REFLECTION OF PAKISTANI SOCIO-POLITICAL EVENTS IN WESTERN MEDIA: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

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ABSTRACT

Thesis Title: **Reflection of Pakistani Socio-political Events in Western Media: A Critical Discourse Analysis**

The ideologies are expressed through discourse practices, from classrooms to corporate media, is hardly contested. Since the fateful events of September 11, 2001, Pakistan has been in the grip of a perpetual 9/11 scenario. As a result, it remains in the international media focus for all the negative reasons. Media discourse, as one of the most influential discourses, is opaque with ideologies, politics and overt and covert agendas worldwide. The present research aims to analyse this impactful medium of discourse and the embedded discursive practices of the Western media with special focus on one the most representative, widely followed and trusted media establishments, that is, the BBC, CNN and the Maxnews. The data is derived from the web pages in order to analyse the discursive and linguistic strategies employed in the news stories about Pakistan. Grounded in the theoretical frameworks developed by Van Dijk, that is, Ideological Square (1998c) in critical discourse analysis and the Socio-cognitive Model (2006c), the study analyses the selected media discourse qualitatively. The research calibrates the Western Media coverage of socio-political events, especially those surrounding the Global War on Terror (GWOT) in Pakistan during 2009 and 2010. The rationale for the selection of data from 2009 to 2010 is that it was during these years that Pakistan suffered a maximum number of terrorist attacks and civilian casualties. Pakistan suffered not only physically but also socially and ideologically as its image as the most dangerous region in the world was constantly portrayed and framed by the news media. The strategies and discursive structures used to depict Pakistan amount to a whole ideology that calls for careful and critical analysis.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ANSF	Afghan National Security Forces
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CNN	Cable News Network
FATA	Federal Administrated Tribal Areas
HIG	Hezb-e-Islami Gulbuddin
HTML	Hyper Text Markup Language
IAEA	International Atomic Energy Agency
IMD	Indian Meterological Department
ISAF	International Security Assistance Force
ISI	Inter-Services Intelligence
KPK	Kyber Pakhtun Khuwa
LeT	Lashkar e Tayayba
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NRO	National Reconciliation Ordinance
NWFP	North West Frontier Province
OEF	Operation Enduring Freedom
Pak US	Pakistan United States
PATA	Provincial Administrated Tribal Areas
TRP	Television Rating Point
US	United States

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DEDICATION

This work is solely dedicated to my parents. To my mother for her kindness and bearing with me in my emotional turmoil during the course of research; her selflessness in pouring in constant love throughout my life and especially in this journey; her constant encouragement and never ending support. To my father for trusting in me even beyond his limits. This work is dedicated to you two without any doubt for everything you have done for me.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This chapter first discusses the background of the study to establish the prevalence of ideologically charged discursive practices within Western media discourse. The chapter discusses global political unrest post 9/11, its consequences the world over, and Islam and Pakistan in specific leading to ideologically stimulating media discourse. Finally, it provides an account of how language, discourse, ideology and news are interconnected.

1.1   Global Political Unrest

The global political unrest, increased terrorism, rivalry and the controversies in which Pakistan has been involved has led this country to stay on news and media for an extended period. The way Pakistan is depicted in Western media is not hidden from the world (McClure, 2009). The acquisitions from the news show that Pakistan has been a country involved in all kinds of terrorist activities, directly or indirectly. The question is, "why has been Pakistan involved and since when?" In the proceeding section of the report, different events would be discussed under the light of Western media, depicting the language used and the extent to which there have been false acquisitions on this country. The sufferings and negative impact on the overall economy of Pakistan would be discussed concerning the incidents that took place in past and still have an influence on Pakistan.

1.1.1   The Events of Nine-Eleven

The incident of 11 September 2001 has been written in history as the most devastating and the symbolic attack on the US soil. The loss of around 3000 lives was the worst ever terrorist attack that ever took on the US soil (Friedman, 2002). According to BBC News, there were two aircraft that flew deliberately into the Twin Towers of the World Trade Center in New York. Numerous other buildings were destroyed or damaged significantly. As this terrorist attack took place, the immediate

suspicion fell on Al-Qaeda as:

> Al-Qaeda was implicated in a series of major attacks on US forces. The shooting down of two American Black Hawk helicopters in Somalia in October 1993, the killing of 19 Americans in a bombing at a military housing complex in Saudi Arabia in 1996, the bombing of US embassies in Dar Es Salaam and Nairobi in 1998, with the loss of 223 lives, and the suicide attack on the USS Cole in 2000, which killed 17 servicemen and wounded 39. (" The 9/11 and the Road to War", n.d., para. 10)

The US president at the time of 9/11 was George W. Bush, who after the incident described the day as "evil, despicable acts of terror." In his speech, the president also mentions that "the US is at war with a new and different kind of enemy" and since then, the US launched attacks on Afghanistan by their forces of Western coalition in conjunction with the Afghan Northern Alliance of anti-Taliban (Seelye & Bumbler, 2001, p.5).

The propaganda and the concept of framing, the power to influence events, people and stories and the ability to frame the hero into a villain, good into bad and make stories related to the mythological truth from the existing frameworks represent how American press analysed the Muslims and Arab Americans (Entman, 2003). The Arab Americans were stereotyped throughout, and the newspaper stories left no space to mock the Muslims and show their negative image.

After the incident of 9/11, in the same morning, the CIA Director George Tenet stated that Osama Bin Laden was the instigator or mastermind behind this attack and also mentioned that, "He had the capacity to plan multiple attacks with little or no warning." James Woolsey (Former CIA Director), without mentioning any particular country, clearly accused the "state sponsorship," mentioning that there was more than one foreign government involved in financing this activity. Lawrence Eagleburger (National Security Advisor) mentioned, "I think we will show when we get attacked like this, we are terrible in our strength and our retribution" (Anderson, 2011, p.63).

It was noted by the general public that the right-wing militarists on the corporate radio and television circulated the extremist and most aggressive views and thus created an indirect consensus that there was the need for immediate military action and all-out war (Hoffman, 2002).

Western media promoted phrases and actions like, "Attack on America", "War on America" and "America under Attack", while directly or indirectly pointing out the Islamic countries. They indeed transformed the image of America from "America Strikes Back" to "America's New War" even before any official action was taken by the military. In contrast, the Pakistani journalists avoided stereotypical characterisation or the use of religious extremist words, statements or activities (Zelizer & Allan, 2011, p. 68). Where the Pakistani press completely avoided descriptive characterisation while covering this incident on the news, the British press concluded that all Muslims were the same and each of the Muslims was characterised to be a militant or terrorist. The hatred against the Muslims was seen in the news of the British and the US (Schlenger et al., 2002). The incident, however, gives rise to a new war known as 'war on terrorism.'

1.1.2 War on Terrorism

The world after the tragedy of 9/11 entered a new phase of fear and terror. It unleashed a new era of terror by non-state actors as well as state-sponsored terrorism. Extreme uncertainty and fear gripped the civilian population of many countries including those of Asia, Africa, Europe and the US. The "war on terrorism" was declared by the United States against any terrorist brand that was considered guilty and responsible for this deadly act (Ali, n.d.). "Tonight, we are a country awakened to danger and called to defend freedom," said President Bush. He further stated:

> Our grief has turned to anger and anger to resolution. America has no truer friend than Great Britain. Once again, we are joined together in a great cause. The evidence we have gathered all points to a collection of loosely affiliated terrorist organizations known as al Qaeda. Our war on terror begins with al Qaeda, but it does not end there….(Ali, n.d., p.2)

The war on terrorism was a campaign that was launched by the White House after selecting top military advisors and intelligence (Scott, 2007). This decision was taken to wage an open war against Al Qaeda and the Taliban to take revenge for the attacks on the US. In the following morning, the headlines were "State Sponsorship" of the attacks (Puar & Rai, 2002). The media of the United States immediately called for the military intervention in Afghanistan, and after a few weeks, on October 7 2001,

there was bombing in Afghanistan, and the US troops invaded the country. It was led to believe that the war decision had been taken in the spur of the moment in response to the tragic event and the loss of lives in the US (Miller, 2003).

The general public did not realise that this war against Afghanistan was planned well before the incident of 9/11 dragging Pakistan in between and forcing them to go against their neighbouring country (Burke, 2008). On the humanitarian grounds, the war required justification to support the opinion of world public and the international community endorsement (Holcomb et al., 2007). Various cases were witnessed concerning "retaliation against terrorism" by the prominent intellectuals who were known to be progressive on ethical and moral grounds (Abbas, 2002, p.18). People in Washington not only supported the network of Islamic terror but also led to the necessary installation of the Taliban government in the US. Outside enemy had just become a myth, and the Islamic terrorist's threats were used as a pretext to invade Afghanistan and Iraq and to mention the repeal of America's constitutional government and civil liberties (Hetherington & Nelson, 2003).

The war, on the other hand, stereotyped Muslims and Islam consequently highlighted and flared up not-so-new discrimination and perception known as Islamophobia.

