



Defining Political Ideologies: The Media Representation of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf with Reference to Panama Leaks

Syed Sajjad Ali	Lecturer in English, National University of Modern Languages, (Peshawar Campus), KP, Pakistan.
Tariq Mahmood	Assistant Professor, National University of Modern Languages, (Peshawar Campus), KP, Pakistan.
Sidra Mahmood	Lecturer in English, Virtual University of Pakistan.

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Corresponding Author:

Syed Sajjad Ali

Email: ssali@numl.edu.pk

Abstract: The Panama Leaks issue has created a hassle in the whole world, naming individuals, groups and companies. The issue has been equally chanted in the Pakistani Media, both print as well as electronic. Through this issue, individuals having major positions both at an official and national level have been put under fire. The Editorials written by both Daily Dawn and The News represent an insightful analysis and give their expert opinion on the issue. According to McCombs (1972), it is the role of the media to present the interesting aspects of the political parties and to convey the reason for a political campaign to gather public support. Van Dijk (1997) has provided his model for Critical Discourse Analysis in which he has illustrated some of the categories which, according to him, are essential for CDA studies. He is of the view that it often happens that the writer sometimes hides the agent and his identity if the agent is doing something wrong. He has given the concept of self and others. The newspapers framed two major ideologies one was of PTI, and the other was of PML-N. PTI's ideology was to hold a strong opposition to the case leaving no way out for the Sharifs. On the other hand, Sharif's announced their resolve to accept the decision of the court amid strong opposition.

Introduction

The right to information for every individual has become serious consideration over time, and the medium of electronic and print media has made a significant contribution to the awareness of people. Any issue can be portrayed positively and negatively depending on the setting and framing of the news. Media uses different language to define a single stance, and it further leads to many interpretations. The medium of print media, including newspapers, magazines, journals and periodicals, has raised the awareness of people about many issues, whether local or international. Media holds a key responsibility to convey the right information through positive and in-time coverage. People get only some limited time to analyse things, and they do it through the

medium of the press. Social media includes Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, Snap Chat and others. The role of social media has become so salient that whatever is posted on social media sites is accepted as true and original. Pakistan as a country has always been depicted as an important country in media, whether it's positive or negative news. Since the emergence and promotion of freedom of speech through media started in the early years of the 21st century in Pakistan, the role of media has become more specific.

Van Dijk (1998) considers the analysis of discourse to be like the ideological analysis. The focus of this research is on the portrayal of the political ideology of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf

over the Panama leaks issue in the media. Ideology is defined as how people share ideas, beliefs, knowledge, stance, views and traditions keeping in mind their position in a group. Politics is defined as the game of power which not only gives way but also manipulates the mind of a common man. Politicians, through their views, create certain ideologies in the mind of their supporters and followers. Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) is a centre left-wing political party and holds the view that justice should prevail in all segments of society. They also believe in equal rights for all people without taking into consideration their social class and level. Panama leaks are one of the primary issues which are raised by PTI at all levels, from media to court. The major reason for making an issue prominent is to make it accessible to all sectors of society to allow them to have complete information about it. Panama is an island situated in the American Continent where people from around the world have invested their capital in waiving taxes and making their money secure. The Panama leak is a scandal which includes the names of all the famous politicians of the world who have made money through unfair means. This research focuses on the coverage pattern of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf in media. The Panama issue has been strongly depicted in the comments, news, views and policy statements of PTI. The research involves the media representation of the policy of PTI over the Panama leaks issue in the views of two leading newspapers, The News and Dawn. It will focus on the Parameter, framing and portrayal of the agenda of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf over the issue. The study is further delimited to the comparative analysis of two newspapers, The News and Dawn.

Literature Review

According to Walgrave and Aelst (2006), instead of favoring the stance of the government, the media analyses and gives first-hand information on what goes on in the government sector. The media criticises and makes an in-depth analysis

of the scandals which are associated with the government. The question of media coverage of political parties is very briefly answered by critics. There is an interrelation between a setting of an agenda and the power to be associated with it. Media gives power and stability to a topic or issue by the way information is given about it. Through media, the public not only gets to know about things but also forms an opinion about the topic which is discussed. It is the role of the media to present the interesting aspects of the political parties and to convey the reason for a political campaign to gather public support. The link between media and the public is so integral that it allows the formation of social values McCombs, 1972; van Dijk, 1988; 1990; 1991; 1992; 1993; 1997, 1998, 2000; 2001; 2008).

