

**DOXASTIC FAULTLINES IN A
LINGUISTICALLY FRACTURED SOCIETY:
A GROUNDED THEORY STUDY**

BY

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**Doxastic Faultlines in a Linguistically Fractured Society: A
Grounded Theory Study**

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ABSTRACT

Title: Doxastic Faultlines in a Linguistically Fractured Society: A Grounded Theory Study

This dissertation theorizes the doxastic relationship between English and Urdu in Pakistan within the parameters of sociolinguistics. The study draws data from 300 opinion articles as published in Pakistan's four English and four Urdu leading newspapers. The time period is 51 months and 09 days. An effort is made to generate a theory adapting Charmaz's (2006) constructivist grounded theory approach to reconfigure the relationship between the two languages as conceptualized in the selected data instead of relying on extant theories. Adaptation is done in two ways to fit the sociolinguistic status of the study- innovative use of in vivo codes to construct intertextual doxai based on five main discourses (America, Pakistan Army, corruption, education and women) identified in the selected data, and by adding a new stage of conceptualization. A doxa is conceived as the opinion of the majority and/or the public intellectual who are fashioned after the tradition of Edward Said (1994). Consistent with the grounded theory logic the study does not start with any pre-conceived categories. The study is divided into main parts on the basis of two types of inferencing: inductive and abductive. Three stages of conceptualization mark the stage of induction and end on an intertextual category/doxa which stands for the doxastic value of the entire data: "An army without any political ambitions would be more acceptable than its present and past role". In the abductive stage, the same is conceptualized into a conceptual model labeled as "D/doxa". The small "d" doxa refers to the sumtotal of all opinions present whose meaning-making potential is dependent on an over-arching Doxa, the discourse on Pakistan Army in my case. Using D/doxa as a discursive entity, data are further conceptualized to generate an understanding of the relationship between Urdu and English. The theoretical rendering is named as the ENGURD theory (a portmanteau of English and Urdu). The theory proposes that in the realm of 300 opinion articles English and Urdu make one discourse. The doxastic differences present do not represent any linguistic/discursive fracturing between Urdu and English.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

THESIS AND DEFENSE APPROVAL FORM.....	ii
CANDIDATE’S DECLARATION.....	iii
ABSTRACT.....	iv
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	v
LIST OF FIGURES	x
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.....	xi
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	xii
DEDICATION.....	xiii
1. INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Scope of the chapter.....	1
1.2 The place of English in Pakistan with reference to Urdu.....	1
1.3 Locating the present study in the discipline of sociolinguistics.....	5
1.3.1 Interdisciplinary nature of sociolinguistics.....	5
1.3.2 Social constructionist sociolinguistics.....	10
1.3.3 The need for a social constructionist sociolinguistic grounded theory study.....	13
1.4 Sociolinguistics and newspapers.....	17
1.5 The purpose statement.....	20
1.6 Research question.....	20
1.7 Delimitation.....	20

1.8 Method.....	21
1.9 Organization of the study.....	22
Endnotes.....	23
2. SENSITIZING DISCIPLINARY PERSPECTIVES.....	24
2.1 Scope of the chapter	24
2.2 Discourse.....	24
2.3 Doxa.....	25
2.3.1 Doxa and newspapers.....	29
2.3.2 Column writers as media intellectuals in the tradition of Edward Said..	29
2.4 Intertextuality.....	30
2.4.1 Intertextuality in newspapers.....	33
2.4.2 Intertextuality and translation.....	34
2.4.3 Grounded theory and translation.....	35
2.4.4 Grounded theory studies based on intertextuality	36
2.5 Faultlines in Pakistan.....	37
2.6 Newspaper research in Pakistan.....	38
2.7 Relevant sociolinguistic research on English in Pakistan.....	41
2.7.1 Sociolinguistic research in Pakistan involving grounded theory.....	43
2.8 English and Urdu in Pakistan's educational set-up.....	44
3. ADAPTED CONSTRUCTIVIST GROUNDED THEORY METHOD...	46
3.1 Scope of the chapter.....	46

3.2 The constructivist grounded theory method in comparison.....	46
3.3 An overview of the classic grounded theory (CGT) as set off against constructivist grounded theory (ConsGT).....	49
3.3.1 Logic behind using sensitizing perspectives.....	51
3.3.2 What is theory in constructivist grounded theory?.....	53
3.3.3 Suitable data for a ConsGT study.....	60
3.3.4 Data for the current study and initial sampling.....	61
3.3.5 The place of language in ConsGT and its implications for the present study.....	65
3.4 Adapted ConsGT research method followed in this study.....	66
3.4.1 Coding (Pre- initial in vivo abstractions, initial abstractions and secondary coding).....	69
3.4.2 Memo writing and category development	72
3.4.3 Theoretical sampling and theoretical saturation.....	72
3.5 Practicalities of sensitizing perspectives of translation and intertextuality	73
4. DATA ANALYSIS- A CONSTANT COMPARATIVE PROCESS LEADING TO THEORY FORMULAITON.....	76
4.1 Scope of the chapter.....	76
4.2 Pre- initial in vivo abstractions.....	77
4.3 A word cloud.....	78
4.4 Initial abstractions, intertextual references and secondary code conceptualization.....	78
4.4.1 America (English and Urdu columns).....	79

4.4.1.1 Doxastic codes in the discourse on America as abstracted through a constant comparative process.....	97
4.4.2 Army (English and Urdu columns).....	99
4.4.2.1 Doxastic codes in the discourse on Pakistan Army as abstracted through a constant comparative process.....	116
4.4.3 Corruption (English and Urdu columns).....	117
4.4.3.1 Doxastic codes in the discourse on corruption as abstracted through a constant comparative process.....	136
4.4.4. Education (English and Urdu columns).....	136
4.4.4.1 Doxastic codes in the discourse on education as abstracted through a constant comparative process.....	155
4.4.5 Women (English and Urdu columns).....	156
4.4.5.1 Doxastic codes in the discourse on women as abstracted through a constant comparative process.....	174
4.5 Musing on the conceptual constructions so far.....	175
4.5.1 The status of doxastic faultlines in the abstracted data.....	175
4.5.1.1 Doxastic faultlines in the discourse on America.....	175
4.5.1.2 Doxastic faultlines in the discourse on Pakistan army.....	178
4.5.1.3 Doxastic faultlines in the discourse on corruption.....	181
4.5.1.4 Doxastic faultlines in the discourse on education.....	183
4.5.1.5 Doxastic faultlines in the discourse on women.....	185
4.5.2 Intertextual category development.....	187
4.6 Interdoxuality, D/doxa and ENGURD.....	196

4.6.1 Interdoxuality and D/doxa.....	197
4.6.2 The theory of ENGURD as representing the relationship between English and Urdu.....	201
4.6.2.1 One discursive formation.....	203
4.6.2.2 Equality between Urdu and English.....	204
4.6.2.3 The positive role of media intellectuals.....	209
5. FINAL THOUGHTS.....	211
5.1 Scope of the chapter.....	211
5.2 A recap of the research journey.....	211
5.3 Methodological and theoretical contributions.....	212
5.4 Meeting the criteria for a grounded theory study.....	213
5.4.1 Credibility.....	213
5.4.2 Originality.....	214
5.4.3 Resonance.....	214
5.4.5 Usefulness.....	214
5.5 Limitations and recommendations of the study.....	215
REFERENCES.....	216
APPENDIX-PRE-INITIAL IN VIVO ABSTRACTIONS.....	265

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 3.1	<i>The adapted grounded theory process</i>	69
Figure 4.1	<i>Word Cloud showing the general frequency of words in the data</i>	78
Figure 4.2	<i>Doxastic faultlines in the discourse on America</i>	177
Figure 4.3	<i>Doxastic faultlines in the discourse on army</i>	179-80
Figure 4.4	<i>Doxastic faultlines in the discourse on corruption</i>	182-83
Figure 4.5	<i>Doxastic faultlines in the discourse on education</i>	184
Figure 4.6	<i>Doxastic faultlines in the discourse on women</i>	186
Figure 4.7	<i>Thirty codes as abstracted from three stages of coding</i>	188
Figure 4.8	<i>D/doxa</i>	200
Figure 4.9	<i>The formulation of ENGURD</i>	202

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- CGT: classic grounded theory
- ConsGT: constructivist grounded theory
- GTM: grounded theory method
- DM: defence minister
- FM: foreign minister
- NS: Nawaz Sharif
- PM: prime minister
- SCS: social constructionist sociolinguistics
- U-E: Urdu and English languages
- ZAB: Zulfikar Ali Bhutto

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this dissertation to all grounded theorists working in the field of sociolinguistics.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Scope of the chapter

Chapter 1 sets the tone for the rest of the dissertation. I start with an overview of the place of English in Pakistan especially with reference to its position to Urdu. I briefly mention the controversies surrounding the use of the English language in its relation to the Urdu language (the national language of Pakistan). Then I introduce sociolinguistics in the context of Pakistan and show the relevance of Irwin's (2011) term social constructionist sociolinguistics (SCS) with the aims of this dissertation. I bring in Kathy Charmaz's (2006) constructivist grounded theory (ConsGT) to show compatibility between the basic premise of the grounded theory method (GTM) and social constructionist sociolinguistics. Glaser and Strauss (1967) the founders of the grounded theory method, argue for generating new theories from data to understand problems afresh rather than using extant theories that have "a dubious fit and working capacity" (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, p.4). Next, I critique Nikolas Coupland's (2016, 2002 & 2014) three essays where he expresses the need for theorizing in sociolinguistics which implies innovation in the existing methodology while remaining true to the essential philosophy of sociolinguistics which is that it is a study that deepens our understanding of both language(s) and society. I tie it to Pakistan's situation where explicit theorising is hitherto missing. I draw explicit links between Coupland and Charmaz in their advocacy for theorizing, the former in sociolinguistics and the latter in any field that needs a fresh rendering. I make a case for using newspaper data taken from two major languages for theorising in a sociolinguistic study. I then move to the sole research question which guides the study. I briefly introduce the method used in this research project. Finally, I end the chapter with an overview of how the rest of the dissertation is arranged.

1.2. The place of English in Pakistan with reference to Urdu

Pakistan is a robust multilingual society and is home to 74 living languages (Simons, David & Fennig, 2018, para 1), some being more important than others in terms of utility. Urdu and English are considered as the principal languages in

Pakistan. The Pakistani society has of late been introduced to the concept of endangered languages and educated speakers/users of these languages are active in reviving and preserving their respective mother tongues which reassures one of the long-lasting status of Pakistan as a thriving multilingual society (Zaidi & Zaki, 2017, p. 59). It is hard to find any Pakistani who is a complete monolingual. Living in such a society, it is but natural to develop a curiosity of how different languages and their speakers interact. It is commonplace for research studies in a multilingual society, to use data from two or more languages and the current sociolinguistic study is no different in this sense although I have not come across any study that is based on opinion articles culled from Urdu and English newspapers. Furthermore, I could not find any study aiming to theorize the relationship between Urdu and English, either. A detailed review of the relevant studies is given in the next chapter. Suffice it to say at this stage that none is purely qualitative in nature; most rely on the quantitative/positivist paradigm.

The journey of the English language in Pakistan is far from over after it having assumed the status of a global language; it cannot be wished away just because some people consider it to be the carrier of the infidel's ideas or culture. English has not had a smooth sailing in its learning, embracing or the effort to do away with it in Pakistan as one of the former colonies of the erstwhile British Empire. The latest concern to hold the linguists' attention just like any other concerned Pakistani, is the Supreme Court of Pakistan's judgement which directs the government of Pakistan to "adopt Urdu as the official language" (Supreme Court Verdict, 2015, p. 10; Haider, 2015, p. 8) of the country as "there is hardly any necessity for the use of the colonial language which cannot be understood by the public at large" (Haider, 2015, p. 8). Article 251 of the Constitution of Pakistan is cited in this regard which binds the government of the day to make arrangements to use Urdu, the national language, for "official and other purposes within fifteen years from the commencing day" of the Constitution (Haider, 2015, p.8). India, a sister country of Pakistan at least in the matter of sharing the English legacy, has deferred the decision without giving any time frame (Apte Mahadev, 1976, p. 158). India and Pakistan became independent just a day apart in 1947.

The Supreme Court's observation that English is a colonial language (Supreme Court Verdict, 2015, p.10) and that it is not understood by the majority of the Pakistani public, is a notion that is held very commonly by those who are against using English for official and educational purposes. Coupled with this is the government of Pakistan's educational policy (National Education Policy Framework, 2018, p. 4) that describes English as having a "glorified status in society" which is used "as a de facto official language". The policy insists on standardised teaching of English to public sector schools to meet the needs of the students which underscores the importance in which English is held by the makers of the document. The dual approach towards English that views it through different lenses is the linguistic fracturing that my study refers to. Among other supposed or real faultlines (Lall, 2012, p.74; Haider, 2011, p.10) there are linguistic faultlines (notably the decision to keep or do away with English) also that resurface every now and then to hold the attention of academics, general population and government officials. English has variously been called the language that brings the decadent Western culture to our doorsteps, the language that is the root cause of the failure of our educational system, a post-colonial legacy, a language that Pakistan can easily do without. The people opposing English see a big chasm between Urdu and English that is unbridgeable (Zaidi & Zaki, 2017, p. 59). This last thought is especially important for the current research as it attempts to understand the gap in theoretical terms by offering a proposition for the apparent and obvious linguistic fracturing.

The present work adds to the broad knowledge base on the subject of the place of English in some substantial ways. It tries to reimagine the relationship of English and Urdu as it exists in Pakistan by generating a substantive theory as against a formal theory. The former is limited in scope as compared to the latter which is based on a number of substantive grounded theories. Substantive grounded theories are based on data whereas formal theories use substantive theories as their primary data. Formal theories are broader in scope as compared to substantive theories which explain a narrow context. The findings cannot be broadly abstracted and generalised in a substantive theory like the one the present research project aims to generate. In order to "substantively" theorise, my study employs a comparison of Urdu and English newspapers' opinion articles. Most previous studies in my knowledge have not studied the relationship from this angle. Further, this aspect of theory generation

makes the current work explanatory as opposed to descriptive as theories are explanatory rather than descriptive.

Scholars from Tariq Rehman (2003, p.8), Sabiha Mansoor (2017, pp. 141-4) to Riaz Hassan (2004, pp. 57-8) and Robert J. Baumgardener (1995, p. 174) are the notable names that have attempted to understand the role and place of English in Pakistan. Baumgardener's work on Pakistan's English newspapers is considered to be a pioneer in this area. He deals with the issues of the acceptability of Pakistani English as a separate variety. Baumgardener works to standardise Pakistani English in Pakistan. Other works address issues related variously to pedagogy, society, culture, politics and religion with reference to the presence of the English language in Pakistan. Most works take a descriptive stance rather than a prescriptive one towards the place of English in Pakistan. My work is also based on Pakistani English as represented in Pakistani English newspapers set off against the same amount of data taken from prominent Urdu newspapers. However, the difference between my work and the previous works is that I explicitly aim to theorise the relationship between Urdu and English in Pakistan. This makes the project underhand a fresh rendering of the situation.

Where Baumgardener works in standardising the Pakistani English, Tariq Rehman studies the place of English in Pakistan with reference to Urdu. Rehman's (2003) work on language shaming with reference to English and Urdu is important for my study. Language shaming refers to the situation where speakers consider speaking and writing in a particular language a shame. In this case it is Urdu that causes shame to its speakers and they prefer English. Rehman claims that it is not only the rich but the poor, too, feel "embarrassed about one's language" (2003, p.8). Rich and poor alike prefer English over Urdu.

The claims made by Rehman are supported by Mansoor (2017, pp. 14-4) and Khan (2017, p. 131) who argue on the basis of their findings that the majority of people interviewed prefer English over regional and sometimes Urdu also, as it assures them of better employment opportunities. Therein lies the controversy and ambiguity surrounding the use of Urdu and English in Pakistan. While this dissertation may not be able to address this controversy in its totality, a study of how the two languages interact within the space of newspaper opinion articles/ columns can shed

some light on the relationship and it does so by generating a theory which is grounded in data.

The present study being qualitative in nature, derives its method from Kathy Charmaz's (2006) version of grounded theory method- constructivist grounded theory (ConsGT)- which is conceptualized in the interpretive paradigm. The method is explained in detail in Chapter 3. Suffice it to say that ConsGT is inherently inductive and abductive in approach and consists of "a systematic approach to qualitative inquiry for the purpose of theory construction" (Charmaz, 2017, pp.1-2). The key strategies that ConsGT employs are coding and memo-writing leading to the selection of categories, theoretical sampling, theoretical saturation and a conceptualization of the phenomenon.

1.3 Locating the present study in the discipline of sociolinguistics

This section starts with defining the field of sociolinguistics as relevant to the current study. The interdisciplinarity nature of the field is relied upon to place the current study in the mother discipline. Furtherdown, Irwin's (2011) social constructionist sociolinguistics is mentioned to further contextualize the present study. The section ends with a discussion on the need for theory generation in sociolinguistics.

1.3.1. *Interdisciplinary nature of sociolinguistics*

There are two basic elements in a study of sociolinguistics: language and society. It is the interplay of these elements that engages sociolinguists or scholars interested in language and society, and culture as an extension of the two. The arena for the current research project consists of three components: two languages and one society. Both Urdu and English are important languages for Pakistan. The opinion columns are taken from newspapers written in Urdu and English underscoring the importance of the two languages.

A focus on interdisciplinarity is important for my project as doxa, the unit of analysis is taken from rhetorical studies which is used in argument and sociological discourses more than sociolinguistic ones. The method used in my study was originally propagated by two sociologists, Glaser and Strauss in 1967. The duo

showed the workability of GT as a “general research methodology” (Glaser, 2004, para 8) to be used across disciplines and not keep it confined to just sociology.

The writers of my data are professional users of language who manipulate language for their ends. Rhetoricians and other language users like media intellectuals also called public intellectuals or experts fall into the category of those who use linguistic means to meet certain objectives. One of the products of language manipulation is doxa formation which is propagated through language/discourse. The equation “language/ discourse” is used to emphasize that a language makes discourse in the sense that all statements are interconnected and rely on each other for wider meaning. Doxa, a Greek word is translated into English as “opinion”, “belief” or “judgement” (Muckelbauer, 2008, p.150). The notion of doxa is important as the current project is built around it. This dissertation investigates the absence/ presence of doxai in the selected articles and theorises the findings. The data consist of opinion articles and as such there are bound to be different opinions. But what is the nature of the opinions and what does that mean for the two languages under question is what concerns this study. The next chapter explicates the concept of doxa in detail.

Advocating interdisciplinarity in sociolinguistics, Wodak, Johnstone and Kerswill (2011) write about the importance of “the development of new methodologies and new tools for language analysis” (Wodak et al, 2011, p. 4) to suit modern trends. Taking a cue from the trio, the present study adopts a relatively new method for studying the sociolinguistic phenomenon in a society that is multilingual and an ex-colony of the British Empire. The phenomenon needs to be freshly understood and theorised as the English language is not just the legacy of a departing empire, it is also a world language now and the question is whether it can still be considered as a colonizer’s language?

An insight by Per Linell (2001) and Nikolas Coupland (2001) is helpful here. Both realize the importance of not confining sociolinguistics within linguistics. Linell (2001, pp. 120-1) decries embracing “a view of language derived from linguistics, basically as sets of forms”. He suggests studying the phenomenon of language in its entirety rather than solely the linguistic features. He proposes that language can equally be called “an activity system”. Studies on language should seem to be showing some activity, some action. Languages need to be defined as representations

of the worlds that they embody and are embedded within. Similarly, Coupland defines sociolinguistics as not being delimited by or subservient to the priorities of linguistics itself (2001, p. 5). These two views are significant as I do not use a traditional sociolinguistic method to the study of language. The traditional sociolinguistic methods are bounded by linguistics as Coupland notes and may not be helpful for a project that aims to theorize.

Tracing the sociolinguistic history, sociolinguists point out that sociolinguistics was born out of a combined effort of linguists, anthropologists and sociologists during the 1960s and 1970s, when they “became interested in how the structure of language was shaped by the contexts of its use, and how language use shaped social relations and culture” (Wodak et al, 2011, p.4). This makes it clear that sociolinguistics is not supposed to prioritise views of language influencing society or the other way round; both hold equal importance for sociolinguistics. Blommaert (2018, p.3) as referenced as elsewhere also in this work, calls sociolinguists as specialized sociologists underscoring not only the co-dependency of the two disciplines but a shift in sociolinguistics as noted by Coupland and Linell above.

Most sociolinguists writing on the interdisciplinary nature draw on sociology to define sociolinguistics. One such theorist is Christine Mallinson (2011, p.94) who points out that both sociolinguists and sociologists agree on language’s role as constructivist of a social reality. Moreover, she argues that both disciplines can “overlap productively” (Mallinson (2011, p. 88). Language in her opinion as well as in the current project, is viewed as a medium of social phenomenon’s construction. Social is intertwined with linguistics in sociolinguistics.

Holmes (2013, p.1) sheds light on the interdisciplinarity inherent in sociolinguistics in very relatable terms. He points out that sociolinguistics studies the relationship between language and society which entails the contextualization of human language, its function in a society, meaning production, and is conveyed socially. Holmes writes that “[e]xamining the way people use language in different social contexts provides a wealth of information about the way language works, as well as about the social relationships in a community”. I understand how two equally important languages are used socially through the study of doxai formation as given in newspapers. Furthermore, how these two languages work together in a bilingual

situation as newspaper language shed light on the current sociolinguistic trends in the society. There is a perception that Urdu and English writers/ users inhabit different social worlds and this study aims to keep this view in sight also.

Wardhaugh and Fuller (2015, p.1) call sociolinguistics as “the study of our everyday lives – how language works in our casual conversations and the media we are exposed to, and the presence of societal norms, policies, and laws which address language”. The writers are almost inviting in their definition of sociolinguistics. I am tempted to replace the word “study” with “story” and make it “the story of our everyday lives”. A sociolinguistic study is almost like a narrative of a particular society. Sociolinguistics is all around us especially those living in multilingual societies. It defines us, constructs us and enables us to understand and fight for our rights in a plural world defined by one language, i.e. the English language. The writers go on to define society as a group of people “drawn together for a certain purpose or purposes” (Wardhaugh & Fuller, 2015, p.2) where each group needs to be bounded in a certain way so that their language could be studied. They take “language to mean a system of linguistic communication particular to a group; this includes spoken, written, and signed modes of communication”. The “society” referred to are the media intellectuals that write their weekly or daily column in newspapers adhering to a framework that may not be easily visible. What this means for the linguistic relationship between Urdu and English is what I endeavour to do in this dissertation.

Like Wodak et al (2011) above, Wardhaugh and Fuller (2015, p. 15), too, make a solid connection between sociology and sociolinguistics. They contend that a sociolinguistic study must draw some conclusions on the nature of society in which it is conducted and likewise a study on the sociology of language must comment on the language of the society in which it is carried out. There is a need to avoid being “unnecessarily restrictive” in the conclusions. Rather, it is imperative to go beyond the narrow scope. This can be clarion call for a study like the current one that aims to conceptualize the relation between English and Urdu in an original way. It also aims to shed light on the society where the abstracted phenomenon is present.

Dwelling on the importance of theory, Wardhaugh and Fuller (2015, p. 17) further suggest that sociolinguistics “must be oriented toward both data and theory:

that is, any conclusions we come to must be solidly based on evidence, but should also make theoretical contributions". A study ending on data description cannot do enough for sociolinguistics. This suggestion is noteworthy for the current study as it sets out to make "theoretical contributions" at the end of this study.

Ager (1996, p. 1404) points out the flexibility as well as the interdisciplinarity of sociolinguistics. Writing of the disciplinary continuum in sociolinguistics, he claims that sociolinguistics can be studied from the sociology end or the linguistics end. Sociolinguistics studying how a language "mediates" a society's social structures, social groups and institutions leans towards the sociology continuum. The linguistic continuum studies "linguistic choices people and groups make consciously or unconsciously, by virtue of belonging or wishing to belong to different social categories, and by virtue of their intention within the communicative situation in which they find themselves". The claim made by Ager is borne out by Bucholtz and Hall (2008, p. 403) who coin a new term "sociocultural linguistics" to cover the interdisciplinary nature of sociolinguistics. They define it as an approach that brings methodologies and theories from different approaches "productively together" (2008, p. 404) to understand language, society and culture in one study.

My study can comfortably be placed somewhere in the middle of the continuum that Ager (2006) points to in the sense that it can shed light on the sociolinguistic situation as well as sociological one through the study of opinion articles. Opinion article writers belong to two different languages. Ager claims that sociolinguistics is sociolinguistics whichever side it leans towards, or is in the middle like the current project. The breadth and depth of the subject of sociolinguistics covers issues ranging from language planning, politics of language to the ways the powerful of a society manipulate discourse in order to subjugate the powerless. At this point in my work, I can only claim that I intend to theorize the relationship between Urdu and English. Since it is an emergent work, the final shape of the issues that it engages with cannot be predicted here beyond a certain point.

Before ending this section, it is imperative to weigh in on the importance of researching written over oral as many sociolinguistic studies prefer oral over writing. Theresa Lillis (2013, p. 6) provides reasons for preferring oral over written in the western sociolinguistic studies. Writing is considered either "too worthy" or "not

unworthy enough” to be taken up by sociolinguistics. Oral takes the primacy over written. Arguing in favour of writing, she further claims “much writing can be considered as every day a communicative practice as speaking and therefore merits a central place in sociolinguistics”. Writing should not be abstracted from “contexts of use and users” and that “it is in tune with sociolinguistic epistemology – that language cannot be separate from context and that its meanings and purposes are always bound up with specific contexts of use” (Lillis, 2013, p.16). The current study is based on written data in Urdu and English. Sociolinguistics in Pakistan is not exclusive to either mode; both writing and oral are examined.

1.3.2 *Social constructionist sociolinguistics (SCS)*

This sub-section brings in the Irwinian concept of sociolinguistics in the context of the present research project. Irwin (2011, p. 100) uses a term called social constructionist sociolinguistics (SCS) in an article. She provides valuable links between social constructionism and sociolinguistics. She claims that social realities are “constructed in particular ways by societies in which they appear” with the help of languages spoken in a particular society. Irwin clarifies that when she refers to the discursive production of reality as given in social constructionism, she is not always referring to the imbalance of power rather it is about “identifying and observing a social process”. Irwin resonates with the project underhand in the sense that it does not explicitly set out to study power relations. The aim is to study the relationship between two languages using doxa as a unit of analysis. Both Charmaz (2006) and Irwin (2011) realize the importance of language as constituting a social reality. The social process that Irwin above refers to is the doxa formation in newspaper opinion articles and its implication for the status of Urdu and English in Pakistan.

Kathy Charmaz (2006), the originator of constructivist grounded theory (ConsGT), employs social constructionism to move her version of grounded theory away from Barney G. Glaser and Anselm Strauss (1967) whom she calls positivist in their approach. ConsGT “treats data and theorizing about these data as constructed, not discovered” (Charmaz, 2017, p.2) unlike in the classic grounded theory approach. Theory is created through the constant comparative process. It is not lying out there to be discovered by a grounded theorist by applying the GT strategies as Glaser implies. Charmaz claims for a pragmatic anchoring in the tradition of Strauss (1959,

1961,1993 as cited in Charmaz, 2017, p. 2) who is incidentally the co-founder of grounded theory method along with Glaser but parts ways in her later works. She explicitly rejects the positivist epistemology of Glaser. According to Charmaz (2008, p. 41):

When social constructionists combine their attention to context, action, and interpretation with grounded theory analytic strategies, they can produce dense analyses with explanatory power, as well as conceptual understanding. Simultaneously, their analyses attest to how furthering the social constructionist elements in grounded theory strengthen the method.

In Charmaz's opinion, the combined power of social constructionism and grounded theory can help a grounded theorist conceptualize a social phenomenon adequately. The same has been applied in the current project which is underpinned by social constructionism. Social constructionism does not assume a natural external world but a one that is constructed through language. Language is the cornerstone of this society building activity as we make sense of each other through the use of language. Social constructionism pays attention to how people form their views and to the processes at work. Language constructs reality for me as a researcher also. I pay attention to how discourses are formed in newspaper articles. I study the role of doxai in these discourses and finally what can be inferred from this exercise regarding the relationship of English and Urdu in the space of the given data. The special attention (the role of construction of society/opinions) given to language in Charmaz's ConsGT became the reason for its selection for this study and is dwelt upon in Chapter 3 of my work.

Irwin also refers to Michel Foucault (1977 as cited in Irwin, p. 103) who claims that there is no one way of speaking about something and many different discourses vie with each other for supremacy in a society. Candling (2014, p. xiv), a sociolinguist, means the same when he points to discourses jockeying with each other. As the present study uses data primarily from three hundred (300) opinion articles written by different writers across two languages, a number of different discourses are expected to play out in the selected data.

Further, Irwin (2011, p. 105) points to an important movement involving language called the linguistic turn. The linguistic turn proved to be the turning point in the history of social sciences especially as it rests on the assumption that “our experience of the world is bound up with the language that we hear, read and use”. Language cannot be abstracted from social life and consequently the social theory which leads to the interlinking of sociolinguistics with the former.

After showing a link between social theory and language, Irwin proposes that sociolinguistics placed within the paradigm/parameters of social constructionism is in a better position to study language and society. Moreover, it can “marry” micro with macro (Irwin, 2011, p. 107). In tandem with Charmaz (2008, p. 401), I subscribe to relativist epistemology that is in consonance with social constructionism. I treat the research process undertaken in this project as a “social construction”, but one that is constructed under certain conditions. These conditions are mainly the delimitations that I do in terms of data selection. I improvise my methodology to suit my research problem. Doing so gives me “control over my subject matter”, (Charmaz, 2008, p. 408). I understand that generalizations arising out of data analysis are situated temporally and spatially. They are partial and conditional to time and space. Finally, language induced realities are social realities that concern a sociolinguist.

Social constructionism seems to have become an accepted approach in sociolinguistics as is evident by the following statement by Bell: “[c]onstructionism has become the default approach in sociolinguistics as in all the social sciences” (Bell, 2016, p.400). Irwin’s claims are borne out by Bell (2016). Language and society both constitute each other: “the way in which language constitutes the social, and the social constitutes language, is now taken as a given in much sociolinguistic work” (Bell, 2016, p.392). No study of language can exist without the social and vice versa. Social constructionism is the approach that brings all social science subjects under one umbrella. The potential of social constructionist sociolinguistics is explored further in the rest of the dissertation as issues related to doxa and intertextuality are discussed in detail.

1.3.3 The need for a social constructionist sociolinguistics grounded theory study

This section attempts to justify the need for theorizing in social constructionist sociolinguistics (SCS). I mainly draw on Nikolas Coupland's (2002, 2014 & 2016) essays where he makes a case for theorizing but does not give any explicit method to do so. An effort is made to draw parallels between Coupland's idea of theorizing in sociolinguistics and Charmaz's (2006) in sociology. Srikant Sarangi (2017) enlists twenty-eight types of discourse analyses and calls grounded theory a form of discourse analysis, but, one which ends on theoretical rendering of the phenomenon under consideration. I aim to present ConsGT as a methodology in sociolinguistics to counter "academic colonisation", a term that I borrow from Tarrozi (2019, p. 190), and adapt for my work. He uses it in the sense of using more than one language in a GTM study as most are generally monolingual. He makes a case for translation in GTM. I use the term "academic colonisation" for referring to the traditional methodology of sociolinguistics that does not allow one to theorize despite major sociolinguists reflecting on the importance of theorizing.

Describing sociolinguistics in terms of its *raison d'être*, Hernández-Campoy (2014) writes that sociolinguistic research should account for "a given linguistic phenomenon" (2014, p. 90) and a process of continuous theoretical reformulation and methodological redefinition in consonance with the epistemological evolution" (2014, p. 21). I base my decision on choosing grounded theory method as the method to theorize on Hernández-Campoy's notion of epistemological evolution which I believe must be in consonance with emerging issues. The place of English in Pakistan needs to be reconfigured.

Nikolas Coupland (2002, 2014 & 2016) , Wardhaugh and Fuller (2015), Wodak, Johnstone and Kerswill (2011), Holmes (2013), Christine Mallinson (2011) and D. E. Ager (1996) in their respective works claim that there is a need for sociolinguistics to develop new ways of studying language and society intersections. They exhort sociolinguists to orient themselves towards theoretical contributions. By adopting a grounded theory approach of generating theory, this study aims to make contributions by formulating a theoretical rendering of the phenomenon and contribute to the methodological debate by suggesting new "tools of analysis" (Wodak et al, 2011, p. 4).

The theoretical rendering advocated above is “stopping, pondering, and thinking anew” for Charmaz (2006, p.135). The essence of theorizing is thinking afresh and the way it does is to make new connections through a systematic way of analysis and comparison of data leading to more data being sought for further comparisons. “The acts involved in theorizing foster seeing possibilities, establishing connections, and asking questions” (Charmaz, 2006, p. 135). The current study endeavours to formulate new links between Urdu and English. It asks questions regarding the present froumaltion and questions the age- old colonial view of English.

For a long time, the field of sociolinguistics has been aligned with mixed method approaches with statistical inferences as the norm. Of late however, “[a]ll the foundational questions of sociolinguistics are coming up for reconsideration” (Coupland, Sarangi & Candling, 2014, p. xiv). The project underhand takes a cue from this and aims to reimagine how Urdu and English interact in the space of Pakistani newspapers opinion articles. By using GTM for a sociolinguistic study, the researcher wants to contribute to this “reconsideration”. As will be indicated in Chapter 2, many studies in sociolinguistics in Pakistan tend to rely on statistical inferences. Casting off the positivist mould which sees the world composing of a single discoverable reality, sociolinguists need to view it from the other end of the spectrum and that is the interpretative end having multiple realities. The reality constructed or created in a social constructionist work is just one of the many explanations that can be generated. This is not to say that positivism stops one from theorizing. Quite the opposite as classic grounded theory is based on positivist anchoring. Positivism views the world as neatly cut out, relying on a single reality whereas ConsGT believes in the existence of multiple realities hence interpretivism.

Coupland, the main sociolinguist who emphatically calls for theorizing in sociolinguistics defines theory as “statements, generalising where possible, about social reality, couched in concepts whose definitions and interrelationships would be made explicit” (Coupland, 2016, p.5). The present endeavour aims to formulate a theory that helps explain the language phenomenon with the help of social aspects. Doxa itself is a sociological concept that is the unit of analysis in my work. The theorizing is done around this concept to understand the research phenomenon.

Furthermore, he calls sociolinguistic theory as social theory linking sociolinguistics with other social science subjects (Coupland, 2002, p.112) enriching the subject.

He calls upon all aspiring researchers to work to do their bit in furthering the cause of sociolinguistics. Reviewing the work done so far, Coupland points out that whatever work on theory has come out can be called as “theoretical generalisations”. This comprises “hypotheses, generalising statements which might provide a basis for predicting as-yet unobserved outcomes” (Coupland, 2016, p. 5). But sociolinguistics ought to stop restricting itself to generalisations leading to outcomes that are unobserved. Coupland seems to be disagreeing with the range of theorisation done in sociolinguistics. It is too broad, he disparagingly points out. My work addresses this as it aims to generate a substantive theory which has a limited range and is contextually situated temporally and spatially.

Generally theorizing is closely related to generalisation. This is the reason that most studies employ large data sets so as to formulate predictions that can explain a large population. Coupland (2016) claims that generalisation in sociolinguistic theory is challenging to explain. He abstracts the notion of typicality from generalisation about how meanings are typically made and introduces the element of possibility in generalisation. Since social phenomenon is not “amenable to very reliable categorisation” and cannot be “reliably predictive”, it is better to say what meanings can be made under certain conditions rather than what or how they are typically made (2016, p.6). This goes well with my relativist epistemology that knowledge creation under social constructionism is more specific to a situation than universal though it may have some universal applications also.

The stance of Charmaz (2006) on generalization is that all grounded theories need not aim for “general level” abstractions (Charmaz, 2006, p. 180) which she calls as formal theories. Instead she argues that a substantive theory which is contextualized in its social, historical, local and interactional connexions is a valid product of a grounded theory process. Generality may be achieved after the construction of substantive theory by comparing many studies to construct a formal theory. Charmaz does not bifurcate the concept of generalisation like Coupland though her concept of ConsGT with a constructionist bias, has the element of interpretability in the act of generalising which is similar to Coupland’s rendering.

My work aims for a substantive theory rather than a formal one as the data set initially consists of three hundred (300) opinion articles. The theory abstracted is highly contextualised and is supposed to explain the phenomenon underhand or a similar one.

Both Charmaz (2006, p. 181) and Coupland agree that a certain degree of abstraction is desired in theory formulation notwithstanding its contextualization. “Like all theory, theory in the social sciences and sociolinguistic theory should still involve abstracting away from particular data contexts and instances” (Coupland 2016, p.6).

Demystifying the notion of theorizing that has hitherto been reserved for authorities of a certain field, Coupland (2016) argues that every language user is a theorist in his own right as he has some opinion or the other about it. Theory is what helps us understand the social world around us. This social world is built with the help of language and as Charmaz points out, consists of “emergent, multiple realities” (Charmaz, 2006, p. 26). The dominant place of interpretivism is clear in the stances of both Charmaz and Coupland. Coupland nowhere states that there is a single reality that needs to be discovered as is claimed by positivists. This makes both of them allies.

Where Charmaz calls theory as being indeterminate, “facts and values as linked; truth as provisional” (Charmaz, 2006, p. 126), Coupland advocates against the idea of perfection that is attained from abstract models in theorizing (2016, p. 2). On the concept of “theoretical adequacy” Coupland goes on to define what a good theory should do. It should be broad enough to capture current social changes of a society and in order to do so, it may have to “go beyond the data” and explain a social phenomenon in some abstract and general terms. “A theory that tentatively and self critically explains accumulated observations of human and social experience may not be grand enough” (Coupland, 2016, p.8).

Widening the scope of sociolinguistic theory, Coupland (2002) claims that there is no aspect of social life that a sociolinguistic theory cannot account for. From how people use language to create their social worlds to language’s power in constructing and maintaining human relations whether they subjugate or elevate the other, all can be theorised via the sociolinguistic theory. Its ability to shed light on a

number of different aspects of social life testifies to the need for interdisciplinary studies that draw upon methodological and theoretical resources from neighbouring disciplines to make sense of a research issue. The above discussion dovetailing the approaches of Charmaz (2006) and Coupland (2002, 2014, 2016) lends a strong base for my project as I use Charmaz's methodology to fulfil theoretical exhortations of Coupland.

1.4 Sociolinguistics and newspapers

This section attempts to present the importance of newspapers and by extension the language used and its implications for the society. The three need to be viewed together in a sociolinguistic study like the present one. Specific studies on newspapers that act as sensitizing knowledge are given in the next chapter that details the initial perspectives that guide the data selection and data analysis.

First of all, it is important to note the place of newspapers in Pakistan. It is commonly claimed that this is a digital age and the importance of hard newspapers or print media has considerably declined. Keeping this in mind, I looked up the number of newspapers that are published in a hard form in Pakistan. According to the official website of the largest newspaper body in Pakistan, there are two hundred and seventy-nine (279) Urdu publications taken out daily in Pakistan. As for English publications, there are sixty-one (61) that are published daily (All Pakistan Newspapers Society, 2020). According to Pakistan Bureau of Statistics as of 2018, there are three ninety-nine (399) newspapers taken out daily. It does not give any break-down language-wise. The sheer volume of publications in both Urdu and English is a testimony to the fact that Pakistanis are in a habit of getting their daily information from "paper" newspapers. As for the internet, there is no commonly agreed upon statistics of internet users or those with internet access in Pakistan. The official website of the Pakistan Telecom Authority (PTA, 2020) lists internet subscribers as around 75 million which makes 35% of the total population. It does not give the breakdown in terms of active users or coverage, or what do the subscribers use it for. Independent surveys hold that only 10-15% of Pakistanis who have an access to internet and are using social media (Natarajan, 2020, p 150). Natarajan further claims that the place and future of print media has not been determined in an authoritative way and needs further research. Therefore, it can safely be assumed at this stage that in spite of what

is frequently said about newspapers dying out and reading habits diminishing, newspapers remain a popular provider of information. News and opinions are read, commented on and mulled over across the strata of society. This results in opinion formation albeit generally over a long period of time.

As newspapers form an essential part of a social life of a society like Pakistan, the language used in newspapers becomes “a thoroughly social activity” assuming “a social role” (Conboy, 2010, p. 4). An assumption that may drive from this statement is that since newspapers are readers oriented so this is how they should always be employed in the service of research. For my project, it is not the readers that concern me rather it is the what the opinion writers write that I am focussing on. It is these public intellectuals who engage in a social activity through their opinion articles. This social activity is dependent on the use of language.

Conboy (2010, p. 9), an extensive writer on newspapers, proposes that dominant patterns produced in newspapers being reflective of social and political structures can be fruitfully investigated. The observation by Conboy about newspapers carrying patterns that are dominant is significant for the research underhand as it too focuses on patterns. One of the ways theorizing is done is by questioning the most frequent patterns in a data set.

Conboy (2010, p.9) views the role of newspaper language as discourse forming. In the present project, an effort is made to study how doxai are formed within different discourses. He defines a discourse as the “coexistence of text and context and the impossibility of understanding one without the other or prioritizing one as more important than the other”. The definition of discourse followed in this dissertation is modeled somewhat on the same. I take discourse to be a text that is written or spoken in a coherent and connected way and is socially situated. It is an asset of utterances imbued with social meaning and has a common force. This common force is realized through language patterns and constitutive in nature as explained below.

Concurring with Foucault (1974, as cited in Conboy) Conboy suggests that “the language used about a particular practice in turn constructs the object of which it speaks” (2014, p. 9). It also limits what can and cannot be said. Foucault’s insight is

important as newspaper writing is a social activity as opposed to a personal one and therefore inevitably follows certain rules. The explicit aim of my research is not to uncover these rules but it is inevitable that some understanding is gained about them also. These rules abide by the interplay of text and context that newspapers yield.

There are some other tangible methodological advantages of using data from newspapers. As Conrad (2014, p. 82) notes, newspapers are easily accessible to a researcher as they are preserved in libraries. The accessibility helps in establishing the reliability and verifiability of a study as well as the inter-subjectivity of a qualitative and/or interpretative research is enhanced as other researchers can access the same material easily. Lastly, although information or opinions present in the newspapers is not exhaustive, it has a high visibility index which compensates for its less quantity as well as for the biases present. I culled my data from newspapers for precisely these advantages. They can be accessed by anyone as opposed to data that is collected by a researcher himself. For a qualitative study, this kind of visibility and objectivity is crucial for strengthening its verifiability.

Fisher (2011, p. 15) calls newspapers “a well-established daily source of textual interaction for many people”. Newspapers whether in the form of news or columns, are a site where its readers expectedly come to engage with different discourses peddling different doxai and is done through language. As claimed above, it is the opinion writers discoursing with each other through their respective articles that concerns me. The readers are silent in my work.

Roger Fowler puts forward some claims regarding the content of newspapers in his well-received book *Language in the News: Discourse and Ideology in the Press* (1991). The book has seen eleven (11) reprints bespeaking the popularity of its views. Though his book is not about columns but news reporting, there are insights that can be equally applied to a study like the current one that uses columns. Fowler disagrees with the assumption that newspapers publish facts. Rather he argues that these facts are to be read as “ideas”, “beliefs”, “values”, “theories”, “propositions”, “ideology” (p.1). Fowler does not use the word “opinion” for the content of newspapers but the words he uses belong to the same semantic field as opinion. The definitions given by Fowler are similar to what is said in section 1.3 of this dissertation.

1.5 The purpose statement

The purpose of this study is to develop a theory that explains the relationship between two major languages of Pakistan, the English language and the Urdu language. They are often described in competing terms as has been elaborated elsewhere in this work. The theory is abstracted from select newspaper opinion articles. The purpose of this study is to use inductive and abductive reasonings to make inferences from the data. Opinions make patterns and consequently doxai. At this stage in the research, a doxa is defined as the opinion of the majority, and/or the public/media intellectuals, is characterised by some pattern and is therefore realized linguistically.

1.6 Research question

The current project is invested in a grounded theory method. There are explicit directions given for formulating research questions for a study pursuing a grounded theory. Charmaz (2007, p. 77), my main methodologist, warns against making narrow research questions as they might not be able to fully fathom the research site. A narrow question might result in overlooking relevant depth by focussing only on the what is asked in the preconceived “frame of inquiry”. Creswell (2007) advocates the making of one over- arching research question. Creswell et al also agree against “hypothesis driven” questions and favour broad and open-ended ones (Green, Creswell, Shope & Clark, 2007, p. 478). Following the advice of the above, one single arching research question is designed to steer the study.

RQ. What theoretical explanation can be presented for the doxastic relationship between the Urdu language and the English language as conceptualized from three hundred opinion articles?

1.7 Delimitation

The study is delimited to four newspapers in English and the same number in Urdu. The circulation rate of the newspapers provided the rationale for their selection as all important writers with standing write for big papers¹. The English newspapers are *Dawn*, *The News International*, *The Nation* and *The Express Tribune*. The Urdu newspapers are *Roznama Jang*, *Roznama Express*, *Roznama Nawae Waqt* and

Roznama Dunya. The cumulative time period for all columns is from August 27, 2018 back to February 16, 2016. There is one article by Hassan Nisar that was first published on October 7, 1996, and since then has been republished twice. As the present study is a grounded theory study, it generates Urdu and English codes and categories at four different levels. The Urdu codes are translated by the researcher². The Urdu version is also given for bilingual readers.

1.8 Method

The current study is qualitative in nature and follows the interpretive/constructivist paradigm for knowledge construction. It views the world comprising multiple realities as opposed to the positivist paradigm that explains the world as if it is made up of one reality. The interpretive/constructivist approach helps me understand and construct the relationship between Urdu and English by interpreting what is given in three hundred (300) newspaper columns taken from English and Urdu newspapers written between 2018, August 27 and 2016, February 16, except for one column that dates back to 1996. The interpretive/constructivist paradigm is appropriate for the project underhand because it propagates multiple perspectives and versions of truth elevating the value of context in a research site with reality being socially constructed. The study relies on inductive data analysis as given in constructivist grounded theory (ConsGT) advocated by Charmaz (2006). Creswell (2007, p. 38) calls the inductive design a bottom- up approach which organises “data into increasingly more abstract units of information”. This involves “working back and forth” (Creswell, p.39) or as Charmaz (2006, p. 5) puts it “constant comparative method which involves making comparisons during each stage of the analysis during each stage of the analysis”. Creswell (2007, p.39) calls qualitative enquiry emergent which means that “the initial plan for research cannot be tightly prescribed and that all phases of the process may change or shift after the researchers enter the field and begin to collect data”. The details of how and exactly where the different shifts took place is discussed in Chapters 4 and 5 of this work. Charmaz (2006) calls coding to categorisation to the final theory as emergent in the grounded theory process. Chapter 3 presents the method followed in the study.

1.9 Organization of the study

The second chapter introduces sensitizing perspectives which are used to enter the research site. The third chapter presents the method adopted for the study. The fourth chapter details the process of analysis and theory formulation. The fifth chapter presents the credibility, usefulness, resonance and originality of this grounded theory study. It also offers some recommendations for future research and concluding thoughts on this journey.

Endnotes

1. I paid three visits to Audit Bureau of Circulation (ABC), Ministry of Information, Islamabad, Pakistan. I met the officers concerned and they told me that they were unable to give anything in writing regarding the circulation rate of newspapers as it was against the government's "unofficial" policy. They, however, agreed verbally that the eight newspapers that I had selected had the largest circulation. I also went to the newspaper market located in Aabpara, Islamabad, to confirm. The authorities there, too, confirmed on the condition of anonymity that the eight newspapers were sold the most.

2. I initially translated the Urdu text myself. Afterwards, I got it refined from my learned and erudite colleagues in the GS department at National University of Modern Languages, Islamabad. My MPhil dissertation (Zaidi, 2008) is on Urdu and English translation. I also taught translation to MPhil classes at NUML from 2009 to 2011. Currently, I am teaching Translation Studies to MA English at FES, NUML, Islamabad. I have also done some translation projects. Researching, teaching and doing translation for commercial projects, all have introduced me to different ways of doing translation and the logic behind them.

CHAPTER 2

SENSITIZING DISCIPLINARY PERSPECTIVES

2.1 Scope of the chapter

In this chapter I introduce the sensitizing perspectives that support the initial foray into the data. I introduce the key terms used as sensitizing perspectives in the dissertation and attempt to draw a connection among them. I start with discourse and show how it is used as a sensitizing concept. Then I move on to doxa. I present its various historical formulations. Next, I present Edward Said's opinion about public/media intellectuals. I attempt to show how Said's definition of intellectuals can adequately define the newspaper opinion writers whose columns in Urdu and English make up the data for this study. I move on to intertextuality and show how it is helpful for a study that relies on making meaning as located across texts in two different languages. I build on social constructionist sociolinguistics (SCS) by embedding intertextuality and doxa within it. I extend the discussion by adding some more information on how Charmaz's ConsGT and social constructionist sociolinguistics (SCS) can inform each other. Then I bring in some past studies that shed light on how English is viewed in Pakistan especially with reference to Pakistani English newspaper discourse. These studies do not act as a tight frame within which I carry out my data analysis but help me enter the research scene with some initial ideas and insights.

2.2 Discourse

The first concept that I use is the notion of discourse. I enter the research site with a view of what discourse is. As it is only a sensitizing concept and not a final one, I explore the possibility of finding discourses in the opinion articles. I do not assume that I will definitely find the articles to be arranged around specific discourses over a period of time.

I am not the first one that uses discourse as a sensitizing concept. Julia Snell and Adam Lefstein (2015, p. 478) use it to make a linguistic ethnographic analysis of an English literacy lesson. Similarly, Brussel & Carpentier (2017, p. 131) use it in

their study on hospital discourse. They take a cue from Charmaz (2019, p. 12) who exhorts using ConsGT to uncover discourses that remain hidden. An explanation is in order here. The aim of the current project is to understand how the two major languages, Urdu and English, interact in a given space, i.e, three hundred opinion articles. The aim is not to uncover any hidden discourses because at this stage no such assumption can be made. Charmaz is referred to here for purely methodological reasons showing that ConsGT can be used for studying discourses as there might be some worthwhile discourses in my data.

A definition of discourse that anchors the initial entry to the research site is by Michel Foucault (1972, p. 80). Foucault chooses to elucidate discourse in different ways which are relevant for my work at this stage. He calls discourse as “an individualizable group of statements” and “a regulated practice that accounts for a number of statements”. The opinion articles at this stage, can be characterized as a regulated practice on account of them following a set pattern regarding their mode of writing. These statements can be set apart from other language instances as they are a part of newspaper discourse. Fowler (1991, p. 8) concurs with Foucault when he too views discourse in terms of a social practice as well a social product. This product/practice as evident in newspaper discourse has the potential to construct reality and therein its importance lies.

Next, I bring in what discourse is for sociolinguists. It is important to bring in this perspective separately as discourse is a term that is used wherever long stretches of language in specific settings are used. As for sociolinguists, they use the same or near synonym terms. For example, Farfan and A. Holzscheiter (2011, p. 130) and Candling (2014, p. viii) call discourse a social practice that is constitutive in nature and power. It is constructed by a society and can modify the society in return. Pasfield-Neofitou (2012, p.1) uses the same terminology to define the functions of language: “language itself is a practice capable of enabling people to act upon and modify the world, themselves, and others”.

2.3 Doxa

As mentioned in the previous chapter, doxa is a rhetorical concept that is now generally understood in sociological terms. Bourdieu (1998, p. 57) is one of the most

famous names in this regard. He considers doxa as a carrier of the dominant class' ideology. Bourdieu's conceptualization of doxa is one of the discarded sensitizing concepts of the current study. Suffice it to say that doxa is a sociological concept used in a sociolinguistic study. This is something that has been referenced in the previous chapter (Wodak et al, 2011; Wardhaugh and Fuller, 2015; Ager,1996). A short comment on the relationship between language and society in sociolinguistics by Jan Blommaert (2018) can better shed light on the decision to use a sociological/rhetorical concept in a sociolinguistic study. He opines that "the 'socio' in 'sociolinguistics' involves the responsibility to work from language towards society". This means that an explanation of society cannot be left out of any discussion on language. Sociolinguistics need to make claims on what society is and how humans operate in it and construct it with the help of the linguistic phenomenon under study (2018, p.2). Blommaert goes on to say "[s]ociolinguists are, whether they like it or not, specialized sociologists" (2018, p.3). This stance is specially energizing for a project like the present one as it takes validation from viewing sociolinguistics as closely and inextricably linked to sociology.

There are various definitions of the term "doxa" all of which act as sensitizing concepts for the present work. Dr. Erik Bengston (2017, para 2) contends that doxa in ancient Greek rhetorical studies was contrasted with episteme. Doxa being the opinion and episteme the truth. Plato had misgivings about the use of doxa and wanted it to be replaced by episteme. Aristotle, on the other hand, used endoxa instead of doxa.

Aristotle used "endoxa as what appears manifest and true to all, or to most of the people, or to the wise" (Amossy, 2002, p. 371). Aristotle also considered that the opinion of the wise men could replace that of the common citizens. I use doxa instead of endoxa and mean it to be the opinion of the wise. The wise in my case are the writers of the opinion articles.

I refer to Dr. Erik Bengston (2017) again as his delineation of doxa is comprehensive and serves the purpose of my work. He refers to theorists/philosophers/ rhetoricians whose writings are not easily available. Bengston draws the genealogy of the term doxa and brings in six theorists/philosophers. Heidegger (as cited in Bengston) is the first one to be mentioned. He considered "doxa as the mindless repetition of that which is already known" and as an "unsupported opinion"

(Heidegger as cited in Bengston). Doxa “conceals” whereas aletheia the opposite concept “reveals”. He urges “the ignorant masses” to use their mental faculties and make decisions on the “basis of concealment and unconcealment” (Heidegger as cited in Bengston). There is an element of repetition of doxa that I study in my data. When one writer’s works are traced over ten articles, there is a fair chance of repetition.

Hariman (1995, p. 183) calls doxa as “common knowledge” based on “intersubjectivity”. Barthes (1977, p.47) makes “a close connection between language and doxa”. Doxa stands for “stereotypes and widespread beliefs”. Doxa is “false and mindless repetition” and therefore “a parasite on language, a metaphorical viral entity that is spread through the practice of mass communication”. The focus of Barthes is not the author but the “language as the active force producing doxa- or doxa as the power, enforcing itself on language and individuals”. Barthes invests doxa with a force that is realized linguistically. It can be deduced from Barthes’ views that doxa has a linguistic presence of its own. Barthes gives another term that is derived from doxa and it is “doxology”. He calls it a way of speaking/ writing. Barthes labels it as a style that is “adapted to appearance” or “practice”. While Barthes’ definition of doxa cannot be accepted in toto, his comment on the link between language and doxa is important and is used as a sensitizing perspective. Unambiguously, Barthes declares language to be the force that gives rise to doxa or conversely it is the doxa that as a parasite, forces itself on the language.

Ruth Amossy (2002a, p. 374) does not agree with Barthes above. She makes a shift in the definition of doxa and views it “as a prerequisite for intersubjectivity and a source for communicative effectiveness”. She takes a linguistic- scientific approach rather than political. Acknowledging the power of doxa, she is interested in knowing “how to do things with doxa”. She writes that in order to understand doxa, one needs to understand language as it is through language that doxa is formed. Amossy like Barthes puts the spotlight on the language. The difference being that Barthes calls it a “mindless repetition” and Amossy finds it a valuable construct. This project keeps both aspects in mind as it progresses.

Mats Rosengren (2008, p.52) who while calling doxa a linguistic concept, claims that it also carries exhortations to act in a certain way in a given situation. Doxa stands for both for stated opinions as well as unconscious opinions. Rosengren,

too, brings in the notion of power and suggests that doxa carries the individual and the social, historical and the discursive. Rosengren while dilating on the characteristics of doxa writes that it has a quality of making something appear to us through the use of language. That phenomenon may not be actually be like the way it is portrayed with the help of language/doxa. Doxa seems to have interpretive powers. Like Barthes, Rosengren too refers to doxology in his work. Doxology is about the study of doxa. It is about “situated, variable and interested knowledge” which means that doxa gives us “contextual cues”. Rosengren also brings in Protagoras, a Greek, pre- Socratic philosopher and gives Protagoras’ position on doxa in the following words:

He chose human imperfection, unsure belief and unavoidable change instead of Platonic immobility and certainty. His famous dictum about man as the measure of all things, the homo mensura-fragment, is perhaps the most poignant expression of this position. (2008, p.52)

Rosengren agrees with Protagoras that doxastic knowledge can be imperfect as it is human knowledge as against divine knowledge. The imperfection implied may be construed as interpretivist approach and social constructionism.

This is the second time Amossy (2002a) is mentioned as it was first in comparison with Barthes that her views were brought in. A little more on Amossy is important as she calls doxa as “[c]ommon knowledge and shared opinions”. She defines doxa within the philosophy of logic. She claims that “[d]oxa has another kind of value because it is ruled by another logic, the one that guides decisions and actions in human affairs” (Amossy, 2002a, p. 371). She clearly refuses to rule out the constructivist role of doxa. I take a cue from Amossy and view doxa as embodying a force that can construct a particular point of view.

Wacquant’s (2004) definition also adds a positive dimension to doxa. He claims that doxa is the “established forms of thought and established forms of collective life” (Wacquant, 2004, p.97). Doxa is dictated by common sense. It is clear that doxa has not lost its utility in a social configuration and needs to be redefined in new times.

2.3.1 *Doxa and newspapers*

Since the current study uses data from Urdu and English newspaper columns, a study on how doxa is formulated and contested in newspapers is mentioned here. Christian Karner (2005, p. 224) gives an account of how Austrian national dailies construct and contest the notion of national identity. The arenas of sport, language/national symbols, and the environment support discursive struggles which were once ordinary, uncontested but are now consciously negotiated. The writer uses the framework of the Bourdesian doxa to anchor his work. He uses “doxa-crisis-discourse schema” to understand how the doxa of national identity is negotiated in newspapers. The presence of crisis is crucial for the questioning of the dominant doxa. This crisis can be defined variously by its magnitude, depth and breadth. Newspaper opinion columns generally take up issues that are of immediate concern to a society. This is true for the three hundred columns selected for the current study.

2.3.2 *Column writers as media intellectuals in the tradition of Edward Said*

The articles that I use as data are written by experienced and well-known columnists who can easily be classified as opinion trendsetters. As these men and women regularly write opinion columns in nation’s different newspapers they are considered sage and an authority on different issues. Though people may differ with them, generally their opinions hold sway in public discourse; they are quoted, contradicted even maligned which all testifies to their intellectual worth that is publicly acknowledged.

Said (1994, p. 11) advocates “the intellectual is an individual endowed with a faculty for representing, embodying, articulating a message, a view, an attitude, philosophy or opinion to, as well as for, a public”. Said’s view of a public intellectual is a sensitizing concept and will be used to enter the research site.

Bourdieu (1998, p. 7) calls media people as doxosophers who intentionally or unintentionally create a particular narrative/doxa. Sometimes these doxosophers are not even in possession of the required knowledge or expertise on the subject. And while doing so, they reinforce the existing structures that at times need to be taken down. Bourdieu calls these doxosophers as “the technicians of opinion who think themselves wise”. Edward Said (1994, p.11) while referring to Bourdieu’s

“technicians of opinions” cautions the public intellectual not to fall prey to stardom and instead remain focussed on serving the public through their writings and speech.

Said without sounding pessimist reminds us that “the public realm is also full of tokenized intellectuals who had been once perhaps symbols of resistance and principle and have now become media figures and stars of the lecture platform”. It seems that Said is cautioning the intellectuals in Pakistan. Said further qualifies his comment in the following way. He writes that public intellectuals are tasked by the society to question the authorities, “dogma” and “orthodoxy” and are supposed to represent the marginalized- the ones who are swept under the carpet. Adding another dimension to the sage he reminds that the disposition of a public thinker should not be humourless. This is again true for at least, one columnist selected for this study. “It should be remembered that critical thinking can go hand in hand with humour” (1994, p. 14). As Edward Said put it, intellectuals are not required to be humourless complainers.

2.4 Intertextuality

This section delineates intertextuality which is the third sensitizing perspective used in the current project. I am not entering the research site as a tabula rasa. I am aware of studies using newspaper data and can claim that intertextuality is a recurrent way of writing that is highlighted in such studies. However, I am also cognizant of the fact that I use intertextuality only as a sensitizing perspective and not a definitive one. As said elsewhere in the work, all sensitizing knowledge is just a tool to enter the research site. It may be retained or dropped as need be. Doxa as defined in the previous section has a fair chance of having a close connection with intertextuality but I leave it for the analysis chapter. There are a number of research studies that employ the concept to understand how newspaper headlines can be read intertextually. Some grounded theory studies that use intertextuality are mentioned to show how the two complement each other. Translation as a sister discipline of intertextuality is also explored in this section.

Intertextuality is a term coined by Julia Kristeva (1986). She introduces intertextuality in the context of literary readings. The term has since been used across disciplines where the concept of intertextual relations is present. Intertextuality is

defined as the meaning of one text being dependent on texts gone before it. This meaning-making can be done vertically as well as horizontally. Contemporary texts can be drawn upon as well as texts from times gone by. My data consist of some texts written in the same time range (difference of a few days). There are some that are set apart by months, years and in one particular case by decades.

No text is written in a vacuum. Kristeva declares that “a text is the absorption and transformation of another” (Kristeva, 1986, p.37). Every new text that is constructed is a part product and part transformation of all the previous texts in that particular field or across areas. This may be done intentionally or unintentionally. This knowledge is helpful for me. I cannot assume to understand three hundred plus articles in a vacuum.

Bakhtin (1984, p. 202) also opines on intertextuality. He defines it as something that is transferred from “one mouth to another, from one context to another context, from one social collective to another”. Bakhtin was also the one who inspired the French Kristeva to muse over intertextuality. Bakhtin gives life to the word and states that it never dies. The users of the word hear it, respond to it, transform it and the process goes on. Newspaper data and articles fit this description as years after they are written they are used to understand different facets of society and language.

One of the finest modern treatises on intertextuality is by Graham Allen (2011, p.1). He points out that there is a general consensus of theorists working in the literary or non-literary areas that texts lack “any kind of independent meaning”. Reading a text becomes an exercise in creating and discovering a network of relationships between similar texts. This is of course not to say that intertextuality is the only way meaning can be created. Meaning can be created independently, solely on the merits of just one text, though the approach is debatable and contentious as it is difficult to imagine a reader untouched by any outside discourse in this intertextual world. It is more of reading becoming “a process of moving between texts”. Writing too implies intertextuality as no discourse is an island. It depends on others for its full comprehensibility and appreciation. The same is true of opinion articles.

Allen (2011, p. 36) notes that what unites both Bakhtin and Kristeva is “an insistence that texts cannot be separated from the larger cultural or social textuality

out of which they are constructed”. This is a significant comment as context is what constructs meaning. Every text acquires meaning through the context and an intertextuality among texts of a similar type is one way of doing it.

Barbara J. Guzetti (2002, p. 105), an intertextualist, approaches the discussion on intertextuality by first establishing the notion of context by viewing it as a social construction. Many disciplines from anthropology, pragmatics and socio-historical psychology to sociolinguistics and sociology use the concept of context in the same way. The context is constructed as a result of interactions done at various levels. The interaction that is of interest to my project is the type that takes place within texts and myself, I being the grounded theorist that conceptualizes this interaction/ intertextuality. The concept of intertextuality as a means of “linking two texts within a single context” is what is important here. Guzetti further points that intertextuality can be viewed in two ways. Two or more texts can be linked through common citations within one language or across two different languages. She claims that this is the traditional way of enacting intertextuality. The other is to look at how meanings are socially constructed and understood taking into historical and social contexts.

Chandrasoma (2010, p.59) also opines on intertextuality from Bakhtin’s addressivity’s vantage point, and points out that it refers to a reader’s stance towards what he reads and the more a reader is well- informed, the more addressivity or “intellectual choices” he will be equipped with to immerse himself within the reservoir of intertextuality. Intertextuality is closely linked to being well informed. A well- informed person will automatically be intertextual in his approach and not rely on just one text to form his opinion. The reader in this case is the researcher who reads the texts and conceptualizes them. I, having lived as an adult during a part of the time mentioned in the data, can relate to the issues raised in the data. I am also a teacher of English and am living through the U-E controversy. Being a graduate in English, I am a witness to the prestige that English is given in my society yet paradoxically, it is demonised as an intruder’s language that needs to be done away with. I am aware of the issues raised in the opinion articles. I know how Urdu and English press is viewed through the prism of the discourses established in the articles.

Zengin (2016, p. 300) claims that “the primary focus in intertextuality is the interdependence of texts. All texts are intertexts because they refer to, recycle and

draw from the pre-existing texts”. The theorist further suggests a number of intertextual devices like direct quotation, citation, allusion, echo, reference, imitation, collage, parody, pastiche, literary conventions, structural parallelism and “all kinds of sources either consciously exploited or unconsciously” could be reflected in texts. I explore the presence all these devices in my project. Zengin points out that Kristeva “saw no discrimination between the literary and non-literary texts” in the application of intertextuality. Being the originator of the concept, she could foresee its range though it was initially based on the literary word. Zengin makes an interesting link between intertextuality and post colonialism. He empowers the intertext to subvert and react “against other texts in the whole discursive field as in the case of the post-colonial discourses”. I view my thesis on sociolinguistics studying the relationship between English which is my ex-coloniser’s language, and Urdu which is my national language, as informing and drawing upon the interdisciplinary field of post colonialism. Any debate that involves English against any of the colonised languages is in fact a corollary of the postcolonial discourse. I translate from Urdu into English and then compare the two texts.

This section is concluded with an insight from Jonathan Gray (2006, p. 39) who succinctly defines intertextuality by saying that it wrests the solitary power away from a text and invests all similar texts with it. This view can prove to be useful for a study like the present one that employs a large number of texts.

2.4.1 *Intertextuality in newspapers*

As claimed in the section on doxa, the data comprise three hundred newspaper opinion articles. Intertextuality in newspapers is not anything new anymore. A lot of research is done on this aspect. This, however, does not mean that the concept cannot be explored afresh. A few pertinent studies that make the point of view of the present work clear are mentioned here. Wodak and Richardson (2013, p.7-8) writing about fascism in media reporting, school books, posters, etc, claim that a text moves “spatially and temporally” between and among other texts by employing language, arguments, etc. which may refer to “the hegemony of particular discourses, argumentative standpoints or ideologies manifested in these discourses”. I have made it clear elsewhere in my work that identification of a hegemonic discourse is not the main aim of this project. It may be a by-product, however.

Oliveira (2004, p. 14) makes a study on intertextual factors in newspapers. She analyses an article title, a joke, two cartoons and a snippet and shows how any newspaper can carry multiple voices within itself which may not be discernable to a common reader.