1.2   Islamophobia and Stereotyping of Islam

Islamophobia is mainly defined to be the discrimination, alienation, violence, harassment that is rooted in the stereotyped and misinformed representation of the religion Islam and its supporters (Kingsbury, 2008). The word stereotype means "rigid trace". Stereotyping people means to mark them permanently with a set of projected characteristics. Muslims, in particular, carry the rigid trace of the term to refer to a religion, a religious revival, an ideology which by default be interpreted negatively (Morey& Yaqin, 2011, p.35)

After the incident of 9/11, President Bush called his war on terror as a crusade as he mentioned that, this nation is at war with Islamic fascists (Morgan, 2016). The dismayed and alarmed American Muslim protested these remarks of the president resulting into Bush trying to identify a different ideology to motivate the terrorist groups. This term "Islamic fascists" used by the president conveyed that totalitarianism is in the roots of Islam. This term was not a verbal slip but a deliberate announcement

(Sheridan, 2006).

The fact that the hatred towards Muslims around the world is as old as the religion they follow that is Islam. However, term Islamophobia has comparatively been a recent neologism which is primarily used so that the attention could be drawn towards normalised prejudice and Muslims could be a victim of unjustified discrimination (Kaplan, 2006). The post-cold war along with the incident of 9/11 has given rise to this phenomenon. It includes discrimination in all aspects of life including employment, health care, politics as well as management responsibilities (Gottschalk & Greenberg, 2008). The violence against Muslims has been obvious while the Muslims are a part of the everyday conversation as terrorists or someone against world peace. The world Islamophobia has gained a high level of acceptance, and there has been increasing in the controversies, due to the closed-views of Islam (Shryock, 2010).

It is an anti-Muslim sentiment which the Americans address as "Muslims; the new enemy" (Gottschalk & Greenberg, 2008). Muslims were discriminated, targeted and differentiated by extremism and moderation; all these factors increased violence against the Muslims. It is a vicious cycle, and a self-fulfilling prophecy is backlashing the Muslims and making Americans more Islamophobic (Kaplan, 2006).

The anti-Muslim sentiment got considerable prominence and prevalence in Western media.

1.3   Islamophobia, Stereotyping of Muslims, Islam and Media

There are several studies concerning European Islamophobia, except the fact that the roots are caused by the Americans (Shryock, 2010). The fact that the role media has played to promote Islamophobia cannot be ignored. The visual media has to be worthy of consideration due to its open and closed-views related to Muslims and Islam (Sheridan, 2006). What they refer to Islam in their media is the closed-view and considers it to be a "manipulative quasi-religious political entity". It is reflected as a threat to the Western society having components which are typically closed minded. The Western media depicts Islam as a violent and hostile religion; it (Western media) prompted the West to promote a cold war against Muslims based on Islamophobia (Silberstein, 2002, p. 45).

Several media headings have been collected, mentioned and explained below reflecting how negatively the Western media reflect the image of Islam and Muslims

around the world.

"Faith and terrorism in the Muslim world."

Through this headline, the Western media is simply calling the Muslim world as a terrorist world. All Muslims are categorised on the same ground and stereotyping them as a nation, making the rest of the world feel a threat from them by terrorism, and the faith Muslims follow (Morgan, 2016, p.50).

"How my eyes were opened to the barbarity of Islam? Is it racist to condemn fanaticism?"

The second headline where "barbarity of Islam" is mentioned indicates that Muslims are barbaric. This headline was seen after the 9/11 attack where the religion Islam was compared with "fanaticism" in a way that there was no difference considered among them. Thus, confirming that Islam is equal to fanaticism reflected the Western ideology and what the religion Islam was for them (Morgan, 2016, p.50).

"Has Islamic terrorism arrived on Maldives"

Whenever any attack took place in any part of the world, the blame was simply on Muslims even if the answer for it was no; it was presupposed to be the Islamic terrorism. This headline again refers to Muslims as a threat to the world spreading violence and terror among them (Morgan, 2016).

"Female Pakistani minister shot dead for breaking Islamic dress code."

From this headline, it is simply manifested that Muslims are extremist and they can kill a female if she does not follow the dress code. They refer to the veil as the discrimination practised against the Muslim ladies in Islam. This term contributes to the dichotomous character where the Islamic society is considered as backwards and suppressed (Morgan, 2016, p.50).

"Muslim panel to advise on rights and wrongs of veil."

This headline is presupposing that veil is a wrong concept, and it should be abandoned. This veil has directly become the reason for discrimination practised in the religion. The male domination of the Muslim culture had suppressed females and forced them to hide their faces which is a threat to the West as they are not sure if there is a lady behind the veil (Morgan, 2016, p.50).

"Anti-radical Islam reporter killed in South Russia."

The religion Islam here is collocated with "kill" and "radical". This is a negative image showing the irrationality of the religion. Even though the information is not complete or there is no evidence of the circumstances, the Western media plays the blame game and reflects the extreme nature that whoever speaks against the religion Islam would be killed (Morgan, 2016, p.51).

"Does Islam fit with our law? Is a clash of civilizations looming?"

"Us versus Them" is a dichotomy that is very much evident in the above headline. Islam in the Western ideology is considered to be a completely different civilisation and is said to have a clash with the rest of the world (Morgan, 2016, p.51).

"How Islam has been corrupted."

The headline itself is self-explanatory about the ideology of Western media against Islam and all possible ways how the Western media is promoting Islamophobia. Relating a religion to corruption is in self an explanation about how aggressive the Western media is in nature (Morgan, 2016, p.51). Also, it is just a presupposition of Islam and reflecting an image that whoever is a Muslim must accept that he is corrupt and a threat to the world.

The inappropriate media coverage that the West gives to terrorism has led to injustice with Muslims as there is a negative impact on the overall world politics due to Islamophobia prevailing in their culture (Chomsky, 2004). The Muslims are left alienated; there is no one to listen to their perspective, no one to help them on social or ethical grounds and the self-criticism is silenced (Chomsky, 2004). Pakistan is the neighbouring country of Afghanistan and also being an Islamic Republican state got victimised by this stereotyping.

1.4   Stereotyping and its Consequences on Pakistan

Subsequently the terrorist attack of 9/11, there has been serious issues and problems created in the international relations of Pakistan (Scahill, 2009). The reason being that it was for the very first time on the soil of United States that this enormous disaster had taken place. It was very much essential for the American leadership to maintain internal security and protect their overall global interest (Kronstadt, 2009). This resulted in the United States taking the support of other countries to embark on

this enterprise that is the campaign against the network of al Qaeda which was accused of carrying out the attack. These countries which supported the US included NATO, and Non-NATO countries including the United Kingdom and Pakistan and China respectively (Ryan, 2004). Pakistan had supported the United States and had proven to be the strongest base regarding air access, basing and the sea, along with logistics and the intelligence support (Rubin & Rashid, 2008).

It is strongly believed that the core reason for the high-level terrorism growth in Pakistan was due to the US involvement in Afghanistan (Jones, 2007). The border that both the countries share became the base camp when there was a war against the Soviet Union. It was also figured out that the CIA (Central Intelligence Agency) along with ISI (Inter-Services Intelligence) were the ones who trained the Afghans and Arabs (Johnson & Mason, 2008). The militants of Pakistan were highly organised when it came to fighting against the infidel and assist operations from the Jihadi components of the tribal areas of Pakistan (Nawaz, 2009). It was also stated that there was a very secret infrastructure for guerilla training on the borders shared by Pakistan and Afghanistan. Within these camps were the training materials of war leading to urban terror and guiding them efficiently with regards to bombing and assassinations (Lischer, 2006), while it was also mentioned that it was the Saudi Arabia and the United States who were providing all financial assistance to the Afghan Mujahideen (Nawaz, 2009). The Afghans in these wars were too happy to participate as it was an attempt to stop others from conquering their country as well as protect their religion against an alien social system and Western ideology (Carothers, 2003).

As the goal after the incident of 9/11 was to invade Afghanistan and capture and kill operatives of al Qaeda by dislodging the Taliban, the US re-emerged as a major force and succeeded in their mission of removing the Taliban, mainly in the Pashtun regions (Friedman, 2006).

As this was the case, Pakistan also contributed into this war by deploying a huge number of troops along the borders of Afghanistan to support Operation Enduring Freedom (OEF). Also, there was a deployment of a significant portion of the logistical reserve that was needed to support nothing but coalition forces (Shahzad, 2012). The members of al Qaeda and the Taliban, on the other hand, clearly managed to re-assemble between both the neighbouring countries in the tribal areas. In this war, Pakistan also was able to capture and kill many of the well-renowned leaders of both

the terrorist groups named: al Qaeda and the Taliban (Tickner, 2002). However, with this increase in the terrorist activity, there was a drastic downward impact on the economy of Pakistan, and there was a significant fall in the foreign direct investment because of the security risks and high level of pressure on the government by the West (Abbas, 2004).

1.5   The Response of World to the Global War

The international community had shown full support when it came to striking the Taliban. The terrorist groups were said to have a base in Afghanistan. Thus the launch of this war was on a massive level with the full support of the international countries. There were around 33 countries (Obama, 2009) that had sent their troops in the ISAF (international security assistance force) and countries like Netherlands, Germany and France were those contributing to the development taking place against Afghanistan. The leading role was not played by the German forces. However, they had sent their forces to fight against the terrorist country (Obama, 2009).