According to Muhammad (2011), it is the quality of developed environments that they change their views and perceptions about politicians through the discussions they see in media. Media mostly values discussion related to politics and society as to the question of what includes in the political discussion it entails communication among both in-groups and out-groups. To put it simply, we can say that media provides a certain agenda which is to be discussed in the light of the news presented and how it catches our minds. According to Saqib (2008), the opinions and views we form about the world around us are based on the news which is presented through media.

The role of print and electronic media has taken a clear stance making it aware to the public of their rights and opinions. In countries like Pakistan, where people are being educated through media programs and reports, the denial of the role of media is impossible. Media houses, channels and newspapers are highly politicised in Pakistan and have their own agenda for promoting things Gitlin, T. (1980). The major powerhouses of society shape public opinion by their own frame and cause problems for those who oppose their views. It is to be analysed that news in countries like Pakistan is so subjective

and manipulated that if they do not follow the instructions of the powerhouses, the news is failed to be published. The powerhouses of society give importance to that news which adds some spice and adventure and allows people to develop an interest in them. Creating more attention to public issues makes them more important and significant news for the people. Pakistan, as a topic of interest, has a wide range of options to be set under the parameter of agendas. Public opinions can easily be set by forming agenda-based journalism by highlighting issues like lack of basic necessities, terrorism, education, lack of political knowledge, unrest and sense of responsibility.

McCombs (1972) defines that problems and changes which occur are due to the effects of media and their exposure. The material and content which is presented through news play a vital role as it provides a more in-depth comprehension of the message which is conveyed through media. The examples of media houses that give tough times to the government by publishing news against them get little support from the government and are taken as more objective as compared to others. According to Gatlin (1980), the main beneficiaries of the news are the higher segments of society which include the upper classes. News is presented, which is framed in favour of these powerhouses. Through this news, powerful ideologies are being spread that mould the opinions of common people. It is the hegemony and control that the upper class has on the minds of people which has defined the rule of these powerhouses against poor people. Although we have different situations of people in Pakistan, the role of media is the same as it is in the rest of the world. In Pakistan, media represents the narratives of powerful people in the same way as it happens in the outer world.

Statement of the Problem

Newspapers and their editorials are not only used for propagating information but also for shaping

public opinion. The language and discourse are designed in such a manner as to convey the intended meaning. Ideologies and viewpoints are subtly conveyed through the use of language. This is particularly true of political discourse. The premise of this research is to analyse the ideologies of the political party on the issue of Panama Leaks through newspaper editorials. This research will further target the representation and positioning of the political party at the media discourse level.

Research Questions

- How is PTI's standpoint over Panama Leaks depicted in the leading Pakistani newspaper, The News?
- How is the political agenda of PTI represented by DAWN news?
- What are the face-saving and face-negative strategies used in The News and Dawn with reference to PTI's stance?

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework used by the researchers in this research study comes from Van Dijk's (1997) Socio-Cognitive Model of Critical Discourse Analysis. He has provided his model for CDA in which he has illustrated some of the categories which, according to him, are essential for CDA studies. He is of the view that it often happens that the writer sometimes hides the agent and his identity if the agent is doing something wrong. He has given the concept of self and others. He expresses that the writer, most of the time, assigns the good qualities to himself or the person whom he favours, and bad things or qualities are assigned to others or the persons whom he opposes. Furthermore, he states that this methodology represents how these different thoughts are expressed through various structures. These categories are of various kinds, and the most important of them are discussed as under;

