

MARGINALYSING THE MARGINALIZED: BORROWING OF THE CPEC DISCOURSE BY POLITICAL AGENTS FROM POLITICAL ELITE

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Abstract

This study aims to explore the: use of linguistic features; political discourse borrowing by media agents; and representation of the marginalized (i.e. Baluchistan, KPK, and Sindh provinces) in media and political discourse. In this regard, the content of three programs of a TV talk show (Report Card), and three political speeches (by Muhammad Nawaz Sharif, an ex. Prime Minister of Pakistan) about China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) have been analyzed by applying a critical discourse analysis (CDA) models. Results reveal: the skillful use of linguistic features (e.g. modality, personal pronouns, repetition, self and other markers etc.); discourse borrowing by media agents from political elite; and the marginalization of the already marginalized. The study concludes that: linguistic manipulation is central to political and media discourses; power, ideologies and context play significant roles in the selection of linguistic devices; and media agents borrow ideologies from the political elite to win public sympathies and shape socio-cultural practices through discursive strategies.

Keywords: critical discourse analysis; discourse borrowing; marginalization; media discourse; political discourse

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1. Introduction

Language is the key source of communication that is structured in different patterns. Critical discourse analysis grabs those patterns and investigates them critically “to get more insight into the crucial role of discourse in the reproduction of dominance and inequality” (Van Dijk, 1993, p. 253). There is not always a plain story behind any talk show. The political media agents in talk shows put themselves in the shoes of political leaders and propagate their ideologies to influence the audience. In Pakistan, political discourse is the domain of power. Political elite class ideologies are shown in media discourse and media agents take a privilege and reflection from them. Critical discourse analysis is concerned with studying and analyzing written and spoken texts to reveal the discursive source of power, dominance, inequality and bias (Van Dijk, 1997).

1.1 Discourse

Discourse refers to the use of language in communication by forming structures and conveying meanings (Holtzhausen, 2000). It is an institutionally consolidated concept of speech that consolidates as well as determines the action and exercises power (Link, 1983). Discourse has certain characteristics i.e. it: exercises power; is a regulating body and forms consciousness; structures as well as shapes societies; determines reality; is super-individual and is knitted by everybody in the society (Jaèger, 2009). Discourse, in simple words, is a language in use. It can be spoken, written, or even semiotic. It provides a place where language and ideology meet and discourse analysis (DA) is the analysis of the ideological dimensions of language use, and materialization in language of ideology (Zienkowski, Östman & Verschueren, 2011). Foucault (1989) views discourse as: (a) the general domain to all statements; and (b) an individualizable group of statements. Jaèger (2009) sees discourse as a regulating body that: forms consciousness; helps exercise power; creates such conditions as form subjects and produce, structure and shape societies; and determines reality.

1.2 Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) considers the discourse as actual language in use and language as a social practice (Fairclough, Mulderrig & Wodak, 1997). CDA defines the relationship between language and power. It finds the larger discursive units of the text i.e. the

basic unit of communication. In addition, CDA considers institutional, political, gender, and media discourses and is concerned with analyzing structural-relationships of dominance, discrimination, power, and control as manifested in language. In this regard CDA takes certain insights into account i.e. every discourse: is historically produced and interpreted; is situated in time and space; is structured by dominance; and legitimizes dominant structures by the ideologies of the powerful groups.

According to Wodak (2009), CDA is not a single method but an approach with different levels i.e. pragmatic level, social level, and historical level. Each level has to make a number of selections. The intelligible methods of CDA make the analysis scientific. It derives such results as are of practical relevance. CDA is different from other sociolinguistic approaches. The reason is that it deals with different nature of problems. That is why; CDA-based studies are also called problem-based studies. CDA approaches the problems critically to highlight and expose social discrimination as well as power relations. In addition, CDA explores the relationship between power and language. Actually, CDA assumes that all the discourses are historical and can be understood with reference to their context. CDA focuses mainly on the linguistic analysis. However, some extra-linguistic factors e.g. culture, society, and ideology also fall in its domain.

Data collection methods of CDA are similar to that of grounded theory. Data is collected in the form of texts from TV media, print media, mass media, social media, press reporters, scene surveys, media content surveys etc. Wodak (2009) has presented different types of analyses involved in CDA e.g.: analysis of linguistic markers; stress and intonation; word order; lexical style; coherence; local semantic moves such as disclaimers; topic choice; speech acts; schematic organization; rhetorical figures; syntactic structures; propositional structures; turn takings; repairs; and hesitation. In addition, CDA involves certain steps for analysis i.e.: (1) analysis of semantic macrostructures e.g. topics and macro-propositions; (2) analysis of local meanings e.g. implications, presuppositions, allusions, vagueness, omissions; (3) analysis of subtle formal structures---here most of the linguistic markers mentioned are analyzed; (4) analysis of global and local discourse forms or formats; and (5) analysis of specific linguistic realizations e.g. hyperbolas, litotes; and analysis of the context.

1.3 Media Discourse

Media discourse refers to the interactions that take place through a broadcast platform, whether spoken or written, in which the discourse is oriented to a non-present reader, listener or viewer (O'Keefe, 2011). Though the non-present reader, viewer or listener/audience cannot respond instantaneously to the production and producers of the discourses, this practice is getting changed now. Media is not like casual speaking or writing. It is neither off the record nor a private one. Obviously, discourse is very crucial to get investigated, described and understood. However, it is very tricky to understand the literal and ideological interpretations of media discourse. Media discourse, being public, is the focus of interest of many conversation analysts. As media discourse is always on record, it becomes attractive for CDA analysts because of its availability in the form of newspapers, radio and television shows.