As the geographical location of Pakistan was significant from all perspective for the US government, and it had links with other regional players such as China, Iran, India and Afghanistan, the US government needed the support of Pakistan to enter Afghanistan and kill terrorism (Kellner, 2003). The president of Pakistan at that time was General Parvez Musharraf who played a prominent role in fighting against the terrorists and accepted all the demands of the US without any cross questions or hesitation. The relationship between both the countries grew and became intensively cooperative (Johnson & Mason, 2008). This resulted into the neighbouring countries like Central Asian states, India, Iran and China to become allies of Pakistan to eliminate the network of al Qaeda as Ayaz Amiz said, "the road to the Taliban, in American eyes, goes through Pakistan". (Abbas, 2002, p.18)

Although India tried significantly to take the place of Pakistan and be more close to the United States, the United States has a highly selfish ideology chose Pakistan over India for two reasons. That is the geographic proximity and the fact that the Indian army was only equipped with the training and weapons from Russia which was not worthy for US (Adeney, 2008). This invasion of Afghanistan would not at all be possible without the support of Pakistan, and it was also appreciated by the commander of the US central command, General. Abizaid who said in the year 2004 that

the country.

Pakistan was the best ally of US, and without their support and contribution to the war on terror, it would not have been possible (Mayer, 2009). This resulted in the positive relationship building between Pakistan and the US as a major non-NATO ally.

Pakistan participated actively in the war on terrorism to eradicate terrorism from the region. However, Pakistan became a favourite topic in the news for some other reasons.

1.6   War on Terrorism, Western Media and its Discourse about Pakistan

It was not just the incident of 9/11 that made Pakistan the favourite topic for the Western media, but there were many more incidents that led to Pakistan being in the news and a reason for the international turmoil (Peet, 2002). The Indo-Pak relations had always been uncertain since the independence of both the countries, having both positive and negative interaction throughout. Although there had been incidents where both these countries have shown that they wanted positive relationships, eventually it had turned out to be just in words and never in real (Adeney, 2008). This had yet created another reason why the Americans ignored both Muslims and Islam and all they know about Islam was "Osama a terrorist" (Johnson & Fahmy, 2008) where the media played a significant role of the catalyst to create negative portray of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan in the international media. In the year 2008 when the Mumbai attacks took place, there were ten terrorist attacks in Mumbai which is the largest and the financial hub of the country (Burke, 2008). These attacks killed more than 173 people and wounded around 208 people who according to the New York Times was done by the Lashkar-e-Taiba (LET) which were present in the country Pakistan and was agreed by the American agencies (Jenkins, 2009).

Media did not leave any chance to create panic amongst the people by creating an image that their next neighbourhood country had attacked them. Media, in fact, assists the terrorist by helping them spread terror and scare the general public on a massive scale (Saeed, 2007). The endless rumours, the hype and the fear that the media created were much more than what was happening in real (Corera, 2008). The entire media around the world was criticising the government of Pakistan and the people, making the people believe that there was Jihadist group involved in the attacks while

there was also ISI involvement in the same (Oh, Agrawal & Rao, 2011). The analysts blamed the intelligence services to be at their worst while not just this, they mentioned that India's intelligence minister was a spy and forced him to resign. The Mumbai attack incident was the 9/11 incident for India which struck the heart of every Indian as well as the general public around the world (Kingsbury, 2008).

As according to Hillary Clinton who was 67th United States Secretary of State in 2009 and served the position from 2009 to 2013, said while answering a question then in 2009 New York, that the United States has to "sow" now what it "harvested" some years back. According to her that the West is fighting with people whom they "funded" twenty years back. She said that the United States has a history of moving in and out of Pakistan and when the Soviet Union wanted to invade Afghanistan, United States never wanted it to have a hold on Central Asia, so it in partnership with Pakistan army and ISI recruited Mujahideen and also imported some from Saudi Arabia (CNN Official, 2009).

The Western media had played an effective role in stigmatising Muslims as extremists, and painting as a backwards-looking community. The Muslims have not just been caricatured, but the allegation of extremism and violence had been inflicted onto all the Muslim communities around the world. It is considered that Muslims were in conflict with the British way of life after Rushdie affair during1988-89 and that was the first turning point (Awan, 2011, p.270). Hillary Clinton in an interview given to CNN Official (2009) further stated:

> What we sow because we will harvest so we then left Pakistan (while dusting her hands off) we said okay fine you deal with the stingers that we've left all over your country you deal with the mines that are along the border and by the way we don't want to have anything to do with you, in fact, we're sanctioning you so we stopped dealing with the Pakistani military and with ISI and we now are making up for a lot of lost time.

In an interview given to Asma Sherazi on ARY News Official (2009) in Pakistan, on a question, Hillary Clinton as United States Secretary of State replied while showing complete indifference and without taking any responsibility that, "it's not our war, it's your war…I don't know that has much to do with us".

The media reported that these attacks were being planned for a long time as it

required intense training and planning (Fair, 2011). These natured attacks could not be planned for just one day. Thus it was blamed on Pakistan that they were the ones who were financing these terrorists as they entered the country with such peace and attacked without even letting anyone have a hint about it (Phares, 2009).

While taking into consideration Western media, and its ideologically charged discourse about Pakistan, it is, t h e r e f o r e, worthwhile to understand discourse and its relation with language and its social context.

1.7   Language and Social Context

Language is a socially constructed phenomenon, or in other words, it reflects reality. Language is also a significant means of communication when it comes to the social context (Premack, 2004). This is the reason there is the requirement of understanding and recognising the connection between different languages and the people who use those languages (Lipman, 2009). None of these connections is straightforward; for example, judging the campaign speech of any particular candidate; using language in a slangy way while talking to a friend or using a complete formal language with the boss (Lipman, 2009).

One of the major factors is the social context that drives the choice of a language being used. It is normal to evaluate the education of people along with their background, socioeconomic level, friendliness and their other qualities.

Language, in other words, is defined as the primary mode of communication, in some social context (Harris, 2013). This is the reason out of many, why there is a requirement for understanding and recognising the prime connection among people using a language and the language itself. The connections are meant to be complex as the social context drives the choice of a language (Anderson, 2008). Language is also intertwined mainly with the philosophies of who an individual is; personally and socially. When a language is used, the communication with the thoughts of the individuals is said to be the cultural beliefs and practices of the communities (Owens, 2015).

One of the most salient aspects of linguistics is that language is a complete structure which is illustrated as follows:

"The idea of language as a structured, coherent system of devices from the

smallest to the highest units have for ages been enrooted in sciences, striving against the superstitious and lifeless image of a fortuitous aggregate of scattered particulars." (Mott, 2000, p.37).

From the above context, it can be said that coherence is a type of gestalt such as the final causation, where the whole calls out its parts. This structure of tightness is guaranteed largely outside the person's consciousness (Busso, Lee & Narayanan, 2009). It is relatively a non-interference of the consciousness of individuals in their language, and it also explains the essential and rigid character of the entire pattern where they hold each other firmly together. It constitutes the bond of the linguistic structure that has the special significance in the life of an individual. Also, the linguistic system could also be summed up into the grammar definition made in relation with the nature of art (Järvinen Pasley & Heaton, 2008). As Jackobson defined as:

"To speak of the grammar of art is not to employ a useless metaphor: the point is that all art implies an organisation of polar and significant categories that are based on the opposition of marked and unmarked terms." (Jackobson, 1982, p.451).

1.7.1 Language and Identity

In the world, there are several communities, just like there are countless individuals and each community has their language to develop and express their values, ideas and attitudes (Labov, 2011). The geographical regions are also one of the most important aspects to define the language community and the relationship between the language, and the region reflects their politics, unique identity, and history of the population. The awareness of the nature of language communities provides an insight into the population that helps an individual to be more effective when it comes to using and understanding a language that the other uses (Ungerer & Schmid, 2013).

1.8   Language and Discourse

The structure used by individuals and what is employed at the end of a language is engaged primarily in discourse referring to the structures that are combined in real life situations (Pan & Kosicki, 1993). All these roads lead to discourse as it is the broadest sense that is applied in writing as well as speech. It gives a broader application of text-linguistics when talked about discourse analysis. The emphasis of discourse analysis is different and is intended to do the same; that is to move away from sentences in any mode of transmission (Wodak, 1989).

It is also said that the discourse characteristics will primarily be shaped by educational and psychological factors. The psychological factors include the likes and dislikes of individuals whereas the educative factors include the opportunities to be literate and enhance the attitude, especially focusing on the prescriptivism (Hodge & Kress, 1993). The linguistic options, dialects, styles and varieties under the social circumstances develop an individual's prime aim that is to teach education and to develop the sense of young people's sense of appropriateness in linguistics to develop the informed control of their language and critical appreciation of the language (Hall, 1992).

All the passages directly or indirectly lead to discourse, while language is something that focuses on extending the roads leading to discourses. It has been perceived that in modern times, there has been an evolution of language in printing, media, speech, writing, internet, telephony as well as broadcasting (Lippi-Green, 1997). Each of these stages introduces the modern discourses which are primarily linked to the opportunities that the modern technology introduces. Innovations and constraints observed vividly in text-messaging and Twitter these days are well illustrated as the fastest-moving discourse and unpredictable variation (Blommaert, 1996).

