initiation of National Assembly has been represented in a neutral and positive mental modal as compare to the coverage of ‘The News’. The use of the term ‘*fateful*’ represents the very positive mental model of the writer that nothing is clear about the fate of government and the opposition. In the 3rd headline the statement of the Imran Khan has been given about the undergoing cases against opposition. Here Imran Khan states that pardoning such cases would be betrayal of trust. While expressing the point of view/ **Opinion** of the Imran Khan the writer explained in very positive way the situation of Imran Khan by stating that instead of the opposition attacks on the power of Imran Khan in the wake of no-trust vote, he is determined to continue his efforts to stand against the rulers who did bribery. It represents positive **Attitude** of the writer. The choice of words like *onslaught*, *treachery*, *pardoned* and *kickbacks* represents what is going on in the mind of writer in the wake of current scenario. The use of **Metaphor** ‘*onslaught*’ represents that opposition is trying to attack Imran Khan’s authority. This word has negative connotation towards opposition and positive attitude towards Imran government. Another **Metaphor** ‘*to kick him out of Power*’ also has negative connotation, it represents the negative intentions of the opposition as they are trying to over through the power of Imran Khan through No – trust Movement. Overall the headline shows the underlying ideology of the newspaper to depict the actual situation where Imran Khan has been shown in **In Group** and opposition party as **Out-Group**. It represents the positive Mental Model of the writer towards Imran Khan. In headline 4 the phrase ‘*nerves on edge*’ has been used for the opposition as opposition now the people are out to show solidarity with Imran Khan and they have reached Capital. Here, writer wants to show the nervousness of the opposition parties, as capital braces for showdown. The overall use of term ‘*showdown*’ and other lexical choices have been used **evidentially** for the power of the Imran Khan. Here, writer tried to present the Context Model by looking towards the current scenario. Overall through the tone and style writer wants to represent negative **mental modal** towards opposition and positive **mental modal** towards Imran Khan. In headline no 5; the writer represents Imran Khan as major **Social actor** who has unveiled the ‘*foreign plot*’ against his government. The use of **Metaphor** ‘*unveiled*’ represents hidden plan and the other **Metaphor** ‘*foreign plot*’ shows as it was hatched by the America. Overall **tone** and **style** of the headline shows announcement from the writer in a positive way to depict the plot against the PTI government. It shows positive attitude of the writer towards Imran government. When PTI conducted a large public meeting in the federal Capital to show his power to opposition, in response to this the next day the show of power was conducted by the Pakistan Democratic Movement (PDM). The headline 6 depicts this scenario. The headline starts with ‘*with first wicket down*’ which is a **Metaphor** that represents the fall of Punjab Chief Minister Usman Buzdar. The next part states that PDM pledges to overthrow the power of Prime Minister. Here, the negative intention of the opposition has been represented against Imran government, showing positive **mental model** of the writer towards PM. Overall the **Tone and Style** and **Lexical choice** indicates a kind of threat from the opposition for Imran Khan. in response to the declaration by Imran Khan that he has a letter that unveiled the foreign conspiracy against his government, in headline no 7, the statement of the Minister has been given that PM can only show the ‘*threat letter*’ to CJP. The use of the term ‘*show*’ indicates **evidentially** which shows the context Model. The **tone** indicates as he cannot do anything only by showing the letter. Headline 8 tells that major members of Imran Khan party left him and in this way he lost majority in the National Assembly. The choice of words indicates the neutral **Ideology** of the author without showing negativity towards any party. The next headline number 9 shows that vote will decide about the designation of PM. The use of the term ‘PM’s fate’ is a **Hyperbole** that represents that the destiny of PM will be decided on Sunday. The use of ‘will’ represents the future tense. It also **Presupposes** that

