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LANGUAGE AND IDEOLOGICAL EXPLOITATION

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ABSTRACT:

This qualitative study aims to explore the hidden ideological agenda in the discourse of a mega corruption scandal of Pakistan- Defence Housing Authority (DefHA) scandal from Western angle within the theoretical concerns of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) by using Ruth Wodak's Discourse Historical Approach (DHA) (2011). Data has been taken from an article 'Pakistan Army's Housing Ventures Face Corruption Investigation' published in the newspaper the Guardian in 2016. The study takes into account the history and the political practices of the military bureaucracy of Pakistan as background study which largely shape the present sociopolitical conditions of the country. History and politics are deeply connected with the underlying concepts of power, ideology and exploitation within the discourse of this scandal. Discourse-Historical Approach by correlating the available knowledge and the background knowledge of the social and political practices helps in analysing data from multiple angles. By critically analyzing the discourse of the newspaper article the study expects to find hidden manipulative agenda of this most respectful organization of the country.

INTRODUCTION:

Since its inception Pakistan has always been a victim of corruption scandals. They are quite normal in the socio-economic domains of the country. They are responsible for unequal power relations which is one of the greatest curses of Pakistan. CDA is a critical theory that explores the underlying concepts of ideology, power and hegemony in discourse. The CD analysts explicitly take a 'socio-political' stance (Dijk, 1993). They target the power elites who, they believe, 'enact sustain, legitimate, condone or ignore social inequality and injustice' (Dijk,

1993). These are only the powerful, wealthy and political agents who are involved in the mega corruption scandals of a country. The role of history is particularly important in shaping the socio-economic conditions of the people of Pakistan. It is a country that has experienced long periods of colonial shackles. When Pakistan came into being in 1947, a slave nation shifted to the land of Pakistan. It was a backward nation in almost every respect. It was quite easy to lead such a nation by any means. The politics was in infancy with almost no military and administrative structures of its own. It is certainly not difficult to imagine how corruption must have implanted roots in such socio-political environment. Since then the country could never get itself free from mega corruption scams. Political discourses on corruption provide good sites to explore the hidden aims of power players behind these scams and CDA as critical theory fully helps in exploring these aims. CD researcherstry to know how discourses are constructed, how they delicately and sophisticatedly express particular aspects in such a way that they always remain 'elusive of direct challenge' (Batstone, 1995). They often retreat into impersonalization and mystification. The CDA researchers often work to demystify and deimpersonalize these discourses. The study highlights that Pakistan's financial discourses are particularly good sites of mystification, impersonalization and they also elude direct challenge. CD researchers take it upon themselves to explore the hidden connections between power and ideology with the view that such hidden connections need to be exposed for the benefits of the disadvantaged individuals involved and who cannot fight against them.

LITERATURE REVIEW:

Language is a social practice. All human beings, institutions, organizations and social groups use language. However institutions and organizations tend to use language in a more systematic and measured manner. As a social practice it exists in a network of other social practices which mutually exert their influence on each other. Cultural, political, psychological and historical practices are some of the social practices that largely influence language and in return are influenced by them. The influence of one social practice over the other can be explored within this network. CDA claims that it explores the use of language in connection with this vast network of practices. It 'explores the tension between these two sides of language use, the socially shaped and socially constitutive' (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997). In doing so the CD researchers take the side of those, who are socially disadvantaged in the big game of power and power abuse. They believe that CDA can bring social change by highlighting the inequalities that are the results of the mal-practices of the powerful agents of society. They also believe that texts are the potential sites to deconstruct these practices. Language for them is not a neutral medium, rather it is exploitative, manipulative and has the ability to deceive its users.

Dijk's (1993) study analyses the Parliamentary discourse. He analyses that all the Parliamentary debates in Netherlands, UK, USA, France and Germany very sophisticatedly produce racism though apparently their discourse attempts to highlight civil rights, ethnic relations and immigrations etc.

Susana's (2013) study analyses two Parliamentary speeches on defence policy by using Van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach, the K-device (Van Dijk, 2008, 2009), rooted in cognitive psychology. Apparently both the speeches focus on the same issue i.e. the foreigners' flow in the country. Both of them present neutral policy before the audience but CDA of the underlying discourse of the two speeches shows hidden exploitative aims of the speakers.