With the growth in the electronic technology, the discourse innovation is the topmost innovation taking place as seen in the output ranges such as blogs and webs (Caldas-Coulthard & Coulthard, 1996). Along with that, there have been several anonymous contributions that motivate a different type of language from the signed languages as single authorship is replaced by authorship, resulting in stylistic heterogeneity and its unprecedented level. Also, communication through electronic media motivates linguistic creativity such as novels and text messaging poems. This is an important medium offering a literary experience in an ongoing discovery (Van Dijk, 2009a).

Even though it is still a new beginning of comparative discourse analysis, adopting the broader perspective of linguistics is an essential aspect, similar to studying as many languages as possible (Purvis & Hunt, 1993). There is a series of comprehensive analysis to locate the linguistic enquiry; there is still some approach known as applied linguistics. It is an application of linguistic theories, several methods and findings are analysed to figure out the solution to the problems where language is the most important phenomenon enhancing commercial activities as well (Woolard

& Schieffelin, 1994).

1.9   Discourse, Ideology and News

Language, discourse, and ideology in the news are primarily concerned with the description of the features of linguistics that indicate the biased ideologies in the process of representation. The prime goal is seen to be pedagogical that is informative or educational since a reader is instructed how to perceive the values that are imposed subliminally by language on the representation of media and news (Van Dijk 2004). Even though, the prime aim is to inherit all kinds of discourse and illustrate language of the news that is produced in all ways while representing to the world and the characteristic immediacy of nature to fit the political attitude into the media structure. However, it is agreed to the extent that the reference constructed is expressed in the very fictional utterance, which does not exist before independent discourse, through realistic narrations of the semantic elements that are modelled by reality (Mitchell & Hansen, 2010). In contrary, the press is a discourse that purportedly refers to the real world, and to verify the actual events existing effectively out there even though they were not at all reported. In the semiotic distinction, they received the predispositions of the narrative texts that represented that the newspaper discourse is nothing but a paramount where the constructional function is negligible (Clayton & Whisnant, 2012).

1.10   Discourse Analysis and Ideology

Ideology and discourse are two practised critical and scholarly concepts applied in the field of social sciences or humanities (Fowler, 2013). It is presupposed that this analysis could either be done with the help of close reading and systemic understanding of languages or through communication (Fowler, 2013).

Discourse analysis is done by a specialist in this field and what is required is the need to notice the pattering of the languages being used and the circumstances in which those languages are used (Harootunian, 1988). The analysis of the circumstances includes the situations, participants, outcomes and the purpose for which they are associated typically. The particular analyst contributes to these activities that are not being noticed consciously, while it is possible that the investigations are revealed (Harootunian, 1988).

The principal concern of applied linguistics is discourse analysis and the vital

role it plays in the development of the theory and applied linguists. Discourse analysis simply is a part of applied linguistics, and is also a multi-disciplinary field and is of significant interest to the researchers now (Van Dijk, 2002).

As discourse is way beyond just language in use, it could be related to the cultural, political and social formations, reflecting social order and shaping social orders to shape the interactions of individuals within society (Xiaojin, 2008). It is the interaction of the linguistic communication and the interest that broadens the perspective within the environment that we are living in (Li, 2008).

This notion can be analysed more closely, one example with the following sample can be taken, and four different linguists could be analysed within the same situation:

    a.   It was you who threw away that thing, so you get it

    b.   I will call my mother tonight

Linguist 1 would simply see the above-mentioned statements as text that is the recording of the event and as something that is visible, portable and palpable, consisting of different meanings. This linguist is primarily interested in the unit of meaning that is constituted by the text related to the statements.

Linguist 2 might see it beyond just the text and the event regarding the verbal record. This linguist is more prone towards collecting the data and making notes to describe some features that lead to this situation. The focus of this person is on the relationships between the different factors involved in this event including the cultural background, participants and their relation to other.

The third linguist would read the text and would go beyond both the above linguists and take this as the drama played between two individuals. He would go in further depth that is what happened, who is responsible and how the facts are evaluated relating to some existing frameworks of attitude and beliefs, how to respond to them and what are the strategies taken places to attempt these objectives etc.

The fourth and the last linguist sees this as all; the text, event, drama and beyond all this, the "framework of power and knowledge". If it is understood properly will explain the entire situation perfectly and would make it easy to recognise the validity of the perspective of each other, needing the full understanding of the concept and how

comprehensively this is taken into consideration.

From the above example four different aspects of discourse and ideology taken from the study of Khan, & Safder (2010) could be noted which are as follows:

1. According to linguist 3, the social processes and the cognitive processes help to interpret the intentions of human interactions

2. According to linguist 4, the culture and the historical conventions lead to constitution and regulation of such processes

3. According to linguist 2, the events mentioned above are such that the processes of these are instantiated beforehand

4. According to linguist 1, the products of such events, especially those that are visible, are spoken originally and transcribed subsequently or written originally.

In the light of above discussion, the research will proceed with the following research objectives.

1.11 Research Objectives

- To investigate how ideologies are expressed, enacted and reproduced by discourse, through discursive structures and strategies.
- To highlight discursive practices which are employed in Western media to portray socio-political events in Pakistan.
- To investigate how some linguistic features are used to reflect a certain ideology by Western media.

1.12 Research Questions

1. How does the reflection of socio-political events of Pakistan in the Western media reveal its ideology? Moreover, how does the news ideology carry the element of bias in representing Pakistan?

2. What are the roles of different linguistic strategies employed to depict that ideology?

3. How does ideological meaning at macro and micro level depict ideology? How do lexical choices in the news portray a certain ideology?

4. How does the form regarding syntactical and rhetorical choices of news of the event depict the ideological belief of the Western media?

5. How does presupposition of a newsmaker depict the ideology?

1.13   Delimitation of the Study

The present study will focus on the reflection of the Pakistani socio-political events from the perspective of 'war on terrorism' only and is delimited to the role of BBC, CNN and the Maxnews online news stories only in reflecting these events. This study is delimited to the complete online news articles from the year 2009 to 2010 for the fact that Pakistan suffered the most regarding economically, politically and fought maximum operations in 2009 and faced maximum fatalities that year.

1.14   The Significance of the Study

The study stands to benefit in academia as it explores the role of discursive strategies in general and specifically on contextual and textual level that is at the micro and macro level in reflecting ideologies of media discourse as drawn upon the critical discourse analysis and Ideological Square theory which uncovers how the discursive strategies upheld ideologies and ideological beliefs. The use of critical discourse analysis in the study presents the potential to the upcoming researchers to use the theoretical framework to address specific issues with certain objectives of the research on not only semantic, syntactic and rhetorical level but also on a contextual level going side by side in order to validate authenticate and triangulate the same data on different levels concerning shared beliefs of a language community. The research also tends to create discourse and linguistic strategy for positive reporting for national issues of sensitive nature and to create an awareness to develop counter-narrative in media discourse for such sensitive issues like the war on terrorism. The socio-cognitive research-design also gives an understanding of the genre under study, in the hope of adding the contribution of literature to not only sociolinguistics but also to media studies, political studies and international relations.

With technology getting advanced every coming day, it is accessible to everyone around the globe easily. Newspapers or electronic medium of propagation of news is one of the traditional but older means of mass communication. However, the cyber news plays a significant role in not only propagating a piece of news but also the cyber news is comparatively easily approachable anywhere and anytime. If anyone around the world wants to look into a piece of information about a particular incident, place, festival, disease or plague, or something happened a few years back, is just a matter of a click, no matter how old the incident may be. It keeps the readers informed

and at the same time serves its channel's agendas very well. Hence choosing cyber news for the analysis makes the effects of the research more enduring, because of the ever-lasting eminence of the cyber news and also analysing the relentless effect of the news. This study will be a significant endeavour bringing forth pathway for the future research analysts and news analysts to know the importance of discourse strategies of a newsmaker, in predicting ideology of media.

This research will also educate non-specialists in bringing awareness that how they are directed to think in a certain way by media by their linguistic choices and discourse strategies. People either intentionally or unintentionally are oblivious to what media and specifically cyber media is doing to them. They have the sources of the news in their hands all the time in the form of electronic gadgets. It will educate the masses that how their perception is shaped up, contoured or changed with ideologically embedded cyber news discourse in particular or any news in general. Moreover, it will be significant on the part of newsmakers to know about the power of their ideological beliefs in building up consumer knowledge.

1.15   Conclusion

It is quite evident from the study that the international politicians, states officials, writers, newscasters and bloggers have a considerably different stance from the country Pakistan, leading to an entirely different ideology of both the countries. Where the ideology of Pakistan is neutral, and the nation tries to peace out with the world, the ideology of West is highly ideological leading to a wrong impression of the country amongst the world. The words used for Pakistan in the international media include words such as "most dangerous country in the world", an "international migraine", "and distrusted place" and so on. While on the other hand, the words specified for Muslims include, "fundamental guerrillas", "illiterate fanatics", "cynical handlers", "extremist group", and so on. The media used these words very much frequently suggesting nothing but a typical stereotype mindset and nothing else (Khan

& Imaran, 2009).

It can be clearly evaluated that Pakistan, by all means, tried to help rest of the world and was also appreciated for its contribution to fighting against the Taliban in the "war on terror", however, the Western media still represented Pakistan in a negative manner which not only impacted their worldwide position, but also had a severe impact

on the economic growth of Pakistan. The Western media's ideology reflects that it is not just stereotypes, but racists when it comes to the religion Islam and considers everyone under the same umbrella.