Nikitina, Lebedinskaya and Plakhova (2018, p. 2) discuss the use of allusions in newspaper headlines. They enlist intertextual headlines especially allusions in different newspapers and draw an intertextual link between the source text and the corresponding headline. Like most intertextuality scholars, they use statistical methods to conclude their findings. The authors include among others “the formation of public opinion” as one of the stylistic or discourse features that distinguish newspaper discourse from other types of discourse. My study does not foreground the concept of opinion formation as happening in newspaper readers though it assumes that it takes place in real time.

2.4.2 Intertextuality and translation

Before a link between translation and intertextuality is made, an effort is made to define translation. Schaeffner and Bassnett (2010, p. 10) claim that translation is “the change of language, a process of replacing words and expressions in one language by their corresponding words and expressions in another language”. This is a straightforward and clear enough stance and one that proves valuable for my work alongwith Eugene Nida’s twin strategies of translation called formal and dynamic translation. They are dilated upon in the next chapter of methodology.

Intertextuality is closely linked to translation as there are two or more texts involved in meaning making. Farzaneh Farahzad (2009, para 3) showing a connection between translation and intertextuality writes that the source text and the target text are in a relationship that can be described as intertextual. Farahzad dwells on two types of intertextuality. One is intralingual and the other is interlingual. In the first one, the source text or the prototext stands in an intertextual relationship to all previous texts in its own language. The second is interlingual which involves the target text. This relationship entails a connection between the target text and the source text as well as the target text and all other texts written in the same language or any other language. For the current project, there are two types of intertextuality

operating, one is within all the texts as one body of discourse and, the other is between the translated texts (Urdu columns) and the original.

Jane Qian Liu (2017, p. 55) discusses the importance of intertextuality in translations of Chinese works. She claims that there is a strong connection between the two practices of textual production. She writes:

Just as the theory of intertextuality stresses the fact that no text is independent of other texts or contexts, and every text is produced by means of explicit or implicit evocation of pre-existing texts, a work of translation is constantly referring to the text in the source language, as well as to the pre-existing texts and contexts in both the original language and the target language.

My approach resonates with Liu (2017) and Farahzad (2009) as I view translation as another type of intertextuality which is characterised interlingually and intralingually.

2.4.3 Grounded theory method and translation

The present project draws its dataset from two languages, English and Urdu. The latter is an Oriental language and the relevant data had to be translated in English. The act of translation becomes an act of conceptualization as the original text has to be internalised before its rendered in the target language, English in my case (Tarrozi, 2019, p. 186). The translation process of conceptualization and internalisation entails de-coding and encoding which is similar to the grounded theory strategies.

Eco (2000/ 2001, p.21) argues for the role of translation in the receiving culture. Linguistic and cultural problems associated with the source culture and language become immaterial. In the case of the present work, it will not be amiss to say that both texts have been written in the same culture. The appropriation of Urdu texts into English can be tempered by the fact that both texts refer to the same culture. Eco (p.14) writes about the signs as being interpreted by the translator. Translation is not a shifting of text rather it is about its interpretation. Meaning can only be established through interpretation whether it is in translation or in the same language.

Finally, I draw inspiration from Spivak when she gives a “practical suggestion” about the relationship of a translator with the target language. She claims that translation can be best done if it is in a language in which “one preferred to speak about intimate things” (2000, p. 400). I, being a bilingual since childhood, am quite comfortable in using both languages for speaking about intimate things as Spivak puts it.

2.4.4. *Grounded theory studies based on intertextuality*

The studies referred to are for their methodological choices only. A study by Jennifer Manak (2011) tries to understand how intertextuality socially constructs the literary understanding in a classroom. Students through a process of dialogical interaction with the text, classmates and the teacher, “socially construct meaning” (2011, p. 309). The data are analysed using Strauss and Corbin’s (1990) coding scheme and follows a constant comparative method after Glaser and Strauss (1967). The theory that emerges from Manak’s study is based on intertextuality: “A grounded theory of reading like a writer and writing like a reader emerged from the data and addressed the social construction of intertextuality and literary understanding within integrated reading and writing events” (Manak, 2011, p. 309). The theory is interesting as it inverts the equation. Grounded theories have data to back them up and can offer new and bold insights into a phenomenon, something that a study following the positivist/ quantitative paradigm may not achieve as comprehensively.

Another study is by Hodsdon-Champeon (2010, para 3) who carries out a study on how intertextuality is manifested in an online discourse. He locates intertextuality in racially antagonistic discourse people post online. The title of his article aptly describes what intertextuality is and can be used for a study like mine also: “Conversations within conversations”. Hodsdon-Champeon suggests that users employ different intertextual ways to negotiate the discussion. A person may use a direct quotation when trying to refute a claim. The explicitness is used as a strategy in refutation. When a participant wants to lend authority, he may “reference other texts without attributing them explicitly as belonging to a source”.

Hodsdon-Champeon (2010, para 5) claims that the authorial space appears to be multidimensional through which “the utterances of others speak”. It is not

restricted to the medium of writing but includes speech also. Utterances are drawn upon as a routine in everyday conversations as well as in any literary setting. Hodsdon-Champeon uses grounded theory to design a classification scheme accounting for all instances of intertextuality in the data as there was no prior scheme available. He concludes that there is no direct relationship between the type of intertextuality used and ideology, and the language of the user. The study also contradicts some established views that most hate speech is carried out by the marginalized groups.

Grounded theory is used as a research approach to study how different social phenomena are socially constructed in newspapers in the following study also. Coyle and MacWhannell's (2002, pp. 692-3) grounded theory study presents how suicide stories are socially constructed in Scottish newspapers. The authors also admit that "[t]he use of grounded theory to analyse texts is uncommon". Such studies are encouraging for my project as I try to construct a theory about how two languages interact in newspaper data.

2.5 Faultlines in Pakistan

There is some research available in the shape of research articles, books, TV talk shows and newspapers that explores the concept of faultlines with reference to Pakistan in. Some perspectives relevant to the current study are given below.

Lall (2012) in her study on the concept of citizenship in Pakistanis finds that most people in Punjab, Sindh and Baluchistan feel alienated but the reason is not domination by Punjab as is generally assumed as Punjab is the largest province in Pakistan. She claims that it is corruption and poverty that have alienated the masses from the state rather than any other presumed faultline.

Data are collected from twenty- seven (27) different education institutions located in three out of four provinces. Lall does not collect data from the fourth province called Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Writing of traditional faultlines that have usually been drawn upon to describe the Pakistani society, she makes a point that they are "ethnic/linguistic or provincial identities, sectarian/religious identities and the

army vs. the rest of the population” (2012, p. 74). In her study, she redefines the components.

The focus is not on ethnic grievances centring on Punjab’s domination “but more on political problems such as corruption and poverty” (2012, p. 80) in Lall’s study. She further claims that there is a preference for army rule or a “military led government” (2012, p. 83) as a way to end corruption in the country. This preference is mainly found among the male madrassa students. Moreover the “disengagement from politics stems from the perception of the corrupt nature of all political leaders” (2012, p.84). Speaking of the 60s when Gen. Ayub Khan, a military ruler took over, she writes that “[c]orruption had become so widespread within the national and civic systems of administration that Ayub Khan was welcomed as a national hero by the people” (2012, p.76).

Investigating the traditional metaphoric faultlines in Pakistan, Murtaza Haider (2011, p.10) does not seem to agree with Lall (2012, p. 7) above. He finds that “communal, sectarian, and ideological faultlines run deep in Pakistan” and threaten the stability of the country. He suggests that Pakistan needs to move forward by leaving behind this perception of divisiveness. He suggests that “a nation not defined by common descent, history, culture, language or belief, but a nation characterised by the diversity in beliefs, cultures, and languages”. Haider does not advocate commonality as the lynch pin for unity rather Pakistanis need to overcome religious, cultural and linguistic faultlines. As is clear from above there is no one opinion on the presence of faultlines in Pakistan. The opinions themselves are “faultlined”. I use both sides of the argument as sensitizing perspectives to see how I am able to conceptualize the data that I have.

2.6 Newspaper research in Pakistan

There is research done on newspaper content in Pakistan from different angles and in different disciplines from sociolinguistics to communication studies, international relations and war studies, etc. testifying to the importance of newspapers in the social life of Pakistanis. This section reviews only the most relevant for the current study. The following studies shed light on how the relationship of Urdu and English is variously conceptualized.

A study by Hussain and Munawar (2017, p.44) is done on Urdu and English newspapers to examine how Taliban are covered in the two languages newspapers. The selected newspapers are *Dawn* and *The News* from the English language and *Roznama Express* and *Roznama Nawae Waqt* from the Urdu language. The time period covered is from 1 January 2014 to 31 July 2014. The results of the study show that Urdu newspapers “were more aggressive and criticized the government for holding peace talks with the anti-state, anti-democracy and anti-civilian forces” as compared to the English newspapers. The latter’s “peace frames were somewhat more visible than the Urdu newspapers, as the two English dailies added more context and background to the conflict and criticized evil-doers from all sides” (2017, p. 45). The study is important for the current research project as it sheds some light on the relationship between Urdu and English as they operate in Pakistan. There is a visible difference between Urdu and English newspapers though the writers point out that as far as out numbering peace frames with war frames is concerned, all four were more inclined towards war frames as compared to peace.

There is another study that contextualizes the relationship between Urdu and English in the realm of Urdu and English newspapers. Ahmad and Rafiq (2017, p.9) write in the introduction to their edited book that it is “through primetime TV talk shows and Urdu newspapers that have a mass appeal, the army is portrayed as a ‘saviour’ of the nation, and civilian leaders ...corrupt and potentially disloyal”. The writers are discussing the civil-military equation in Pakistan but the observation on Urdu newspapers is important.

Ammara Durrani (as cited in Abraham, 2009) analyses a sample of Urdu and English newspapers for the month of February, 2004. The period was marked by the A. Q. Khan controversy. There are some points in her findings that need to be mentioned here. She argues that Urdu newspapers are considered as more of war mongers and jingoistic as compared to the English newspapers which are generally seen as liberal. She produces an analysis that takes into account all angles of the controversy. She mentions *Roznama Jang*, the oldest Urdu daily of Pakistan, showing “a remarkable intellectual departure” by showing concern for the future of the region in the presence of the nuclear arsenals. Contrary to expectations, *Dawn*, the oldest English newspaper in Pakistan, was seen to be toeing the establishment’s views.

Durrani writes that “the liberal English press- in this case, *Dawn*- has shown an increased conformity with the establishment’s views on national security” (as cited in Abraham, 2009, p. 11). Perceptions may or may not mirror realities and hence the need for continuous research on areas that concern a nation.

Further, Abraham (2009, p. 11) opines that “the press becomes a prism of social mores, reproducing within them prevailing faultlines and privilege”. She draws a strong link between the press and the society in which it is produced as it obliquely reflects many issues that may go unnoticed.

A fourth study that offers some insight on the Urdu and English newspapers is by Saeed Shafqat (2009, pp. 282-3). Writing about the “dominant discourse” in Pakistani print media, he claims that the liberal worldview is marginal and largely confined to the English print media. Urdu print media tend to be more sensational, less investigative, and also have a tendency to portray the views and demands of religious groups with great passion and strong rhetoric. Despite these limitations, the Urdu media do mobilize public opinion in Pakistan.

Dividing Urdu and English press neatly into two compartments is a traditional way of looking at the Urdu-English equation in Pakistan. He goes on to claim that journalists from both languages have “different mind sets”. This observation points to linguistic fracturing and needs to be investigated. Shafqat believes that this difference in mind sets actually is reflective of different segments of the Pakistani society (2009, p.283) which seems to be sharply divided between Urdu reading and English reading groups. I find this a very interesting comment and consider it worthy of further exploration.

The next study to be critiqued is by Shema Bukhari (2015, p.224) who too seems to agree with Shafqat above. Her work on headlines claims “Urdu newspapers, which enjoy a larger readership, mostly sensationalize the news, whereas English newspapers adopt a milder tone”. It is important to remark that out of the five studies mentioned above, four converge in their views considerably and the third one (Ammara Durrani as cited in Abraham, 2009) diverges in its findings. The Urdu-English divide as viewed by Shafqat (2009), Hussain & Munawar (2017) and Shema Bukhari (2015) is rather unproblematic and confirms what was already known about

it. Durrani (as cited in Abraham, 2009) finds Urdu newspapers as somewhat more responsible and nuanced as compared to *Dawn*, an English daily.

2.7. Relevant sociolinguistic research on English in Pakistan

This section takes an overview of sociolinguistic studies that use English data as produced in Pakistan. The data may be taken from the print media or otherwise. The first of the works is a PhD dissertation by Arshad Mahmood (2015) who studies the impact of English print media on the formation of public opinion. He uses headlines to argue for a discursive reality constructed over a period of six months (July 01, 2012 to December 31, 2012). Mahmood (2015) expectedly employs the framework of Norman Fairclough (as cited in Mahmood) coupled with Chi-Square to reach his conclusions. Most studies that study newspaper language rely on CDA. He finds that “linguistic features in the headlines are being exploited by Pakistani print media to construct political reality in a biased manner” (2015, p. v). Mahmood also finds that only “50% respondents agreed upon the role of media that it spreads factual information” and “60% agreed that the journalists find out the news stories keeping in view the interests of the general public” (2015, p. 260). Further Mahmood (2015) finds intertextuality, presuppositions, modals, etc. among other features in the selected headlines. Mahmood claims that “print media support the power groups and functions as a party” (2015, p. 266). He goes on to show that “media represent the reality without making any change in the discourses of the political parties or politicians” which is already “a constructed and projected reality” (2015, p. 266). This is an important insight as departing from the general perception of newspapers being responsible for their readers’ opinions, he claims that headlines are constructed in line with the party demands. He seems to suggest that newspapers are just a neutral vessel, a vehicle for furthering political agenda. However, the notion of realities being constructed or represented through newspaper headlines is important as they invariably subscribe to social constructionism in general and social constructionist sociolinguistics (SCS) in particular when the element of language is brought in.

The second study that merits a mention here is by Shahzadul Hassan Farooqi (2008). It is his PhD dissertation. He carries out a semiotic analysis of the US President G. W. Bush’s speeches as presented in the American print media. Farooqi (2008) claims that “semiotics has been an inherent part of media and media

discourse” (2008, p. iv). As I have disclaimed in the first chapter my work is not the first in sociolinguistics in Pakistan or anywhere for that matter to use newspaper discourse in a sociolinguistic study. The only difference between my work and the previous studies is that I use newspaper data to generate a theory which to the best of my knowledge has not been done before. While presenting his findings Farooqi (2008) writes that “colonial legacy, efficiency of modern mass media machine and international status of English provided an effective triangular tool to rally the western society as well as influence the entire world” (2008, p. iv). Farooqi’s (2008) findings point to the mobilization of the public opinion through newspaper discourse. It needs to be pointed out that for my project the public opinion factor is an assumption that I do not study. I focus on how doxai are formed in selected English and Urdu columns. Farooqi (2008, p. 370) shows that the hegemonic and manipulative use of language not only recolonized the world and the weaker nations but linguistically colonized the American public also.

The third study is by Muhammad Uzair (2011). This is also a PhD dissertation. Unlike the two mentioned above that take a discursive view of the English language as a colonizer’s legacy, Uzair focusses on the acculturation of Pakistani English. Uzair writes that “Pakistani English is heavily influenced by both Pakistani languages and indigenous cultures of Pakistan” (Uzair, p. vi) which has led Pakistani English (PE) to develop its own grammar and lexicon which while retaining some similarities with the Standard English variety and this makes it considerably indigenized. Uzair studies the influence of Pakistani English as manifested in the writings of its readers. He takes his data from the country’s leading English dailies and administers written tests to the regular newspaper readers.

Unlike my project, none of the studies theorizes the relationship between Urdu and English on the basis of the English and Urdu newspaper columns. They focus on language from different angles. It must, however, be acknowledged that all studies including cited above have contributed in understanding how English operates from our (the former colonizers) point of view. Studies like the above have in fact laid the foundation of the current study that aims to conceptualize the relationship by going beyond the visible linguistic differences or similarities.

2.7.1 Sociolinguistic research in Pakistan involving grounded theory

In the field of sociolinguistics, two studies claim to have employed grounded theory method. One is a PhD dissertation by Aisha Farid. The other is a paper conducted at National University of Modern Languages, Lahore campus. Farid (2012) studies the how English language employers in two sectors perceive the graduates of MA English. She studies their expectations, demands and perceptions in the light of the subjects taught to MA students. She carries out a critique of both the employers' perceptions and the program. Farid (2012, p. 58) writes that she uses grounded theory in her work and that it is used in situations where "there is little bibliography about a topic or the problem area". She further writes that "the comparison of data leads to the emergence of theory" (2012, p. 59). The work uses both qualitative and quantitative modes of data collection and analysis.

The next work to be reviewed is an article by Ayesha Perveen (2015) who studies the concept of critical pedagogy in an English literature class at National University of Modern Languages, Lahore Campus. Perveen makes certain comments about the English and Urdu languages in the context of Pakistan that are helpful. She writes that "language is a representative of the culture behind it and can easily inculcate this culture into a student's consciousness. My challenge was to transform that extrinsic motivation into intrinsic motivation- the love for literature written in any language" (2015, p. 98). She points out that her students wanted to learn English because of good employment opportunities. Her aim was to show to her students that there was no superior or inferior language. She brings in texts from Urdu and Hindi to break the hegemony of English. Her findings point to students having developed critical thinking. The students could grapple with power relations better than before. Perveen reports that her sample "realized the power of language as a transformative tool and learned to value their own language by escaping the hegemony of the colonizer's language" (2015, p.103). Studies like this that reinvent and reimagine the relationship between English and Urdu are helpful for research projects like mine by taking the discussion beyond the influences of one over the other; they have laid the foundation to discursively reformulate the relationship.

2.8 English and Urdu in Pakistan's educational set-up

This section includes some insights on English and Urdu taken from the field of education. Tariq Rehman (2014) is one of the best known and most prolifically cited scholars on the English language in Pakistan. In a rather narrow and over-simplified interpretation of the Whorfian hypothesis, Rehman while agreeing with Sapir-Whorf writes that not just language but consciousness too is determined by culture. Further dwelling on the same point of view, he claims that there are instances of a foreign language being changed to suit the purpose of local users. Uzair (2015) above points to the same. Rehman argues that “[t]his is what happened to English when it was transplanted to other cultures” (2014, p. 60). English has been simplified under the influence of Urdu in the case of Pakistan. It is debatable whether Rehman actually refers to the Pakistani way of using English as a reflection of the thought processes. Most Pakistanis who speak English can and do switch over to Urdu in no time. What happens to that part of their mind that produces English is extremely speculative.

Another sociolinguist Mahboob (2009, p. 185) draws his readers' attention to a very important point. He claims that “the English language in Pakistan represents Islamic values and embodies South Asian Islamic sensitivities”. He gives lexical examples to prove his point. Mahboob is right to the extent that English used in Pakistan contains words that are not present in the English language used say, in the UK. It uses words like “Insha Allah” (God willing). The influence of the local culture is undeniable. How this phenomenon is viewed is debatable as is shown in the next reference.

A counterpoint is made to the claim made above regarding the accusation against English that it is a means of importing of Western culture needs some more explaining. Yaqoob and Zubair (2012, p. 535) in their paper co-join the English language and Western culture and say that they push the class that studies OUP (Oxford University Press) books, away from those classes that study books published by Punjab Textbooks. They compare the English taught through books published by these two publishers and claim that Urdu textbooks nurture “nationalistic, religious and patriotic tendencies” whereas the OUP books are full of examples from the

western way of life and can be thought of portraying their values as against the Eastern values encode in the Punjab Textbooks.

Yaqoob and Zubair (2012, p. 537) further claim that students studying OUP books find love dating, listening to music and drinking wine, etc. as nothing out of ordinary. They call them as “English and its associated values and culture”. Associating language with certain behavioural traits needs more in-depth scholarship than is my study’s purview. Yaqoob and Zubair tie this finding with a 1998 study carried out by N. Amin who did his PhD research on madrassa education (as cited in Yaqoob and Zubair, 2012, p. 538) has found that “the readers of the PTB books for not being exposed to Western culture regard English as the language of non-Muslims and its culture as contrary to Islamic as well as Pakistani values”. As a result, the opinion about students who study in English medium schools is that they are secular, following a western way of life. The caveat is that the madrassa students still want to learn English as it assures them of good jobs. Co-joining language with one’s religious inclinations can have far-reaching consequences. This concern can make scholars study and theorize English afresh with every research output.

The above studies refer to the complicated relationship that the English and the Urdu languages enjoy or are victims of. The present work is an endeavour in the same regard.

CHAPTER 3

ADAPTED CONSTRUCTIVIST GROUNDED THEORY METHOD

3.1. Scope of the chapter

This is the chapter where I present my method taken in pursuit of my research goals. Since a short introduction to ConsGT is already given in chapter 1 of this work, I start this chapter by doing a comparative study of ConsGT with two other theorizing methods to indicate my preference for GTM. Then I draw the historical background of the constructivist grounded theory (ConsGT) method and show how and why Charmaz decides to part ways with Glaser (1967), the originator of the grounded theory method. The logic behind sensitizing perspectives and the differences on how to view the theory are the hallmarks of this divergence. Next, I present the kind of data Charmaz (2006) advises a grounded theorist to collect and how to go beneath the data to reveal aspects that are important for an emergent theory that is firmly grounded in data. Then I give a detailed presentation of the data used in this study. The data selected is given in the backward order and a justification is provided. As this is a language study, I present Charmaz's views on the place of language in a ConsGT study. I also explicate the process of grounded method as used in the current study with the help of a figure originally presented by Charmaz. ConsGT is presented in detail which helps me in adapting it to accommodate a social constructionist sociolinguistics (SCS) study; I demonstrate how useful it is in generating a substantive sociolinguistic theory grounded in newspaper data. I conclude the chapter by delineating the processes of translation and intertextuality as taken in this project.

3.2. The constructivist grounded theory method in comparison

The constructivist grounded theory method (ConsGTM) is the base method used for this study. I chose to use ConsGT after comparing it with two other methods of theorizing as proposed by Richrad Swedberg (2014, 2016) and Shoemaker et al (2004).

The method put forward by Swedberg in his book *The Art of Social Theory* consists of five steps. He calls his method as “abductive- oriented type of theorizing” (2014, p. 8). This method consists of the following main steps: choosing something interesting or unusual, observing it, naming the discovery, fleshing out the theory with the help of metaphors, diagrams, parallelisms, comparisons and finally completing the theoretical explanation. There is one more stage that he calls a “pre-study” (p. 30) which is somewhat similar to the preliminary step of locating sensitizing disciplinary perspectives. The only difference is that Swedberg wants the theorist-in-the-making to acknowledge that he knows nothing about a phenomenon and then carry out a pre-study whereas Charmaz (2006) argues that a researcher cannot enter a research site in a state of *tabula rasa*. There is always some prior knowledge that he brings to the site. However, knowledge used initially must work for its own place in the final analysis; it is not a given that all of Charmaz’s sensitizing perspectives do find a place in the finished product. Swedberg does not make this step clear. Swedberg alongwith Hammod (2018, p. 5) and Vaughan (2014, p. 64) point to the importance of identifying patterns, regularities and relying on analogy in theorizing. This is something that is advocated by Charmaz also. Both methodologists stress on identifying patterns and regularities and finding out what they may mean.

As compared to Swedberg, Charmaz (2006) gives a clear path towards theorizing. The method proposed by Swedberg is less clear in the way the five main stages have to be accomplished. Charmaz presents various strategies that have to be used at different stages though she suggests flexibility in their use. Her use of constant comparison process is more methodological as compared to Swedberg’s method. Charmaz’s method is more suitable for a sociolinguistic study as she professes to pay more attention to language as compared to Swedberg. There is more leverage for language interplay in Charmaz’s method as compared to Swedberg’s. This will be dealt with in detail in the latter part of the chapter. Swedberg attunes his method to all types of data and allows for statistical inferences whereas Charmaz leans towards social constructionism in her approach and advocates a qualitative/interpretive understanding of the phenomenon. Both Charmaz and Swedberg acknowledge the use of abductive inferencing in theorizing.

The method proposed by Shoemaker et al (2004) is also used in theorizing in social sciences. These methodologists like Swedberg above, do not give their method any name unlike Glaser and Strauss (1967), and Charmaz (2006). Shoemaker et al make a useful comment regarding the difference between social science and natural science. They write that social science “focuses on the study of socially constructed phenomena and how they relate to each other” (p.3). This sits perfectly with how I view sociolinguistics in my project. I subscribe to social constructionism which calls every event present in a society as socially constructed and this is true of a language phenomenon also. Charmaz, as has been noted many times above, takes a social constructionist approach in her work.

Shoemaker et al connect modern theorizing with the Greek origins of the word. They write that the word “theory” comes from “theoria” which means “a looking at” (2004, p. 5). They contrast it with how most people look at theory which is to consider it as removed from everyday reality. This discussion is helpful for my study also as I struggle to theorize also and show that is not an extraordinary event; one just has to have a clearly defined theorizing goal and a will to step back and look at a phenomenon afresh. Shoemaker et al (2004, p. 6) rightly point out that “people use theories every day” and that “[a] theory is simply one’s understanding of how something works”. They go on to say that common knowledge, common sense, aphorisms and maxims are those theories that we accept as true. They also enumber theories that we view skeptically. The latter are folktales, superstitions and old wives’ tales. Shoemaker et al aim to demystify the act of theorizing.

The method presented by Shoemaker et (2004, p. 150) lacks the sophistication that ConsGT possesses. They seem to view theory building as a rather simple process and suggest ten ways to get creative. There is no defined order to these ten ways. The theory building process starts from observation as in the case of Swedberg (2016) and may include making attributive lists, brainstorming, lateral thinking, random input, imagining provocative realignments to name a few. A proper step by step methodology is amiss in this approach for theory building.

Shoemaker et al’s stress on predictatory power and utility is at odds with my approach. They write that “the goal of theory is not so much to explain things as to use explanations to predict things” (2004, p. 6). I concur with Charmaz (2006) and

Coupland (2001) and lean towards explanatory power of a theory rather than its ability to predict. Charmaz (2006, p. 4) rejects the positivist paradigm because of its dependency on prediction in research. Shoemaker et al (2004) do not mention grounded theory as one of the possible ways to theorise. Swedberg (2014, p. 28) mentions Glaser (1967) just once to argue that theoretical sampling can lead astray if not used carefully.

What is common amongst Charmaz (2006), Shoemaker et al (2004,) and Swedberg (2014) is that they all insist on looking for patterns in the data. The systematic methodology that has compelled me to choose ConsGT over others is given in the sections below. I would end this section with a quotation by Kaplan (1964, p. 309) who famously said “[a] theory must somehow fit God’s world but in an important sense it creates a world of its own”.

3.3. An overview of the classic grounded theory (CGT) as set off against constructivist grounded theory (ConsGT)

This section gives an overview of classic grounded theory while showing how it differs from constructivist grounded theory used in this project. Constructivist grounded theory retains some core strategies of the original grounded theory method but uses them within a different paradigm. The classic grounded theory method is set in positivism whereas the constructivist grounded theory method uses interpretivist insights. Four areas have been identified in which Charmaz departs from Glaser’s version: data collection, sensitizing concepts, the concept of theory and theoretical sampling (abduction).

The grounded theory method known as classic grounded theory, was initially put forward by Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss in 1967 who wanted to “forestall the opportunistic use of theories that have a dubious fit and working capacity” (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, p.4). Instead of fitting the data in an extant theory where the problem is unique, Glaser and Strauss’ advice is to generate a theory from data to suit “to its supposed uses” (1967, p.3). Glaser and Strauss take an exception to the practice of attributing ideas to an existing theory. They call this practice “examplifying” and argue that since the idea was derived from the theory rather “the example was chosen for its confirming power” (1967, p. 5), it can hardly change or correct the idea.

Moreover, “the theory obtains a richness of detail that it did not earn” (1967, p.5). The term “exemplifying” means placing the original idea in the ambit of some extant theory. Therefore, Glaser and Strauss (1967) advise scholars with original ideas to generate their own theories and make new contributions to knowledge. They put forward a scheme of strategies to be employed for the generation of theory. To date, all grounded theorists generally follow the same procedure with some modifications to suit their unique research situations and paradigmatic inclinations.

The birth of constructivist grounded theory (ConsGT), an offshoot of classic grounded theory, lies in the founding fathers’ vision that the method should never stop evolving. The first difference between Charmaz and the duo Glaser and Strauss, is related to data collection. Charmaz (2008c, p. 53) claims that Glaser and Strauss offer a scheme of data collection that negates the value of gaining an indepth familiarity with the data. She writes “Glaser and Strauss aim to theorize from qualitative research include streamlining data collection in ways that militate against gaining intimate familiarity”. This does not always lead to obtaining a rich and contextual understanding of the situation. “Rich data are detailed, focused, and full” (Charmaz, 2006, p. 14). One of the ways to spot rich data is by the “thickness” of its description. There are layers to data which have to be peeled off in order to understand what is happening in the research site. “Obtaining rich data means seeking thick description” whereas Glaser, as argued by Charmaz, is against gathering layered description. As all data are constructions, one must get beneath to understand why and how they were constructed. Charmaz and Bryant (2007) call the grounded theory method “a systematic, inductive, and comparative approach for conducting inquiry for the purpose of constructing theory” (Charmaz & Bryant, 2007, p.1). It assumes the notion of constant interaction with data. The process of data collection and analysis in grounded theory is cyclical and simultaneous. One stage of analysis may lead the researcher to collect more data which in turn results in a finer analytical rendering of the data (Charmaz & Bryant, 2007, p.1). Charmaz advises scholars to use the method in flexible ways (2006, p.9). This study keeps referring to new data to better formulate the process of theory generation. My data collection does not end at the first stage when three hundred (300) articles are selected. I keep mining for data through out the stage of category saturation, theoretical sampling and the final enunciation of the theory.

3.3.1 Logic behind using sensitizing perspectives

The second way in which Charmaz's path diverges from that of Glaser's is in the matter of using sensitizing concepts and literature review. Strauss is in agreement with Glaser when it comes to the kind of data selected but he differs from him in the matter of prior knowledge. Strauss alongwith Corbin (1990) branches off from Glaser and revises the earlier stance on both literature review. The purist stance of Glaser (1996, p.37) is rejected and instead the use of sensitizing concepts is encouraged. Glaser forbids interaction with literature till the "discovery" of the theory. Strauss and Corbin (1990, p. 48) point out that no researcher can enter a research site with a totally blank mind. The sensitizing concepts should not, however, impede the theoretical development and only those concepts should be retained which have been theoretically rendered.

Blumer (1969, p. 148) is generally credited with the introduction of sensitizing perspectives in the second half of the 20th century. It is markedly different from the traditional literature review section of a research study as it arms a researcher using the inductive approach, with initial ideas to enter the research site without encumbering him with concepts that might impede theory emergence. Charmaz (2006, p. 11) mentions two complementary terms, sensitizing concepts and general disciplinary perspectives. I use both keeping in view the range of previous knowledge I draw on. I use "sensitizing concepts" for knowledge that can easily be categorized as a concept. Some kind of knowledge cannot be easily labelled as concepts and therefore the terms "perspectives", "approaches" and "knowledge" are used. I use the all-encompassing term "sensitizing disciplinary perspectives" for my chapter on the same, in order to cover concepts, studies and approaches that might be relevant for my work.

Most established or aspiring grounded theorists (Charmaz, 2006, 2016, 2014 & 2017; Strauss & Corbin, 1990; Hussein, Kennedy & Oliver, 2017, p. 1200; Dunne, 2011, p. 115) scholars agree with Blumer (1969) and encourage researchers to start with sensitizing knowledge but caution at the same time that only those initial ideas should be kept that earn their way into the analysis. The originators of grounded theory Glaser and Strauss (1967, p.37) were very clear how they saw extant literature. They write that:

an effective strategy is, at first, literally to ignore the literature of theory and focus on the area of study, in order to assure that the emergence of categories will not be contaminated by concepts more suited to different areas. Similarities and convergences with the literature can be established after the analytic core of categories has emerged. (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, p. 37)

The rigidity in the approach was, however, dropped in the later versions of grounded theory. Strauss teams up with Corbin and advocates taking into account the factual position regarding a researcher's prior knowledge about his discipline. Strauss and Corbin (1990, p. 48) and Charmaz (2006, p.16) argue that it is not possible to totally erase all disciplinary associations and come to the research scene as a *tabula rasa*. The advantage of sensitizing concepts is that they “give you initial ideas to pursue and sensitize you to ask particular kinds of questions about your topic”. It bestows a researcher with a certain enquiring gaze about the topic, but, Charmaz also cautions grounded theorists not to let these initial ideas to stifle their creativity. The “background assumptions and disciplinary perspectives alert” a grounded theorist to “look for certain possibilities” which ultimately “shape research topics and conceptual emphases” (Charmaz, 2006, p.16).

As my aim in this project is to theorize the relationship between Urdu and English, I tried locating studies that could shed some direct light on the relationship between the two languages but could not find any. I then selected some perspectives that could indirectly illuminate the research path. They are initially treated as tentative knowledge; I kept in mind that these were not the final concepts/ perspectives. However, there were some like translation that had a better chance of earning their way in the final configuration as half of the data are in Urdu and is translated into English. Like Charmaz argues, only those concepts were retained that earned their way into the analysis. This is not a tight conceptual framework that I had to adhere to in large parts. For the sake of brevity only the concepts that finally made their way into the analysis are mentioned in detail in Chapter 2. Some other perspectives were used but had to be discarded as no evidence of the same could be found. A passing reference of the same is made as needful.

Cutcliffe (2000, p. 1480), seconding Strauss & Corbin (1998) and Charmaz (2006) emphasizes that “no potential researcher is an empty vessel, a person with no

history or background”. Another theorist, Denscombe (2003, p.120), working in the area of grounded theory partakes of the controversy and argues that ignoring the literature around the research topic may result in a theoretical rendering of the phenomenon that is oblivious to the socio-economic as well as politico-historical dimensions of the research problem. Charmaz (2006, p. 166) does not restrain scholars from carrying out a literature review as a sharp and focused one “strengthens your argument – and your credibility”. She, however, cautions against using literature review to impede creativity which can only be done if literature review is carried out after the development of the theory.

3.3.2 What is theory in constructivist grounded theory?

The second way in which Charmaz and Glaser differ is in their conceptions of what constitutes theory in a grounded theory study. This is not to say that there is nothing in common between the two. On the contrary, there are some ways in which both classic grounded theory and constructivist grounded theory converge. When it comes to substantive and formal theories, Charmaz and Glaser are in harmony as is shown below, and this section starts with the same. Next, I dwell on Charmaz’s constructivist approach as informed by interpretivism and how it is different from the objectivist/positivist grounded theory propagated by Glaser. “Constructivist grounded theory loosens the method from its positivist roots, moves it into interpretive inquiry” (Charmaz, 2008c, p. 6). Some explanation on the nature of social reality and the place of abductive reasoning in constructivist grounded theory are also given as they are also a part of what theory is in ConsGT.

As far as the type of theory is concerned, Charmaz and Glaser do not have any disagreement on what constitutes the difference between substantive and formal theories. All grounded theories that are based on raw data are called substantive theories. They are less generalised and more contextualized. The more generalised grounded theories are called formal theories and they are not generated primarily from raw data but from a number of substantive theories in a particular area. Raw data may, however, be used to test one’s claims in a formal theory generation also. A researcher takes a number of substantive theories in an area and applies grounded theory strategies and generates a theory which is called a formal theory of that particular area. Substantive theories are used as hypotheses in a formal theory project. I aim to

generate a substantive theory and not a formal one as there are hardly any substantive theories in my area. Dwelling on the difference between a formal and a substantive theory, Charmaz writes:

Situating grounded theories in their social, historical, local, and interactional contexts strengthens them. Such situating permits making nuanced comparisons between studies. Subsequently these comparisons can result in more abstract-and, paradoxically-general theories. The generality arises here from scrutinizing numerous particulars and after developing a substantive theory may include analyzing and conceptualizing the results of multiple studies to construct a formal theory. (2006, p. 180)

The next point to elaborate is how Charmaz's approach is different from Glaser's in terms of the paradigms. Kathy Charmaz (2006) was a student of Glaser and Strauss (1967) and played a key role in the further evolution of the grounded theory method by bringing in an interpretive perspective and moving it firmly away from the positivist paradigm. This is, however, not to say that she completely disregards the older versions of grounded theory. She retains the strategies but uses them in a way that theory is a result of the researcher actively participating in the process rather than passively waiting for the discovery of the theory that is implied in Glaser's version. The theory is not out there that has to be discovered with the application of the strategies.

As to the term "constructivist" in ConsGT, Charmaz (2014, p. 13) writes that she first used the term to negate the objectivist stance of Glaser who subscribed to positivism of how grounded theory method should work. The term "constructivist" struck a chord with her readers because of the aptness of the term for the inductive enquiry which itself is treated as a social construction.

Her relationship with social constructionism has had its alignments and realignments. In 2006, Charmaz wrote that "social constructionists study what people at a particular time and place take as real, how they construct their views and actions, when different constructions arise, whose constructions become taken as definitive and how that process ensues" (2006, p.189). All these features are present in a ConsGT. Initially she called her approach as social constructionist grounded theory

but she soon realized that social constructionists were not producing constructions rather they were just faithfully rendering the data of the social worlds; she moved towards social constructivism as it stresses “interpretive understanding, social contexts and sharing viewpoints”. At the same time, she disavows the individualistic subjectivity in social constructivism and points out that “subjectivity is inseparable from social existence”. (2014, p.14) In another article, Charmaz writes of the same in the following way “Constructivist grounded theory disavows radical subjectivism and individualism” because “we exist in particular times and social locations” (2008c, p.8).

While aligning her approach to social constructivism, Charmaz (2008c, p. 6) gives reasons for moving away Glaser’s positivist classic grounded theory which in her opinion relied more on “explicit generalities—or parsimonious explanations” than contextualized knowledge and an interpretive understanding of the data. She suggests taking historical, cultural, social and situational factors into account. This inevitably brings in partialities and treats “variation and difference” with far more nuance than Glaser’s CGT (classic grounded theory). Glaser while drawing on “functionalist theory and quantitative assumptions” (Charmaz, 2008c, p. 9) erases the crucial variation in the data. This in turn gives his analysis a positivist colour.

Positivist theories treat concepts as variables to predict and explain their inter-relationships. Hypothesis testing is done to verify the same. By using GTM, Glaser (1992, p.116) implies an automaticity in the emerging process which is not present in Charmaz’s version. The variable analysis he adheres to binds the process to the discovery of a core category. Charmaz on the other hand, remains open about the discovery of just one core category or more, and leaves it to the researcher.

Charmaz is very explicit in pointing out that as a constructivist she concedes that researchers bring a bias to the site but the bias is removed by following the iterative process of data collection and data analysis punctuated by memo writing. She further claims that instead of explaining a phenomenon, interpretivists seek to understand the empirical realities in an abstract way. Interpretive theories "allow for indeterminacy rather than seek causality and give priority to showing patterns and connections rather than to linear reasoning" (2006, p. 126).

Charmaz (2006, pp. 401-2) further writes that an objective and a neutral stance makes data selection and analysis “unproblematic” which fails to portray a rich social life. Such a stance makes data as “givens, rather than constructions that occur during the research process, and they shape its outcome”. She goes on to argue that in objectivists’ opinion “data are self-evident and speak for themselves” which misses out “multiple readings”. These multiple readings bring in the interpretive aspect on the part of both the data producers (column writers in my case) and researchers; researchers cannot be abstracted from the research site. They cannot stand outside the research site and record neutrally the phenomenon. Charmaz’s dictum is that a “theoretical rendering offers an interpretive portrayal of the studied world, not an exact picture of it” and the resultant grounded theory is a construction of reality (2006, p.10) as interpreted by the researcher. There may be other ways of studying the same data resulting in different theoretical abstractions. Theorizing done in the interinterpretive mode is rooted in the social constructionist thought that views an individual as a part of the society. An individual using language is actively constructing the society/world he is operating in. And conversely, he is being constructed by the language used in the society.

Corbetta (2003, p.2) notes that positivism views social world as untouched by contextual or social factors which makes it possible for data to be statistically analysed and generalised. The stance taken in the present work as it attempts to introduce a new method of analysing sociolinguistic data, conforms to what Corbetta claims. Statistical methods cannot explain all problems. Theorising means innovation in terms of methodology also.

Bryman (2008, p. 16) while explaining the interpretivism and positivism divergence, claims that they stand on opposite sides of the epistemological continuum. Conversely, interpretivism takes a divergent view to that of the positivist paradigm and therefore can be said to be “predicated upon the view that a strategy is required that respects the difference between people and the objects of the natural sciences and therefore requires the social scientist to grasp the subjective meaning of social action” Boeije (2010, p. 19) asserts that the researchers using qualitative research consider that there is no single truth in society. Similarly, Guba and Lincoln (2005) argue that “there is no single truth -that all truths are but partial truths” (2005,

p. 212). Patton (2002, p. 134) claims that qualitative research ends in “socially constructed multiple realities”. All the above agree with Charmaz in that firstly that social realities are constructed, and secondly, that there is not a single truth, a single reality that can explain the given situation.

There is also some difference between Charmaz and Glaser regarding logical reasoning in a grounded theory project. Both Charmaz and Glaser agree that inductive reasoning is the point of departure. However, Glaser stops with the induced findings whereas Charmaz goes a step forward and brings in abductive reasoning for the final formulation of the theory. Discussing the inductive nature of GTM, Charmaz and Bryant (2007) point out that Glaser and Strauss (1967) were very clear in their conception of this approach. They stated in unambiguous terms that a grounded theory study starts with an inductive enquiry by which they meant building from the specific to the generic (Glaser & Strauss, 1967 as cited in Charmaz & Bryant, pp. 5-7) and distinguished it from the deductive method that starts with theory. A grounded theory ends on a theory grounded in the data. A grounded theory study does not start with any pre-conceived categories unlike in a quantitative study that formulates hypotheses based on existing literature and collects data to test the same. The role of abduction in theory generation in constructivist grounded theory is important. As noted above initially Glaser and Strauss (1967) explicitly labelled reasoning in grounded theory as inductive. Strauss later on moves away from Glaser and advocates abductive logic alongwith inductive. This is another of the ways in which Charmaz’s ConsGT differs from Galser’s classic grounded theory.

Thornberg (2012, p.47) informs us that it was Charles Pierce (as cited in Thornberg, 1958) who first introduced the idea of abduction alongside deduction and induction. He calls abduction as the discovery of “new concepts, ideas or explanations” for which there is no extant theoretical explanation. “By abduction, the researcher goes beyond data as well as the pre-existing theory or theories” (2012, p.48). The abductive concepts are based on the inductive findings that have already been inferenced in a project in the sense that the latter act as the springboard for a “surprising” new explanation. The new explanation has no precedence but it is still tied to the data and the inductive findings.

Reichertz (2019, p. 264) reaffirms that it was indeed Strauss who laid the seeds of abductive inferencing in GTM. As for what is abductive reasoning, Reichertz (2019, 266) writes:

Abductive inferencing is [...] an attitude towards data and towards one's own knowledge: data are to be taken seriously, and the validity of previously developed knowledge is to be queried. It is a state of preparedness for being taken unprepared.

Reichertz above uses different words to mean the same thing as Thornberg before him. He means that it is inductive reasoning that prepares a researcher to think of something new. He emphasizes on the importance of past knowledge as abduction is a a new insight but it is actually the former that is used to commandeer the latter.

Charmaz and Bryant (2007) concur with Glaser and Strauss (as cited in Charmaz & Bryant, p. 9) that the theory obtained from data usually cannot be refuted completely by more data or even replaced by another theory. However, it can be modified or reformulated. Such a theory lasts because of its close relation to the data. All practicing grounded theorists must bring in insights over and above data so that the danger of the theoretical formulation not being able to fully and innovatively capture the social world is eradicated or minimized. Strauss & Corbin (as cited in Charmaz & Bryant, 2007) point out that data are not created by the researcher but they create a theory.

Grounded theorists should not ignore other scholars in the field once the process enters the later stages of theory development as it can leave the process incomplete. No theoretical rendering can be complete unless the other scholars in a field are not drawn upon. A grounded theorist can challenge, extend and even transcend the dominant discourse in his field by doing a thorough study of the extant works. She also advises a grounded theorist not to stop at interpreting a substantive area and rather to make "connections with other areas" (Charmaz, 2006, p.168). Finally, grounded theorists in possession of an original theory are exhorted to use it to create new methods in their fields. The grounded theory should not gather dust in libraries rather make some contribution in the concerned field.

Sanders (1995) argues that “no set of rules can dictate what a researcher needs to do and when he or she needs to do it” (as cited in Charmaz, 2008). Charmaz concurs with her. This is important to remark on as my overall methodological framework is the same as presented by Charmaz (2006) with some modifications as necessary. As stated in Chapter 1, Wodak, Johnstone and Kerswill (2011) advocate the developing of new ways of analysing language by pointing to the interdisciplinary nature of sociolinguistics. Coupland (2002, 2014 & 2016) and Wardhaugh and Fuller (2015) emphasize the need for theorising in sociolinguistics which leads to the testing of new methodologies inevitably as sociolinguistics is not a discipline that can be theorised about without taking the empirical aspects in view. How data are collected and analysed need to undergo a review also along with its theoretical concepts. I am also mindful of the sociolinguistic situation in Pakistan where most theories and methodologies used are developed by Western academics. There is a need to introduce new ways of analysing sociolinguistic data when the aim is to theorise rather than feeding into an extant theory.

How the theorist chooses to interpret the phenomenon plays a vital role. Charmaz gives a guideline as to how present a grounded theory- the product. She claims all theories, whether positivist or interpretivist theories, "present arguments about the world and relationships within it, despite sometimes being cleansed of context and reduced to seemingly neutral statements" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 128). The power of a theory is that "phenomena and relationships between them you only sensed beforehand become visible". A theorist can help his readers look at the world afresh making new connections and seeing new possibilities. A theorist engages with the world, constructs new meanings and interpretations. Collins (2004 as cited in Charmaz, 2006) proposes that theorizing should take into account situations rather than individuals which can only be used as starting points for theorizing.

By allowing a theory to emerge from data through an iterative process of data collection and data analysis which results as a process of coding, memo writing and theoretical sampling, I demonstrate that I enter the site with an open mind and let codes and categories emerge. Since I do not start reading my data with any categories, I am not under any pressure to prove or disprove anything. I simply have to interpret my data increasing the verifiability and reliability of my study. I decided to employ

ConsGT when I realized that my research questions could not be answered in any other way. There is no extant theory to explain my research problem. The research site for me are the newspaper articles and how different opinion writers articulate their point of view on similar issues. I set out to interpret the columns through an elaborate system of emergent coding which results in a conceptualization of the relationship between Urdu and English.

3.3.3. Suitable data for a ConsGT study

This section presents Charmaz's (2006, p. 16) views on what kind of data should form a grounded study. She subscribes to the Glaserian maxim "All is data" (Glaser, 1998, p. 145) which is well-known in grounded theory circles. However, it needs certain explanation and qualification which is given below. There are generally many types of information available about a research topic. The researcher needs to decide as he goes along which data are suitable and need to be included. The criteria for selection are "relevance for your emerging interests" (2006, p. 16). This refers to the constant comparative process of data collection and analysis. Emerging codes point to the need and direction of inclusion and exclusion of data.

A grounded theory considers data from sources like newspapers, historical records, government records, or organizational information, etc., as appropriate, but cautions us against treating them in a neutral manner (Charmaz, 2006, p. 39). A grounded theorist while collecting data needs to remember that no document, however, objective it may seem, is truly objective. There is always certain pertinent information that a researcher can learn if such documents are gleaned for biases, hidden agendas, etc. This can lead to better contextualization by pointing to important social and historical conditions which ultimately helps in the interpretation. In my case, the portrayal of these conditions is further conceptualized for the U-E relationship. This strategy of Charmaz's helps in removing radical subjectivity from data analysis and ties the analysis and the emergent theory down to the data.

Finally, a researcher must zero in on data which are rich, sufficient and suitable ensure the quality and credibility of a research study (Charmaz, 2006, p. 39). A researcher may look at the world through data's eyes but not necessarily reproduce it. I, as a sociolinguistic researcher, must find out which contextual meanings the text

implies and how do images of a linguistic reality are constructed. I pay close attention to language that constructs reality. The logic of coding demands that a process of constant comparison is carried out at all stages of analysis. This comparison may be between texts on the same topic and also among authors.

3.3.4. Data for the current study and initial sampling

The data for the current study conforms to both sociolinguistic and ConsGT standards. While opining on what comprises suitable data for a sociolinguistic study, Bijeikienė and Tamošiūnaitė (2013, p. 46) point out that there are many types of spoken and written data that a sociolinguist can use in his study. Data can be borrowed from the internet, newspapers, etc., to use in a sociolinguistic study. There are many sociolinguistic studies (as given in the previous chapter) that focus only on headlines and advertisements to make claims about newspaper discourse. As for ConsGT as pointed out above, “all is data” and a grounded theorist can acquire data from newspapers, documents, historical records, etc. This study, however, uses newspaper opinion columns for its data.

Before a justification is given for using opinion articles as data for this study, a word about sampling in grounded theory is in order here. Sampling is done in all kinds of research studies whether quantitative or qualitative, grounded theory or non-grounded theory. Grounded theory includes two types of sampling: initial and theoretical. Delineating the difference between initial sampling and theoretical sampling, Charmaz (2006, pp. 99-100) points out “[i]nitial sampling in grounded theory is where you start whereas theoretical sampling directs you where to go”. An initial sampling is done at the beginning of the study when a decision is made to study a certain phenomenon. Theoretical sampling is given in the section on the steps taken in the adapted grounded theory process. This section presents the rationale only for the initial sampling of three hundred (300) newspaper articles.

My decision to choose newspaper data over others was influenced by the sheer number of newspapers that are published daily in Pakistan (399 as per Pakistan Bureau of Statistics, 2018) as indicated in section 1.4 of this project. Newspapers are one site where language is produced on a daily basis. The current project is a study aiming to theorise the relationship between English and Urdu while grounding its

findings in opinions expressed systematically. As newspapers have a high visibility index it is easy to demonstrate and establish credibility and resonance as is the requirement of a constructivist grounded theory and given in sections 5.4.1 and 5.4.3. Furthermore, the purpose of my research also allowed me a degree of freedom. I could use data from anywhere as long as there was some congruity between the Urdu data and the English data. The opinion articles seemed to offer me the best option as I could get the same number from both languages. I further systematised my data collection by selecting the same number of writers from both the languages to give the same amount of coverage and importance to both sides. The time period goes back instead of forward as my aim was to study how opinions/doxai started to be formed. The tracing of an opinion is convenient if it is done backwards to claim whether it has acquired the shape of a doxa or not. The current shape of an opinion was the point of departure for me.

As for the selection of the columnists, being a member of Pakistani society, I was aware that renowned columnists/media intellectuals wrote in big publications. Therefore, it was easy for me to select newspapers from which to cull the data. The other consideration was that I wanted writers who wrote regularly and this quality was found in the renowned columnists I chose. The tracing of an opinion/a doxa and the patterns formed can only be discerned when it is mentioned repetitively and this feature was present in the columnists I have selected. The longitudinality of the data collection/selection was foretold as the formation of opinions is done over a period of time and cannot, therefore, be done in a synchronic study. Moreover, as opinions from an array of writers are selected, only ten articles per writer were chosen keeping in mind the limitations of the study.

The current study is based primarily on three hundred (300) columns taken from Urdu and English newspapers going back from August 27, 2018 to June 18, 2014 which makes a period of 50 months and 09 days. There is one article by Hassan Nisar (*Roznama Jang*) which was first published on October 7, 1996 and has been published two more times since then. As for the neat cut off dates, it was not adhered to as it is the wont of studies that rely on statistical inferences underpinned by a stable world as propagated by positivism. The current study did not explicitly aim to be at variance with the positivist paradigm by not selecting a neat time range. The criterion

adopted for the selection of the articles necessitated that there would be inevitably be different dates for different columnists. As is given below and in the next chapter, the selection of articles is subject to the how frequently the writer mentions a particular topic. The time period may range from a few months to one whole year. The total time period (excluding one article by Hassan Nisar that was originally written in 1996) covers all the columnists and topics. No two writers follow the same schedule for discussing a certain topic. They may be close in dates but may not have exactly the same dates. The difference in time period between writers may be short or long and becomes immaterial when Hassan Nisar's article of 1996 is republished in March 2018 and seems as current as any other article.

There is another condition other than dates that was adopted for the selection of the articles. The condition is that a columnist must write about a particular topic in ten articles at least because the train of thought cannot be studied in less than ten columns; a doxastic analysis of an opinion can only be done if it is mentioned regularly for at least ten times. It may not be mentioned consecutively but there should be at least ten articles that form a unit of analysis per writer.

There are three columnists from Urdu and three from English whose columns in two areas are selected as they are prolific writers and their columns fall in more than one broad area. They are Ansar Abbasi, Rauf Klasra and Kishwar Naheed form Urdu and Chris Cook, Kamila Hayat and Durdana Najam from English. All columnists whose works feature in this study are given below. The newspaper affiliation, language, time period covered are also shown. The order in which the information below is presented corresponds to how the data was analysed in the initial abstraction stage onwards. The English newspapers are *Dawn*, *The News International*, *The Nation* and *The Express Tribune*. The Urdu newspapers are *Roznama Jang*, *Roznama Express*, *Roznama Nawae Waqt* and *Roznama Dunya*.

Columnist	Newspaper	Time Covered
1. Durdana Najam	<i>The Nation</i>	April 30, 2018 to Nov. 6, 2017
2. Mahir Ali	<i>Dawn</i>	April 25, 2018 to Jan. 17, 2018
3. Chris Cook	<i>The Express Tribune</i>	April 12, 2018 to August 31, 2017

4. Saleem Safi *Roznama Jang* March 3, 2018 to Sept. 26, 2018
5. Arifa S. Khan *Roznama Nawae Waqt* April 17, 2018 to Nov. 8, 2017
6. Rauf Klasra *Roznama Dunya* March 3, 2018 to June 5, 2016
7. Saadia Gardezi *The Nation* April 2, 2018 to June 18, 2014
8. Kamila Hayat *The News Int.* January 11, 2018 to July 20, 2017
9. I.A. Rehman *Dawn* March 29, 2018 to Sept. 21, 2017
10. Sohail Warraich *Roznama Jang* April 11, 2018 to March 8, 2018
11. Hamid Mir *Roznama Jang* April 23, 2018 to March 8, 2018
12. Nusrat Javed *Roznama Nawae Waqt* Dec. 29, 2017 to Sept.19, 2017
13. Talat Hussain *The News Int.* April 6, 2018 to Sept. 25, 2017
14. Durdana Najam *The Nation* April 23, 2108 to Jan. 29, 2018
15. M. Ziauddin *The Express Tribune* Dec.16, 2017 to Aug. 19, 2018
16. Irshad Bhatti *Roznama Jang* Jan. 18, 2018 to June 19, 2017
17. Hassan Nisar *Roznama Jang* March 7, 2018 to Oct. 7, 1996
18. Rauf Klasra *Roznama Dunya* Aug. 27, 2018 to Sept. 20, 2017
19. Chris Cook *The Express Tribune* May 31, 2018 to May 26, 2017
20. Zubeida Mustafa *Dawn* March 16, 2018 to July 07, 2017
21. Pervez Hoodbuoy *The News Int.* March 31, 2018to Dec. 03, 2016
22. Zubair Rehman *Roznama Express* April 6, 2018 to Sept. 28, 2017
23. Ansar Abbasi *Roznama Jang* Jan. 8, 2018 to Dec. 08, 2016
24. Kishwar Naheed *Roznama Jang* April 4, 2018 to April 14, 2017

25. Mosharraf Zaidi	<i>The News Int.</i>	April 3, 2018 to Feb. 16, 2016
26. Mina Malik	<i>The Nation</i>	April 30, 2018 to Jan. 23, 2018
27. Kamila Hayat	<i>The News Int.</i>	April 26, 2018 to July 27, 2017
28. Ansar Abbasi	<i>Roznama Daily</i>	April 19, 2018 to Dec. 18, 2017
29. Kishwar Naheed	<i>Roznama Daily</i>	April 14, 2018 to April 21, 2017
30. Zahida Hina	<i>Roznama Express</i>	April 15, 2018 to Nov. 15, 2017

The number of articles chosen are not the same from every newspaper. The breakdown given below shows that there are some newspapers which feature more than others. As the criterion was the regularity of a columnist, every newspaper did not fulfil this condition in the same way.

English:

The News International- 05

The Nation- 04

Dawn- 03

The Express Tribune- 03

Urdu:

Roznama Jang- 09

Roznama Nawae Waqt- 02

Roznama Express- 02

Roznama Dunya- 02

This section concludes by referring to what Charmaz (2006, p. 39) claims about newspapers. She opines that they should not be presumed to be presenting reality to the audiences rather they are sites where versions of reality are constructed. This gives rise to multiple realities- a social constructionist stance.

3.3.5. The place of language in ConsGT and its implications for the present study

Like all sociolinguistic studies, the current study too uses language data in relation to the society which it represents. It is important to note that the data are given in two major languages of Pakistan, Urdu and English. Charmaz (2006, pp. 46-7) while dwelling on the place of language in a grounded theory study shows how it strengthens the approach adopted. Charmaz writes that “[l]anguage plays a crucial

role in how and what we code”. It means that we construct our world through language. Although, the social world is known through language no researcher can claim to neutrality as “specific use of language reflects views and values”. The researcher’s interpretive stance is visible in the selection of codes and the language used as they “arise from the languages, meanings, and perspectives through which we learn about the empirical world”. This study uses two languages, one Oriental (Urdu) and the Occidental (English). The differences and similarities become visible from coding onwards as a comparative and analytic process is rigorously adopted. It is coding that helps in rendering the language used in data “problematic” which in turn prepares it for analysis. Coding aids in examining hidden assumptions in our own use of language as well as that of our participants. This upfront stance towards language and society is fruitful for a sociolinguistic study like the present one.

3.4. Adapted ConsGT research method followed in this study

This section presents the method followed for the theory development. The ways in which the adaptation is done are given and a rationale is provided for the change. It is acknowledged by seasoned grounded theorists that the method will have to depend on the interpretation of the user which in turn depends on the kind of data the researcher is dealing with (Mruck & Mey, 2019, p. 474). Charmaz (2006, p.2) advises grounded theorists to be flexible in the use of strategies. She admits that every research site is different and a strict adherence to the prescribed method may not be the answer. The researcher’s choices are guided by the logic of solving the research mystery in front of him. He will adapt, change and modify the strategies according to the need of his project. This aspect leads to the enrichment of the method and encourages it to be used across disciplines.

The fact that constructivist grounded theory (ConsGT) emphasizes on problematizing the language in the data through the construction of interpretive codes and categories is helpful for a sociolinguistic project like the current one. They rely on the researcher’s interpretation. Three levels of “coding” are done by paying attention to the language used. I problematize the language by using in vivo codes. In vivo coding means using the language of the population/data. In some places it also stands for close approximation of the language of the participants. In vivo codes are used to stay close to the language of the data. In my case it is the language of the writers of

the opinion articles. I need to preserve as much verbatim language as possible to build a situation where I can make some confident claims regarding the doxastic relationship between Urdu and English. Charmaz (2006, p. 57) advocates the use of in vivo codes in the following way: “In vivo codes can provide a crucial check on whether you have grasped what is significant” in the data. Whether it is an in vivo code or a code that is worded by the researcher himself, every conceptualization has to be compared and contrasted with every other. The constant comparative process is the hallmark of GTM and cannot be abandoned at any stage.

For the initial stages, it may seem that I use in vivo language more than the later stages as there are more abstractions in the initial stages. As the work progresses along the conceptualization lines, codes and categories are subsumed under fewer and fewer codes eventually leading to one core category. The core category is also an in vivo code.

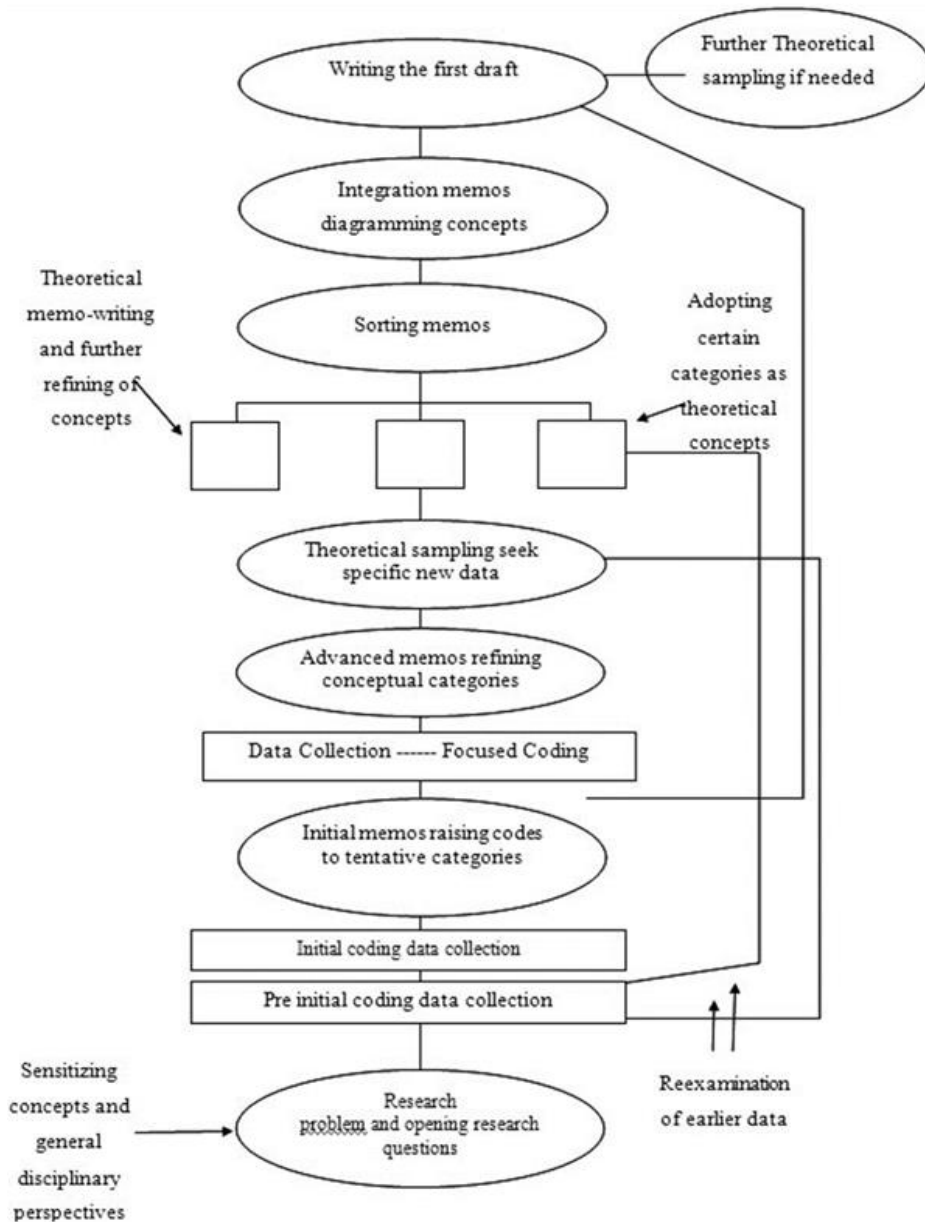
The use of in vivo coding is one of the two adaptations that I do regarding the ConsGT. The other is adding a new stage of conceptualization which I label as “Pre-initial in vivo abstractions”. For the sake of keeping congruity with Charmaz’s method, I use both codes and abstractions though the labelling that I do in the next chapter consists of the word abstractions to emphasize the act of taking away, separating, withdrawing from the mass of data. This act is conceptual like every stage of GTM. Charmaz (2006) does not differentiate between abstraction, or conceptualization. Since the abstractions done are in long phrases or even sentences, the word of concept or code as used in common parlance does not do justice. The titles for the first three stages are “Pre- initial in vivo abstractions” and “Initial abstractions, intertextual references and secondary code conceptualization”. The second and the third stages are given together as it is convenient to spot the secondary coding when it is given right after the initial stage. Each writer’s secondary code is given right after his initial coding/ abstractions.

The following diagram is adapted from Charmaz (2006, p.11) and makes clear the links between the different stages adopted in the process of theory formulation; this process can be divided into two main types of inferencing or reasoning: induction and abduction. The stage leading up to and ending on secondary coding are based on inductive reasoning. The development of the core category marks the end of the

coding procedure but not the end of conceptualization. It is also the end of the inductive process. The category abstracted and conceptualized is now inferred abductively. A strategy of theoretical sampling marks this stage. The theory is finally abducted from the category and is explained in terms of its components. The following sub-sections explicate the procedure in detail.

Figure 3.1

The adapted grounded theory process



3.4.1. Coding (Pre- initial in vivo abstractions, initial abstractions and secondary coding)

Coding is the first stage in the grounded theory method and the most important one at that, as it generates bare bones for the subsequent analysis. It provides an analytic frame for the whole study (Charmaz, 2006, p.45). As mentioned above, the

frame for my project is built using the strategy of in vivo coding which is helpful not only in the first two stages of coding (pre-initial and initial) but through out as it helps preserve the focus on the language of the participants.

The act of coding refers to “what a researcher finds significant in sections of discourse” (Hadley, 2017, p. 31). The researcher may choose gerunds or descriptive phrases as need be. His aim is to look for patterns and keep coding till significant patterns emerge. The first process like the rest of the GTM is characterised by constant comparison. Concepts are drawn from the data right from the first stage as these concepts eventually lead to theory formulation. “A concept is an abstraction that describes a portion of reality” (Shoemaker, Tankard & Lasorsa, 2004, p.15). As the process goes on, these concepts acquire a general name for a specific phenomenon. Over the course a lot of concepts are abstracted, but not every concept is useful in the final theory building. Some may be useful only to the extent that they are helpful of illuminating other more important ones.

Coding does two things. Firstly, it helps a researcher to make “generalizable theoretical statements that transcend specific times and places” (Charmaz, 2006, p. 46) and secondly, it helps contextualizing the analysis. In my case also, both steps are taken. I am able to make certain broad and general statements and locate my work in the specific context given in the data. The act of generalisation merits a comment here as this is considered to be an inherent aim of theorising. Charmaz (2006, 180) reminds us that situating grounded theories in their social, historical, local, and interactional contexts strengthens them. A limited generalizability is the inevitable outcome of even a substantive theory. A “broader” generalization is achieved after comparing numerous substantive theories from the same area to come up with a formal theory.

Coding is called a pivotal step between data collection and theory construction as it is on the basis of coding that a researcher comes to know what is missing. The various stages of coding and analysis have been compared by Charmaz (2006, p. 14) to a camera lens which are adjusted to change the view from a broad manner to an increasingly narrower vision in order to change focus. The lens can go back and forth between a broad take and a narrower one.