In media literacy, Silverblatt and Eliceiri (1997) opine that the analysis of media discourse refers to critical and analytical methods of analyzing the message and ideology behind any media presentation. Common elements, involved in media discourse analysis, are: context of the proposition; thematic distribution; characterization; structure of action; social typing; rating (failure/success) of character types; source i.e. verbal and nonverbal cues, age, gender, income and similar factors have an impact on the construction of the message as well as on the ways in which the message is interpreted; contextual i.e. the situated nature of interaction consists of those surrounding elements that shape meaning; message i.e. features in the text that contribute to one's interpretation of the information; and receiver features i.e. the role of the audience in the construction of meaning.

1.4 Analysis of TV Media

Conversation analysis (CA) is becoming an attractive methodology for the analysts in the studies of spoken media discourse i.e. television and radio. As Keefe (2011) states that CA takes a 'bottom-up' approach to the study of social organization of conversation, or 'talk-in-interaction', by the means of a detailed inspection of recordings and transcriptions (ten Have, 1986). Therefore, it focuses on the structures of conversations and their organization turn by turn. The goal of CDA is social interaction rather than language. The field finds the possibility of descriptions of how participants orient themselves towards their mutual goals and negotiate their way in specific

situations. In the area of media discourse quite a substantial amount of CA has been centered on interviews, TV news, radio shows and talk shows.

1.5 Political Discourse

Political discourse (PD) is a sub-category of discourse in general. It consists of various political talks. Van Dijk (2001) opines that the PD is identified by its actors or authors i.e. politicians. Van Dijk (2001) considers PD, its actors and authors as misguided because politicians are not the only actors in political domains as once we locate politics and its discourses in the public sphere, many more participants in political communication appear on the stage. 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 (Van Dijk, 2001). Haas, Christensen and Haas (2015) state that political analysis means a focus on the political meanings, implications, and messages that a film contains because politics itself is an ambiguous word and practice, to understand its practices, ideologies and deeper meaning is really a difficult task.

1.6 Models for Critical Discourse Analysis

Fairclough's (1995) model (see figure 1) and Huckin, Andrus and Clary-Lemon (2012) analytical framework have been employed for this study. Fairclough's (1995) analytical framework includes three levels of analysis i.e. the text, the discursive practice, and socio-cultural practice. Each of these discursive events has three proportions: (i) it is a written or spoken text, (ii) it is an instance of discourse practice involving the production and interpretation of texts, and (iii) it is a part of social practice.

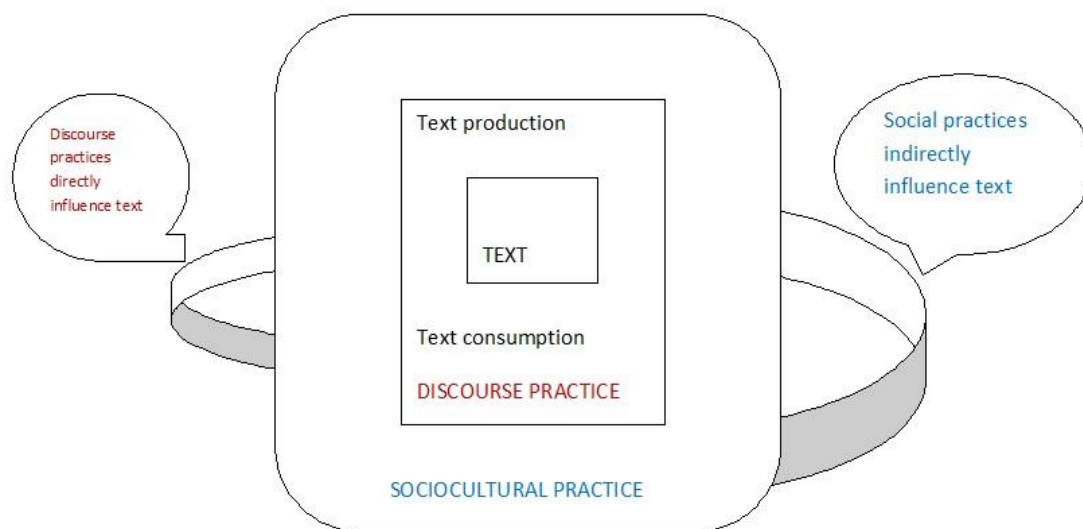


Fig. 1 CDA Framework

At first step, the text is analyzed to explore different linguistic structures produced in a particular discursive event focusing on the analysis of linguistic markers e.g. stress and intonation; word order; lexical style; coherence; local semantic moves such as disclaimers; topic choice; speech acts; schematic organization; rhetorical figures; syntactic structures; propositional structures; turn takings; repairs and hesitation etc. Similarly, Fairclough's (1995) second dimension i.e. discursive practice involves an analysis of the process of text production, interpretation, and consumption. This study will analyze the discursive reproduction of the texts. This dimension is concerned with how people interpret and reproduce or transform texts. Finally, the third dimension (i.e. socio-cultural practice) has a concern with power issues. Socio-cultural analysis of the discourse consists of an investigation of what is happening in a particular socio-cultural framework. Analysis of this dimension includes exploration of the ways in which discourses operate in various domains of society and the result of the combination of second and third dimension is text that is the first one here.