Similarly Wodak's (2001) study 'CDA of Discriminatory Discourse: the case study of FPO petition' analyses FPO petition 'Austria first' 1992-3 by using her discourse-historical approach. She explores different discursive strategies, linguistic and rhetorical choices and argumentation schemes etc. to analyse the petition. Wodak believes that the deliberate linguistic choice Austria First, clearly indicates that Austria is not the country of foreigners. After a detailed analysis of the petition she concludes that the text of the petition potentially works to curtail the civil rights of the foreigners in Austria.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS:

1. How language helps its users to hide their exploitative aims?
2. How the whole network of social practices favour the language users in producing their desired results?

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK:

By the end of 20th century many critical theories and linguistic approaches emerged in the field of linguistics to critically analyse the role and impacts of discourse on society and vice versa. In 1989 Ruth Wodak's ground breaking work *Language, Power and Ideology* provided the researchers with the real thinking tool to explore the underlying concepts of language, power and ideology hidden in discourse. Wodak's Discourse-historical approach (2011) correlates the available knowledge and the background knowledge of the social and political practices. According to this approach a researcher needs to unfold all the inconsistencies, paradoxes and contradictions found in the text before its socio-dignostic analysis. S/he at this stage also analyses the otherwise persuasive or manipulative character of the discursive practices. S/he moves beyond the text and makes use of her/his background and contextual knowledge and puts the specific communicative event in the wider region of social and political structures. At this stage social and political theories play an important role in the analysis of texts. Wodak (2011) is of the opinion that the critical analysis of some discourse needs description and theorization of both social processes and social structures which produce text and within which human beings produce their meaning in their contact with the texts. The analysis of social practices and structures is more important while the study of language becomes only a part of analysis. Wodak's important contribution to the theory of CDA is her critical hermeneutic approach (2011) which she believes is an 'art (emphasis in original) of explaining cultural manifestations, particularly texts' (2011). It particularly takes into account linguistic, rhetoric and pragmatic dimensions of discourse. Critical hermeneutics suggests that stable conventions can be potential sites of falsehood and persistent exploitation and CDA attempts to explore such false assumptions. Language has the potential to legitimize relations of organized force. If this legitimization of power relations is not challenged, language is also ideological. According to Wodak the goal of CDA is that a CD analyst tries to understand, explain and criticize communicative practices while remaining self reflective at the same time.

METHODOLOGY:

The paper analyses the text of an article published in the Guardian (2016) within the theoretical considerations of Wodak's Discourse-Historical Approach (2011) that works on four levels. The first level is descriptive i.e. the immediate text, while the other three levels are parts of CD theories on context. On the second level, the intertextual and interdiscursive relationships between utterances, texts, genres and discourse have been explored according to Discourse-

Historical Approach. On the third level extralinguistic social practices have been taken into account while on the fourth level socio-political and historical contexts in which the discursive practices are carried on have been explored. All these levels are the crucial steps in critically analyzing discourse.

The national narratives of the past particularly play an important role in constructing the overall theme of the present text. ‘Struggle for hegemony of various competing narratives of the past which can be reconstructed....require very subtle context-dependent analysis’ (Wodak, 2010) which help in understanding the social and historical identity of Pakistan military at different levels at different times. So context-dependent linguistic means and strategies (systematic ways of using language) i.e. inter-textualization and re-contextualization contribute in deconstructing the national identity of Pakistan army. Re-contextualization suggests the incorporation of the elements from other texts, e.g. words, phrases and arguments. For example the incorporation of the Elysium Ranches in the present text contributes in constructing the overall theme of the text. Moreover inter-discursivity (the combination of different discourses and different genres that characterize the text)’ (Wodak & Fairclough, 2010; Wodak, 2010; Wodak, 2009; Richardson & Wodak 2009) particularly plays an important role in critically analyzing the discourse of the present text. By using Discourse Historical Approach number of linguistic and extra-linguistic factors e.g. social, historical, political, institutional and organizational etc have been taken into account to analyse data.