Lastly, it could be summarised that the Pakistani media tries to show the positive picture and is way more positive than the so call liberal Western media. The Western media's typical culture and narrow mindset are reflected when it states lies and hides the truth to create controversies and negative image in the rest of the world.

1.16   Thesis Breakdown

A brief report or breakdown of every chapter of the thesis is given in the following paragraphs:

- Chapter 1 of this thesis provides an introduction describing a brief overview of the relation between language, Western media and its discourse and ideology and the purpose of the study, the background of the study, research objectives, research questions, delimitations, and significance of the study.
- Chapter 2 reviews the historical background of critical discourse analysis (CDA) adopted for research. The main topics covered in the literature review are context, knowledge, critical discourse analysis, ideology as evolved from CDA, news as discourse, prejudice in discourse.
- Chapter 3 overviews the research paradigm, epistemological stance, theoretical framework followed by research approach, a research design that includes the collection of data, processing the data for the analysis, sampling, the qualitative socio-cognitive research method based on Van Dijk's Ideological Square approach. It also comprises some important terms and definitions used in the analysis.
- Chapter 4 deals in-depth with data analysis and discussion. This chapter discusses the results obtained by qualitative analysis. The data have been analysed broadly on text discourse level and context level according to research design. The results have been interpreted qualitatively with the help of previous studies.
- Chapter 5 encapsulates the findings of the study by summing up the conclusion. It also discusses the recommendations and the scope of the study and points out related areas of the research that can help researchers to explore further.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

In this chapter, there would be a holistic look at the Western media and how it depicts the Pakistani sociopolitical events in its news. There would be a focus on how the Western media presents these events by combining the cognitive, discursive and social components. The presentation of the ideology of "systems of ideas" depending on self-image, actions, values, norms and resources would be presented in underlying ideologies (Van Dijk 1998a, p.155). The chapter not only elaborates how media influences an audience, but also take into consideration the broader framework including the cultural, social, political and economic power of society and critical discourse analysis uncovering the concealed aspects of power relations in social structures and social contexts.

2.1   Socio-Political Event

The word "social" is an adjective that is derived from society. It means, relating to society. Society is a group of people tied up in tenacious social interaction, or having a large social group sharing not only the same geographical territory but also or social territory, normally bound to the same political authority and dominant cultural class. Societies are considered having the patterned lifestyle of relationships mostly social relations between people who share a distinct culture and institutions at large. It may also be society may be described as the sum of such relationships among its constituent members. In the social sciences, a larger society often manifests disposition or dominance spotted in subgroups or even other groups which are assumed to be another society (Oxford, 2012).

The word political means: concerning of or to the state, the government, policy-making and public administration. This also refers to being involved in, or relating to government policymaking as distinguished from law or administration; also relating to the civil aspects of government as separate from the military in some cases; dealing with, or relating to politics and its affairs (Oxford, 2012).

Socio-political refers to "systems and problems involve a combination of social and political factors" (Collins Dictionary, n.d.). It could be said that socio-political events imply those particular social structures of societies that are combined with the legal and formal structures. A socio-political event could either be temporary, or it could last for a long time in influencing the overall environment.

2.2 Discourse

According to Fairclough (1992), discourse is a challenging concept, mainly because there are so many conflicting and overlapping definitions expressed from various theoretical and disciplinary perspectives. However in linguistics, "discourse" is every so often used to refer to extended models of spoken dialogue, in contrast with written 'texts'. Generally, discourse is used in linguistics to refer to extended models of either spoken or written language. In addition to maintaining the emphasis upon higher-level organisational features, this sense of discourse emphasises interaction between speaker and addressee or between writer and reader, and consequently processes of producing and interpreting speech and writing, as well as the immediate context of language use. The text is regarded here as one dimension of discourse: the written or spoken "product" of the process of text production. Predominantly discourse is also used for different types of language used in different social situation (for instance newspaper discourse, advertising discourse, the discourse of medical consultations, and classroom discourse). It is best to understand the discourse by distinguishing it with text more vividly. The text is the object in which discourse is established and manifested, whether spoken or written, produced by one or many participants. Moreover, discourse is commonly used in social theory and analysis, for example in the work of Michel Foucault, to refer to diverse ways of structuring areas of knowledge and social practice.

2.3 Critical Discourse Analysis

According to Van Dijk (1998b), CDA is related to study and analyse written and spoken texts to unveil the discursive source of power, inequality, dominance and bias. It studies how these discursive sources are kept and reproduced within certain context whether social, political, and historical. Similarly, Fairclough (1993) defines CDA as:

Discourse analysis aims to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and

texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes; to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power; and to explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony. (p. 135)

It exposes several underlying ideological prejudices by exercising the power of text. It attempts to analyse the relationship in the most critical manner between three different areas including society, language and ideology. A critical analyst aims at understanding as well as exposing and resisting inequality taking place in society.

2.3.1   Main Strands of CDA

Young and Harrison (2004) proposes three main strands of work in CDA. One strand includes work by Fowler et al. (1979), Fairclough (1989), Fowler (1991), Hodge and Kress (1993), and sturdily deals within linguistic analysis. A second strand, where Van Dijk's work is significant, centres on the "socio-cognitive aspects of analysis" and "macro-structure of texts" (Young and Harrison, 2004, p. 3-4). The third strand includes work by Wodak and her colleagues, where a "discourse-historical approach" is taken (Wodak, 2002, p.5). Wodak, Fairclough and Van Dijk are the most referenced and quoted in critical studies of media discourse among the scholars who subsidised to the CDA.

2.3.1.2 Linguistic Analysis or Evolution of CDA

Critical Linguistics was familiarised by a group of linguists and theorists in the late 1970s, (Fowler et al., 1979; Kress & Hodge, 1979). Their approach was grounded on Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL). Earlier CL practitioners as Trew (1979, p. 155) directed at "isolating ideology in discourse". This was developed by SFL tools (Fowler et al., 1979; Fowler, 1991). Critical Linguistics is "an approach to language study which uses linguistic techniques to investigate the ideologies (value-systems and sets of beliefs) which underlie texts" (Carter & Simpson, 1989, p. 91). According to a critical linguist language facilitates, constructs, confirms, mediates, produces and reproduces ideology (Fowler & Kress, 1979). This mediation, construction, production and reproduction are primarily dependent on social structures (Al-Nakeeb, 2015). That implies that linguistic structure and social structure are sturdily connected in a way that social groups and relationships, institutions and the

socioeconomic systems and they affect the speakers' and writers' cognitive and linguistic behaviour (Fowler and Kress, 1979). Subsequently like Halliday, CL practitioners viewed language in use as performing three functions simultaneously: ideational, interpersonal, and textual functions. Conferring to Fowler (1991, p. 71), and Fairclough (1995a, p. 25), the ideational function refers to the experience of the speakers of the world and its phenomena, the interpersonal function represents the supplement of speakers' own attitudes and evaluations about the phenomena in question, and forming a relationship between speakers and listeners. The textual function is the most contributing function to these two. It is through the textual function of language that speakers are capable of producing texts that are understood by listeners. It is a supporting function connecting discourse to the co-text and context in which it takes place. Halliday's view of language as a "social act" is fundamental to many of CDA's practitioners (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999; Fairclough, 1989, 1992, 1993, 1995a; Fowler et al., 1979; Fowler, 1991; Hodge & Kress, 1979). According to Fowler et al. (1979), CL, like sociolinguistics, proclaims that "there are strong and linguistic structure and social structure" (p. 185). Even so, whereas in sociolinguistics "the concepts 'language' and 'society' are divided…so that one is forced to talk of 'links between the two'", for CL "language is an integral part of the social process" (Fowler et al., 1979, p. 189). An additional vital conjecture of CDA and SFL is that speakers make choices about vocabulary and grammar and that these choices are unconsciously or consciously "principled and systematic"(Fowler et al., 1979, p. 188).

2.3.1.1.1 CL to CDA

Over the years CL now referred to as CDA (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999) has been further broadened due to some major concerns. Firstly, the consideration and role of the audience and the interpretation of the discourse. The second concern has a requirement for extending the scope of analysis beyond the textual, ranging it to the intertextual analysis. Fairclough (1995a) has upraised both issues and came up with certain points. He asserts that the earliest work in CL did not adequately focus on the "interpretive practices of audiences." That suggests that audience interpret the same way how critical analyst does. It attributes a fallible effect to the reader or audience. The other issue put forward by Fairclough (1995a) is that while practitioners of CL were very comprehensive in their grammatical and lexical analysis they were less focused on the intertextual analysis: "the linguistic analysis is very much focused upon

clauses, with little attention to higher-level organisation properties of whole texts" (p. 28). Despite pointing out these concerns, Fairclough has not developed a single theoretical framework to overcome these issues. Moreover, he did not negate the significance of linguistic analysis on its own. CDA then did not emerge as just one school of thought rather a multidisciplinary theory encompassing several approaches and linguistic analysis is one of those approaches. Van Dijk (2001a) (as cited by Schiffrin et al.) voices that CDA "is not a specific direction of research" hence "it does not have a unitary theoretical framework." However, Van Dijk (2001a) asserts, "given the common perspective and the general aims of CDA, we may also find overall conceptual and theoretical frameworks that are closely related." (p.353).