it has not decided yet about Imran Khan whether he will remain PM or not. Overall the neutral context model has been presented by the writer in this headline. In headline no 10; writer indicates the worries of the opposition on the day of no-trust voting. Since many members of PTI aligned with the opposition hence, opposition is fearful about any final contest on that day. The choice of words like, showdown, worries again depict **Context Model** by the writer. In next headline the point of view of the opposition has been given that Imran Khan is trying to create Civil War. A direct statement of the opposition has been depicted by the writer with the context modal. In the last two headlines the positive mental modal of the writer has been depicted when he used the term 'beleaguered' for Imran Khan similarly in the last headline the order of the SC has been announced with context modal. Headline no 14 states that decision by the SC will be taken against speaker's action in a neutral way without indicting any final decision. The last headline shows Imran as innocent as Russia condemned US attempt to oust the government of Imran Khan. The **Choice of Lexical items** and the tone indicate positive mental modal of the writer intertwined with the **Ideology** of newspaper in contrast to the headline of the News on the same day which declares Imran as guilty and no conspiracy against its government indicates anti-government **Ideology** of The News.

Discussion

The purpose of this particular study was to explore that how political events are represented discursively by Pakistani English newspapers, 'Dawn' and 'The News International' to propagate desired political ideologies. The event of No- Confidence movement was selected for the purpose of collecting data from the selected newspapers. The headlines of 'Dawn' and 'The News International', from 24 March till the decision of Supreme Court, 6th April 2022, were analysed. The analysis showed that both of the newspapers projected the event to construct their own ideologies, as concluded by Herman, T., & Serafis, D. (2019). The lexical choice of The News International, constructed the negative image of the PTI government and on the other side Dawn constructed positive image of PTI government by the choice of vocabulary. As Fowler (1991) argued that lexical choice in a newspaper not only represents an experience but it also distinguishes between different ideas or views about that experience. Both the newspapers employed the metaphor while describing the situations and statements of the parties for the purpose of constructing their defined ideologies. Dawn constructed positive image of the PTI government and the News International projected other parties' actions positively and the actions of PTI negatively, proved as an example of 'the discursive manipulation of reality by different social actors' (Carvalho, 2013, p. 21). Similar findings were given by Ulum (2016), who concluded that newspapers headlines represent the issue according to their defined ideologies. Furthermore, the tone and style of the writing of both newspapers depicted their ideologies which endorses Locke's (2004) claim that 'people construct discourse to accomplish a desired result with a specific audience' (p. 20). Findings of Seo, S. (2013) also supports the idea that newspapers headlines project positive self and negative other representation. In the same way the analysis of this study supported that Dawn and The News revealed out-group and in-group representations according to their desired stance while depicting the issue of No-Confidence movement. Hyperbole, presupposition have been employed by the writer to depict their mental modals towards the issue and the projection of social actors according to their defined ideologies. This also illustrates how 'language mediates ideology in a variety of social institutions' (Wodak, 2014, p. 10). Abdi & Basarati (2016) and Abbas and his co-author (2019) also concluded that in headlines of newspapers, the choice of vocabulary and the representation of social actors is done according to the ideological stance of the writer or in other sense the newspapers' policy.

Conclusion

The purpose of this study was to explore how the issue of No-Confidence Movement has been presented by the newspapers in their headlines and what are their hidden ideologies behind the representation of this event. For this purpose headlines of two newspapers 'Dawn and the News International' on the coverage of No-Confidence Movement have been selected purposively from 24 March till the decision of Supreme Court, 6th April 2022. For the purpose of critical Discourse Analysis of the Headline the Van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach (2016) has been adopted. The analysis revealed that the lexical choice of the author of the News built the negative image of the PTI government and it showed positive attitude towards the action and speeches of the opposition, it revealed the ideology of The News International as anti- government. On the other side the positive mental modal has been depicted by the authors of the Dawn through their choice of words and the

tone of style while depicting certain events and statements. Hence, Dawn newspaper showed pro-government attitude throughout the coverage of the No-Confidence Movement.

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Newspapers' link

<https://www.dawn.com/newspaper>

<https://www.thenews.com.pk/todaypaper-archive>