

A Critical Discourse Analysis of Columns of Orya Maqbool Jan using Norman Fairclough CDA Model

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Abstract

Media discourse is a tool of social construction of the opinions and ideologies among the masses. This study aims to examine and investigate the ideological underpinning behind the opinion columns of Orya Maqbool Jan who is a renowned Pakistani columnist. He is also an analyst who gives opinion on international matters related to religion, politics, and international relations among Islamic nations in newspapers and television channels. For this purpose, the qualitative method using the Norman Fairclough CDA model was employed to unveil the hidden ideology behind the Orya Maqbool Jan's politico religion discourse. Two important rationales to conduct this research was to analyze the ideological orientation and inclination of the columnist behind his discourse, and to examine the frames used by the columnist for the social construction of his desired narrative. Through purposive sampling, five different columns appeared in newspapers were selected during the time frame of six months. The results reveal that the columnists often used the catchy phrases and glorious relationships to attract the audience and cultivate his desired narrative and ideology. It was observed that the columnist is very much inspired by the Islamic system, concepts and the rules and regulations. Besides that, the ideological components of Orya Maqbool Jan's text were Pro-Islamic, Anti-Secularists, Anti-Liberalism, Anti-democratic and Pro-Taliban.

Keywords: *Critical Discourse Analysis, Opinion Columns, Politico Religion, Ideology, Narrative Language*

Introduction

Media texts and discourse can be explored and analyzed from different angles and perspectives (Fairclough, 1995). The discourse of media is one of the key contributors in creating the perceptions and opinions among the public (Van Dijk, 2000). The media text and discourse help to attract the readers, researchers by underpinning and representing different ideological concepts and opinions on controversial matters and public affairs (Vaughan, 1994). Inside any newspaper, the opinion category is one of the most powerful and discursive in nature. The opinion sections in the newspaper are considered as the beliefs and the opinion of the writer that contains judgments and views about the individuals, groups, and states. However, these write-ups are affected by the ideological principles that create the perceptions among the masses that how someone is thinking about the other as right or wrong (Van Dijk, 1998). Hodge and Kress (1993) states that the ideology is a precise collection of thoughts sorted out from a specific point of view and perspective. The unknown intentions of the author's discourse lie in the text that is often difficult for the reader to conceptualize that discourse.

Fowler (1991) proposes that the ideological positions are represented and disseminated through language in any form oral or written. Therefore, language is used as a tool to propagate the ideologies in the newspapers. The media scholars believe that editorial and columns are from the same genre (Biber, 1991), while Morley and Murphy (2005) believe that these two are entirely different from one and another. In any case, the function of both things is same to record the comments on any recent happening and fulfill the reader's requirement. Murphy (2005) conducted a research study on the English and Italian opinion columns on the 1999 Kosovo crises. The result indicates that the English corpus was more argumentative slant than the Italian. Dafouz (2008) explored the meta-discourse of the newspaper articles and columns in Spanish and English. It was found that the cultural and ideological differences that the columnist and writers used in the meta-discourse results in creating the major differences among the masses.

Writers and columnists always use their personal identity in their write-ups and columns. The reason for using the identity in the write-ups is that they cannot keep their identity, their relationships and their readership separate from projecting their personal identity in their write-ups (Kuhi et al., 2013). According to McGregor (2006), words of any person cannot be neutral which highlights the fact that the observations are conducted in the critical discourse analysis to know the different meanings of the text as conveyed by the person and society. Merrill et al. (1994) highlighted some positive and negative characteristics of the mass communicators. He portrayed that the positive characteristics are that they have a huge vocabulary with the words; they are dynamic personalities which manifest the certain social

interests. Among the negative characteristics, they often seem to be biased, they often are ideologues and true believers, they somewhat are self-possessed who want to expose others to their certain ideologies and narratives. The power of language influences the public opinions and narratives. Ahmadian and Farahani's (2014) research study was based on the Iran's nuclear program. During the examination of the ideological differences in the newspapers i.e. *The Los Angeles* and *Tehran Times*, the researchers analyzed the coverage of the editorials through the application of Van Dijk model. The result shows that both the newspapers presented a certain issue in two different manners with reference to the ideological differences. Van Dijk (1993) believes that the political discourse analysis is often focused on the discourse of the political institutions which includes the members of the government, political parties, parliament, prime minister, president, diplomats on various national and international platforms. Verba et al. (1993) tell that the text which is constructed by the journalist often remains in mind. Any of the produced text must have an impact on the ideology of text that portrays. Luke (1997) believes that the critical discourse analysis (CDA) is very much influential and helpful for describing, critiquing and interpreting the social context and the social life reflected in the texts. This CDA is often used as the social practice where it accepts all the social contexts which help to know the linkages behind the textual unit and structure.