DISCUSSION:

Pakistan army’s housing ventures face corruption investigation (Appendix)

Discursive construction of corruption.“Pakistan army’s housing ventures face corruption investigation”is an opinionated article that mixes criticism and entertainment. Media texts have the ability to blur information and entertainment. The writer of the present text also adds some light weighted irony and humour to his article which actually aims at deconstructing national identity of Pakistan military through Western angle. It exposes army’s involvement in huge corruption scandals. The central discourse focuses on the Kayani brothers and the strong social position they hold because of their brother’s al-powerful military position-the Chief of Army Staff.

Inter-textuality and inter-discursivity The text is linked to number of other texts and events which are ‘effected by and have effects on other events and texts in different places and at different times’ (Kristeva,1986) as is the case with the present text. Wodak’s Discourse-Historical Approach helps in analyzing it. The text starts with a mythological reference that can also be stretched across the religious implications within the context of Pakistan’s dominant religion-Islam. The writer re-contextualizes the ideologies of the past on two levels.On the first level the re-contextualized terms gain new meanings in the new text and on the second level they retain some of their original connotations. By stretching the concepts of Elysium Ranches and paradise from Greek mythologyand Islam respectively, e.g. ‘Elysium Ranches, a housing development near Islamabad was supposed to be paradise’, (Appendix) and placing them in the central position in the present text, the text draws the attention of the readers towards the linguistic strategies that can potentially hide manipulative ideologies within discourse.

In Greek mythology Elysium Fields was a land of luxury that was granted to the pious after their death. Initially only especially favoured and chosen by gods could enter into Elysium Fields. Later on this land allowed the righteous and other great heroes to live a blessed and happy life in it after their death. This Greek concept of Elysium Fields is similar to the concept of paradise in Islam that rewards a happy place to those who live a righteous life. Paradise also retains a particularly blissful place for those who fight for Allah. So Elysium Ranches launched by DefHA is a perfectly fit housing scheme for the military men because they fight for God against enemies. The perfect image of Elysium Ranches can be grasped from Homer's epic Odyssey.

'to the Elysium plain...where life is easiest for men. No snow is there, nor heavy storm, nor even rain, but ever does Ocean send up blasts of the shrill-blowing West Wind that they may give cooling to men'. Homer, Odyssey (4.560-566).

Such is the perfect land in which the Greek heroes were destined to live an everlasting life after death. They would enjoy a life untouched by worldly sorrows in Elysium lands. It is a land embellished with sweet heavenly fruits and honey. DefHA in Pakistan has launched this heavenly scheme on the earth for the left behind of martyrs. So Elysium Ranches is a conscious linguistic choice of the owners of the housing scheme because it is also going to be paradise on the earth. Pakistan military promises to provide this paradise on earth to the war injured or the relatives of the soldiers who die for their country-the 'shaheed'. However there is a marked contrast between the promised- land, Elysium Ranches (DefHA Scheme) and its current reality. DefHA promises 'luxurious farmhouses', 'international-standard golf course' through its 'glossy' prospectus to ensure that it is a perfect land of happiness and tranquility. Such promises are deconstructed by the reality of 'nothing to show for the project except furious investors who say they paid for ranches' (Appendix). The writer counts the luxuries of the blissful life of paradise. He describes the vast area of this paradise i.e. six sq miles, the big costly plots to be built on it, 'seven-star hotel and an international-standard golf course'. This dream of a blissful life is mocked at by the announcement 'The public would buy their slice of heaven from Pakistan's most powerful and respected institution, the army' (emphasis added). The first implication suggests that paradise can be bought with money. Secondly it implies that people can buy only small pieces of this paradise because the prices are too high. The third implication is the strongest of the previous two-i.e. the owner of this paradise is Pakistan Military 'the most powerful and respected' (Appendix) - the deliberate juxtaposition of power and respect indicates that it is the power of army which is respected.

Major Discursive strategies. The text contains many destructive strategies to deconstruct national identities of men in uniform. Pakistan's military is the most powerful organization that is why it is the most respectable institution in the country. Consequently army chief is the most powerful figure in the country. "Pakistan Increases Power of Army Strongman General Ashfaq Kayani" (2010).