2.3.1.3 Socio-cognitive Approach and Macrostructure

The researcher Van Dijk is one of those people who has conducted extensive research in the field of CDA. The work presented by this researcher focuses on racism as well as prejudice when discourse is concerned. According to his point of view, the mental, as well as the personal doctrines about social events, influence the way things are interpreted (Van Dijk, 1993a). Van Dijk is considered the most widely quoted and referenced in CDA media discourse or studies not lying with CDA perspective (as in, Sardar, 1997; Karim, 2000; Said, 1997; Poorebrahim & Zarei, 2013). He introduced to apply his discourse analysis theory to media texts in 1980's largely focusing on the representation of ethnic groups in addition to minorities in Europe. In his general theory of discourse Van Dijk (1988) blends it into the discourse of news in the press, and smudges this theory to genuine cases of news reports at the national and international level. Van Dijk's (1988) framework for the analysis of news discourse is an application for a systematic analysis not only of the structural and textual level of news discourse but also aimed at analysis, interpretation and explanations at the production and reception or comprehension level as well. Van Dijk's other unique construct is structural analysis, Van Dijk advanced the CDA by the analysis of structures at different levels of description which includes the grammatical, morphological, syntactic and semantic level but also macrostructure that is "higher level properties" (p.2) like coherence, overall themes, selection of topics of news, rhetorical dimensions of texts and the entire schematic forms of news. However, this structural analysis does not serve as an isolated textual or dialogic structure as discourse. Somewhat it is a complex communicative event that also represents a social context, emphasising participants and

their properties as well as production and reception processes. (Van Dijk, 1988, p. 2). By "production processes" Van Dijk means journalistic and institutional practices (pertaining media policy, editorial procedures) of news-making and the economic and social practices that not only play important roles in the construction of media discourse but that can be overtly associated to the structures of media discourse. Van Dijk's further dimension of analysis, "reception processes", encompasses considering the comprehension, "memorization and reproduction" of news. Van Dijk's analysis of media (1988, 1991) establishes the relationships between the three levels of news text production (structure, production and comprehension processes) and their correlation with the broader social context in which they are embedded. In order to identify such relationships, Van Dijk's analysis takes place at two levels that is microstructure and macrostructure. At the microstructure level, the analysis is fixated on the semantic relations between, syntactic, lexical and other rhetorical elements that provide coherence in the text, and other rhetorical elements such quotations, direct or indirect reporting that provide factuality to the news. The analysis of macrostructure is significant to the analysis s ince it concerns the thematic (topic) structure of the news and the overall schema. Themes and topics are met in the headlines, pointers and lead paragraphs. As for Van Dijk (1988), the headlines "define the overall coherence or semantic unity of discourse, and also what information readers memorize best from a news report" (p. 248). He asserts that the headline and the lead paragraph prompt the most important information of the cognitive model of journalists which means how they perceive and define the news event. The readers or audience possessing same knowledge and belief tend to adhere to subjective media definitions and important information about an event (Van Dijk, 1988). The news schema or superstructure schema are organised according to a definite narrative pattern that consists of the summary (headline and the lead paragraph), story or agenda (situation consisting of the episode or that event and backgrounds), and consequences (conclusions and final comments) (Van Dijk 1988). These segments of news are sequenced rendering to relevance to the general information in enclosed in the headline, summary, and the lead paragraph. As said by Van Dijk, the readers can best memorise and recall these segments. Van Dijk (1995c) (as cited by Schaffner, & Wenden) fundamentally identifies discourse analysis as ideology analysis because "ideologies are typically, though not exclusively, expressed and reproduced in discourse" (p. 17). His approach of analysing ideologies in CDA has three fragments: social analysis, cognitive analysis,

and discourse analysis. The social analysis relates to probing into the context that is "overall societal structures,"; the discourse analysis is mainly text based (lexicon, syntax, local meaning, topics, schematic structures. Van Dijk's approach in this regard combines the two traditional approaches in media education as mentioned earlier: text-based (interpretive) and context based (social tradition), into a single analytical framework for analysing media discourse. Nevertheless, Van Dijk's approach is exceptional from other approaches in CDA in an additional feature of the approach which is cognitive analysis. For Van Dijk, it is the socio-cognition (social cognition and personal cognition) that befalls between society and discourse. He describes social cognition as "the system of mental representations and processes of group members" (p. 18). It implies that for Van Dijk, ideologies are overall, abstract mental systems that form socially shared attitudes. Ideologies, therefore, indirectly impact the personal cognition of group members in comprehending the discourse with other actions and interactions. During such social actions and interactions he determines these mental representations of individuals as "models" and these, "models control how people act, speak or write, or how they understand the social practices of others" (p. 2). These mental representations "are often articulated along Us versus Them dimensions, in which speakers of one group will generally tend to present themselves or their own group in positive terms, and other groups in negative terms" Van Dijk, 1995c, p. 22). Analysis based on this contrastive dimension of "Us" versus "Them" is central to most of Van Dijk's research (1988, 1991, 1995c). He has proposed an ideological dichotomy to make it transparent in discourse to analyse discourse in the manner to abide by the following (1998b):

- Investigating the context of the discourse that is the historical, political or social background of an event (conflict) and its main participants

- Analysing groups their power relations and conflicts

- Classifying positive and negative opinions about "Us" versus "Them"

- Creating explicit the implied and the presupposed

- Probing every formal structure which includes lexical choice and syntactic structure, in such a way that supports to emphasise or deemphasised polarised group opinions

    However, Van Dijk (2006a) also mentioned that CDA is not confined to the

limitations of social and cognitive analysis because the real world problems are highly complex. Therefore, people should focus on several other approaches to CDA including cultural, logical, historical, neurological and socio-economic approaches.

2.3.1.3 Ruth Wodak: Sociological and discourse-historical approach to CDA

This approach focuses on institutional relations as well as discourse barriers in different fields such as hospitals, courtrooms and the schools. The theorist Wodak paid attention to a historical approach which was that the approach is interdisciplinary and that there is a robust relationship between language and society. Secondly, the theorist mentioned that this nature of the study is a combination of both theory and practice and that this approach is a problem-oriented approach on the special issues (Wodak, 2001a, 2001b).

The theorist had a strong belief that the historical approaches in the discourse emphasised language in both written and spoken form of social behaviour. CDA is associated with Ruth Wodak (1995) and her contemporaries in The Vienna School of Discourse Analysis in a different direction that is Discourse Sociolinguistics. Her model is based on the ideas of the Frankfurt school, and according to her Discourse Sociolinguistics is sociolinguistics which is explicitly dedicated to the study of the text in context and also corresponds both aspects equal significance. This approach helps to pinpoint and to describe the core mechanisms that subsidise to those disorders in a discourse which are set in in a specific context (whether they are structured and functioned in media, or in institutions such as a hospital, school or university) and certainly impact communication. Wodak has researched a range of social issues such as racism, sexism and anti-semitism in different institutional settings like courts, hospitals and schools. In 1990 Wodak's study on the discourse of anti-semitism headed to the development of the approach characterised the discourse-historical method. The term historical has a distinct standing in this approach. It represents the systematic integration of entire background information in the analysis and interpretation of the several layers of text (1995). The results exhibited that the context of the discourse had a substantial effect on the structure, function of the utterances of anti-semitic discourse. Bringing in the historical contexts of discourse in explanation and interpretation distinguishes this approach from other approaches of CDA especially that of Van Dijk but somewhat similar to Fairclough's. It is supposed in this approach that language expresses social processes and interaction and also constitutes those processes

as well (Wodak & Ludwig, 1999). According to both of them, examining language this way entails as a minimum three aspects. Firstly, discourse involves power and ideologies at all times. There is no interaction where power relations do not exist. Second is somewhat similar to Fairclough's notion of intertextuality states that discourse is historical, connected synchronically and diachronically with other communicative events took place before that time or taking place at the same time. The third feature is related to interpretation, and for Wodak & Ludwig (1999) audience (listener or reader) may have different interpretations of the one communicative event subject to their position, information and background knowledge. Consequently, Wodak & Ludwig (1999) emphasise that "the right interpretation does not exist; a hermeneutic approach is necessary" (p. 13). Interpretations can be to some extent possible or suitable, but they cannot be true.

After reviewing the three main strands of CDA, it can be rightly assumed that being socially and politically relevant is the forte of Van Dijk's approach to CDA concerning knowledge to forms of social action (cited in Young and Harrison, 2004, p.2). It is not enough to analyse the internal structures of discourse, the actions being accomplished, or the cognitive operations implicated in language use if the segments of discourse are discussed only. It is important to rationalise the fact that discourse as social action is being engaged in within a framework of communication, understanding and interaction which is a component of broader socio-cultural structures and processes. Scholars of critical discourse not only observe such a relationship between discourse and social structures but focus to instigate change and with those who aspire to do that generally (Van Dijk,1997). As for Kress (1995), the other linguistic approaches are ineffective and insufficient to relate discourse to its broader socio-cultural context. This insufficiency and ineffectiveness lead to failure in explaining the nature of discourse.