Objectives

The main objective of this research study is to investigate about the ideological positioning in the politico-religion discourse of the Orya Maqbool Jan's text in his opinion columns by using the Fairclough model of CDA as the research framework.

- To analyze the ideological orientation and inclination of the columnist behind his discourse.
- To examine the frames used by the columnist for the social construction of his desired narrative.

Literature Review

The influential power of the media discourse has been increased in recent decades especially after the boost of new media across the globe. Van Dijk (2001) claims that media is one of that tools which can create, sustain and reproduce the ideologies. It not only reflects the social relations of the social entities but also construct and constitute them as per their own desire (Fairclough, 1993, p. 3). Tinio (2003) explores that the journalists, columnists and editors are often free to use the words, language, expressions and structures in the op-eds to attract their readers which can also be seen through the article titles that are technically called as "*Headlines*". These headlines and article titles creates the readers interest for the newspaper content.

Newspaper editorials and opinion pages are one of the widely read discourses (Hawes and Thomas, 1995). It is one of the media discourses which highlight the different elements of social, cultural, political, human issues, problems, and opportunities (McCombs, 1997). A research study was conducted by the Poorebrahim and Reza (2013) on the Muslim representation in the discursive practices of the west with reference to the ideological relationships and language. The researchers evaluated four newspapers through the Van Dijk model. The results reveal that the linguistic power has represented the Muslims negatively while the Islamic ideology has been frequently stereotyped in the newspapers.

Anwar et al. (2020) critically analyzed the Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah's speech at First Constituent Assembly of Pakistan to find out the ideological meanings of the words used for a newly made state i.e. Pakistan. The CDA indicates that Jinnah's speech was very rich in terms of the words, and his inclination was to make a newly created state a liberal, democratic, and an impartial state. Besides, the author argued that Jinnah's use of terms and knowledge regarding the social problems of the Pakistan's state appears that Mr. Jinnah was very much aware about the societal issues like nepotism, bribery, law and order, jobbery and corruption. The author further highlighted the points where Mr. Jinnah has talked about the equal rights and zero-division among Muslims and Hindus while giving an equal status and freedom to them as referring to Britain as example. Similarly, to examine the ideological analysis of Mr. Imran Khan's discourse, Ghilzai *et al.* (2017) conducted a critical discourse analysis of his first speech in parliament. The results found that the Imran Khan was more inspired by the Islamic ideology, Islamic rules and regulations and its leaders. The key ideological components of his speech were further summarized into different concepts of loyalty, patriotism, religious attraction, visionary and revolutionary. Besides, Mahmoud et al. (2018) critically analyzed the "US" vs "THEM" ideological orientations of the editorials of national dailies of Pakistan and United States of America in the aftermath of Army Public School Killings and Attack in Peshawar. The findings of this research study spotlight that the editorials are being framed with reference to the cultural and socio-political aspects of the society, especially of that particular region. The results reveal that both newspapers have portrayed this issue with reference to the above-mentioned aspect where the attackers have been quoted as "Taliban" i.e. "Them" and the other group have been quoted as "Survivors" etc. i.e. "Us" while a research study conducted by Khan et al.

(2019) evaluated the anti-Muslims sentiments in the Donald Trump's rhetoric and narrative in his speeches. The discourse analysis specifies that Donald Trump have represented Islam and Muslims negatively, while himself as an Islamophobe by cherry-picking the Islamic components and points of Shariah and Jihad. Furthermore, it was found that Trump in his speeches have targeted his successors and predecessors as "Pro-Islam" in terms of their security policies that perpetuated Terrorism in the United States of America.

A critical discourse analysis was made on the news reports and the emotion coated journalism of different Pakistani and Indian newspapers. The results revealed that the reports were more inclined in favor of creating the narrative of as per respective ideological socio-political agenda where the newspapers used emotion coated journalistic appeals to their readers to influence the opinions (Sameen, 2017). A research study based on the headlines of budget of 2011-2012 in Pakistan reveals that the headlines related to budget are framed and represented as per the perspective of the editor's ideology and the inclination of the editor or newspaper towards the political party (Mahmood *et al.*, 2011) while (Marcel, 2015) during his research study on the state budget Cameroon found that among the total 5 articles 3 were creating the positive and good perception while the remaining articles were shaped in the negative perception where the catchy negative phrases were used to mold the public opinion as per the desire ideologies.