I start the constant comparative process from the initial coding (abstractions) stage rather than the pre-initial. In the pre-initial stage, I just go through the data to form an initial opinion. The codes are in in vivo language as these abstractions are compared and contrasted with each other, as well as with new data, in the rest of the theory development process. All significant data referring to the columnists' views on different issues are abstracted. Needless to say, these abstractions like the rest of the process are dependent on the researcher's interpretations. The act of interpretation is inherent in abstracting and conceptualization. We choose our own concepts. The data are there for everyone. Each person involved in the act of conceptualization will form his own concepts.

Data in one columnist's articles are coded and compared with codes from another columnist's articles to make sense of it. I interact with my data again and again and construct codes that capture the reality portrayed in the data. Yet it is my "view" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 47) as Charmaz reminds us in the following way: "We choose the words that constitute our codes". I keep in mind that these codes are not final. This allows me to do a constant comparison of codes which leads to a refined version of them. As said above, I use in vivo coding to capture the exact words of columnists. This helps me in focussing on the way they use language. However, only those of in vivo codes are retained which have a theoretical power or seem "the most significant or frequent" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 46) on the basis of patterns that they form.

Focused coding (secondary coding) requires decisions about which initial codes make the most analytic sense (Charmaz, 2006, pp. 57-8). I remain mindful of Charmaz's advice that grounded theory is an emergent process which means that I must remain vigilant for emergent ideas and leads. All such ideas are tested against more data before being incorporated into the emergent theory. I end this section with a quote by Belgrave and Seide (2019, p. 184) to support my use of in vivo coding: "Even the most preliminary/open/initial coding is analysis. It involves abstracting something we see in our data and defining it with a label that is conceptual, whether we create it or use the language of study participants".

3.4.2. Memo writing and category development

The step after secondary or focused coding is memo-writing. “The memo hints at how sensitizing concepts, long left silent, may murmur during coding and analysis” (Charmaz, 2006, p. 76). I write memos for myself and go back and forth tossing ideas around at times writing quite ludicrous ones. Memos allow me to play around with ideas and possibilities. This is more of a rough work but an essential one at that. I make comparisons in memos and this exercise helps me to identify and define patterns in my data. Memo-writing takes my work beyond individual cases and patterns alluded to in the initial coding stages begin to emerge.

I select some codes as categories which are eventually raised to theory conceptualization. Glaser and Strauss (1967, p.37) define a category as a “conceptual element in a theory”. Several codes are collapsed into one category. Charmaz claims that categories are concepts carrying theoretical potential in them. They are important because they “explicate ideas, events, or processes in your data-and do so in telling words. A category may subsume common themes and patterns in several codes” (Charmaz, 2006, p. 91). I subsume thirty secondary codes first into five categories where each category acts as a representative for its discourse. These five categories representing five discourses, are further abstracted through the GTM’s constant and comparative process and a single core category emerges that stands for the whole data. This is also the end of inductive reasoning.

3.4.3. Theoretical sampling and theoretical saturation

The next step is theoretical sampling. This is also the final step in the ConsGT process and ends at theory formulation. Hadley points out that “[a]bduction allows only those theoretical explanations that researchers know are *actually possible*, based on their background knowledge and experience” (2017, p. 45). Concepts that have emerged from inductive reasoning undergo scrutiny once more by drawing on more data.

Theoretical sampling is the second type of GT sampling and stands in contrast with other types of sampling. It is different from qualitative sampling as well as quantitative sampling. The former samples for patterns and stops when no new patterns are discerned. The latter samples for population. Grounded theory’s

theoretical sampling is done for emerging ideas and it stops only when there are no new patterns or ideas to be found. That is the stage at which a category can be thought to be theoretically saturated.

Charmaz writes that it is not about representing a population through sampling rather it is about conceptual development. As ConsGT does not rely on statistical generalizability, theoretical sampling is done to further refine the grasp of the emerging theory. It means seeking pertinent data to develop your emerging theory” (Charmaz, 2006, p. 112). I keep mining for more data till no new information is available about my categories. Thus, I saturate my categories. Theoretical sampling is stopped when it does not “spark new theoretical insights, nor reveal new properties of your core theoretical categories” (Charmaz, 2006, p.113).

3.5. Practicalities of sensitizing perspectives of translation and intertextuality

Translation and intertextuality are two sensitizing perspectives given in Chapter 2 of this dissertation. The difference between the two is that translation was inevitable for my work as I am working between two languages and I could anticipate it with a far more degree of certainty than intertextuality. Translation though inevitable became a sensitizing concept only in the sense that I could not ascertain its role with much clarity thus leaving it open ended in its usefulness for the project. As for intertextuality, I could anticipate it with less certainty than translation. I could only assume that given the nature of my data, there would bound to be some intertextuality. If it would prove to be any value could not be predicted beyond a point.

Sarangi (2017, p.10) differentiates between the two by calling translation as “systemic eclectic” approach and intertextuality as “opportunistic eclecticism”. A systemic approach is more essential in nature than an opportunistic one. The later can occur at different points without affecting the whole text as such. In my project, both translation and intertextuality are systemic as well as opportunistic. Translation becomes opportunistic because I decide how to do translation. Interetxuality becomes systemic for my project as it becomes the axis around which the whole project revolves; this happens secondary coding onwards.

As for the techniques used in translation, dual strategies of Nida's (1964) formal equivalence and dynamic equivalence are relied on. He differentiates formal equivalence from dynamic as the latter relying on sense for sense translation done from the point of view of the receptors's convenience and evoking the same reaction as in the original language. He writes the following about formal equivalence:

Formal equivalence focuses attention on the message itself, in both form and content. In such a translation one is concerned with such correspondences as poetry to poetry, sentence to sentence, and concept to concept. Viewed from this formal orientation, one is concerned that the message in the receptor language should match as closely as possible the different elements in the source language. This means, for example, that the message in the receptor culture is constantly compared with the message in the source culture to determine the standards of accuracy and correctness. (1964, p.159)

Nida clarifies that his formal equivalence is not the same literal translation as literal translation remains faithful to the original even at the cost of contextual cues whereas his approach is flexible and takes context into account. "Formal translation is almost always contextually motivated: formal features are preserved only if they carry contextual values that become part of overall text meaning" (p. 41).

Baker's (1992, p. 13) insight that it is the meaning that is the lynchpin in translation and it depends on the translator how to interpret it, is also important in deciding which of the two techniques are used where. Baker (1992, p.13) advocates for a correctness in propositional meaning in a free translation. An effort is made to adhere to the propositional meaning through both techniques. As the Urdu text is made up of different types of language styles, there are writers who write in a fairly straight forward style and then there are writers who resort to analogy, metaphor and other forms of figurative language. Therefore, I have used both techniques to ensure that the nuances of the original text are not lost. The following words help explain my point of view:

As there is always more than one way to phrase a statement, then the result in the target text depends on the translator's choice. A translated text while echoing the original text may also be seen as a new text. Furthermore, it is a

new discursive formation, new discursive construction while maintaining an intertextual interlingual link to the source text. (Danielsson, 2007, para 07)

While concluding this section, I want to point out that I adapt and design both the main ConsGT method and the translation style keeping in accordance with the objectives of my work. The translation method is put together for an intertextual reading (not to be confused with the aim of the study; the aim being theory generation) of the texts from primarily Allen (2011), Guzetti (2002) and Zengin (2016) as given in the previous chapter. They do not give any specific method for an intertextual reading except pointing out features to look out for. Allen (2011, p.1) believes that intertextuality helps us in creating a network of relationships amongst texts. Zengin (2016, p.300) points to the interdependency in intertextually related texts. Guzetti (2002, p. 105) calls intertextuality as socially constructed. While I was reading the articles, I was aware of the interdependency of meaning. I could see a network of relationships among the texts which were dependent on each other for meaning. I use both dynamic and formal equivalence as need be. My underlying aim is to retain the correct propositional meaning.

CHAPTER 4

DATA ANALYSIS- A CONSTANT COMPARATIVE PROCESS LEADING TO THEORY FORMULATION

4.1. Scope of the chapter

This chapter presents how the theory emerges through an iterative process of the ConstGT method adopted and adapted for the purpose. As mentioned in the previous chapter, I add another stage of coding, a pre-initial coding stage, that is not shown in the main document but informs the process. The findings are given below in section 4.2. The pre- initial in vivo codes are available in the Appendix. As the current project takes its genesis from sociolinguistics, there has been a special effort to preserve and highlight the language used in writing the columns by doing the coding in a comprehensive way. All codes and categories rely on in vivo coding. The in vivo coding technique is particularly helpful in this respect as is shown later on the chapter. The three stages of emergent codes (pre-initial, initial and secondary) are collapsed into thirty categories (or doxai). These thirty categories stand for the output of the thirty columnists (media intellectuals) selected for this work. These thirty intertextual doxai (or categories) are abstracted for further conceptual development. They compared and contrasted and result in five (05) doxai standing for the five main discourses in the data. Upon further conceptualization a single category/doxa is abstracted. This is the overarching intertextual doxa that conceptually stands for the three hundred plus articles. As will be shown later in the chapter, more newspaper articles are brought in to strengthen the theory development. After this stage, the abductive process starts and a theory defining the relationship between Urdu, the national language and English, the second/official language is presented. I also remain mindful of the propositional meaning through out the process of translation. A conceptual frame is developed from the first code till the last code that accounts for the inductive stage of the research process. In order to meet the analytic/ conceptual requirements of ConstGT (constructivist grounded theory) and the sociolinguistic criterion of the work, codes are phrased analytically while retaining significant words or phrases from the original writers' works. As a grounded theorist in sociolinguistics, my stock-in-trade is words.

4.2 Pre-initial in vivo abstractions

This is the first stage of abstracting data. I went through all three hundred (300) opinion articles a number of times. I did not just read the data for understanding it as I am familiar with the thought expressed in it for the most part. I read and reread data in order to look for patterns and intertextual relations or networks. The process of pre- initial abstractions yielded seven hundred and eighty-five (785) explanations given in the Appendix. The findings of the same are given in the main document. The number 785 was achieved by going through each of the three hundred (300) opinion articles. This makes ten articles per writer. Each article was coded/ abstracted separately. The significant portions were abstracted. The abstractions are different for every article and every writer. Hence an irregular number of codes emerge. Pre-initial coding as per Charmaz's directives was done keeping in nature the vastness of the data. It is attached as an appenda but is not an appendix in the traditional sense of the term as it is composed of the conceptualization of the data.

As has been pointed out before, this project studies the relationship between English and Urdu and it does so by focussing on how different discourses are built and debated in newspaper columns. The main findings are that there are broad five areas (discourses) that are repeated across the selected newspaper columns and are closely interlinked as shall be shown in the later stages of the chapter. These five discourses are America, Pakistan army (with special reference to the three military rules, and the perceived role of army in civilian affairs), corruption/accountability, education and women. These discourses generate doxai which are intertextual in nature as they are interdependent for meaning. For the purpose of this research project, a doxa stands for ideas, beliefs, values, theories and propostions as repeatedly advocated by media intellectuals who are defined in terms as given in the previous chapter. This doxa reflects the opinion of the majority intellectuals. It is realized linguistically and comprises a force that is generally perceived to be positive keeping in mind the Edward Said's exhortations to public intellectuals to use their good offices for the public good. Each doxa is traced through a systematic process comprising different stages and results in one over-arching doxa that represents codes across the two languages.

women. The order in which the discourses are presented is alphabetical and not importance. This segment includes two steps and they are given together. After every writer's initial abstractions, the secondary code is given which is the result of the integration of the initial concepts. As for the in vivo codes, it is reminded again that the words for the abstractions are exactly the data's words or their close approximation to keep the focus on the language of the data so that the emergence of theoretical concepts can be reported. The portions in inverted commas refer to the exact words and not close approximation.

4.4.1 America (*English and Urdu columns*)

This section presents the work of three English columnists, Durdana Najam, Mahir Ali and Chris Cook followed by three Urdu columnists, Saleem Safi, Arifa Subah Khan and Rauf Klasra.

A. Durdana Najam, *The Nation*, p. 6. (April 30, 2018 back to November 6, 2017)

i. Initial abstractions

1. It is nothing new that Pakistan and the US have not been able to “arrive at a consensual policy” regarding Afghanistan (April 30, 2018).
2. “The last nail on Pakistan’s Kashmir policy” was hammered post 9/11 (April 09, 2018).
3. The Afghan government is perceived to be “a puppet regime” of the US. The Taliban would rather talk to the US than let the puppet regime act as “dummies” for a dialogue. Pakistan is blamed and punished for the “mess” created by the US (April 02, 2018).
4. The US has compromised its status of a “revisionist state” by supporting non-democratic states and actions. Some decades ago, democracy was in danger from coups, but now it is corruption at all levels in a state that “makes people dissatisfied with democracy” (March 27, 2018).
5. Are “democracy and authoritarianism just words”? Isn’t governance what really matters?” Pakistan has seen a war between its democratic and dictatorial systems”.

There have been “umpteenth backdoor interventions, from the establishment”. Neither the civilians nor the army men could make “human development possible”. The state of education is “dismally low” (March 13, 2018).

6. Politicians especially in Pakistan, need to “persuade the military that force is not an option”. Even the military strongmen, Zia and Musharraf accepted the LOC (February 27, 2018).

7. Pakistan is “a dependent economy” and not in a position to remind the US of its failure in Afghanistan. Musharraf donned “a democratic hat”. There should be TV programs to show how “valiantly” our soldiers defend Azad Kashmir and the rest of Pakistan (February 05, 2018).

8. The US policies of regime change create “chaos in the world”. “Being an ally once does not mean being an ally forever”. COAS deserves appreciation for his statement that it was the USA’s turn to “do more”. The policy of appeasing the US needs to be “revisited” as times have changed since 2001 (December 25, 2017).

9. The US is attempting to make Iran and Pakistan “volatile”. The Pakistani army chief makes “an effort to relieve anxiety” in the Pak-Iran relationship. “In our appeasement towards the US, we have made unreasonable compromises” (November 13, 2017).

10. Pakistan establishment “whatever that may mean” should explain its policy towards Afghanistan. Pakistan needs to improve its governance “lest we find the CIA imprints in Pakistan” (November 06, 2017).

Intertextual references: army, America, corruption, education

The intertextuality in Durdana Najam’s articles runs across four discourses: America, Pakistan Army, corruption and education. The thread that runs across all four is weaved by the discourse on army. While opining on the US- Pak relationship, she makes clear that the policy towards the US and Afghanistan is governed by the military. The focussed code “Do more” is taken from the COAS statement asking the USA to “do more”.

ii. Conceptual secondary code: “Do more”

Durdana Najam weaves an intertextual narrative with the US, education, army and corruption. She writes that both the US and Pakistan act according to their “national interests”. This is mentioned by Klasra (U) also. Arifa Subah Khan (U) romanticises the relationship between the two countries. Durdana Najam concurs with Saleem Safi (U) who too, appreciates the COAS statement that it is the USA’s turn to “do more”. The two words “do more” echo in many writers’ articles testifying to their importance and the interpretation- the base interpretation is that if any institution has the power to do anything in Pakistan it is the Pakistan Army. She mentions army first in the context of the US when the army chief tells the US to “do more”, and second, in connection with the corrupt democratic rules that make people nostalgic about the army rule, and third, when she points out that the state of education remained a low priority in both civilian and army rules. There is an implicit acknowledgement of the failure of the army rule also, at least in terms of education. Zubeida Mustafa (E), Kamila Hayat (E), Zubair Rehman (U) and Kishwar Naheed (U) blame the army rules directly or indirectly for the failure in education.

Najam further reminds us that Pakistan made “unreasonable compromising in appeasing the US”. Here she is in agreement with Arifa Subah Khan (U) who too complains of the sacrifices that Pakistan made for the US which now seems to ditch it. She calls Pakistan “a dependent economy”, a view that is shared by an Urdu columnist Rauf Klasra. Najam exhorts the government of the day to improve its governance otherwise “CIA imprints” would be found in Pakistan. Cook (E) calls Americans as “spies”. The rampant corruption in Pakistan “makes people dissatisfied with democracy”. This is a view that is shared by Klasra (U) and Ansar Abbasi (U). Kamila Hayat (E) is of the view that the military establishment blames civilians for corruption because it wants to keep it in the dock constantly. The general similarity of views between Urdu and English writers is made visible through intertextuality.

B. Mahir Ali, *Dawn*, p. 7. (April 25, 2018 back to January 17, 2018)

i. Initial abstractions

11. Trump and the North Korean leader Kim Jong-un were “exchanging taunts and playground insults” (April 25, 2018).

12. The leaders of Britain, France and the US “were all keen on a distraction from pressing domestic concerns” in their deliberations on Syria which may be “a potential crucible for the next world war” (April 18, 2018).

13. The fourth of April resulted in a tragedy in both the US and Pakistan. In the US it was Dr Martin Luther King Jr, who was killed on April 4 whereas in Pakistan, it was the elected PM of the country who was sentenced to death as an act of “judicial murder”. “The spirit of Dr King- who pioneered protest marches by schoolchildren in 1963- lives on through the likes of Emma Gonzalez and Malala Yousafzai” (April 04, 2018).

14. It is hoped that America in the future “will sooner or later fall into hands of children” and this will determine for a “much less violent nation, and, by extension, a more peaceful world” (March 28, 2018).

15. “The nation that picked Donald Trump as president in 2016 hasn’t changed all that much” from its bloody Vietnam days when “war crimes only ever bothered a relatively small proportion of Americans” (March 14, 2018).

16. He writes that “there is clearly something different going on in the US, where gun violence claims thousands of lives each year” (February 28, 2018).

17. The sister of the North Korean leader “played her part to perfection”. Mike Pence “the evangelical fanatic” was visibly rude to her (February 14, 2018).

18. The US overthrows non-favourite governments through “its favoured instrument of military coups”. American media promoted “lies” in the case of the Vietnam war (January 31, 2018).

19. The US undermines non favourite civilian but elected governments by “colluding with the worst elements in the local military/intelligence/business spheres”. The US may have done the same in the case of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto (ZAB) in Pakistan (January 24, 2018).

20. There is prevalent racism in the US even today. “Fred Trump stirred up racism by excluding black families” from his area (January 17, 2018).

Intertextual references: America, women, education and army

Ali mentions elements related to four discourses which are interwoven. The most powerful picture that seems to emerge is of the US meddling in other countries' affairs and playing an active role in military coups. This is something that is relatable to Pakistan's situation and thus the formulation of the focussed code as given below.

ii. Conceptual secondary code: "US military colluding"

The focused code "US military colluding" refers to the American interference in other countries' affairs and helping the military coups to depose elected governments which may be unpopular due to poverty, corruption, etc. The help given by the Americans to military strongmen in Pakistan is referred to by Klasra (U), Safi (U), Cook (E), Arifa Subah Khan (U) and Zubair Rehman (U).

Mahir Ali equates Donald Trump's victory to the American war in Vietnam in which the Americans are widely believed to have committed atrocious war crimes: "America hasn't changed all that much from Vietnam days". Furthermore, "dehumanising the enemy remains a crucial component of the American arsenal". The cruelty implied in these words is something that Arifa Subah Khan (U) and Klasra (U) also acknowledge.

The writer does not forget to remind his readers about the gun culture in America. In the same breath, he writes about the American students' "backlash" which is "unusual and heart-warming". Klasra (U) appreciates young Americans also whom he calls very friendly and well-behaved. Saleem Safi (U) writes indirectly about the freedom of speech in the US which results in gatherings like the one mentioned here. The ray of hope is welcoming while still being told that Americans "perpetuate mass violence in other lands" and possess enough arms for it. Trump gets a mention, too, in the writings of Mahir Ali as is the wont of most writers and commentators these days. The senior Trump's infamous "[n]o black ones come to roam" reminds one of the racist sides of America and the superiority that white Americans flaunt generally in their dealings with others. This can be connected to President Trump's imperial command to Pakistan to do more which is befittingly rebuffed by the Pakistan army chief and is appreciated by writers across the language divide.

A special mention is reserved for how Mahir Ali links Malala Yousafzai with America's "peace loving children". Children everywhere hold a promise of a better future and it is the same in America and Pakistan's case. Mahir Ali pays a tribute to Malala Yousafzai by saying that Dr. King's spirit lives on in Malala. Kishwar Naheed (U) writes that the government of Pakistan ignored Malala Yousafzai. Malala is controversial in Pakistan. Zahida Hina, Kishwar Naheed from Urdu newspapers and Kamila Hayat, Mosharraf Zaidi, Mahir Ali from the English side praise Malala for her courage and commitment to education.

C. Chris Cook, *The Express Tribune*, p. 7. (From April 12, 2018 back to August 31, 2017)

i. Initial abstractions

21. Equating the US with Taliban: if Americans "have the watches" it is the Taliban who have the time (April 12, 2018).

22. Facebook fiasco: "the cyber equivalent of the Weinstein Moment" (March 22, 2018).

23. American aid is "peanuts" and if totally stopped will only be "symbolic but not a game changer". What is more troubling is "Trump blowing the gaff" regarding Pakistani "lies and deceits over many years and many billions of greenbacks". "Pakistan needs to 'do more'. More for itself and not the Americans". The areas that he specifies are in the realm of minorities' rights, honour killing and "the pitiless onslaught of rampant misogyny blighting the lives of women everywhere" (January 4, 2018).

24. The #metoo movement has managed to achieve some success and implicated some important figures but is "far from good". Trump presidency has caused Americans to lose the favour of many people across the globe (December 14, 2017).

25. Americans in Pakistan are "spies" who tell lies (November 30, 2017).

26. Outside the workplace, men pass "salicious comments" and women "suffer every minute of every day". The abuse does not stop at mere "touching" (November 2, 2017).

27. The fact that the relationship with Americans is “fluctuating” is picked up by media very fast. Corrupt politicians “dodge and weave” the law (October 19, 2017).

28. A person seems to be safer in Pakistan as compared to France, England and especially the US (October 12, 2017).

29. Americans are “content for there to be regular culls of its populace” (October 5, 2017).

30. The richest country in the world with resources beyond compare is “helpless in the face of the weather” (August 31, 2017).

Intertextual references: America, women, corruption, army

Cook takes his point of view across four areas- the US, women, corruption and Pakistan Army. The in vivo focussed code conceptualized is “Do more” based on the Pakistani COAS and the American President’s public interaction. It is analysed in the section below.

ii. Conceptual secondary code: “Do more”

The intertextual discourse by Cook mentions the US, army, women and corruption. Pakistan’s relationship with the US is “fluctuating” and is currently encapsulated by the two famous words “do more”. The discourse that Cook builds challenges the US President Trump’s arrogant style of ordering others to “do more”. This code analyses the whole relationship between the two countries as well as makes a vital connection between the internal conditions of the two countries.

As the military in Pakistan is perceived to be active in policy-making towards Afghanistan and the US, Cook makes it clear that the two words “do more” seem to be directed at it rather than the civilian leaders. A range of Urdu and English writers Rauf Klasra (U), Saleem Safi (U), Durdana Najam (E), Nusrat Javed (U) and Arifa Subah Khan (U) bear out the claim of military directed Afghan and American policy. Cook dispels the impression that the discontinuation of American aid to Pakistan could be a “game changer”. The aid is compared to “peanuts”, a fact mentioned by Klasra (U) also when he writes that Gen. Zia in 1980s, called the initial American offer of aid as “peanuts”.

Cook cojoins the American feminist movement #metoo, with the poor conditions of women in Pakistan. Cook concurs with Kishwar Naheed (U) and that women generally “suffer” because of the “salicious comments” outside their workplaces. Ansar Abbasi (U) and Mina Malik (E) both point out that women are not safe even in their workplaces. He calls it “a Weinstein Moment exposing the hidden culture of women sexual abuse in the entertainment industry”. The general impression in Pakistan about Americans is that they are steeped in sexual depravity. Americans lead not only in economy, but, in depravity also. And, predictably in the #metoo movement, too. The writer is far from happy about the progress of the #metoo movement. He ties in the situation of women in the US, the UK and Pakistan. He wants improvement in women’s condition in Pakistan. Like pointed out above, this is borne out not just by Ansar Abbasi (U), Kishwar Naheed (U) and Mina Malik (E), but, by Zubair Rehamn (U), M Ziauddin (E) and Mosharraf Zaidi (E) also.

Another picture to emerge from Cook’s articles is that Americans are “content” for “regular culls” of its own people. He points this out in the context of the notorious gun-culture. Mahir Ali (E) opines that war crimes do not bother the majority of Americans. However, the richest and the most powerful country is also helpless in the face of natural calamities, a reference to the Divine powers. So, it is not just Pakistan (Pakistan Army) that has to do more but the Americans need to “do more” also.

Cook also exhorts Pakistanis to “do more” in areas of tackling corruption. He is, however, careful not to implicate the Pakistan Army in corruption. For him, it is just the corrupt politicians that “dodge and weave” the law. It seems that Cook’s “do more” is a nod to the Pakistan Army which is perceived as the most powerful institution.

The above analysis shows that there is a similarity in views between English and Urdu writers. This similarity does not mean that all writers across the language divide think alike but there are issues on which they agree as well as disagree.

D. Saleem Safi, *Jang*, p.8. (From March 3, 2018 back to Sepetmber 26, 2017)

i. Initial abstractions

31 - اس میں کوئی شک نہیں کہ امریکہ، اس کے اتحادی اور افغان فورسز ہر حربہ استعمال کر کے بھی طالبان کی مزاحمت کو ختم نہیں کر سکے لیکن اس میں بھی دو رائے نہیں ہیں کہ طالبان افغان عوام کی اکثریت کو ہمنوا نہیں بنا سکے اور نہ افغان حکومت کو گرا سکے۔

31. There is no doubt that the US, its allies and Afghan forces could not quell the Taliban resistance despite doing all they could to the contrary. On the other hand, Taliban could neither win over the Afghan public's majority nor overthrow the Afghan government (March 03, 2018).

32 - عمران خان نے پرویز مشرف کے دست شفقت کو اپنے سر پر سجانے کے لئے امریکہ کا اتحادی بننے کے انکے فیصلے کو سراہا۔

32. In order to get Gen. Musharraf's patronage Imran Khan supported Gen Pervez Musharraf's decision of becoming an American ally (February 21, 2018).

33 - پاکستان اب اس حد تک امریکہ کا محتاج نہیں جس طرح ماضی میں ہوا کرتا تھا۔ ہم ایسے ملک سے کس طرح لڑ سکتے ہیں جہاں ہمارے تمام اشرافیہ کے بچے موجود ہوں؟

33. Pakistan is no longer as dependent on the US as it was in the past. How can we fight a country where the children of our elite reside? (January 09, 2018)

34 - پاکستان، افغانستان، چین، روس اور ایران مل کر ایسا راستہ نکالیں جس میں امریکہ اور مغرب کے خدشات اور مفادات کو بھی مد نظر رکھا جائے۔

34. Pakistan, along with Iran, Russia, China and Afghanistan, needs to find a solution to the Afghan problem that keeps the interests of America and the West interests in view (December 12, 2017).

35 - افغانستان کو سنبھالنے بغیر امریکہ عراق پر حملہ آور ہو گیا۔ دھیرے دھیرے روس اور چین بھی امریکہ اور بھارت کی پالیسیوں سے تنگ آکر پاکستان کے ہمنوا بننے لگے جس کی وجہ سے امریکہ اور انڈیا کے مقابلے میں پاکستان کی پوزیشن مستحکم ہونے لگی۔ اسی تناظر میں پاکستان امریکی صدر ٹرمپ کی نئی افغان پالیسی کے ڈومور کے جواب میں نومور کہنے کے قابل ہوا۔

35. Without restoring peace in Afghanistan, the US attacked Iraq. Gradually Russia and China got tired of American and Indian policies and came closer to Pakistan. This made Pakistan's position stronger and it was able to say "no more" to American diktats (November 14, 2017).

36. میڈیا کا ایک حصہ جو نواز شریف کا تابعدار ہے، ایک طریقے سے عسکری اداروں کو اشتعال دلا کر اسے مداخلت پر مجبور کر رہا ہے۔ "ٹو مور، نو مور" : پاکستان میں اس وقت ہر طرف ان دو الفاظ کا چرچا ہے۔ پاکستانی اسٹیبلشمنٹ چین کے ہر "ٹو مور" کے جواب میں تو "وی ول ڈومور اینڈ مور" کی صدا بلند کر رہی ہے جبکہ دوسری طرف اس حوالے سے امریکہ کے ہر "ٹو مور" کے جواب میں "نو مور نو مور" کی صدائیں اُری ہیں۔

36. A part of the media that is loyal to Nawaz Sharif is trying to provoke the military institutions to intervene in the country's civilian affairs. One can hear "do more, no more" everywhere in Pakistan these days. Pakistan's establishment matches the China's "do more" with "we will do more"; when the Americans say the same, the Pakistani establishment announces "no more, no more" (October 21, 2017).

37. اب تو مولانا نے اپنا روایتی حربہ استعمال کر کے یہ کہنا شروع کر دیا ہے کہ فٹا کو پختونخوا میں ضم کرنا امریکی ایجنڈا ہے۔ گویا وہ اپنی حکومت کے بارے میں یہ کہہ رہے ہیں کہ وہ امریکی ایجنڈے پر عمل پیرا ہے۔

37. Maulana (Fazalur Rehman) is accusing his own government of fulfilling the American agenda by integrating FATA into KPK. It means that he is accusing his own government of acting on the American agenda (October 14, 2017).

38. سابق افغان صدر نے امریکہ کی طرف سے پاکستان کو دی جانے والی دھمکیوں کی مذمت کی۔

38. The former Afghan president condemned the American threats to Pakistan. (October 7, 2017)

39 - 11/9 کے بعد صرف امریکہ اور یورپ نہیں بلکہ چین اور روس باہمی اتفاق کر لیا ہے کہ کسی قسم کی غیر ریاستی اور عسکری تنظیم کو برداشت نہیں کرے گا۔ پاکستان میں سول ملٹری تناؤ زوروں پر ہے۔

39. After 9/11, not only the US and Europe but China and Russia agreed, too, to not recognize any non- state and militant organization. The civil-military tension in Pakistan is at its peak (September 30, 2017).

40. پاکستان کے پالیسی ساز امریکہ کے آگے جھک جاتے اور چین کی ہر بات بھی مان لیتے ہیں۔ لیکن افغانستان کا معاملہ آئے تو اینٹ کا جواب پتھر سے دینا قومی وقار کا تقاضا سمجھتے ہیں۔

40. Pakistani policy makers give in to the US and China but adopt an eye for an eye attitude when it comes to Afghanistan (September 26, 2017).

Intertextual references: America, army, education, corruption

Saleem Safi makes four intertextual references, the US, Pakistan Army, education and corruption. The axis around which Saleem Safi's writings revolves is Pakistan Army. The focussed code conceptualized is the COAS' retort to the American President: "Do more, no more".

ii. Conceptual secondary code: "Do more, no more"

Safi like Durdana Najam (E) is all praise for the defiance shown by the army chief in the face of American threats. He calls the rebuttal fearless. Klasra (U), however, wants Pakistan to divert Trump's blood thirsty attention towards some other country. Safi is not very kind towards Americans by pointing out that they started betraying Pakistan way back in Gen. Ayub Khan's era in 1965 and then again in 1971. Klasra (U) claims that America sided with Pakistan in 1971 against India. An equivalent of "raining money" is given here as a "dollar rain". This refers to the famous or infamous American aid that it gives to foreign countries in lieu of meddling in their internal affairs. Klasra (U) portrays the same situation by pointing out that the more aid the Americans gave us, the faster we danced to their tunes and did not even think of our own interests while fulfilling American demands.

The paradoxical nature of the Pak-US relationship is visible when in one place he writes that Pakistan has decided to defy the American pressure and in another that Pakistan's policy makers surrender before the Americans and later on claims that Pakistan has decided to stand up to them. Nusrat Javed (U) and Arifa Subah Khan (U) opine that Pakistanis do not have the courage to stand up to the Americans. After the American "occupation" of Afghanistan, thousands of "innocent" Afghans lost their lives in bombings carried out by the Americans. The "sanctity of the household was violated", "human rights were badly violated". Safi draws a picture of America that is close to what Cook (E) and Mahir Ali (E) say above. Cook (E) mocks Americans by saying that they have been cornered by Taliban. Safi does not spare Pakistani religious leaders either, who beg American leaders behind the scenes for power and are the loudest against it in public. The hypocrisy of our religious leaders is exposed by Zubair Rehman (U) also but in the context of remaining silent at crimes against women.

An oft-repeated refrain is that the children of Pakistan's elite study and work abroad and therefore, it is not possible to pick fights with the West. This unmasks the hypocrisy prevalent in Pakistan viz a viz the US. Both Safi (U) and Klasra (U) refer to it. Saleem Safi's discourse is intertextual and crosses linguistic boundaries as shown above.

E. Arifa Subah Khan, *Nawae Waqt*, p. 7. (From April 17, 2018 back to November 8, 2017)

i. Initial abstractions

41 - دنیا کے ترقی یافتہ، تعلیم یافتہ اور تہذیب یافتہ تین ممالک فرانس، بریٹن اور امریکہ پر جنگی جنون سوار ہے۔ امریکہ جانتا ہے کہ جہاں بھوک، افلاس، مہنگائی، بیروزگاری ہو وہاں چند ڈالر میں آپ کسی کو بھی خرید سکتے ہیں۔

41. The world's most developed, educated and civilized countries, Britain, France and the US, are bloodthirsty. The US knows that in countries where the people are poor, unemployed and under the burden of inflation a few dollars can buy anything and anybody (April 17, 2018).

42 - جس کو عدالت نے بے پناہ ثبوتوں کے ساتھ وزارت عظمیٰ سے نکالا ہے وہ اب بھی چوتھی بار وزیراعظم بننے کے پر تول رہا ہے۔ ٹونلڈ ٹرمپ دنیا کو تیسری جنگ عظیم کی طرف دھکیل دے گا۔

42. A person dismissed for the third time from primeministership, found to be guilty on numerous accounts, is hoping to become the PM for the fourth time. Donald Trump will push the world towards WWII (January 09, 2018).

43 - آج بھی لوگ کہتے ہیں کہ ضیاء الحق کا زمانہ امن، چین، سکون کا تھا۔ لوگوں میں حب الوطنی تھی۔ سستا زمانہ تھا۔ لوڈ شیڈنگ نہ تھی۔ اب دن رات زنا، شراب، کرپشن، رشوت، اقربا پروری نظر آتی ہے۔ ہر فرد نے کرپشن کو اپنا ایمان بنا رکھا ہے۔

43. Even today people are nostalgic of Gen. Ziaul Haq's era as it was generally peaceful; people were patriotic; things were cheap and there was no load shedding. Today people indulge in adultery, drink alcohol, corruption and nepotism. Day in and day out. Corruption is like a religion to people (October 10, 2017).

44. پاکستان میں نہ جمہوریت ہے ، نہ آمریت ، نہ قانون . دنیائے اسلام کی پہلی خاتون وزیر اعظم بینظیر بھٹو کا تعلق پاکستان سے ہے لیکن امریکہ، بھارت اور چین کے نیچے لگ کر پاکستان نے خود کو کمزور اور کٹ پتلی بنا لیا ہے۔ ایران ایک بہادر قوم ہے ۔ یہ بات امریکہ کو بضم نہیں ہو رہی ہے ۔

44. There is neither democracy, dictatorship nor rule of law in Pakistan. The first female PM of the Muslim world Benazir Bhutto is from Pakistan but today Pakistan has weakened itself before America, India and China and has become a puppet government. Iran is a brave nation and it is difficult for America to come to terms with it (June 13, 2017).

45. امریکہ کا سپر پاور کہلانے کا غرور صرف پاکستان کی بدولت ہے۔ پاکستان 70 سال سے امریکہ کے عشق کی وجہ سے خسارہ اٹھا رہا ہے اور امریکہ ایک بے وفا، برجائی، ظالم اور شقی القلب محبوبہ کی طرح پاکستان کی تذلیل کر رہا ہے ۔

45. America's arrogant claim to being a superpower is due to Pakistan. For the past 70 years, Pakistan is suffering due to its romance with America and America, like an unfaithful and suspecting beloved, belittles Pakistan (April 11, 2017).

46. سعودی عرب اپنے ہی اسلامی برادر ملک کے خلاف امریکہ کے ساتھ کھڑا ہے۔ شاہ سلمان نے صدر ٹرمپ کو ایک ارب بیس کروڑ ڈولر مالیت کے تحائف کیا چوتھی شادی کے لیے دیے ہیں ؟ جس ملک کے تعلیمی ادارے تباہ حال اور جعل سازیوں پر مبنی ہو وہاں ترقی نہیں ہو سکتی۔ لڑکوں اور لڑکیوں کو حب الوطنی، ایمانداری ، محنت اور ذہانت سکھائی نہیں جاتی ۔

46. Saudi Arabia is standing with the US against its own Muslim brother country. Has Shah Suleman presented gifts worth \$1.2 billion to Trump for his fourth marriage? A country whose educational system is destroyed and based on cheating and corrupt practices cannot progress. Boys and girls are not taught patriotism, honesty, hardwork and an intelligent use of their mental faculties (May 30, 2017).

47. دنیا کے تمام ترقی یافتہ، کامیاب، خوشحال اور فعال ممالک میں کرکٹ نہیں کھیلا جاتا مثلاً امریکہ، کینیڈا، فرانس، جرمنی، ناروے وغیرہ ۔ پاکستان میں ٹیکس کی رقم سے حکمرانوں کی اولادیں عیش کر رہی ہیں اور ان کی پراپرٹیاں بڑھ رہی ہیں ۔

47. Cricket is not played in any of the developed countries like the US, France, Germany, Canada, Norway, etc. The children of the Pakistani elite are leading

luxurious lives on the basis of taxpayers' money. They are amassing wealth (March 7, 2017).

48 - امریکہ، بھارت اور افغانستان کی انتہائی کوشش ہے کہ پاکستان کو تنہا کر دیا جائے۔ پاکستان نے امریکہ کو باس بنا کر اپنے لیے مستقل غلامی خریدی ہے۔

48. The US, India and Afghanistan are trying their level best to isolate Pakistan. Pakistan has traded permanent slavery for making the US its boss (December 06, 2016).

49 . امریکہ ہمیشہ دوسروں کا امتحان لیتا رہا ہے لیکن ٹرمپ کا انتخاب کر کے امریکہ نے خود کو ایک مشکل امتحان میں ڈال دیا ہے۔ ماضی کا 11/9 اور حال کا 9/11 امریکہ کے لیے خطرے کی گھنٹی ہے۔

49. America has been testing other countries but by electing Trump, Americans have put themselves into a trying situation. The 9/11 of the past and 11/9 of the present are a warning signal for the US (November 29, 2016).

50 - اگر ڈونلڈ ٹرمپ امریکہ کے صدر بنے تو یہ پاکستان کا بدترین امتحان ہوگا۔ المیہ ہوگا۔

50. If Donald Trump is elected the president of the USA, it will be the worst trial for Pakistan. It will be a tragedy (November 08, 2016).

Intertextual references: America, army, corruption, education

Arifa Subah makes intertextual references among four discourses: America, Pakistan army, education and corruption. She clearly idealizes General Zia. At this stage, Arifa's work is conceptualized in the following way: Nostalgia for General Zia's era.

ii. Conceptual secondary code: Nostalgia for General Zia's era

Arifa Subah Khan is extremely appreciative of the Zia era which according to her was the golden age of Pakistan. There were the best of education, patriotism, morality and security in his era. She puts a question mark on the form of governance in Pakistan and wonders whether we have democracy or dictatorship. She is disillusioned with the ways the matters are. She is especially critical of Nawaz Sharif and the way he is feigning innocence regarding corruption. Her views on corruption

match those of M. Ziauddin (E), Durdana Najam (E), Nusrat Javed (U), Klasra(U) and Irshad Bhatti (U).

She is critical of America in two ways. She calls it “blood thirsty”. Mahir Ali (E), too, evokes cruelty in his portrayal of America. Cook (E) blames Trump’s “juggernaut” for the falling of America in the eyes of the world. Mahir Ali (E) points out the callous attitude of the leaders of Britain, France and the US in their talks on Syria. They “were all keen on a distraction from pressing domestic concerns” in their deliberations on Syria which may be “a potential crucible for the next world war”.

The second way in which Arifa Subah is critical of America is that she believes that Pakistan has not been adequately repaid for the sacrifices that it made for the US over the years. Pakistan’s obsession with America has only given it pain. She calls America as Pakistan’s “cruel, adulterous, unfaithful, adulterous and suspicious beloved”. Almost like a jealous partner, she wonders whether Shah Salman has given gifts worth USD 1.2 billion to Trump for contracting a fourth marriage? Klasra (U) argues that relationships between countries is based on mutual interest and should not be compared with romantic liaisons between girls and boys.

Subha also makes a reference to America’s riches and its practice of buying out poor countries with a few dollars. This is in tandem with what Zubair Rehman (U) implies when he writes that it suits the US if other countries remain poor. Arifa Subah Khan’s multi-discourse is heavily intertextual. She seems to rely on army, education, the US and corruption to make her point.

F. Rauf Klasra, *Dunya*, p. 7. (From March 04, 2018 back to June 05, 2016)

i. Initial abstractions

51 . کاروباری طبقہ جنرل ضیاء کے دور میں سیاست میں آیا - پیسے کی مدد سے سب کو خریدا - اپنے آپ کو میڈیا کی مدد سے مسیحا قرار دلوایا ، مال بنایا ، لیکن کوئی منی ٹریل نہیں دی -

51. The business class entered politics during Gen. Zia’s reign. They bought off everyone with their money. They presented themselves as saviours with the help of media. They made money without ever giving a money trail (March 04, 2018).

52. جنرل ضیاء نے فرمایا "یہ تو مونگ پھلی کے برابر بھی نہیں". مال آتا گیا اور ہم دیوانے ہوتے چلے گئے۔ پھر امریکہ کو طعنے کس بات کے دیتے ہیں کہ اس کی جنگ لڑی؟ جوں جوں نوٹ بڑھتے گئے، رقص تیز ہوتا گیا۔ مبصرین اپنے بچوں کو امریکہ، لندن اور یورپ سے پاکستان لائیں اور شوق سے ہم چلائیں۔ سب کو برابر کا دکھ محسوس ہو گا۔

52. Gen Zia initially called the American offer of aid as not even peanuts. American money started to pour in and we danced faster to the American tunes. Why do we taunt the US that we fought its war? We took money from the USA. Defence analysts need to call their children back from the US and Europe and then detonate the atomic bomb. At least all will feel the pain equally (October 01, 2017)

53. کچھ دے دلا کے ٹرمپ کا رخ کسی اور بڑے کی طرف کر دیں۔ ٹرمپ کی دل دہلانے والے دھمکی سے پورے پاکستان میں حب الوطنی کے نعرے گونجے۔ ہم اتنے سمجھدار ہیں کہ بندے ہمارے مرے، امریکہ کا ساتھ ہم نے دیا، لیکن اب امریکہ انڈیا کو کہہ رہا ہے وہ افغانستان میں اس کی مدد کرے۔ فوجی قیادت کی پالیسی اگر امریکہ، افغانستان پر چلتی ہیں تو پھر سوال و جواب بھی انہی سے ہونا چاہیے۔

53. We should try to negotiate with Trump and redirect his (threatening) gaze towards a stronger country. Pakistan is echoing with patriotic slogans in the wake of Trump's blood curdling threats. It is ironical that it is Pakistan that got its people killed, it sided with the US and now the US is asking India to help it in Afghanistan. If the US-Afghan policy is directed by the army leadership, then they should be answerable for it also (September 01, 2017).

54. ہم کنویں کے مینٹق بن چکے ہیں۔ ہر کتاب ہمیں سازش لگتی ہے۔ کوئی بھی نئی کتاب سامنے آئے گی تو سوال ہوتا ہے کہ امریکیوں کی لکھی ہوئی کتابیں کوئی آسمانی صحیفہ ہوتی ہیں کہ ان پر آنکھیں بند کر کے یقین کر لیا جائے۔ ان پڑھ معاشرہ فوجی ہو یا سویلین حکمرانوں دونوں کو سوٹ کرتا ہے۔ پڑھی لکھی باشعور قوم اپنے حکمرانوں کا ایسے انکشافات پر احتساب کرتی ہیں۔

54. Pakistanis have lived in hell for so long that they have forgotten there is a heaven also. Every book that is published seems like a conspiracy to us. As soon as any new book about Pakistan is written by any American and hits the stalls, people who ought to be answering questions raised in it, pose a counter question and ask whether books written by Americans should be considered as the gospel truth. An illiterate society suits both army and civilian rulers. Educated and well-read people question their rulers when such issues come to light (July 05, 2017).

55 - جنرل پاشا سے جب پوچھا گیا کہ کیسے امریکیوں نے اتنا بڑا آپریشن کر لیا تو ان کا جواب تھا کہ جناب پاکستان صحافی امریکی ڈالر، شراب اور لڑکیوں کے عوض بک جاتے ہیں۔

55. When Gen. Pasha was asked as to how the Americans could conduct such a big operation inside Pakistan, his answer was that Pakistani journalists could be bought against American dollars, alcohol and girls (May 12, 2017).

56 - مسلمانوں کو اپنے آپ کو امریکی معاشرے میں ایڈجسٹ کرنے کی کوشش کرنی ہو گی۔ ایک عام امریکی کو بہت کیرنگ اور اچھا پایا لیکن لگ رہا ہے کہ اب فاصلے بہت بڑھ رہے ہیں۔ اور داد دینی چاہیے ان امریکیوں کو جو ہزاروں لاکھوں کی تعداد میں باہر نکلے اور مسلمانوں کے حق میں مظاہرے کیے۔

56. Pakistanis living in the US should try to adjust themselves in the American society. I found an average American very nice and caring but it seems that distances between the two nations are increasing. We must appreciate the Americans who came out in thousands to protest for the rights of Muslims (May 02, 2017).

57 - ملکوں کی دوستیوں کا مقصد ہوتا ہے کہ آیا آپ ایک دوسرے کے مفادات پورے کر سکتے ہیں یا نہیں۔ امریکی کہتے ہیں کہ چینوں نے پاکستان کو ہمیشہ قرضہ دیا اور امریکہ نے مفت امداد دی۔ سرتاج عزیز کہتے ہیں کہ امریکہ پاکستان کا خود غرض دوست ہے۔ امریکی بھی پوچھ سکتے ہیں کہ آپ کب مفت کام کرتے ہیں۔

57. Friendship between countries is based on considerations whether they can serve each other's interests or not. Americans point out that Chinese give loans to Pakistan whereas Americans give free aid. Sartaj Aziz admits that America is Pakistan's selfish friend. Americans ask as to when did Pakistan work for the US for free (June 17, 2016).

58 - ہر دور میں مفادات کا کھیل رہا ہے۔ امریکی صدر نکسن نے 1971 کی جنگ میں کھل کر پاکستان کا ساتھ دیا۔

58. It has always been a game of interests in every age. American President Nixon openly helped Pakistan in 1971 (June 12, 2016).

59. جنرل مشرف کا زوال شوکت عزیز کے دور سے شروع ہوا۔ اس کتاب سے لگتا ہے نواز شریف کو پھانسی سے بچانے کا کریڈٹ بل کلنٹن کو جاتا ہے۔

59. The downfall of Gen. Musharraf started during Shaukat Aziz's era. After reading this book it seems that it was Bill Clinton who saved Nawaz Sharif from the gallows (June 08, 2016).

60 - اب تک امریکہ پاکستان کو 32 ارب ڈالر دے چکا ہے جس کا بیشتر کرپشن کے ذریعے سوئس بینکوں میں سول ملٹری حکمرانوں اور بیوروکریٹس کے اکاؤنٹس میں جمع ہو چکا ہے۔ ہمارے نزدیک دو ملکوں کی دوستی لڑکی اور لڑکے کے رومانس جیسا ہوتا ہے جس میں توقعات آسمان پر پہنچی ہوتی ہیں۔ جب ہم گلہ کرتے ہیں تو امریکن پوچھتے ہیں کہ آپ نے ہمارا کوئی کام دوستوں کی طرح مفت میں کیا ہے؟

60. The major portion of the USD \$32 billion American aid to Pakistan has been deposited as a way of corruption in civilian and military rulers' Swiss bank accounts. We liken friendship between countries to a romantic liaison between a girl and a boy in which both sides have very high expectations of each other. When we complain to Americans about their behaviour, they question as to when Pakistan has ever worked for them for free like friends do (June 05, 2016)

Intertextual references: America, army, corruption, education

In stark contrast to Arifa Subah Khan above, Klasra does not hold the Zia era or the man himself in high esteem. He calls the whole of elite corrupt, thus linking army with corruption also. He too informs his readers that the children of the elite study abroad.

ii. Conceptual secondary code: American aid “not even peanuts”

The secondary code for Klasra is taken from Gen. Zia's famous definition of the American aid. Klasra delineates the US-Pak relations with reference to Pakistan Army. Klasra (U) and Cook (E) both use the same word for American aid: “peanuts”. There are other writers who have written about the aid but these are the only two who call it “peanuts” as this was how Gen. Zia described the American offer of help at the time of Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

Where Arifa Subah (U) defines the Pak-US relationship in terms of romance, Klasra has a very pragmatic approach towards the whole issue. He uses none of the emotional language which Subha (U) uses. Klasra takes three articles to detail the Pak-US relationship during 60s and 70s decades and concludes that it has always been

a game of national interests between America and Pakistan. It is not a romance between a girl and a boy where the expectations are very high. Klasra is not bitter like Safi (U) either. Klasra uses arguments from different books to build his argument and he is the only one to do so in all the writers featured here. Klasra is of the opinion that whether in America or Pakistan, it's true that even the public opinion can be bought in a democracy. Mahir Ali (E) is another writer who feels that Americans can be duped into believing something thus breaking the myth that education helps independent thinking. Sohail Warraich (U), however, claims that democracy is "beautiful" in America.

Klasra's delineation of the American youth is in tandem with Mahir Ali (E) as both appreciate the American children/youth for standing up to the anti-racist laws introduced by Trump. Americans deserve our appreciation for protesting for Muslims. Klasra also admires the fact that American children are generally more friendly than the Muslim children. In his opinion Muslims have failed to integrate in the American society. Zaidi (E) appreciates the protesting Americans without mentioning the youth as such. He ties it to how eager Pakistanis want to get rid of Afghans while expecting different treatment abroad.

Klasra disagrees with the likes of Irshad Bhatti (U) and Cook (E) who only blame civilians for corruption. He claims that both military and civilian high-ups are involved in corruption. His opinion is somewhat similar to Hamid Mir's (U) who is happy at the way both bureaucracies are being investigated for corrupt practices. Zubair Rehman (U) agrees with Klasra on the corruption issue.

4.4.1.1. Doxastic codes in the discourse on America as abstracted through a constant comparative process. The constant comparative process inherent for theory generation in GTM abstracts six secondary codes. Each code refers to the way the six columnists have been conceptualized reflecting the sum total or the proposition of each columnist. The codes help in the formulation of the doxa on the US as discussed in the English and Urdu newspapers and will be referred to henceforth as doxastic codes rather than secondary codes. The six doxastic codes are given below:

"Do more"- Chris Cook (E)

"Do more, no more"- Durdana Najam (E)

“US military colluding” -Mahir Ali (E)

“Do more, no more”- Saleem Safi (U)

Nostalgia for General Zia’s era- Arifa Subah Khan (U)

American aid “not even peanuts”- Rauf Klasra (U)

Hariman (1995, p. 183) as given in the chapter on sensitizing perspectives, calls doxa as common knowledge which is based on inter-subjectivity. It can be seen that not only most of what the columnists claim is common knowledge but it eventually becomes common knowledge because of the manner of its presentation. This is how knowledge is produced. The intertextuality abstracted is inter-subjective; no writer’s meaning can be made independently. There is also an element of social in doxa formation and dissemination which is present here as it is formed through newspapers which are a thoroughly public space. Barthes (1977) defines doxa as repetition albeit meaningless. I do not agree with the meaningless part as none of the doxai seems to be meaningless. There is however an element of repetition in them. The repetitive act of doxa is visible in the analyses and the focussed codes. Amossy (2002, p. 372), agreeing with Hariman’s (1995, p. 183) condition of intersubjectivity in doxa goes on to write that doxai can be used for collective decisions and contain an element of effective communication and shared opinion. They reflect the collective wisdom on a certain topic. It is clear that all six doxastic codes are related to each other. They make sense in relation to each other.

Keeping the aim of the current dissertation in mind, these doxai are understood in terms of what they mean for the Urdu-English relationship. These doxastic codes need to be understood for their linguistic dimension. They are intertextual. They are dependent on each other for meaning. The differences or the similarities do not respect the linguistic boundaries. All doxastic codes are formed around the discourse on army. Each writer builds his argument around Pakistan Army. He/she brings in other discourses also like women, corruption, education but the thread of Pakistan Army is constant. It is the thread that weaves all other discourses together.

4.4.2 Army (*English and Urdu columns*)

A. Saadia Gardezi, *The Nation*, p. 6. (From April 2, 2018 back to June 18, 2014)

i. Initial abstractions

61. There has been a “cycle” of army overthrowing and installing governments. It will not be surprising if this army chief “becomes our new messiah”. Pakistanis “love and respect the military” but a coup is not “a good idea”. A coup is not a “cure” for the problems facing Pakistan (April 02, 2018).

62. Pakistanis get “outraged” when reading something unconventional about “religion, the military, or India” (February 10, 2018).

63. Pakistan has a “controlling military influence” that helps investors to approach them directly like in the case of CPEC (December 30, 2017).

64. “The army as the most respected institution of the state legitimised the use of social media for official purposes”. There have been some arrests on posting “anti military content” on the social media (December 29, 2017).

65. There is a miscalculation that Pakistan Army “will attack and try to conquer Kashmir should it get it become an independent country” (December 16, 2017).

66. “Lives lost in Pakistan after 9/11 have been to protect American lives”. There is an element of “flip-flopping” in Pak- US relationship. Certain forces anathematic to the US in Afghanistan are thought to have the support of “Pakistan’s security establishment”. Americans have made “decades of blunders across the region” (December 11, 2017).

67. Cartoonists in Pakistan never “critique the military or terrorist groups”. Americans and Europeans can make fun of Trump as they know they are not “an immediate danger” (November 18, 2017).

68. Field Marshal Ayub Khan was “considered a benevolent dictator”. There is still “anti-Americanism” in Pakistan having started in the 60s. His era was just “an aid bubble” (October 28, 2017).

69. Thai military is running campaigns circulating messages of “military benevolence” to promote “a pro-coup online movement”. They use a hashtag “#CuteSoldierBoy” (September 22, 2017).

70. The General Zia era was a “blur of state censorship”. Female actors were shown with their heads covered while sleeping. There was “a cap put on creativity” during the Zia era (June 18, 2014).

Intertextual references: army, America, women

Saadia Gardezi makes three intertextual references: Pakistan Army, America and women. She claims that the military has a lot of influence in Pakistan across different sectors, but it also commands respect at large in the society.

ii. Conceptual secondary code: “Controlling military influence”

Gardezi’s writings are heavily Pakistan Army referenced. She writes that the army is respected in Pakistan but a coup is not “a good idea”. Sohail Warraich (U), Hamid Mir (U) and Talat Hussain (E) are more direct and blunter in asking the army to stay away from politics.

Like Zubeida Mustafa (E) Zubair Rehman (U), Saadia seems to be advocating a freedom of choice when it comes to women’s clothing. Hayat (E) below reminds us that women in the 1950s and 1960s would roam about “without wearing veils” and this did not generate any “controversy”. Ansar Abbasi (U) on the other hand holds the media responsible for the current vulgarity on electronic media.

Gardezi makes an explicit reference to the Pakistani lives lost in order to protect the American lives. Read in conjunction with what Saleem Safi (U) writes about the loss of innocent Afghans killed in American bombing Gardezi’s discourse makes it even more poignant.

As mentioned above, the “controlling military influence” in Pakistan that is almost palpable, is mentioned by Talat Hussain (E) also. Omnipresence of the army is implied by both writers. There is no discussion on military without a mention of the three army rulers that Pakistan has had. She mentions Gen. Ayub and Gen. Zia but not Musharraf. Like many other Urdu and English columnists given in the previous

sections, Gardezi claims that dictatorships during the war on terror and the Cold War attracted aid. The ensuing economic stability owes it more to the uninterrupted aid flowing into the country rather than any economic vision of the army governments. Ayub's era was just an aid bubble. Nusrat Javed (U) and Klasra (U) being two other writers who repeatedly mention the success of the military governments to the American aid. Gardezi like Arifa Subah Khan (U), wants more recognition for Pakistan Army's sacrifices in the war against terrorism.

B. Kamila Hayat, *The News International*, p. 7. (From January 11, 2018 back to July 20, 2017)

i. Initial abstractions

71. There have regular attempts to "fix democracy from the outside". A lot of "fault" lies with politicians who bribe voters (January 11, 2018).

72. Nobody knows what actually caused the plane crash that resulted in the death of the "dictator General Ziaul Haq" (January 4, 2018).

73. Corruption is used as a "catchphrase" to "discredit elected governments". After the "brutal dictatorship of General Ziaul Haq" corruption was used to weaken the political system. Musharraf – "another military dictator" did the same. Corruption may not be the "key concern for people". Education, healthcare, clean drinking water and food may take precedence over corruption. Corruption should not be "turned into the biggest issue" (November 9, 2017).

74. Gen. Ziaul Haq made a "deliberate effort to impose a Muslim identity on the state". "The failure to promote classical music, dance, poetry, and folk culture" has added to identity crisis as the new generation is stuck in trying to assimilate Arab and the Western influences into a Pakistani identity (October 26, 2017).

75. There are forces that know "that weak, powerless parties" which are "discredited in the eyes of the people as corrupt, inept and incapable" make space for "other powers" to "hold the strings" within the country (October 5, 2017).

76. “Classrooms or the campuses” can become “extremely dangerous places” like in the case of Mashal Khan or the children killed the Army Public School. It is wrong “to paint young children as heroes engaged in a battle” (September 28, 2017).

77. Some graduates of top universities are a part of terrorist organisations. The ISIS is urging students to break away from “the norm”. Something similar was witnessed when students “played a major role in overthrowing the Ayub Khan government in 1969”. A “severe and sudden crackdown” on students’ unions led to the death of “liberal dissent”. Students in the US and Europe are able to “oppose Trump’s policies and stage protests against them” (September 14, 2017).

78. “The stranglehold of the establishment does not help in allowing the country to grow”. Gen Pervez Musharraf is an “absconder” and lives “in luxury abroad” (September 7, 2017).

79. Civilian politicians are at “a disadvantage in a system that has allowed other institutions to assume a huge share of power”. This is a bigger problem than the issue of corruption hyped up by the media. “The dictator Gen. Zia played his cards wisely”. The politicians “failed to do so” (August 3, 2017).

80. Our education system “denies the scope for encouraging creativity”. “The children of Zia” think differently as compared to their older generations (July 20, 2017).

Intertextual references: army, education, corruption

Kamila Hayat intertwines three references: army, education and corruption. She bitterly criticises the army rules especially the Zia era and blames it for most ills in the society. The focussed code for her “Children of Zia” denoting those people who are born during the Zia era and support most practices that he introduced.

ii. Conceptual secondary code: “Children of Zia”

Kamila calls the generation born post Zia led coup as “the children of Zia”. It is this generation that has missed out on indigenous music and “liberal dissent” on campuses. These students are now involved in terrorism despite being educated from the country’s top universities. This is an issue raised by columnists like Kishwar Naheed (U) and Pervez Hoodbhoy (E) also. Hayat like Zubair Rehman (U) and

Pervez Hoodbhoy (E), reminds us that “the severe and sudden crackdown on students’ unions under General Ziaul Haq in the 1980s effectively ended the era of liberal dissent and debate at campuses” which in turn, according to her, has led to extremism in universities that is lamented by most writers. Read in conjunction with Arifa Subah Khan’s (U) views where she laments lack of patriotism in the younger generation of today, the picture indeed has many sides or “multiple realities” to it (Charmaz, 2006, p. 26 & Candlin, 2014, p.5).

Hayat calls the hold of the establishment a “stranglehold” which does not let democratic forces grow and Saadia Gardezi (E) calls army influence as “controlling”. Klasra (U) and Nusrat Javed (U) write that army controls the policy on the US, Afghanistan and India. Klasra (U) openly blames the army for its failed Afghan policy whereas Javed (U) points indirectly to the failure. Hayat blames politicians for not “playing their cards wisely” unlike dictators. Hamid Mir (U) too shifts some blame to civilians for repeated dictatorships. Hayat like Zahida Hina (U) and Mosharraf Zaidi (E) calls Gen. Zia’s era as one of “brutal dictatorship”. Hayat agrees with Durdana Najam (E) that corruption charges against politicians have been used to make space for “other powers”. Irshad Bhatti (U), Klasra (U) and M. Ziauddin (E) and Cook (E) have no doubt about Sharif’s corruption. Sohail Warraich (U) does not agree with the corruption narrative and argues that it is used to keep the politicians away from the real power.

It can be seen that there are issues on which Hayat, an English writer, agrees with Urdu writers while disagreeing with other English writers and vice versa.

C. I.A. Rehman, *Dawn*, p. 7. (From March 29, 2018 backwards to September 21, 2017)

i. Initial abstractions

81. There have been unsuccessful attempts to “purge the constitution of Ziaul Haq’s extra-democratic insertions”. There are still his “faithful followers” left (March 29, 2018).

82. The public hangings during Gen. Zia’s era had “brutalising effects” that can be felt even today (March 22, 2018).

83. “Jingoistic remarks” of military analysts can have “grave effects” on the armed forces as well as the population both in Pakistan and India (February 22, 2018).

84. Asma Jahangir “had touched more hearts than any other living Pakistani”. She resisted “oppression, dictatorship and injustice” (February 15, 2018).

85. Gen Zia was not the only “promoter of envelope journalism”. He has some “ignoble successors”. Some journalists find “safety” to be in the establishment’s good books (February 01, 2018).

86. Munnu Bhai (a famed journalist, social activist and a drama writer) shot “barbs” at the military regime of Gen. Yahya Khan (January 28, 2018).

87. The Ayub regime “imprisoned” newspaper editors. The Yahya regime “imprisoned and put lifetime bar on editors, publishers and printers”. “Gen. Ziaul Haq went after the press and journalists with a vengeance” and awarded lashes to them (December 30, 2017).

88. A newspaper “became quite popular among the discerning readers” for its attacks on Gen. Ayub’s regime. The owner finally “caved into the regime’s bullying” (December 13, 2017).

89. The military’s “primary job” is to defend the country “against external aggression or threat”. It suffers when it takes up “civilian jobs” (October 12, 2017).

90. The military would do well to “tell the civilians to carry their cross themselves” (September 21, 2017).

Intertextual references: army, women

There are two intertextual references that Rehman points to in his articles: army and women. He wants army to take care of the borders and leave the running of the government affairs to civilians.

ii. Secondary code conceptualization: “Defence suffers when military takes up civilian jobs”

Rehman introduces the discourse on army with reference to not just women but journalists also. Like Talat Hussain (E), Kamila Hayat (E), Saadia Gardezi (E), Zubeida Mustafa (E), Hoodbhoy (E), Sohail Warraich (U), Nusrat Javed (U) and Hamid Mir (U), Rehman does not want army to take part in civilian affairs.

Sohail Warraich (U) and Hamid Mir (U) both refer to the media curbs especially with reference to political news. They also point out that some media people are not neutral anymore. Safi (U) above, claims that some parts of media are loyal to Nawaz Sharif in his opposition to the army. Rehman writes during the three martial laws prior to Gen. Musharraf, newspaper men were imprisoned, banned and lashed. There are many journalists who consider it safe to be on the right side of the establishment. In agreement with Sohail Warraich (U), Zahida Hina (U), Mina Malik (E) and Mosharraf (E), Rehman eulogizes Asma Jahangir and claims that she fought oppression, dictatorship and injustice.

Like Kamila Hayat (E) above, Rehman points to Gen. Zia era's public hangings which in their opinion had a brutalizing effect on the psyche of the society. Kishwar Naheed from the Urdu side claims the same. The "brutalising effect" of these hangings are still present. The two words "brutalising effects" make a reader recall the general environment of the era painted in retrospect as one of oppression and suppression. Ansar Abbasi (Urdu), however, thinks that these hangings deterred people from committing heinous crimes. Read in conjunction with how Rehman eulogises Asma Jahangir by saying she "resisted oppression, dictatorship and injustice", the whole picture of the Zia era and by extension of Gen. Pervez Musharraf and Gen. Ayub Khan's, appears one of savagery, despotism, humiliation and persecution. Similar to all writers above, Rehman's writings are intertextual, dependent on army for the weaving discourse and does not respect any linguistic division for its views.

D. Hamid Mir, *Jang*, p. 8. (From April 23, 2018 back to March 08, 2018)

i. Initial abstractions

91 - اختلاف رائے کو کفر اور اسلام کی جنگ بنانے کی روایت پاکستان میں پہلے بھی موجود تھی۔ اگر آج یہ الزام لگایا جا رہا ہے کہ ریاستی اداروں کے خلاف پروپیگنڈے کیلئے جبری گمشدگیوں کے مسئلے کو

محض ایک جواز کے طور پر استعمال کیا جا رہا ہے تو پھر ریاستی ادارے مل کر آئین کی دفعہ دس کی خلاف ورزی کو کیوں نہیں روکتے؟

91. The practice of labelling difference of opinion as a fight between Islam and the negation of Islam has already been there in Pakistan. If there is an allegation that forced disappearances are being used as propaganda against the state institutions then why do they (the state institutions) not stop the flouting of Article 10 of the Constitution? (April 23, 2018).

92- آپ حق و باطل اور جمہوریت و آمریت کی لڑائی میں نیوٹرل نہیں رہ سکتے۔ کیا میں ایک فوجی ڈکٹیٹر کی طرف سے آئین میں شامل کیے گئے قانون پر خاموشی اختیار کر لوں؟

92. Nobody can remain neutral in the fight between truth and falsehood, dictatorship and democracy. Should I remain silent regarding an amendment made by a dictator? (March 03, 2016)

93 - چوہدری صاحب کی یہ کتاب ان سب کو ضرور پڑھنی چاہئے جو نادیدہ قوتوں کیساتھ مل کر نئی نئی پارٹیاں بنا رہے ہیں۔ یہ نادیدہ قوتیں قابل اعتبار نہیں ہوتیں قابل اعتبار صرف اللہ اور عوام ہیں۔

93. All those people who are siding with invisible powers to make new parties must read Chaudhry Shujaat Hussain's book. Unseen powers are not reliable. Only God and the public are reliable (April 09, 2018).

94 - اسٹیبلشمنٹ کی بنائی ہوئی پارٹیوں کا انجام کیوں کر PML سے مختلف ہوتا۔ پاکستان کی بڑی سیاسی جماعتوں کو کمزور کرنے میں ریاستی اداروں کا اہم کردار رہا ہے۔

94. Political parties made by the establishment meet the same fate as PML-Q. State institutions have weakened political parties to a great extent (March 29, 2018).