In fact, CDA for Fairclough (1995) is concerned with the investigation of the relation between two assumptions about language use i.e. language use is both socially shaped and socially shaping. He bases this idea on Halliday's (1994) systemic functional linguistics (SFL). Other CDA analysts (e.g. Wodak (2009), Huckins Andrus & Clary-Lemon, 2012) also include linguistic analysis. Fairclough (1995), through the notion of multi-functionality of language in texts,

operationalizes the theoretical assumption that texts and discourses are socially constitutive i.e. language use is always simultaneously constitutive of (i) social identities, (ii) social relations and (iii) systems of knowledge and beliefs.

PD shows the practice of power. Language plays a very important role in order to put certain political, economic, and social ideas into practice to show power. Every political action is accompanied, prepared, influenced and played by language. Politicians use this tool (language) to shape the political ideas aiming at the sale of their ideas through media and their media agents. The main purpose of political leaders is to influence and persuade their audience to accept their claims and shape their beliefs and behaviours according to their ideology. They try to convince them to reject other political ideologies and hold on to their own. The political speech is actually a struggle for power or control/maintenance of it. Language, in most of the political speeches, could be seen not only as an instrument of persuasion but also an embodiment of ideologies; a tool for controlling powers rather than a tool for acquiring powers. Thus, this research aims to critically analyze the discourse of Muhammad Nawaz Sharif (hereafter Mr. Nawaz) on CPEC to uncover his ideologies underlying the discourse and unveil his plans and strategies of sustaining power.

A number of researches have been conducted in the area of CDA on media and politics around the world. CDA of media shows and political speeches are attracting the attention of not only conversational analysts but also of discourse analysts too. A number of theories have been followed and developed on the basis of previous researches. These researches on talk shows and political speeches are not only quantitative but also qualitative in nature. Therefore, a number of corpus based CDA researches are scientific in nature. There is an exhausted list of CDA researches on different discourses as well as on media and PD. For example, Bilal, Ahsan, Gohar, Younis and Awan (2012) have critically analyzed the discourse of a political TV talk show ‘Aaj Kamran Khan Kay Sath’ on a Pakistani media channel. They applied Van Dijk’s model (2001) to analyze different aspects of the show and to argue in the favour of their standpoint. Islam (2017) has also critically explored different aspects of talk in a political TV talk show in Bangladesh. Results of these researchers have proved that there is always a deep structure underlying in the talk of political leaders and their media agents. Similar practice is the focus of this study with aims to explore the PD of Mr. Nawaz (former Pakistani prime minister) on China–Pakistan Economic Corridor

(CPEC) and of the media agents who serve as the mouthpieces of political elite to perceive how they influence their ideology on audience. Focus questions of this research include:

- Which linguistic features are used by the political elite to promote CPEC debate?
- Do the political agents in media borrow the ideology about CPEC from political elite?
- Are the marginalized (i.e. Balochistan, KPK, and Sindh provinces) represented in the discourse of political elite and political agents?

2. Research Methodology

As the aim of this research is to explore the textual features of political and media discourses, the quantitative as well as the qualitative results have been relied upon in determining the specific features. Therefore, there is a blend of critical, explorative and analytic styles in this research. Certain features of the speeches on CPEC are explored and critically analyzed that have not so far been explored in any previous research. It is also an applied research in a sense that it is the application of the theories and models of CDA to find out the features of particular discourses. Data have been collected from three speeches of Muhammad Nawaz Shrief (Ex. Pakistani Prime Minister) about CPEC on different occasions. Mr. Nawaz is one of the renowned names in Pakistan. He is the president of a political party i.e. Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz (PMLN). Mr. Nawaz is the only person who has been elected as the prime minister of Pakistan three times. He started many projects during his period. CPEC is one of them. CPEC is the name of infrastructure projects and special economic zones in Pakistan which are expected to ensure economic growth, numerous energy projects and modern transportation networks spending \$62 billion. The details about three speeches are listed below as D1 (speech 1), D2 (speech 2), and D3 (speech 3).

- **D1:** Mr. Nawaz's speech at Gwadar Port "CPEC gets Operationalized" delivered on March 16, 2017.
- **D2:** Mr. Nawaz's speech at Gwadar, Balochistan delivered on November 13, 2016.
- **D3:** Mr. Nawaz's speech on "CPEC as a Game Changer for Pakistan" at Sahiwal on May 25, 2017.

In addition, three programs of a talk show “Report Card” have been considered to see the political discourse borrowing by media agents. Report Card is a talk show that airs live on a private news channel Geo News. It is hosted by Ms. Ayesha Bakhsh. It is a roundup of the most important and latest news items throughout the day discussed with leading and experienced analysts and opinion makers. Six analysts are invited as guests, questions are placed and two minutes are given to each guest to give his/her view. This research analyses (with the help of CDA) different speeches of Mr. Nawaz on CPEC and talk and views of the host and guests of the Report Card to see that how language and ideologies are manipulated to influence society. The data from speeches and the talk show are of different sizes that are available on YouTube. While delimiting the size of data one factor (that is considered) is the feasibility of time and space of research.

For the explorations of the data two models and approaches are applied. Fairclough (1995) and Huckin, Andrus and Clary-Lemon (2012) models of CDA are considered. In the first phase the data from speeches are transcribed and arranged in a tabulated form and then by applying the approaches of Fairclough (1995), Halliday (1994), Huckin Andrus and Clary-Lemon (2012) linguistic features of the discourses are deeply explored and analyzed. In the second phase data from three shows of “Report Card” are analyzed and ideologies presented are compared with the findings of speech analysis. In the third phase the contextual, discursive and social practices are explored and the instances of the borrowing of media agents from the political elite are considered.