Actor Description describes the actors through the ideologies expressed in the discourse. Actors are categorized into two groups, namely, in-group and out-group. The writer will describe the in-group members with more adjectives or in a positive way, but on the other hand, the out-group members are described in a negative way. **Authority** is the next category. Different ideologies expressed in the discourse are expressed by different authorities. In order to reach credibility, one has to see the authority which is citing these ideologies. Authority provides credibility to the ideologies. The next point is **categorization**. It is seen that in different societies, people are classified based on their social affiliation, ethnicity, race, etc. Good qualities relate to the writer or the people he favours, and bad are assigned to others. Virtuous will be “I”, and evil will be “Others”. Sometimes even in anti-racist talk, negative qualities are assigned to out-groups, and positive qualities are assigned to in-groups. It often happens that the people may compare their country negatively with other revolting undemocratic countries. This is called **comparison**. The next point is the **disclaimer**. On the basis of ideological beliefs, if something is wrong, it does not belong to the in-group, and bad qualities are disowned.

In the category of **evidentially**, positive pieces of evidence are provided in favor of your in-group or favored candidate, and negative pieces of evidence are provided against those whom you dislike. A **generalization** is a powerful tool in argumentation, mostly applied in racist discourse in which negative qualities and prejudices are formed and generalized about immigrants. Figures of speech such as hyperbole and irony are used as devices. **Hyperbole** is a figure of speech which is used for exaggerating and enhancing meanings. **The irony** is an effective way of accusation. Writers take aid from irony when they don't want to accuse the members of out-groups directly. Sometimes writers leave certain implicit things, and recipients are left to infer and deduce what the text means and what it stands for

through knowledge, attitudes and mental models. This is known as **implication**. The category of **polarization** is used in determining in-groups and out-groups as this writer tries to create two extremes. Positive extremes for in-groups and negative for out-groups. **Presuppositions** are used mostly to assume the facts even when they are not explicitly stated, and you assume that the other person knows about them. It depends on the shared knowledge. The final category is **victimization**. In this, in-groups are mostly shown as victimized. It also depends on the context, which tells who should be victimized.

Research Methodology

For this study, two English newspapers, Dawn & The News, were selected from April and May 2017. The rationale for the section was that these are the two widely read papers. For the purpose of this paper, only two editorials (one from each) were chosen from both newspapers. There was an interval of about a month in the publication of both editorials. Both editorials were first thoroughly studied. Next, they were analysed with reference to the categories discussed above. Finally, the process was repeated for confirmation. This is how the editorials are analysed in order to find out how both newspapers were farming PTI on the issue of Panamagate. Analysis was done by applying Van Dijk's (1997) model to selected headlines.

Data Analysis and Discussion

Editorial 1 from The News 1st May 2017

The entire editorial has been read and analyzed by applying the Van Dijk model.

Actor Description

The editorial discusses the issue of the Panama leaks as the case was taken to court by both parties, PTI and PML-N. The discourse represents two main actors, PML-N and PTI. Both represent their ideologies through their stance on the issue. The PTI ideology shows that they show strong

opposition to the decision of the form commission on the Panama leaks issue despite the Supreme Court's ruling. On the other hand, PML-N shows a clear-cut resolve in favour of the commission. This is how both actors are represented in this editorial. The in-group ideology of PTI is that it has diversified and created strong awareness among the people through its position on the case. The narrative is very clear as the editorial presents in-group ideology in the form of the following line:

PTI: *"It originally wanted the PML-N government to write a letter to the Supreme Court asking it to form a commission."*

In the same way, an out-group ideology is put forth by the stance of PML-N as they are ready to form the commission in light of the decision made by the Supreme Court.

Authority: Supreme Court acts as the main authority here. It gives a balanced and mediatory judgment as to the resolution of the case. Both ideologies are put forth by the Supreme Court to create awareness among people regarding the issue. The role of the Supreme Court has been very independent and crystal clear as it gives a clear picture of the ideology of PTI as compared to that of PML-N.

Comparison: The Editorial shows a clear-cut comparison between the two parties. The following text shows the

"PTI has already announced it will boycott, without even knowing the composition of the commission, what investigative latitude it will have or if it will even be formed in the first place. Nawaz Sharif's lawyers have already said that they will accept whatever the Supreme Court decides."