Another critical discourse study of newspaper articles was conducted to analyze the journalistic exploitation for propagating the desired ideologies in three elite newspapers of United States. Izadi and Saghaye-Biria (2007) critically analyzed the ideological positioning of the United States policies towards the Iran's nuclear program. Pornjan (2012) during the critical study of the newspaper headlines exposed the ideological reflection of the news reporters and practitioners on youth crime in Thailand. He found that the news practitioners while depicting the social identities have been different in discursive features. The language that was used was offensive and the negative identities for the young offenders were found.

Gopang and Bhugio (2014) investigated the newspaper headlines of the Pakistan 2014 budget. They analyzed the same news items with different interpretations that were used to shape the ideology of the readers. They found that the words that were chosen in the newspapers were quite negative which made the readers to hate the Pakistan's government on its budget similarly Khalil (2020) found a marginalized and negative remarks against Trans-people that made them to hate. Kougom (2016) carried out the comparative study on the Boko Haram insurgency in Cameroon. This research was conducted to critically analyze the use of language for the terrorists in newspapers. The findings revealed that the Cameroon Tribune reduced the number of casualties and victims in the articles while the opinions were shaped by more focusing on the victory of Cameroon army over the Boko Haram. These articles were shaped in such a way that it should give a hope to the Cameroonians. The private newspapers reported the same issue with high number of casualties and victims by showing the vivid photographs of the lapses of Cameroon army. The reading of private newspaper articles was very much scary at times.

Oluwafemi (2015) studied the media narratives and power relations of the Nigerian newspapers and their columnists towards the electoral process in the light of the agenda setting theory and the discourse theory framework. Through the analysis of three different columnists, the researcher has tried to explain the strategies that the social, political, and economic factors and elite do to maintain their powers. The result of the research shows that the Nigerian columnists while drawing and making the historical events have contributed to increasing the conflicts on ethnic and religious level through their narratives which were based on the ethnicities and socio-political happenings.

Costelloe (2014) conducted a research study on French newspapers on the social construction of the ideologies through media discourse by examining the portrayal of violence. He focused on the rioting pictures of the violence that provoked media discourse related to the identity of the French national. The result shows that the national identity and the nationalist expression were portrayed in an exclusionary way. The print media discourse created the symbolic boundaries of "us" and "them" where the immigrant minorities were portrayed as "others". Tahir (2013) examined the portrayal and depiction of the Muslims in the articles of the Washington Post which covered the Prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H) for which the protests were carried out by the Muslims against the publication of the blasphemous cartoons. The researcher with the help of the Van Dijk analytical framework through "us" and "them" ideologies analyzed the beliefs and the textual representation of the in and out groups. Through discursive strategies and lexical portrayal, the researcher claimed that the Muslims and their actions in the newspaper's articles were negatively portrayed by treating them as "others".

Eissa (2014) conducted a research study on the online reports of Egyptian Independent where they investigated the ideological portrayal and structure of the polarized discourse. Through the CDA framework, the researcher focused on the happenings of the constitutional declaration of the President and the clashes that were carried out as aftermath near the presidential palace. The result highlighted found a dichotomy of "we" versus "them" in ideological representation. Soomro *et al.* (2015) critically analyzed the textbook prescribed for the intermediate students of Board of Secondary Education, Larkana. The researcher observed that the tasks and texts are badly designed without any

mental activity involved in it for the potential growth of the students in that text discourse. It was observed that most of the students rely on the teachers to translate the things into their native language whereas several teachers were also lacking in maintaining and designing the reading tasks and assignments for the critical skills of their students. The researcher found a gap in between the textbooks and teachers which can be only addressed by the qualified professionals and concerned stakeholders.