95 - شیخ مجیب کے چھ نکات جنرل ایوب کی آمرانہ پالیسیوں کا ردعمل تھے۔ برائے کرم 18 ترمیم کو اسٹیبلشمنٹ کی شکست اور پارلیمنٹ کی فتح نہ سمجھی جائے۔

95. Sheikh Mujeeb's six points were a reaction to Gen. Ayub Khan's dictatorial policies. It is requested that the 18th Amendment should not be seen as establishment's defeat and parliament's victory (March 26, 2018)

96 - اس وقت نواز شریف جوکر رہے تھے وہ غلط تھا۔ جو پرویز مشرف نے کیا وہ بھی غلط تھا۔ مشرف کو آصف زرداری اور نواز شریف مل کر جوابدہی کے پنجرے میں بند کرنا چاہتے تھے۔

96. Nawaz Sharif was doing things he should not have done. But what Gen. Musharraf did in reaction was equally reprehensible. Nawaz Sharif and Asif Zardari both wanted to ensnare Gen. Musharraf in the accountability cage (March 22, 2018)

97- آج کی جمہوریت میں ہارس ٹریڈنگ بھی ہے اور کرپشن بھی - 2013 میں نیب صرف سیاست دانوں کے خلاف انکوائریاں کر رہی تھیں - 2018 کی نیب ریٹائرڈ فوجی افسروں کی انکوائریاں بھی کر رہی ہے -

97. There are instances of corruption and horse trading in today's democracy. In 2013 there were NAB inquiries against politicians only. Now we have NAB inquiries against retired army officials also (March 19, 2018)

98 - چابی والے کھلونوں کا زمانہ نہیں گزرا - آپ نے چیئرمین سینیٹ کے الیکشن میں دیکھا نہیں کہ کیسے عمران خان کو چابی بھری گئی اور وہ پیپلز پارٹی کے سامنے جھک گیا اور انکے گلے لگ گیا؟

98. The toys that are manipulated with keys still abound. Wasn't it obvious how during the senate election Imran Khan was treated like a toy and resultantly he gave in to PPP and embraced it? (March 15, 2018)

99 - پاکستان کے تمام ریاستی اداروں کی طاقت نواز شریف کے سامنے زیرو ہو چکی ہے - میڈیا کے کپڑوں پر داغ لگ چکا ہے - سب داغ اچھے نہیں ہوتے - کیا پاکستان کا قانون صرف سویلین کے لیے ہے؟

99. All of Pakistan's state institutions have become helpless before Nawaz Sharif. There are stains on media's conduct in Pakistan. Is Pakistan's law applicable only to civilians? (March 12, 2018).

100 - عدلیہ کو بحال کرو - جمہوریت کو بحال کرو - آمریت مردہ باد - یہ سب نعرے ابھی تک میرے کانوں میں گونج رہے ہیں - یہ 1986ء کی بات ہے - جنرل ضیاء کا دور آیا تو جام ساقی گرفتاری سے بچنے کے لیے روپوش ہو گئے -

100. I can still hear the echo of the following slogans from 1986: "Free Judiciary", "Revive Democracy", "Death to Dictatorship". During Gen. Zia's era, Jam Saqi went underground in order to avoid being arrested (March 08, 2018).

Intertextual references: army, education, corruption

Hamid Mir builds his narrative around Pakistan Army. His work is conceptualized by referring to what he writes about dictatorship.

ii. Conceptual secondary code: “Death to dictatorship”

There are three main intertextual discourses that Hamid Mir employs in his columns: army, education and corruption. Mir in line with Warraich (U) equates dictatorship with falsehood and democracy with truth. However, he is at odds with Durdana Najam (E) who wonders if Pakistan can learn from the Chinese model of governance which involves military in governance. She questions whether dictatorship and democracy are just two empty words without having any consequence. What is important is governance. Mir unlike Talat Hussain (E) and Sohail Warraich (U), seems somewhat satisfied with the anti-corruption drive. He, however, conjoins the drive and the army by saying that there should not be two separate laws in the country, one for the military personnel and the other for civilians. Cook (E) above points out that civilians being corrupt can be interpreted in the way that only civilians are ever caught. Mir refers to his visits to educational institutions where he gives talks on corruption. He refers to some noteworthy slogans from a march in 1986. Two of them are “revive democracy” and “death to dictatorship”. There are other columnists who mention slogans but Hamid Mir is the only one who refers to slogans against dictatorship. The others opine on International Women’s Day’s slogans and corruption. Mir like Warraich (U) above, complains that media have compromised their neutrality. He warns people who choose to side with “unseen powers” and reminds them that only God and public are reliable. Warraich (U) and Talat Hussain (E) both allude to the invisibility yet pervasiveness of the military.

E. Nusrat Javed, *Nawae Waqt*, p. 8. (From December 29, 2017 back to September 19, 2017).

i. Initial abstractions:

101 - یہ کہا گیا کہ اپنی کھلی ڈھلی طبیعت کی وجہ سے اور ایک پڑھے لکھے مہاجر اور سرکاری پیشہ خاندان سے تعلق رکھنے کی وجہ سے مشرف صاحب کے کوئی سیاسی عزائم نہیں ہونگے۔ پاکستان کے دفاعی اداروں میں کچھ rogue عناصر درآئے ہیں۔ سازشی انداز میں منظم ہو کر یہ عناصر اپنے تئیں ایک deep state بن چکے ہیں۔

101. It was assumed that as Musharraf had an easy-going personality and belonged to an educated, migrant family consisting of government servants so he would not have any political ambitions. There are allegations that some rogue elements have

infiltrated the defence institutions in Pakistan. These elements have become a deep state or a state within a state (December 29, 2017).

102- پاناما سے آئی سردی کی بدولت اب نواز شریف اُداس ہے۔ وزیر اعظم کو ریاست کے ایک طاقت ور ترین ادارے کے توسط سے فیض آباد چوک کو دھرنے سے آزاد کروا کر راولپنڈی اور اسلام آباد کے درمیان راستوں کو بحال کروانا پڑتا ہے۔ مرد مومن نے 1985 کی اسمبلیوں اور حکومتوں کو اقتدار میں شریک نہ کرنے کا فیصلہ کیا۔

102. This cold weather is especially sad for Nawaz Sharif as it is tinged with Panama Leaks' aftermath. The prime minister of the country has to appeal to one of the state's most powerful institutions to get the Faizabad flyover vacated from protestors. Gen Zia ("mard-e-momin"- a man of faith) decided not to share power with the assemblies and government that were formed as a result of the elections (December 15, 2017).

103 - آرمی چیف کسی کا بندہ نہیں ہوتا، وہ ایک ادارے کا سربراہ اور اس کی اجتماعی سوچ کا نمائندہ ہوتا ہے۔

103. The army chief is not anyone's ally. He leads an organisation and is the representative of the collective opinion of his organisation (November 08, 2017).

104- ہماری سیاسی اور عسکری قیادت نے علحیدہ علحیدہ نہیں یکجا ہو کر ریکس ٹلرسن کو سنا۔ کم از کم امریکی دباؤ کا سامنے کرنے کے لیے یہ دونوں ایک پیج پر نظر آئے۔ دکھ کی بات یہ بھی ہے کہ خوف اور دہشت کی ایسی فضاء میرے وطن میں کبھی مارشل لاء کے جبرانہ دنوں میں بھی نظر نہیں آئی۔

104. Our political and military leadership sat together to hear Tillerson out. They decided to face the American pressure together. An air of fear and terror sensed at present in my country was not there even during the brutal days of dictatorship (October 26, 2017).

105 - آرمی چیف خواہ کوئی بھی ہو بہت با اختیار اور طاقتور ہوتا ہے۔ آرمی چیف آرمی چیف ہوتا ہے، اپنے ادارے کے بارے میں حتمی فیصلہ کرنے کا حق رکھتا ہے۔

105. An army chief whoever he may be, is very powerful and enjoys a lot of authority. An army chief is an army chief. He can take final decisions regarding his organization (October 11, 2017).

106 - پنجاب کے جلوے وفاق میں بھی رونما ہونگے۔ اور اداروں کو اطمینان رہے گا۔ شہباز نیویں نیویں رہ کر ڈنگ ٹپا رہے ہیں۔ اداروں کی شفقت اور سرپرستی کے ساتھ گلشن کا آئین اور جمہوری کاروبار چلایا جا سکے گا۔ سیاسی اور عسکری قیادت کو ایک پیج پر لانے کے لیے "مڈنائٹ نوک"۔ شاہد خاقان عباسی کو رات کے اندھیرے میں سمجھانے والوں نے سمجھایا۔

106. The Punjab miracles would occur in the center also. The institutions would be satisfied. Shahbaz Sharif has assumed a non- aggressive posture towards institutions and is working according to a temporary policy. Under the kind patronage of institutions, the constitution and democracy would function perfectly well in this beautiful country called Pakistan. In order to bring military and civilian leadership on one page, there was a proverbial "midnight knock" from the military agencies. Shahid Khaqan Abbasi was explained certain things by elements who visit one only at night (October 09, 2017).

107- اُن سے مدد مانگ لی ہو گی انتظامیہ نے - اُن کو نو نونسز والی نظم و ضبط کے اظہار کے لیے طلب کیا جاتا ہے ، اُن کے ہاں کنفیوژن آف کمانڈ ایک مجرمانہ فعل ہے۔ ضیاء اور مشرف نے افغانستان کے سیزن لگائے۔ جنرل ایوب، ضیاء اور مشرف اپنے ادوار میں اگر جلوے دکھاتے رہے تو اس کی بنیادی وجہ یہ تھی کہ امریکہ کو ہم پر اعتبار تھا۔ وطن عزیز کی اشرافیہ امریکی یونیورسٹیوں سے تعلیم حاصل کرنے کے تصور پر لعنت بھیجنے کو تیار نہیں۔

107. The administration may have asked those for help who can ensure no nonsense discipline and consider confusion in the chain of command as a criminal negligence. If both Zia and Musharraf could create magic in their respective eras, it was because America trusted us (regarding Afghanistan). My dear homeland's elite is not ready to condemn the idea of studying in American universities (October 4, 2017).

108- میرے عزیز ہم وطنو کہنے کا وقت قریب آن پہنچا ہے۔ مجھے ایوب خان کا وہ سنہری دور بہت یاد آتا ہے اُن دنوں امریکہ اپنے جگری یار تھا۔

108. The time for saying "my dear countrymen" (spoken by a COAS when the civilian government is overthrown) is drawing near. I miss Gen. Ayub's golden era as we were very close friends with the US (October 03, 2017).

109 - عسکری قیادت کا نام لینے سے ہم مشرقی بیویوں کی طرح شرماتے ہیں۔ "سسلیں مافیا" کے "گارڈ فادر" کی سپریم کورٹ سے نااہلی کے بعد نواز شریف کو طویل احتسابی عمل اور اس کے نتیجے میں ہوئی ممکنہ سزاؤں سے صرف عدالتی نظام کے ہی ذریعے بچایا جا سکتا ہے اور ہماری عدالتیں آزاد ہیں۔

109. Military is the real power in the country. There is no need to feel hesitant in naming the military leadership like coy wives who are shy to call their husbands by name. The “godfather” of the “Sicilian mafia” disqualified by the Supreme Court, Nawaz Sharif, can only avoid the ensuing sentence after a lengthy accountability trial by appealing to courts and the courts in Pakistan are free (September 27, 2017).

110- نواز شریف کو احتساب کے حوالے سے عبرت کا نشان بنانا تھا - اب وہ یہ بوچھتے ہیں کہ مجھے کیوں نکالا - شہباز شریف کو اداروں سے رکھنے والی آنیاں جانیاں اپنے بھائی کے کبھی کام نہیں آئیں -

110. Nawaz Sharif was punished in corruption cases to teach others a lesson. He keeps asking “Why was I dismissed”? Shahbaz Sharif’s good terms with the “institutions” have never helped his own brother (September 19, 2017).

Intertextual references: army, America, corruption

Javed opines on the Pakistan Army mainly in terms of the US-Pak relationship. He has no love lost for corrupt politicians. He is critical of some of the military practices also.

ii. Conceptual secondary code: “Army chief is a man of Islam”

Nusrat Javed brings in three references which make his work intertextual: army, America and corruption. Nusrat for the most part, opines on the army and America and less on corruption.

Gen. Zia used to be called the man of Islam. The title is now used metaphorically and sarcastically for all subsequent army chiefs. Ansar Abbasi (U) and Arifa Subah Khan (U), however, really believe in all earnestness that Zia did manage to Islamize the country a great deal. Kamila Hayat (E) is critical of Gen Zia’s Islamization drive in an already Muslim country. Saadia Gardezi (E) alludes to it sarcastically while talking about the mandatory veil for women on Pakistan Television in Zia’s era. Hoodbhoy (E) bemoans the extremism that crept in the guise of Islam during Zia’s Islamisation drive. The general assumption is that Islam in Pakistan can only function if the army takes charge of it. Kishwar Naheed (U) shows us the other side when she writes that Musharraf is allowed to dance while female singers are killed in KP.

Like Warraich (U), Nusrat comments on the fact that it is the Prime Minister that appoints the army chief. He claims that the misconception that the army chief can become a civilian PM's ally just because the latter appoints him, needs to be dispelled. An army chief is an army chief. Nusrat Javed further addresses those of his colleagues who talk about military in hushed tones or using euphemisms or even metonymy like "Pindi" like Talat Hussain (E) and Warraich (U). He writes that the military establishment should be named openly when talking about it rather than alluding to it like an Eastern wife who is shy and scared of taking her husband's name. Like Warraich (U), Javed, too, claims that Shahbaz Sharif is on good terms with the same "institutions" that his brother is at war with. Javed like Saadia Gardezi, (E) reminds us that the reason Gen. Zia (and Musharraf) had successful reigns was that Pakistan was flooded with American aid.

Javed indirectly concurs with M. Ziauddin (E) that Nawaz Sharif was involved in corruption. Furthermore, Javed agrees with Safi (U) and Klasra (U) that the children of the elite study in American universities. Javed laments that Pakistan's judiciary can hang an elected PM alluding to Bhutto, but not touch an ex-army chief. Hamid Mir (U) and Mahir Ali (E) refer to the same.

Javed reminds us wryly that Gen. Musharraf was selected primarily because it was assumed by the civilians that he would not have "any political ambitions" as he belonged to a middle-class family consisting of government employees. It is considered an attribute considering that the over-zealous role of army in the civilian affairs. This is in tandem with what Saadia Gardezi (E), Kamila Hayat (E), I. R. Rehman (E) Hamid Mir (U) and Sohail Warraich (U) advocate.

F. Sohail Warraich, *Jang*, p. 8 (From April 11, 2018 back to March 08, 2018)

i. Initial abstractions

111- سول ملٹری تعلقات کیسے بہتر ہونگے؟ پاکستان کا سب سے بڑا سیاسی مسئلہ یہ ہی ہے۔ - کرپشن اور احتساب کا جو معیار عمران خان نے بنا رکھا ہے اس کا اطلاق ان پر بھی ہو گا۔ عمران خان کو چاہیے کہ تعلیم اور صحت کے حوالے سے پروگرام سامنے لائے۔ وزیر اعظم عمران خان کی میڈیا سے لڑائی دنیا بھر میں مذاق بن جائے گی۔ -

111. How can civil-military relations be improved? There should be a debate on it as it is Pakistan's biggest problem. The standard which Imran Khan has set for investigating corruption and carrying out accountability will be applied on him also. Imran Khan should give his plan for education and health. Imran Khan's acrimonious behaviour towards media will become a joke for the rest of the world (April 11, 2018).

112 - زبان بندی کی جا رہی ہے - جنرل ضیاء کو جنرل مجیب جیسا باکمال گوبلیس مل گیا، جس نے پر مخالف آواز کو دبا دیا - کوڑے، جیلیں اور پھانسیاں دیں - کیا کرپشن کے خلاف مہم کو اہمیت حاصل ہو سکتی تھی؟

112. Media freedom is being curbed. Gen. Ziaul Haq found his Goebbels in Gen. Mujibur Rehman who not only stifled every dissenting voice but ordered lashes, arrests and hangings of whoever dared to disagree with him. Could the campaign against corruption have gained significance if media were crushed? (April 07, 2018).

113- پاکستان بنتے ساتھ ہی شکست خوردہ عناصر نے بیانیہ تشکیل دیا کہ پاکستان خطرے میں ہے - اور یہ کہ اس ملک کو لوٹا جا رہا ہے - سیاستدان لٹیڑے ہیں - اس لیے ان کا احتساب تمام مسائل کا حل ہے - قومیں احتساب سے نہیں، سزاؤں سے نہیں، اپنے کارناموں سے اور کارکردگی سے جانی جاتی ہیں - کوبلو کا بیل 70 سال سے احتساب کی مالا جپ رہا ہے -

113. As soon as Pakistan came into being, defeatist elements formed a narrative that Pakistan was in danger. The other narrative was that salvation lay in politicians' accountability. Nations are known for performance and not accountability or punishments. For the past 70 years, the blindfolded masses like a blinded ox, are made to harp on accountability (April 04, 2018).

114 - بھارت کی فیڈریشن، امریکہ کے صدراتی نظام اور بریٹن کی پارلیمانی جمہوری روایات سے میری شکل ترتیب دی گئی - جنرل ضیاء الحق نے میری موچھیں اٹھویں ترمیم کی قینچی سے کاٹ ڈالی - جنرل مشرف کو میرے گنے بال بہت برے لگتے تھے - اپنے مائی باپ آئین کو تبدیل کرنے کی کوشش کرتے ہیں -

114. [An autobiography of the Constitution of Pakistan]. My makers picked the best features from the Indian federation, America's presidential system and British parliamentary traditions. Gen. Zia disliked my moustaches and chopped them off with the scissors of the 8th Amendment. Gen. Musharraf disliked my thick hair. Some

people try to mould me who is like a father figure to the whole country (March 31, 2018).

115- جس طرح گاڑی دودھ سے نہیں چلتی، بلکل اسی طرح جمہوریت فوج نہیں چلا سکتی - کچھ بھی کر لیں عوام آمریت سے خوش نہیں رہ سکتی۔ - اسے اہل سیاسیت کے ذریعے ہی چلانا پڑے گا۔ جنرل ضیاء کا دور آیا تو ہر کوئی دفتری اوقات میں نمازی بن کر سامنے آیا، جنرل مشرف آیا تو آزاد خیالی کی آڑ میں نور جہاں کے گانوں پر اچھا ڈانس کرنے والے منظور نظر بن بیٹھے -

115. A democracy cannot be run by army just like a car cannot be run on milk. The masses cannot be happy under a dictatorship. It has to be run by politicians. During Gen Zia's era, everybody started offering prayers regularly during the office times. During Gen. Musharraf's time people danced to the tunes of Noor Jehan in order to become the authorities' favourite as the general himself was a liberal man and loved to dance (March 28, 2018).

116- دیکھو گڑیا تم میری بیٹی نہیں بیٹا ہو۔ راولپنڈی میں بات کرتے ہوئے ڈار صاحب کا بھی خیال رکھا کریں -

116. [This is a fictional letter to Maryam Nawaz Sharif by her mother Mrs Kulsoom Nawaz Sharif.] You are not a daughter but a son. Tell Shahbaz Sharif that when he talks to people in Pindi, he should keep Dar's interests in mind also (March 24, 2018).

117 - مقتدر ادروں کے لیے بھی شہباز شریف نسبتاً قابل قبول ہیں۔ نون لیگ کو بڑے دربار کی نظر کرم کی ضرورت ہو گی۔ اسٹیبلشمنٹ کے ساتھ مل کر وہ کام کرنے کو تیار ہیں - تھوڑا بہت احتساب ہوتا رہے گا۔

117. Shahbaz Sharif is comparatively acceptable to the powerful institutions. Noon League would do well with a little kindness from the institution in charge of elevating misery (the Supreme Court). Shahbaz Sharif is ready to work with the establishment. Some semblance of accountability would continue (March 21, 2018).

118- کمبل پوش نیپولین بوناپارٹ کا بڑا مداح تھا۔ بوناپارٹزم کی جدید اصطلاح ایک ایسے نظام کی ہے جس میں اشرافیہ کی مسلح کلاس پورے نظام کو اپنی گرفت میں لے لیتی ہے۔ پاکستان میں جمہوری بادشاہ اور کبھی فوجی بادشاہ آتے ہیں -

118. “Kambal Posh” (the Blanket Man) was a great fan of Bonaparte’s. The new definition of Bonapartism is where the elite military class controls the entire system. There is an alternation of democratic kings and military kings in Pakistan (March 14, 2018).

119. میں ایک عالمی حسینہ کی زلف کا اسیر ہو چکا ہوں۔ میری محبوبہ کے پاس ایسے دلائل ہوتے ہیں کہ آمریت کے بڑے بڑے وکیل معافی مانگتے ہیں۔ سیاسی انجینئرنگ کیا ہے: یہ جمہوریت اچھی نہیں، اس میں کرپشن ہے، ہم ایسے جمہوریت لائیں گے جس میں یہ سب نہیں ہو گا۔

119. [Personification of democracy as a woman]. I have been ensnared in the locks of an international beauty. My beloved gives such arguments that people advocating dictatorship are forced to apologise for their opinions. It is political engineering when the masses are told that this kind of democracy is not good as it is riddled with corruption. The engineers further promise that they will bring about a democratic dispensation which will not have any of the present shortcomings (March 10, 2018).

120. مبارک اس لیے بھی ہو کہ سارا آپریشن بغیر خون کے کوئی قطرہ بہے مکمل ہوا۔ سارا کام چھو منتر اور خوف اور ہراس سے ہی ہو گیا۔ میڈیا ادھموا ہو گیا ہے، کچھ بک چکا ہے اور کچھ بار چکا ہے عاصمہ جہانگیر مر چکی ہے۔ کوئی احتساب کے شکنجے میں پھنسا ہوا ہے۔

120. Congratulations are also in order because the whole operation did not shed any blood. The whole mission was accomplished through magic incantations and fear. Media are half dead. Part sold out; part defeated. Asma Jahangir is already dead. Some people have been ensnared in the accountability net (March 08, 2018).

Intertextual references: army, corruption, women

Sohail Warraich is very clear in his stance towards army. He does not want army meddling in civilian affairs. He is, however, critical of the “democratic kings” also.

ii. Conceptual secondary code: “Civil military relations the biggest issue”

There are three intertextual references that Warraich makes in his columns. He links all three through his views on army. Warraich calls civil-military relations as Pakistan’s biggest problem. Other writers may not say it in so many words but, there

is an impression across writers regardless of the language and publication, that army is the creator of most problems. Warraich is, however, gracious enough in admitting that Pakistan has had “military kings as well as democratic kings”. This is somewhat similar to what Durdana Najam (E) writes. She claims that neither civilians nor army rulers have made development possible. Sohail Warraich (U), Kamila Hayat (E) and Durdana Najam (E) admit albeit grudgingly that civilians have not been very honest with their jobs, either, and have failed the masses.

Like Durdana Najam (E) and Kamila Hayat (E), Warraich writes that the masses of Pakistan are fed the narrative that politicians are corrupt and that corruption is the biggest problem of this country. Kamila Hayat claims that corruption is used as a “catchphrase” to discredit civilian governments. Warraich writes that dictatorships no matter how benevolent, are not the answer just like a vehicle cannot run on milk. Like Javed (U), Warraich, however, reminds us that politicians especially Shahbaz Sharif, are willing to work with Pindi, a euphemism for Pakistan Army as its headquarters are located in Pindi. Like Mosharraf Zaidi (E), Mina Malik (E) and Zahida Hina (U), Warraich laments that Asma Jahangir, a symbol of resistance against dictatorships, has died. In tandem with Hamid Mir (U) below, Warraich opines that the media have lost the punch also.

Sohail Warraich’s discourse is intertextual as is evident above. It is dependent on meaning for what other columnists write. His work does not restrict itself to any linguistic boundary for its intertextuality.

4.4.2.1 Doxastic codes in the discourse on Pakistan Army as abstracted through a constant comparative process. The discourse on Pakistan army is conceptualized in six doxai as given below. The first three are abstracted from the thirty English columns and the next three from an equal number of Urdu columns.

“Controlling military influence”- Saadia Gardezi (E)

“Children of Zia”- Kamila Hayat (E)

“Defence suffers when military takes up civilian jobs”- I R Rehman (E)

“Civil military relations the biggest issue”- Sohail Warraich (U)

“Death to dictatorship”- Hamid Mir (U)

“Army chief is a man of Islam”- Nusrat Javed (U)

The doxa that is forming is that Pakistan Army enjoys a lot of influence in the affairs of the country and media intellectuals/public intellectuals are beginning to question this. While acknowledging the respect that most Pakistanis have for the army, they want it to concentrate on defending the country as neo-Bonapartism and democracy cannot go side by side. This is something that has been discussed in section 4.4.1.2 that concludes the section on doxa formation on the US in the selected newspapers columns. Both Amossy (2002, p. 372) and Hariman (1995, p. 183) point out that a doxa is made up of shared opinion. It is also called collective wisdom. The disapproval by the public intellectuals of Pakistan army meddling in civilian matters is a shared opinion though it ranges in its intensity.

When analysed for its meaning on the Urdu- English relationship, it is clear that the intertwining discourse is that of Pakistan Army which runs through all discourses, be it America, women or corruption. The writers from both languages agree and disagree on different issues without regard for the language boundaries.

A note on the translation technique is given here. A sensitizing perspective given by Massimiliano Tarozzi (2019, p. 186) is mentioned in chapter two of the present dissertation. Tarozzi writing on translation in the grounded theory method (GTM) claims that paraphrasing adequately captures the meaning given in the source language. I have used Eugene Nida’s (1964, p. 41 & p.159) technique of dynamic equivalence which is a special kind of contextual paraphrasing to retain the propositional meaning. The same is applicable here as Sohail Warraich’s (U) metaphoric language in Urdu (the source language) is translated into English without compromising on its meaning component. Sections from the original language and the target language given side by side make clear that the kind of paraphrasing done captures the essence of the source language text.

4.4.3 Corruption (English and Urdu columns)

A. Talat Hussain, *The News International*, p. 6. (From April 16, 2018 back to September 25,2017)

i. Initial abstractions

121. “Civil-military ties are assessed” with reference to Nawaz Sharif (April 16, 2018).

122. Panama case verdict is emblematic of a “messiah mind-set” (March 26, 2018).

123. Elections for senators set “a new example the public quotes of corruption, nepotism and buying and selling of loyalties” (March 12, 2018).

124. “The establishment” is unwilling to engage the world concerns on terrorism. “Troop diplomacy” with Saudis did not work out (February 26, 2018).

125. If judicial “kicks and punches” can help address “corruption, crime”, etc., why not? Judges are supported by “Pakistan’s omnipresent, almighty and durable establishment” which is their “last bastion of support” (February 5, 2018).

126. It is a myth to consider “the Supreme Court is the last bastion against organised corruption”. The Panama verdict did not “move the debate on corruption an inch forward”. “Politicians and the establishment have gamed the Supreme Court on corruption” (December 18, 2017).

127. Massive sit-ins (dharnas) against corruption and rigging can result in government property being attacked (November 20, 2017).

128. The Panama verdict sounds “biased” by calling NS as “a fraud, a liar, a swindler”. The verdict holds him responsible for looting the “caravan” of the nation”. The establishment wants the Sharifs to disappear permanently” (November 13, 2017).

129. Shahbaz Sharif has invested a lot of time “in cultivating good-neighbourly relations with Pindi, his elder brother’s target-in-chief” (November 6, 2017).

130. “Compliance may get SS a chance to survive a bit longer” than NS. Pakistan has failed at trying “pseudo-liberalism, decrepit constitutionalism, half-hearted military rules and diarchy in which power was co-shared by civilian and military rulers”. Religious alliances like MMA to take the nation back to the “central ideas of great men like General Ziaul Haq” (September 25, 2017).

Intertextual references: corruption, army

Talat Hussain focuses on the link between Pakistan Army and its support for anti-corruption drive in Pakistan.

ii. Conceptual secondary code: “Omnipresent establishment judiciary’s last bastion of support”

Talat Hussain is more focussed than others and uses only two intertextual references, army and corruption, to make his argument. By calling Pakistan Army as “omnipresent, almighty and durable establishment”, he stands with Nusrat Javed (U) who among other references, calls people from army’s intelligence as midnight visitors. Hussain (E) and Warraich (U) refer to army as inhabitants of “Pindi”, the name of the city where the military headquarters are.

Talat Hussain calls army as judiciary’s “last bastion of support” in its crusade against corruption. He further argues that the Panama verdict sounds biased by calling NS a fraud, a swindler and a liar who looted the caravan of the nation instead of guarding it. This is not what M. Ziauddin (E) thinks. The latter is sure that Nawaz Sharif is involved in corruption. Irshad Bhatti (U) and Hassan Nisar (U) agree with M. Ziauddin (E) on this issue.

Like Warraich (U) and Mir (U), Hussain evaluates civil-military ties with reference to Nawaz Sharif, the ousted PM dismissed on corruption charges. All three refer to Shahbaz Sharif’s good terms with the army. Talat further claims that compliance with the army’s wishes can prolong the junior Sharif’s political life. Pakistan has experimented with “half-hearted military rules” in which power was shared between the military and the civilians something that Najam (E) also refers to. It has also tried “pseudo-liberalism”. Talat Hussain warns that religious alliances want to reintroduce the “central ideas of great men like General Ziaul Haq”.

B. Durdana Najam, *The Nation*, p. 6. (From April 23, 2018 back to January 29, 2018).

i. Initial abstractions

131. PML-N's sloganeering in favour of democracy is to "counter the avalanche of lawsuits, blames, and accusations of corruption against its leaders". Both the education and healthcare are "expensive and moth-eaten" (April 23, 2018).

132. Since the Panama verdict "a barrage of criticism has been let loose against the establishment" for engineering NS's permanent exit from the political scene. There is "a roar against the establishment". In order to prolong their rules, dictators enter into alliances with "the corrupt civilian leadership" (March 19, 2018).

133. Pakistan is "infected by corrupt leadership" and not by an empty treasury. "Poverty, poor education and health system and violence" feed off each other. For the past 40 years the educational syllabus has produced "a generation that learned intolerance". In Pakistan "women to religion to Pakistan's ideology" have been made "sacred" (December 13, 2017).

134. "Terrorism casualties" in Pakistan consist of army and police officers. Institutional and administrative corruption has made Pakistanis "desperate". Army alongwith police are keeping Baluchistan from "withering" (December 09, 2017).

135. There seems to be "a widening trust deficit in the civil-military relations". COAS asks the world to "do more". It would have better to revisit the foreign policy than waste "time and effort" on NS defence in the Panama case which removed him anyway (September 12, 2017).

136. It would be better to find reasons for the loss of international support on terrorism instead of "blaming the US of backstabbing Pakistan". We tend to think that "the military solution" is the only way out of across-the-border problems. The government spent one complete year in "protecting the ruling family from Panama effects" (2017, August 28).

137. It is "a moment of remorse and repentance" as NS attempts to garner popular support "in the backdrop of loads of corruption charges". Poor cannot dream of "education, health and self-esteem". The army used "corruption as an instrument of arm twisting" and kept its own "forte" strong "by keeping other institutions weak" (August 14, 2017).

138. Pakistan has been “fighting an unending war against corruption” since 1947 (August 01, 2017).

139. It seems that “the process of accountability has self-wheeled into every part of society” which is a good sign (March 27, 2018).

140. Because he was not dismissed on any corruption charges, the Nawaz brigade accused the judiciary becoming a stooge in the drama the establishment had staged to get rid of the PML-N (January 29, 2018).

Intertextual references: corruption, army, education, America

Durdana Najam interweaves four discourses- corruption, America, education and army in her articles selected for this section.

ii. Conceptual secondary code: Army uses corruption as “arm twisting”

Durdana Najam’s articles have been coded for the US-Pak relations also as she is one of those writers who writes profusely on current affairs. In the ten articles on corruption, she makes four intertextual references: corruption, army, education and America. Like Talat Hussain (E), she refers to the “roar” against establishment that it is behind the ouster of Nawaz Sharif from the primeministership. She, however, does not sound biased in Sharif’s favour unlike Hussain (E). Like M. Ziauddin (E), Irshad Bhatti (U) and Hassan Niasar (U), she shows her disdain for Sharif’s party’s pro-democracy sloganeering and calls it as an effort to stop the “avalanche” of corruption charges against the party leadership.

Durdana Najam agrees with Cook (E) (and disagrees with Warraich [U]) that Pakistan is “infected by corrupt leadership”. Warraich (U) and Kamila Hayat (E) call the anti corruption a narrative to discredit civilian rulers. The country has been at war with corruption since its birth in 1947. The army used “corruption as an instrument of arm twisting” to keep power within its command. This is something that both Durdana and Warraich (U) agree on. The widening “trust deficit in the civil-military relations” that needs to be addressed is what Saleem Safi (U) also comments on.

Furthermore, Durdana co-joins education and health with self esteem. Like Pervez Hoodbhuy (E) and Mosharraf Zaidi (E), Najam refers to the intolerance spread through textbooks in the country's educational system.

Durdana Najam is more objective than Talat Hussain (E) in her analysis of the anti-corruption campaign in Pakistan. She, too, conjoins anti- corruption drive with army and writes that “entrenched political corruption turns people to military rules in countries like Pakistan”. This is what Ansar Abbasi (U) also claims. Najam along with Warraich (U) and Kamila Hayat (E) claim that corruption has been used by the military as “an instrument of arm twisting”. But, having said this, Najam does not blame Pakistan military for its repeated coups. Pakistan has been “at war against corruption since its creation”. Unlike Sohail Warraich, she does not say that the corruption narrative is a myth whipped up to drum support for military interference. She, however, voices concern over the accountability drive and wonders whether it is “witch-hunting” or genuine.

Instead of suspecting the “establishment” for its alleged shady role in fighting corruption, she announces that “establishment [is] facing a barrage of criticism for being behind Nawaz Sharif's exit” on corruption charges. She decides to remain neutral unlike Talat Hussain (E), Sohail Warraich (U) and Rauf Klasra (U).

Najam joins education and health with “self-esteem” and writes that the poor are unfortunately devoid of them all. She is at odds with Zubeida Mustafa (E) who alleges that it is because of the army's presence in Baluchistan that children are not getting education. Education cannot take place “under the shadow of guns”. Najam points out that army alongwith police keep Baluchistan from “withering”.

C. M. Ziauddin, *The Express Tribune*, p. 7. (From December 16, 2017 going back to August 19, 2017)

i. Initial abstractions

141. The Panama leaks can be “the biggest single, corruption-busting story of the decade”. “Repressive social and cultural attitudes” portrayed on the media are a cause for women victimisation. A tribute to all the whistle-blowers and sources who make public interest journalism possible (January 20, 2018).

142. There is a close link among corruption, “mass migration, human-rights abuse, poverty and death”. “Corruption is not just about money” (December 16, 2017).

143. There is still a lack of action “to crack down on dirty cash flowing across borders” after Panama leaks (November 11, 2017).

144. Panama case in Pakistan is a case of “fraud and fleece and has turned it into a high political drama”. Sharif family’s treatment by Musharraf is a “royal bother” as compared to Gen. Zia’s actions against ZAB (July 8, 2017).

145. Tax evasion is a major challenge for governments “in developing and developed countries” (July 1, 2017).

146. The country appears to have entered “the election mode” after the Panama judgement (April 29, 2017).

147. “Corruption and inequality feed off each other to create a vicious circle between corruption, unequal distribution of power and wealth in society” (January 27, 2017).

148. PTI is deriving political “hammering” of the Panama case is “likely to gather pace” (December 30, 2016).

149. Sharif family needs to show “legally authenticated documents” to expect an exoneration (November 4, 2016).

150. There is a perception of the US being “the biggest tax haven in the world” (August 19, 2017).

Intertextual references: corruption, army, America, women

M. Ziauddin weaves army with corruption in his discourse. He also opines on America and women.

ii. Conceptual secondary code: Nawaz Sharif’s “royal bother”

M. Ziauddin brings in four intertextual references: corruption, army, America, women. Ziauddin looks at corruption in its all ramifications. Corruption leads to “mass migration, human-rights abuse, poverty and death”. Terming the Panama case against the ex-PM “a simple fraud and fleece”, he agrees with Irshad Bhatti (U) and

Hassan Nisar (U), that it has turned it into “a high political drama” as the Sharif family is claiming victimisation. Ziauddin is at odds with the likes of Talat Hussain (E), Sohail Warraich (U) and Kamila Hayat (E) who find army’s involvement in the anti- corruption drive. He further claims that Sharif family’s tribulations under Gen. Musharraf were a mere “a royal bother” as compared to what the Bhutto family had to endure under Gen. Zia. It is also alluded to by Mahir Ali (E). The brutality of the Zia era is alluded to by I. R. Rehman (E), Warraich (U), Mina Malik (E) and Kishwar Naheed (U) also.

M. Ziauddin like Ansar Abbasi (U) is not happy with the electronic media but for a different reason. The former is against the “repressive social and cultural attitudes” portrayed on the media which in his opinion are a reason for women victimisation. Abbasi (U) is against the vulgarity.

The high point for M. Ziauddin’s extrapolation on corruption is his pronouncement that Nawaz Sharif had to endure just a royal bother as compared to what the Bhutto family had to face under Gen. Zia.

D. Rauf Klasra, *Dunya*, p. 7. (June 03, 2018 back to September 22, 2017).

i. Initial abstractions

151. نواز شریف کا سب سے بڑا کارنامہ پاکستان کی پڑھی لکھی اور لیبرل گلاس کو کرپشن کے دفاع پر لگانا ہے۔ ویسے پاناما سے ایک بات ثابت ہو گئی ہے کہ پاکستان میں تعلیم اور شعور آپ کا کچھ نہیں بگاڑ سکتے۔

151. Nawaz Sharif’s biggest achievement is that the liberal and the educated of the society stand exposed as they defend the Sharif family’s corruption. Panama Leaks has proved one thing that in Pakistan, education cannot do much to open one’s eyes (August27, 2018).

152. جنرل مشرف کے دور میں سیاسی اور صحافتی مزاحمت کا اپنا ہی نشہ تھا۔ سیاستدان اس لیے عوام کو بے وقوف بنا رہے ہیں کہ میڈیا میں بیٹھے ان کے دوست ان کو زندہ رکھے ہوئے ہیں۔ جس پر نیب کی فائل کھلنے لگتی ہے وہ اگلے دن آپ کو ٹی وی چینل پر کسی شو میں نظر آتا ہے۔

152. Political and journalistic resistance had its own intoxication in Gen. Musharraf’s era. Politicians befool the public as there are some people in media who are their

friends and who defend them tooth and nail. As soon as NAB starts an inquiry against someone, he is seen on the TV defending himself (March 09, 2018).

153 - سول ، ملٹری حکمران دہلی اور لندن میں جائیدادیں بناتے ہیں ۔ آخر کار جب بند گلی میں پہنچتے ہیں تو آخری حربے کے طور پر چند مخصوص صحافیوں کو بلا کر انہیں عزت و احترام سے نوازا جاتا ہے۔ اور ان کی مدد لی جاتی ہے ۔ پاکستان میں احتساب کی راہ میں رکاوٹ پیدا کرنے میں جہاں کچھ اور وجوہات ہیں وہاں ہم صحافی بھی ہیں ۔

153. Civil-military rulers alike, make properties in Dubai and London, fill Swiss banks with illegal money. When they reach a dead end, they start wooing journalists so that the latter may bail them out. Some blame for impeding the process of accountability in Pakistan lies with journalists also (January 26, 2018).

154۔ کرپٹ عناصر اور کرپشن کا دفاع کرتی ہوئی ہماری پڑھی لکھی ایلٹ بھی اتنی ہی بے ایمان اور کرپٹ ہیں جتنے ہمارے لیڈرز ۔ ان تعلیم یافتہ ٹھگوں میں اخلاقی جرت نہیں کہ غلط کو غلط کہہ سکیں۔ نواز شریف اور ان کے حامی اب عدالت سے ناراض ہیں کہ وہ بھلا کیسے ان کا احتساب کر سکتی ہے۔ کیونکہ احتساب کا حق عدالت کو نہیں بلکہ عوام کو ہے۔

154. The educated elite defending the corrupt and corruption is as corrupt as our leaders. These educated fraudsters do not have the moral courage to call wrong a wrong. Nawaz Sharif and his supporters are angry at the courts as to how can they hold them accountable because in their opinion only the masses can hold them accountable and not courts (January 24, 2018).

155۔ میرے خیال میں اب فارن آفس جوائن کرنے والوں کے ذہن میں یہ ہوتا ہے کہ خود اور بچوں کو بیرون ملک شہریت لے کر دینی ہے۔ چیئرمین نیب کرپشن اور کرپٹ عناصر کے خلاف بہتر کارکردگی کا مظاہرہ کر رہے ہیں ۔

155. I think that men and women joining the Foreign Service of Pakistan primarily want to get their children foreign nationalities. Justice Javed Iqbal (Chairman NAB) is showing a good performance against corruption (January 07, 2018).

156 - کیا واقعی کرپشن نواز شریف اور عوام کے درمیان ذاتی مسئلہ ہے؟ یہ وہ جمہوریت ہے جس کے لئے کئی نسلوں نے جنرل ضیاء کے دور سے لے کر جنرل مشرف تک لڑائیاں لڑی ۔ نواز شریف سوچتے ہیں کہ ان کا احتساب نہیں ہو سکتا ۔

156. Is corruption a private matter between Nawaz Sharif and the public? Is this the democracy that many generations fought for through the reigns of Gen. Zia to Gen. Musharraf? Nawaz Sharif is of the opinion that he cannot be held accountable (November 24, 2017).

157- جب آپ نے پورا معاشرہ انٹیلیک چوکی کرپٹ اور دیوالیا کر دیا ہے تو پھر کیوں آج دہائی دیتے ہیں کہ انصاف نہیں ہو رہا؟ نواز شریف ٹی وی چینل پر کرائے کے لیبرلز آپ کا دفاع پوری تندہی سے کر رہے ہیں -

157. When the whole society has been made intellectually corrupt and bankrupt, then why complain that justice is not being served? “Nawaz Sharif! Paid liberals are diligently defending your corruption on the TV” (November 17, 2017).

158- پرائمری سکول میں ہم سب کو اردو کی کتاب میں لالچی کتے اور لومڑی کی کہانیاں پڑھائی جاتی تھی۔ میں اور میرے جیسے بچے سمجھتے تھے کہ صرف جانور ہی لالچی ہوتا ہے۔ لالچ، چوری، چلاکی، مکاری اور ہٹ دھرمی سب جانور کرتے ہیں۔ ان تمام بُرائیوں کو کرپشن کا نام دے سکتے ہیں۔

158. We were taught in school stories about a greedy dog and a fox. As children we used to think that it was only the animals which were greedy. All animals are prone to greed, theft, cleverness and obstinacy. We can call all these vices as corruption (November 10, 2017).

159 - دنیا بھر میں ایسے ارب پتی بے جن پر ایک ڈالر تک کی کرپشن کا الزام نہیں لگتا۔ چھوٹے موٹے فراڈیوں کے بارے میں لکھتے ہوئے شرم آتی ہے جہاں ہر روز ہر وزیر اعظم سکینٹل کا شکار ہو، وزیر لوٹ رہے ہوں۔ جواب طلبی پر اینٹ سے اینٹ بجانے پر نلے ہوں۔ معصومیت سے پوچھتے ہیں ہمارا قصور کیا ہے؟ وہ ہمیں لوٹنے سے باز نہیں آتے اور ہم لٹنے سے -

159. The world has many billionaires who cannot be accused of even a single dollar's corruption. One feels shy in writing about small scammers in a country where everyday a PM falls prey to corruption and ministers plunder the public money. If the corrupt are questioned about it, they decide to challenge the system. They innocently inquire as to what is their crime. They do not refrain from defrauding us of our money and we do not get tired of being looted (October 20, 2017)

160- جس معاشرے میں فاروق لغاری کے فارن کولیفائیڈ بچے بھی نواز شریف و شہباز شریف کے سیاسی ماڈل سے متاثر ہوں وہاں لاہور کے ووٹر سے کیا گلا؟ کرپشن روزانہ کی معمول بنتی گئی اور ایک دن لوگوں کو کہتے سنا گیا کہ ایسے ایماندار امیدوار کا ہم نے اچار ڈالنا ہے جو اپنی قسمت نہیں بدل سکا۔ اور پھر طاقتور کرپٹ بیرون ملک بینک بیلنس اور جائیدادیں عدالتوں سے سزا یافتہ گروہ رول ماڈل ٹھہرے۔

160. In a country where the foreign qualified children of President Farooq Leghari (the man who ousted NS on corruption charges), are impressed with the political model of NS, the educated voters of Lahore cannot be blamed much. Corruption has become the order of the day. People are heard saying that they do not want to vote for an honest candidate as he has not been able to do anything for himself and therefore cannot be expected to do anything for his voters. In this situation the powerful corrupt who have foreign accounts and properties and are punished by the courts, have become the country's role models (September 22, 2017).

Intertextual references: corruption, army, education

There are three intertextual references available in Klasra's columns: corruption, army and education. Klasra is one of the six writers whose work has been conceptualized twice. He fearlessly claims that both army and civilian leaderships were involved in corruption.

ii. Conceptual secondary code: "Swiss banks filled with civil- military rulers' illegal money"

Klasra shows his disappointment at the "liberal" and the educated class of the society who stand exposed as they defend the Sharif family's corruption. Klasra's disenchantment is somewhat similar to Moshrraf Zaidi's (E) disappointment at the educated and liberal "English speaking" class that qualifies the honour killing of a social media star, Qandeel Balauch. There seems to be certain standards that are expected of the "educated" and the "liberal" class and standing with the corrupt or honour killers are not amongst them. Ansar Abbasi's (U) defines "liberal" as someone too westernised to remain within the ambit of Islam.

Klasra is the only writer who declares it openly that civilians and army people alike have plundered the country. Hamid Mir (U) indirectly informs us that there are NAB (National Accountability Bureau) references against army personnel also.

Klasra writes that he feels bad exposing small corruption cases as there are cases filed against the former and present prime ministers and ministers of the country daily. He wonders whether this is the democracy that they all had struggled for during Gen. Mushrraf's days and would dictatorship not be a better option? Like Najam (E) and Ansar Abbasi (U), Klasra argues that it is the corrupt civilian governments that make people long for a military take-over.

Nawaz Sharif is promoting "mob justice" by sloganeering that only the masses can hold him accountable. Durdana Najam (E) and M. Ziauddin (E) interpret this sloganeering as an attempt to evade justice.

Klasra claims that Gen. Raheel Sharif thought that Nawaz Sharif was his loyalist. He uses the word "ally" for the PM whereas Nusrat Javed (U) uses it for the army chief. Klasra unlike Talat Hussain (E) and Warraich (U), does not imply anywhere that the army is behind Sharif's accountability.

E. Irshad Bhatti, *Jang*, p. 7. (From January 18, 2018 back to June 19, 2017).

i. Initial abstractions

161. اگر کسی روز کرپشن، زہر نما پانی، سڑکوں اور کشتیوں میں بچے جنتی مائیں، سفارش، اقربا پروری، بنا بچپن گزارنے والے کروڑوں بچوں پر عوامی عدالت لگ جائے تو کیا نواز شریف فخر سے عوامی عدالت میں آئیں گے اور سرخرو ہو کر نکلیں گے؟

161. Will a proud Nawaz Sharif come to the court and be honorably acquitted from it if it is set up to investigate corruption, nepotism, poisonous drinking water, new borns' deliveries on roads and in boats, and millions of out of school children? (January 18, 2018).

162 - اگر میرے پاس اثاثے آمدنی سے زائد ہیں تو تمہیں اس سے کیا؟ نیب میں 175 میگا کرپشن سکیڈل پڑے ہوئے ہیں۔ 5% طبقہ لوٹ مار کر رہا ہے۔

162. Nawaz Sharif wonders why are people concerned if his assets are beyond means. There are 175 cases of mega corruption lying in NAB. Only 5% of the whole population of Pakistan indulges in corruption (January 01, 2018).

163. آرمی چیف بارہا کہہ چکے ہیں میں جمہوریت پسند ہوں اور جمہوری حکومت کے ساتھ کھڑا ہوں۔ میاں صاحب فرما رہے ہیں سزا ملی نہیں، دلوائی گئی ہے، احتساب نہیں، انتقام ہے، ججز بغض سے بھرے بڑے ہیں۔

163. The army chief has repeatedly said “I like democracy and I support the democratic government”. Nawaz Sharif labels his accountability as revenge and that he has been punished unfairly by judges who are bigoted and biased (December 25, 2017).

164. دُکھ تو یہ ہے کہ ملک چراگاہ بنا دیا گیا، یتیموں کے مال کی طرح لوٹا گیا مگر بڑا دُکھ یہ ہے کہ قوم جاگ ہی نہیں رہی۔ قوم کو عقیدت فاطمہ جناح سے تھی مگر کہا ایوب خان کا مانا۔ پیار تو بھٹو سے تھا مگر مرد مومن اور مرد حق ضیالہ حق کو بنا دیا۔ قوم کی اکثریت کے لیے اوپر سے امریکہ شیطان مگر اندر سے اسی شیطان کا ویزہ اور پاسپورٹ کی خواہش۔

164. It is sad to see that the country has become a grazing ground for looters. It has been usurped like the wealth of an orphan. But the bigger tragedy is that the nation lies in a forgetful stupor. Is it not strange that the nation revered Fatima Jinnah, but, obeyed Gen. Ayub Khan? The nation loved Bhutto, but, gave Gen Ziaul Haq the title “mard-e-momin” and “mard-e- haq” (a Muslim man upholding the faith). The majority people of Pakistan consider America a satan but covet the American visa and nationality all the same (September 09, 2017).

165. میجر عامر کے والد کا اپنی بیوی کے علاوہ کوئی ہمایتی نہ رہا۔ ”صوبے کا ہر درخت میرا مدرسہ ہے، تم کتے مدرسے بند کرو گے“؟

165. Maj. Amer’s father was abandoned by everyone except his wife. He declared that every tree in the province was his “madrassa” (religious seminary) and challenged the government to close down all during the government crackdown (November 02, 2017).

166- وہ تو فیصلہ آ گیا ورنہ آکسفورڈ اور ہارورڈ ہمارے نیب کی "سے نو ٹو کرپشن" اپنے نصاب میں شامل کرنے نکلی تھی۔ کتاب سستی اور موبائل مہنگا نہ ہوتا۔ لائبریریاں اجڑی اجڑی نہ ہوتی۔ آج دھمکیاں دیتا ٹرمپ تو ہم سے خوفزدہ تھا۔

166. The judgement was passed on Nawaz Sharif's case and as a result, he was dismissed, otherwise the universities of Harvard and Oxford were about to include NAB's booklet "Say No to Corruption" in their syllabi. In that event, books would not have been cheap and cell phones expensive; libraries would not have been deserted. A threatening Trump today was scared of us during those days. (The writer is writing tongue-in-cheek.) (September 28, 2017)

167- نواز شریف آرمی چیف سے لڑ چکا ہے۔ میڈیا کو سبق سکھا چکا، اب؟ پانامہ باہر سے آیا ہے، جے آئی ٹی سپریم کورٹ نے بنائی۔ بادشاہ کا جرم، جرموں کا بادشاہ ہوتا ہے۔

167. Nawaz Sharif has been on cross purposes with the army chief. He has taught media a lesson. Now what? Panama Leaks happened outside Pakistan. It is the Supreme Court that has made a JIT (joint investigation team). A king's crime is the king of all crimes (July 17, 2017).

168- تبدیلی کا عمل شروع ہو چکا ہے، یاد رکھو جب کوئی سیکھنا چھوڑ دے، خود کو پرفیکٹ سمجھیں تو پھر بیگنگ ٹو اینڈ کا ہونا لازمی ہے۔ جے آئی ٹی کے بعد ابھی کچھ مرحلے باقی ہیں۔

168. The process of change has started. If someone considers himself perfect and stops learning then it is the beginning of his end. There are some stages of accountability left after JIT (July 10, 2017).

169- کاش آج دانی صاحب زندہ ہوتے تو دو چار حضرات جو جانے کا نام نہیں لے رہے، ان کا ڈاکٹر دانی سے سٹ پنچہ کروا دیتا۔ یوں ملک و قوم مزید ٹمپرنگ سے بچ جاتے، جے آئی ٹی کا کام جلد سمٹ جاتا اور قطری کہانی کا برہم رہ جاتا۔

169. I wish Mr. Dani were alive today. I would have asked him for a high five with those few people who were not willing to leave their seat (Dr Dani had claimed that whichever ruler he shook hands with was deposed). This would have spared the country from further "tampering", allowed JIT to pack up its work quickly and afforded the Qatari story some face-saving (July 06, 2017).

170- کوریا کی سابق صدر نے شعلہ بیانی نہیں کی جیسے کے مخصوص ایجنڈا کی فیکٹریاں بند کرو ورنہ میں سب کچھ سب کو بتا دوں گی - تاریخ رقم تو سپین میں ہوئی جہاں عدالت نے وزیر اعظم سے کہا کہ "وزیر اعظم بن کر نہیں، ایک عام آدمی بن کر عدالت میں آنا" -

170. The disgraced South Korean president did not deliver a fiery speech. She did not say that propaganda machines against her should close down otherwise she would expose everyone. History was made in Spain when the prime minister was told by the court to face the proceedings not as a prime minister but as an ordinary citizen (June 19, 2017).

Intertextual references: corruption, army, America and women

Bhatti makes four intertextual references. He comes across as extremely pro-army and defends its democratic credentials.

ii. Conceptual secondary code: COAS declares democracy to be the greatest power

Bhatti stands with the army against charges that it is out to undermine democracy. Answering the charge by Nawaz Sharif that democracy is at stake after his ouster, Bhatti writes that the army chief has repeatedly declared his support for a democratic dispensation and it is unfair to accuse the military of conspiring against democracy. He does not agree with the likes of Talat Hussain (E), Kamila Hayat (E) and Sohail Warraich (U) who see army's unholy alliance with the judiciary to oust Nawaz Sharif. In a rather emotional style, Bhatti questions if NS can face a court set by the uneducated children of the nation, the helpless women who deliver their babies on boats and roadsides, masses who drink poisonous water and are victims of corruption? Like Najam (E), M. Ziauddin (E) and Hassan Nisar (U), he brings in notions of self esteem to explain the detrimental effects of corruption on a nation's psyche.

Like many other writers and commentators, Bhatti repeats the famously hilarious statement of Nawaz Sharif "If I am in possession of assets incompatible with my means, what is it to people"? Bhatti qualifies it by another of Nawaz Sharif's quotations that it's not accountability; it's a revenge. Talat Hussain (E) toes Nawaz Sharif's line in calling accountability an act of revenge. Bhatti, Hasan Nisar (U), Klasra (U), M. Ziauddin (E) and Durdana Najam (E) do not think that it is revenge.

Exposing the hypocrisy of the Pakistani society, Irshad Bhatti writes that the nation revered Fatima Jinnah, but, obeyed Gen. Ayub Khan. The nation loved Bhutto, but, bestowed Gen. Ziaul Haq with the titles of “mard-e-momin” and “mard-e-haq”. The people of Pakistan consider America a satan but covet the American visa all the same. Mosharraf Zaidi (E) puts the reverence for Fatima Jinnah in a slightly different way. He rightly claims that Ms. Fatima Jinnah “is more revered as she rests in her grave than she was when she was alive and challenging Ayub”. Kishwar Naheed (U) mentions Miss Fatima Jinnah with reference to Gen. Ayub and how he did not accord her the respect she deserved and how she was dignity personified.

Like all discourses so far, Irshad Bahtti relies on intertextuality for meaning. His views on different issues cannot be compartmentalized linguistically.

F. Hassan Nisar, *Jang*, p. 9. (From March 7, 2018 back to October 7, 1996)

i. Initial abstractions

171+172 - انصاف عام ہو۔ احتساب عام ہو۔ عوام کی شرکت یقینی بنائی جائے۔ احتساب تو نہیں، احتساب کے چرچے آج کل بہت عام ہیں۔ کیا جینین احتساب ہوگا؟ یا یہ احتساب بھی ہائی جیک ہو جائے گا؟ احتساب ہو، اور بے حساب ہو۔ کہیں ایسا تو نہیں کہ حکمران طبقات کرپشن اور لوٹ مار کی اس انتہا پر بڑھتے ہوئے عوامی غصے کے غبارے سے کچھ ہوا نکالنے کے لیے احتساب کے ڈرامے کے لیے اسٹیج کی تیاری میں مصروف ہیں تا کہ جعلی احتساب کا کھلونا عوام کے ہاتھوں میں دے کر دونوں ہاتھوں سے ملکی وسائل کی لوٹ مار کا عمل مزید چند سال جاری رہے گا۔

171+172. There should be justice for all. There should be accountability for all. The masses should take part in running the country. There seems to be more pretence of accountability than the actual thing. Will accountability be “hijacked”? Is it just a drama staged by the ruling elite to puncture the balloon of the public anger against the extreme rise of corruption while the corrupt elite want to continue plundering the country for a few more years? (March 07, 2018 [first published October 7, 1996]).

173. تمام تر احتسابی شور کے باوجود ظلم و شیطانی کا یہ سفاکانا سلسلہ رکتا دکھائی نہیں دیتا۔ یہ با اثر پاکستانی تو اُن تاتاریوں سے بھی گئے گزرے ہیں جنہوں نے بغداد کو خاک اور خون میں نہلا دیا تھا۔

173. Despite the uproar regarding the accountability drive, the cold-blooded satanism does not seem to stop. Tartars of Baghdad pale in comparison with the ruling elite of Pakistan (March 02, 2018).

174. نواز شریف نے ایک بار پھر بُغض، غصہ اور انتقام کی بات کی ہے۔ یہ بتائیں اس کے اسباب کیا ہیں؟ اسٹیبلشمنٹ کی ایسی خالص پیداوار اور اس کا چہیتا، لاٹلہ۔ آمر جنرل ضیاء الحق کے مشن کی تکمیل کی آپ قسمیں کھاتے تھے۔ حقیقی حکمرانوں نے آپ کو بلینک چیک اور لائسنس ٹو کل دیئے رکھا تھا۔ ملکی وسائل کے ساتھ بے رحمانہ ٹیمپرنگ کی۔

174. Once again Nawaz Sharif talks about revenge, prejudice and anger against him. He needs to spell out the causes for it. He has been groomed by the establishment. He was their blue-eyed boy. He was pampered like no other. He had promised to fulfil the mission of the dictator Gen. Ziaul Haq. The real rulers had given him full immunity. He mercilessly robbed the country's resources (February 24, 2018).

175. جب نواز شریف عمومی طور پر کرپٹ ثابت ہو جائے گئے تو کسٹم میڈیا، یا ڈھیٹ ہی ساتھ رہ جائے گا۔

175. When Nawaz Sharif is proved to be completely corrupt, only the "custom media" or the very obstinate will keep supporting him (February 23, 2018).

176. نواز شریف بدترین آمریت کی گود میں پلے بڑے۔ کیا ہم نے نواز شریف کے تین سو ارب بچانے کا ٹھیکہ لے رکھا ہے۔ کھاتے بھی بہت ہیں غراتے بھی بہت ہیں۔ ایسے چور جو کہ کوتوالوں کو ڈانٹتے ہیں۔

176. Nawaz Sharif was nurtured by the worst dictatorship. Are we bound to defend his Rs 300 billion? He plundered mercilessly and is now growling at those who have come to take him to task (February 22, 2018).

177. کوئی بیانیہ شیانہ نہیں ہے۔ ملکی وسائل نچوڑنے کا ایک ذریعہ ہے۔ یہ حکمران قدیم عربوں جیسے ہیں جو زندہ جانوروں کے جسموں سے گوشت کے ٹکڑے کاٹ لیتے تھے۔ لوٹی ہوئی دولت باہر سے اندر صرف اسی صورت میں آ سکتی ہے جب سعودی شہزادوں کی مانند مقامی شہزادوں کو بھی اندر کر کے باہر سے تالے لگا دیئے جائے۔ "اگر میرے اساسے میری آمدن سے زیادہ ہے تو تمہیں کیا؟"

177. Nawaz Sharif has no narrative. It is simply a way to squeeze the country's resources. The corrupt transferring money abroad are like the yesteryears' Arab rulers who would chop pieces of meat off the bodies of living animals. There is only one

way in which the looted money can be brought back and that is to adopt the strategy of locking up the local princes like the Saudis princes and forcing them to pay up. Nawaz Sharif asks “If my assets exceed my income, then what has it got to do with you”? (February 19, 2018).

178 - سازشی اشرفیہ نے طے کر رکھا ہے کہ صرف اتنے فیصد کو ایجوکیٹ کرنا ہے جس سے روز مرہ کا کام چلتا رہے۔ موزی ترین امراض کا صرف اور صرف ایک ہی علاج ہے تعلیم۔ جنرل ضیاء الحق کی پیداوار پی سی او کے طعنے دے رہی ہے۔ اس جمہوریت کی دوسری پہچان پانامہ اور اقامہ ہے۔

178. The conspiring elite allows only a tiny section get educated for running the government. There is only one solution for the country’s problems and that is education for all. The political progenies of Gen. Ziaul Haq are taunting others about the PCO (Provisional Constitutional Order). Another name for this democratic dispensation is “Aqama-Panama” democracy (February 17, 2018).

179 - سوا پانچ لاکھ گریجویٹ بے روزگار ہیں۔ نواز شریف دن رات "مجھے کیوں نکالا" کے ورد میں مصروف ہیں۔ ایلٹ کا فیوریٹ تکیہ کلام ہے "جمہوریت چلتی رہنی چاہیے"۔ مطلب ملکی وسائل کی لوٹ مار جاری رہنی چاہیے۔ پی ایچ ڈیز بے روزگار پڑے رہنے چاہیں۔

179. There are more than half a million graduates unemployed in Pakistan. Nawaz Sharif keeps repeating day in and day out “Why was I dismissed”? The elite keep repeating: “[d]emocracy should continue” which can be translated into “[t]heft of the country’s resources should continue”. PhDs need to remain unemployed (said sarcastically) (January 24, 2018).

180 - جن کی آرام دہ گود میں بیٹھے، پروان چڑھے، ان ہی کی داڑھیوں سے چیڑ چھاڑ شروع کر دی۔ جب تک انہیں جعلی ہونے کا احساس رہا یہ چھڑی کے اشاروں کے عین مطابق ہی بیو کرتے رہے۔ اور گڈ بی بی کے مقام پر فائز رہے۔

180. He (Nawaz Sharif) started mocking at the elements (army) who politically nurtured him. As long as he kept in mind that he was not a hardcore politician, and behaved according to the baton commands, he remained in their good books (January 05, 2018).

Intertextual references: corruption, army, education

There are three intertextual references that form Nisar's columns discourse. He writes like a frustrated man as he publishes one of his articles after thirty-two years and points out with a heavy heart that unfortunately nothing has changed in the country.

ii. Conceptual secondary code: Nawaz Sharif groomed by the "real rulers"

Nisar wonders whether this is "genuine" accountability going on or just a drama to address the masses' rising anger against corruption. He is very clear about Nawaz Sharif's past links with the army and in doing so, reminds his readers who the "real rulers" are. Talat Hussain (E) and Hoodbhoy (E), Cook (E), Warraich (U), Nusrat Javed (U) and Saleem Safi (U) would all agree with Nisar when he calls them the "real rulers" meaning thereby that army has the real power. Hamid Mir, however, calls the general public as the real rulers of the country.

Hassan Nisar (U), Sohail Warraich (U), Rauf Klasra (U) and Irshad Bhatti (U) all opine about corruption and the anti- corruption drive in an emotional way. Except for Warraich (U) who tends to agree with Kamila Hayat (E) that corruption may not be the biggest issue this country is facing and rather it is the imbalance between the army and the civilian leaders that should hold the entire nation's attention, all four consider corruption to be the root cause of all ills. Hassan Nisar in a somewhat graphic manner, declares the corrupt leaders of Pakistan to be worse than the ancient Arabs who skinned animals alive.

In tandem with Rauf Klasra (U), Kishwar Naheed (U), Chris Cook (E), Zubeida Mustafa (E) and Mosharraf Zaidi (E), for Nisar the only way out of the country's problems is education. Nisar (U) and Cook (E) both point to the same thing by writing that only a fraction of the population is allowed to get educated so that the government can be run. Hassan Nisar writes in Urdu but he cuts through the language boundaries and agrees with writers from the English side on many of the issues.

4.4.3.1 Doxastic codes in the discourse of corruption as abstracted through a constant comparative process. The discourse on corruption is pervaded by its overt connection to Pakistan army. The six codes abstracted from the sixty articles are as follows:

“Omnipresent establishment judiciary’s last bastion of support”- Talat Hussain- (E)

Army uses corruption as “arm twisting”-Durdana Najam- (E)

Nawaz Sharif’s “royal bother”- M. Ziauddin- (E)

“COAS declares democracy to be the greatest power” -Irshad Bhatti-(U)

Nawaz Sharif groomed by the “real rulers”- Hassan Nisar- (U)

“Swiss banks filled with civil- military rulers’ illegal money”- Rauf Klasra- (U)

All the above six doxastic codes on corruption are abstracted through a constant comparative process that is inherent to the grounded theory method. Keeping the aim of the current project in view, these six doxastic codes on corruption illuminate the relationship between Urdu and English. All six codes are intertextual and are interdependent for meaning. Worton and Still (1990, p. 144) claim that a text is “not a self- sufficient whole”; it is not a “closed system”. No one columnist’s ten articles can make the meaning independently. They have to be read in conjunction with each other for the meaning to emerge. It can also be seen that all codes are similar in the sense that they all have one common frame of reference which is Pakistan Army. The debate on corruption is boundaried by the Pakistan military and how it is viewed by the media intellectuals. It is not being suggested that all writers make the same claims, but, firstly, that they use the same frame of reference and, secondly that whether two writers agree with each other or not, their discourse is dependent on each other and the others for meaning.

4.4.4 Education (English and Urdu columns)

A. Chris Cook, *The Express Tribune*, p. 7. (From May 31, 2018 backwards to May 26, 2017)

i. Initial abstractions

181. There are “no empirically researched facts” testifying to school children using drugs in Pakistan (May 31, 2018).

182. There seems to be “an improvement in teacher attendance” in Punjab (March 29, 2018).

183. A person can do a PhD on Pakistan’s “paradigm shift” regarding the country’s resolve on cleanliness (December 7, 2017).

184. There is “a shift in the power dynamic that exists between students and teachers” when students are allowed to organise functions. There was a “bridging of the gender gap” at Dominican Convent School in Bahawalpur. The new generation is entering a phase where there is a “paperless classroom”, a “bookless library” and “online homework assignments” (November 23, 2017).

185. My Pakistani wife was the only female in her family to be “educated beyond the primary level” (September 28, 2017).

186. The military and small to medium families are “respectable and decent people; they are educated pillars of the society” (August 17, 2017).

187. The people in power in Pakistan realized that “the best way to hold on to power was to prevent the lumpen proletariat from getting educated”. There is only a small number of people “functionally literate and have a gainful employment”. Not many women are “educated beyond primary” and have a job. The military “occasionally had to intervene to keep the ship head to wind” (July 6, 2017).