3. Observations

3.1. Framing of Text as a Whole

Framing techniques, as observed in D1, D2, and D3 are given in tables 1, 2, and 3 respectively.

3.1.1. Foregrounding and Backgrounding

Techniques of foregrounding include deletion and omission, presupposition, repetition, keyword, and place of subject.

Table 1 Foregrounding and Backgrounding in D1

Techniques	Examples												
Framing of the Text as a Whole													
Foregrounding	In D1 Mr. Nawaz foregrounds prosperity, peace, CPEC, Gwadar, Balochistan, Pakistan and development. He foregrounds the projects and expenditures.												
Repetition	Repetition has been observed in the speech, when Mr. Nawaz presents the plans of prosperity and development.												
Presupposition	Presupposition technique is used when he says “The whole nation is united and determined to make CPEC a model of success and CPEC will be a fate changer”.												
Textual Analysis													
Sentence Level													
Topicalization	CPEC, Balochistan, Gwadar, Pakistan, peace and prosperity, personal pronouns, road names												
Cohesion and Coherence	Commas are used for logical cohesion and conjunctions for connections.												
Word Level													
Total Number of Words	1075												
First Person Narration	Personal pronouns like ‘we’ are used.												
Keywords	CPEC, Gwadar, Balochistan, peace, prosperity, China, progress, development projects,												
Metaphor	Jewel of crown, dream, vision, fate changer, leap forward jump												
Repetition (most repeated content words and their frequencies)	<table> <tr> <th>Word</th><th>Frequencies</th></tr> <tr> <td>Pakistan</td><td>17</td></tr> <tr> <td>CPEC</td><td>16</td></tr> <tr> <td>Development</td><td>11</td></tr> <tr> <td>Balochistan</td><td>9</td></tr> <tr> <td>Gwadar, prosperity</td><td>8</td></tr> </table>	Word	Frequencies	Pakistan	17	CPEC	16	Development	11	Balochistan	9	Gwadar, prosperity	8
Word	Frequencies												
Pakistan	17												
CPEC	16												
Development	11												
Balochistan	9												
Gwadar, prosperity	8												
Modality	Will (many times), must												
Ideological and Relational													
Positive Self and Negative Other Representation	Enemies of CPEC are the enemies of Pakistan												

Table 2 Foregrounding and Backgrounding in D2

Techniques	Examples
Framing of the Text as a Whole	

Foregrounding	Mr. Nawaz foregrounds prosperity, peace, CPEC, Gwadar, Balochistan, Pakistan and development. He foregrounds the projects and expenditures.																		
Repetition	Repetition has been analyzed in the speech, when Mr. Nawaz presents the plans of prosperity and development and his past doings. He repeats first person pronouns to emphasize their actions.																		
Presupposition	Presupposition is used when he gives his plans e.g. پورے پاکستان کی ترقی کا انحصار بلوچستان پر ہوگا۔ بانی بھی آئے گا۔ بجلی بھی لے۔ سڑکیں بھی پہنچ رہی ہیں۔ گوادر اور بلوچستان کے وارے نیارے ہو جائیں گے۔ بلوچستان کے وارے نیارے ہو جائیں گے۔ گوادر کے وارے نیارے ہو جائیں گے۔ تو پاکستان کے اندر اور نواز شریف کے وارے نیارے ہو جائیں گے۔ گوادر کے لئے انشاء اللہ تقدیر بدلنے والی ہے۔ اللہ تعالیٰ تقدیر بدل رہا ہے۔																		
Cohesion and Coherence	Comas are used for logical cohesion e.g. آپکی سوچ، آپکا خلوص، آپکی بہتری، آپکی اولاد کے لئے																		
Rhetorical Devices																			
Parallelism	آپکی سوچ، آپکا خلوص، آپکی بہتری																		
Keywords	سی پیک، گوادر، بلوچستان، ترقی، خوشالی، چائند، سڑکیں، منصوبے																		
Metaphor	سی پیک کیم چینجر پاکستان ایشیا کا ٹائیگر بنے گا اور بلوچستان پاکستان کا ٹائیگر بنے گا																		
Repetition (most repeated content words and their frequencies)	<table border="1"> <thead> <tr> <th>Word</th><th>Frequency</th></tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>گوادر</td><td>32</td></tr> <tr> <td>میں</td><td>44</td></tr> <tr> <td>پاکستان</td><td>11</td></tr> <tr> <td>بلوچستان</td><td>14</td></tr> <tr> <td>ترقی</td><td>10</td></tr> <tr> <td>سڑکیں</td><td>7</td></tr> <tr> <td>سی پیک</td><td>5</td></tr> <tr> <td>Total Words</td><td>1337</td></tr> </tbody> </table>	Word	Frequency	گوادر	32	میں	44	پاکستان	11	بلوچستان	14	ترقی	10	سڑکیں	7	سی پیک	5	Total Words	1337
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سی پیک	5																		
Total Words	1337																		
Modality	Mr. Nawaz uses modality to express his future plans, claims, promises, and trust e.g. ہم جو بات کہیں گے اس پر عمل ہوگا۔ کام ہوگا اور بچیوں کے لئے، بہنوں کیلئے، یونیورسٹی بنے گی، ملک میں امن ہوگا																		
Ethnic Markers	بلوچستان کے لوگ، گوادر والو																		
Ideological and Relational																			
Positive Self and Negative Other Representation	کسی دوسرے نے گوادر کو کیوں نہیں یاد کیا مجھے کوئی بتائیے کہ ۱۹۹۳-۱۹۹۷ میں کسی دوسرے نے گوادر کو نہیں یاد کیا؟ کیوں نہیں گوادر ان کے دلوں یا ذہنوں میں آیا؟ کہ گوادر بھی ہمارا ایک ملک کا شہر ہے، ہمارے ملک کا علاقہ ہے، ایک ضلع ہے اور بہترین ضلع ہے۔ اسکی طرف توجہ دی جائے کسی نے سوچا آج تک؟ نہیں/ نہیں سوچا۔ ۱۹۹۷ میں آکر پھر ہم نے بی نہ صرف گوادر کا دوبارہ سوچا بلکہ اس کیلئے قدم اٹھے۔ اقدامات کیے۔ اور اس کے بعد پھر ۲۰۰۰ سن لو ۱۹۹۹ میں جب ہماری حکومت ختم																		