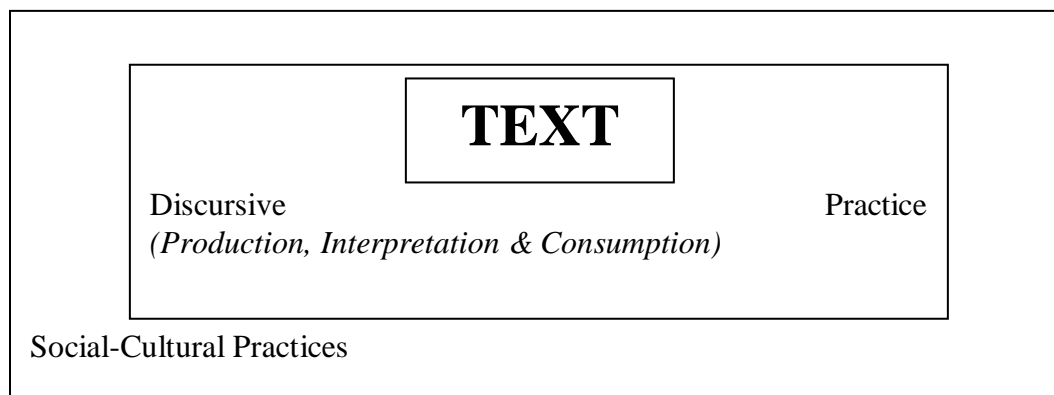
Theoretical Framework

This research study has its theoretical linkages with the Norman Fairclough (1989) model of critical discourse analysis. Fairclough presented the critical discourse analysis (CDA) model in 1989 and revised it in 1995. He noted that the links between the language and society are not just externally linked but they are more related internally.

Fairclough stated the difference between the texts and discourse. Critical discourse analysis helps in unveiling the hidden agendas which are often hidden from the audience. He added that the critical discourse analysis is being used to know the hidden interpretations and determinations in a social relationship system (Fairclough, 1989, 1995 & 2001, p.4).

The Fairclough model of CDA has its three main dimensions for the discourse analysis. He proposes that the dimensions are: i) language, text whether written or spoken ii) discourse practice (the text production and its interpretation), iii) socio-cultural practices. Furthermore, he argues that the discourse can be found at the various levels which can be individual, institutional and the societal (See Figure 1).

Figure. 1



The three main stages of the Fairclough CDA Model are:

- Description -It describes as the linguistic property of the text
- Interpretation -It defines the relationship between the discursive practice and the interpretation through text.
- Explanation -It is about the process and the social environment.

Materials & Method

This research study aims to investigate the ideological underpinning of the Pakistani re-known columnist Orya Maqbool Jan. For this purpose of research, qualitative research design with the help of Framing theory and Norman Fairclough CDA Model was employed to examine the ideological interpretations of the media discourse constructed by the columnist through his opinion columns. The qualitative method was appropriate for this research purpose because the nature of the research study requires subjective interpretations whereas the Fairclough Model was used to know the ideological positioning and inclination. This research method is used as a tool of text analysis to know the hidden interpretation and structural framing of the columns. With the support of purposive sampling five different columns, and their excerpts were included as a sample for the analysis. The columns were selected based on their politico-religion discourse and the textual context having the ideological orientation and inclination of the author.

Data Analysis

Utilizing the Fairclough model of CDA, the data were analyzed with familiarization process first. The pattern, frames, ideologies and themes were sorted out. The content was synchronized and arranged according to abstraction and interpretation. Screenshots of the excerpts from the official websites of the dailies were used to obtain the data. As a

proof of the validity of the source, the information is offered in the results section. The principles of CDA and model were used to decode these messages (Description, Explanation, Interpretation and Analysis).

As the research study primarily focuses on the ideological underpinning and the inclination of the columnists, therefore, the excerpts and samples were analyzed on the basis of the frames and the ideological orientation identified and justified earlier. The common ideological orientations with reference to the Pakistani context and also identified during the process were taken into account for the analysis of the collected data that are as under:

Table 1.

| S.No. | Ideological Orientation | Frame |
|-------|--|--------------------|
| 01 | Statement and Opinion made in favor and support of Taliban | Pro-Taliban |
| 02 | Statement and Opinion made against Taliban | Anti-Taliban |
| 03 | The arguments supported and favored by religious thoughts i.e. Islam while rejecting a scientific POV | Pro-Islamic |
| 04 | The arguments made in denial of the religion i.e. Islam | Anti-Islamic |
| 05 | Divisive statements and arguments on the basis of religion and state | Pro-Secularism |
| 06 | Unifying arguments and statements on the basis of religion and state | Anti-Secularism |
| 07 | Opinions in the favor of Judiciary, Military, and Bureaucracy | Pro-Establishment |
| 08 | Opinion against the Judiciary, Military, and Bureaucracy | Anti-Establishment |
| 09 | The comments denoting to Political Activism and Democratic Values/Equal Rights/Freedom of Expression | Pro-Democratic |
| 10 | The comments rejecting the political activism and democratic values/Equal Rights/Freedom of Expression | Anti-Democratic |

Results and Discussion

The data for the research study was collected from the printed newspapers where these columns were published. The data for analysis are collected through an online medium. Different excerpts have been taken from different articles to unveil the ideology underpinning behind the texts and politico-religion discourse of the Orya Maqbool Jan.