188. Most schools are set up in houses built on 10-15 marla plots. There are two on one road (June 8, 2017).

189. Brick kiln workers’ kids were “hollow-eyed” and suffering from “zinc deficiency” (June 1, 2017).

190. “Miles away there are happier children in another school. Noticeably better fed and undoubtedly well educated”. Poor children are “poorly nourished and frequently uneducated” (May 26, 2017).

Intertextual references: education, army, women

There are three references that Cook makes. This is the second area in which Cook's articles are abstracted. The first one is for the Pak-US relation. His articles are abstracted for their intertextuality. There are three references that he makes in these ten articles.

ii. Conceptual secondary code: "military families pillars of the society".

As these articles are mainly on education, Cook opines on the same. He is appreciative of the military in two ways. First, he calls military and middle-class families as educated pillars of society. He calls them respectable and decent people. Talking of military interventions, Cook (E) writes that the military had to intervene in order to keep the ship sailing. He is at odd with the likes of Saadia Gardezi (E), Kamila Hayat (E), Hamid Mir (U) and Warraich (U) who think otherwise.

Cook like Hassan Nisar (U) suggests that "the best way to hold on to power has been to prevent the lumpen proletariat from getting educated". He also mentions the deplorable condition of women's education in Pakistan. In this regard he writes that his wife was the only educated girl in her family. He also brings the reader's attention to the lack of education in women in Pakistan and the fact that they are "not gainfully employed". A convergence of views between Mosharraf Zaidi (E) and Kishwar Naheed (U) can be seen.

Cook draws a comparison between rich children and poor children. The former are "happier", well fed and well educated. Zubeida Mustafa (E) and Zubair Rehman (U) also make a comparison of poor and the rich children. Mustafa (E) makes the comparison in terms of the two languages English and Urdu. The poor rely on Urdu and miss out on English. This dims their chance of getting a good employment. Zubair Rehman points out that it is daughter of the poor man who is kidnapped, raped and even killed; the rich girls remain safe.

Cook is in favour of bridging the gender gap which is in opposition to what Ansar Abbasi advocates who wants a strict separation of genders. Kishwar Naheed (U) does not argue for a separation but calls for some decency in relationships between young boys and girls.

B. Zubeida Mustafa, *Dawn*, p. 7. (From March 16, 2018 back to July 07, 2017)

i. Initial abstractions

191. Balochistan's biggest tragedy is the "education emergency that grips it today". Islamabad and its own chieftains are responsible for it. They need to know that education cannot take place "under the shadow of guns" (March 16, 2018).

192. Dictatorial decisions are "flawed" as they are taken arbitrarily. Decisions in democracies should be based on critical thinking. Students in elite universities "live in a bubble". Some universities nowadays "restrict freedom of expression" (January 05, 2018).

193. "English is destroying our education system as well as destroying our indigenous languages". Pakistanis are "obsessed with English" (December 08, 2017).

194. "Our society is being bifurcated — those reading English books and the 'others' — the latter being the underprivileged majority". Children should be familiar with Urdu or their mother tongue and not just English (November 10, 2017).

195. Khan Sahib (working in *Dawn*) was a leftist and had "unlimited concern for education" and empowerment of women (December 13, 2017).

196. I felt that by not being able to save Zulfiqar, an educationist, from death gallows, I "failed the cause of education in Pakistan". Prisoners on death row take to teaching fellow prisoners and do not "despair" or become "anti-social" (October 27, 2017).

197. "The worldviews of English and Urdu are poles apart". Their social, cultural or literary values are different from each other. "Language barriers" have been made to exclude the poor from the seats of power (September 15, 2017).

198. Basic education is supposed to teach a person "critical thinking". This is important if democracy is to be made meaningful (August 04, 2017).

199. Health and education are "badly neglected" in urban slums (July 21, 2017).

200. Early marriages have an adverse impact on maternal health, the infant mortality rate, children's education, and empowerment of women and the future generations of Pakistan (July 07, 2017).

Intertextual references: education, army, women

Zubeida Mustafa's articles consist of three intertextual references. She weaves her discourse on education around army. As a woman she shows her concern for girls' education especially.

ii. Conceptual secondary code: "arbitrariness of military decisions stifles creativity"

There are three intertextual references that Zubeida Mustafa relies on in her columns: education, army and women. Zubeida Mustafa like most writers does not neglect to highlight the negative role of army in matters of education, too. Citing the case of Baluchistan, she points out that Baluchistan's biggest tragedy is the lack of education which can only be successfully imparted in a free environment and not under the shadows of guns. Another English writer Durdana Najam has good words for the army role in the same province. She claims that it is army alongwith police that is stopping Baluchistan from "withering".

Zubeida conjoins education with army like Pervez Hoodbhoy (E) but in a different context as shown in the following lines. Drawing a comparison of how education and research are done under dictatorship and democracy, she asserts that it is "unforgivable in a democracy to ignore critical thinkers, researchers"; it is dictatorships that allow for arbitrary decisions which are mostly flawed. Pervez Hoodbhoy (E) reminds us that the older curriculum produced a "militant, intolerant mind set" in an obvious reference to Gen. Zia. Kamila Hayat (E) suggests that the educational system in Pakistan "denies creativity". The children of Zia are different from their older generations. Najam (E) points out that neither the military rulers nor the civilian, did anything for education and the level is "dismally low". Klasra (U) in agreement with Cook (E), Zubair Rehman (U), Hassan Nisar (U) emphasize that educated masses do not suit the rulers whether military or civilian. Arifa Subah Khan (U) has the following to add to the debate: Pakistan's educational system is rampant with corruption and cheating and is unable to produce students who are patriotic. Kishwar Naheed (U) laments about the lack of space for students. Both Mostafa and Kishwar Naheed (U) remind their readers that the educational sector is receiving heavy foreign funding but still face issues. All education related issues are

underpinned by army's interference especially in Baluchistan. This interference curbs creativity whereas democracy helps to flourish it.

On women's education, Zubeida does not have good news for her readers. Like Zaidi (E) and Cook (E), Zubeida writes that early marriages ruin the health of mothers and infants and result in a high mortality rate in both.

C. Dr. Pervez Hoodbuoy, *Dawn*, p. 7. (March 31, 2018 back to December 03, 2016)

i. Initial abstractions

201. PhD professors are as corrupt as “corrupt politicians, generals and judges”. Hiring and firing in universities are done whether a candidate has “anti-establishment views” or not (March 31, 2018).

202. Dr Abdus Salam was a “child prodigy” who “rapidly out-paced his teachers”. He “rose to dizzying heights”. He told his colleagues, “[a]n equation for me has no meaning unless it represents a thought of God” (February 17, 2018).

203. “Our education rot is irreversible”. “The older curriculum helped create a militant, intolerant mind set”. It will take many years to produce “a more enlightened, less xenophobic generation” (November 25, 2017).

204. The ban on student unions has pushed “students towards apolitical substitutes creating further divisiveness”. The ban was set by Gen Ziaul Haq in the 1980s (November 04, 2017).

205. Some university professors are “activists”, “preachers”, “motivational speakers” and “jihadists” (Muslims who believe in taking up arms for religion) who propagate “conspiracy theories and jingoistic hype” (September 23, 2017).

206. Pakistani professors are “too busy to read books”. They spend their time “procuring PhD degrees for their students” instead (July 01, 2017).

207. A HEC meeting of VCs on “rising extremism in Pakistani campuses” (May 20, 2017).

208. Mashal Khan a university student was killed for being “an alleged blasphemer” (April 29, 2017).

209. “In Pakistan unlike in the “morally degenerate” West, wealthy people — even well-educated ones — steal from educational institutions” (December 24, 2016).

210. A mathematics professor claimed “mathematics was not to be trusted” (December 03, 2016).

Intertextual references: education, army

Hoodbhuoy’s discourse on education is boundaried by the role of Pakistan Army in it. He is extremely critical of this role.

ii. Conceptual secondary code: Academia jobs related to views on “establishment”

Hoodbuoy being a professor in an elite university in Islamabad, claims that hiring and firing in universities is dependent on candidates’ views on the establishment by which he means Pakistan Army. He links higher academia with the army. Like Zaidi (E) and Najam (E) he writes that the older curriculum was responsible for producing a “militant, intolerant mind set”. He is clearly referring to Gen. Zia’s times when the curriculum was Islamized with a conscious effort. Seconding Hoodbhoy, Najam (E) above writes that the older curriculum produced “a generation that learned intolerance”. Arifa Subah Khan (U) does not agree with this as she idealizes the patriotism instilled in the youth during the Zia days. Kamila calls this generation “the children of Zia”.

Like Kishwar Naheed (Urdu) and Kamila Hayat (English) he is worried about the rising extremism in some universities and blames among others professors whom he calls “jihadis”, preachers, etc. for it. Calling PhD professors as “corrupt politicians, generals and judges”, he claims they do not have the time to read books. Sarcastically he reminds us that we the morally upright East, steal from educational institutions unlike the “morally degenerate West”. This is something that Hayat also suggests. She sarcastically comments on this East and West divide by saying “Religion and tradition” keep us away from the “decadence” that is prevalent in the West. Zahida Hina (U) eulogizes the West for supporting Malala Yousafzai. Ansar Abbasi (U) is

very direct in condemning the West and opines that the East-West divide is extremely harmful for the Pakistani society. Klasra another Urdu writer agrees more with Zahida Hina (U) than Ansar Abbasi (U) when he exhorts his readers to read books written by Western writers. Klasra mentions books in connection with the army also when he writes that a certain Pakistani general got annoyed at a book written by an American. Klasra wants Pakistanis to read books and assess claims made by authorities.

Hoodbhoy supports the claim by Kishwar Naheed (U) and Zubair Rehman (U) that it was during Zia's time that a ban was imposed on students' unions and it continues to-date. It pushes students towards apolitical substitutes which is more harmful other than taking the voice away from the students.

D. Zubair Rehman, *Express Roznama*, p. 9. (From April 6, 2018 back to September 28, 2017)

i. Initial abstractions

211. انصاف کے وصول کے لیے یونیورسٹی کے طلباء احتجاج کرتے ہوئے جب سڑکوں پر نکل آئے تو پولیس نے ان پر تشدد بھی کیا اور گرفتار بھی - مذہبی جماعتیں ویسے تو خواتین کے خلاف ہر وقت تلوار لیے کھڑی ہوتی ہیں کہ پردہ کرو، حجاب کرو، بُرقہ پہنو، بال کھلے نہ رکھو لیکن جب ہزاروں خواتین اور لڑکیوں کے ساتھ ظلم و ستم ڈھایا جاتا ہے تو یہ مذہبی جماعتیں اور علماء خاموش ہو جاتے ہیں - رُوسہ اور اشرافیہ کی بیٹیاں کتنی محفوظ ہوتی ہیں، ان کے لیے بڑے گھر، سیکورٹی گارڈ ہوتے ہیں - محنت کشوں کی بیٹیاں روز اغوا ہوتی ہیں - زیادتی کا شکار ہوتی ہیں اور قتل بھی کر دی جاتی ہیں - مردوں کی حکمرانی والے معاشرے میں فٹ پاتوں، کھیل کے میدانوں اور ہوٹلوں میں خواتین کا جمع وغیر نظر نہیں آئے گا۔ وہ تو باورچی خانے اور دھوبی گھاٹ میں پہنسی ہوتی ہیں -

211. Police tortured and arrested students who were out on the roads demanding justice. Religious parties are in the forefront to force women to observe hijab, wear a burqa and keep their hair tied. But when cruelty is perpetuated against thousands of girls and women, these religious parties and "ulema" (religious scholars) remain silent. Daughters of the rich and the elite are very safe. They have big cars and security guards. Daughters of labourers are kidnapped frequently. They are raped and killed. In a patriarchal society, women can never crowd on footpaths, playing grounds or hotels. Instead they will be found stuck in kitchens or at a laundry outbuilding (June 04, 2018).

212. پاکستان کا جنگی بجٹ 930 ارب روپے ہے جبکہ تعلیم اور صحت کو اس کا 1.5 فیصد ملتا ہے -
 ٹرایا جاتا ہے کہ ہندوستان قبضہ کر لے گا - امریکہ ہمیں ایک ڈالر دے کر چودہ ڈالر لے جاتا ہے۔ پینٹاگان
 کے دفاعی بجٹ کو آج تک کانگریس میں زیر بحث نہیں لایا گیا۔

212. Pakistan's defence budget goes up to the tune of Rs. 930 billion whereas education and health get just 1.5%. They tell us that if we do not spend on defence, India would occupy us. America gives us one dollar and takes away 14. Pentagon's defence budget has never been discussed in Congress (March 06, 2018).

213 - ولی خان یونیورسٹی کی انتظامیہ نے اپنی کرپشن چھپانے کے لیے مشال خان کے خلاف جھوٹا اور
 مبالغہ آمیز پروپیگنڈا کیا۔

213. The administration of Wali Khan University carried out false and exaggerated propaganda against Mashal Khan in order to hide their own corruption (February 21, 2018).

214 - جنرل ضیاء الحق کے مارشل لاء کے دور میں طلباء تنظیموں پر پابندی عائد کر دی گئی تھی -
 اسمبلی ارکان ، جنرل ، نوکر شاہی اور اعلا افسران لاکھوں کروڑوں ہر ماہ بٹور رہے ہیں - دوسری جانب
 ریٹائرڈ سکول ٹیچر ، جن میں خواتین اساتذہ کی بڑی تعداد موجود ہے اور ان میں زیادہ تر بیوہ ہیں انہیں
 چار پانچ سال پنشن نہیں ملی۔

214. It was during Gen. Ziaul Haq's days that students' unions were banned. Parliamentarians, generals, bureaucrats are plundering in millions every month. On the other hand, retired teachers (many of them female and widowed) have not been paid pensions for the past four or five years (February 05, 2018).

215 - پانچ ماہ سے لیڈی ہیلتھ ورکرز کو تنخواہ ادا نہیں کی جا رہی ہے۔ ان کا کہنا ہے کہ ہمیں سڑکوں پر
 آئے بغیر تنخواہ نہیں ملتی۔

215. Lady health workers in Sindh are not been paid salaries for the past five months. They say that they are not paid their salaries unless they come out and protest on roads (December 28, 2017).

216. بالشویک انقلاب نے خواتین کو برابری کا درجہ دیا۔ پاکستان میں یونیورسٹی کے طالب علم مشال خان
 کو جھوٹے الزام کے تحت ایک بجوم نے بیمانہ قتل کر دیا۔ اکثر لڑکیاں اغوا ہوتی ہیں۔

216. Under the Bolshevik revolution women got an equal status. Mishal Khan, a university student was falsely accused and mob-lynched in Pakistan. There are cases of girls getting kidnapped frequently (November 28, 2017).

217 - اعلیٰ افسران ، وزراء ، جرنیل ، جج صاحبان اگر اربوں روپے ہڑپ کرتے ہیں تو انہیں جیل نہیں بھیجا جاتا بلکہ ملازمت سے برطرف ، "ڈی گریڈ" یا عدالت میں دو منٹ کھڑے رہنے کی سزا مل جاتی ہے - پاکستان میں ہر سال ہزاروں لڑکیوں کے ساتھ زیادتی ہوتی ہے ، آج تک کسی کو عمر قید نہیں ہوئی اور نہ ہی کسی مولانا نے اس کے خلاف احتجاجی جلوس نکالا - ایک نوجوان غریب لڑکی کو سر بازار برہنا کر کے گھوما جاتا ہے - کیا کبھی کسی جاگیردار کی بیٹی کے ساتھ ایسا ہوا ؟

217. High officials, ministers, generals and judges if found guilty in corrupt practices are not jailed, rather they are dismissed from service, demoted or asked to stand in the court for two minutes as a punishment. There are thousands of girls who are raped or molested in Pakistan every year but the culprits have never been sentenced to life imprisonment. There has not been any protest march from any cleric (maulana) against the molestation of girls. There has been a case involving a poor young girl stripped naked and paraded on the streets. Has this ever happened with a feudal lord's daughter? (November 22, 2017).

218 - عالمی طور پر امریکہ سامراج اپنے اتحادیوں کے ساتھ مل کر دنیا پر غلبہ حاصل کرنا چاہتا ہے - پاکستان میں صحت اور تعلیم اور ثقافت کو تجارت بنا دیا گیا ہے -

218. The imperial America along with its allies, wants to overpower the whole of the world. Education, health and culture have been turned into a business and restricted to a privileged few in Pakistan (November 19, 2017).

219 - 80 کی دہائی میں امریکہ کے آلہ کار بننا غلطی تھی ، وزیر خارجہ کا بیان - دہشت گردی کے پودے مدرسوں ، سکولوں ، یونیورسٹیوں ، امام بارگاہوں اور مسجدوں میں پنپ رہے ہیں - یکساں نظام تعلیم رائج کیا جائے ، مدرسوں کو مکمل طور پر سرکاری تحویل میں لے کر انہیں نئے نظام تعلیم کا حصہ بنایا جائے -

219. The Foreign Minister of Pakistan admits that it was a mistake to become America's tool in the 1980s. Potential terrorists are being raised in religious seminaries, schools, universities and mosques. Pakistan needs to adopt a uniform educational system. Religious seminaries need to be placed under the state control and their syllabus updated (October 05, 2017).

220 - پاکستان میں کرپشن رشوت بے روزگاری سب پر بات کرتے ہیں لیکن بچیوں کے ناحق قتل پر سب خاموش نظر آتے ہیں - یورپ اور امریکہ میں خواتین مرد اور دونوں ملازمت کرنے کے باوجود گھر پر آ کر خواتین ہی کھانا پکاتی ہیں -

220. Pakistanis like to discuss corruption, bribery and unemployment prevalent in the country but no one seems to notice the unjust killings of girls. In America and Europe, although men and women both work outside the home, it is the women who are in-charge of cooking for the family (September 28, 2017).

Intertextual references: education, army, women, America

Rehman makes four intertextual references to construct his argument. He is critical of the role of army in educational affairs.

ii. Conceptual secondary code: Gen Zia's ban on students' unions was harmful

Rehman mainly writes about the state of education in the country. Like Pervez Hoodbhoy (E), Rehman informs us that there have been cases of terrorists being raised universities and madarassas (religious seminaries). This is in the large part due to the extremism taught indirectly through text books. Students' unions were banned during Gen. Zia's days and this is the root cause of many of the miseries of students who have to come on the roads to get heard.

Rehman reminds us that parliamentarians, bureaucrats and generals loot and plunder but there is no money to pay teachers who have to protest on roads to get their salaries. Rehman's opinion tends to converge with Klasra (U) who too points to the corruption done by the higher ranks of the army.

Rehman laments the fact that religious parties which hound women to keep their head covered and not open their hair, are silent at the killing of a female university girl. This is somewhat similar to Mahir Ali's (E) castigation when he points out that the evangelical Mike Pence (US Vice President) is discourteous to the North Korean leader's sister. Rehman agrees with Zahida Hina (U) and Kamila Hayat (E) who are in favour of women wearing whatever they want to. Zaidi (E) in his articles seems to agree with the above writers and denounces the double standards in matters of clothing.

E. Ansar Abbasi, *Jang*, p.8. (From January 8, 2018 back to December 08, 2016)

i. Initial abstractions

221 - تعلیم کے ساتھ تربیت اور کردار سازی کا کام ہماری تعلیمی اداروں میں جلد از جلد شروع ہو۔ اس سے نہ صرف ہماری نسلیں بلکہ ہمارے مستقبل بھی محفوظ ہوگا۔

221. Along with education there should be grooming and character- building classes in our educational institutions. It will not only save our generations but will secure our future also (January 08, 2018).

222 - پاکستان کے مسلمانوں کو پراگریسیو اور لیبرل بنایا جا رہا ہے تاکہ امریکہ اور یورپ کسی طرح خوش ہو جائے۔ لیکن جو مرضی کر لیں اسلام کو بھلایا نہیں جاسکتا۔ کوئی پوچھے ناچ گانے کا ہماری ثقافت سے کیا تعلق ہے کہ سکولوں میں بچوں کو اب میوزک اور رقص سکھایا جائے گا؟ اگر یہ کلچرل کسی کا تھا تو وہ اس مخصوص طبقہ جس کا تعلق حسن سے بازاروں سے ہوتا تھا۔ اور جس کو معاشرہ کبھی اچھی نگاہ سے نہیں دیکھتا تھا۔

222. Pakistani Muslims are being made progressive and liberal in order to please America and Europe. But such forces will never succeed come what may. What has dance and singing got to do with our culture that they will be taught at the school level? This culture belonged to the red-light district, the residents of which were never accorded any respect by the society (December 28, 2017).

223 - کے پی کے کے تعلیمی اداروں میں طلباء کی کردار سازی کے لیے کام اسلامی اصولوں کے مطابق شروع ہو گیا ہے۔ ن لیگ اپنے آپ کو پی پی پی کی طرح روشن خیال اور لیبرل ثابت کرنے کی خواہاں ہے۔

223. KP's educational institutions have started working on character building as per Islamic injunctions. N-League wants to prove itself liberal and secular like the PPP (December 07, 2017).

224 - تعلیمی اداروں میں اخلاقیات کی تعلیم دینے کے ساتھ ساتھ میڈیا کے ذریعے مہم چلائی ہوگی۔ ہمارے تعلیمی نظام میں تربیت اور شخصیت سازی کا اہم ترین عنصر بالکل غائب ہو چکا ہے۔

224. Along with teaching character building in educational institutions as per Islam, there is a need to run a campaign on the media also. The most important element of grooming and character building is missing in our educational system (July 03, 2017).

225. فوج کی مداخلت سے روکنا ہے تو پھر جمہوریت کے حسن کا مزہ اعوام کو چکنا ہوگا۔ تعلیم اور صحت کی بہترین سہولتیں ہر پاکستانی کو مہیا کرنا ہوں گی۔ کرپشن رشوت ستانی سے جان چھوڑانی ہو گی۔ جب لوگ جمہوریت سے تنگ آتے ہیں تو فوج کو یاد کرنے لگتے ہیں۔

225. If we want to stop military interventions and let people benefit from democracy, we need to provide education and health to every Pakistani. It is easy but unfair to blame only the army for the repeated takeovers. Civilians are to be blamed also. When people get tired of this kind of democracy, they start yearning for a military rule (May 04, 2017).

226. کے پی کے میں سکولوں میں قرآن پاک کا ترجمہ ہر مسلمان طالب علم کو لازمی پڑھایا جائے گا۔ وفاق کے سکولوں میں قرآن پاک کی لازمی تعلیم کے لیے ضروری اقدامات اٹھائے جائیں۔ بیمار میڈیا کے خیال میں صفائی کو نصف ایمان کی حد تک پڑھنا پڑھانا تو ٹھیک ہے۔ شدد پسند اور نفرت کی بنیاد پر قتل و غارت، فرقہ واریت اور دوسری غلط رسوموں اور رواجوں کو ختم کرنا ہے۔ عورتوں اور اقلیتوں کے حقوق، فراڈ، جھوٹ، دھوکہ، ملاوٹ، شراب نوشی، فحاشی اور عرنائیت اور دوسری معاشرتی برائیوں کو ختم کرنا ہو گا۔ ہمیں اپنے بچوں کو قرآن اور حدیث سمجھ کر پڑھانے ہونگے۔

226. KP schools have made the study of the Holy Koran with translation compulsory for every Muslim student. The federal government should do the same. The morally sick media think that the Muslim faith consists of only “cleanliness is next to godliness” kind of injunctions and nothing else. Through a thorough understanding of the Holy Koran and Hadith we can teach the perils of extremism, alcoholism, cheating, adulteration, nudity, vulgarity, violation of women rights and other social evils (February 09, 2017).

227. کہنے کو تو ہم ایک اسلامی ریاست ہیں۔ ہمارا آئین بھی اسلامی ہے لیکن میڈیا کو دیکھیں تو محسوس ایسا ہوتا ہے جیسے ہم ایک مغربی معاشرہ ہیں جس کا شرم و حیا سے دور دور سے بھی واسطہ نہیں۔ ہمارے ہاں سکولوں اور کالجوں میں تربیت سے مکمل طور پر لاتعلقی اختیار کی جا چکی ہے۔

227. We claim to be a Muslim country. Our Constitution is based on Islam but when one looks at media it seems that we are a Western society where people are not

bothered about modesty. There is no concept of grooming or character building in our educational institutions (January 26, 2017).

228 - ایک طرف سکول و کالج کا روشن خیالی کا ماحول تو دوسری طرف بے رحم ریاست میں ٹی وی اور انٹرنیٹ کو بھی مشاعرے میں بے ہودگی پھیلانے کے لیے کھلی چھوٹ دے رکھی ہے۔ مخلوط نظام تعلیم کو ریاستی سطح پر بڑھاوا دیا جا رہا ہے جس کی وجہ سے لڑکے لڑکیوں کی دوستیاں چھوٹی چھوٹی عمروں میں ہونا اور عشق اور محبت کرنا اب تو عام سی بات سمجھی جاتی ہے۔

228. Liberal mindedness is being promoted in schools and colleges. Alongwith it, the merciless state has given a free hand to TV channels and the internet to promote vulgarity. Co-education is being promoted at the state level which is leading to teenage love affairs. It is now considered a normal occurrence to fall in love and date at a young age (January 19, 2017).

229 - سندھ حکومت لبرل ازم کے جنون میں جو کچھ کر رہی ہے وہ انتہائی فکرمند عمل ہے۔ پنجاب میں قرآن پاک کو مسلمان طلباء کو پڑھانے پر غور ہو رہا ہے۔

229. Sind's frenzied approach to promote liberalism is worrisome. Punjab is considering teaching the Holy Koran to Muslim students (December 15, 2016).

230 - ہمارے وزیر اعظم نواز شریف نے قائد اعظم یونیورسٹی کے شعبہ طبیعیات کا نام عبدالسلام سینٹر آف فیزکس رکھنے کی منظوری ربیع الاول کے مہینے میں ہی کیوں دی؟

230. What one cannot understand is why our Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif chose the holy month of Rabiul Awal (the month in which the Prophet Muhammad [peace be upon him] was born) for naming the educational centre at QAU after Dr Abdus Salam. (Dr Abdus Salam, an Ahmadi and a non-believer in the finality of Prophethood was allegedly colluding with the CIA against our nuclear bomb.) (December 08, 2016).

Intertextual references: education, America, women, army

Ansar Abbasi incorporates three more discourses in his articles on education: army, America and women. The intertextuality helps in connecting the meaning embedded in his work.

ii. Conceptual secondary code: “Improving education can stop people yearn for military rules”

Ansar Abbasi is frequently referred to in secondary code conceptualization of many writers above. In his articles conceptualized here, he makes a link between education and democracy like Zubeida Mustafa (E). He writes that people in Pakistan yearn for military take over when they are deprived of basic facilities like education and health. Zubeida Mustafa (E) points out that it is critical thinking and research that separates dictatorships from democracies.

Ansar Abbasi talks about Pakistan’s educational system but blames the West for the problems that we face in the field of education. Hoodbhoy (E) on the other hand, holds Gen. Zia responsible for the downfall. Abbasi Abbasi lays premium importance on grooming students along with giving them bookish knowledge. Ansar Abbasi denounces the fact that music and dance (a red-light area practice) being made a part of our new syllabus to please America and Europe. It is akin to transforming us into “liberals” and “progressives”. There is another writer (Durdana Najam writing in English) also who talks about the appeasement shown towards the US but it is in the context of giving America concessions in the Afghan war.

Kishwar Naheed (U) though does not support the change in syllabus, points out the importance of the movie culture in a society when she writes that the cinema authority in Pakistan kept “sobbing” during the Zia era. She is supported in this opinion by Kamila Hayat (E) and Pervez Hoodbhoy (E) who talk about the importance of cultural events in a nation’s life. Ansar Abbasi and Kishwar Naheed (U) agree that TV programs indulge in sensationalism though Ansar Abbasi goes a step further and suggests that they promote vulgarity also.

Ansar Abbasi’s views are similar as well as different to those of other writers (English and Urdu) selected for this study. The strong element of intertextuality helps to make the nuances of the meaning clear and contextualized.

F. Kishwar Naheed, *Jang*, p. 7. (From April 4, 2018 back to April 14, 2017)

i. Initial abstractions

231 - میں مغلوں کی حامی نہیں کیونکہ وہ مقبرے بناتے رہے، کوئی یونیورسٹی نہیں بنائی - مسجدوں کو اگر تعلیم کے فروغ کے لیے بنایا ہوتا تو پاکستان کے دیہات کے ۵۳ فیصد بچے ان پڑھ نہیں ہوتے اور عورتوں کو ووٹ دینے سے منع نہیں کیا جاتا - ضیاء الحق کے زمانے سے اب تک نہ تاریخ پڑھائی جاتی ہے نہ جغرافیہ -

231. I do not support the Mughal kings because they made mausoleums instead of universities. If mosques had been used for spreading education, Pakistan's 53% village children would not have remained illiterate. Women would not have been barred from voting. Since the times of Zia neither history is taught nor geography (April 18, 2018).

232 - لاہور فیسٹیول میں ایک امریکی رہنما کہہ رہا تھا اُمہ کا لفظ بے معنی ہے - ہم کہتے رہ جائیں گے کہ 2.5 کروڑ بچے سکول نہیں جاتے - NAFDEC ضیاء الحق کے زمانے میں بھی سسکتا رہا - کڑاھی کلچر سے کتاب کلچر ہے نئی کلچر پالیسی - چینی زبان اور رقص سیکھائی جائے گی - لیکن کونسی تہذیب : سڑک پر روڑے کوٹنا ، گوٹھ کے تالاب میں کپڑے دھونا اور ساتھ ساتھ جانوروں کا پانی پینے کی تہذیب یا گھونگٹ نکالنے والی عورت کی تہذیب ؟ آج کل بھی مرد بیوی کی کڈنی نکال کر اس لیے فروخت رہا ہے کہ وہ جہیز کم لائی ہے -

232. In Lahore Festival, an American politician said that the concept of Ummah did not encompass all Muslims around the world and had thus been rendered meaningless. We will be left with 2.5 million children out of school if things went on as they are. The condition of NAFDEC did not change during the Zia era. Is the new cultural policy going to promote "book culture" in place of "food culture"? Which culture are people talking about? The culture of veiled women breaking stones on roads or washerwomen washing clothes in a lake from where animals also drink water? Even today dowry-less brides have to compensate with their kidneys (March 09, 2018).

233- ضیاء الحق کے زمانے میں چوک پر پھانسی دی گئی - اس کے بعد کیا ہوا ؟ بچوں کے ساتھ زیادتی - ہم نے ایسے نوجوانوں کی نسل کی پرورش کی ہے جو استاد کو کلاس میں ذلیل کرنے کی کوشش کرتے ہیں - 2.5 کروڑ بچے سکول نہیں جاتے - ہر دفعہ کہا جاتا ہے کہ نصاب بدلے گا - دیہات میں بچوں کو صاف کپڑے جوتے اور بستے فراہم کرو - کہتے ہیں چینل بہت ہو گئے ہیں - انجام: بنا تحقیق، سنسنی خیز خبریں - بچوں اور عورتوں اور لڑکیوں کے ساتھ فیس بک سے لے کر فون اور شاپنگ سنٹر میں کیا کچھ نہیں ہوتا - ٹیچر کو نہیں معلوم کہ کس کو کیا پڑھانا ہے اور کون سی زبان میں پڑھانا ہے - طالب علم کے لیے پڑھائی عشق نہیں -

233. During Gen. Ziaul Haq's days, there were public hangings of child killers and this resulted in more such killings and rapes. We have nurtured a generation of youth who are out to insult their teachers. They cheat in exams and then prove themselves right through intimidation. The whole world is saying that 2.5 million children are out of school in Pakistan. It is said every time that the syllabus will be changed. We need to provide clean clothes, shoes and bags to village children. It is said that the more news channels we have the more information we will get. But most of these channels give sensational news without carrying out proper research. Women, girls and children are harassed in shopping malls and on Facebook. Teachers neither know what to teach, whom to teach or in what language. Students are not passionate about their studies either (February 02, 2018).

234 - تین ڈاکٹریٹ کرنے کے باوجود غریب بچوں کے لیے سکول کھولا - مشاعرے میں وہ شاعر بھی موجود تھے جن کے خلاف خواتین نے مظاہرے کئے تھے -

234. A person with three doctorates returns to Pakistan to establish schools for poor children. Poets against whom women had protested were also present in a certain poetry session (December 08, 2017).

235 - لاہور کے ٹی ہاؤس میں ضیاء الحق کے زمانے میں ادیب کم اور ایجنسیوں کے لوگ بڑھنے لگے - طالب علموں اور دانشوروں کے بیٹھنے کے لیے کوئی جگہ ہونی چاہیے - تدریسی اداروں میں دانش کا زور بڑھ رہا ہے - اب بچوں اور استادوں کو صرف کورس پڑھانے کی ذمہ داری دی جاتی ہے - اب تو نہ وہ محبت ہے جو کونلوں سے دیواروں پر شعر لکھے جاتے - اب تو شتر بے موہار کی طرح لڑکے اور لڑکیاں دوستی کے اس گھڑے میں گر جاتے ہیں جہاں سے واپسی صرف کتاب دے سکتی ہے -

235. During Zia's days, there would increasingly be more undercover intelligence officers than the number of poets in a literary gathering. There should be places where intelligentsia and students can go and mingle. Banned outfits are gaining ground in educational institutions. Teachers and students are only required to finish the course in the given time. The romance of yester years when lovers would write verses on walls with charcoal is dead. Now girls and boys fall into a pit of friendship from where only a book can bring them back (September 09, 2017).

236 - جب میں آٹھویں میں تھی ہر چھ ماہ بعد نیا نقشہ بنانا پڑتا تھا چونکہ وزیراعظم بدل جاتے تھے - یہی بدلنے بدلنے میٹرک پاس ہو گیا - محترم فاطمہ جناح جب ایوب خان کے مقابل الیکشن میں کھڑی ہوئی تو عورت کی توقیر ذہن میں جانگزیں ہوئی - پہلی دفعہ امریت کا لفظ سنا -

236. As an eight grader, I had to redraw the map of Pakistan every six months as rulers would change very frequently. During all this I cleared my Matric. When Fatima Jinnah fought elections against Gen. Ayub Khan, I realized the importance of a woman's dignity. It was then that I first came across the word "dictatorship" (August 18, 2017)

237- ہر روز غیرت کے نام پر قتل کا ایک نیا واقعہ ہوتا ہے - شرمین عبید کی فلم کا عنوان بھی یہ ہی ہے . ہماری عورتوں کو مردوں کے بجائے مغرب اور جاپان کی طرح رپورٹ ہی مل جائے تو زندگی آسان ہو جائے -

237. There is new case of honour killing daily. This is also the topic of Sharmeen Obaid's new film. Life would get easy if women in Pakistan got robots instead of men like in Japan and the West (August 04, 2017).

238 - وہ خود کیا پڑھتے ہیں اور استاد کیا پڑھاتے ہیں ؟ ویسے ہر نوجوان کے ہاتھ میں موبائل نظر آتا ہے لیکن سادہ سوالات کے جوابات نہیں دے سکتے - گلگت بلتستان کی مدحوم زبانوں کو زندہ رکھنے کے لیے کبھی اتالوی، کبھی فرانسیسی اور کبھی امریکی آ کر اپنے خرچے پر چھ ماہ رہتے ہیں - یہاں عرس پر لوگ چلے جاتے ہیں لیکن یہ نہیں جانتے کہ آخر اس بزرگ کی کیا کرامات تھیں - یہ لا علمی پورے برصغیر کو کہاں لے جائے گی -

238. One wonders what students study themselves and what their teachers teach them. Most youth carry mobiles in their hands all the time but are unable to answer simple questions. Linguists come all the way from America, France and Italy to work on our endangered languages of Gilgit Baltistan. They spend money out of their own pockets. People in the sub- continent attend a "Urs" (religious congregation at a saint's tomb) but are unaware of his supernatural powers. God knows where the Indian Sub-Continent will end up with this lack of knowledge (July 21, 2017).

239 - بی بی کی بیٹیو! ابھی پڑھیں خوب پڑھیں - ہمارے غیرت مند لوگ کس طرح لڑکیوں کو خرید کر دبئی اور دوسرے ملکوں میں بیچ آتے ہیں - ہمارے نوجوانوں کے پاس ڈگری ہے، نوکری نہیں ملتی، البتہ وزیر کے بھانجے کو فوراً نوکری مل جاتی ہے - 2.5 کروڑ بچے سکول نہیں جاتے - ماں گھر اور کھیت

کا کام کر کے گھر کے پلنگ پر بے سود سو رہی ہوتی ہے، بچے بھی مشقت کے بعد بھوکے سو جاتے ہیں۔

239. Benazir Bhutto's daughters should study further. Our so-called honourable people buy girls and sell them off in Dubai or other countries. Most of our educated youth remain unemployed. Only those get jobs who are related to some minister. There are 2.5 million children who do not go to school in Pakistan. Children working in workshops sometimes sleep hungry on their return home as their mothers are too tired to remain awake (June 02, 2017).

240 - ہر خاتون خوش تھی کہ اس کے بچے پڑھنے کے لیے سکول جا رہے ہیں - "پہلے ہمارے پاس سکول یونیفارم بنانے کے پیسے نہیں تھے کتابیں اور بستہ کیسے لیتے" - بچوں کے ساتھ ساتھ بچیوں میں تعلیم سے محرومی کے احساس کو ہمیشہ کے لیے ختم کر دیا جائے -

240. Village women were happy that their daughters were going to school (thanks to NGOs in their areas for the promotion of education). They said that previously they did not have the money to get uniform for the children let alone books or a school bag. This sense of deprivation of education in girls and boys should end for good (April 14, 2017).

Intertextual references: education, women, America, army

There are four intertextual references present in Kishwar Naheed's columns. The meaning making in her work is dependent on the interconnectedness of the various discourses present.

ii. Conceptual secondary code: "Snooping of literary gatherings under Gen. Zia"

Kishwar Naheed informs her readers that even literary gatherings were watched under Gen. Zia's days. She lays bare the controversies inherent in the society underpinning them by her comments on the army rulers. She demands that there should be place for students and intellectuals to sit together and share their ideas. This will help in grooming them as they are veering towards extremism. Kishwar bewails that youth are unable to answer simple questions about Islam.

Kishwar Naheed like Hoodbouy (E), Zubair Rehman (U) and others, voices concern about banned outfits gaining ground in educational institutions. Ansar Abbasi

(U) puts the fight against terrorism in a slightly different way by pointing out that Koran and Hadith teach about the perils of extremism, women rights, and other social evils and, therefore, they must be made compulsory. Like Ansar Abbasi (U), she bewails the fact that there is a focus on only finishing the course and not on any other aspect that would prepare students for the life ahead.

Naheed laments the state of education by saying that she is no fan of the Mughals who only made mausoleums and did not make any university. Two sisters in Morocco built a university and a mosque with their inheritance money. Ansar Abbasi (U) in his columns on education does not deliberate on the practical issues raised by Naheed. Like Zaidi (E), she informs us that there are 2.5 million school children out of school. Street schools are impractical as children may not be able to keep their eyes off street food vendors parked nearby. Cook (E), too, sketches a rather grim picture of poor children when he points out that they are sad looking and hollow eyed. Kishwar Naheed denounces honour killings as is done by Cook (E) and Zaidi (E).

Bringing in the army in yet another way, she reminds us that since the days of Gen. Zia, neither history nor geography is taught. Like Zaidi (E), Naheed mentions Ms. Fatima Jinnah's challenge to Gen Ayub Khan which increased the dignity of women.

4.4.4.1 Doxastic codes in the discourse of education as abstracted through a constant comparative process. There are six doxastic codes abstracted from the sixty articles (thirty English and thirty Urdu) in this section. The codes are given below once again:

“Military families pillars of society”- Cook (E)

“Arbitrariness of military decisions stifles creativity”- Zubeida Mustafa (E)

Academia jobs related to views on “establishment”- Hoodbhoy (E)

Gen Zia's ban on students' unions harmful- Zubair Rehman (U)

“Improving education can stop people yearning for military rules”- Ansar Abbasi (U)

“Snooping of literary gatherings under Gen. Zia”- Kishwar Naheed (U)

4.4. 5 Women (English and Urdu columns)

A. Mosharraf Zaidi, *The News*, p. 7. (From April 3, 2018 back to February 16, 2016)

i. Initial abstractions

241. Pakistanis revere women after “they die fighting misogyny”. Asma challenged “people with guns”. The mother of the nation, Ms. Fatima Jinnah “is more revered as she rests in her grave than she was when she was alive and challenging Ayub”. Moreover, “misogyny has rested uncomfortably deep inside the social, economic and political food chains for thousands of years” in this society (April 3, 2018).

242. “Poor and illiterate” is how one can describe a large number of Pakistani women. The children who manage to go to school “fare so poorly” that people question about the need for sending them to schools at all (February 27, 2018).

243. Asma Jahangir stood up for the weaker segment’s rights. Pakistan’s military is “addicted to short-termism and tactical thinking”. Pakistani students are taught from textbooks “designed to sustain fairy tales” that exclude people like Bacha Khan (February 20, 2018).

244. Trump ban on Muslims will “launch a thousand narratives of victimhood, of seething rage, and of hatred”. Pakistanis want America to honour “its first amendment to protect the rights of our sisters in Islam, wear hijab and be able to pray safely” but we handed over Sharbat Gulla, an Afghan woman living in Pakistan. Ronald Regan’s “buckets of cash” prompted his “wild puppies” to make us better Muslims (January 31, 2017).

245. The “highly educated, urbane, liberal Pakistanis” talking about honour killing of an actress Qandeel Baloch say that she was spreading “vulgarity and obscenity”; she was “so indecent”; “she brought it upon herself” and finally, she “deserved” it. Pakistanis breathe “misogyny, moral relativism and elitism” (July 19, 2016).

246. “No one sang national songs quite the way Benjamin sisters”. Some Pakistanis “respond with pictures of children killed in drone strikes in the tribal areas” to pictures of American school children killed as a result of mass shootings (March 29, 2016).

247. Sharmeen Obaid's film is about "the mind-set that enables a father to try to kill his own daughter". "Language is perhaps the most powerful form of discrimination". The Urdu word "ghairat" does not adequately gets translated into English "honour". The "whataboutery on honour killings" is done by people who include "sane and seemingly decent members of the English-language opinion set" (March 15, 2016).

248. It is difficult to demarcate the boundaries of liberal or conservative, moderate or extreme in Pakistan. One way is to call it "a divide between reasonable, pro-state, pro-rule of law, and at least marginally liberal Pakistanis on one side, and a horde of unreasonable, angry, violent, hateful, illiberal Pakistanis on the other". People reacted to Sharmeen Obaid-Chinoy's Oscar win with "red-hot rage". Most mainstream religious parties voiced their "distrust of the efforts to protect women from tribal violence and brutality" (March 8, 2016).

249. Sharmeen Obaid Chinoy's Oscar win has compelled the Pakistani state to make laws that stop "the devious and evil cultural practice of killing human beings in the name of honour". She is being labelled as "the champion of obscenity" (March 1, 2016).

250. The writer's friend's maternal grandmother has died "after a long life of giving life to others, of inspiring her family and friends, of just staying alive. A long, rich, full life over" (February 16, 2016).

Intertextual references: women, army, education, America

Mosharraf Zaidi's ten articles are characterized by three references which are all intertextual.

ii. Conceptual secondary code: "Fatima Jinnah more revered dead than alive challenging Gen. Ayub"

Mosharraf Zaidi employs an intertextual approach in his columns like the rest above. He argues that it is a pity that Pakistani women are revered after "they die fighting misogyny". Ms. Fatima Jinnah is revered more after her death than when she was challenging Gen. Ayub Khan. Zaidi and Kishwar Naheed (U) both mention Ms. Fatima Jinnah in connection with her emancipatory role by challenging Gen. Ayub.

Zaidi does not mince words to paint a rosy picture of Gen. Ayub Khan's era and points out his maltreatment of the sister of the founder of Pakistan's sister. Zahida Hina (U) does not mention Fatima Jinnah but highlights the role of women struggle in politics in the absence of the men folk.

Zaidi like many others across the language divide eulogizes Asma Jahangir who stood up to people with guns. Mina Malik (E) calls her a "lion heart". Sohail Warraich (U) and Zahida Hina (U) lament her death and recall her struggle for women's rights during the martial law of Gen. Zia.

Zaidi denounces the hypocrisy prevalent in the English-speaking class regarding honour killing in the context of a social media star Qandeel Baloch. She was killed by her brother because she was bringing a bad name to the family. He calls it the "whataboutery on honour killings". He is shocked that even the "sane and seemingly decent members of the English-language opinion set" can justify an honor killing. Zubair Rehman (U) however, brings another pertinent angle to the discussion of honour killing when he writes that no "maulvi" (religious cleric) raises his voice for the victims.

Zaidi and Cook (E) before him, calls the majority of women in Pakistan as "illiterate and poor". Pointing out another hypocrisy Zaidi writes that people want Americans to honour the first amendment and allow Muslim women too observe hijab and deport anyone, but Pakistan deported an Afghan woman living in Pakistan for decades. The hypocrisy in demands made by the West is also alluded to by Rauf Klasra (U) and Saleem Safi (U) above.

B. Mina Malik, *The Nation*, p. 7. (From April 30, 2018 back to January 23, 2018)

i. Initial abstractions

251. Men "don't see women as people like them, with emotions and desires and reactions, but just objects there for the taking" (April 30, 2018).

252. The #metoo movement is also an answer to those "halfwits" who wonder as to why "women don't speak up about harassment the very instant it happens". There is

so much frequent women harassment going on that they have developed “Advanced Ignore Skills” (April 16, 2018).

253. It was Irina Dunn, an Australian who said that “a woman needs a man like a fish needs a bicycle”. South Asian men think that it’s a given that their wives will move with them wherever their career takes them (April 10, 2018).

254. Women cycling on roads was “fabulous”. “The rally wasn’t to create a rumpus, merely to gather in solidarity and reclaim the roads as cycling is quite an ordinary act” (April 02, 2018).

255. “A friendly guard helped me with my pram”. Another exhibition at Lawrence Gardens was visited by both men and women (March 26, 2018).

256. Some posters from this year’s women march celebrating International Women’s Day include “No Gender Roles, Only Paratha Rolls” (a Pakistani oily rolled chappati) punning on “role” and “roll”. There was a “controversial” one too “addressing the men: heat your food yourself” (March 19, 2018).

257. There is an “onslaught of ridiculous lawn” as soon as summers begin in Pakistan (March 12, 2018).

258. Asma Jahangir’s death is “a terrible loss”. Her death is “no ordinary passing, because she was no ordinary woman”. “Thanks to the dictatorship of Ziaul Haq the eighties were a fraught time to be a lawyer, much less a political one, and a woman”. Asma along with WAF women protested Zia’s proposal to change the laws of evidence (February 12, 2018).

259. Men taking time off to look after their children are labelled as “heroes”. The women in the same situation are signed off with “a pained sigh”, “women’s problems”. There are many working environments which are still “not conducive to women” (January 29, 2018).

260. Why are government servants so “casually sexist in their language”? It is difficult to compete with “men’s club in any profession”. “It’s hard to find more gendered insults for men because most of our cursing energy is directed at women” (January 23, 2018).

Intertextual references: women, army

Mina Malik writes like a feminist and makes her discourse on women socially situated through intertextuality.

ii. Conceptual secondary code: “Nineteen eighties a fraught time to be a woman/ lawyer/ politician”

Mina Malik’s secondary code is conceptualized around the struggle of women during the 1980s when Gen. Zia’s martial law was at its peak. She brings in contemporary issues also but the pain of being a politically aware woman comes across her work very strongly. She wants to make Asma Jahangir synonymous with women’s struggle in Pakistan and as the high point of Asma’s struggle took place during the era of Gen. Zia, there would always be this connection between women’s struggle for their rights and Pakistan Army. Malik resonates with Warraich (U), Zaidi (E), Zahida Hina (U) and Kamila Hayat (E), in this regard.

Indicating that the struggle is far from over, Mina Malik further writes that men see women as “objects there for the taking”. This is something that is denounced by Zubair Rehman (U), Cook (E), Zaidi (E) and Ansar Abbasi (U). The only difference between Abbasi (U) and the others is that he wants to restrict women to certain professions to curb this tendency.

Like Kishwar Naheed (U), Mina Malik is supportive of women cycling on the roads and declares that reclaiming public space should be seen as nothing extraordinary. Zubair Rehman (U) above, echoes the same feeling when he bemoans the shrinking of public space for women.

On the issue of Women’s Day slogans, Kishwar Naheed (U) and Ansar Abbasi (U) both disagree with Mina Malik but in different ways. Mina is supportive of the slogans but Naheed (U) finds it all talk and no substance. Ansar Abbasi (U) as has been mentioned above find faults with the Women’s Day sloganeering. Women are harassed so often that they develop “Advanced Ignore Skills”. This is something that Cook (E) and Kishwar Naheed (U) also imply- there is a lot of harassment that is not reported.

C. Kamila Hayat, *The News International*, p. 7. (From April 26, 2018 back to July 27, 2017)

i. Initial abstractions

261. “Religion and tradition” keep from the “decadence” that is prevalent in the West. It is wrong to assume that women who are “pinched, groped or face sexual innuendos at their workplace, in educational institutions or in public spaces” ask for it in any way. Women are fighting harassment and it is “a positive sign” (April 26, 2018).

262. Women’s clothing, “their role in society” and how they are supposed to behave are determined by patriarchal societies. PTV once upon a time did not show any veil-draped woman which are now a “common a sight”. “Young women would wear T-shirts and jeans to the Karachi beach”. Women are mostly the focus of “moral judgments”. Religious groups protesting Valentine’s Day never protest atrocities against women like “rape, child abuse and domestic violence” (March 29, 2018).

263. Women were seen in public far more “without wearing veils – without any controversy” in the 1950s and 1960s. Political need to “truly empower women, minorities and other oppressed groups” (March 8, 2018).

264. Malala Yousafzai is “demonised” for having the “courage to speak out about her thoughts”. She wants women “to dress as they please” (February 1, 2018).

265. Corruption and rape are “favourite topics” for any discussion. Students in the 1960s and 1970s, idealised socialism. A “remorseless teenager” shot his teacher dead when he questioned about being absent from classes and attending a religious group’s sit-in. Malala Yousafzai is criticized for her decision to participate in an Indian event (January 25, 2018).

266. Not many nations would have “vilified” Malala Yousafzai like Pakistanis. There seems to be “something vicious and essentially brutish” in the Pakistani society. It was Gen. Zia who enforced public hanging for rape and gang-rape since the late 1970s when General Ziaul Haq when it was made it a part of his Islamisation campaign. “Thousands of women are subjected to violent crimes each year”. The way “a woman is dressed or where she goes” cannot justify her rape (January 18, 2018).

267. The average number of school years for Pakistani women “five years”. Only 3% have some financial standing. Girls internalize that they need to get their “hair elaborately coiffed and their faces whitened” right from their childhood and this results in “social conditioning of women” (December 7, 2017).

268. General Ziaul Haq’s laws could not “ensure more justice for women or minority groups” (November 23, 2017).

269. Malala Yousafzai has done more than what “most ministers or state representatives propagate” to do for the education of girls. A housewife in Karachi provides feeds the hungry. Others have opened schools for the most deprived children in their communities – sometimes even in their own homes (August 24, 2017).

270. Women who are raising their children on their own under the most deplorable conditions have been thrown into even greater misery as their homes were torn down. Food programmes at schools have become a necessity (July 27, 2017).

Intertextual references: women, education, army

There are three intertextual references found in Kamila’s work. Like most writers that come towards the end of coding, Hayat’s stance has been coded a number of times above.

ii. Conceptual secondary code: “No justice for women even under Gen. Zia”

Kamila Hayat reminds us that even Gen. Zia’s women-oriented laws could not ensure their protection. She is referring not to their uselessness, but to how they have been misused over the years.

Writing about the workplace harassment, Hayat rejects the idea that clothes should be made the reason behind harassment. Zubair Rehman (U), Kishwar Naheed (U) and Ansar Abbasi (U) refer to it also. Abbasi (U) interprets it by saying that they should not be allowed to work in every profession. Zubair (U) points out that the religious clerics remain silent on women harassment. Kamila and Zubair Rehman point to the same issue that religious groups while restricting freedom of movement of women never utter a word of protest when they are raped and molested. Ansar Abbasi

(U) reports the same issue but contextualizes it in the debate of the Western influence on the Pakistani society.

D. Ansar Abbasi, *Jang*, p. 8. (From April 19, 2018 to December 18, 2017)

i. Initial abstractions

271. فحاشی و عرنیت کے ذریعے ہماری دینی اور معاشری اقدار کو تار تار کیا جا رہا ہے۔ عدلیہ کے خلاف ریڈ لائن کراس ہوں تو وہ خود اس معاملے میں مداخلت کر کے فوراً ہدایات جاری کرتی ہے۔ کون اس انداز میں ایکشن لے گا جس کا اطلاق فوج اور عدلیہ کے متعلق خلاف ورزی کے موقعے پر دیکھا جاتا ہے۔

271. Our social and religious values are being torn to shreds by promoting vulgarity and nudity on TV channels. Prompt action is taken against TV channels for airing anti judiciary or anti army content. Who is going to do the same when nudity is promoted on media? (April 19, 2018).

272. مغربی ثقافت اور سوچ کو پھیلانے کے لیے کام کرنے والی کچھ این جی اوز کیسے اُن حقوق کی بات کرتی ہیں جن کا نشانہ شرم و حیا کے ساتھ ہماری اسلامی اور معاشرتی اقدار ہیں تاکہ مغرب کی طرح پاکستان میں بھی بے راہ روی کو پھیلا کر اس کو فری سکس سوسائٹی بنایا جائے۔

272. How can the NGOs which are working to promote the western culture, talk about those (women) rights which target the values of modesty and other Islamic and social mores so that like the West, waywardness could be promoted and Pakistan turned into a free sex society? (April 16, 2018).

273. حکمرانوں اور پالیسی میکرز میں خواتین کو ہر شعبہ اور ہر محکمہ میں بھرتی کرنے کا جو بھوت سوار ہے اسے بھی ترک کرنا چاہیے۔ خواتین ورکز کو ورک پلیس میں ایسا ماحول بھی فراہم کریں جہاں پر ان کا مرد ملازمین اور افسروں سے ڈائریکٹ رابطہ نہ ہو۔ یا کم سے کم ہو۔

273. Rulers and policy makers should give up their obsession of hiring women in every walk of life. A working environment should be provided where women workers should either not come into direct contact with the male colleagues or it should be minimised (April 12, 2018).

274. - فحاشی اور عریانیت پر اعتراض کرنے والے ان کی نظر میں تنگ نظر ہیں۔ اگر کوئی فحاشی اور عریانیت کی بات کرے تو اسے شدت پسندی اور قدامت پسندی سے جوڑا جاتا ہے۔ سپریم کورٹ کے ایک جج صاحب کا تو کہنا تھا کہ فحاشی پھیلانے میں ہم امریکا سے بھی آگے نکل گئے ہیں۔

274. Things have reached such a pass that if someone talks about vulgarity and nudity, he is labelled as an extremist and fundamentalist. A judge of the Supreme Court even declared that we had surpassed the US in spreading vulgarity (April 02, 2018).

275 - پاکستان کے جید علماء کرام کی طرف سے مخلوط نماز جنازہ پڑھنے کے عمل پر ایک بیان جاری کیا گیا جسے عمومی طور پر میڈیا نے بلیک آؤٹ کیا۔ وجہ وہ سیکولر سوچ ہے جو پاکستانی میڈیا میں ہاوی ہو چکی ہے۔ سیکولر اور لیبرل سوچ کو ایک ایجنڈے کے ساتھ یہاں پرموٹ کیا جا رہا ہے جس کا نشانہ اسلامی نظریہ پاکستان ہے اور جس کے لیے میڈیا کو استعمال کیا جا رہا ہے۔ سیاستدان اور حکمران تو میڈیا کی چال دیکھ کر ہی اپنی چال کا فیصلہ کرتے ہیں۔ جب خواتین کو کالج یونیورسٹیوں میں پردہ اختیار کرنے کی حوصلہ افزائی کرنے کے لیے حاضرریوں میں رعایت دینے کی بات کی تو ٹی وی چینلز نے ایسا شور شرابا کیا جیسے کوئی بڑا ظلم ہو گیا ہو۔

275. A statement by some erudite religious scholars regarding the mixed funeral prayer of the famous lawyer Asma Jahangir has generally been met with a media blackout (Islamic funeral rites are restricted to attendance by men only). The reason is that secular and liberal thinking is being promoted here with a certain agenda in mind. The target of this thinking is the Islamic ideology of Pakistan for which media are being used. Politicians and government officials make their moves according to the media trends. When a decision was made to encourage college girls to observe hijab by awarding them a concession in attendance, a furore was raised on TV channels as if some great injustice had taken place (February 19, 2018).

276 - پنجاب حکومت نے حال ہی میں خواتین کو ایمپاور کرنے کے نام پر عورتوں کو رعائتی قیمت پر موٹر سائیکل دینے کی اسکیم کا اعلان کیا ہے۔ کیا موٹر سائیکل چلانا ہماری ثقافت سے ہم آہنگ ہے؟ خواتین کو وراثت میں حصہ کیوں نہیں دیتے؟ سرکاری اور نجی اداروں میں کام کرنے والی لاکھوں خواتین کو وہ ماحول کیوں فراہم نہیں کیا جا رہا جہاں ان کا کوئی مرد کسی قسم کا استحصال نہ کر سکے؟ جہیز کو قانوناً جرم تصور کیا جائے۔ عورت کو شادی پر اس کا حق مہر ادا کیا جائے۔ شرم و حیا کی تعلیم اور تربیت دی جائے تاکہ کوئی فرد یا ادارہ عورت کو اپنا پیسہ کمانے اور کاروبار بڑھانے کے لیے شو پیس کے طور پر استعمال نہ کرے۔ الگ کالج اور یونیورسٹیاں قائم کی جائیں۔ گھر کے اندر عورت کو بد سلوکی سے بچانے کے لیے معاشرہ کی تربیت ہو۔

276. Recently the government of Punjab has announced to give motorcycles to women on concessional rates as a part of its women empowerment program. Is riding a motorcycle in harmony with our culture? Why are women not given property inheritance rights? Why a safe environment is not created for millions of women working in government and private sectors? Dowry should be banned. The bride money should be paid at the time of marriage ceremony. Pakistanis should be taught about modesty so that no individual or institution uses women for doing business. They should not be used as show pieces. There should be separate colleges and universities for girls and boys. Society should be sensitized about domestic abuse (February 05, 2018).

277 - ریٹنگ اور پیسے کے لیے عورت کو استعمال کیا جا رہا ہے۔ ڈراموں میں، اشتہاروں کے ذریعے اور دوسرے طریقوں سے لڑکوں لڑکیوں کو دوستی کرنے کی تعلیم دی جاتی ہے اور اسے ترقی اور روشن خیالی کے ساتھ جوڑا جاتا ہے۔

277. Women are being used for ratings and making money. Dating is being promoted through dramas, advertisements, etc. It is being touted as enlightenment and progress (January 22, 2018).

278 - سپریم کورٹ کو پاکستان میں بڑھتی ہوئی فحاشی و عنایت کو روکنے کے لیے ایک درخواست دی جس پر سوموٹو نوٹس لیا گیا لیکن پھر یہ مسئلہ کہیں گم ہی ہو گیا۔ مرحوم جنرل ضیاء الحق کے زمانے میں زیادتی کے کیس کو فوجی عدالت میں چلایا گیا جہاں ایک ہفتے کے اندر اندر مجرموں کو سزا سنا دی گئی جس پر ان کو اسلامی اصولوں کے مطابق سرعام لاہور کے اسی علاقہ کے چوک پر پھانسی دی گئی جہاں سے بچہ اغوا ہوا تھا۔ اس سرعام پھانسی کے بعد تقریباً دس سال تک کسی بچے کو اغوا اور اس کے ساتھ زیادتی کا کوئی واقعہ رپورٹ نہ ہوا۔

278. An application was submitted in the Supreme Court to stop the growing vulgarity in Pakistan. The court took a suo moto notice also but somehow the issue is gathering dust since then. During the late Gen Ziaul Haq's era, the accused of a kidnapping and rape case were tried in a military court and the verdict was announced within a week. The culprits were punished according to the Islamic law and hanged publicly in the same place where they had abducted the child from. This public hanging acted as a deterrent and for the next ten years there was no report of any child abduction or rape (January 18, 2018).

279 - ماں جو بچے کے لیے سب سے اہم درس گاہ کی حیثیت رکھتی ہے اسے تو ہم نے حقوق نسواں اور برابری کے نام پر اپنی اصل ذمہ داری یعنی بچوں کی پرورش اور ان کی دیکھ بھال سے دور کر رہے ہیں۔ کوئی مخلوط نظام تعلیم کی خرابیوں اور ان کے منفی اثرات کو اجاگر کیوں نہیں کرتا؟ شرم و حیا اور پردہ ہماری تعلیم میں تربیت کو کیوں شامل نہیں کیا جا رہا؟ اللہ تعالیٰ کا ڈر اور آخرت کا خوف پیدا کرنے کے لیے کوئی بات کیوں نہیں کی جاتی؟

279. In the name of women's rights and equality, we are distancing the mother from her primary responsibility, i.e the bringing up of the children. A mother is the child's first learning place. Nobody talks about the perils of co-education. Why does no one raise their voice against the negation of Islamic values like modesty and "hijab"? Why is the teaching of values like modesty not made a part of the syllabus? Why does no one talk about instilling the fear of God and the Day of Judgement in people? (January 15, 2018).

280- فیملی کے ساتھ بیٹھ کر ڈرامے تو کیا خبریں تک انسان نہیں دیکھ سکتا - کوئی پتہ نہیں کس وقت اسکرین پر کیا چلا دیں - اشتہارات ہیں تو فحش، ڈرامے ہیں تو ان میں ہمارے دینی اور معاشرتی اقدار کو تار تار کیا جا رہا ہے بے حیائی کو پھیلا دیا جا رہا ہے - میڈیا معاشرے میں تیزی سے فحاشی و عریانیت پھیلانے اور ہماری مذہبی و معاشرتی اقدار کی تباہی میں بہت آگے نکل چکا ہے - مغربی دنیا کے برعکس شرم و حیا ہمارے معاشرے کا وہ سرمایہ تھا جس پر ہمیں ہمیشہ فخر رہا اور جس نے ہمیں دوسروں سے نمایاں رکھا۔ کوئی میڈیا کو اس ظلم سے روکنے کے لیے تیار نہیں - سب ڈرتے ہیں - جیسے مافیا اور ڈان سے ڈرا جاتا ہے -

280. Let alone watching a drama with family, one cannot even watch news. One never knows what next will be displayed on the screen. Whether it is advertisements or dramas, our religious and social values are torn to shreds. We all admit that media have crossed limits in advancing vulgarity and nudity, and destroyed our religious and social values. As opposed to the West, we, in the East, had always been proud of modesty. This had set us apart from the rest. No one is ready to do anything to stop the media from carrying out this cruelty. Everyone is scared of the media as one would be of mafia or a don (December 18, 2017).

Intertextual references: women, America, army

Ansar Abbasi's discourse on Pakistani women is made up of three intertextual references. He writes fearlessly and boldly and is frequently quoted in the sections above.

ii. Conceptual secondary code: “Gen. Zia era public hanging of rapists effective deterrence”

While Abbasi appreciates Zia era hangings of rapists, Kishwar Naheed (U) Kamila Hayat (E) and Zubair Rehman (U) see it as being counter productive. There is one more mention of hanging in the entire data and that is by Sohail Warraich (U) who talks about political hangings.

Abbasi like many others wants women to be given their rights but is at odds with others as to how this should be done. For example, Zahida Hina (U), Kamila Hayat (E), Mina Malik (E), Kishwar Naheed (U) and Mosharraf Zaidi (E) also mention women’s rights but do not demand women to be locked up in their homes. Where Malik (E) and Naheed (U) appreciate women and girls given the permission to ride cycles, Abbasi is extremely critical of it. He argues that it is against the culture of Pakistan. There are no public voices against the negation of Islamic values like modesty and “hijab”. Zubair Rehman (U) and Kamila Hayat (E) advocate women to dress as they want without any restrictions by the patriarchal society, but, Abbasi wants a dresscode to be enforced. Abbasi argues that women’s rights mean paying them the bride money at the time of marriage, giving them the right to inheritance and not taking dowry from them. Anyone who speaks against nudity and vulgarity is labelled as an extremist and fundamentalist. Abbasi along with Arifa Subha Khan (U) are the only two writers to have any positive words for the Zia era. The rest of the writers consider it as the darkest period in the history of Pakistan.

E. Kishwar Naheed, *Jang*, p. 7. (From April 14, 2018 back to April 21, 2017)

i. Initial abstractions

281 - یہ تو روزانہ کی بات ہوگئی ہے کہ چاہے لاء کالج کی لڑکی ہو یا ماسٹرز کی علاوہ ازیں 6 سال کی بچی کے ساتھ نوجوان آدمی زیادتی کرے۔

281. It has become a daily occurrence for girls to be molested. She may be a girl studying in a law college, doing MA or just a six-year old (April 14, 2018).

282- بہت شور ہوتا ہے خواتین کا عالمی دن 8 مارچ آتا ہے، مشعل برادر جلوس نکال کر، دو چار نعرے لگا کر عورتیں دلوں کی بھڑاس نکال لیتی ہیں۔ اس سال پاکستان کے بہت سے شہروں میں خواتین نے

رکشہ، موٹر سائیکل اور ٹیکسی چلانے کو اپنی معیشت کے لیے ضروری سمجھا۔ پولیس خواتین افسروں کو شکایت ہے کہ مرد سپاہی انہیں سیلوٹ نہیں کرتے - یہ بات سو فیصد درست ہے کہ عورت کو ماں بننا، بیوی بننا، نوکری اور گھر داری کر کے ، دن رات مصروف رہ کر بھی کچھ نہیں ملا، اگر ملا تو ان خواتین کو سینٹر شپ جو روسا میں شامل ہیں - ان کے لیے تو دنیا میں بھی جنت ہے۔

282. There is a lot of talk done on 8th March, the Women's International Day. Candle lit processions are taken out. Slogans are chanted to vent out frustration. This year women across Pakistan are driving taxis, rickshaws and riding motorbikes to earn their livelihood. Lady police complain that men under their command do not salute them. It is 100% correct women have got nothing by becoming a mother or a wife, working hard inside and outside the home and remaining busy day and night. Only the rich women are rewarded by making them senators. For these women, it is a paradise upon earth (March 17, 2018).