	کی گئی تو اسکے بعد پھر لوگ گوادر کو بھول گئے۔ جو ایوان اقتدار تھا پاکستان کا اس نے پھر گوادر کو یاد ہی نہیں کیا۔ اسکی غریب عوام کو ایک دفع پھر فرمائش کر دیا گیا۔ بس برے نام گوادر کا نام چلتا رہا۔ لیکن عملاً یہاں پر کچھ نہیں کیا... کچھ نہیں کیا۔ یہ آپ جانتے ہیں... اور اس بات کو اچھی طرح پہچانتے ہیں۔ آپ گواہ ہیں اس بات کے کسی اور نے کچھ نہیں کیا۔ آج اللہ پاک فضل و کرم سے ہم پھر جب ۲۰۱۳ میں آئے تو سب سے پہلے آکر نواز شریف نے کسی شہر کو اور اس کے باسیوں کو یاد کیا تو وہ گوادر کے عوام کو یاد کیا۔ میں پہلا وزیر اعظم ہوں پاکستان کاجو رات یہاں رہا ہوں۔ - Indefinite pronouns for others 'لوک'، 'دوسرا'، 'کسی کی' etc. and 'توجہ'. - Personal pronouns (massive use)
Historical Allusions	Historical allusions like: تباہ حال اسٹیٹ، عوام بدحال، دہشت گردی عروج پر {for other reigns} have been skillfully used to positively present his party's past works

Table 3 Foregrounding and Backgrounding in D3

Textual Analysis	
Sentence Level	
Topicalization	بلوچستان، پاکستان، ہمارے، سی پیک
Narration	First person narration
Word Level	
Total Words	130
Keywords	سی پیک، بلوچستان، گیم چینجر
Metaphor	ایشین ٹائیگرز
Repetition	Repetition of questions, ہمارے پاس کوئی وقت نہیں
Modality	پاکستان کو ایشین ٹائیگر بننے سے کوئی نہیں روک سکتا... انشاء اللہ ہماری ساری توجہ ہماری تعمیر و ترقی پر ہوگی۔ ساری توجہ ہماری غریبوں اور کسانوں کی اپ لفٹ میں ہوگی۔
Ideological and relational	
Left Wing Ideology	
Positive Self and Negative Other Representation	ہمارے پاس کوئی وقت نہیں ہے مخالفین کے اس رویے کا جواب دینے کے لئے۔ کوئی وقت نہیں... انشاء اللہ ہماری ساری توجہ ہماری تعمیر و ترقی اور ہوگی۔

	بلوچستان کے اندر ترقیاتی کاموں کو کیوں نہیں شروع کیا گیا؟ کوئی جواب دیکھا؟ پاکستان میں بجلی کا کرائسس کیوں پیدا کیا گیا؟ کیوں لوڈ شیڈنگ تک نوبت پہنچی؟ آج تو لوگ بہتان بازی والے لوگ بھی بیٹھے ہوئے ہیں۔ بہتان لگانا انکا کام ہے۔ روز ٹی وی پر آ کے الزام تراشی کرتے ہیں۔ کوئی حقیقت نہیں ہے۔ اگر خداخواستہ کرپٹ ہوتی تو منصوبے اس طرح سے بنتے؟ ..
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3.2 Textual Analysis

Text is the most important pillar in Fairclough's (1995) model for analysis. Textual analysis is linked strongly with the analysis of language used by people in real setting. Textual analysis, in CDA, involves the analysis of cohesion, lexical choices, coherence and different stylistic features. These features give clear picture and focus on the particular theme and socio-political perspective of the speaker. This leads to the analysis at syntactic level as given in Tables 1, 2 and 3.

Textual analysis is divided into two sub-sections. In the first section, there is the analysis within the clauses or sentences that highlight "theme, rheme". In the speeches of Mr. Nawaz, the topicalization is of "Gwadar" and "Balochistan" and the common and neglected people 'بیچارے عوام' (poor public) of Balochistan. Informative structure is developed by Mr. Nawaz through a series of theme, rheme e.g. 'ہم نے سڑکوں کا جال بچھا دیا' (we gave a road infrastructure). He gives all the details of the road built in Gwadar and Balochistan and he says that even the people of Balochistan are not aware of that.

In the second section, organization of the sentences of the speech is analyzed. It gives cohesion and coherence to the speech. Mr. Nawaz makes sentences thematically and grammatically correct by following the thematic and informative structure e.g. 'ہم نے پورے 19 بلین خرچ کیے' (we spent Rs. 19 billion...) and cohesion is heightening the impact of the feelings and message by the speaker. This gives the speaker power to have an impact deep on the audience. As he says: 'آپکی 'سوچ، آپکا خلوص، آپکی بہتری، آپکی اولاد کے لئے ... میرا احسان نہیں، فرض ہے'.