Sample #01

Title: "Taliban Daur-e-Hukumat: Haqiq- Part-01"

Date Published: Thursday, 20 March 2020

Figure. 2

Excerpt No. 01

اس قدر تعصب، اس قدر بغض اور نفرت۔۔۔ یوں لگتا ہے جیسے ہی طالبان نے بے سرو سامانی کے عالم میں اللہ پر توکل رکھتے ہوئے، اسی افغان سرزمین پر ایک اور عالمی طاقت "امریکہ" کو شکست کیا دی ہے، یار لوگوں کی نیندیں حرام ہو چکی ہیں۔ ان کا بس نہیں چلتا کہ دنیا کے تمام ظالموں، قاتلوں، فرعونوں کے مظالم ایک ساتھ جمع کر کے ان کی تمام سیاہی طالبان کے چہرے پر مل دیں اور انہیں چنگیز خان، ہلاکو اور نادر شاہ سے بھی زیادہ ظالم بنا کر پیش کریں۔ گذشتہ ڈیڑھ سو سالہ صحافت اور دانشوری کی تاریخ میں ایسا رویہ دیکھنے میں نہیں آیا۔ انسانی تاریخ میں ایک بہت بڑا اور حیران کن واقعہ ہوا ہے، جنگوں کی تاریخ بھی ایسے کسی واقعہ کی مثال پیش نہیں کرتی کہ پوری دنیا کے دو سو ملکا اور چھ ارب سے زیادہ انسان ایک جانب ہوں اور صرف پچاس ہزار طالبان دوسری جانب اور میرا اللہ کامیابی اور نصرت کا تاج پچاس ہزار فرزندان اسلام کے سروں پر سجادے۔

The starting line of the column interprets that the columnist has considered the Taliban as a "global power" of the world which according to him is fighting against another global power of the world i.e., America. By giving the historical perspective, the author has divided the population in two groups. It is pertinent to note that the author has

declared the 6 billion population of the world as one group (*majority*) which according to him is conspiring against the Taliban whose quantity is 50 thousand which is portrayed as second group as (*minority*). The usage of the inverted comma with the name of America and the number game shows that the columnist wants to stress on this to let his audience know and attract towards his desire side. Entman (2007) believes that the frames are constructed through the usage of adjectives and the symbols which both have been used by the columnist in his excerpts.

His desire in the last line shows the inclination of the author towards the Taliban's ideology by portraying them as the "Sons of Islam". Despite taking the name of the group, the columnist used a phrase to attract the audience. Ross (2002) believes that the framing is being done based on the image, analogies, icons, slogans and catchy phrases. The term "Sons of Islam" is a catchy phrase itself which here is used to portray the Taliban as the "Sons of Religion". This inclination further clears the "Pro-Taliban" sentiments when the author prayed for the conquest and victory of the Taliban in his last lines of the excerpts.

Sample #02

Title: "Virus Se Jung Aur Allah Ki Zaroorat"

Date: 19th March 2020

Figure. 3

Excerpt No. 02

جیسے ہی ہمارے ملک میں کسی قسم کی آفت، مصیبت، پریشانی یا بیماری کا حملہ ہوتا ہے۔ ہمارے کچھ دانشوروں کے دماغوں میں خاموش بیٹھا سائنس اور ٹیکنالوجی کی پرستش کا وائرس جاگ اٹھتا ہے اور وہ ایک دم اخباری کالموں اور ٹیلی ویژن پروگراموں کے ذریعے حملہ آور ہو جاتا ہے اور کوشش کرتا ہے اس پریشانی کے عالم میں لوگوں کو جتنا ممکن ہو سکے، اللہ، دعا اور اس کے ثمرات سے دور لے جا کر انہیں ڈاکٹر، دوا، احتیاط، معیشت، معاشیات اور انتظامات پر بھروسے کی مکمل ترغیب دی جائے۔ ایسے دانشوروں کے دامن میں جس قدر بھی دعا کے تصور، اللہ کے قادر و مطلق ہونے اور مرض کو ختم کرنے کے اختیار کا مذاق اڑانے کا ہنر ہوتا ہے، وہ اسے ضرور استعمال کرتے ہیں۔ کرونا وائرس کی اس عالمی وباء کے دوران ان قلم کاروں کا یہ وائرس بھی خوب اچھل اچھل کر حملہ آور ہو رہا ہے۔ حیرانگی کی بات یہ ہے کہ یہ سب دانشور ایک ایسے وائرس کے بارے میں لوگوں کو اللہ کی تائید و نصرت مانگنے سے دور لے جانا چاہتے ہیں، جس کے بارے میں آج کے دن، اس وقت اور اس گھڑی تک دنیا کے لاکھوں سائنسدان اپنی بے بسی اور مجبوری کا اعلان کر چکے ہیں کہ ہمارے پاس اس وائرس کا کوئی علاج نہیں ہے۔