2.4   Ideology

The concept of ideology was first familiarised by Karl Marx with a complex and opulent history which brings up ideas, culture, economic views and political ideas. Ideology is defined as "the study of ideas" and other individual characteristics for instance self and identity. According to a Marxist take on the ideological language in use upholds that in every social formation the ideas of the dominant class are dominant.

It signifies that the dominant ideas are on the whole harmonious with the dominant class and the ideas are not openly confronted at least (as cited in Richardson, 2007, p. 134).

The word 'ideology' has diverse connotations in different disciplines. For critical inquiries of language use, generally, the term is not used a positivistic sense. It is used to denote the deceptive, manipulative beliefs which are usually disguised in seemingly disinterested language use. It is the job of the analyst to unveil or unmask these ideologies and focus the naturalisation of dominant ideologies. The exploration of ideological control in texts was instigated in the 1970s. The apprehension with power structures in language remained persistent through the 1980s and is thriving and alive in CDA till to date. (Al-Nakeeb,2015).

In simple terms, according to Eagleton (1991), ideology refers to a system of beliefs and different kind of ideas that are of primary importance. In comparison to the other things, ideologies contain the societal structures or practices based on various ideologies of political parties or religious beliefs.

Another factor, according to Manicas (1991) that defines ideology is that every belief is shared socially and there is no concept of private language or personal ideology. Therefore, each member of society is a collective social actor. In simpler terms, it could be said that ideologies are basically social representation through which a group is defined as a social identity (Manicas, 1991).

Jost, Federico & Napier (2009) presented the third aspect of ideology as the point that there are no shared beliefs socially such as the social attitudes or the knowledge related to socio-culture rather there are more axiomatic and fundamental beliefs that organise and control the other beliefs that are shared. However, as the racist ideology is taken into consideration, the controlled ideology for example about gender inequality might plan an important role in any society (Deuze, 2005). Thus, it could be stated that ideologies refer to the primary social beliefs rather than just the general or abstract nature. As ideology is concerned, one of the most important aspects is to provide coherence to their cognitive functions, thus facilitating the use of these in an everyday situation (Deuze, 2005).

Ideologies are representations of traits of the world which support to establish and maintain power relation, domination and exploitation. They may be endorsed in

means of interaction and instilled in means of being identities and styles. Textual analysis is an essential feature of ideological analysis of discourse and its critique. (Fairclough, 2003).

The social groups are also a part of a socio-cognitive foundation, and ideologies are however gradually acquired and changed through a life period (Jaffe, 2009). An individual does not become a racist, pacifist, or socialist or feminist with the blink of an eye or overnight, neither it takes a few days to change the mentality and the ideologies. Everything takes time, so does how discourses and experiences lead to changes in the ideologies (Jaffe, 2009).

According to the study by Coupland, Sarangi & Candlin (2014), it can be stated that ideologies are shared so widely that they become norms of society and a part of attitudes that is generally accepted in the entire community, as the beliefs, or common sense or opinions.

As the Western ideologies and their media are taken into consideration, it is important to examine the function and structure of the talk and text in context to their political, social and cultural perspective. As this is said, according to Irvine & Gal (2009), the sociolinguistics study claims that it is important to understand the news media along with the message it is trying to give, paying attention to the strategies and structure of these discourses that are related to the arrangements of the institutions on the one hand, and to the audience on the other hand (Irvine & Gal, 2009).

Ideology is primarily the belief systems or the ideas of an individual based on the societal structures and the belief systems formulated by them. These are not any private thinking or personal belief. It is the socially shared belief systems of the social members (Van Dijk, 1985). The linguistic communities and the cultural or national communities are the kinds of typical groups formulating an ideology of society. They represent the general values of culture such as equality, which is highly relevant for groups. The Ideology may also work as the foundation of the socio-cognitive social groups. It is a fact that there is a gradual change brought into a life of the individual and one does not become an extremist just like that. The discourses and the experiences are important to bring a change in the ideology of the individual (Van Dijk, 2008a).

The discourse executes a definite function in the reproduction of ideologies. Linking the aforementioned Marxist stance with Van Dijk, ideologies can be defined

merely as the foundation of social representations in correspondence with a social group and its members (Van Dijk, 1998b). Specifically, ideology is a self-sufficient representation and a mutual framework of social practices of groups and the members, which functions as a means of directing and leading social practices constructed as discourse. The research in hand draws on the work of Van Dijk(1998b) to speculate the relations between discourse and ideology in drawing attention to Western media in specific reference to media discourse, has objectives to examine how "Us" and " Them" are represented in the discourse of this media organization keeping the binary of West and Pakistan. This conjecture involves the most significant theoretical viewpoint of Van Dijk's Ideological Square (1998c), because the main objective of the thesis is unveiling the ideology of Western media and manipulation directing towards viewers and readers include the properties of their structural news. Here it is important to consider that HOW actually does this manipulation takes place.

2.4.1 Misinterpretations of Ideologies

There has been a detailed discussion on ideologies and its general properties, but there are different approaches to define them in a different way. As this is said, it can be stated that the ideologies are not only personal beliefs of people, and it is not necessary that ideologies would be negative such as the racist or communist ones; these might be somewhat related to that of the false consciousness which might not be very dominant but may also define opposition, such as the expression of other social discourses or practices, which are being reproduced or enacted, but they are not similar to the belief systems or shared beliefs (Van Dijk, 2013a). While it is important to know that ideologies are not always negative and ideologies are not always group beliefs too. They might not be dominant and prominent too.

2.4.2 Ideologies and its Social Functions

As the other perspective of ideologies is taken into consideration, there are various cognitive and social functions that would help to define ideologies shared by the members (Van Dijk, 2015). Moreover, the social practices and the discourses of group members or social groups are the ultimate basis to formulate an ideology. Also, ideology is an aspect that allows members to coordinate and organise the overall action (Van Dijk, 2015). Also, the functional part of the socio-cognitive interface is the interface between different conditions and social structures that are a discourse as well

as other practices.

Being an ideology, there are certain legitimate domination functions that articulate power relationship resistance, such as the case of pacifist and feminist ideology (Van Dijk, 2015). Also, there are several professional behaviour guidelines that are a part of the social function ideologies such as the journalists. Therefore, the classical theories of ideologies should lay emphasis on the cognitive structure that would help to tailor their societal functions for the group of members (Van Dijk, 2015).

Van Dijk (2008b), in his previous studies, stated that there is no consistency in the ideologies and their organised structure. These ideologies are not the logical systems but the ones that are more precisely socio-psychological ones. These might be inconsistent or heterogeneous and might lead to explicit catechisms, manifestoes and theories (Van Dijk, 2008b). These theories do not organise the social beliefs, but these are well-known to evaluate several strategies eliminating the inconsistency between the fact and the ideological belief that is being confronted by the general public (Van Dijk, 2008b).

2.4.3   Groups and their Ideologies

Ideologies, also known as, functional belief or fundamental beliefs; it is more of the point that there are various regional and personal variants such as the common language (Blackledge, 2006). There might also be a focus on the core belief, where specific attitudes need to be described as a more appropriate one. These attitudes are described as more peripheral based on their core ideological beliefs (Blackledge, 2006).

In order to figure out whether ideologies are known by all the group members or not, by definition, we mean that the ideologies are shared socially, but it is not the case that all the members would know the ideologies similarly (Heller, 2006). Each group has different expertise, and the members are able to act or speak on the basis of the ideology that is acquired, but it is formulated on the explicit beliefs.

Group ideologies are explained by group leaders such as teachers, or religious experts, who play a great role in formulating ideologies (Van Dijk, 2009a).

Similarly, it should be assumed that all the members of a group could not have a similar thinking process. Therefore, these members do not perceive the ideology of their group in the same way, but all of them enjoy the same strength. As this is the case, it is

suggested that the members of the groups of the similar ideology should be defined more like the fuzzy set of social actors and the expertise variations should be assumed based on the empirical facts required to provide a more flexible theory (Van Dijk, 2009a).

2.4.4   Ideology as a Cognition, Discourse and Society

In social sciences and humanities, there are numerous aspects that could be analysed, but considering this study and the subject line, these potential disciplines could be broken down into three main clusters which are cognition, discourse and society (Wodak, 2006). Therefore, as we study discourse, it would include talk, text, communication and verbal interaction. Under the label of cognition, there would be an analysis of beliefs and ideas of nature and the association with knowledge and opinions and the socially formulated status (Wodak, 2006). Thirdly, the group based nature and the ideology of historical perspective and its role in dominance would be studied under the category of society. There are various conceptual distinctions which are highly practical and analytical (Koller, 2005). There is sometimes overlapping in these three aspects, for instance, discourse is a major part of society, and so are the shared ideas of the social group members. However, the distinctions are made based on the theories and concepts and the ways through which analysis is done (Koller, 2005).

2.4.4.1 Social Cognition in Relation to Ideology

According to Hodson & Busseri, (2012), different social and contemporary cognitive psychology formulates the different concept of ideology in relation to the beliefs of a group. These beliefs might be social, personal, or abstract, concrete or even permanent or temporary in the social world. The beliefs in the social cognition relate to the values and norms of the opinions along with attitude formulated by them. These evaluative dimensions are often known as social ideology (Hodson & Busseri, 2012).

Similar to the concept above, the social cognition study by Abrams & Hogg (2006) suggests that these ideologies are the social and the shared beliefs which do not result from the individual opinions personally formed. Here the ideologies are about life and death, environment and its impact on people's health, different classes in society and even about gender.