It creates a logical sequence within the sentences. They serve as a bridge between the speaker and the audience. Moreover, multiple themes (i.e. marked or unmarked) function as a magnet to hold the whole discourse together and to catch the attention, sympathies and favour of the audience.

3.2.1 Rhetorical Devices

The analysis of the rhetorical devices used by Mr. Nawaz is as follows to explicate his possible implications and interpretations in the speeches.

3.2.1.1 Parallelism

Parallelism is another feature adopted by the speaker to influence the audience. It refers to the exact repetition in equivalent positions but it is different from the common repetition. To put it simply, parallelism means the balancing of sentence elements that are grammatically equal. “آپکی، سوچ، اپکا خلوص، آپکی بہتری” (two parallel noun phrases). The selection of other lexemes like امن (peace) and میرے ساتھی / دوست (my brothers) have also been used several times which indicate that the speaker tries to convey the message of justice, equality and unity as one nation.

3.2.1.2 Metaphor

Metaphor is a figurative device which is used to associate/present a direct comparison. Mr. Nawaz used “Jewel” in D1 and “Asian Tigers” in D3.

3.2.1.3 Repetition

Repetition is one of the most commonly employed rhetorical tactics by political leaders to gain attention, reinforce ideas and exert powerful and deep impact to persuade and motivate the audience. The political leaders use the strategy of repetition for functional and ideological reasons. This strategy is also used to emphasize and highlight the point e.g. Mr. Nawaz repeats the words “Gwadar” and “Balochistan” many times in his speeches to get the audience under his emotional impact. In addition, he gets the confirmation from audience as applause in the form of clapping. Repetition of the words like, “peace” “CPEC”, personal pronouns (to emphasize attachments) “بلوچستان”, and “میرے بھائیو” (my brothers) has a significant motive behind. These repetitive strategies contribute to stir the audience’s emotions and receive active response. Instead of Pakistan, he repeats the word “Balochistan” many times to win them.

3.2.1.4 Modality

To indicate mood, the politicians employ one more common persuasive strategy that is the use of modal verbs. A modal expresses uncertainty, necessity, permission, or ability. The use of modals helps the political leaders to formulate a number of claims (e.g. hypotheses, assertions, speculations, opinions etc.). Mr. Nawaz uses modality in his speeches to express future plans, make promises and express trust. He makes claims by saying “ہم جو بات کہیں گیں اس پر عمل ہوگا۔ کام ہوگا” and “”ملک میں امن ہوگا۔”چلیوں کے لئے، بہنوں کے لئے یونیورسٹی بنے گی۔ These claims exemplify the speaker’s attitude and point of view towards the state affairs and interpersonal function of language by revealing a variety of moods of Mr. Nawaz to focus on making commitments and promises as a prime minister.

3.2.1.5 Positive Self and Negative Other Representations

The analysis of political speeches consists of, as Van Dijk (2001) states, our good things and their bad things. Similarly, Mr. Nawaz tries to present himself positively and others negatively. Speakers make maximum use of positive self-presentation. Mr. Nawaz represents himself as a care taker by saying he has visited Gwarad more than any other party leader ‘میرا یہ کتنا دور ہے . . مجھے خود نہیں یاد۔ He said that nobody stayed there for a single night but ‘رات رہا ہوں’. In this way he presented himself and his party positively and his rivals negatively. For them (i.e. the people in Balochistan), he uses the words like, ‘کچھ لوک’ and ‘لوک، دوسرا، کسی کی توجہ’ and he says that he, with all of his fellows, is trying for the betterment of Balochistan’s neglected people who are, ‘سادے’ (the simple), and ‘بیچارے’ (the poor).

3.2.1.6 Ethnic Markers

Ethnic markers are usually employed to distinguish the specific groups and the target audience. Mr. Nawaz uses different ethnic markers i.e. ‘بلوچستان کے لوک’ and ‘گوادر والو’ which win the target audience’s sympathies appeal their emotions.

3.3 Contextual Analysis

The speeches of Mr. Nawaz have a particular context. When there were the voices against CPEC, public and opposite parties were claiming that Sharifs (family members of Mr. Nawaz) were planning this project for their own benefits and Pakistan would be under heavy debts and

CPEC would be beneficial to just China and Pakistan would become its slave. Some forces were persuading Balochistan to get its estate separate. Mr. Nawaz went there to make his position clear.

3.4 Ideological Analysis

Two major ideologies underlying these speeches have been identified.

3.4.1 Historical Allusions

Mr. Nawaz tries to give historical allusions to draw the attention of the people of Gwadar to the works and achievements of his party (PMLN) when it has been in government in 1992 and after that, he says, there is no particular works done by others. He uses the words 'estate', 'عوام', 'بدحال' to show the others' achievements and to give an impression that he is back to save and change the conditions of the people in Balochistan.

3.4.2 Use of Pronouns

Pronouns are literally used to avoid the repetition of nouns and monotonous in expression. But when politicians use them, they perform the functions of ideological uses. Mr. Nawaz uses the pronouns for self-emphasis, inclusiveness, self-responsibility, and unity of purpose among others and solidarity e.g. 'آپکی سوچ، آپکی خلوص، ہماری پولیس، ہماری فوج، ہماری انتظامیہ، ہماری عوام، ہم، میں، ہماری' are the pronoun he uses frequently for interpersonal and ideological functions. The pronouns are also used for "foregrounding" to emphasize the stance. Moreover, the technique of "backgrounding" is there when he says 'کرائس کیوں پیدا کیا گیا'. Here he intentionally backgrounds the agents.