The world pandemic issues are being addressed with the global efforts. This excerpt was written in the context of the corona virus and with the relationship that the author has built with the religion in his column.

He claims that the other authors, intellectuals, and the media persons try to keep people away from the God and the religion by discussing the medical treatments, science and the technology in the time of crisis. These lines suggest that how much the author relies on the religion even in the situations of the global issues and affairs.

The author built the relationship by propagating the desire ideological thoughts in the last lines where he mentioned that all those people who discuss this global pandemic issue and the scientists are unable to find any solution. It is observed that the author believes the real power lies in the religion where these discussions on science and technological discourse is useless.

Sample #03

Title: “Congress Kay Secularism, Modi Kay Hindutva Tak”

Date: 30th December 2019

Figure. 4

Excerpt No. 03

امریکہ سے لے کر بھارت تک صرف اسلام دشمنی کو خوبصورت لہادے میں
چھپانے کا دوسرا نام سیکولرزم ہے۔ لیکن بھارت کا مسلمان خوب جانتا ہے
کہ وہ سیکولر نعرے کو ستر سال سے بھگت رہا ہے۔ اسے معلوم ہے کہ بی جے
پی کی مسلمان دشمنی اور کانگریس کی سیکولر حکومت صرف اسی کا خون بہاتے
ہیں۔ لیکن بی جے پی کی مسلمان دشمنی اسے احساس غیرت دلا کر متحد کرتی
ہے اور کانگریس کی سیکولرزم اسے پست کردار اور بزدل بناتی ہے۔

“From India to America”, this shows that the author has referred to all the biggest democratic societies as he has quoted the two utmost and biggest democratic nations. He further focused that how the democratic societies on the name of secularism have done Anti-Islamic things. This excerpt shows that the ideological orientation and representation of the author is “Pro-Islamic”. The other line where the author has criticized and pointed out that the Muslim knows how the Congress and BJP have affected their lives. As Van Dijk (2001) claims that the media uses the social identities and build the relationship on their own desire, the author of the column has built the relationship of the democracy and the secularism along with the extremism that is being faced by the Muslims in India.

Figure. 5

Excerpt No. 04

لیکن آزادی کے بعد سے آج تک کے ستر برسوں میں
کانگریس اور دیگر سیکولر حکومتوں میں بھی مسلمان اور اسلام دشمنی اسی طرح
پروان چڑھتی رہی۔ احمد آباد کے 1969ء کے مسلم کش فسادات جس
میں ہزاروں مسلمانوں کا قتل عام ہوا، جو آزادی کی صرف دو دہائیوں کے
بعد ہوئے تھے، پورے ہندوستان میں نفرت کی آگ ساگا گئے، 1970ء
میں بمبئی و انڈی اور جل گاؤں میں ہونے والے مسلم کش فسادات کے
بارے میں جو ڈیٹیل رپورٹ اس دور کی ظالم، مسلمان دشمن سیکولر حکومت کا
ایک بھیانک نقشہ کھینچتی ہے۔

While reflecting the scenario after the partition, the author quoted two riots which according to him seems to be state sponsored by the secular governments. The author has repeatedly used the words “Muslims, Anti-Islam, Killings of Muslims, Muslim Kash, Anti-Muslim, and Secular Government.

As Costelloe (2014) described in his study that how the violence and riots scenes provoked the media discussions in the French media, the author has used the same tactic whereas the repetition shows how inclined his ideological orientations are. The most repetitive frames that can be analyzed by this excerpt are “Pro-Islamic and Anti-Secularism.