'A corruption investigation has looked into senior retired army officers, including relatives of the army's chief Ashfaq Pervez Kayani, who for many years was the most powerful figure in the country' (Appendix).

Investigation could not be launched against Ashfaq Pervez Kayani (ex-army chief) while he was in power. After many years of his retirement he, along with his relatives have been

charged with mega corruption scams. This discourse on power abuse continues into the next passage where the text informs

‘Also under examination are three former managers of the Defence Housing Authority (DefHA), a wing of the army that builds developments to house senior retired officers and also makes enormous profits selling homes to civilians. They deny any wrongdoing’ (Appendix)

Power, corruption, wealth and authority-a network by which military earns respect. The DefHA is just a wing of this network. The text places the concept of respect next to power. Power is not only feared but also respected by the public and if the power player is the military of Pakistan, it is also worshiped as the sole savior of the country. Such is the political culture of Pakistan where military’s authority cannot be challenged. Respect goes with power and the power of army comes from its high officers’ involvement in wealth earning schemes. DefHA is just a wing in which three retired or present officers have been found involved. There is a strong underlying suspicion whether the allegation of corruption against them will come under any legal action or not.

‘The DefHA, which enjoys special legal privileges and operate in cities across the country, are just one part of a vast military business empire that is unique to Pakistan. It encompasses everything from banks to factories and is rarely subject to scrutiny’ (Appendix)

Military forces in Pakistan are blessed with special legal privileges that aren't subject to scrutiny. They are not only the owner of huge business empire but also enjoy legal privileges to run their businesses. Indeed the wings of this empire spread over larger businesses and no authority ever dare to investigate them. Moreover Pakistan is an exception in the world in allowing its military such vast businesses. The text draws on the ‘exterior text’ (Kristeva, 1986), brings the reference from Siddiq’s book *Military Inc* and puts it in the present text. According to (Siddiq, 2007) ‘in the name of providing defense as a public good, the army is constantly furthering into its own corporate interests and those of a small elite of retired senior officers’. The main question in her work ‘why some militaries become key players in a country’s power politics’ explicitly invokes the need to explore the exercise of power abuse within this highly respected national organization of the country. She targets the large business empire of Pakistan military- the ‘Milbus’- a term she uses to highlight military run businesses in Pakistan ranging from Welfare Foundations like Fauji Foundation (FF), the Army Welfare Trust (AWT), Shaheen Foundation (SF), Bahria Foundation (BF) to the everyday military controlled commodities like Fauji cereals. The vast empire of military also includes hotels, shopping malls, insurance companies, banks, farms and an airline. Milbus refers to ‘military capital that is used for the personal benefit of the military fraternity, especially the officer cadre, but is neither recorded nor is the part of the defense budget’ (Kotkin, S. 2007). The strong military effectively works to ensure its organization’s financial autonomy. In doing so it has sought direct control over policy making. Milbus expansion started just after 1947 and gained momentum in the coming years. Unfortunately just after its creation Pakistan had to fight 1965 war and some other smaller wars against India which elevated the status of its military from a national organization to an extraordinary rescuer and liberator. In the name of providing protection to its soldiers and their families the military sought to set up different welfare foundations which ranged from cereals to luxury housing schemes. In addition, land grants, pensions five times the civilian level and post retirement jobs are some of the other benefits.-. Moreover ‘out of 46 housing schemes directly built by the armed forces, none is for ordinary soldiers’ (emphasis added), (Siddiq, 2007).

Siddaqa shows that a number of top military companies were granted outright monopolies. She is of the view that military might be viewed as Pakistan's largest political party. Moreover the profit earned by military is directly proportional to power (emphasis added). So the growing power of the military comes directly from its economic strength. Elysium Ranches is just a glimpse of this strength. Pakistan military in terms of economic considerations is an independent state within state. It is not a subset of the Pakistani executive branch. It is a self-sustained structure of the executive system of Pakistan.

'The 2009 prospectus plays up the military connection. Babur Kayani, one of the four directors, is described as a member of a 'family that has been involved in the security and armed forces of Pakistan for three generations'. A profile of Amjad Kayani's stresses his 'very close connections' to the DefHA' (Appendix).