3.5 Analysis of the Report Card

Media agents are considered to be the spokesmen or mouthpieces of the political elite, agents and leaders. They propagate their ideologies by borrowing the discourses from the political elite. Here are some sample talks from a political talk show "Report Card" aired on January 11, 2016 with focus on "reservations of provinces". The host is Ms. Ayesha Bakhsh and Mr. Hassan Nisar, Mr. Imtyaz Alam, Mr. Mazhar Abbas, Mr. Shehzad Chaudhary, Mr. Baber Sattar, and Mr.

Saleem Saafi are invited as guests to express their views and take part in discussion on the proposition (P-1) placed. The host places a proposition (P-1) and the guests have to go for yes or no option for it after giving their views.

P-1. ”رانداری منصوبہ اور پختونخواہ میں ریکارڈ سرمایاکاری: کیا صوبائی حکومت سیاست کر رہی ہے؟“

This proposition (i.e. P-1) supports the ideology of Mr. Nawaz. Even the startup discussion by the host of Report Card clearly seems to propagate the ideology of Mr. Nawaz as reflected through his speeches D1, D2 and D3. When she says: دستاویزات کے مطابق یہ بات یقینی طور پر سامنے آتی ہے کہ سی پیک کے منصوبے کے مطابق مستقبل میں سب سے زیادہ فوائد سمیٹنے والا منصوبہ کے پی کے ہوکان فوائد میں توانائی کے منصوبے، انڈسٹریل پارکس، ڈرائی پورٹ اور ٹول ٹیکس وغیرہ she appears to borrow the ideas from the said speeches directly. Through negative others representation she is trying to establish and sustain her party's point saying: یہ بہاری سیاسی تاریخ یہی ہے کہ ہم منصوبوں کو سیاست کی نظر کرنے میں کسی حد تک خوشی محسوس کرتے ہیں۔ ایسا کیا معاملہ ہے جیسے میز پر بیٹھ کر مذاکرات کے ذریعے حل نہیں کیا جا سکتا۔ In addition, she is consciously trying to background the disadvantages of the CPEC project and presupposes the advantages as Mr. Nawaz does in his speeches saying: ”46 بلین ڈالر کا عظیم معاشی منصوبہ جس میں پاکستان کی قسمت بدل“ In D3 Mr. Nawaz alleges his rivals for conspiring against the CPEC project. The same idea is evident through the host's words: اسے متنازع بنانے کے لئے ہم روایتی ہتھکنڈوں کو استعمال کر رہے ہیں اور اس منصوبے کو بھی متنازع بنایا جا رہا ہے۔ Mr. Imtyaz Alam and Mr. Shehzad Chaudhary support the view point of Mr. Nawaz that the whole country and all provinces will be the beneficiaries of the CPEC project.

Second program of Report Card, about CPEC, gets aired on November 8, 2016. As usual Ms. Ayesha Bakhsh has been the host and Mr. Hassan Nisar, Mr. Imtyaz Alam, Mr. Mazhar Abbas, Mr. Shehzad Chaudhary, Mr. Baber Sattar, and Mr. Saleem Saafi have been the guests. The host puts the proposition (i.e. P-2) before the guests and asks them to opt 'yes' or 'no' after giving their views on the proposition.

P-2. ”کے پی کے حکومت سی پیک معاملہ، میں عدالت میں: کیا معاملہ سیاسی ہو رہا ہے؟“

Again the proposition (P-2) appears to support the ideology of Mr. Nawaz. Moreover, at the very beginning of the program, the discussion of the host aims to propagate the ideology of

Mr. Nawaz. When Ms. Ayesha Bakhsh (the host) asks a question from Shehzad Chaudhary in the middle of the program she herself says: “جب اتنا بڑا منصوبہ آتا ہے پاکستان کو بہت فائدہ ہوگا لیکن پھر متنازع بنا دیا گیا سیاسی معاملہ بن گیا ہے۔” Her words: “سیاسی معاملہ بن گیا ہے” reflect that she is no more neutral towards the issue. This comment (i.e. “سیاسی معاملہ بن گیا ہے”) also appears to support the ideology of Mr. Nawaz. Mr. Shehzad Chaudhary and Mr. Imtyaz Alam are also against those who are raising questions on CPEC and its beneficiaries. Mr. Imtyaz Alam criticizes the opponents saying: بنیادی طور پر ہمیں follow کرنا چاہیے آل پارٹیز کانفرنس کو جس میں سی پیک پر consensus ہو گیا ہے۔ پارلیمنٹ میں consensus ہو گیا تھا۔ اب یہ قوم پرستی کا issue بننے جا رہا ہے اور بڑے افسوس کی بات ہے۔۔۔ اے این پی پہلے ہی اس مسئلے کو اٹھا چکی ہے اور اب جو وزیر اعلیٰ خٹک ہیں وہ بھی تحریک انصاف کا نیشنل اجنڈے national agenda سے ہٹ کر اپنی constituency کو nationalist سی پیک کا جو مسئلہ Similar tone is noted in Mr. Shehzad Chaudhary's remarks when he says: بنانا چاہ رہے ہیں۔ ہے یہ پختونخواہ کے اندر ایک قوم پرستی کی شکل اختیار کرتا جا رہا ہے۔۔۔ اور اگلے الیکشن کی تیاری کے context میں اسکو دیکھا جانا چاہیے۔ پہلی غلطی پی ٹی آئی کی ہے جب ضرورت پی ٹی آئی کی ہے کے جب ضرورت تھی بیٹھ کے کام کرنے کی تب کام نہیں کیا اور یہ اب late into the game enter کر رہے ہیں اور ۸ منصوبے پختونخواہ کو جو دیئے گئے ہیں اگر یہ show interest and involvement کرتے تو بڑھ سکتے تھے۔