Sample #04

Title: "Secular-Jamhoori Munafiqat Ka Khatma"

Date: 12th December 2019

Figure. 6

Excerpt No. 05

انجام کا آغاز اسی دن سے لکھا جا چکا تھا جب دسمبر 1971ء میں بنگلہ دیشی جو اس وقت مشرقی پاکستانی کہلاتے تھے انہوں نے اس دور کے قوم پرست کمیونسٹوں اور بھارت تو از سیکولروں کے پراپیگنڈے کی چکا چونڈ میں آکر یہ خواب دیکھ لیا تھا کہ ہر وہ شخص جو بنگالی بولتا ہے، علیحدگی بنگال کے آس پاس رہتا ہے، بنگالی موسیقی سے لطف اندوز ہوتا ہے، دریا میں کشتی رانی کرتے اور بنگالیا چھانے پر سریلے گیت گاتا ہے، بیگم کو عزت کی نگاہ سے دیکھتا ہے، ستیہ جیت رائے کی عامی شہرت یا قلمی بنگالی قلموں کو اپنی شناخت تصور کرتا ہے، ایک بنگالی قوم کا حصہ ہے۔ پاکستان بنتے ہی یہ گمراہ کن پراپیگنڈہ صرف مشرقی پاکستان میں ہی نہیں بلکہ مغربی پاکستان میں بھی اسی زور و شور سے کیا جاتا تھا۔ یہاں کا دانشور کہتا تھا کہ ایک تہذیب کے پالنے، ایک تاریخ کے امین اور ایک سرزمین کے بیٹے کیا صرف "ہری اوم" کہنے، "ست سری اکال" پکارتے یا "اللہ اکبر" کا نعرہ بلند کرنے سے علیحدہ قومیں بن سکتے ہیں۔

As like the pervious excerpts, the author has again criticized the secularism, communism, and the relationship between the secular and democratic states by giving the example of India. As Ross (2002) said earlier, the usage of the slogans, analogies and the phrases grab the audience attention towards the desire agenda.

Figure. 7

Excerpt No. 06

Excerpt No. 06

اس سے بڑھ کر دو قومی نظریہ کی بلندی و سرفرازی اور فتح کیا ہوگی اور اس سے زیادہ اس بیانیے کی شکست کیا ہوگی کہ اس برصغیر میں صرف ایک تہذیب کی چادر اوڑھنے والی ایک قوم رہتی ہے۔ ستر سالہ منافقت کا دور ختم ہوا۔ سیکولر اور لیبرل جمہوریت کا نقاب تار تار ہوا۔ رہے نام اللہ کا۔

By pointing out the two nation's theory, the author criticized the secular and liberal democracy again. The last line of the excerpt is the crucial one because the last line remains in the readers mind and if those lines have the name of the God, it attracts more.

The author has compared and tried to make a relationship between the secular and liberal democracy with the God and religion. He has indirectly in a phrase made the statement that the secular and liberal democratic narratives have failed, and the religion has won the battle and the name of the God will remain.

Sample #05

Title: "Hukumati Ailaan-e-Jihaad Aur Farziyat"

Date: 01st October 2019

Figure. 8

Excerpt No. 07

وہ تمام علمائے کرام آج کیوں نہیں پکار نہیں اٹھے کہ اس
اعلان کے بعد قوم کا خاموش بیٹھنا حرام ہے۔
سیکولر، لیبرل، ملحد کی تو بات ہی اور ہے۔ یہ تو اسلام کے ہر تصور میں
سنگ کہ لباس، بود و باش، سلام و کلام حتیٰ کہ تہواروں سے بھی نفرت کرتے
ہیں ان کے لئے تو یہ لفظ "جہاد" کچھلے ہوئے سپے کی طرح تھا جو ان کے
کانوں میں انڈیل دیا گیا ہو اور وہ بھی ایک ایسے شخص کے منہ سے ادا ہو رہا
تھا جس کے سامنے یہ سیکولر دنیا و مافیہا سے بے نیاز ہو کر بے پایاں رقص کیا
کرتے تھے۔ یہ کیا ہو گیا ان کے "ڈارنگ" کو، تقریر میں اپنی
کامیابیوں پر اپنی منکوہ اور حجاب میں ملیوس بیوی کا شکر یہ ادا کرتا ہے اور کہتا
ہے کہ یہ سب اس کی اللہ سے دعاؤں کا نتیجہ ہے اور پھر ساتھ ہی کشمیریوں
کے ساتھ کھڑے ہونے کو جہاد کہہ دیتا ہے۔ کوئی اور لفظ ہی بول دیتا،
بنیادی انسانی حق کہہ دیتا، سڑگل (struggle) کہہ دیتا، ضمیر کی آواز کہہ
دیتا، کتنے ایسے لفظ ہیں جو ہم نے ٹیلن منڈیلا جیسے لوگوں کو ہیرو بنانے کے
لیے ایجاد کیے تھے، آن سان سوچی کا ساتھ دینے کے لیے لکھے اور بولے
تھے۔