These lines show a conflicting comparison between the two ideologies. One party wants to accept things at any cost, and the other ideology represents a withdrawal from the official stance.

Evidentially: These pieces of evidence are there in the editorial, which clearly represents both ideologies. In this category, positive pieces of evidence are provided in favor of your in-group or favored candidate, and negative pieces of evidence are provided against those whom you dislike. Both PML-N and PTI are referred to in terms of shreds of evidence given in their favor. The following lines show the evidence:

"Legal experts are of the opinion that till now, the case has not gone well for the PTI, which even replaced its legal team midway. In the absence of concrete evidence, the party has relied on media reports. Nawaz Sharif's lawyers have already said that they will accept whatever the Supreme Court decides. The PTI should follow suit so that this case can finally be settled."

Disclaimer: The ideology represented in the editorial is more disclaiming in nature. According to Van Dijk, a disclaimer mean to disown the attitude. On the bases of ideological beliefs, if something is wrong, it does not belong to the in-group, and bad qualities are disowned. The following lines show the disclaiming attitude:

"The Supreme Court is considering whether the new bench should hear the case or form a commission, something the PTI has already announced it will boycott, without even knowing the composition of the commission, what investigative latitude it will have or if it will even be formed in the first place. This is a curious stance for the PTI to take since it had spent months agitating for the government to form a commission. It originally wanted the PML-N government to write a letter to the Supreme Court asking it to form a commission. Now that the Supreme Court is doing exactly what the PTI originally wanted, the party has decided to pre-emptively boycott the commission."

Categorization: Trying to untangle the mess of information that has been provided will require time, which could be one reason the Supreme Court is thinking about forming a commission

dedicated to this case. Despite the PTI trying to make the commission an issue, it is the Supreme Court which will set its terms of reference, so it should be acceptable to both sides. Nawaz Sharif's lawyers have already said that they will accept whatever the Supreme Court decides. The PTI should follow suit so that this case can finally be settled.

Editorial 2 from Dawn 4th April 2017: The basic theme of this editorial is the undergoing corruption in the country. The debate starts with the role of elite families of the country in terms of their tax-paying ratio and how they control the so-called democratic system of the country. The tax system and distribution are mainly criticized in the editorial. The analysis according to the Van Dijk model is as under:

Authority: The major actor in this writing is the newspaper itself. Daily Dawn expresses a deep understanding of the Panama leaks issue. The authority explores the insight into the issue marking it closer to the ill-doings of the powerful elite. The name of the Prime Minister and his family is taken with credible sources and information. The Newspaper also showed a diverse ideology leading to the discussion of tax paying and the current financial impasse, which leads to the menace of corruption.

Actor Description: The main actors in the editorial are Prime Minister and his party, which is ruling the country. The actor is presented in a more implicit manner which is evident through the following lines:

"Inside Pakistan, with the government controlling the tax authority and most of the relevant investigatory bodies, it is unlikely in the extreme that anything untoward will be discovered concerning the prime minister's family and its financial dealings."

The editorial somehow favours the actor by writing things which are closer and errands the ideology of PML-N. PTI is criticized in the way

that it shows a strong stance but fails to provide particular proof.

Comparison: A Comparison of the ideologies has been made in the editorial. PML-N, PTI and The Elite have been compared. The issue of Panama Leaks has been explained through different perspectives. The elite, PML N and PTI all have different views on it.

That is the real and double tragedy of the self-interested elite. Not only do they hold Pakistan back from realizing its economic potential, but they also impose an ongoing cost on everyone else.

Now, these lines show a comparison of the attitude of the Government and the ruling elite, who consider things differently when it comes to the issue of tax evasion. PTI feels it is a serious crime on behalf of the Prime Minister and alleges him of contradicting and hiding his tax returns from the people. The business elite also put forth their own ideology. They take money from the poor and return it to the greedy elite. The following lines represent the ideology of the business Elite:

"The big players in the private sector are little better, always looking for state handouts and competition-eroding state interventions. Pakistan's rich appear to have perfected the art of reverse redistribution — take from the needy and give to the greedy."