Babur Kayani, Amjad Kayani and Kamran Kayani are the three brothers of army chief of Pakistan. If Babur Kayani as a member of a family who served armed forces for three generations can be one of the directors of a housing scheme, Amjad Kayani, his brother is quite justified in winning contracts with DefHA. He has 'close connections to the housing scheme' means close connection to power and authority. No professionalism of any kind is required if the director of housing authority has connection with the military. This connection is an enough certificate to get involved in legal or illegal businesses. None of the three brothers have been arrested or charged with any wrong doing.

'Perhaps the most spectacular failure was one the Kayanis were not involved in, DefHA Valley, a vast new suburb that was to be built adjacent to Elysium Ranches and was to offer relatively affordable housing to junior officers and less affluent citizens' (Appendix)

Powerful military must work for powerful projects in which millions and trillions of currency notes could be earned, whereas the smaller projects like DefHA Valley which offers affordable houses for junior officers and ordinary citizens should be patronized by the less powerful others. That is why the powerful Kayanis are not involved in the smaller projects like DefHA Valley scheme. Many topoi (Wodak, 2001) as argumentative strategies have been used in the second half, particularly in the concluding passages of the text. For example the topos of responsibility can be debated by the fact that the three DefHA scandals have come under the notice of new army chief Raheel Sharif and currently they are being investigated by the National Accountability Bureau (NAB). This argument can be grasped more forcefully by the decision taken by Sharif 'to clean up an institution' which, he believes should focus on defending the country and not building luxury houses. This argumentative strategy (topos of responsibility) continues till the end of the text. The concluding remarks explicitly define Raheel Sharif's sense of responsibility. The retired general whom the Guardian contacted to get some information on the scandal told 'he is a professional soldier, not a praetorian soldier'.....He comes from a distinguished military family and has always been under that much extra pressure to meet those high standards' (Appendix). Another deliberate linguistic choice i.e. the metaphor of praetorian soldier discursively constructs national identity.

Two opposing micro-strategies are actively at work here. The micro constructive strategy builds the positive national identity of Raheel Sharif and the micro destructive strategy clearly dismantles the national identities of Kayani brothers. Whereas Raheel Sharif has been constructed as a 'professional soldier' the Kayani brothers emerge as Praetorian guards of corruption.

CONCLUSION:

2016 is an important year in the politics of Pakistan as it witnessed two mega corruption scandals; Panama Papers Scandal and Defence Housing Authority Scandal. These two corruption scandals are public frenzies till date. Civil bureaucracy is involved in the former and military forces of the country in the later. Newspaper accounts frequently give voices to these scandals. The analysis of linguistic construction of these corruption scandals has provided the opportunity to study the underlying ideologies of the power players behind these scandals. Scandals of powerful organizations like military always remain scandals in Pakistan, they are seldom resolved. So the article writer sees little chance for the resolution of the present scandal. The text explicitly proves that the scandals involving the military are often hushed up. Next revelation is more dreadful i.e. in order to give all- clear certificates to the powerful military men, they are brought back into service after their retirement. Then they are tried through 'closed-door courts martial'. They are not imprisoned if found guilty. They are only asked to step down or some of their retirement benefits are reduced. Such is the military organization of Pakistan and such is its power. The analysis proves that the players of power abuse will continue to live respectable life even if their wrongdoings are exposed.

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APPENDIX

August 19, 2016. the Guardian

Pakistan army's housing ventures face corruption investigation

Brothers of ex-army chief linked to two of three DefHA developments being investigated by National Accountability Bureau. The army is Pakistan's most powerful and respected institution. Elysium Ranches, a housing development near Islamabad, was supposed to be a paradise. Spread over six sq miles of land, it would boast luxurious "farmhouses" costing up to £340,000 each, a seven-star hotel and an international-standard golf course to ensure it was 'the ultimate place of happiness and tranquility for its residents'..

Or so promised the scheme's glossy 2009 corporate prospectus, which predicted revenues of £493m. The public would buy their slice of heaven from Pakistan's most powerful and respected institution, the army.