The author has taken one word as tool to construct the narrative i.e., "Jihad". This column was written after the speech of Imran Khan for the people of Kashmir, where he mentioned that the support and struggle for Kashmir is "Jihad". This word turned out as the main point in the whole excerpt that shows the ideological inclination. Once again, the author has criticized the secularism and atheism and pointed out that this word *Jihad* is a threat for the secular and atheist people.

This excerpts shows how the author wants to provoke the audience where in the initially lines he has mentioned that to be quiet in this situation is forbidden in religion. The author has praised Imran Khan on quoting that word and in the last few lines he not only has done sarcasm but indirectly wanted to believe his audience that the Imran Khan has deliberately used this word in his speech.

In the same lines, the discourse analysis shows that the author believes that the words were made to become the people famous in the world like Nelson Mandel and the Nobel laureate Aung San Suu Kyi. These lines show that he does not believe that they both were the world leaders.

Table 2.

Most Repetitive Words and Frames used by the Columnist

| Repetitive Words & Frames | Frequency |
|---------------------------|------------------|
| Secular/Secularism | 10 (27.03%) |
| Islam/Anti-Islam | 04 (10.82%) |
| Liberal/Liberalism | 02 (5.40%) |
| Democracy | 01 (2.71%) |
| Muslim | 06 (16.21%) |
| Allah | 08 (21.63%) |
| Taliban | 03 (8.10%) |
| India | 03 (8.10%) |
| TOTAL | 37 (100%) |

The most repetitive words and the frames that have been used by the columnist in his opinion columns was based on the secularism, Islam, liberalism, Allah, Democracy, Muslims, Taliban, and India. It was observed that the discursive practice of the columnist is more towards the anti-secular thoughts with an extreme inclination towards the religion and God (See Table No. 02 for Reference).

Conclusion

The findings of this research study are very much relevant to other critical discourse analysis studies conducted by (Khan, 2019; Mahmood, 2018 & Anwar, 2020) who examined and investigated the ideological orientations and inclinations of the authors, world leaders, media discourse and texts. The result of the study reveals that the Orya Maqbool Jan is more inspired by the Islamic ideology, Islamic rules and regulations and the Islamic God while putting his strong sheer disagreements with other ideologies that includes secularism, atheism, liberalism, and the democracy. As Mahmood et al. (2018) indicate an “US” versus “THEM” ideological orientation, similarly the findings of this study incline that the author has in-out group formations in numbers that becomes as “Majority” and “Minority” while supporting his statements as Costelloe (2014) identified. Besides this, Fairclough’s three dimension model (1989, 1995, & 2001) CDA model investigations are coherent with the findings of Khan et al. (2019) that indicated the Trump’s sentiments and policies as “Anti-Islamic” as the author have used in this paradigm supported by Poorebrahim & Reza (2013) and Rafiq et al. (2021). There are many discursive techniques and strategies in Orya Maqbool Jan’s texts. Authority, generalization, and categorizations are the most often employed tactics. All of these tactics contribute to us against the polarizing strategy, where the portrayal of secularists, democrats and liberalists is explicitly positioned as an out group entity with negative references.

Thus, it can be seen that the author of the column has deep inspirations ideologically inclined with the Taliban and the Islamic concepts like “Jihad”. The politico-religion discourse of the columns provoke and attract the audience by using and constructing the desired ideological orientations with the support of catchy phrases tending a relationship between states and ideologies. Fairclough (1995 and 2001) investigations points that texts are ideological underpinning the pure Pro-Islamic, Anti-Secularist, Anti-Liberal, Anti-Democratic, and Pro-Taliban narratives with repetitive words, frames, and phrases like Secularism, God, Allah, Muslims, Islam, and Taliban. On the basis of the above mentioned findings, it can be concluded that Orya Maqbool Jan has employed a Pro-Taliban and Anti-Secularists ideological underpinnings in his opinion columns while building an affinity between Muslims, Taliban, Jihad, and Anti-Islam forces and possessing extreme bias and discriminatory rhetoric. This study is, in fact, a precursor to his future writings harmonized by the discriminatory ideology.

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