Victimization: The editorial provides an air of victimization by declaring Sharif's corrupt and disloyal to the country. According to the Van Dijk Model, victimization reveals the Ideologies as wrong or fake, and it depends on the context. The following lines show the victimization of the first family by representing an out-group ideology. The editorial criticizes the first family for deliberately waving the tax.

"So when the Sharif family denies it has done anything illegal, what should be asked of them is, for every rupee of tax avoidance, who is picking up the cost? Surely, the first family should be setting the

opposite example and leading on tax compliance. Raiwind is a palatial residence — are spectacular apartments in London necessary too?”

These lines further enfold the wrongdoings of the first family by declaring their immunity from the tax. The editorial also criticizes the need for London Apartments, making the debate more logical.

Presupposition: According to Van Dijk (2003), pre-suppositions are used mostly to assume the facts even when they are not explicitly stated, and you assume that the other person knows about them. It depends on the shared knowledge. In this editorial, the following lines show the presupposed ideology of the ruling class.

“What the Panama Papers reveal are elaborate schemes to avoid taxation and, likely, hide corruption money. That imposes an unjust cost on society. Because Pakistan’s elite avoids direct taxation, the tax structure is skewed towards indirect taxes. And indirect taxes, such as on essential foodstuffs, fuel and basic utilities, put a disproportionate burden on the very people the elected elite are meant to be representing.”

This editorial further declares the Panama Leaks issue as a test case for the Pakistani Justice system as it challenges the so-called means of corruption and wrongdoings in the country. It also incorporates ideologies which show negativity and evil doings on behalf of the major powerhouses of society. PML N is basic, and the Sharif family has been targeted in this editorial.

Discussion and Conclusion

The Panama Leaks issue has created a hassle in the whole world, naming individuals, groups and companies. The issue has been equally chanted in the Pakistani Media, both in print as well as electronically. Through this issue, Individuals having major positions both at an official and national level have been put under fire. The Editorials written by both Daily Dawn and The

News represent an insightful analysis and give their expert opinion on the issue. According to McCombs (1972), it is the role of the media to present the interesting aspects of the political parties and to convey the reason for a political campaign to gather public support. The link between media and the public is so integral that it allows the formation of social values. Nobody can defy the reliability and authenticity of the two newspapers. On one side, Dawn believes that according to Sharifs, no corruption or illegal income has been made. The Sharif family denies all the allegations put forth against them by their opponents and the Panama papers. The newspaper further challenged the accountability process of the country as the Prime Minister himself is the head of so many institutions, and it is almost impossible to question his position on such an account. This leads to a biased version of the issue as the Prime Minister and others involved will try to put things on delay to escape from the matter. The editorial criticised the Pakistani elite calling them tax evaders to safeguard and protect their own interests. The ideology undermining in the editorial clearly discusses the role of the ruling elite especially declaring the First Family as tax evaders and questioning their unnecessary obsession with creating more wealth and possessions. PTI has been a major player in the debate calling the first family un-faithful to their duties. The ideology of PTI has been shown as offensive and strong against the ruling elite represented by PML-N. PML-N has been on the back foot on the issue and tried various delaying tactics to counter the arguments put forth by the opposition. PTI has been marked as resilient and strong by the newspaper.

The News also tackled the crucial issue of equality and unbiasedness. According to Saqib (2008), the opinions and views we form about the world around us are based on the news which is presented through media. The opinion was more neutral and beneficial to the cause as it addressed

the possible outcomes of the decision considering the judgements laid down by the Supreme Court. The newspaper framed two major ideologies one was of PTI, and the other was of PML-N. PTI's ideology was to hold a strong opposition to the case leaving no way out for the Sharifs. On the other hand, Sharif's announced their resolve to accept the decision of the court amid strong opposition. Despite PTI'S strong stance, it announced to boycott of the move for the formation of the judicial commission. The newspaper also highlighted the dual role of PTI on one side. They believe in seeing the PM behind the Bar, and on the other side, they pre-emptively boycott the situation. These two mainstream ideologies have interacted in the editorials of the newspapers on the Panama Leaks Issue.

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