But seven years on there is nothing to show for the project except furious investors who say they paid for ranches that never materialised.

A corruption investigation has looked into senior retired officers, including relatives of the army's former chief Ashfaq Parvez Kayani, who for many years was the most powerful figure in the country.

Also under examination are three former managers of the Defence Housing Authority (DHA), a wing of the army that builds developments to house senior retired officers and also makes enormous profits selling homes to civilians. They deny any wrongdoing.

The DHAs, which enjoy special legal privileges and operate in cities across the country, are just one part of a vast military business empire that is unique to [Pakistan](#). It encompasses everything from banks to factories and is rarely subject to scrutiny.

According to Ayesha Siddiqa, a critic of the military's entanglement in business, it is a recipe for corruption. "In the name of providing defence as a public good, the army is constantly furthering its own corporate interests and those of a small elite of retired senior officers," she said.

Elysium Ranches is one of three disastrous real estate ventures by the army in recent years, all of which have involved partnerships with well-connected private companies that were supposed to pay handsomely for the privilege of using the army's DHA brand.

General Ashfaq Parvez Kayani. Photograph: Inter Services Public Relations/EPA

The partner in the Ranches project was Elysium Holdings, a company linked to three brothers of Kayani, who served as army chief from 2007 to 2013.

So far two former senior DHA officials have been arrested, along with Waseem Aslam Butt, the former chief executive of Elysium Holdings, who claims he has been used as a scapegoat to protect Kayani's brothers.

The 2009 prospectus plays up the military connection. Babur Kayani, one of four directors, is described as a member of "a family that has been involved in the security and armed forces of Pakistan for three generations". A profile of Amjad Kayani's stresses his "very close connections" to the DHA.

Amjad Kayani was questioned by the National Accountability Bureau in February. Neither he, Babur nor a third brother, Kamran, have been arrested or charged with any offence.

Kamran Kayani was also involved in a Lahore venture called DHA City, which is under investigation for not being delivered despite a reported £100m having been collected from customers.

Perhaps the most spectacular failure was one the Kayanis were not involved in, DHA Valley, a vast new suburb that was to be built adjacent to Elysium Ranches and was to offer relatively affordable housing to junior officers and less affluent civilians.

More than 150,000 customers rushed to make payments totalling a reported £400m when the scheme was announced in 2009. Seven years later almost no work has been done and much of the land that was supposed to be turned into suburbs has been earmarked for a new water reservoir.

The Guardian approached the DHA and the office of the army's spokesman with questions about all three scandals but neither agreed to speak.

The fact that all three scandals are being investigated by the National Accountability Bureau (NAB) has been credited to Raheel Sharif, a popular general who has been army chief since November 2013.

One retired general who served under Kayani said Sharif was determined to clean up an institution he believed should be focused on defending the country and not building luxury housing.

'He is a professional soldier, not a praetorian soldier', said the retired general. 'He comes from a distinguished military family and has always been under that much extra pressure to meet those high standards'.

Scandals involving the military are often hushed up. Retired officers have even been brought back into service in order to deal with their cases through closed-door courts martial. Those found guilty are rarely imprisoned but forced to step down or stripped of some of their retirement privileges.

In April the army chief won plaudits after it was publicly revealed that six officers had been sacked for corruption. The step was widely interpreted as an attempt to set an example to Nawaz Sharif, the prime minister, who was pitched into a political crisis after his children were named in the Panama Papers leak, as being linked to offshore companies.

Nawaz Sharif and the government have pointed out that none of the offshore companies were in his name, and vigorously denied any wrongdoing. His son, who owned one company, and his daughter, who was a trustee of another, have also protested their innocence.

Earlier Raheel Sharif, the army chief, had called for “across-the-board accountability” and said it would not be possible to end terrorism unless “the menace of corruption is uprooted”.

The NAB investigations into Elysium Ranches and DHA City are all the more striking because of the involvement of the Kayani brothers, who have issued public statements staunchly denying any wrongdoing. They also insist their older brother, the ex-army chief, had nothing to do with their business interests. General Kayami has made no public comment on the case.

- This article was amended on 19 August 2016 to correct the name of the Defence Housing Authority.