283- دنیا بھر کے عظیم مصوروں نے حاملہ عورتوں کی تصاویر اس لیے بنائی ہیں کہ ان کے بقول خاتون بچے کی پیدائش سے پہلے بہت خوبصورت لگتی ہے۔ دفتروں ، عدالتوں اور بازاروں میں بھی حاملہ خاتون کو طرح طرح کے جملے سننا پڑتے ہیں۔ اپنے گزشتہ فوجی سربراہ کے ڈانس ہی کو دیکھ لیں۔ ہمارے ملک خاص کر، کے پی میں ہر شہر میں گانے والی کو گولی ماری جارہی ہے۔

283. Artists the world over have painted pregnant women as according to them women are very beautiful in this state. In Pakistan, pregnant women are booed in offices, courts and bazaars. We have an ex-army chief who is seen dancing whereas in KP's every city, female singers are shot dead (March 02, 2018).

284 - ہم نے کچھ دن پہلے ڈیرے کی لڑکی کو برہنہ گھمانے پر احتجاج کیا - 2017 میں بعض مدارس میں بھی بچوں کے ساتھ جنسی زیادتی کے 477 کیس رپورٹ ہوئے ہیں - ابھی تو بات صرف رپورٹیڈ کیس کی ہے ورنہ تو گھروں میں اور اسکولوں میں بچوں کو "چپ، بدتمیز" کہہ کر خاموش کر دیا جاتا ہے۔

284. A few days ago, we protested at the parading of a naked girl in Dera. There were around 477 cases of madrassah children's sexual molestation in 2017. This is just the figure that has been reported. There are many cases that take place at homes and schools but are hushed up (January 29, 2018).

285. ضیاء الحق کے زمانے میں بھی عورتوں کو تنگ کیا جاتا تھا جیسے کہ ٹیلیفون پر تنگ کرنا ، جلوس میں انگلی دبانا ، آنکھ کا اشارہ کرنا ، چھیڑنا ، پرس چھیننا وغیرہ - فوج نے یقین دلایا کہ جمہوریت کتنی ضروری ہے - امریکہ میں معروف لوگوں کے بارے میں خواتین زبان کھول رہی ہیں -

285. Sexual harassment was present in different forms even during the days of Ziaul Haq. It could range from being harassed on the telephone, pressing of the hand during some protest, winking at, teasing, purse snatching, etc. The army has convinced us about the importance of democracy. Famous men in the US are being accused of sexual harassment (December 29, 2017).

286. یہ وہ زمانہ ہے کہ اتنی شادیاں پوربی ہیں کہ لگتا ہے کوئی لڑکی کنواری نہیں رہے گی -

286. So many marriages are taking place that it seems no girl would remain unmarried (December 22, 2017).

287 - عورتوں کے ہاتھوں کے ناخن مچھلیاں صاف کرتے ہوئے ختم ہو گئے ہیں۔ غیرت کے نام پر قتل ہوتی ہیں ، عورتوں کو اغواء کیا جاتا ہے - امریکہ کے حوالے ڈالروں کے عوض کتنے لوگ حوالے کیے گئے - آج کی سسی کبھی چوبے مار گولیاں کھا لیتی ہے اور کبھی بچوں سمیت دریا میں چھلانگ لگا دیتی ہے -

287. The fisherwomen have lost their nails cleaning fish. Today women are killed for honour. They are kidnapped. How many people have been handed over to America in exchange for dollars? Today's "Sassi" sometimes takes rat poison or drowns herself alongwith her children in a river (November 17, 2017).

288 - لڑکی حاصل کرنے کے لیے جن کا سہارا لیا جاتا تھا - بادشاہ ایک حسینہ کو حاصل کرنے کے لیے اپنا سب کچھ قربان کر دیتا تھا - ان سب کہانیوں میں ہراساں کرنے کی فیشنل ایبل اصلاح استعمال نہیں کی جاتی تھی - میڈیا اور سوشل میڈیا اقوال زریں ٹھہرا۔ لڑکے تو پھر شام تک باہر رہ سکتے ہیں - لڑکیوں کو تو یہ بھی اجازت نہیں، تنہائی کی شکار ہماری بیٹیاں ! آج کل لڑکیاں اعتماد کو بھی غلط معنوں میں استعمال کر کے چلاکیاں دکھاتی ہیں، اخلاق، تہذیب اور شرافت میں #metoo کی جگہ نہیں ہے -

288. In the olden days, kings would take the help of jinns to get them the girls they had fallen in love with. A king would sacrifice everything for a girl. One does not come across the fashionable term of harassment in any of these stories. Nowadays,

media and social media are considered as the authority on everything. Boys can stay out till late but girls cannot. Girls are victims of loneliness. At times, girls misuse the trust that is put into them by the boys. There is no place of #metoo in a relationship that is defined by respect and trust (November 10, 2017).

289 - افغان خواتین نے شور مچایا کہ اُنندہ ہمیں فلاں کی بیٹیاں ، فلاں کی بیوی کے نام سے مت پکارو، ہمارے اپنے نام ہیں - ہماری شناخت ہے - کل کہیں گی اے امریکیوں ہمارے ملک سے نکل جاؤ، دانش ، طالبان بھی . سچ یہ ہے کہ سکولوں سے 50% بچے پڑھائی سے بھاگ جاتے ہیں اور باقی پانچویں کو بہت سمجھتے ہیں -

289. Afghan women protested that they did not want to be called by their husbands or fathers' names. They have their own identity and therefore should be called by their own names. Tomorrow these women will tell Americans, Daesh and Taliban to leave their country. The truth is that out of the total number of children who manage to reach schools, 50% run away and the rest consider studying till class 5 as more than enough (September 15, 2017).

290- اب جبکہ ملالہ کو اقوام متحدہ بلا کر امن کی سفیر کا اعزاز دیا گیا ہے ، عجیب سا لگ رہا ہے کہ حکومت پاکستان کی طرف سے مبارکباد تو کجا تحسین میں دو فقرے بھی نہیں کہے گئے - امریکہ کی طرف سے طالبان کو پاکستان میں فروغ دیا گیا جب کام نکل گیا تو اب پاکستان کو ڈومور کہہ رہا ہے -

290. Malala has been made the UN peace ambassador but the government of Pakistan has not even offered a cursory congratulation in this regard. America promoted Taliban in Pakistan. Now that they are no longer needed, Pakistan is being asked to “do more” (April 21, 2017).

Intertextual references: women, America, education

Kishwar Naheed a prolific writer in the Urdu language is quoted many times above testifying to the intertextuality in her discourse. The highpoint of her narrative is when she compares the helplessness of a woman artiste with an ex-army chief who is allowed to do things that are ordinarily forbidden to others.

ii. Conceptual secondary code: “Ex- army chief dances whereas Pashtoon female singers shot dead”

Kishwar Naheed bears out Kamila Hayat (E) in claiming that sexual harassment took place even during the Zia days despite his efforts to Islamize the country. Her fearlessness and disdain for the US occupying Afghanistan is commendable for a woman writer. She praises Afghan parliamentarians who have refused to be called by their fathers or husbands' names and want their separate identity. One day they will turn towards the Americans and tell them to leave the country. America promoted Taliban in Pakistan and Afghanistan and now when it no longer needs them, is asking Pakistan to "do more" in eliminating them. The two words "do more" are echoed above by Arifa Subah Khan (U), Saleem Safi (U) and Chris Cook (E).

In tandem with Zaidi she writes that only 50% of the school going children stay in schools to finish their studies whereas the other half run away. She paints a sad picture of women something that most writers above do also. The difference lies in how to alleviate the suffering of the women.

F. Zahida Hina. *Daily Express*, p. 7. (From April 15, 2018 back to November 15, 2017)

i. Initial abstractions

291- یہ عورتیں ہوتی ہیں جو ان تحریکوں کو زندہ رکھتی ہیں لیکن جب آزادی کامیاب ہو جائے تو وہ حاشیہ بن جاتی ہیں۔

291. It is women who keep different movements alive. Women are glorified as long as men need them. They are relegated to the margins of the history when freedom is won (April 15, 2018).

292- تاریخ میں ایسی کئی عورتیں جو اس لیے انتہا پسندوں کا نشانہ بنی کیونکہ وہ عقل دوست تھیں۔ ملالہ کو ہزار شکر کرنا چاہیے اس کی پشت پناہی کے لیے پوری دنیا کے علم دوست اور روشن خیال لوگ موجود تھے۔

292. History is replete with women who became targets for extremists because they supported intelligence, logic and reason. Malala should be grateful that she was supported by many enlightened people who appreciated the value of knowledge (April 04, 2018).

293. عہد نامہ قدیم میں بہت سی عورتوں نے اپنے اپنے زمانوں میں اپنی ذہانت اور حسن کا سکھ جمایا۔ ملالہ اس بات پر ایمان رکھتی ہے کہ صرف تعلیم وہ ہتھیار ہے جو ہماری دنیا کی نوجوان نسل کو انتہا پسندی اور تہصب سے لڑنے کی طاقت دے سکتی ہے۔

293. Since the olden days, there have been many women known for their intelligence and beauty. Malala believes that only the weapon of education can help the world's new generation in fighting prejudice and extremism (March 14, 2018).

294. بی اماں ایک گھریلو، پردہ دار خاتون تھیں جو سیاست کو جذباتی انداز سے دیکھتی اور سمجھتی تھیں۔ ہزاروں ہندو اور مسلمان عورتوں نے اپنے ہاتھوں سے کنگن اور کانوں کی جھمکے عطیہ کیے۔

294. "Bee Amma" was a "hijab" observing woman who had never stepped outside her home save rarely. However, even from the confines of her home, she took part in politics. She was passionate about politics. Many Muslim and Hindu women donated their gold bangles and earrings for the cause of getting freedom from the British (February 28, 2018).

295. ہمارا ایک ایسا نام جس کی دھوم مشرق اور مغرب میں تھی۔ عاصمہ نے دوسری خواتین کے ساتھ مل کر جنرل ضیاء الحق کے بنائے ہوئے سیاہ قوانین کے خلاف جنگ لڑی۔

295. Asma Jahangir is one such Pakistani name who is popular across the East and the West. She fought against the black laws promulgated by Gen. Zia alongside other women (February 14, 2018).

296. بیسیویں صدی میں برصغیر کی عورت نے قومی سیاست اور جمہوری جدوجہد اور کا ذائقہ چکھا، بینظیر نے امریت اور انتہا پسندی کے خلاف مزاحمت کی جنگ میں جان دی۔ لندن کی سڑکوں پر نہتی اور پر امن عورتوں کو گھوڑ سوار پولیس نے کچلا اور لاکھوں چارج کیا تو اس کے نتیجہ میں سفراگیٹ کی پر امن تحریک نے تشدد کا راستہ اختیار کیا۔ ضیاء الحق نے جمہوریت اور سیاسی حقوق کو سلب اور غضب کرنا اپنے لیے باعث فخر سمجھا۔ نامور اور گمنام عورتوں نے پاکستانی مردوں اور عورتوں کے حقوق کے لیے جدوجہد میں حصہ ڈالا۔ ساٹھ کی دہائی میں جنرل ایوب خان کے خلاف جمہوریت کی لڑائی محترمہ فاطمہ جناح نے بڑی شان سے لڑی۔

296. During the 20th century, women of the Indian sub-continent took part in national politics and experienced how it felt to struggle for democracy. Benazir Bhutto laid down her life fighting dictatorship and extremism. London police crushed peaceful

women protesting for their voting rights. This led to violence in the suffragette movement. Gen Ziaul Haq considered it a matter of pride to crush democratic and political rights. Both known and unknown, Pakistani women and men fought for women rights. It was during the decade of 1960, that Miss Fatima Jinnah fought the battle of democracy against Gen Ayub Khan with dignity (February 11, 2018).

297 - 1960 کی دہائی اور بلخصوص جنرل ضیاء الحق کے دور سے پاکستانی خواتین اپنے حقوق کے لیے جدوجہد میں مصروف ہیں۔ جنرل ضیاء کے قوانین کے خلاف بہت سی عورتیں مذمت اور انقلاب کی تصویر تھیں۔

297. Since the 60s decade, and especially during Gen Zia ul Haq's days, an increasing number of women have been struggling for their rights. Women were a symbol of resistance against the women laws made by Gen Zia (February 07, 2018).

298- عورت کیا ہے؟ کیکر پر انگور کا گچھا ہے۔

298. What is a woman? She is like a vine of grapes that climbs on an acacia tree getting wounded in the process (February 02, 2018).

299 - حنان اشرفی جو پس منظر میں چلی گئی تھی ایک بار پھر فلسطینی جدوجہد کے پیش پیش نظر آئی۔

299. Hanan Ashrafi who had faded into the background resurfaced in the Palestinian struggle (December 13, 2017).

300- یہ ضیاء الحق کا دور تھا۔ پاکستانی عورت کے اندر سے مزاحمت کا لاوا ابل رہا تھا اور وہ ایک تناور پیڑ بن گیا تھا۔ ان عورتوں نے لاہور کی سڑکوں پر لاتیں کھائی تھیں، جیل گئی تھیں اور جنرل شاہی سے ٹکر لی۔

300. It was Zia ul Haq's days. The women had made up their minds to resist the women laws at any cost. The women were beaten on Lahore roads. They were jailed. They had collided with the army class (November 15, 2017).

Intertextual references: women, army

Zahida Hina relies on doxastic intertextuality also like all others before her.

ii. Conceptual secondary code: "Gen. Zia arrogantly crushed women rights"

Like Kishwar Naheed and Ansar Abbasi, Zahida Hina is extensively quoted and referred to in secondary coding above. The secondary code conceptualized makes a connection between the role of army and the status of women in Pakistan. Like many writers above, Zahida Hina condoles the death of Asma Jahangir who fought for women's rights and democracy in Gen. Zia's days and was arrested. Women were beaten on the roads of Lahore. Women in Pakistan have been fighting for their rights since the 1960s. Ms. Fatima Jinnah fought with dignity the battle of democracy against Gen Ayub Khan. For Gen Ziaul Haq it was a matter of pride to crush democratic and political rights.

Zahida Hina's articles transcend the national boundaries and take into account women from other cultures also. She shows us how treatment of women is the same everywhere in every age. Speaking of Nelson Mandela's ex-wife, Winnie, she claims that women valiantly fight men's battles when they are not around. They get pushed to the margins of history when men come back. The struggle of Ms. Benazir Bhutto was different in the sense that she had taken over after the death of her father. Therefore, she was not pushed to the margins of history. Keeping this difference aside, the patriarchy is visible in the struggle of women fighting for their rights under the army rule.

4.4.5.1 Doxastic codes in the discourse of women as abstracted through a constant comparative process. There are six doxai that have been conceptualized from this section. They relate to the discourse on women's condition in Pakistan. The doxai are given as following:

“Fatima Jinnah more revered dead than alive challenging Gen. Ayub”- Mosharraf Zaidi (E)

“Nineteen eighties a fraught time to be a woman/ lawyer/ politician”- Mina Malik (E)

“No justice for women even under Gen. Zia- Kamila Hayat”- (E)

“Gen. Zia era public hanging of rapists effective deterrence”- Ansar Abbasi (U)

“Ex-army chief dances whereas Pashtoon female singers shot dead”- Kishwar Naheed (U)

“Gen. Zia arrogantly crushed women rights”- Zahida Hina (U)

The common thread running in all six doxai on the discourse on women is the reference to Pakistan Army making the whole discourse intertextual. Different aspects of the women’s struggle are highlighted in these conceptualized doxastic codes. The role of media intellectuals in doxa formation is important to note. Ansar Abbasi from the Urdu side is the only one who is appreciative of the Zia era hangings. The others are very vocal in their criticism of how things have been handled by the army in the domain of women rights. Media intellectuals from both sides are not scared to talk about issues that they believe in.

4.5 Musing on the conceptual constructions so far

The sections below take a stock of the secondary coding results at this stage of theory development. The first section looks at the codes from the angle of differences between Urdu and English data. I have generated thirty codes which need an accounting for. I intend to find out if there are any neatly demarcated doxastic differences between the two languages or not. The secondary coding has shown that there is a common intertextual reference running through all the discourses and binding them in a close relationship. All previous codes, abstractions done so far are called upon. They are compared and contrasted as is practice of GTM. This helps me in locating patterns and attributing meaning to them. The back and forth element of GTM’s constant comparative process goes on till the end of the project. The second section reconceptualises the thirty codes in order to create a central/core category for the entire data.

4.5.1 *The status of doxastic faultlines in the abstracted data*

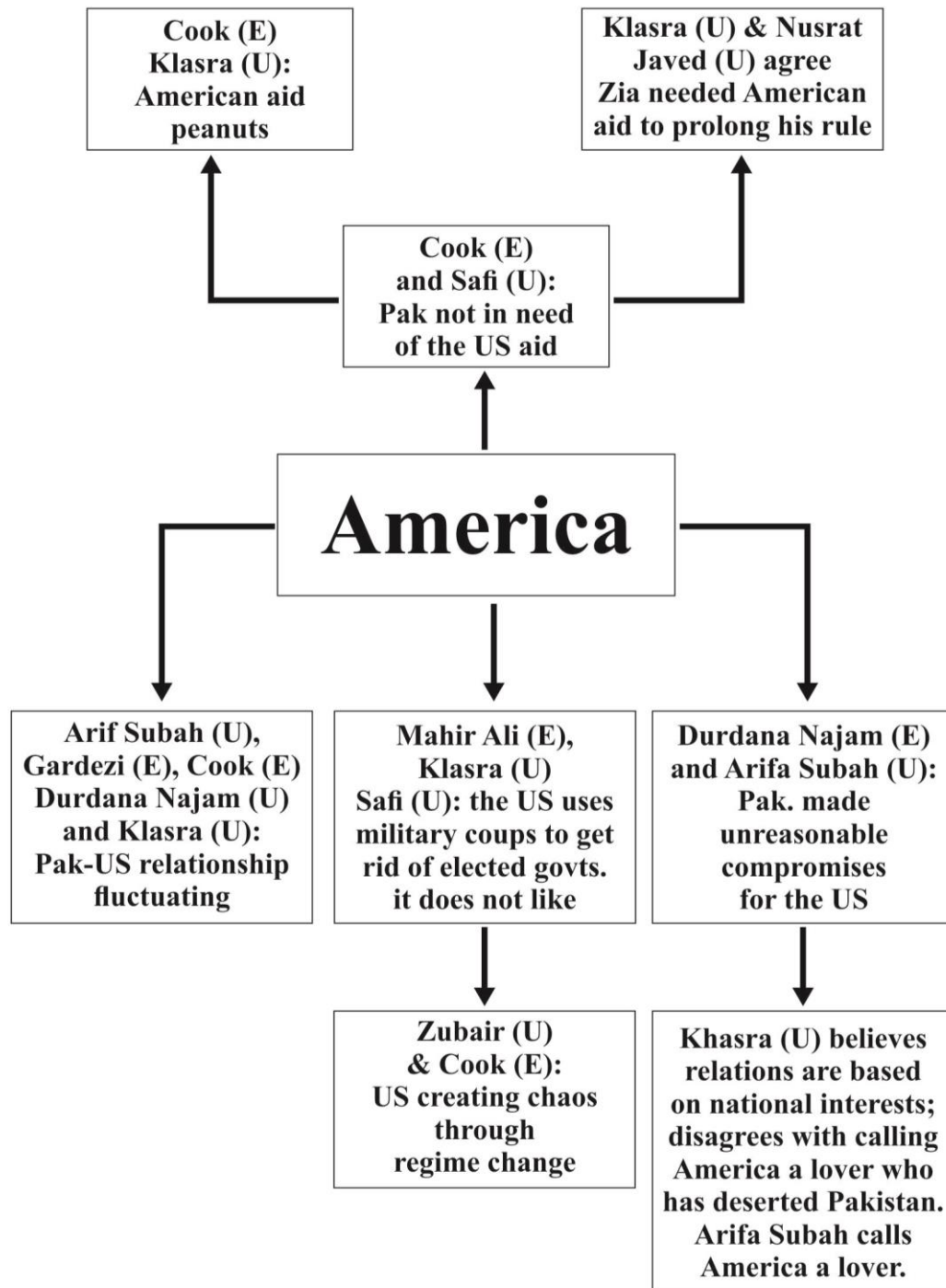
All five major discourses are diagrammed here to show how the doxastic faultlines operate. Charmaz giving the advantages of diagrams writes that diagrams provide “a visual representation of categories and their relationships” (Charmaz, 2006, p. 118). The constant comparative process helps show how writers agree or disagree with each other.

4.5.1.1 Doxastic faultlines in the discourse on America. There are six (6) intellectuals writing directly about the Pak- US relationship, three (3) in English and

three (3) in Urdu. All the six secondary codes whether in Urdu or in English point to the close interaction that the US has had with Pakistan Army. The following diagram shows how various writers' opinions converge or diverge. The similarity or difference of opinion is not dependent on any language. Two Urdu writers may disagree with each other regarding one issue but may agree with an English writer on a different point. The same can be said about the publications the writers work for, e.g, writers writing for *The News* may not agree with each other but may have the same opinion as someone writing for say *The Nation* or *The Express Tribune*.

Figure 4.2

Doxastic faultlines in the discourse on America



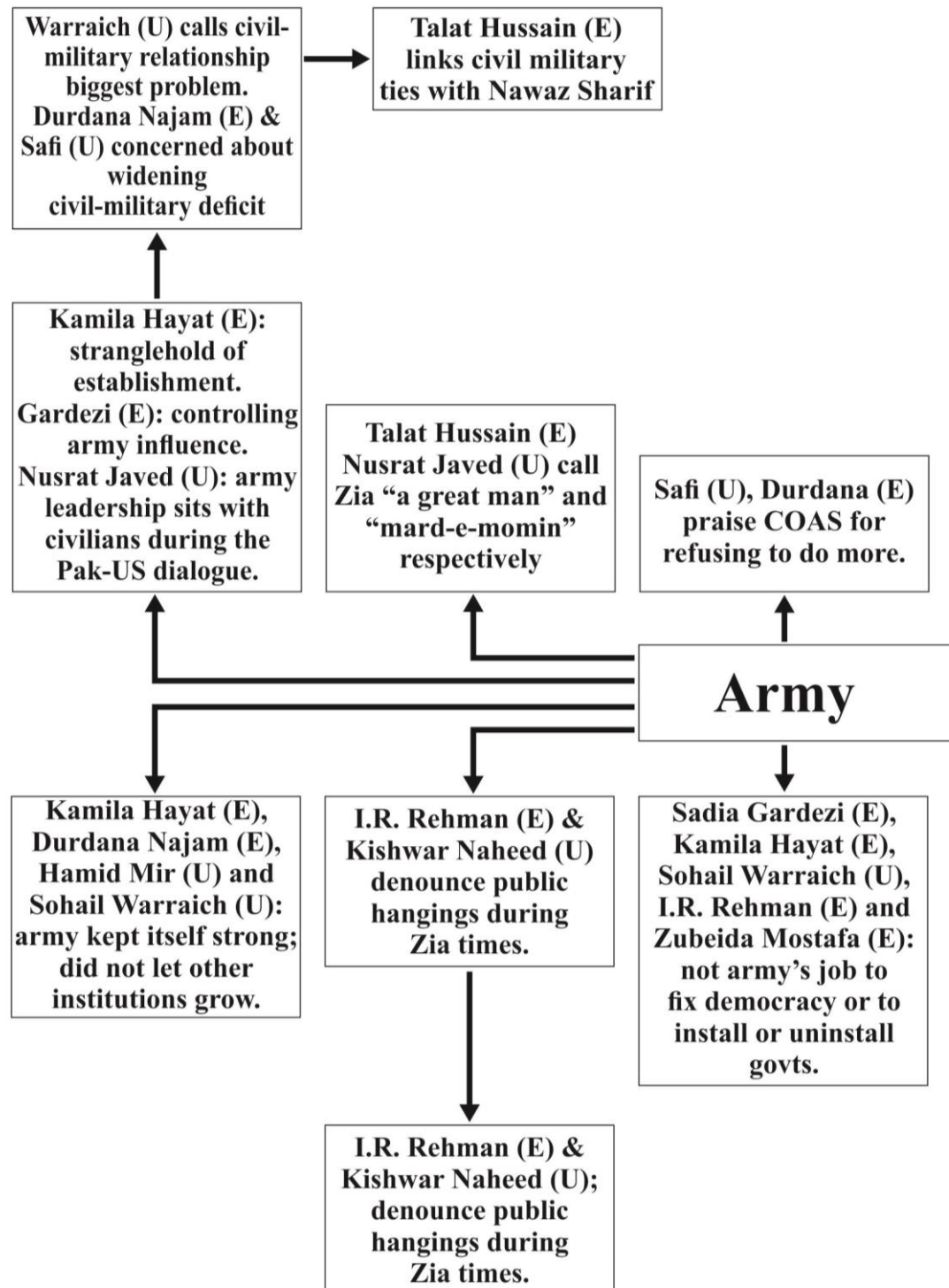
There are four points the above analysis shows. Firstly, there are more similarities across the two languages than differences. Secondly, writers from different publications may have similar views, e.g, Cook (E) writes for *The Express Tribune* whereas Klasra (U) writes for *Dunya* and yet have similar views. Thirdly,

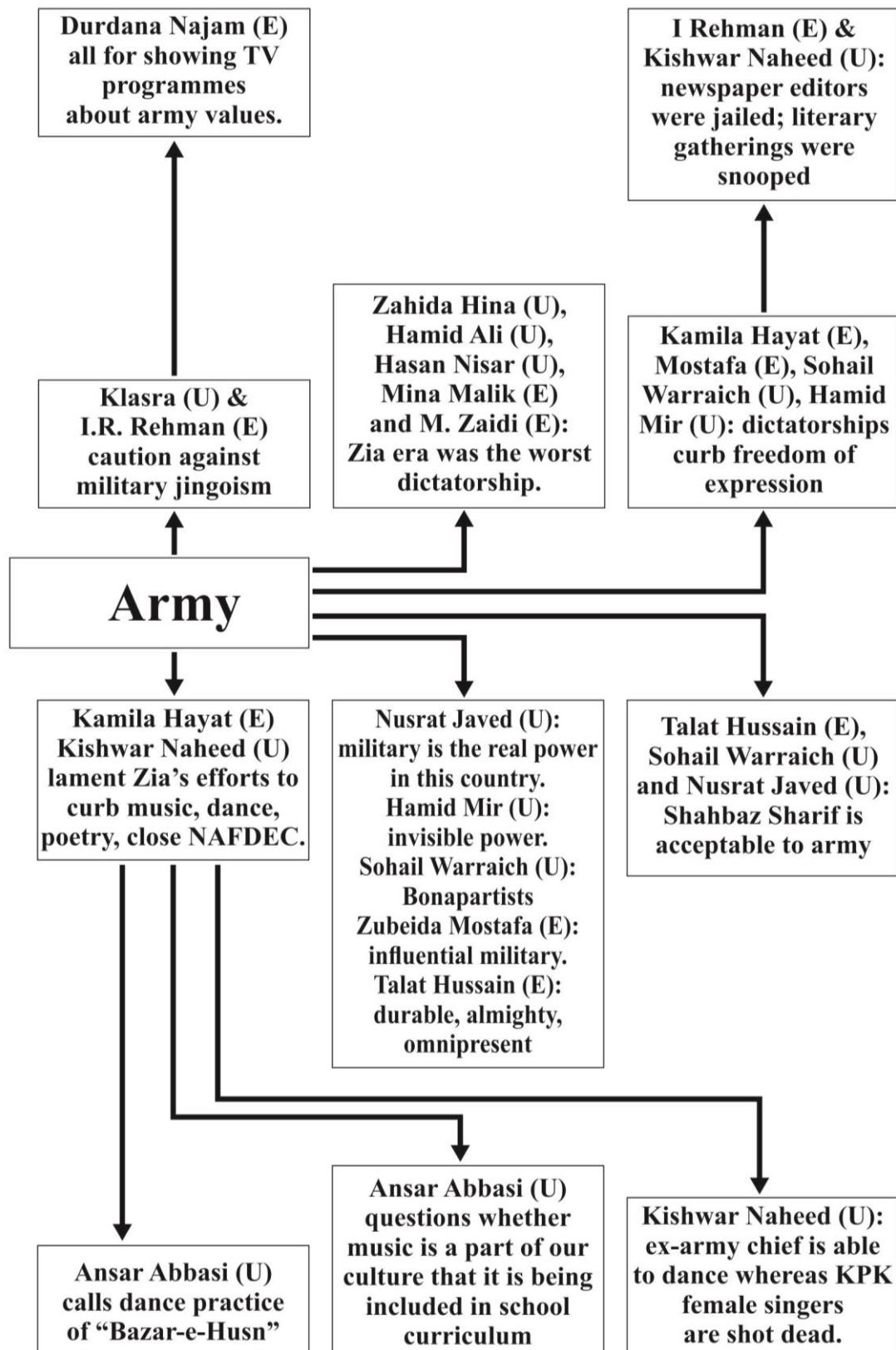
there is a strong element of intertextuality across the topics e.g, Zubair Rehman (U), Nusrat Javed (U) and Saadia Gardezi (E) are not primarily writing on the Pak-US relationship but their views tie in with those who do. Lastly, it is clear that the US-Pak relationship is routed through Pakistan Army. Whether it is Gen. Zia's era in Pakistan or the US president Trump, the axis for the US- Pak relationship is Pakistan Army.

4.5.1.2 Doxastic faultlines in the discourse on Pakistan Army. In this section like the one above, Urdu and English writers alike hold more similar views than dissimilar ones. As true for the section on America, writers across Urdu and English may agree on one point whereas writers writing in one language under one publication may disagree on some other issue. Kishwar Naheed (U) and Ansar Abbasi (U) both writing for *Jang* disagree with each other regarding Zia era's public hangings.

Figure 4.3

Doxastic faultlines in the discourse on army



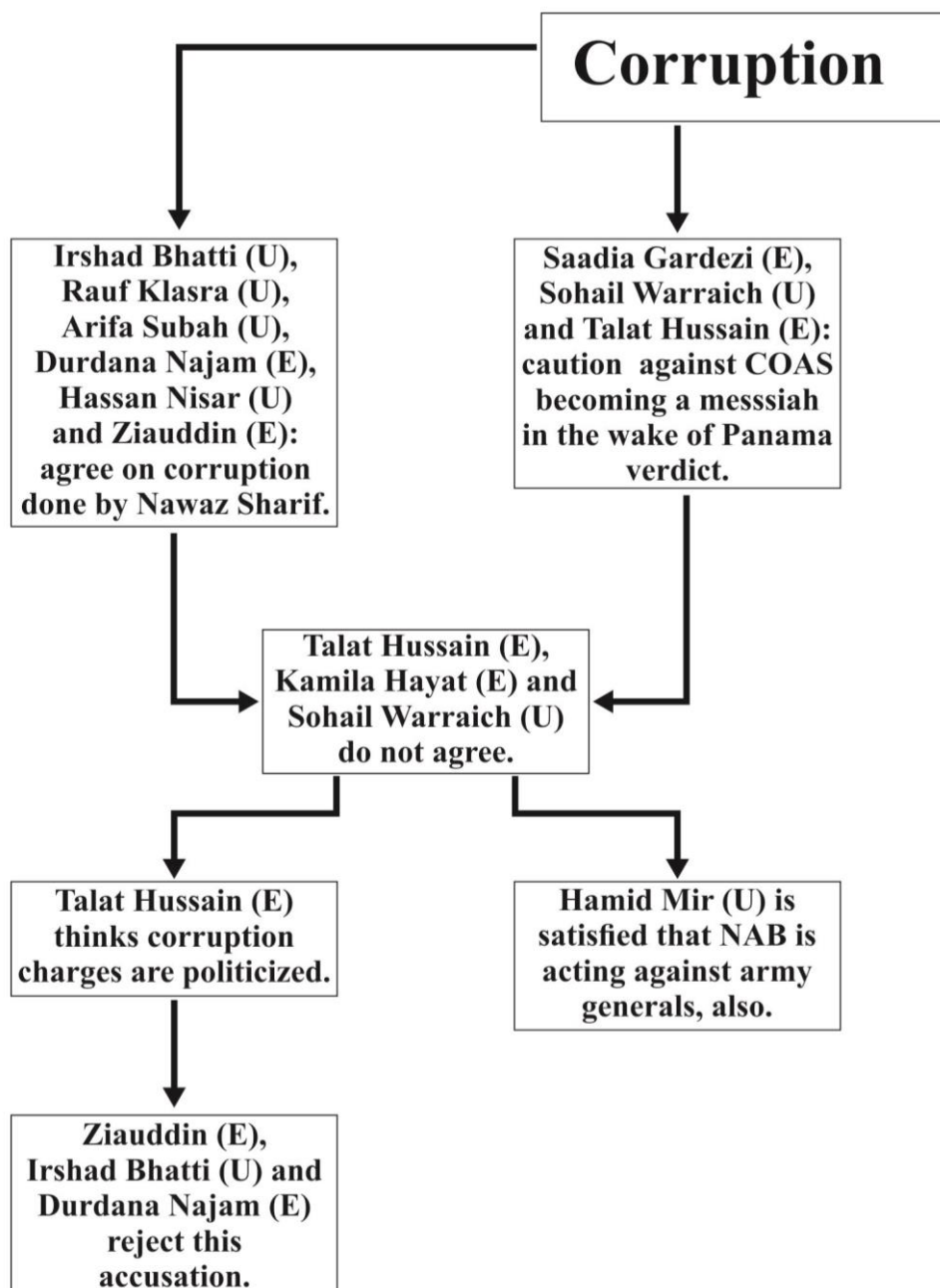


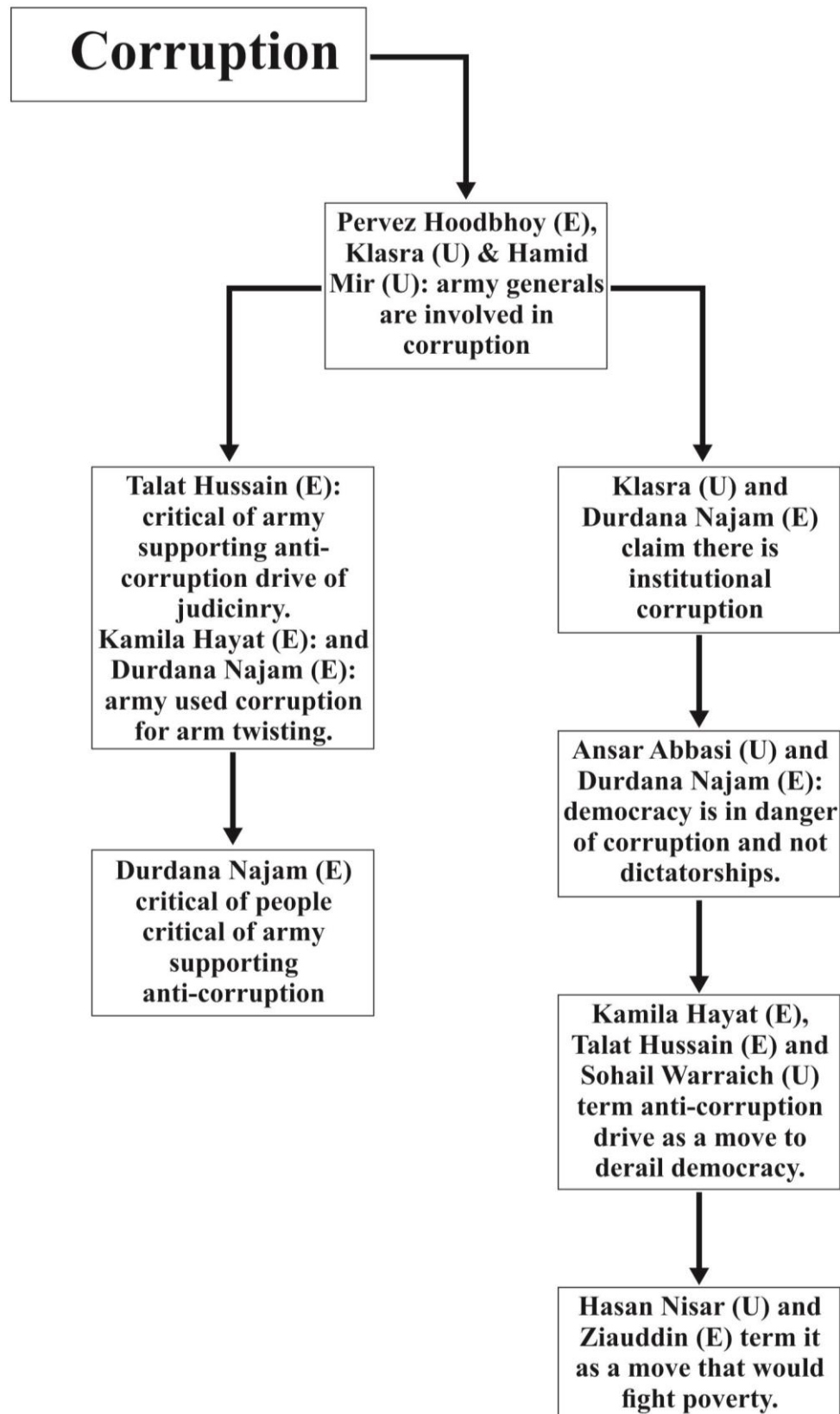
Kishwar Naheed agrees with I. R Rehman instead of Ansar Abbasi (U) who writes for another publication. Rehman writes in English.

4.5.1.3 Doxastic faultlines in the discourse on corruption. The discourse on corruption follows the same patterns established above for the US and Pakistan army namely that firstly, there are both agreements across languages and publications and, disagreements under the same publication. Kamila Hayat (E), Talat Hussain (E) and Sohail Warraich (U), all write for *Jang* publications and claim that anti-corruption drive might derail democracy. Hassan Nisar (U) writing under the same banner vehemently disagrees. Secondly, the discourse on corruption is built around Pakistan Army also.

Figure 4.4

Doxastic faultlines in the discourse on corruption



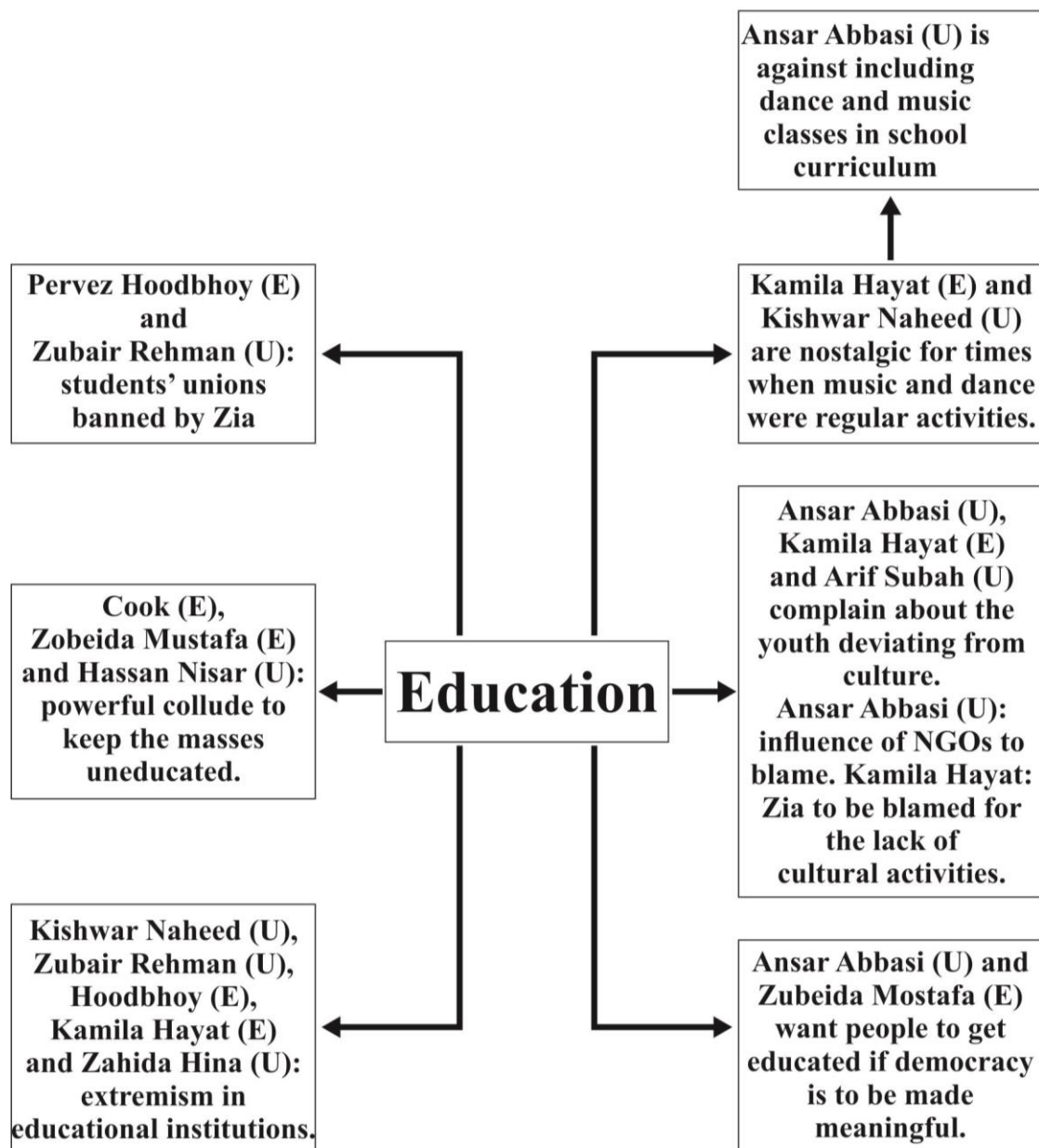


4.5.1.4 Doxastic faultlines in the discourse on education. The discussion on education is built around the role of Pakistan Army, also. Urdu writers like Kishwar

Naheed, Zubair Rehman and Zahida Hina can be seen to be agreeing with English writers like Kamila Hayat and Hoodbhoy about the rise of extremism in educational institutions. Like the discourses above, the element of intertextuality is visible here also as writers broadly writing on different issues seem to use army as a reference point and build their arguments around it. Similar to discourses above, the discourse on education also has similarities across the language divide.

Figure 4.5

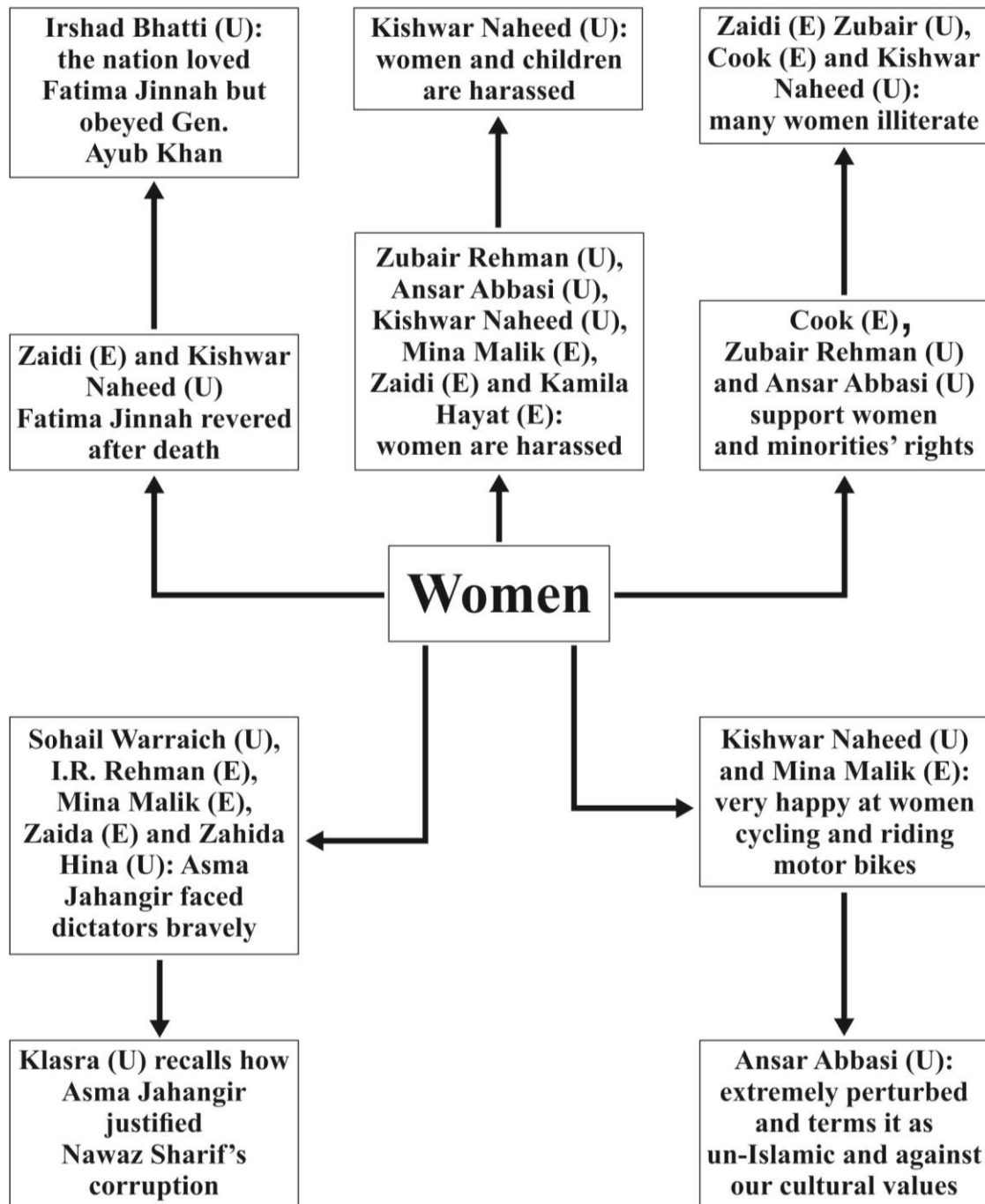
Doxastic faultlines in the discourse on education



4.5.1.5. Doxastic faultlines in the discourse on women. This is the last of the five discourses. The patterns of using army as the reference point and intertextually moving across discourses are visible here also. The latter, however, is less in frequency here as compared to the others. There are two writers namely Chris Cook (E) and Klasra (U) who in their articles mention women. Klasra unabashedly refers to Asma Jahangir's controversial stance on Nawaz Sharif's corruption in which she tried to justify it. This is in stark contrast to Sohail Warraich (U), Zahida Hina (U), Mina Malik (E), I. R. Rehman (E) and Mosharraf Zaidi (E) who bestow on her a legendary status for standing up against Gen. Zia's draconian laws.

Figure 4.6

Doxastic faultlines in the discourse on women



The section concludes on several thoughts. It is not being claimed that all Urdu writers hold similar views to English writers across the board on every issue. What is being claimed is that more similarities than differences can be seen on different issues between Urdu and English writers. The differences among writers

cannot be classified on the basis of a language or a publication. All five discourses are interdependent for meaning. A case is made for doxastic faultlines not honouring the traditional language divide that is hitherto referred to.

This finding has major implications for the project underhand. The Supreme Court Verdict (2015, p. 10) referred to in the beginning of the thesis, given within the parameters of the Constitution of Pakistan, 1973, (article 251) calls English a colonial language. Tariq Rehman (2003, p. 8) claims that people speaking Urdu feel ashamed and want to learn and use English as it is a status symbol. Sabiha Mansoor (2017, pp. 141- 4) writes that even Madrassa students want to learn English as it offers better employment opportunities thus pointing to the Urdu-English divide. In section 2.6 of my work, I refer to a number of different studies that study Urdu and English newspapers. Hussain and Munnawar (2017, p.44) contend that Urdu dailies are more aggressive as compared to English ones. Ahmad and Rafiq (2017, p. 9) are of the opinion that Urdu newspapers portray Pakistan Army as the country's saviour. They do not make any claim about English newspapers. Saeed Shafqat (2009, pp. 282-3) goes to the extent of saying that Urdu and English newspaper writers have different worldviews and look at issues in a different way. Ammara Durrani (as cited in Abraham, 2009) differs from the rest when she suggests that in her study, the newspaper *Dawn* was seen to be toeing the establishment's (army) line whereas *Jang* was critical of it. As is shown above, in my data differences in opinion among writers do not depend upon the language they are writing in or the publication they are working for. An opinion is not dependent on the language it is written in. I can therefore claim that in the realm of the opinion articles the society of Pakistan cannot be divided neatly into Urdu users and English users.

4.5.2 Intertextual category development.

This section reconceptualises the thirty codes for category development. The thirty codes are presented in the form of a diagram. Urdu codes are written opposite the English ones.

Figure 4.7

Thirty codes as abstracted from three stages of coding

English	Urdu
“Do more”. Durdana Najam-US- <i>The Nation</i>	“Do more, no more”. Saleem Safi-US- <i>Jang</i>
US military colluding. Mahir Ali-US- <i>Dawn</i>	Nostalgia for General Zia’s era. Arifa Subah Khan-US- <i>Nawae Waqt</i>
“Do more”. Chris Cook- US- <i>The Express Tribune</i>	American aid “not even peanuts”. Rauf Klasra-US- <i>Roznama Dunya</i>
“Controlling military influence”. Saadia Gardezi-Army- <i>The Nation</i>	“Death to dictatorship”. Hamid Mir-Army- <i>Jang</i>
“Children of Zia”. Kamila Hayat-Army- <i>The News</i>	“Army chief is a man of Islam”. Nusrat Javed-Army- <i>Nawae Waqt</i>
“Defence suffers when military takes up civilian jobs”, I.R. Rehman-Army- <i>Dawn</i>	“Civil military relations the biggest issue”. Sohail Warriach-Army- <i>Jang</i>
“Omnipresent establishment judiciary’s last bastion of support”. Talat Hussain-Corruption- <i>The News</i>	“Swiss banks filled with civil-military rulers’ illegal money”. Rauf Klasra-Corruption- <i>Dunya</i>
Army uses corruption as “arm twisting”. Durdana Najam-Corruption- <i>The Nation</i>	“COAS declares democracy to be the greatest power”. Irshad Bhatti –Corruption- <i>Jang</i>
Nawaz Sharif’s “royal bother”. M.Ziauddin-Corruption- <i>The Express Tribune</i>	Nawaz Sharif groomed by the “real rulers”, Hassan Nisar-Corruption- <i>Jang</i>
“Military families pillars of society”. Chris Cook-EDU- <i>The Express Tribune</i>	“Gen Zia’s ban on student unions harmful”. Zubair Rehman EDU- <i>Express</i>
“Arbitrariness of military decisions stifles creativity”. Zubeida Mustafa-EDU- <i>Dawn</i>	“Improving education can stop people yearning for military rules”, Ansar Abbasi EDU- <i>Jang</i>
Academia jobs related to views on “establishment”. Dr. Pervez Hoodbhoy-EDU- <i>Dawn</i>	“Snooping of literary gatherings under Gen. Zia”. Kishwar Naheed EDU- <i>Jang</i>
“Fatima Jinnah more revered dead than alive	“Gen. Zia era public hanging of rapists

challenging Gen. Ayub”. Mosharraf Zaidi- Women- <i>The News</i>	effective deterrence”. Ansar Abbasi- Women- <i>Jang</i>
“Nineteen eighties a fraught time to be a woman/lawyer/politician”. Mina Malik- Women- <i>The Nation</i>	“Ex- army chief dances whereas Pashtoon female singers shot dead”. Kishwar Naheed-Women- <i>Jang</i>
“No justice for women even under Gen. Zia”. Kamila Hayat-Women- <i>The News</i> .	“Gen. Zia arrogantly crushed women rights”. Zahida Hina-Women- <i>Express</i> .

This section is built on the previous section which sees no doxastic fracturing on the basis of language divide. The doxa of army connecting the whole of data is already clear. Further category (doxa) is conceptualized within these conditions. The pattern emerging calls for further abstraction. In the first step, there are five doxai abstracted, one for each discourse. Since all doxai are written in English, a representative code for each discourse is picked which explains the data on the other side of the language divide. Keeping the above in mind, five doxai are selected. They are as given below:

1. The US: “Do more, no more”. (Saleem Safi-U).
2. Pak. army: “An army chief without any political ambitions suits the political elite in Pakistan”. (Nusrat Javed-U).
3. Corruption: “Pakistan’s omnipresent, almighty and durable establishment is judiciary’s last bastion of support”. (Talat Hussain-E).
4. Education: “Improving education can stop people yearning for military rules”. (Ansar Abbasi-U).
5. Women: General Ziaul Haq’s laws could not “ensure more justice for women or minority groups”. (Kamila Hayat- E).

As can be seen there is not just one language from which the codes (doxai) are taken. There are three codes from Urdu and two from English. The inverted commas indicate the in vivo portions of the codes.

In the next step, these five doxai are further conceptualized to saturate their properties. More data are drawn upon to help understand the properties of the five doxai. Their interrelationships and connections need more delineation before a core category (a core doxa, an over arching doxa) is formed. The additional data are taken either from the featured writers' own columns that are not included in the initial three hundred (300/299) articles, or from other columnists. This exercise results in creating a core category that stands for the whole of data.

Starting with the doxa on America which is "Do more, no more", more data are culled from newspapers to understand this doxa. The doxa itself is based on Saleem Safi's articles and is representative of the Urdu as well as English side. There are some writers who have a completely negative view of America and they are: Ansar Abbasi, Arifa Subah Khan, Saleem Safi and Zubair Rehman. Writers who can still see a ray of hope in the US-Pak relations are: Cook, Mahir Ali, Rauf Klasra, Saadia Gardezi, Durdana Najam, M. Ziauddin, Irshad Bhatti, Kishwar Naheed and Mosharraf Zaidi. There are two non-committal writers: Nusrat Javed and Irshad Bhatti. It can be seen that writers who are anti-America incidentally write in Urdu otherwise as regards to women and education, some of them have extremely divergent views. For example, Rehman and Abbasi both write in Urdu and are against the US but when it comes to women and education are at opposite poles.

An English columnist, Zaka Syed (2018, p.7) quoting American and Indian officials writes that "the Pakistani military will not be browbeaten" regarding the capability of Pakistan military in making things difficult for the US in Afghanistan. The point to note over here is that the writer is comfortable at interchanging Pakistani military with Pakistan the country, not once doubting that the "Pakistani" civilian leadership may want something else or that it is them who make the policy. Zaka Syed like Durdana Najam (E) and Rauf Klasra (U), tries to define the event in personal terms. He claims that the Pakistani government remained "remarkably cool and nonchalant in the face of America's tough love and even tougher talk" (Syed, 2018).

Anwar Iqbal (2018, p. 5) writing in *Dawn* about the fallout of President Trump suspending military officers' training in the US, quotes a US official as saying "it reduces the likelihood that Pakistan will act in the ways that Washington would like it

to act”. The pattern of equating the Pakistani government’s actions with those of the military is visible. Murtaza Ali Shah (2018, p. 5) like Syed (2018) and Iqbal (2018) above equates President Trump with Gen. Bajwa, COAS of Pakistan army in the following words: “As US led by President Donald Trump further isolates Pakistan, the army under Bajwa is shoring up its Western flank”.

The next doxa to be abstracted is that of Army and it is closely linked to the above doxa of the US. This doxa is also based on an Urdu writer’s articles: “An army chief without any political ambitions suits the political elite in Pakistan” (Nusrat Javed). The doxa of Army is divided into different categories given its complex nature. The first category is anti-Zia and the writers are: Zahida Hina, Kishwar Naheed, Kamila Hayat, Mina Malik, Hassan Nisar, M. Ziauddin, Hamid Mir, Saadia Gardezi, Saleem Safi, Mahir Ali, Sohail Warraich. The following writers are anti-martial laws: Sohail Warraich, Kamila Hayat, Hamid Mir, Saadia Gardezi, and Pervez Hoodbhoy. The two pro-Zia columnists are: Ansar Abbasi, Arifa Subah Khan. There are some pro-army writers. They may not be in total agreement with what army is alleged to be doing but as compared to the others, they have a soft corner for the military. They are: Chris Cook, Irshad Bhatti, Durdana Najam, Arifa Subah Khan. There are some decidedly anti-army writers and they are: Mosharraf Zaidi, Sohail Warraich, Zubair Rehman, Pervez Hoodbhoy, Zubeida Mustafa, Rauf Klasra, Talat Hussain, Nusrat Javed, I. A. Rehman, Kamila Hayat. Arifa Subah Khan and Ansar Abbasi both are pro-Zia but Arifa is in favour of the current army leadership also while Ansar Abbasi is not.

Whether any writer is pro-martial law or not, critical of Zia or not, denounces army interference in civilian affairs, or not, everyone stands with the army against American bullying. Adeela Naureen (2018, 7), an English columnist, labels the civil-military relations as one of the major faultlines. This is in tandem with Sohail Warraich (U) and Talat Hussain (E). Naureen enlists the “major faultlines like interprovincial sensitivities, ethnic divisions, sectarian issues, class gap and civil-military relations” that Pakistan is prey to. Naureen (2018, p.7), a newspaper columnist, is also in agreement with Lall (2012, section 2.5 of this dissertation) who researches on Pakistan’s faultlines. The civil-military relations as enacted in major

newspapers become the spring-board for theorizing the Urdu-English relation in my work.

What is noteworthy is that most writers opine that army is still in command as far the foreign policy is concerned. Fahad Husain, an English columnist, writes in a hypothetical style saying “[a]ssume the military controls policy on India and Afghanistan heavily influences relations with China, the United States, etc.” (Fahad, 2017, p. 7). All writers who dwell on the Pak-US relationship point to the role of the army in the foreign policy. Fahad’s views correspond to those of Nusrat Javed and Rauf Klasra’s.

There are some writers who praise the army for standing up to the Trump threats. Arifa Subha Khan (2018) is one who has good words to say about the role of the army in the current crisis. Saleem Safi (2018) wants the civil- military leadership to be on one page when they deal with Americans. He lauds the army chief for his bold stance. Alongside them, there is Nusrat Javed (2018) who claims rather derisively that the army and civilian leadership sat together to face the American pressure. Durdana Najam appreciates the army chief for his reply of “no more” to the American “do more”. Another Urdu columnist Nazeer Naji is in agreement with Nusrat Javed when he calls “[t]he position of the army chief is considered to be the strongest in Pakistan” (Naji, 2018, p. 8; my translation).

Adeela Naureen (2018) gives COAS full marks for leading the “noble cause” of moving the country away from the America-centric policy and towards Russia. She is very clear that Pakistan’s foreign policy is run by both politicians and the military:

Pakistani politico- military leadership has shown maturity and foresightedness in becoming a part of the Eurasian dream; full marks should be given to General Bajwa to not only being part of the process, but also leading the way for this noble cause (2018, p. 7).

The other side of the divide is represented by Fahad Hussain who writes that “the situation today pertains less to the prospects of a martial law and more to jostling for space within the governance spectrum” (Hussain, 2017, p. 7). He articulates in so many words what most others have alluded to.

The third category is corruption that too is defined in terms of the military's role in Pakistan: "Pakistan's omnipresent, almighty and durable establishment judiciary's last bastion of support". All writers who mention corruption are extremely critical of the process either because not enough is being done or the exercise is not impartial. Most writers are of the opinion that the recent anti-corruption drive has the support of the army. Many writers like Durdana Najam (2018), Sohail Warraich (2018) and Saadia Gardezi (2018) point out that the military rulers have used corruption in the past as arm twisting. Kamila Hayat goes to the extent of saying that corruption may not be the biggest issue that this country faces. Fahad Hussain (2018) claims in tandem with Talat Hussain's (2018) messiah mind-set comment that "Pakistan is groaning under the weight of well-intentioned men and women bent upon enforcing good upon others. Every good intentioned Pakistani with the means of enforcing his goodness in the last seven decades has done so with pious vengeance" (Hussain, 2018, p. 7). Hussain is not only referring to the army but judiciary also.

Nusrat Javed (2017) as is pointed out above is one of those who is not very happy with the way things are and holds army responsible for it to a large extent. In one of his articles other than the originally selected ones, he argues that "I am double-minded about writing about the accountability drive. It is true that a person writing about the corruption of the Sharif family not only increases one's ratings but is a symbol of allegiance to one's country also. This earns a person the worldly gains as well as the life hereafter. I want to be known as a good person but I cannot bring myself to adopt this hypocrisy" (Javed, 2018, p. 8; my translation). He clearly declares that writing about the corruption of just the Sharif family will be hypocritical. The way he puts it makes it very clear that the powers that be i.e. the army, will be pleased but he decides to listen to the voice of his conscience.

There is an English writer and a renowned scientist, Attaur Rehman (2018, p. 7) whose article is selected for conceptualization here. He claims that "[t]he winds of change are blowing fast and loud. The corrupt are being caught and punished, and fresh ideas and a new beginning may just be around the corner" (Rehman, 2018). Rehman is published in *The News* which also publishes Talat Hussain and Kamila Hayat. The latter two cast aspersions on the accountability drive and wonder if it is really Pakistan's biggest issue. Rehman resonates with Durdana Najam (2018) who

despite her misgivings about the past role of military rules in eradicating corruption, is optimistic about the current accountability process. She is quoted here again in the following way. It seems that “the process of accountability has self-wheeled into every part of society” which is a good sign.

The fourth intertextual doxa is about education: “Improving education can stop people yearning for military rules”, (Ansar Abbasi-U). Generally, all writers across the language divide bemoan the condition of education in the country. Cook can see some improvement in the Punjab, however. Predictably it is also closely related to the army. As has been mentioned above, English columnists from Hoodbhoy (2018), Kamila Hayat (2018), Zubeida Mustafa (2018) and Mosharraf Zaidi (2018) to Urdu columnists like Kishwar Naheed (2018), Zubair Rehman (2018), Arifa Subah Khan (2018) Rauf Klasra (2018) and Ansar Abbasi seem to see a connection between army and education though they may not agree with each other completely. For the purpose of theoretical sampling, Kamal Siddiqui’s (2018) article is selected where he argues that “while we are ready to import foreign cultures and languages – whether it is those who ape the West or those who want to impose Saudi norms on our country, why can we not celebrate who we are?” (Siddiqui, 2018, p. 7). There is a clear reference to Gen. Ziaul Haq’s military reign when he decided to arabize the whole country in his quest to make Saudi Arabia happy. Pervez Hoodbhoy (2018) also refers to the same when he reports that the creation of Pakistan was tied to the date when Muhammad bin Qasim landed in Sindh.

The fifth and the last doxa is about women. All writers who mention the condition of women (Chris Cook, Mahir Ali, Saadia Gardezi, Durdana Najam, M. Ziauddin, Zubeida Mustafa, Mosharraf Zaidi, Mina Malik, Kamila Hayat from the English side and Ansar Abbasi, Kishwar Naheed, Irshad Bhatti, Zahida Hina and Zubair Rehman from the Urdu) portray a comparatively sorry picture of how women are treated today and also how they were treated in Gen. Zia’s days. Ansar Abbasi (U) is the only writer who is critical of the freedom given to women calling it a Western agenda. He, too, is unhappy with the condition of women especially the freedom granted to women. It is formulated as “General Ziaul Haq’s laws could not ensure more justice for women or minority groups”, Kamila Hayat (E). From Urdu columnists like Zubair Rehman (2018), Kishwar Naheed (2018) and Zahida Hina

(2018) to English writers like Kamila Hayat (2018), Mosharraf Zaidi (2018), Mina Malik (2018) and Saadia Gardezi (2018), all want women to be dressed in whichever way they want to. They do not prescribe a certain dress code imposed on them. They do not want women to be judged according to what they wear. Gardezi (2018) and Hayat (2018) clearly tie the debate with repressive dress code enforced by Gen. Zia. The others are more implicit by referring to women's rights in general.

The category is developed by bringing in two more perspectives. Gardezi (2017) broadens the debate by bringing in the Western perspective also. She argues that “the fact is, those in Pakistan, who believe that women should dress a certain way and act a certain way... make a natural alliance with the Western individual on the right and far right, who believes the same, and who they love to hate” (Gardezi, 2018, p. 6). Other than Arifa, there are Zaidi (2018) and Ansar Abbasi (2018) above who contribute to the clothing debate by bringing in the West also. Ansar Abbasi (2018) of course is in favour of women observing “purdah”. He does not say it directly but the way he writes, it seems that he wants a strict enforcement of “purdah”. Abbasi writes more than once that “there are efforts to shape Islam that is acceptable to the US and Europe”. Those Muslim scholars are promoted who do not make it contingent upon women to observe “purdah”. They are liked by the media which themselves spread vulgarity and nudity” (Abbasi, 2018, p. 8; my translation). Abbasi links “purdah” with politics. His stance if read in conjunction with Ghazi Sala Uddin (2018) yields a different picture altogether. The latter also writing for *Jang* in Urdu, claims that “in my opinion the message of Women's Day is that the men and women today should move side by side. There are certain areas where women can overtake men” (Sala Uddin, 2018, p. 11; my translation). The crux of the above discussion is that writers when opining from either side or from different publications, can cross these boundaries and forge a common point of view.

The intertextual category that represents the entire data is formulated as: “An army without any political ambitions would be more acceptable than its present and past role”. I call it an intertextual doxa as it is based on the collective opinion of the media intellectuals and fulfils the definition as given in Chapter 2.

The final doxa/category represents both the English and Urdu columns which means that all three hundred (300) plus columns regardless of the language, form one

discourse or a single text. This means that they have “an ontological existence of their own” (Coffey & Atkinson, 2011, p.79). The data are linked to each other via the common link of the discourse on army. All articles are heavily dependent on intertextuality for meaning making. This marks the end of inductive reasoning. The next step is abductive reasoning or in GTM terms, theoretical sampling.

4.6 Interdoxtuality, D/doxa and ENGURD

This is the last stage in the process of theory formulation. It is marked by theoretical sampling. The above inductively reasoned category/doxa that stands for the entire data undergoes sampling yet again for it to be theoretically saturated as given below. The intertextual category above explains just one part of the data, i.e, doxastic faultlines having necessary implications for the Urdu-English relationship. In the following section the second part of the title that pertains to the bifurcation of the Pakistani society along linguistic lines, is conceptualised. The words used in this dissertation’s title for the same are “linguistic fracturing”. The two languages taken to study this bifurcation or division are Urdu and English. There are three terms that have been coined for the theory that explains the relationship between Urdu and English and they are “interdoxtuality, D/doxa and ENGURD.

Theoretical sampling in constructivist grounded theory as given in chapter 3, is the second type of sampling and is done to further understand the theoretical concept(s) derived from inductive reasoning which takes data analysis as its point of departure. The end of induction is followed by abductive reasoning. Tavory & Timmermans point out that the type of reasoning that marks theoretical sampling is abduction (2019, p. 537). Abduction accounts for a surprising new take on the data and is aided by theoretical sampling by summoning all plausible explanations of data; an abductive take is taken to understand the situation. New data are mined where need be. Charmaz (2011, p. 361) advises comparing our concepts with disciplinary concepts and that is what I do in this section. I compare the final category with some disciplinary concepts from my area and present an explanation of the phenomenon.

The project underhand started with data (300/299 newspaper opinion articles taken from Urdu and English languages). The part above ended on inductive reasoning. An intertextual category/ doxa “[a]n army without any political ambitions

would be more acceptable than its present and past role” is the sum total of the inductive reasoning that explains the data. A category is considered as theoretically saturated when no fresh insight is revealed. Therefore, this category now undergoes theoretical sampling or abductive reasoning to further achieve the status of a substantive theory. Reichertz (2019, p. 264) calls abductive reasoning the “assembling or discovering, on the basis of an interpretation of collected data, such combinations of features for which there is no appropriate explanation or rule in the store of knowledge that already exists”. This sampling is different from the sampling done in positivist paradigm which is done for population and is explained in the chapter 3.