In this way, the host, Mr. Imtyaz Alam and Mr. Shehzad Chaudhary appear to view the issue as getting political and is no more beneficial and it is all because of opposite parties. Mr. Shehzad Chaudhary even goes step further saying: دوسری بات سی پیک کو entire chinese context میں دیکھنا چاہیے یہ پاکستان The third program of Report Card about CPEC broadcasts live on May 15, 2017 focusing “who gets more benefit from CPEC”. Ms. Ayesha Bakhsh serves as a host whereas Mr. Hassan Nisar, Mr. Mazhar Abbas, Mr. Shehzad Chaudhary, Mr. Baber Sattar, Ms. Marvi Sarmad, and Mr. Irshad Bhatti serve as the analysts in the program. The host places the preposition (P-3) before the guests and they are given their turn to go for Pakistan or China option after giving their views.

”سی پیک کی سامنے آنے والی اب تک کی تفصیلات: زیادہ فائدہ کس کا ہے؟“ P-3.

The host Ms. Ayesha Bakhsh and the guests (i.e. Mr. Mazhar Abbas and Mr. Shehzad Chaudhary) take the side of Mr. Nawaz propagating the view: “all is well that thinks well”. They are propagating left wing ideology by favouring CPEC as a harbinger of peace and prosperity for not only in Pakistan but also for three continents and the 65 countries in the world as Ms. Ayesha says at the very beginning of the program: 3 برے اعظموں کو ملائے گا سی پیک 1 بیلٹ روڈ منصوبے کا اہم جز ہے جو سرحدوں کا پابند Through this stance they are trying to

convince the audience by showing the bright and only one side of the coin and consciously hiding the other option. Mr. Shehzad Chaudhary argues that “ 20 یہ جو موٹروے 365 کلو میٹر کی بنائی ہے ہم نے (نواز شریف سب نے) 20 ارب کی بنائی تھی اور اب وہ 200 ارب بن چکا ہے۔ اس پیریڈ کے دوران اس کے کچھ حصے ہم نے رہن رکھ کے laon بھی لے رکھے ہیں۔ مجھے یہ بتائے کے 365 کلو میٹر اگر 200 ارب کے برابر ہے تو یہ 2600 کلو میٹر کی یہ جو راہداری ہم دے رہے ہیں یہ کتنے ارب کی ہونی چاہیے؟ یہ سوال ہے جو کہ ہمیں پوچھنا ہے۔” and concludes his remarks saying: “فائدہ ہی فائدہ ہے اس کے اندر نقصان نہیں ہے”

Above quoted dialogues from three shows of Report Card, aired on different times, are rich with persuasive language used by the media agents. The whole reporting and discussion by these agents supports the ideologies of the political elite. Media agents have two-fold roles in media and society i.e. sometimes they become the audience of the politicians, and sometimes they act as the reporters by representing the ideologies of the politicians. In this way, they try to convince the audience and keep on persuading them and win their sympathies by using influential tricks. It has clearly been observed in the content of three speeches and Report Card discussions.

3.6 Comparative Analysis of Discourse Practices and Socio-Political Aspects of the Speeches as Reflected in the Report Card

The propositions (i.e. P-1, P-2, and P-3), placed in the Report Card, are mainly concerned with CPEC. Guests have been invited to comment and Mr. Imtyaz Alam and Mr. Shehzad Chaudhary and Ms. Ayesha (the host) herself support the ideology of Mr. Nawaz. It does not show the reality rather it reflects what the powers behind want to show and make the audience accept. According to Fairclough's (1995) model, the two aspects i.e. discourse practices, and socio-political and cultural perspective are of vital importance in any analysis. In media discourse, discourse practices refer to the execution of social practices through media and elite power's discourse. Discourse is always socially constituted. Socio-cultural and political aspects are also important. For discourse analysis, style of the speaker plays vital role. The host and majority of the guests invited in the 'Report Card' seem to present the perspective shared by Mr. Nawaz. Guests are given just one minute to record their important decisive comments on CPEC. Style of expressions and relational values are closely linked with the speech of Mr. Nawaz. Expressive

value of the speakers in the talk show indicates the expression of their personal experiences and ideologies of the speaker. Relational values throw light upon the relations among the speakers and audience through which they are observed propagating the positive attitude towards CPEC. Representational value is of significant importance as it gives the worldwide view of the target audience. It indicates that the subject matter of the discussion is actually in accordance with particular socio-political background of the speech.

4. Conclusion

The analysis of the speeches of Mr. Nawaz and talk show makes it clear that linguistic manipulation is central to political and media discourses. Power, ideologies and context play significant roles in the selection of linguistic devices. Moreover, Mr. Nawaz and media agents are very well aware of the use of tactics of linguistic manipulation and they make maximum use of them to win audience's sympathies. It is also observed that socio-cultural practices form discursive practices and the political agents in media borrow their ideology about CPEC from political elites and the marginalized (Balochistan, KPK, and Sindh) are represented with bias in the discourse of political elite and political agents.

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