4.6.1 *Interdoxuality and D/doxa*

The doxastic value of my data (Urdu and English) can be summed up as following: “[a]n army without any political ambitions would be more acceptable than its present and past role”. This becomes the springboard for theoretical sampling. So far, the entity of doxa is conceptualized as a content entity and the inference drawn from this content entity is that the differences amongst the writers is neither due to the language they are writing in or the publication they are associated with.

The doxastic conceptualization (the intertextual category) also points to the importance of relationship between doxa (opinions) and language. I pose a question whether it is just an opinion without any linguistic bearing or is it dependent upon the language in some significant way? Keeping in mind that all constructions are dependent upon the language, this aspect will be conceptualized after taking into account relevant literature, or disciplinary perspectives as Charmaz (2011, p. 361) calls them.

The linguistic aspect of doxa have been alluded to by quite a few doxastists or doxa theorists. Rosengren (2008, p. 52) calls doxa a linguistic entity (the way it is defined in this project is given in the next paragraph) without detailing its features. Eleven years later, Rosengren (2019, p. 120) again takes up doxa. He splits up the definition of doxa between a way to do the right (or wrong) thing as opposed to how things are, and public opinion. As can be seen, the notion of “method” is co-joined with the opinion. Rosengren does not choose to go any further than this. Roland Barthes (1977, p. 47), another theorist who opines on doxa, divides it into two parts

by drawing our attention to the “opinion” and how this special opinion is formed. He defines doxology as “any way of speaking adapted to appearance, to opinion, or to practice” (p. 47). The above two definitions point to two aspects. First, the above doxastists divide the entity of doxa into its opinion side and its formation side. Second, they refer to how its formed. The formation necessarily depends upon language in general. It is important to note that doxa is not considered as an unbreakable or a rigid entity.

Coming to what a “linguistic entity” is in the context of this discussion, Rastall (2014, p.1) calls one as having a communicative function which is distinct in nature. A linguistic entity is a “communicational linguistic reality”. Moreover, any function is “a means of scientific analysis” (Rastall, 2014, p. 4). Comparing doxa with the definition of a “linguistic entity”, it can be claimed that doxa has a distinctive function in language it stands out due to the manner in some content is expressed doxastically. It has a force and a presence of its own that has been commented upon through centuries starting with Aristotle (384-322 BC) and coming down to Amossy (2002) and Rosengren (2019). It has been embraced and shunned in equal measures. This distinctness of doxa is formed through the recurrent patterns which give it a “communicative linguistic reality”.

It would not be remiss to call doxa as an entity that gives a text, a piece of discourse, its textual coherence. Doxa acquires a textual function in this respect. “The textual function is often referred to as the enabling metafunction of language since it is concerned with the creation of text” (Jochimsen, 2008, p. 3). It is that quality of a text that enables the users of a language to construct and view text as a coherent piece of articulation.

The grounded theory method (like any other theorizing method), doxa formation and the intertextual category all put a premium value on patterns as any text gets its genesis through the feature of patterns. Patterns are a feature of intertextuality and that is how the intertextual category above is conceptualized. This binds doxa in a close relation with intertextuality. Tannen (2007, p. 62) understands intertextuality in terms of the repetitive patterns that it makes. She argues that repetition is a discourse strategy, it is a cohesive device, new utterances are linked to earlier discourse etc. Mitošinková (2007, p. 65) calls intertextuality a cement that binds texts together and

determine its meaning. Whether intertextuality is called a repetition or a cementing element, the entity of doxa gets crystallised. Doxa is a cement that is “repeated” through the entire discourse analysed in this project and through which intertextuality is realized.

Like the doxa theorists above, Hampton (1989, p. 41) too divides doxa into two. He claims that doxa has a passive side and an active side. The passive side is the product-the opinion. The active side is the process through which the product comes about. Hampton notes the ambiguity inherent in the concept. He writes that the “belief or opinion (doxa) is ambiguous since it can refer in the active sense (doxazein) to the process of belief and in the passive sense (to doxazomenon) to the product of the process”.

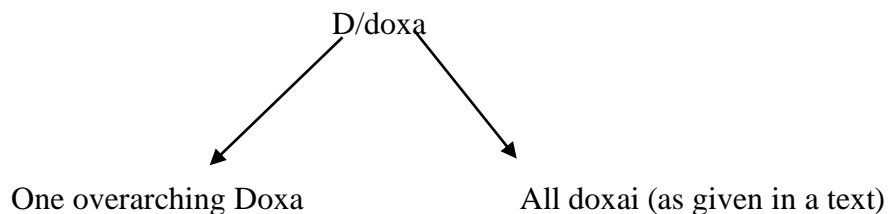
What is emerging is that doxa is a linguistic entity; it is a means to a scientific analysis, it has a textual function in terms of coherence production, it is an intertextual cement that uses patterns for its realization and it is both a process and a product. This linguistic mapping of doxa calls for its redefinition in the context of this research project which has used doxa in the sense of opinions of media intellectuals. Doxa as used in the sense of opinions, has an important role in redefining the relationship of Urdu and English. The doxastic value of the text (three hundred plus newspaper articles culled from major Urdu and English newspapers in Pakistan) determines the relationship of the two major languages. It shows that there is no doxastic difference between the two and they make one discourse or text in the realm of the data.

It can safely be inferred that “doxa” is not simply any opinion that is repeated but one that takes its genesis in a certain doxastic environment that I call as “Intertdoxuality”. The new term coined for intertextuality that exemplifies doxai as given in the data is “Interdoxuality”. Doxai, the repetitive opinions which meander through different texts and bind them together in a doxastic relationship rely on “Interdoxuality”. An Interdoxual text ensures that there are a wide range of opinions/doxai present which may or may not be the same, but there is a visible, palpable networking amongst them. This networking is done by a major doxa that holds the entire meaning-making potential within itself. Interdoxuality is the linguistic structure that is imperative for the opinions (doxai) to exist.

There is one more element in this equation and that is the overarching category, the main doxa around which the entire discourse revolves or is the lynchpin. This focal point is styled as “Doxa” written with a capital D. Doxa with a capital D stands for the main doxa, the main idea or the opinion that holds the whole discussion together. When written together the big “D” Doxa and the small “d” doxa look like the following: D/doxa. The doxa with a small “d” stands for different opinions which may or may not be in total harmony with each other, but they are dependent upon the big “D” Doxa for their meaning-making in a particular doxastic situation. The D/doxa is conceived as highly interdependent in nature and therefore, can only exist together which means Doxa represents the overarching opinion and “doxa” stands for the all the different doxai. D/doxa can only be produced within the framework that is provided by Interdoxtuality. The following diagram presents D/doxa graphically.

Figure 4.8

D/doxa



The D/doxa may cut across linguistic boundaries as in my case. Or it can be conceptualized in a single language discourse. D/doxa stands for a single value representation of an entire discourse/text. D/doxa as a product of Interdoxtuality points to the structural- content interdependence that an Interdoxtual text possesses. All doxai present in a text have to be subsumed under Doxa. They have to be accounted for by the Doxa. When they all stem from one Doxa, they all become interconnected and derive meaning from each other. In my case, this Doxa is made up of an overarching structure in the shape of the discourse on army. Every other discourse is subservient to this discourse. This is the main discourse. Doxa with a small “d” represents the different doxai present in a text. Doxa is used both in a singular as well plural form. I use “doxai” to refer to more than one doxa/opinion. There are many doxastists (for example, Rosengren [2008]) who use doxa both for plural and singular entities. The small “d” doxa in the equation D/doxa is used in a plural way. The small

“d” doxa/doxai may not be the same but are bound up with each other as well as with the Doxa that is the reference point for all of them. Interdoxtuality may be present in a single language text also if the other two conditions as represented by D/doxa are present. The kind of intertextuality implied in Interdoxtuality and by extension in D/doxa is consistent with the Irwin (2011, p. 100). Making an intertextual claim for social constructionist sociolinguistics, Irwin proposes that meaningful utterances cannot disregard contexts and by extension the intertextual associations.

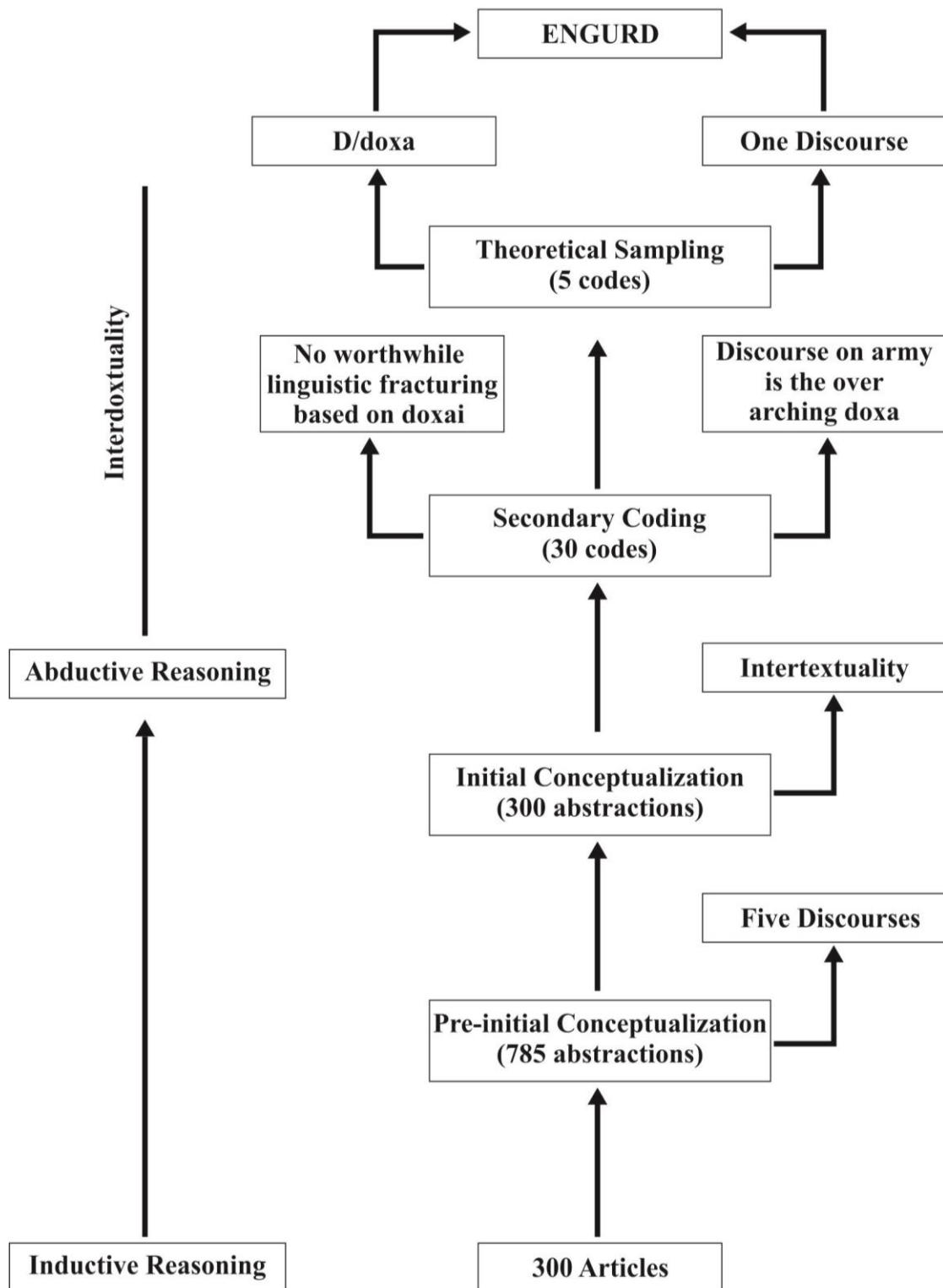
4.6.2 The theory of ENGURD as representing the relationship between English and Urdu

Applying the D/doxa onto my data, it is the discourse on Pakistan Army across all newspaper articles that provides an Interdoxtual framework. This turns the data into a single text or discourse. All other discourses are generated in relation to this main discourse. This happens across the two languages, English and Urdu. There are similarities in standpoints across the two languages. As mentioned above D/doxa is not dependent upon a certain type of text that is characterised by the number of languages involved. It can be applied to a single language text. The presence of an interdoxtual framework is the only condition that is contingent for this equation.

The unification of discourse that D/doxa stands for means that Urdu and English make one discourse. Simply put, this discursive entity does not view Urdu and English as two separate discourses. They remain two different languages but at the discursive level, they are one. The apparent linguistic differences that the data hold, are of no significance when it comes to the sum total of the views expressed. Furthermore, it means that doxa (different opinions) can only exist if a Doxa is in place to anchor it. The following diagram captures the process of theory formation.

Figure 4.9

The formulation of ENGURD



D/doxa- the linguistic configuration, the discursive entity/model, needs to be conceptualized in the context of the relationship between Urdu, the national language,

and English, the ex-colonizer's language, as this is what I had set out to do. I used doxa- the opinion as my unit of analysis and conceptualized it as a linguistic entity. The theoretical rendering for this unity of discourse is ENGURD- a linguistic/discursive equation that is derived from D/doxa. The portmanteau ENGURD takes its genesis from two words, English and Urdu. This term is called a discursive as well a linguistic entity highlighting the interchangeability of the two words. This interchangeability does not extend to discourse and language as Urdu and English make one discourse but do not become one language. The term discourse is differentiated from language. The former refers to the meaning or sense that is derived out of a text (the meaning potential of a text/language) and is contextual, whereas the latter refers to the actual, physical words of a specific language. Elsewhere in the work, both discourse and language are used interchangeably when the aspect of them being social practices is alluded to (section 1.3.1).

The theory of ENGURD is substantive and not formal as claimed in chapter 1 (Charmaz, 2006, p. 180) and is contextualized within the data. It, therefore, has limited generalization. This theory views both languages, English and Urdu, as equal and forming one discourse or one discursive formation. The theory of ENGURD has three elements: i) one discursive formation, ii) equality between Urdu and English and iii) the positive role of doxosophers/ media intellectuals. All three aspects of this are interlinked and contextualized within the existing literature.

4.6.2.1. One discursive formation. I use the term discursive formation for ENGURD for the theory generated from the data. This is a term taken from Foucault (1972, p. 38) and follows Charmaz (2011, p. 361) instructions of using disciplinary concepts to better conceptualize a situation. Foucault calls the regularity among statements as forming a single discursive formation. As I have shown, my data make one discursive formation in the sense that regardless of differences between writers from across the language divide or within the single language, they all converge on one point- Pakistan Army is used to make an argument. This argument can be about any of the four discourses as identified above.

The opportunity provided by an Interdoxual framework characterised by the D/doxa is somewhat similar to what Winnubst calls the Foucauldian "space of endless contestation: the site in which discourses shape themselves, a site of conflict,

violence, disruption, discontinuity, struggle, contest, and endless movements” (2006, p. 138). The discourses “jockey” with each other as indicated in the first chapter of my project. This contestation leads to the discontinuity of considering Urdu and English as two different discourses as suggested by Shafqat Saeed (2009, pp. 282- 3) and others in Chapter 2. Saeed considers Urdu and English newspaper writers as coming from two different constituencies and possessing different worldviews. My project shows that a discontinuity takes place in the discursive space giving rise to a new discursive formation- ENGURD. Furthermore, the Foucauldian style of discovering the discursive space is similar to the journey undertaken in this project. He too starts with a “loose, but familiar, groups of statements” not knowing if he will still be working with them till the end of his project. He is not sure if his analysis will yield any “unexpected boundaries and divisions or not” (1972, p. 38).

It may seem that some Urdu columnists use a language that is nationalist and/or emotional whereas English writers seem more reasonable but all columns make one discourse. There are some differences but they cannot be attributed to the difference in language. For example, both Kishwar Naheed and Ansar Abbasi write in Urdu and incidentally for the same newspaper (*Jang*), but as has been shown above there is more divergence than convergence in their opinions. The opinion makers are not bound within the confines of a particular language. Rather they break free from the visible confines of the language and forge a discourse that boasts of Interdoxual coherence. Hussain and Munawar (2017) as given in Chapter 2 (section 2.7) of this work, claim on the basis of their study that Urdu newspapers had fewer peace frames as compared to the English newspapers. My study did not find any such glaring difference between the newspapers of the two languages. Urdu writers were not more aggressive than the English ones. English writers were not more pliable than Urdu. The discourse formed had commonalities across the two languages. If Saleem Safi and Arifa Subah Khan (writing in Urdu) appreciate the army chief for challenging the US threats, Rauf Klasra (writing in Urdu) and cautions the country about the same issue. Durdana Najam (writing in English) admits that Pakistan is a dependent economy implicitly agreeing with Klasra that Pakistan has limited options.

4.6.2.2 Equality between Urdu and English. The English language’s hegemony on the Urdu language has not been demonstrated through an analysis of the

300 plus English and Urdu newspaper columns. The question that is automatically raised here is that if English and Urdu are in a position of equality as far as these newspaper columns are concerned, can it be inferred that it is the same everywhere the two languages are used? This question needs a little elaboration. Cook (2018) and Mustafa (2017) think otherwise. Cook calls books written in the English language as having “singular clarity and composition” but commanding limited readership. Cook (2018) does not shed on the kind of readership, though. The readership that reads English may be more powerful than the non-English reading in some ways. The following opinion by Mustafa (2017) elaborates the complex and complicated relationship between English and Urdu:

Those who really want to communicate with the audience — politicians and the electronic media — are aware that they would have few takers if they were to speak in English as not many understand the nuances of this foreign language and even fewer can speak it. This acknowledgment of the reality is a positive development, especially when we claim to be a democracy (Mustafa, 2017, p. 8).

Electronic media in Pakistan uses Urdu mostly as Urdu is the language that is not just the national language but it acts as a lingua franca throughout the length and breadth of the country. The power of democracy is visible in Mustafa’s words. It can be said that rather than the English discourse, in terms of its Western link, influencing Urdu, it is the other way around in Pakistan as is evident from the data. Hoodbhoy (2016, p. 7) supports Mustafa (2017, p.8) when he too claims that “[i]n earlier days English was the preferred language of communication but this morphed into Urdu as the elite indigenised, became less cosmopolitan, and developed firmer religious roots” (Hoodbhoy, 2016, p. 7). The power of Urdu can be inferred from this statement despite the fact that English is used for official and higher educational purposes in Pakistan. Coming to linguistic hegemony, there are some writers who bracket English with Urdu when it comes to hegemony in education especially. Mustafa (2017) calls English and Urdu “dominant languages” in their relation to the Pakistani regional languages. She advocates that the medium of instruction at the primary level should be region’s local language rather than the English language or the Urdu language. She denounces the two languages’ “tyranny” that school children

in Pakistan have to face. The notion of linguistic hegemony is fluid. No sense of linguistic arrogance can be detected in any columnist writing in English except Mosharraf Zaidi (2018) who argues that the English-speaking class in Pakistan has access to global discourse.

In Chapter two, (section 2.7), Ammara Durrani (as cited in Abraham, 2009) and Saeed Shafqat (2009) opine on how Urdu and English press “behave”. Durrani (as cited in Abraham, 2009) shows in her study that Urdu press, contrary to the general view, presented more angles and was more nuanced as compared to *Dawn* which seemed to follow the official line. Shafqat (2009) finds Urdu print media as more “sensational” of the two, relying more on rhetoric than investigations. Out of all Urdu columnists only Hasan Nisar (2018), Irshad Bhatti (2018) and Sohail Warraich (2018) used overly emotive language falling in the realm of sensationalism. The underlying message of three writers resonated with all other columnists regardless of the style in which they wrote.

Lall (2012) and Durrani (as cited in Abraham, 2009) as elaborated in Chapter 2 of this dissertation, both concede that their research studies did not confirm the popular perception regarding the difference between the print media of English and Urdu. Lall (2012) concludes that the faultlines she started her study with, did not emerge in the final analysis. One of the faultlines was “the army vs. the rest of the population” (Lall, 2012, p. 74). Durrani (as cited in Abraham, 2009) was expecting to find English print media as more balanced than the Urdu print media, but found contrary results.

There is the perception that English imports Western ideas. Mosharraf Zaidi claims explicitly that the English-speaking class has access to global discourse and this what makes them reasonable or even Westernised. However, he bemoans that in the case of a certain social media star’s honour-killing, this class displayed ambivalent response. Dr Pervez Hoodbhoy (2018) and Kamila Hayat (2018) allude to it without openly supporting the English educational system of ideas. Zubeida Mustafa (2018) an avid English columnist is wary of English, argues that English and Urdu have different world views and that English is used in Pakistan to erect unequal social boundaries. The assertion that the use of English in the educational settings gives rise to inequalities is not debated here.

There is a study by Wolf and Polzenhagen (2007) on the impact of local culture on the English language. They claim:

Sociolinguistics have had difficulties coming to terms with “culture”, and their examples of acculturation have rarely gone beyond the description of some grammatical patterns, loan words, and phonetic features induced by mother tongue interference or endonormative processes (2007, p. 400).

There are two ways of viewing the English language and its relationship with ex-colonial cultures. The first is the isomorphic view that propagates that speaking the English language will make the speakers subscribe to the Western culture also as the language and the values are linked closely to each other. The second is that English has undergone changes attesting to the pluricentricity character of the English language. The authors of the paper hold the latter view and show through analysing the corpus of African English that English reflects the culture it is spoken in. In the case of Pakistan, both these views are dwelt upon in chapter 2. These reserachers do not however look at the existence of English as forming one discourse with the other major language of the society.

The issue of linguistic identity is also pertinent here. Urdu is promoted among other reasons as it is thought to promote nationalism which English cannot. As is discussed above, it may be true in a narrower sense that the way the Urdu language stands for national identity a language of an ex-coloniser cannot. However, what needs to be pointed out is that people in Pakistan are increasingly using the English language which means that the English language is undergoing a process of discursive indigenisation. This is closely related to how it is used in the society. It is used for discussing issues for which the Urdu is also used. The elitism associated with the English language is not visible in my findings. The writers of either language do not subscribe to a particular ideology bestowed to them upon by the language. The extent to which this indigenisation has taken place is evident in the nature of the discourse as practiced in the three hundred (300) plus articles newspapers articles selected from the two languages’ newspapers. The discourse is marked by an overall homogeneity bestowed upon it by intertextuality. The doxastic differences cannot be attributed to the difference in the language in which they are encoded.

The next point is related to the first one. If difference in opinion is not due to the language, the notions of language and nationalism/ identity come into question. The question arises that which language is creating what identity. The notion that the English language being a colonial legacy cannot be circulated without qualification. Findings of projects like the present one may play a role in giving rise to an identity which may want to embrace the English language rather than shunning it while using it all the same. Discourse is Pakistani in nature- it is about Pakistan. The underlying as well as the explicit messages in the five discourses do not seem to indicate in any way that they are influenced by the language in which they are encoded.

Agreeing with Hobsbawm (as cited in Joseph, 2004) who claims that the notion of a national language is discursively constructed, this research project argues that the identity of the Urdu language as the national language needs to be redefined and where other regional languages are included in the discursive construction of Urdu, there should be a place for English also. There is no need to shun/ condemn the English language as the coloniser's legacy. The English language as used in Pakistan (albeit within the narrow confines of the selected newspaper articles) is discursively constructed also. Joseph (2004, p.185) claims that “national languages and identities arise in tandem, ‘dialectically’ if you like, in a complex process”. The current study concurs with Joseph (2004) as Pakistan's national language along with English is undergoing a process of reconstruction. Similar to Wolf and Polzenhagen's (2007) claim that the English language is amenable to change according to the culture in which it is adopted, this study shows that the Urdu language is morphing, too. The common discourse rising above the language divide is an attestation to the fact. In such a scenario, by extension, the identity that is closely linked to the national language may undergo a process of metamorphosis also.

This brings the discussion to Bhabha's (1994) hybridity and his “conceptualizing” of an “international culture” (1994, p. 38). Bhabha without negating the importance of resurrecting one's national identity in a post-colonial world, seems to be referring to a global world where language induced identities may undergo transformations. His “third space enunciation” (Bhabha, 1994, p. 37) for an interdependent colonizer/ex-colonized relation can somewhat be exemplified by the findings of the ENGURD theory as generated from newspaper discourse as

English is no longer a colonizer's legacy in the wake of globalization. English has had its rebirth of as a global entity that belongs to everyone ready to own it. Bhabha's notion of hybridity is relevant here also as a new form (ENGURD) is born as a result of English and Urdu.

My theory ENGURD also addresses issues raised by Bill Ashcroft (2001). He labels using English (the colonizer's language) as negating the "ethnocentric resistance" (2001, p. 33). In the same breath, however, he agrees that this also is a form of appropriation. When Ashcroft writes the following "Language is not one aspect of a broad range of colonizing strategies, it is the very mode of cultural control, the vehicle in which those strategies are effected" (2001, p.86), it echoes the Pakistan's Supreme Court's (2015) verdict that calls for replacing the colonizer's language, i.e, the English language with the national language. No government has been able to do it despite the constitutional Article 251, to the effect. The reason being that English is a global language and contains the world's most advanced and extensive literature on any topic. An insight from the other side of the border is in order here as English is sometimes viewed as a colonial legacy there too. India has for the large part, been able to recognise its importance. An Indian linguist Scrase (2004, p.2) portrays the situation in the following way:

English is recognized as an important global international language, essential for professional employment and significantly, a key component of the cultural capital of middle-class Indians.

The theory of ENGURD provides an alternative way to look at the issue. Though the theory ENGURD does not negate any language, a sense of appropriation can be derived from it as both English and Urdu are given the same status.

4.6.2.3. The positive role of media intellectuals or doxsophers. The theory of ENGURD owes its existence to the media intellectuals styled after Edward Said (1994). They produce a positive doxa (Amossy, 2002, p.374) by highlighting the issues faced by the society. The newspaper columns by public intellectuals wield a power over the opinion of the public. The force can be explained by claiming that the ideas are repeated over time assuming a doxic character, and have an interdoxual/intertextual property to them. Discourse can be defined as a body of

utterances imbued with authority. Bakhtin (as cited in Mills, 1997) calls discourse as “a method of using words which presumes authority”. Public intellectuals as propelled by Said, command authority over what they write, how they make associations and interpret events. Having said this, it needs to be pointed out that the sociolinguistic implications as having emerged out of the opinion pages may not have been originally or even intended by these public intellectuals as they were busy guiding the attention of newspaper reading public towards issues afflicting the Pakistani society.

This marks the culmination of the theory formulation process. There are two quotes that best describe my journey that started with doxa- an onion and ended on D/doxa as a linguistic entity that is the source of textual unity. The first is by Barthes (1977, p. 148) who writes “a text’s unity lies not in its origin but in its destination”. My text’s unity is in the destination which is twofold: D/doxa and ENGURD. The second quote is by Coupland (2016, p. 6) “theory in the social sciences and sociolinguistic theory should still involve abstracting away from particular data contexts and instances”. Both D/doxa and ENGURD abstract away from data, though D/doxa more than ENGURD.

CHAPTER 5

FINAL THOUGHTS

5.1 Scope of the chapter

This is the last chapter of my project. As I conclude my work, I take an overview of my research journey by referring to my stance in Chapter 1. I present what my project adds to the field of sociolinguistics. I also present the evaluation criteria given by Charmaz (2006) and show how my project meets the criteria. Then I mention the problems I faced especially with regards to the Urdu language and the detours that made a crucial part of the process. These problems carry implications for further research.

5.2 A recap of the research journey

The main purpose behind the undertaking of this research project was to reimagine the relationship between Urdu, the national language of Pakistan and English, a second language having the unofficial status of an official language. As I look back to the position taken in Chapter 1, it is clear that the discussion has come a long way illuminating the future path. In Chapter 1, I mentioned the Supreme Court of Pakistan's (Supreme Court Verdict, 2015, p. 10) ruling directing the government of Pakistan to cast off the colonial baggage in the shape of the English language and adopt Urdu the national language in its place. Any number of assumptions can be drawn from the judgement when the English language is called a colonial language. For the purpose of this work, the English language is considered as a language which is difficult to learn, has become a source of inequality in the society in terms of getting education and employment, brings in a foreign culture and finally which pushes the national language, Urdu, to the margins of the linguistic map.

It was reported in Chapter 1 that people across the Pakistani society felt ashamed in using Urdu (Rehman, 2014, p. 08), a phenomenon called as language shaming. It is only in Mosharraf Zaidi's articles (2016) that a sense of superiority linked to the English language emerged. All other public intellectuals seem comfortable with whichever language they write in. Cook (2018) and Mustafa (2018)

acknowledge that writing in Urdu ensures a wider readership. By treating the columns as discourse and focussing more on the underlying message by going beyond the visible linguistic differences, the theory of ENGURD reconceptualises the relationship between the two “dominant” (Mustafa, 2018) languages. I stop, ponder and rethink anew (Charmaz, 2006) and in doing so generate a new theory to contribute to the available literature on sociolinguistics. I bring in a new perspective that no extant theory was able to explain the relationship in a new light, though Bhabha (1994, p. 37) is close. I try to fulfil Wardhaugh and Fuller (2015, p. 2) condition that a sociolinguistic study must contribute to the theoretical formulations.

In a society generally assumed to be linguistically fractured, the ENGURD theory shows that English and Urdu, in the domain of the five identified discourses, do not act as individual languages but as ONE discourse which helps interpret the relationship between the two languages in a new way. The two languages are not at war with each other. They are not trying to cancel each other out. The theory instead shows that without perhaps being aware of it, a common bond is being forged between English and Urdu as it should be given that both are here to stay. The portrayal of English as detrimental to the existence of Urdu and other regional languages should be replaced by a framework guiding how all languages should co-exist and mutually enrich each other. The theory of ENGURDU is not “captive to overly simple explanatory models, or doctrines” (Strauss, 1993, p. 49). It presents a unique perspective that is inclusive in nature rather exclusive. It embraces linguistic diversity rather than advocating suffocating and unrealistic linguistic homogeneity which is perhaps not possible in a digitally globalised world.

5.3 Methodological and theoretical contributions

It was claimed in chapter 1 of this work that this work might provide answers to two forms of colonisation. One, the use of English as a coloniser’s legacy, and two, the academic colonisation that exists in the form of traditional sociolinguistic methods. The issue of the first type of colonisation has been addressed by formulating a theoretical configuration that views both English and Urdu as having the ability to form one discourse. Both English and Urdu can be used to discuss any matter concerning the social polity. The issue on English being a superior language or a one

that is still bound up in the colonial chains is adequately debunked. Urdu and English are equal languages.

As for the methodological contribution, the constructivist grounded theory approach has been shown to be a method appropriate for reimagining the relationship between English and Urdu as based on the selected data moving the debate away from statistical analyses. Only grounded theory method can ensure the freedom to understand unique problems as there is little or no reliance on extant theory. This study not only uses grounded theory to generate a theory to explain a sociolinguistic phenomenon but within the grounded theory method it uses in vivo coding strategy rather uniquely. This move was necessitated because of the nature of the data.

5.4. Meeting the criteria for a grounded theory study

The proponent of ConsGT Kathy Charmaz (2006) offers four criteria to evaluate a grounded theory study. They are credibility, originality, resonance and usefulness (Charmaz 2006, p.182). The final assessment as to the usefulness of the work, however, rests with the reader.

5.4.1 Credibility

The first of the evaluation criteria is ensuring credibility which can be met in a number of ways. Consistent with how Charmaz (2006) defines credibility, my project comprises enough data to merit my claims. Three hundred plus columns from English and Urdu newspapers spread over a period of 50 months and 9 days, between 2018 back to 2014 (there is one included from 1996) were culled. I undertook five steps of coding based on constant comparison. This means that the entire data were scrutinized five times. Data were enough to allow me to answer my research questions and meet the objectives of the project.

Charmaz (2006) demands grounded theorists to ensure that while enough evidence is provided for the claims made by the researcher, it should also “allow the reader to form an independent assessment” (Charmaz, 2006, p. 182). My project is an example of a social constructionist sociolinguistics which means that sociolinguistic claims are socially constructed and therefore not the ultimate truth per se. They are constructed truths based on how I interpreted the data. I point out through out the

work that the theoretical abstractions as made by me may not be the only way of looking at the data.

5.4.2 Originality

I have not come across any dissertation or research study in sociolinguistics that exclusively employs ConsGT for theory formulation. Moreover, there is no study in my knowledge that has used social constructionist sociolinguistics before. I have coined three terms D/doxa, ENGURD and Interdoxuality and they are my intellectual property.

As is mentioned in chapter 2, there are other studies that employ data from newspapers but none in my knowledge has made a comparative study of English and Urdu columns. Most studies take data from English newspapers. By privileging English and Urdu columnists as media intellectuals, this study offers a fresh and deeper understanding of the relationship between Urdu and English which was not possible if a traditional linguistic comparison had been done.

5.4.3. Resonance

My work resonates with all those Pakistanis who juggle between English and Urdu all their lives. It is easy for such bilinguals to identify with my study and to take it further. Pakistanis are torn between English and Urdu. This study can help them decide that it is not imperative to select one language over the other which in a multilingual society is not feasible at all. All languages spoken in Pakistan belong to the people of Pakistan and should therefore be developed, nourished and benefitted from.

5.4.5. Usefulness

Charmaz (2006) wants her grounded theorists to generate theories that contribute in making the world a better place which is the basic purpose of doing any kind of research. The theory that I generate helps in understanding how the two languages operate at least as given in the selected newspaper discourse. The idea of traditional faultlines whether linguistic or any other is challenged and a fresh rendering of the phenomenon is presented. I show that doxastic differences are not

beholden to linguistic differences as is generally claimed. The world views of English and Urdu may not be all that different in a similar discursive situation.

5.5. Limitations and recommendations of the study

This section identifies and acknowledges the limitations of the present study. Presenting limitations is not designed to decrease the value of the research but to enrich it by opening it up to further debate and critique. The recommendations are linked to limitations.

There is no digital database of the Urdu language despite it being the national language of Pakistan. The limitation results in the inability of researchers to use qualitative softwares like Atlas.ti. Moreover, difficulties are encountered while composing a word document with both English and Urdu texts. This seems to be the reason that most research studies are not based on a comparison between English and Urdu beyond phonetics and phonology. Most professional composers of Urdu were not well-versed with the language.

My recommendations are linked to the limitations mentioned above. The world over data from newspapers are used at different levels and ways to understand language and society. Comparative studies entailing large amounts of data produced over many years can only be benefitted from if the Urdu language is developed in the optical character recognition (OCR) mode which will render it for digital reading.

I also recommend future researchers to carry out comparative studies of opinion columns of regional newspapers as to understand how the local societies and language interact in those areas. We need to move beyond the narrow interpretation of language and examine how discourses are formed. Scholars from the discipline of the English language need to engage with the Urdu language more often and in innovative ways.

I end the work with Blommaert's words (2018) who writes that theory is in "no sense definitive; it is merely an intermediate stage in a longitudinal process of knowledge development". It is a stage where "the concepts, postulates and premises [are being] straightened out" (2018, p. x). I aim to continue to dwell on the work here.

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APPENDIX

PRE-INITIAL IN VIVO ABSTRACTIONS

America

1. Durdana Najam (*The Nation*)

April 30, 2018

A.1. Both the US and Pakistan have worked according to their national interests since the war against terrorism first began.

A. 2. Pakistan is blamed for playing a double-game with the US.

A.3. The Afghan Taliban are ready to talk to the US but the US is not interested in going solo. The Afghan Taliban are not interested in sitting with the Afghan government for negotiations.

April 09, 2018

B.4. Bill Clinton once called this region a nuclear flashpoint.

April 02, 2018

C.5. The US and the Afghan government want all logistic and military support to the Taliban stopped as they are not getting weak.

C.6. The perception of the unity government is that of a puppet regime whose strings are attached to the US.

C.7. The US is not open to talk to the Taliban and wants the Afghan government to be recognized as a legitimate player.

March 13, 2008

D.8. If democracy warrants economic growth where do we place China, the second largest economy in the world, after the US?

D.9. When China began hanging corrupt people no amount of international/ US uproar could restrain it.

D.10. For over 70 years, Pakistan has seen a war between its democratic and dictatorial systems. Can Pakistan learn from the Chinese model of governance?

D.11. The quality of education is dismally low. Neither the military rulers nor the civilian leadership could make human development possible.

February 27, 2018

E.12. India, having become a favourite nation of the US to counter China, has been successful to tilt the US narrative against Pakistan.

E.13. From Zia to Musharraf, even the military dictators, had to work out the Kashmir solution around the LOC.

February 05, 2018

F.14. The White House while telling Pakistan to withdraw its troops from the Kargil, sent a message that India and the US were now on the same page vis-à-vis Kashmir.

F.15. Musharraf, wearing the democratic hat as the president of Pakistan, tried to work out a solution to the Kashmir issue, but could not succeed.

F.16. Being a dependent economy, how much leverage do we have in reminding the US of its Afghan failure?

December 25, 2017

G.17. Every American presidential candidate publicly recognizes Jerusalem as the capital of Israel.

G.18. The US is creating chaos in the world through policies of regime change, especially through its war on terrorism.

November 13, 2017

H.19. All US efforts are now concentrated on a strategy to push back Iran and Pakistan.

H.20. The visit of the army chief to Iran is a part of the mandate Pakistan has bestowed onto itself of coming out clean from the Middle East crisis.

H.21. Already in our appeasement towards the US, we have made unreasonable compromises.

November 06, 2017

I.22. Pakistani establishment, whatever that may mean, needs to tell us about what has been gained in Afghanistan.

I.23. There is a writing on the wall for Pakistan lest we found the CIA imprints in Pakistan.

I.24. The writing on the wall is that Pakistan should stop looking outward and begin an inward introspection by overhauling its governance.

October 23, 2017

J.25. Drone attacks had been despised in Pakistan and were the cause of more terrorism. It generated hatred for the US amongst the people of FATA.

J.26. Pakistan's dependence on the US economic aid and the US perception about Pakistan of serving the US interests in the region contributed to keeping this relationship need-based.

J.27. The question is, if all the US policies have failed to bring peace in Afghanistan, why not try other options?

2. Mahir Ali (*Dawn*)

April 25, 2018

A.28. Until a few months ago, Donald Trump and Kim Jong-un appeared to be deriving considerable pleasure from exchanging taunts and playground insults.

A.29. “Dotard” and “Little Rocket Man” are expected to come face to face at a summit late next month or in early June.

April 18, 2018

B.30. Everyone involved in the mess — from the Assad regime to the US-led Western allies, has an axe to grind in the Middle East.

April 04, 2018

C.31. In Pakistan, April 4 is associated with the judicial murder of its first elected prime minister. In the United States, the date marks the assassination of Dr King.

C.32. The spirit of Dr King — who pioneered protest marches by schoolchildren in 1963 — lives on through the likes of Emma Gonzalez and Malala Yousafzai.

March 28, 2018

D.33. Coincidentally or otherwise, Donald Trump picked one of the advocates of the US-led aggression against Iraq as his next national security adviser on the 15th anniversary.

D.34. Hopefully, America’s medium-term future is not represented by the likes of Bolton and Trump, but falls into the hands of the children wanting a peaceful world.

March 14, 2018

E.35. The nation that picked Donald Trump as president in 2016 has not changed all that much.

E.35. Vietnamese war crimes only ever bothered a relatively small proportion of Americans.

E.36. Dehumanising the enemy remains a crucial component of the American arsenal as in the case of Abu Ghraib and before that My Lai, Vietnam.

February 28, 2018

F.37. Even if the organisers can muster a gathering of half a million at next month's planned march in Washington, will it make much difference?

F.37. In many parts of the US you are legally entitled to own a firearm three years before you can legitimately buy a beer.

February 14, 2018

G.38. Kim Jong-un's sister played her part to perfection.

G.39. She has been compared by South Korean media with Ivanka Trump.

January 31, 2018

H. 40. In Vietnam, the US succeeded in overthrowing a government via its favoured instrument of a military coup in 1963.

January 24, 2018

I.41. Evidence of collusion will not change the fact that the responsibility for electing Trump falls squarely on American shoulders.

I. 42. When elections in key countries did not go Washington's way, it colluded with the worst elements in the local military/intelligence/business spheres.

January 17, 2018

J.43. Guthrie, an American folk singer, rails against the "racial hate" Fred Trump "stirred up by declaring that "no black ones come to roam" near his property.

J.44. The segregationist attitude persisted under Fred's son Donald, serves as a telling background to accusations of racism against the president.

3. Chris Cook (*The Express Tribune*)

April 12, 2018

A.45. It is the Taliban that are fond of saying "you have the watches but we have the time". In the US senate hearing today it is Zuckerberg and his army of over 2 billion that has time very much on their side.

A.46. In the US senate, Zuckerberg was asked questions by some very elderly men and women who probably did not understand the questions they were asking let alone the answers.

March 22, 2018

B. 47. Questions were asked about the Facebook in many parliaments, but probably passed under the radar of many in Pakistan.

B. 48. This is the cyber equivalent of the Weinstein Moment that ripped apart the hidden culture of sexual abuse of women in the entertainment industry.

January 4, 2018

C. 49. The effects of the Panama Papers affair are deep and visceral.

C.50. Sharif brothers' visit to Saudi Arabia may or may not have been part of a reconciliation process with the establishment.

C. 51. American aid to Pakistan has been dropping steadily in recent years and a \$255 million is neither here nor there, symbolic but not a game changer.

C.52. There is the winnowing out of the minorities, the honour killings and the pitiless onslaught of rampant misogyny blighting the lives of women in Pakistan.

C. 53. Pakistan needs to do more. More for itself and not the Americans.

December 14, 2017

D. 54. Trump, in an unusually civil tweet, acknowledged the Alabama win with some grace, saying "a win is a win".

D.55. Harvey Weinstein? Yup, and the #MeToo movement that has reached far beyond abused women making a stand and bringing down the great.

D.56. It is almost impossible to calculate how far and fast America has fallen in the eyes of a wider world as the Trump juggernaut rolls on.

November 30, 2017

E.57 Americans in Pakistan are spies who are all over the place.

November 2, 2017

F.58. There is the Weinstein Effect. Hundreds of women have been abused by this monster.

F.59. Outside the workplace it is a free-fire zone for men, and women suffer from salacious comments, touching and the emergent online possibilities.

October 19, 2017

G.60. News about the fluctuating relationship with India/the Americans/Afghanistan and the penetration of Islamic State make news more often than others.

G.61. Assorted politicians have always dodged the courts' attempts to verify money trails long before anybody had even uttered the words "Panama Papers".

October 12, 2017

H.62. How safe one really is and is one as safe as one thinks one is? One may not be very safe in America as one thinks one to be.

October 5, 2017

I.63. Las Vegas shooting being the biggest mass shooting in modern American history will be on the inside pages by the weekend.

I.64. America —in the big picture — is content for there to be regular culls of its populace.

August 31, 2017

J.65. The richest country in the world with resources beyond compare is helpless in the face of the weather.

J. 66. But Sindh and Texas are a false equivalence- apples and oranges, so why bother with a comparison?

4. Saleem Safi (*Jang*)

March 03, 2018

A.67. There is no doubt that Americans tried to eliminate the Taliban just as they did with Al- Qaeda.

A.68. Americans and its allies have failed to quell the Taliban resistance. Likewise, the Taliban have neither won over the Afghan majority nor managed to bring a collapse of the Afghan government.

A.69. Taliban blame Americans for the death of innocent Afghans. More Afghans than Americans are dying in the Taliban resistance

January 09, 2018

B.70. Trump needs to display more compassion towards issues in Afghanistan.

B.71. America is perceived as having betrayed Pakistan.

B. 72. Our elite's children reside in America.

B.73. Pakistan is reducing its dependency on America. Trump is proving to be a blessing.

December 12, 2017

C.74. Today the economic and cultural situation in Afghanistan is the worst ever since 9/11.

C.75. Both America and Russia have their favourites in Afghanistan.

C.76. Afghanistan's neighbours Iran, China, Russia and Pakistan can work together to keep American and European interests safe.

November 14 2017

D.77. After 9/11 it was under duress that Pakistan, Iran, China and Russia sided with America in Afghanistan.

D.78. Without restoring peace in Afghanistan, America went on to attack Iraq.

D.79. Pakistan is saying “[n]o more” to American diktats after getting support from Russia and China against American and Indian policies.

October 21, 2017

E.80. The talk of the town is “do more, no more” in Pakistan these days.

E.81. Pakistan is being asked to “do more” since 1960s when Americans were given bases near Peshawar to spy on the then USSR.

E.82. In 1965 and 1971’s wars, Pakistan requested Americans to “do more” whose answer was “no more”.

E.83. There was a rain of dollars in Zia’s era when he did “do more” as per American diktats.

October 14, 2017

F.84. Maulana, the lone opposition, is alleging that it is American agenda to integrate FATA into KPK.

F.85. Why is then Maulana reviving MMA as it consists of people following the American agenda?

October 07, 2017

G. 86. Army chief’s visit to Afghanistan is a breath of fresh air.

G.87. Afghan president sided with Pakistan in opposing Trump’s new policy of threatening Pakistan.

G.88. Former Afghan president rejected Trump policy in harsher words than used by Pakistan itself.

G.89. America and China are on board in Pak-Af working groups which is a welcome development.

September 30, 2017

H.90. America and India putting pressure on Pakistan regarding the banned outfits.

H.91. The general impression is that the army is mainstreaming the banned outfits.

H.92. The civil and military leadership need to develop a consensus here.

September 26, 2017

I.93. Pakistan gives in before America and China but considers it below its dignity to ignore slights from the Afghan side. Same is the case with Afghanistan.

I.94. Pakistan's blunders in Afghanistan are not bigger than America or Russia's.

I.95. If it is alleged that Pakistan has interfered in Afghanistan, then so have America and Russia.

September 09, 2017

J.96. Pakistan's foreign policy challenges are dominated by America and China.

J.97. Trump's direct reference to India has emboldened Pakistan to show defiance to America.

J.98. A cancellation of bilateral trips sends a powerful message to America.

J.99. The policy shaped by the army has been put into practice by the foreign minister and the defence minister.

J.100. Our foreign policy is now pro-China and pro-Russia rather than pro-America. But things have not come to a point of no return between America and Pakistan.

5. Arifa Subah Khan (*Nawae Waqt*)

April 17, 2018

A.101. America, France and the UK are war obsessed. They are also the most developed, educated and privileged countries in the world.

A.102. Pakistan's atomic power has been unsettling for America for quite some time now.

A.103. The Gulf War was fought for oil by the three developed countries.

A.104. America knows that it can buy for a few dollars people beset by poverty, hunger and unemployment.

January 09, 2018

B.105. Pakistanis misuse official positions for corruption, trips abroad and protocol.

B.106. America is threatening Pakistan with sanctions.

B.107. Trump would be responsible for the WWII because of his aggressive steps.

October 10, 2017

C.108. Trump praises India while ignores Pakistan's sacrifices.

C.109. Trump's aggressive tone and actions are counterbalanced by the courage, independence and self-respect of the Pakistan Army Chief.

C. 110. Despite its power and money, America is losing friends.

C.111. China reacted like a brother.

June 13, 2017

D.112. There is neither democracy nor dictatorship in Pakistan.

D.113. Corruption and terrorism arise out of nepotism.

D.114. Pakistan jumped into the Afghan war at America's prompting.

April 11, 2017

E.115. Education, grooming and environment cannot completely camouflage a person's real nature.

E.116. America is the world's sole super power thanks to Pakistan's unacknowledged sacrifices.

E.117. Pakistan is romantically obsessed with America and the latter treats it with suspicion.

May 30, 2017

F.118. The current govt. does not have good relations with either Pakistan Army, opposition or the masses.

F.119. Has Shah Salman given gifts worth USD 20 billion to Trump to marry for the fourth time?

F.120. Pakistan's educational system is based on destructive and fraudulent practices; it is the biggest cause for Pakistan's failure.

F.121. Children who do get education are not taught to be patriotic, honest or dedicated. They cannot make use of their intelligence.

March 07, 2017

G.122. Some of the world's most developed, successful and rich countries like America, Canada, France, Germany, Russia, etc. do not play cricket.

December 06, 2016

H.123. America, India and Afghanistan are trying hard to isolate Pakistan by condemning it to solitary confinement.

H.124. The consequences of acknowledging America as its boss are showing.

H.125. Pakistan rejected Russia's hand and accepted America's friendship instead.

November 29, 2016

I.126. Friends of America or otherwise, have started to feel negative vibes emanating from Trump's election.

I.127. The consensus at an educational seminar on Trump's election was that we should not expect friendly attitude from Trump.

I.128. Americans have put themselves in a trying situation by electing Trump.

I.129. Trump's approach towards issues can even result in a WWIII.

November 08, 2016

J.130. Hillary Clinton is unprejudiced, good natured and progressive having a positive outlook on matters.

J.131. If Hillary Clinton becomes the president, it will augur well for America. A message of friendship and softness can be conveyed to the rest of the world by the super power.

J.132. If, God forbid, Trump becomes the president, Pakistan's trying times will start. This person is extremely hard hitting.

6. Rauf Klasra (*Roznama Dunya*)

March 04, 2018

A.133. Although the book *Dark Money* is about American politics, it can be applied to any society especially Pakistan.

A.134. The urban traders and business class, rebelling against the landed gentry came into power during Zia's regime. They thought that anyone could be bought with the help of money.

A.135. Whether it is America or Pakistan, it is true that even the public opinion can be bought.

October 01, 2017

B.136. One of our national narratives is that America enabled the "jihadi" culture in Pakistan, used us and left us on our own. We both used each other as we had the same interests.

B. 137. Intervention in Afghanistan had been made first in Bhutto's times.

B.138. During Zia's times, American dollars made us dance to the American tunes faster.

B.139. Children of analysts advocating using the atomic bomb, must be called back to Pakistan from America and Britain.

September 01, 2017

C. 140. The whole of Pakistan is abuzz with patriotic slogans against Trump's threats.

C. 141. America is not ready to trust us even after 15 years of cooperation.

C.142. Was the army asked to explain the failure of the Pakistan's policies towards America and Afghanistan as it was in charge of the two?

C.143. Learning from the local wisdom, we need to handle Trump the way a shopkeeper gets rid of a naughty child.

July 05, 2017

D. 144. Every time a new book is written on Pakistan whether by a Pakistani or a foreigner, it seems as if heavens have fallen in Pakistan.

D. 145. Questions are raised about the need, timing and the credibility of American writers pointing to some conspiracy.

D. 146. People went after Lt. Gen. Shahid Aziz, an important character in October 1999 coup, when he wrote a book.

D. 147. Bruce Redal's book details how Gen. Ayub Khan was made to give Budabair bases in return of the American protocol.

D. 148. A book hating society suits both military and civilian leadership.

May 12, 2017

E.149. The backlash in the wake of compromise made regarding "*Dawn Leaks*" was unexpected for the establishment.

E. 150. The ISI chief accused Pakistani journalists of being bought against dollars, alcohol and girls.

E.151. The silent majority in the past supported every coup leader.

February 05, 2017

F.152. A bomb explosion in any western city would have easily landed Trump in the White House.

F.153. A sense of distance is increasing between us and the Americans and can be felt on the American streets.

F.154. American children wave or smile at strangers unlike Muslim children. We have failed to integrate.

F.155. European societies consider us as equal citizens and provide all facilities that Arabs deny us.

F.156. As soon as we earn a few pounds or dollars, our next destination is to how to bring these societies in harmony with our religion.

F.157. We need to appreciate the Americans who got out on the streets and protested in favour of Muslims.

June 17, 2016

G.158. Nixon's support for Pakistan during the "Fall of Dhaka" was not the result of some love that he harboured for Pakistan, but, because it was in the American interest to do so.

G.159. Americans can also taunt Pakistan that the latter helped the USA in return of USD 35 billion in aid.

June 12, 2016

H.160. It has always been a game of national interests between America and Pakistan. America went back on its promise after acquiring Budabair bases.

June 08, 2016

I.161. Shaukat Aziz's book is an egotistical account of how he was in NY when Gen. Musharraf invited him to Pakistan.

I.162. The credit to save Nawaz Sharif from gallows in the aftermath of October 1999 coup, goes to Bill Clinton.

June 05, 2016

J.163. America broke its promise of informing Pakistan before supplying arms to India after acquiring the Budabair bases.

J.164. It is important to remember that it has always been a game of national interests between countries.

Army

7. Saadia Gardezi (*The Nation*)

April 02, 2018

A. 165. The cycle of army installing and throwing off governments has destabilised the country.

A.166. The 18th amendment protects the republic from becoming undemocratic again.

A.167. Like the Bush Doctrine, there is no such thing as the Bajwa Doctrine. The term is attributed to statements made by COAS Qamar Bajwa to the media.

A.168. Dictatorships in the past used to attract military and economic aid thanks to the Cold War and War on Terror, but that is not the case anymore.

February10, 2018

B.169. Fake news is becoming as big a problem in Pakistan as it is in the US.

B.170. Emotions are stirred up at the mention of religion, military or India in newspapers.

B.171. The news cycle on social media alternates among news on politics, religious zealots and the military.

December 30, 2017

C.172. There is an inherent flexibility that allows Pakistan's economy to survive and to wade through wars, sit-ins, coups, etc.

C.173. Pakistan's strong bureaucracy matched with an even stronger and more controlling military influence, makes it easy for a foreign buyer to talk straight to the top man.

December 29, 2017

D.174. The army, as the most respected institution of the state, legitimised the use of social media for official purposes of the highest importance.

D.175. Banned outfits users publicly list on the social media the educational institutions and government-run universities that they have attended- an evidence of youth radicalisation.

D.176. The final straw on the camel's already broken back was the viral video of a senior Pakistani army officer distributing money to anti-government protesters in Islamabad.

December 16, 2017

E.177. Myth 1: Indians fear the Pakistani Army will try to annex Kashmir like in 1947 and 1948.

E. 178. Myth 2: After Pakistan takes over, Kashmir will eventually become a breeding ground for extremist "jihadi" groups.

December 11, 2017

F. 179. The Pentagon acknowledged that Pakistan had lost more lives and troops to terrorism than any other country.

F. 180. The proof of Pakistan's failure to tackle extremism is easily visible- radical Islamic seminaries continue to function.

November 18, 2017

G.181. It is dangerous to criticise military openly because publicly expressed opinions can lead one into danger very fast.

G.182. People in the US or France are using freedom of speech irresponsibly and dangerously.

October 28, 2017

H.183. Field Marshal Ayub Khan was considered a benevolent dictator. He also wrote a book on the US-Pak relationship.

H.184. The anti-Americanism that existed at the time of Ayub Khan is still around today.

H.185. Ayub's era was just an aid bubble coupled by his focus on industrialisation.

H.186. In the 1965 war with India, while America suspended aid to both countries, Chinese assistance was consistent.

September 22, 2017

I.187. The Chinese police uses information technology to spy on certain groups of people, such as university student fora.

I.188. In Thailand, "We love the army" stickers, #CuteSoldierBoy hashtags have helped generate a pro-coup online movement.

I.189. The Uzbek First Daughter has used the internet to become the public face of the regime she may someday inherit.

June 18, 2014

J.190. General Zia's years were a blur of state censorship, and state-controlled television showed female actors sleeping in bed on TV with a veil on their heads.

J.191. Pakistanis love watching programmes on national security and political drama. Low culture (local languages films with buxom dancing lasses) also sells here.

J.192. Art was used to convey government of the day's messages during the WWII across the US, Great Britain, Soviet Union, Japan and China.

J.193. “Shalwar kameez” (Pakistan’s national dress for women) is Pakistani culture whereas the Pierre Cardin twist to the outfit for PIA air hostesses in the 1970’s is pop culture.

8. Kamila Hayat (*The News International*)

January 11, 2018

A.194. The Supreme Court ruled in the Asghar Khan case that massive rigging by intelligence agencies in the 1990 elections had taken place.

A.195. The attempts to fix democracy from the outside have been a feature of our political history.

A.196. Our political parties have largely lost it, and there are as yet little signs it will be recovered which is easier for other elements to intervene.

January 4, 2018

B.197. There has been no progress in the patchy investigation into the case since 2007, in which the former dictator General Pervez Musharraf was declared an absconder.

B.198. Benazir’s letter to a US journalist in which she even pointed to her killers – has been repeatedly overlooked.

B.199. Musharraf, an increasingly erratic man, has joined the voices that insist Asif Ali Zardari plotted to kill Benazir- a rather unlikely idea.

B.200. It is unlikely we will ever learn the truth in the death of the dictator General Ziaul Haq in that infamous plane crash over Bahawalpur, either.

November 9, 2017

C.201. Corruption has become the catchphrase that is repeatedly used to discredit and, in many cases, topple elected governments.

C.202. A prime minister has been dismissed by making use of a clause that was inserted in the constitution by a dictator for his own purposes.

C.203. Musharraf, another military dictator used corruption as the key word in his game to sideline political leaders.

C.204. There is also some evidence that corruption is not always a key concern for people.

October 26, 2017

D.205. An active effort was made in the early 1980s to Islamise a country that already consisted almost entirely of Muslims.

D.206. The result is a terrible cacophony of culture and a sense of genuine identity or deep roots being pulled away by a strange external force.

October 5, 2017

E.207. Other forces since the birth of Pakistan know that weakened, powerless parties, discredited in the eyes of the people as corrupt, inept and incapable, work in their favour.

E.208. We saw this effort in full swing during the Musharraf era.

E.209. Parties that are desperate for power are also good allies for the players who design their own games and use them to lure, tempt and persuade them.

September 28, 2017

F.210. Educational institutions are becoming extremely dangerous places.

F.211. A boy was killed in January 2014 while defending his school from a suicide bomber.

F.212. Our playgrounds have turned into frontlines and this presents a particularly serious concern for the future.

September 14, 2017

G. 213. In college and university campuses thoughts flourish and ideas of all kinds mix to create something closer to real-life situations than the more controlled school environment.

G.214. There is a growth of extremist thought within the classrooms and corridors of our most prestigious institutes of higher learning.

G.215. College students in the US and Europe stage protests against their government's policies.

G.216. In Pakistan severe and sudden crackdown on student unions under General Ziaul Haq in the 1980s effectively ended the era of liberal dissent and debate at campuses.

September 7, 2017

H.217. There appears to be little interest in bringing Gen. ® Musharraf back to a country whose people he wronged in so many different ways.

H.218. Younger people, even in the US, appear to be recognising now that the Cold War is over.

August 3, 2017

I.219. Civilian politicians have remained at a disadvantage in a system that has allowed other institutions to assume a huge share of power.

I.220. The problem is bigger than the issue of corruption that has swept people into a tide of opposition for politicians.

I.221. That dictator – General Ziaul Haq – played his cards wisely and well. The politicians elected by the people have failed to do the same.

July 20, 2017

J.222. Our educational system in particular holds back initiative and denies the scope for encouraging creativity.

J.223. We need to know precisely how many people believe corruption is the most pressing issue that our country is facing.

J.224. The children of Zia – or the generation born after the military dictatorship of the 1980s – developed a different mind-set as compared to their parents and grandparents.

9. I R Rehman (*Dawn*)

March 29, 2018

A.225. The military revealed its aversion to federalism when Ayub Khan replaced federation with republic.

A.226. Although Yahya Khan and the military rulers that followed him restored the word federation the security forces have not reconciled themselves to the logic of federalism.

A.227. The move to purge the constitution of Ziaul Haq's extra-democratic insertions were successfully resisted by his faithful followers.

March 22, 2018

B.228. The brutalising effects of the public hanging carried out by Gen Ziaul Haq are still present.

February 22, 2018

C.229. The Pakistani and Indian military personnel are under ceaseless strain and are in the danger of their losing their cool.

C.230. Military related people sometimes enjoy the sound of sabre-rattling even when they do not actually want a war.

February 15, 2018

D.231. Many at Asma Jahangir's funeral agreed that she had touched more hearts than any other living Pakistani.

D.232. Courage meant resistance to oppression, dictatorship and injustice, regardless of the consequences.

February 01, 2018

E.233. Some media owners find safety in staying on the right side of the establishment.

January 28, 2018

F.234. Yahya Khan's information minister Gen Sher Ali Khan, could not bear the barbs Munnu Bhai shot at the regime.

December 30, 2017

G.235. The Ayub regime (1958-69) imprisoned Ahmad Nadeem Qasmi, Sibte Hasan, Faiz Ahmd Faiz as well as the editors of *Imroze* and *The Pakistan Times*.

G.236. The Yahya regime (1969-71) used Martial Law Regulations (MLRs) to imprison and put a lifetime bar on editors, publishers and printers.

G.237. Gen. Ziaul Haq went after press and journalists with a vengeance. Some were awarded 10 lashes.

Dec 13, 2017

H.238. With its forthright attacks on Ayub regime's policies, C&MG became quite popular among the discerning readers.

H. 239. But the owner, an industrialist, caved in to the regime's bullying. The paper folded up in 1963.

H. 240. Pakistan Times was perhaps the first Pakistani newspaper to start women and children's pages.

H.241. The 1952-57 period was dominated by controversies over Pakistan's participation in US-sponsored military pacts.

H.242. The PT's decision to challenge the martial law regime in 1958 at the height of its power could well be described as its finest hour.

October 12, 2017

I.243. Whenever the military has taken up civilian jobs its primary, and perhaps sole, responsibility — namely, defence against external aggression or threat — has suffered.

I.244. All rulers, civil or military, must remember that a country's pace of progress depends on the speed with which the citizens are able to move forward.

September 21, 2017

J.245. That the percentage of women's votes cast to their share of the total is significantly lower than men should be a cause for concern.

J. 246. It would be in the military's own interest to tell the civilians to carry their cross themselves.

10. Hamid Mir (*Jang*)

April 23, 2018

A.247. If today there is an allegation that state institutions are being maligned in the case of forcible disappearances, then why do these institutions not work to stop these disappearances as enshrined in article 10 of the Constitution?

A.248. In Iqbal's country, it has become a crime to have a difference of opinion, and people are labelled as traitors just because they dare to differ.

April 16, 2018

B.249. Allama Iqbal Open University, Islamabad, held a literary festival and there was a seminar titled "Literature, Journalism and Politics". Dr Mujahid Mansoori, Zahida Hina Sahiba and Rauf Klasra made it clear to the new generation that no journalist or literary figure was neutral. And, if someone claimed to be one, he/ she was lying. Nobody can remain neutral in the fight between truth and falsehood, dictatorship and democracy.

B.250. When Nawaz Sharif was deposed, he made a pact with PPP in order to pressurise Musharraf. When GDA was formed under the aegis of Nawabzada Nasarullah Khan, Nawaz Sharif was able to escape to Saudi Arabia as a result of a deal.

B.251. One cannot support an amendment made by a dictator.

9th April, 2018

C.252. General Pervez Musharraf writes with a lot of pride in his book *In the Line of Fire* that he was instrumental in making PML(Q). After reading Shujjat Hussain's book, one comes to know that PML-N was made by Gen. Ziaul Haq.

C.253. Once Gen. Zia told Shujaat Hussain that Junejo declined an extension in service of a gardener that Gen. Zia had recommended.

C.254. All people who side with the unseen powers and are busy in making new parties, must remember that these unseen powers are not reliable. Only God and the public are reliable.

29th March, 2018

D.255. There has been an important role of the state institutions in weakening the major political parties. National Awami Party was banned during Bhutto's era. Gen. Ziaul Haq conducted non-party elections in order to weaken PPP. These non-party elections gave birth to a new Muslim League.

D.256. When Gen Musharraf got sick of PML-N, he made PML-Q. And, now a new party has been carved out of both N and Q. Whether someone agrees with it or not, but, this new king's party will meet the same fate as Noon League in 1990 and Q League in 2002.

D.257. Nawaz Sharif's narrative has become a harbinger for a revolution. This narrative is against Pakistan army and judiciary. Whenever anyone tries to remind NS that in the past he would team up with judiciary and the army to conspire against democracy, then such impertinence is met with abusive language filthier than used by PTI people.

D.258. On one hand, judges were accused and on the other hand, army officials were contacted. When army chief made it clear that army was standing behind the Supreme Court according to the Constitution, Shahid Khaqan Abbasi was sent to the CJP.

D.259. Nawaz Sharif should admit his faults. He should admit that he cancelled a lunch with Asif Ali Zardari for fear of annoying Gen. Raheel Sharif.

March 26, 2018

E.260. An English newspaper on March 25, 2018, writes in its editorial that the good part of the Bajwa doctrine is that the army wants democracy to continue, but, Gen. Bajwa must make his stance on the 18th amendment clear.

E.261. My two cents are that army chief's real stance is what he put before the parliamentarians in September, 2017. He had said that there were some good points about the amendment and some bad. He had shown his reservation at handing over law and order, and education to the provinces.

E. 262. I don't agree with the opinion that the 18th Amendment is more dangerous than Sheikh Mujeeb's 6 points. Sheikh Mujeeb's 6 points were a reaction to Gen. Ayub Khan's dictatorial "policies". The 18th Amendment is a remarkable feat of a weak democracy.

E.263. It is requested that the 18th Amendment should not be seen as an establishment's defeat and a parliament's victory. It should be taken as Pakistan's victory. The issues on which the army chief has shown reservations can be sorted out in Common Interests Council.

March 22, 2018

F.264. It has been 10 years since the former president Pervez Musharraf left power. He has remained a headache for Pakistan Army in all these ten years. He has become a big challenge for the judiciary also. If he gets punished, Nawaz Sharif's narrative would come crashing to the ground.

F.265. I met Pervez Musharraf through Hameed Asghar Qidwai. He told me that if Pervez Musharraf were made the army chief, he would never impose martial law. I often remind him of this.

F.266. We need to confess that the coup by the army on October 12, 1999 was not Musharraf's doing alone. Nawaz Sharif on the basis of his two third majority, first empowered Chief Justice Sajjad Ali Shah, then ousted Farooq Ahmed Leghari and finally attacked the media. He tried to turn Pakistan Army into Punjab Police and the army revolted.

F.267. It is an undeniable reality that all opposition parties welcomed this move by the army. Judiciary, the media and the army, all were nursing wounds against Nawaz Sharif's civilian authority. What Nawaz Sharif was doing was wrong but what Musharraf did was wrong, too.

F.268. When Musharraf came under pressure, he signed the notorious NRO with PPP and the army had to face the brunt for it.

March 19, 2018

G.269. I was invited by National College of Arts to talk on what would Pakistan be like in 2023.

G.270. When I reached the Shakir Ali Auditorium, I tried finding Bhagwat Singh in the bright faces of the college. I could not find one but I could see the future Ali Zafar, Nayyar Ali Dada, Jimmy Engineer, Ayseha Omer and Ali Abbas.

G.271. In 2013 Pakistan's biggest issue was terrorism. Then an elected government supported by the opposition, joined the army to start an operation in Karachi and North Waziristan.

G.272. In 2013 there were NAB inquiries against politicians only. Now we have NAB inquiries against retired army officials also.

March 15, 2018

H.273. During the senate chairman's elections, Imran Khan was manipulated like a toy and had to surrender before PPP.

H.274. Gen. Jillani used to manipulate politicians like toys also.

H. 275. There is little difference between then and now.

12th March, 2018

I.276. The state institutions are powerless in front of a civilian narrative as channelled by NS.

I.277. Media are misled by slogans like “Thank you, Raheel Sharif”. Even media can be misled.

I.278. By taking army’s side openly, journalists’ reputations are blemished. Only crying hoarse in favour of Nawaz Sharif could restore that.

I.279. Musharraf should be punished too, in order for the judiciary to show its impartiality.

March 08, 2018

J.280. Some slogans from 1986 were “free judiciary”, “revive democracy”, “death to dictatorship” and “long live revolution”.

J. 281. Jam Saqi was jailed.

J. 282. Protesters were labelled as traitors under the army rule.

11. Nusrat Javed (*Nawae Waqt*)

December 29, 2017

A.283. All praises for Jahangir Karamat for his cool-mindedness, wisdom and a desire for national consensus on important matters.

A.284. Though by law NS could ask Gen Jahangir Karamat to resign, it was also a case of a civilian ruler over stepping his boundaries. NS had a “heavy mandate” - perhaps too heavy for him to carry.

A.285. It was thought that Musharraf was acceptable because he would not have any political ambitions since he belonged to a migrant educated family.

A.286. Musharraf's parent organisation saved him from being tried for treason.

A.287. Gen Musharraf should adopt a dignified way of spending his retirement days which means that he should now embrace silence.

December 15, 2017

B.288. The phrase "something is about to happen" is generally meant for the army take over.

B.289. Zia never transferred the power to the civilians after the 1985 elections.

B.290. Civilians siding with the army as NS in the Memogate scandal, have only themselves to blame because they are meted out the same treatment when the time comes.

B.291. Army is the state's most powerful institution.

November 08, 2017

C.292. Whoever becomes the army chief is the representative of its collective opinion and is not anyone's ally. Therefore, it is useless to assume that an army chief appointed by a certain PM will be more loyal to him at the cost of his organisation's collective pulse.

October 26, 2017

D.293. The civilian and military leaders put up a united face in the wake of the American pressure and showed to the world that they were on the same page.

D.294. The FO under the civilian rule is more helpless than it was under the military rule.

October 11, 2017

E.295. The army chief is very powerful and has a total grip over command and control of his institution.

E.296. The dismissal of the legendary Lt Gen Hamid Gul and Lt Gen Asad Durrani, an intelligence wizard, are a proof of the command and control.

October 09, 2017

F.297. The institutions might be happy with Shahbaz Sharif being the PM.

F.298. Shahid Khaqan Abbasi can run the government under the patronage of the institutions if he sheds the image of being a puppet.

F.299. Abbasi has called the meetings of NSC to show that the civilian government and the military are on the same page.

October 04, 2017

G.300. Blurred lines of authority among different state organs give rise to misunderstandings like the one witnessed outside the accountability court. This started in 1985 with Zia when he refused to hand over the full authority to civilians.

G.301. The dismissed PM on corruption charges attending the court was a big event.

G.302. A confusion of command is a crime in army; civilians do not figure in the chain of command.

G.303. Americans trusted us during the rules of Gen. Zia and Gen. Musharraf.

G.304 Trump is not just happy with “a do more” approach of his predecessors. Rather he wants us to eradicate the safe havens whereas we are trying to de-radicalize our assets and mainstreaming them.

October 03, 2017

H.305. Pakistanis when voted for Gen. Ayub’s basic democracy were mostly uneducated and lived like animals.

H.306. It was Imran Khan’s resilience due to which Nawaz Sharif had to face the Panama case otherwise the thieves and looters sitting in the assembly could not do anything.

September 27, 2017

I.307. The Supreme Court likens NS to a “Sicilian godfather” and his family to a “Sicilian mafia”.

I.308. The powerful state institutions can show flexibility towards NS if he softens his stance.

I.309. Army has the real power. There is no need to act like an Eastern wife by referring to the army in an indirect way.

September 19, 2017

J.310. The powerful institutions correctly analysed that NS was still popular after the victory in NA 121. SS wants NS to surrender before these institutions.

J.311. PM Abbasi is under watch and might be given a concession because of his military connections.

12. Sohail Warraich (*Jang*)

April 11, 2018

A.312. There are some constituencies that have already been won even before the election. We can easily call them as the Conquered/Garrison Group. This group consists of 16 seats from Baluchistan, 12 from FATA and 21 Urban Sindh. They make up a block of around 50 seats. This group represents those areas that are completely under control after a successful operation. This total control pertains not just to the law and order but politics also. [The writer is referring to alleged pre-poll rigging done at the behest of army.]

A.313. The second group is the Hurt Group consisting of People Party’s members. They have been tamed after the arrest of Dr Asim and Sarjeel Memon.

A.314. Only one group is expected to make trouble and that is the Occupied Group – PML-N.

A.315. Since Imran Khan has been declared honest and incorruptible/reputable by the court, so the best name for his group is the Incorruptible Group.

A316. Imran Khan should give his plan for education, health and civil-military relations. How can the later be improved? There should be a debate on it as it is Pakistan's biggest problem.

April 07, 2018

B.317. When media got freedom, both anti-establishment and establishment views were expressed. Some would criticise democracy and the parliamentary system and others would support them. This freedom laid down the foundation for a new society, but now a curb is enforced.

B.318. The father of PTI's Asad Umar and Governor Sindh M. Zubair, Gen. Ghulam Umar ran a fictitious/ fake campaign of patriotism in East Pakistan and as a result the whole province rebelled. And, then Gen. Ziaul Haq found his Goebbels in Gen. Mujibur Rehman.

B.319. The prophet of lies, Goebbels was a PhD, and loyal to Hitler to the extent that he committed suicide alongside Hitler.

B.320. I wish Pakistani Goebbels' Maj. Gen. Nawabzada Sher Ali Pataudi were alive to see how unpopular his benefactors and heroes Gen. Yahya and Gen. Ayub Khan were now in Pakistan.

B.321. If media were not free, how would Gen. Raheel Sharif get support? Was a reaction possible on Gen. Karamat's resignation?

April 04, 2018

C.322. The Indo-Pak sub-continent neither witnessed any rebellion nor any revolution, and therefore, the Pakistani ox (masses in Pakistan) still has blinders on. The masses are fed centuries old incorrect narratives alongwith new doctrines and different conspiracy theories. [The writer likens the people of Pakistan to ox who cannot see the truth. They believe the tales that are fed to them by the powerful in the country.]

C.323. At the time of Pakistan's birth, the defeatist elements formed a narrative that Pakistan was in danger.

C.324. Another narrative that was fed was that the country was looted and that politicians were the looters and the country's salvation lay in the politicians' accountability.

C.325. This country has seen so much of accountability that there is a fear that people might get sick of politics. Nations are known by their performance and not accountability.

March 31, 2018

D.326. My age is 45 years. My parents named me as the Constitution of Pakistan. Before I was brought into the world, the constitution makers read constitutions from all over the world. [This is an autobiography of the country's Constitution.]

D.327. I was just 4 years old when politicians who had formed me, were at each other's throat. When the political consensus gave way, Gen Ziaul Haq came forward. He chopped off my moustache (a form of humiliation) with the scissors of the 8th amendment and put me in the gallows for 10 years.

D.328. After 1988's elections, I started to regain consciousness; the Parliament was revived. I started getting awareness. However, the civil-military row was not to end.

D.329. In 1999, Gen. Pervez Musharraf came and captured the country. He disliked my thick hair. He kept me bald for 10 years. Now the reason I do not have hair is Gen. Musharraf's 10-year rule.

March 28, 2018

E.330. People cannot be happy under a dictatorship just like a car cannot be run on milk. A democracy cannot be run by army. It has to be run by politicians.

E.331. If we take a look at Pakistan's 70-year old history, we see many instances where democracy was thought to be buried for good. Miraculously it would be under dictatorships that the likes of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif would arise.

E.332. A country cannot be run on a narrative or a doctrine. Countries are run according to their constitutions. Generals should honour their constitutional oath. Politicians should not try to pick loop holes, and judges should rule according to the

constitution. The army is bound to work under a civilian set up and upon refusal, can be punished.

E.333. The history would judge the role of Nawaz appointee COAS, Gen. Qamar Javed Bajwa.

E.334. During Gen Zia's era, everybody started offering prayers during the office hours. Gen. Musharraf was a liberal so people who danced became favourites. Likewise, it has become a fashion to support institutions. Everybody is ready to get sacrificed in the way of defending the institutions, but, in fact, they are fulfilling their own agendas.

March 24, 2018

F.335. Look doll, you are not my daughter but a son. You are fighting your father's case and it has made me hold my head up with pride. [A fictional letter from Mrs Nawaz Sharif- the wife of ex- PM, to her daughter Ms. Maryam Nawaz.]

F.336. I am very happy with you because you are taking care of your father like a mother.

E.337. Tell your father that whenever he talks to people in Pindi, he should keep Dar's interests in mind also. He is not well. We have to look after him also.

March 21, 2018

G.338. Shahbaz Sharif is somewhat acceptable to the powerful sections of Pakistan.

G.339. Shahbaz Sharif is a pragmatist. He thinks that the political operation conducted by the powerful sections is over. The powerful sections opposed only Nawaz Sharif and his narrative.

G.340. Some accountability would keep taking place in order to maintain a balance, but there are not any chances of some big action against PML-N.

G.341. The track record of Shahbaz Sharif shows that he is ready to work with the establishment.

G.342. Shahbaz listens to his older brother as well as the army and both parties trust him.

March 14, 2018

H.343. “Kambol Posh” is a fan of Napoleon Bonaparte. Passing by the island where Bonaparte was imprisoned by the British and where he subsequently died, Kambol Posh asked his companion about the new definition of Bonapartism. He was told that it was a system where the military class from the elite section of the society, took control of the whole system. [The first travelogue in Urdu is a translation from Persian. It is called *The historical travels of Yousaf Khan- “Kambol Posh” (the Blanket Man)* and is the inspiration for the current article. The writer writes from the point of view of Kambol Posh who muses on the kind of democracy in Pakistan.]

H.344. Someone whispered to “Kambol Posh” that the senate elections were engineered by some hidden hands.

H.345. Some people tried to explain to him the concept of hidden hands. He wondered how could both democracy and Bonapartism exist side by side in Pakistan?

H.346. He lamented that in Pakistan sometimes there were democratic kings and at other times, military kings.

March 10, 2018

I.347. One is allowed to talk about anything in my beloved’s presence. She has such arguments that people advocating dictatorship are forced to bite the dust. [The writer personifies democracy as his beloved and builds the article around how she has been wronged.]

I.348. She looks beautiful in every style. If you look at her in America, her beauty is fresh. In Britain she wears a traditional look as there is monarchy in the UK.

I.349. There is a lot flexibility in my beloved. People take advantage of this flexibility. They suffocate her while claiming that they are in favour of democracy.

March 08, 2018

J.350. Congratulations for the victory. Asma Jahangir's already dead. Now who can dare speak? The media are half dead; part sold out; part defeated. There is no one in politics who can walk with his head held high. Some are declared incompetent to run for elections, and others are ensnared in an accountability cage. [The writer is alluding to the supposed engineering done by the army to get rid of the undesirable politicians.]

J.351. Congratulations are also in order because, this whole operation did not shed any blood.

J.352. Congratulations are also in order because this time the victory was achieved without resorting to unconstitutional steps

Corruption

13. Talat Hussain (*The News International*)

April 16, 2018

A.253. The judiciary's activism also seems to have spent more time on Nawaz-related matters than anything else, particularly so since the Panama verdict.

A.253. Even the state of civil-military ties is assessed in the framework of one individual.

A.254. Ex-CJ Chaudhry, the absconding General (r) Pervez Musharraf and some politicians who were once critical factors in national politics are tossed to the margins by the forces of change.

A.255. Despite the hasty humiliation heaped on Nawaz, he remains relevant. This happened before also, when Musharraf threw him out.

March 26, 2018

B.256. The media were kept out of the perimeters where lawyers spoke during the lawyers' resistance protesting unconstitutional acts of General Pervez Musharraf.

B. 257. The Panama case verdict is the starting point of a messiah mind-set.

March 12, 2018

C.258. The Senate has set a new example of corruption, nepotism and buying and selling of loyalties.

C.259. A victory of the Nawaz League in Punjab will be the defeat of the whole narrative that has been carefully crafted in the last five years.

February 26, 2018

D.260. The establishment's reluctance to open a genuine debate in meeting world concerns has deprived our policy of rational direction and honest appeal.

D.261. Saudi Arabia did not change its final stance despite our troop diplomacy.

February 5, 2018

E.262. If judges' kicks and punches could move the rusty wheels of government departments to address corruption, crime, etc., why not?

E. 263. The last bastion of support for the judges could be Pakistan's omnipresent, almighty and durable establishment.

December 18, 2017

F.264. One of the biggest myths of our times is that the Supreme Court is the last bastion against organised corruption.

F.265. The Panama verdict, hailed as a gigantic leap towards a corruption-free Pakistan, did not move the debate on corruption an inch forward.

F.266. The establishment's purposes are well-served when judges get themselves deployed in tackling politicians, thereby triggering wars that kill both each passing day.

F.267. Both politicians and the establishment have gamed the Supreme Court on corruption.

November 20, 2017

G.268. “Dharnas” (sit-ins) taught us that once people are brought onto the streets and given a cause of sorts (rigging, corruption, etc.) they can be driven to the point of attacking government buildings.

G.269. The idea of elected representatives and the elected representation system – being bogus and farcical could be easily promoted by the weapon of “dharna”.

November 13, 2017

H.270. The Panama verdict calls Nawaz Sharif a fraud, a liar, a swindler, and holds him and his family responsible for looting the nation (the caravan, poetically put). This all makes the verdict look biased.

H.271. Since when have an illegal regime’s arm-twisting methods become legitimate processes that free courts should take their results seriously?

H.272. The establishment wants the Sharifs to disappear permanently.

November 6, 2017

I.273. Shahbaz Sharif has invested long years in cultivating good-neighbourly relations with Pindi, his elder brother’s target-in-chief.

I.274. There are not many party members suffering convenient fits of conscience who can see immorality of Nawaz Sharif facing corruption charges and still heading the party.

September 25, 2017

J.275. Compliance may get SS a chance to survive a bit longer than the family of the elder Sharif in politics.

J. 276. We have failed in trying pseudo-liberalism, decrepit constitutionalism, half-hearted military rules and diarchy in which power was co-shared by civilian and military rulers.

J. 277. TLP and MMI will hold the ship of national ideology steady and take the country back to the central ideas of great men like General Ziaul Haq.

14. Durdana Najam (*The Nation*)

April 23, 2018

A.278. The PML-N has raised the slogan of giving respect to vote to counter the avalanche of lawsuits, blames, and accusations of corruption against its leaders.

A.279. When both education and health sectors are kept expensive and moth-eaten, masses remain stuck in the vicious circle of poverty.

March 19, 2018

B.280. Every military dictator came to power with the pledge to eradicate corruption, but they all left leaving behind more corruption.

B.281. In order to justify and prolong his political existence every dictator had to create an alliance with the corrupt civilian leadership.

December 13, 2017

C.282. The December 2014 massacre of innocent children, at the Army Public School in Peshawar, proved a catalyst to eradicate terrorism.

C.283. The triangle of poverty, poor education and health systems, and violence feeds into each other.

C.284. For 40 years the curriculum produced a generation that learned intolerance.

C.285. From women to religion to Pakistan's ideology everything was made sacred.

December 09, 2017

D.286. Almost 70,000 people have died in the last 15 years since the war against terrorism that includes casualties of army and police officers.

D.287. It diverted our resources from education and health to the capacity building of security and law enforcement forces.

D.288. Education, health, and law and order were federal subjects until the arrival of 18th Amendment in 2010.

D.289. Army Corps alongwith police, Frontier Constabulary and different shades of law enforcement agencies are keeping Balochistan from withering.

September 12, 2017

E.290. Leaders of banned outfits are either under house arrest following Trump's election or are underground. One is running a fleet of madrassas.

E.291. There is a widening trust deficit in the civil-military relations as both sides want to get even with one another.

E.292. It would have been pragmatic to spend time and effort on foreign policy rather than Panama Leaks.

E.293. The Chief of Army Staff has asked the world to do more.

August 28, 2017

F.294. Instead of blaming the US of backstabbing Pakistan it would be useful to look inward for the reason for the international community ignoring its sacrifices against terrorism.

F.295. If our only modus operandi is to replace one master (the US) with another (China) than of course, we can let Indian fear, US fear, and Afghan fear play us down.

F.296. Our foreign policy depends on the military solution for every problem the country encounters from across borders.

F.297. For the last one year, the entire government machinery has been invested in protecting the ruling family from Panama effects.

August 14, 2017

G.298. Nawaz Sharif trying to show his street power, in the backdrop of loads of corruption charges against him, is a moment of remorse and repentance.

G.299. Education, health, and self-esteem are not for the masses to yearn for.

G.300. Tax evaders nourish the ruling elite like the owners of the Mayfair flats, large airlines and sky rise buildings in Dubai.

G.301. The idea had been to consolidate army's forte by keeping other institutions weak and using corruption as an instrument of arm twisting.

August 01, 2017

H.302. Since its creation, Pakistan is fighting an unending war against corruption.

March 27, 2017

I. 303. The US, a revisionist state and a staunch supporter of liberal democracy, has gone back on its commitment to democratic standards.

I.304. Coups and insurgencies are no longer considered spoilers of democracy, but the latter's inability to deliver democratic goods.

I.305. Entrenched political corruption makes people turn to military rules in countries like Pakistan.

January 29, 2017

J.306. The country is evolving from years of deceit and deception to a state where the process of accountability has self-wheeled into every part of society.

J.307. The right to education, a healthy childhood and dignity, all are violated, while the state only responds when reaction towards child abuse stirs it.

15. M. Ziauddin (*The Express Tribune*)

January 20, 2018

A.308. The Panama Papers is perhaps the biggest single, corruption-busting story of the decade.

A.309. Women are victimised by repressive social and cultural attitudes that continue to dominate media coverage of the shockingly misnamed honour killing in Pakistan.

December 16, 2017

B.310. Most of the assets beyond means allegedly connected to the Sharif family are located in the UK.

B.311. Corruption is not just about money. It is the root cause of mass migration, human-rights abuse, poverty and death.

November 11, 2017

C.312. When news of the Panama Papers was first published in 2016, regulatory bodies around the world sprang into action.

C.313. Even after the Panama Papers, few questions were asked about the lack of action by the offshore supervisors to crack down on dirty cash flowing across borders.

July 8, 2017

D.314. Fakery is prolonging the Panama case of fraud and fleece and has turned it into a high political drama.

D.315. Compared to the sufferings of the Bhutto family, the Sharif family's claims about what it has been subjected to by Musharraf appear more like a royal bother.

D.316. In the new civil-military paradigm, the ISI and the MI brigadiers on the team probing NS also seem to have their tasks cut out for them.

July 1, 2017

E.317. Tax evasion continues to challenge governments in both developing and developed countries.

April 29, 2017

F.318. It appears as if the country since the Panama verdict has entered the election mode which is more than a year away.

F.319. Sharif talks about the restrictions imposed on him by the security establishment.

January 27, 2017

G.320. Transparency International called on governments to go beyond anti-corruption legislation to “deep-rooted systemic reforms”.

G.321. Corruption and inequality feed off each other to create a vicious circle between corruption and unequal distribution of power and wealth in a society.

December 30, 2016

H.322. The political momentum that the Pakistan Tehreek-i-Insaf (PTI) had tried to build during the outgoing year hammering the Panama Papers scandal is likely to gather pace.

H.323. In sectors like health, education and law and order, KPK has performed much better than Punjab despite the step-motherly treatment of Peshawar by Islamabad.

November 4, 2016

I.324. The first family needs to produce the legally authenticated document to get itself exonerated from the allegations being levelled against it.

August 19, 2017

J.325. The Panama Leaks has also exposed the unscrupulous financial dealings of the developed world.

J.326. Many hold the US as effectively the biggest tax haven in the world.

16. Irshad Bhatti (*Daily Jang*)

January 18, 2018

A.327. When Sharif brothers used to promise to bring back black money looted by Zardari, did they disclose to the public that they themselves were making off shore companies and the public should not be surprised if Panama Leaks took place?

A.328. There was a time when nobody thought of the public and today everyone seems to be concerned about it.

January 01, 2018

B.329. Quaid-e- Azam being compared to today's leaders is like comparing light to darkness.

B.330. After becoming the Governor General, Quaid-e-Azam instead of making money gave away whatever he had.

B.331. A mere 5% of the population is doing corruption.

December 25, 2017

C.332. Nawaz Sharif alleges that the cases against him are not a part of some accountability drive. Rather it is pure revenge.

C.333. The army chief who has stood by the government in its every trial, has repeatedly said "I believe in democracy and democracy is the greatest power".

9th November, 2017

D.334. The country has become a grazing ground for looters. It is looted like the wealth of an orphan.

D.335. Is it not strange that the nation revered Fatima Jinnah, but, obeyed Ayub Khan? The nation loved Bhutto, but, called Ziaul Haq, a man of faith?

D.336. Pakistanis marry off their daughters and sisters to the Holy Quran so that the property remains undivided.

D.337. There has neither been a pure democracy nor a genuine martial law in Pakistan.

D.338. The nation calls America a satan but covets the American visa all the same.

November 02, 2017

E.339. Maj. Amer's (a legendary officer of Pakistan army with reference to Afghanistan) father was once abandoned by everyone except his wife.

E.340. When the government closed down his madrassa (religious seminary) he declared that that every tree in the province was his madrassa. He started holding classes under trees.

E.341. All sorts of corruption are done in the name of Islam.

September 28, 2017

F.342. Nawaz Sharif's narrative has ironic undertones.

F.343. When he was dismissed, rich and poor kids were studying alongside each other.

F.344. Corruption had almost been wiped out.

F.345. Trump was so scared of Pakistan that he could not come near the Pakistani PM during the Riyadh Conference.

F.346. Oxford and Harvard universities were about to include NAB's "Say no to corruption" in their respective syllabi.

July 17, 2017

G.347. Nawaz Sharif has always fought with army chiefs.

G.348. It is a laughable proposition that Panama Leaks is a conspiracy of some foreign power.

July 10, 2017

H.349. The writer goes to meet two saints. One claims that the process of change has started. But that there are some stages left after the JIT.

H.350. The other spiritual personality points out that in a country where the rulers are ill intentioned and the masses do not have good actions, it is very difficult to hope for prosperity.

July 06, 2017

I.351. Dr Dani, a renowned historian, tells the writer that any ruler who shook hands with him was thrown out of power very soon. One wants him to get rid of some leaders through the magic handshake.

I.352. This would save the country from further tampering and JIT would wrap up its work quickly and the Qatari story would remain unexposed, also.

June 19, 2017

J.353. The South Korean first woman president is sentenced for giving political help and aiding her friend in corruption.

J.354. The tearful Park Guen, with her head down, said “I cannot sleep at night thinking that my nation would never trust me again no matter what I do now”.

J.355. Malta’s president made history when he left power and went for early elections when his wife’s name was mentioned in Panama Leaks.

17. Hassan Nisar (*Daily Jang*)

March 07, 2018 (first published 7thOctober 1996).

A.356. There is just talk about accountability rather than real accountability.

A.357. Will there really be comprehensive, complete and genuine accountability?

A.358. Or will accountability be hijacked?

A.359. Is the accountability drive just a drama staged by the ruling elite to puncture the balloon of the public anger against corruption?

March 02, 2018

B.360. We have unemployed educated youth and extreme poverty.

B.361. NAB must work in three shifts.

February 24, 2018

D.362. Nawaz Sharif has once again talked about prejudice, anger and revenge. Does he have family enmity with everyone?

D.363. Nobody can match NS in being the establishment's product and favourite.

23rd Feb. 2018

E.364. Sharifs are facing divine retribution.

E.365. Only the custom media or the very shameless will stand with NS after he is caught stealing and lying.

February 22, 2018

F.366. NS was politically groomed during the days of the worst dictatorship.

F.367. Are we bound to save Nawaz Sharif's Rs 300 billion?

F.368. These people do corruption and then growl at when people point fingers at them.

February 19, 2018

G.369. NS decries "If my assets exceed my income, then what is it to you?"

G.370. Corrupt people transferring money abroad are as cruel as those Arabs who would skin animals alive and practice marksmanship on them.

G.371. Accountability would light up dull faces and give sight to the sightless; kiln children would go to school and begging hands would get books.

February 17, 2018

H.372. The conspiring elite has decided that only a certain percentage of the population which is needed to run the government, will get educated.

H.373. He is caught red handed and wondering "Why am I dismissed?" Aqama-Panama democracy is a product of illiteracy.

January 24, 2018

I.374. The shameless and stubborn elite's pet phrase "democracy should continue" actually means "looting of the country's resources should continue".

I.375. Pakistanis with PhDs continue to be unemployed.

January 05, 2018

J.376. As long as NS kept in mind that he was fake and behaved according to the baton commands, he remained in the good books of the army.

J.377. But he started playing with beards of those people in whose comfortable laps in which he had grown up.

J.378. He challenged his benefactors and on top of that, looted and plundered to an unbelievable degree.

18. Rauf Klasra (*Dunya*)

May 03, 2018

A.379. Liberal and the educated stand exposed as they defend Sharif corruption.

A.380. Gen Raheel Sharif, the army chief, considered NS as an ally. He was convinced that NS's anti army stance was limited to Gen Musharraf.

A.381. It is shocking to hear Asma Jahangir say that NS did not commit a crime in lying about London flats' ownership.

March 09, 2018

B382. During Gen. Musharraf's times journalists exposing destruction caused by the military and establishment considered themselves as revolutionary.

B.383. Sometimes one wishes for the martial law because one can romanticise politicians only when they are not in power.

B.384. Those politicians who would appreciate the press for filing cases during Gen Musharraf's times, now fight with the media.

B.385. Whenever NAB opens a file against someone, the accused is seen the next day defending himself on a TV show.

January 26, 2018

C.386. Civil-military rulers make properties from Dubai to London, fill Swiss banks with illegal money and take commission in every contract.

C.387. When the time nears for their arrest, politicians invite journalists over and request them to present them as innocent in front of the public.

January 24, 2018

D.388. Disregarding the extreme weather, Romanians are protesting against a parliamentary bill benefitting the corrupt political elite.

D.389. Slogans chanted by around 50000 Romanians can be heard in Pakistan also.

D.390. After the Panama scandal Sharif family targeted the judiciary and used the parliament for their own benefit.

January 07, 2018

E.391. Is NAB investigating foreign office scandals?

E.392. Justice Javed Iqbal is showing good performance against corruption and corrupt elements despite initial misgivings.

November 24, 2017

F.393. Nawaz Sharif is promoting mob justice by sloganeering that only the country's 200 million people can hold him accountable.

F.394. Does he tell the people that they should vote for him so that he can get elected and loot the country?

F.395. Is this the democracy that was dreamt of by people who fought the martial laws of Gen. Musharraf and Gen. Zia?

November 17, 2017

G.396. When the whole society has become intellectually corrupt and bankrupt, then why complain that justice is not being served?

November 10, 2017

H.397. One was taught in school that animals were greedy, mean, etc. In the wake of Panama Leaks, one wants to ask the teachers whether only animals are greedy, clever, mean and fraudsters?

October 20, 2017

I.398. The world has many billionaires who are not accused of even a single penny's misappropriation.

I.399. Our rulers certainly know how to buy institutions and people.

I.400. Does anyone loot one's own house like we do?

September 20, 2017

J.401. Does Lahore not have enough educated people? Yet they vote for the corrupt.

J.402. Our role models consist of the corrupt. They are owners of foreign bank accounts and hold properties off shores that have been bought with ill- gotten money. Moreover, they are convicts.

J.403. Poverty-ridden voters argue that why should they vote for a poor, lower middle-class candidate who cannot even change his own condition?

Education

19. Chris Cook (*The Express Tribune*)

May 31, 2018

A.404. The issue of school children taking drugs is present even in developed countries.

A.405. There are no reliable data about drug- use in schools in Pakistan.

March 29, 2018

B.406. There has been an improvement in teachers and students' attendance in Punjab.

B.407. Data for the same are recorded on tablets testifying to Punjab's progress in IT.

December 7, 2017

C.408. It will make an interesting PhD subject as to how it was that Pakistan had a paradigm shift and decided collectively as well as individually to literally clean itself up.

November 23, 2017

D.409. A bridging of the gender gap at a time in students' lives when the genders are separating rather than coming together, is a kind of counter-cultural spin.

D.410. Grown-ups watch the generation that is entering the paperless classroom.

November 16, 2017

E.411. Few women in villages are educated. Even fewer go beyond the primary level.

E.412. It is hard to find a Pakistani man who would willingly give his daughter's hand in marriage to a white man.

August 17, 2017

F.413. Military families are educated pillars of society generally. They are respectable and decent people.

July 6, 2017

G.414. The elite know that the best way to hold on to power is to prevent the lumpen proletariat from getting educated.

G.415. Military had to intervene to keep the ship head to wind.

G.416. There is just a small number of literate and gainfully employed people. There is only a small number of females educated beyond primary and working.

June 8, 2017

H.417. Schools operate in houses that sit on 10-15 marla plots. Sometimes there can be two schools on a single road.

H.418. One can do a PhD on how poor areas have remained the same size in the last decade, whilst affluent areas have grown almost exponentially.

June 1, 2017

I.419. Hollow-eyed kids having zinc deficiency sit in a classroom and go back to brick kilns to work alongside their parents and siblings.

May 26, 2017

J.420. Abaseen Foundation supports schools, health centres and research programmes in partnership with the government of Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa.

J.421. NGOs in Pakistan are accused of wasteful spending of donor money and doing rampant corruption.

J.422. Brick kilns dot the landscape everywhere. Children labour alongside adults. They are poorly nourished and frequently uneducated.

J.423. Miles away there are happier children in other schools. Noticeably better fed and undoubtedly well educated.

20. Zubeida Mustafa (*Dawn*)

March 16, 2018

A.424. The infamous legacy of enforced disappearances of the Chilean military dictator has, unfortunately, been picked up by Pakistan.

A.425. Balochistan's biggest tragedy is the education emergency that grips it today.

A.426. The education shortfall, along with the alienation caused by the centre's discrimination and the use of military force, has created a formula for a grave national crisis.

A.427. The powers that control the province's destiny should realise that education can be successfully imparted in an atmosphere of freedom and not under the shadows of guns.

January 05, 2018

B.428. In an authoritarian system, decisions are taken arbitrarily by a dictator or his coterie and that is why they are regarded as flawed.

B.429. In a democracy, as we claim to be, it is unforgivable that the government should ignore the advice of those who engage in critical thinking, research and reflection.

B.430. For the first time a woman, much younger than the previous leadership, will lead Irtiqa.

December 08, 2017

C.431. A retired Urdu-speaking ambassador expressed his disapproval at the use of Urdu instead of English at a literary festival as English was the language of international diplomacy.

C.432. English is destroying our education system as well as destroying our indigenous languages.

C.433. The fact is that we are obsessed with English to an irrational extent.

C.434. English is made the "gatekeeper" in our educational system.

C.435. In Sri Lanka, students must pass their English paper for admission to a university and not for any degree before that.

C.436. As for our perfect-English-speaking diplomats, one can ask them where have our foreign policy successes taken Pakistan?

November 10, 2017

D.437. Reading books other than course texts helps children enrich their minds and makes them superior to their non-reading peers.

D.438. Our society is bifurcated between those reading English books and the underprivileged majority.

D.439. Children, whose mothers start speaking to them in English soon after birth, should be more familiarised with Urdu/ their mother tongue.

December 13, 2017

E.440. True to his leftist leanings, Khan Sahib (*Dawn*) showed unlimited concern for education of the masses, healthcare for all, rights of the child and empowerment of women.

October 27, 2017

F.441. I felt I had let down Zulfiqar's two young and motherless girls. I had also failed the cause of education in Pakistan.

F.442. I was fascinated by his achievements in the field of education while he was under the shadow of death.

September 15, 2017

G.443. The worldviews of English and Urdu are poles apart. The social, cultural values do not meet at any point, nor do the literary tastes.

G.444. Language barriers have been erected to keep the poor beyond the pale. Or is it simply a case of our education system failing to inculcate the book-reading habit?

August 04, 2017

H.445. More than a quarter of the children in school depend on non-governmental institutes to meet their educational needs.

H.445. The goal of the basic education is to teach a person critical thinking. This is important if democracy is to be made meaningful.

H.446. Except the upscale private schools, even the average private schools are restrained by the irrational guidelines laid down by policymakers breeding inequity.

July 21, 2017

I.447. The population programme, like our educational projects, is receiving heavy funding from various foreign sources.

I.448. Is population planning following the same path as education with its main goal being job creation?

I.449. Health and educational facilities in our urban slums are badly neglected.

July 07, 2017

J.450. Fauzia is thirteen and performs the duties of an adult woman which would be classified as child labour. She is not attending school as is compulsory for children.

J.451. Early marriage has an adverse impact on maternal health, the infant mortality rate, children's education, empowerment of women and the future generations of Pakistan.

21. Dr Pervez Hoodbhoy (*The News International*)

March 31, 2018

A.452. PhD professors (and the ranks below) are now out to give corrupt politicians, generals and judges a stiff competition.

A.453. A candidate was not promoted after a call from the agencies that supposedly protect Pakistan, as he allegedly had anti-establishment views.

February 17, 2018

B.454. Of humble origin and educated in local schools, Ramanujan and Salam rose to dizzying heights in the arcane world of theoretical science.

B.455. At 16, encouraged by one of his teachers, Ramanujan sent off a letter to the renowned pure mathematician G.W. Hardy at Cambridge University.

B.456. Salam, a child prodigy rapidly outpaced his teachers. Fortunately, they bore him no grudge and helped him move on to Lahore and then Cambridge.

B.457. Had either stayed back home he would be unheard of today.

November 25, 2017

C.458. Many think that our education rot is irreversible. Books are printed on smudgy newsprint replete with mistakes and contain hate against other peoples and religions.

C.459. Pakistan's date of birth has thankfully been set at 1947. It was written as 712 A.D in school textbooks during Gen Zia's days.

C.460. Quaid's speech about freedom of religion had hitherto been kept hidden for fear of polluting students' minds and weakening the two-nation theory.

C.461. The older curriculum helped create a militant, intolerant mindset.

November 04, 2017

D.462. The strike at QAU is unrelated to that which ought to be of primary importance to students, i.e improving the quality of instruction they receive.

D.463. Banned in the 1980s by Gen Ziaul Haq, no government has dared undo the ban on student unions pushing students towards apolitical substitutes creating further divisiveness.

September 23, 2017

E.464. Chairman HEC's solution to combat terrorism is that if parents "switch off TV and internet early at night and send children off to bed", university students could be shunted away from terrorism.

E.465. Last May, the worried GHQ through ISPR organised a meeting "The role of youth in rejecting extremism".

E.466. Certain preacher-professors and motivational speakers stir up students with concocted conspiracy theories and jingoistic hype.

E.467. Culturally deprived young Pakistanis are desperate for joy and freedom in the form of music events, theatres, colours, poetry and dancing.

July 01, 2017

F.468. These days Pakistan's professors are too busy to read books because they use their time publishing what are called "research" papers and procuring PhD degrees for their students.

F.469. Teaching standards continue to plummet especially in maths, physics, chemistry and engineering.

F.470. The best US science and engineering schools have graduate departments teeming with Chinese and Indian students; Pakistanis are a rarity.

F.471. Like other post-colonial states, Pakistan slowly cobbled together a modern university system after its creation. Although standards were generally low, there were occasional pockets of excellence.

May 20, 2017

G.472. The celebrated army operations Radd-ul-Fasaad and Zarb-i-Azab target armed militants fighting for a Sharia state.

April 29, 2017

H.473. Mashal Khan was beaten with sticks and bricks by 20-25 students of Abdul Wali Khan University who enjoyed a feeling of righteousness by killing an alleged blasphemer.

H.474. Three armed and veiled sisters shot dead a man near Sialkot who had been accused of committing blasphemy 13 years ago.

H.475. Universities can produce intolerant mind sets.

December 24, 2016

I.476. In Pakistan unlike in the morally degenerate West, wealthy people — even well-educated ones — steal from educational institutions.

I.477. Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto rewarded her cronies in the Parliament by offering them plots on QAU campus back in 1996.

I.478. To short circuit potential resistance from QAU teachers and employees, they were offered smaller plots.

December 03, 2016

J.479. Published in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa last year, a biology textbook declares “The theory of evolution as proposed by Charles Darwin in the 19th century, is one of the most unbelievable and irrational claims in history”.

J.480. Many Pakistani science and maths teachers are uncomfortable with their vocation.

J.481. A university professor with a PhD in mathematics was a “qari” (reciter of the Holy Koran) and would say to his MSc students that although it was his job to teach mathematics yet it was not to be trusted.

22. Zubair Rehman (*Roznama Express*)

April 06, 2018

A.482. It is in Africa and the Indian sub-continent where the greatest number of girls are raped.

A.483. A university girl student was kidnapped, raped and murdered in Faisalabad. The case was filed after her dead body was found.

A.484. Why are clerics who act as religion’s contractors, not condemning Abida’s murder and satnding with the protesting students?

A.485. In a patriarchal society, women can never crowd on footpaths, playing grounds or hotels.

March 06, 2018

B.486. Europeans today may seem law abiding and educated but once killed natives of America, Australia, New Zealand and Canada.

B.487. America daily carries out drone attacks on us.

B.489. Pakistan's defence/war budget is Rs.930 billion whereas the budget for education and health is mere 1.5%.

B.490. Pak-US relationship not really profitable for Pak monetarily.

February 21, 2018

C.491. Mashal Khan's death by torture has immortalized him.

C.492. Mashal Khan was trying to unearth the university's corrupt practices.

February 05, 2018

D.493. In Los Angeles alone 47000 American citizens people are forced to live on footpaths.

D.494. Parliamentarians, generals, bureaucrats are looting in millions every month, but, retired teachers (some even female and widowed) are not paid pensions.

D.495. It was during Gen. Zia's era that students' unions were banned.

December 28, 2017

E.496. Lady health workers are not paid their salaries for 5 months on end.

E.497. In Sindh, teachers who were employed in 2012 have still not been paid their salaries.

November 28, 2017

F.498. Under the Bolshevik revolution women got an equal status.

F.499. A students' delegation from Pakistan attends a students' festival in Russia and meets students from all over the world.

F.500. If Musharraf can go to India, Nawaz Sharif can meet Modi, then why can we, the students and youth, not meet each other?

November 22, 2017

G.501. The record of Asif Ali Zardari's cases is missing from the accountability courts.

G.502. The list of 483 officials belonging to finance, police, education, health, food, social welfare, forests returning the corruption money voluntarily, has been submitted.

G.503. QAU students had to go on a hunger strike till death to get protesting students readmitted.

G.504. No "mullah" (religious cleric) has ever taken out a rally against rape/molesting of girls.

G.505. A poor girl is paraded naked in DI Khan. Can a feudal family's girl be treated similarly?

November 19, 2017

H.506. Democratic Students' Federation which attended the Russian education and youth festival advocates education for all.

H.507. The imperial America along with its allies, wants to overpower the whole of the world.

H.508. Education, health and culture have been turned into a business and restricted to a privileged few.

October 05, 2017

I.509. America was worried that Afghans could influence the neighbouring countries.

I.510. The FM of Pakistan admits that it was a mistake to become America's tool in the 80s.

I.511. Iranian religious elite is no worse than Saudi monarchy by arresting numerous students.

I.512. Pakistan needs to adopt a uniform educational system.

I.513. Potential terrorists are culled from madrassas, schools, universities and mosques.

September 28, 2017

J.514. Women have been objectified since the advent of the class system.

J.515. The “panchayat” (a committee of local elders for resolving issues) system did not discriminate on the basis of gender.

J.516. Turkey which is proud to call itself European, has deleted Darwin’s theory from its educational syllabus.

J.517. In America and Europe, although both men and women work, at home it is the women who cook.

J.518. Everyone talks about the rights of women but who is taking any step for the improvement?

23. Ansar Abbasi (*Jang*)

January 08, 2018

A.519. It is good that the federal government has decided to groom children as an essential part of the educational syllabus.

A.520 It will help children to become good Muslims in a practical way.

A.521. Activity and project- based teaching is introduced.

December 28, 2017

B.522. Pakistan’s Muslims are being made progressive and liberal in order to please America and Europe.

B.523. Music and dance will be made a part of the syllabus at the school level.

B.524. This culture belonged to the red-light area.

December 07, 2017

C.525. Work on character building in KP's educational institutions has begun so that the new generation turns out to be kind hearted and well disposed.

C.526. Recently, in KP, anti-nudity and anti-vulgarity drives have been launched which has annoyed the liberals.

C.527. PML-N is in a mad rush to show its liberal and secular credentials and is trying hard to make westernized NGOs and media happy.

July 03, 2017

D.528. We need to declare grooming/character building as per Islamic injunctions, compulsory at every level.

D.529. Media need to be harnessed for it.

May 04, 2017

E.530. It is easy yet unfair to blame only the army for the repeated takeovers. Civilians are to be blamed also.

E.531. The last PPP's government broke all records of corruption and incompetency yet it was celebrated for completing its tenure.

E.532. We must provide health and education facilities and ensure meritocracy if we want democracy to flourish.

February 09, 2017

F.533. God has given this credit to Imran Khan that Koran teaching has been made compulsory in KPK.

F.534. Only Koran and Hadith can teach our children about the perils of extremism, violation of women rights and other social evils.

January 26, 2017

G.535. TV channels vociferously opposed a bill banning vulgar songs and dances in theatres. The Punjab government had to retract.

G.536. Only media can help groom our new generation but who can first groom the media?

January 19, 2017

H.537. Children committing suicide point to the lack of character building in our educational system.

H.538. Parents invest in big fees by sending children to expensive schools and expect big returns.

H.539. A report claims that 50% students of Islamabad's colleges and schools are drug addicts

H.540. Co-education is being promoted leading to teenage affairs. Children are the victims of vulgarity on TV channels.

December 15, 2017

I.541. It is good news that Federal, Punjab and KPK governments are working on making Koran teaching compulsory.

I.542. The proposed scheme of things is approved by all Islamic schools of thought.

I.543. It is worrisome what the Sindh government is doing in the name of liberalism.

December 08, 2016

J.544. What I cannot understand is why Rabiul Awal is chosen for naming the educational centre at QAU after Dr Abdus Salam.

J.445. Dr Abdus Salam was colluding with the CIA against our nuclear bomb.

24. Kishwar Naheed (*Jang*)

April 18, 2018

A.546. One does not support the Mughal kings because they made mausoleums instead of making universities.

A.547. If Saudi funded mosques had been used for spreading education, Pakistan's 53% village children would not have remained uneducated.

A.548. Women would not have been barred from voting.

A.549. A mosque and a university were established in Fez, Morocco in 1200 AD by two sisters with their inheritance money.

A.550. Ever since Ziaul Haq's days there is no proper teaching of history or geography.

March 09, 2018

B.551. We have to do something practical otherwise 2.5 million children would not be able to go to school.

B.552. Men would keep selling their dowryless wives' kidneys.

B.553. In a Lahore festival, an American politician said that Ummah did not encompass all Muslims around the world.

B.554. When Bhutto was overthrown NAFDEC sobbed (metaphorically). Musharraf could not do much for films either.

February 02, 2018

C.555. We have nurtured a generation of youth who nsult their teachers. Moreover, they are not interested in studies.

C.556. This male generation likes to hover around places in shopping malls where girls are present.

C.557. They cheat in exams and then intimidate teachers to get away with it.

C.558. The whole world is saying that 2.5 million children are out of school in Pakistan.

C.559. Public hangings in Zia's era could not deter child molestations. These hangings made the society more violent.

December 08, 2017

D.560. A person with triple doctorates returns to Pakistan to establish schools for poor children.

D.561. This school teaches literature from an early age and arranges poetry sessions.

September 09, 2017

E.562. During Zia's days undercover intelligence officers would always attend all literary gatherings to glean for anti-government discussions.

E.563. Banned outfits are gaining ground in educational institutions.

E.564. Love for books is not present in our country's professors.

E.565. Girls and boys fall into a pit of friendship from where only a book can bring them back.

August 18, 2018

F.566. As a child I had to redraw a map of Pakistan every six months as rulers would change very frequently.

F.567. The two-nation theory was taught when I cleared Matric but I didn't know what it meant.

F.568. When Fatima Jinnah fought elections against Gen. Ayub Khan, the importance of a woman's dignity was highlighted.

F.569. Habib Jalib talked against dictatorship.

August 04, 2017

G.570. The PM watches Sharmeen Obaid's movie on honour killing.

G.571. When even the NA consists of uneducated people, a village panchayat (a committee of elders for resolving issues) would comprise of a lowly man and his rogue friends.

G.572. I wish that women get robots like in Japan and the West; it would make life so easy.

G.573. In our village schools, there are generally no separate toilets for girls.

July 21, 2017

H.574. We claim that we know about Islamic teachings but our school graduates are unable to answer simple questions about Islam.

H.575. Most youth have mobiles in their hands all the time.

H.576. American children living in Pakistan learn about Pakistani culture and traditions.

H.577. It is Americans, French and Italians working on our endangered languages rather than the Pakistanis themselves.

June 02, 2017

I. 578. Benazir Bhutto's daughters ought to study further.

I.579. Her daughters must do something about the miserable conditions of our village children.

I.580. Children working in workshops sometimes sleep hungry on their return home.

1.581. There are 2.5 million children are out of school.

I.582. The so- called honourable people in our society sell Pakistani girls in Dubai and other countries.

April 14, 2017

J.583. I was taken to all 25 homes by women running an NGO where every woman was happy that her daughter was going to school.

J.584. Earlier the village women could not send their daughters to school as they did not have the money.

J.585. It is compulsory for a Muslim to learn to read the Koran.

Women

25. Mosharraf Zaidi (*The News International*)

April 3, 2018

A.586. We only revere women once they die fighting misogyny.

A. 587. Asma stood up to people with guns.

A.588. Girls make up 48.48 percent of all high and higher secondary school enrolment in Punjab, but not in the rest of the country.

A.589. “Madar-e-Millat” (Fatima Jinnah, mother of the nation and the sister of the founder of the country) is more revered as she rests in her grave than she was when she was alive and challenging Gen. Ayub.

February 27, 2018

B.590. “Poor and illiterate” describes the vast majority of women in Pakistan.

B.591. Children who do attend school fare so poorly that one questions whether out-of-school children are a problem worth tackling at all.

B.592. For a nation that prides itself in its Islamic heritage, we have a strange hatred for mothers.

February 20, 2018

C.593. Asma Jahangir stood up and defended the weak, the oppressed and the vulnerable in the holiest of Muslim traditions.

C.594. Although Pakistan’s military has exceptionally talented and brave soldiers, it is a lumbering behemoth bureaucracy institutionally addicted to short-termism and tactical thinking.

C.595. The US, the UK, etc. feel that Pakistan has been too soft on banned outfits and needs to be put on a terror-financing watch list.

C.596. Pakistanis have consumed textbooks designed to sustain fairy tales that exclude certain figures.

January 31, 2017

D.597. The Muslim ban enacted by President Trump is going to launch a thousand narratives of victimhood, seething rage, and hatred.

D.598. Poorly informed white people in Western nations are just as gullible regarding politics as poorly informed brown people in Muslim-majority nations

D.599. We all want America to stand by its first amendment, protect the rights of our sisters in Islam and allow hijab.

D.600. When they came for the souls of Americans, protests erupted at JFK Airport. Where were we when they came for Sharbat Gula?

July 19, 2016

E.601. A young woman was murdered by her brother because he did not like her Facebook posts.

E.602. Even the highly educated, urbane and liberal Pakistanis state that Qandeel Baloch's murder was a crime, but qualify the crime all the same.

E.603. Things the supposedly educated say about her: "She was spreading vulgarity and obscenity", "she was so vulgar", "she brought it upon herself" and perhaps the worst of all "she deserved it".

E.604. Evidence of misogyny, moral relativism and elitism is so prevalent that one cannot breathe without ingesting the toxicity of the particular matter enabling such reactions.

E.605. Qandeel Baloch challenged and will continue to challenge our linear conception of who can wear slutty clothes and who cannot, who can twerk and who cannot.

March 29, 2016

F.605. No one sang national songs quite the way Nerissa, Sheema and Shabana Benjamin did.

F.606. Some of us respond with pictures of children killed in drone strikes in the tribal areas when shown pictures of American school shootings.

F.607. This country's greatest strength, no matter what you were taught in Pakistan Studies, is its diversity.

March 15, 2016

G.608. Sharmeen Obaid-Chinoy depicts a Pakistani society that is, in equal parts, a cause for wondrous optimism and a source of deep trepidation.

G.609. It is a story about the mind-set that enables a father to try to kill his own daughter. And there is that word "honour", embedded deep inside the film as much as it oozes over and envelopes it.

G.610. The whataboutery on honour killings has already begun, even among otherwise sane and seemingly decent members of the English-language opinion set.

G.611. The PM is finally attending to issues like healthcare insurance, publicly-funded Montessori schools, attending minorities' festivals and honour killings.

March 8, 2016

H.612. English language users are reasonable, pro-state, pro-rule of law, and at least marginally liberal as against a horde of unreasonable, angry, violent, hateful Pakistanis who are non-users of English.

H.613. A member of Sunni Tehreek would be persuaded by the word "constitutionalist" rather than "liberal" which has been undermined.

H.614. The religious parties of all sects proclaimed not only a desire to protect women, but also to resist a grand conspiracy to reform the blasphemy law conjoining the two.

H.615. We need to find ways to empathise with those we disagree with for fixing the cracks and fissures that normalise fatal violence against minorities, women, and others.

March 1, 2016

I.616. Sharmeen Obaid Chinoy has achieved momentum for Pakistan to make laws eliminating devious and evil cultural practice of killing human beings in the name of “honour”.

I.617. Acid-victim units, anti-honour-killing laws, hanging convicted assassins and screening Oscar winning films are integral to the future of this country.

February 16, 2016

J.618. My friend’s maternal grandmother was dead, after a long life of giving life to others, inspiring her family and friends and just staying alive. A long, rich, full life. Over.

J.619. I sometimes watch renditions of Justin Beiber’s “Sorry” in the voice of a mash-up of President Barack Obama’s speeches.

J.620. A US study of college students indicates a 40% decline in empathy over the last two decades attributed to phones.

26. Mina Malik (*The Nation*)

April 30, 2018

A.621. When men harass and molest women, it is because they do not see women as people like them, with emotions and desires and reactions, but just objects there for the taking.

A.622. Why fight for equal pay when you do not really think women are competent?

April 16, 2018

B.623. Girls are coming out of the shadows to finally name their harassers.

B.624. The #metoo movement seeks among others, to explain to halfwits why women do not speak up about harassment the very instant it happens.

April 10, 2018

C.625. One often finds similarly successful women attributing their success to the support of their spouses like in the case of Asma Jahangir.

C.626. Apparently, all men think they need to do to be supportive is not to interfere. Passive non-interference is not support.

April 02, 2018

D.627. It was fabulous—just a group of women of all ages, cycling down the road, hanging out.

D.628. The rally was not to create a rumpus; it was merely to gather in solidarity and reclaim the roads as cycling is quite an ordinary act.

March 26, 2018

E.629. A friendly guard helped one with the child pram.

E.630. Young men and women have been climbing up one of the hills at Lawrence Gardens to inspect Ali Kazmi's work

March 19, 2018

F.631. To mark the international Women's Day, many people in Pakistan participated in the "Aurat March" (Women March) to show solidarity for women from all walks of life.

F.632. Some posters from this year include "No Gender Roles", "Only Paratha Rolls" and the famous, smash-hit, controversial-as-heck "Heat your food yourself".

F.633. Many women also tutted, wagging their internet heads. "We love heating our men's food", they said.

F.634. The trouble is that women are expected to have sympathy and respect for men doing their duty, but in return are given none for theirs.

March 12, 2018

G.635. Another summer, another onslaught of ridiculous lawn.

G.636. The brand in question has issued a meandering statement about eco-tourism and supporting Masai women.

G.637. When *French Vogue* decided to not use too-thin models, it was a turning point in the fashion industry's attitude to body size.

G.638. Social responsibility is not just about giving money to a few schools. It is high time there was more introspection and thought put into the dynamic of clothes.

February 12, 2018

H.639. We have suffered a terrible loss. Asma Jilani Jehangir, lawyer and activist, passed away. This is no ordinary passing, because she was no ordinary woman.

H.640. Thanks to the dictatorship of Ziaul Haq, the eighties were a fraught time to be a lawyer, much less a political one, and a woman.

H.641. Their father was an activist who spent time in prison and under house arrest for opposing military dictatorships, and his daughters followed suit.

H.642. Asma along with WAF women protested Zia's proposal to change the laws of evidence.

H.643. March participants were beaten, tear-gassed and arrested.

January 29, 2018

I.644. Our only female Prime Minister, the first woman to lead a Muslim country, was also the first woman leader to give birth while in office. NZ PM is the second.

I.645. Being pregnant and the first woman in the country to attempt what you are doing takes grit and courage of colossal proportion.

I.646. When men take time off work to look after their children they are seen as heroes, but, when women do the same it's a pained sigh.

I.647. With so many women doing better than men academically, it makes sense that they would want to utilize their potential in the workplace

I.648. Many environments are still not conducive to women and their very real concerns which, like it or not, will include the things their bodies do.

January 23, 2018

J.648. The real question is why are men in our government so casually sexist in their language?

J.649. If you're a woman in a courtroom then you are already a hero in my book just for making it, and staying put.

J.650. It's already hard to have to push back against the men's club in any profession.

J.651. Imagine a woman parliamentarian, judge, minister of state—anyone in a public office, really, with some power—calling a male colleague a dumpster or a guttersnipe.

J.652. It's hard to find gendered insults for men because most of our cursing energy is directed at women. A woman of some influence telling a colleague to put on some bangles.

27. Kamila Hayat (*The News International*)

April 26, 2018

A.653. Religion and tradition drive our lives, keeping us and our youth safe from the decadence that has taken over the West and its communities.

A.654. There is agitation in the Punjab University over the dismissal of a West returned young teacher who encourages his students to think critically and read beyond their textbooks.

A.655. Students, including girls, many from middle-class backgrounds, said it was for the first time they learnt to question the chains binding them.

A.666. Dr Firdous Ashiq Awan said that women would not be harassed if they did not allow themselves to be harassed.

A.667. Women who are pinched, groped or face sexual innuendos at their workplace, in educational institutions or in public spaces do not ask to be treated in this fashion.

A. 668. Women are attempting to fight back harassment is a positive sign.

March 29, 2018

B.669. Patriarchal societies everywhere attempting to determine what women wear, how they act and what their role in society should be.

B.670. The dupatta draped (veil draped) women that have now become too common a sight were nowhere to be seen on PTV. Young women would wear T-shirts and jeans to the Karachi beach.

B.671. Rape, child abuse and domestic violence that we see everywhere apparently do not move people to action.

March 8, 2018

C.672. Looking back at the 1950s and 1960s, we see images of women occupying a far greater public space without wearing veils sans any controversy

C.673. We need parties that can bring a change and truly empower women, minorities and other oppressed groups.

February 1, 2018

D.674. Bilawal Bhutto Zardari suggested school and college curricula should teach children and young people how to distinguish between real and fake news.

D.675. Malala Yousafzai is one popular target for ludicrous stories.

January 25, 2018

E.676. Recent debates include the senate polls, the role of various institutions in these events, brutal rape and murder of Zainab, and Malala Yousafzai's decision to participate in an Indian event.

E.677. In the 1960s and 1970s, socialism was a perfectly acceptable idea, with student groups on university campuses holding it up as an ideal.

E.678. The remorseless teenager shot the highly-respected teacher six times because he rebuked him for participating in the Faizabad sit-in.

E.679. Issues of corruption –and now rape – are among the current favourite topics.

January 18, 2018

F.680. In only a few places would Mashal Khan have died the death he died.

F.681. In only a few nations would a teenager like Malala Yousafzai have been vilified the way she is.

F.682. The public hanging for rape and gang-rape was enforced in Pakistan since the late 1970s when General Ziaul Haq made it a part of his Islamisation campaign.

F.683. We need to understand that nothing can justify rape, regardless of how a woman is dressed or where she goes.

December 7, 2017

G.684. Pakistani women on average receive only five years of school education and their financial inclusion stands at only three percent.

G.685. We need to draw more women into the mainstream of economic activity

G.686. From their early childhood, girls get their hair elaborately coiffed and their faces whitened.

G.687. As a result, the social conditioning of women becomes palpable.

November 23, 2017

H.688. The laws introduced under the late General Ziaul Haq could not ensure more justice for women or minority groups.

August 24, 2017

I.689. Maulana Abdul Sattar Edhi and Dr Ruth Pfau both were honoured for their services to humanity.

I.690. Malala Yousafzai has done a great deal more than most ministers or state representatives to propagate the education of girls.

I.691. A housewife in Karachi feeds the hungry free of cost.

I.692. Others have opened schools for the most deprived children in their communities – sometimes even in their own homes.

July 27, 2017

J.693. The Arfa Karim Tower has been named after the teenage IT wizard who died tragically in 2012.

J.694. Women who are raising their children on their own under the most deplorable conditions have been thrown into even greater misery as their homes are torn down.

J.695. Food programmes at schools have become a necessity.

28. Ansar Abbasi (*Daily Jang*)

April 19, 2018

A.696. Our social and religious values are being ruined because of the vulgarity and nudity shown on TV channels.

A.697. Action is taken against TV channels for airing anti judiciary or anti army content, but, not when nudity is promoted.

A.698. Each institution and individual should play a role in safe-guarding Islamic teachings.

April 16, 2018

B.699. Some NGOs working to promote the western culture, organised protests for women rights and liberation.

B.700. The slogan “my body, my choice” means that women are free in their decisions and cannot be dictated to by their brothers, fathers or husbands.

B.701. It targeted the Eastern concept of Islamic modesty. The West wants to promote waywardness and turn Pakistan into a “free sex society”.

April 12, 2018

C.702. Some women police from Islamabad have written a letter to the CJP complaining that on a daily basis they face sexual harassment.

C.703. Impressed by the propaganda of champions of western inspired women rights and liberalism, our women are now allowed to work in every field. There is no mechanism in place to ensure their safety from harassers.

April 02, 2018

D.704. Things have reached such a pass that if someone talks about vulgarity and nudity, he is labelled as an extremist and ultra conservative.

D.705. In private everyone agrees that vulgarity has crossed all limits. But nobody gives any solution to the problem.

February 19, 2018

E.706. A statement by some erudite religious scholars condemning the mixed funeral prayer has been met with media blackout.

E.707. When attendance concession was suggested for “hijab” (veil) observing girl-students, TV channels raised a hue and cry as if some cruelty had taken place.

E.708. The CM Punjab had to take the decision back.

February 05, 2018

F.709. The Punjab government has launched a scheme to give motor-cycles to women in order to empower them.

F.710. Whatever happens in our country in the name of women progress is just politics in order to pass off as liberal and progressive.

F.711. If we really respect women, then why do we not provide a safe and respectable working environment to millions of women employed in government and private sectors?

January 22, 2018

G.712. Small girls are made to dance in a vulgar way on a TV channel for ratings.

G.713. If this had taken place in a school, there would have been breaking news and big anchors would have done programmes on it.

G.714. Media are promoting dating culture.

January 18, 2018

H.715. We have to stop the fast-increasing vulgarity and nudity by shunning free speech.

H.716. We have to tell them without any fear or hesitation that our TV channels, cable, social media and internet are not only destroying our religious and social values, but are indirectly promoting sex crimes.

H.717. Even America and the rest of the West are concerned about the vulgarity and sex crimes spread through the internet and the social media.

January 15, 2018

I.718. In a recent TV program, nobody from the showbiz pointed out that sexual waywardness was promoted through our films, advertisements, dramas and media and how they were becoming a source for such crimes.

I.719. In the name of women's rights and equality, we are distancing the mother from her real responsibility.

I.720. Why does no one raise their voice against the negation of Islamic values like modesty and hijab? Even rulers are scared of the media and the West, and do not want to publicly hang rapists.

December 18, 2017

J.721. We all admit that media have crossed limits in advancing vulgarity and nudity, but, no one is ready to do anything to end it.

J.722. As opposed to the western world, modesty was a virtue which we had been proud of and which distinguished us from the others.

J.723. Our media instead of playing their role in character building, target the eastern modesty- a symbol of our values.

29. Kishwar Naheed (*Jang*)

April 14, 2018

A.724. On a daily basis there are daily cases of young men molesting girls and going unpunished. It is encouraging others to do the same.

A.725. What happened to the Mishal case?

A.726. Malala came. Sharmeen Obaid introduced her to her own circle's women. The civil society protested; a poem on Malala is translated into many languages internationally.

March 17, 2018

B.727. Candle lit processions are held on the Women's International Day where a few slogans are raised to give vent to the pent-up frustration.

B.728. Electronic media invite the same people for discussion every year. Newspapers use old and new photographs about women.

B.729. This year women in many cities across Pakistan, started earning their livelihoods by driving rickshaws and taxis, and by riding motorcycles.

B.730. Women became mothers, wives, got jobs, remained busy all the time but what did they get?

March 02, 2018

C. 731. In Pakistan it is only the mother who gets a maternity leave. In the West, the father gets a paternity leave, too.

C.732. Our former army chief dances openly, but, in KPK, female singers are shot dead.

January 29, 2018

D.733. We protest about the parading of a naked woman from Dera.

D.734. Cases are filed to deter small girls being employed as domestic servants.

D.735. Around 477 cases were reported for sexual harassment with children in madarassahs.

December 29, 2017

E.736. There is no tolerance whether it is the religious people, men/ women of letters, the government or the law enforcing agencies.

E.737. Cases of sexual harassment have been taking place since Zia's days. Now, social media or the political gatherings are used for seeking women out.

E.738. The term #metoo is so short in pronouncing that it seems as if its Angelina Jolie speaking.

E.739. In Saudi Arabia, women have been allowed to drive; cinemas are opening; a free city is being established.

E.740. Eve teasing started, in my opinion, during Adam's days.

E.741. In villages, they have jirgas (a group of elders sit down to arbitrate). Actually, the idea is to humiliate a woman.

E.742. TV channels and newspapers give a lot of coverage to news involving the private lives of women as it increases TV ratings and newspaper sale.

December 22, 2017

F.743. In India, the bride is seen off in the shadow of stars and she enters her new home with the sun's first rays.

F.744. These days so many marriages are taking place that it seems no girl will remain unmarried.

November 17, 2017

G.745. When one looks at the hands of women cleaning fish on Gawadar's shores, it is clear that they have lost their nails completely.

G.746. If anyone falls in love with these women, they are ordered to be killed by tribal chiefs.

November 10, 2017

H.747. These days #metoo is discussed the world over. Whether a woman is 40 years old or 70, she claims to have been sexually harassed about 10 times.

H.748. The social media have become like a vulgar film thanks to Trump.

H.749. The vocabulary has changed. Modesty and bashfulness have become meaningless. The more a person is immodest and vulgar, the more confident he is called.

October 07, 2017

I.750. Why can India and Pakistan not hold a dialogue as advised by Americans? Why are soldiers dying in -50 C in Siachen?

I.751. What happened to the fund that Michelle Obama gave to Maryam Nawaz for girls' education?

I.752. In Karachi, both covered and uncovered women are being knife attacked so that they stop stepping out of their homes.

I.753. The good news is that in Saudi Arabia women would be allowed to drive by June.

September 15, 2017

J.754. Pakistan has 50 million illiterate children.

J.755. Out of the children who go to school 50% run away from school and the other 50% never get beyond the primary level.

J.756. In the Afghan assembly, women have protested that they want to be called by their own names rather than be known as a daughter or wife of someone.

J.757. Tomorrow they would tell the Americans to leave their country.

30. Zahida Hina (*Roznama Express*)

April 15, 2018

A.758. Winnie fought against the racial prejudice and Blacks' oppression by the whites.

A.759. When freedom was won, she, like the French revolutionary women, was pushed to the margins.

April 04, 2018

B.760. Hyaptia's crime was her brilliance. When people could not compete with her in philosophy and logic, she was put to death.

B.761. Joan of Arc did not accept the British hegemony on the French soil. She was not educated but her heart was alight with passion.

B.762. In Europe, more than 70 thousand educated and intelligent women, experts in medicine, were branded as sorcerers and burnt alive.

B.763. In India, the brothers and courtiers of Razia Sultana could not bear that she had married an African slave.

March 14, 2018

C.764. It was Eve or Hazrat Hawwa (AS), who had first dreamt of freedom and happiness.

C.765. Commoners became queens during the era before Christ.

C.766. Pakistan's Asma Jahangir started dreaming of political rights for her people from the time she was 24.

February 28, 2018

D.767. Indians living under the British Raj, ran a movement for Khilafat restoration in Turkey. Muslim and Hindu men, women and children all participated in it.

D.768. The heroine of this movement was an old widow from Ram Pur, the mother of Maulana Muhammad Ali and Maulana Shaukat Ali.

D.769. This was a woman who observed "hijab" and did politics from home.

February 14 2018

E.770. Asma Jahangir was arrested in Zia's days and again put under house arrest in 2007.

E.771. She fought for the rights of Pakistan's minorities, poor, hapless women, brick kilns workers and peasants.

E.772. Asma Jahangir's death is condoled in the East as well the West.

February 11,2018

F.773. Hindu women were in the forefront in the movement against the British Raj. They took out protests, were beaten up, locked up in jails and went on hunger strikes.

F.774. After sometime, Muslim women joined the struggle.

F.775. When Pakistan came into being, Miss Fatima Jinnah, Begum Liaqat Ali Khan, Lady Haroon, Shaista Ikramullah et al were seen standing side by side the men.

F.776. During the 60s, Miss Fatima Jinnah fought the battle of democracy against Gen Ayub Khan with dignity.

F.777. Benazir Bhutto even lay down her life fighting against dictatorship and extremism.

February 07, 2018

G.778. Since the 60s, and especially during Gen Ziaul Haq's days, an increasing number of women have been struggling for their rights.

G.779. Women have not been properly highlighted in our historical annals as history recording is generally dominated by men.

G.780. Fatima Marneese, Muslim world's prominent intellectual, writer and historian, traces the history of Muslim women.

February 04, 2018

H.781. Zainab, the little girl, must have heard those stories where a small girl was trapped by a djin and rescued by a fairy or a kind elderly man.

December 13, 2017

I.782. Can Donald Trump really decide the fate of Jerusalem and Palestinians? Time will have the final say.

I.783. Hannan al Asharafi, Laila Khalid and many other women were a part of the Palestinian cause.

November 15, 2017

J.784. Women were beaten on Lahore roads during Zia's days. They were jailed. They had collided with the "general" class.

J.785. Like-minded poetesses, female journalists and other women belonging to different professions from Karachi, Lahore and Islamabad came together in 1983 to fight oppression.