2.4.4.2 Society and Ideology

As far as the cognitive approach is concerned, there are several ideologies that are acquired by individuals to understand each other's minds. As societies are taken into consideration, Curran & Gurevitch, (2005) stated that the point is to formulate a self-identification which means that there should be no competition, no interest or struggle over resources, which are symbolic; all the members of society are linked.

On the other hand, Nafstad et al., (2007) stated that if the culture in a society is linked to ideologies, there is a comparison between two different aspects defining the entire society. The cultures should share a similar reason from assigning ideologies to the entire society. Additionally, there should be similar values and shared norms on the social ground which should be relevant when there is a comparison between cultures that are competing for power and so on (Nafstad et al., 2007). As this is the case, it could be stated that the Muslim or the Christian or the Western culture would either define themselves on the basis of religious or political ideologies rather than the ideologies based on the culture. Along with that, if we analyse the social ideology, there are various observations dependent on the social notions to be studied to evaluate the relationship between both (Nafstad et al., 2007).

2.4.5 Ideology, and Discursive Structure and Strategies

Ideological discourse is a highly complicated aspect and features complying of various elements that could be combined in a number of ways. As ideology is something that represents the entire social group, ideologies are also acquired by discourse and are evaluated through written or spoken interactions (Fowler, 2013). The discursive structure of ideology refers to the cognitive process that is involved in the understanding of the biased outcome, where there are several assumptions related to the cognitive psychology and the theory of discourse including different factors such as language as a context and so on. Discursive structures encompass discourse written or spoken which is ideologically loaded. Institutional and disciplinary structures build language or discourses which regulate what is accepted as knowledge regarding a particular topic or subject. The language alone does not necessarily imply any sort of truth rather discursive structure reflects what is understood as truth in any given historical context (Rahimi, 2015).

As translated by Sheridan (1995) Foucault identified in *Discipline and*

Punish (1978) a set of strategies by which discourse "constitutes its object" (p. 39). These strategies normalise certain subjectivities and exclude others. Strategies of normalisation and exclusion which are recognised as comparing, classifying, ranking, dividing and hierarchizing.

Language, according to Tarone (2007), is a communicative tool that is interpreted by the users however the definition of episodic memories relates to the context model of discourse processing and is socially appropriate. The discourse comprehension depends on how the speakers are perceived by the viewer ideologically or not. The second aspect is the model which is the subjective interpretations, and so people understand the situation as a mental model (Van Dijk, 2013a). As the ideology discourse is based on the models, the positive and negative events are dependent on the biased ideological mental model and cases such as the editorials, news reports and personal experience stories (Van Dijk, 2013a).

According to Tenorio (2011), knowledge is another aspect where attitudes and ideologies are shared on various types, communities, and cultures. As this is the case, the icebergs are explicitly expressed.

There is a socio-cognitive process that underlies the comprehension and production of discourse ideology laying emphasis on people's beliefs and their communicative situations. (Tarone, 2007).

For Swann et al. (2004) the discursive practice is a term drawn from Foucault's work to stress the importance of language in constituting domains of social life. It has an explicit interest in power relations within society. The discursive practice is itself a form of social practice, which focuses on the processes of text production, distribution and consumption. At the same, the discourses are also forms of social practices. They are also undoubtedly texts in the wider sense. However, in the relationship of text, discourse and discursive practices Fairclough (1992) adds an intervening third dimension "which focuses on discourse as a specifically discursive practice" (p.71). It can be inferred that discursive practices are mediating set-up that joins text with discourse at the same time overlapping and according to him analysis of discursive practices involves a focus on order of discourse and process of discourse production, consumption and distribution.

2.4.5.1 Expressions of Discourse

The first expression of ideology focuses on the context as a speaker or a member of the social group while this ideology is based on the model which is the representation of the communicative event or the members of group or categories (Stein & Wright, 2005). The second expression is the conversation which is the strategy of positive and negative presentation where the emphasis is on the good things and de-emphasis is on the bad things. The meaning of both these aspects is to focus on the positivity in an environment while there is a proper structure which is to be followed while actions are in the form of speeches, interaction and communicative acts (Sándor, Kaplan & Rondeau, (2006). On the basis of the possible expressions a discourse can have, there are some problems related to the analysis of ideological discourse.

2.4.5.2 Problems Associated with the Analysis of Ideological Discourse

As the discourse structure includes a unique communication and interactive function, there are some problems associated with ideological discourse analysis. These problems presented by Potter, & Kappeler (2006) are as follows:

Intentionality: One of the biggest and the most controversial problems is of intentionality which features a specific discourse; it is largely controlled and aims at defending the participants in different situations. This principle also relates to the political and legal treatment of the social action where there are no offensive remarks and the discourse. In a nutshell, intentionality refers to what is positive social consequence compared to the intentions (both good and bad) (Potter, & Kappeler, 2006).

Ideological over-interpretation: The ideological functions are contextual and biased. There is a greater chance that a fact is over-interpreted such as the victims being expressed in isolation while in relation to the context of news. It refers to the intention of who is talking to whom, where and when. In theory, these actions have a significant impact on the ideologies being reproduced, while asking people to do other things at the same time (Potter, & Kappeler, 2006).

Contextualization: The model of contextualization refers to the communicative situation where speakers represent and evaluate the members in terms of their ideologies, their race or sex. There is a greater comprehension of the ideology as expressions, along with the mentality of the speaker. It should be such that the people

are able to understand what is not told directly (coded expressions) which is normally denied. This situation is, however, crucial to be made explicit in the social situation which is represented in the models by the participants. There should be construction on the basis of inferences, focusing on the point that the individual speakers are not at all judged on the basis of the group. There should be ideological prejudice, and no one should be targeted personally (Potter, & Kappeler, 2006).

Knowledge: As ideology is taken into consideration, there is a difference between true knowledge and mere ideology. Knowledge is not just a true belief, but is accepted by a community. Knowledge is, however, intersubjective and relative, while people take it as objective part. The group knowledge may be ideological based and might not be true in accordance with the mere ideology (Potter, & Kappeler, 2006).

Ideology is, however, the basis of the social and discourse practices which need to be practised and explained inactions of the individuals. These are the shared beliefs which are shared both mentally and socially just like the languages. There is a sound theory which relates these two things but with a distant theory and objects.

In order to elude the problems like that of intentionality, ideological over-interpretation and contextualization in discourse analysis it is important to understand the context factually.

2.5   Context

The context on which the discourse depends on is basically language which is comprehension and influences the properties depending on the communicative situations which are interpreted by the users of the language (Chiapello & Fairclough, 2002). In addition, there are various explanations for the situations or context provided in the models in the episodic memory; also known as context models. The discourse processing has many controlled aspects to ensure that the discourse is appropriate and accepted from the societal point of view. In addition, in comparison to the models of subjectivity, there are attitudes that are biased and rate themselves to be ideological. Considering the biased models, the results would definitely be biased discourse as there would be a rude and rigid tone and a choice that would be lexical and not easy to understand (Jaffe, 2009). In addition to these factors, the way men speak about a woman or to a woman depend significantly on the way they perceive females in the society; especially a female speaker having an influence on several people. Therefore, Fletcher,

(2013) stated that it is similar with regards to how the discourse is comprehended and how the speakers are perceived in ideology that is whether they are said to be biased or not.

When there is a discussion of context or discourse, the controlled subject is the interpretation of the users of the particular language of events or situations about the discourse, which is named as the mental models by their representatives. As the people are studied, they understand discourse as the model made for them. Therefore, if on the news, there is a negative aspect shown about the society, they would perceive it that way irrespective of the reality (Heller, 2006). Similarly, these are also known to be the event models that are biased ideologically and are dependent on ideologies and socially shared attitudes. These biased events give rise to the discourse that is primarily ideal and depends on the actors and events described positively or negatively, based on the mental model of ideological biases. In cases or situations like these, the specific actions or events such as the editorials, news, articles that are opinion based and so on, focus more on the personal experience rather than reality and the majority (Wodak, 2006).

2.5.1   Knowledge in Context

In the context of subjective and personal event models, there is a greater understanding, and the learners focus on a better ideology and attitude and take knowledge as a more generalised social belief. It is not easy to control the general beliefs through specific models. Therefore, there is a deeper understanding and production of discourse (Koller, 2005). Most importantly, the knowledge being acquired by the community members who are highly competent is mostly presupposed. As this is the case, discourse meanings change to the icebergs types which are not presupposed and are expressed explicitly. As communities are said to be non-ideological, the knowledge of their members within a community/communities also becomes non-ideological. This, as a result, means that as there are different speakers and ideological groups in a particular community, the common knowledge is usually taken for granted (Hodson & Busseri, 2012). As it is taken for granted, the communication and the understanding between the groups across the ideological boundaries is possible. According to this theory, the beliefs, which are socially shared, are dependent on the general knowledge of an entire community (Hodson & Busseri, 2012). This being the case, the mental model's constructions and the discourses are based on them while the interpretation is mainly a process of mental knowledge through

which the discourses are based. Members belonging to other communities taking knowledge as granted would believe that mere beliefs are also the ideology, while the religious beliefs are supposed to be the starting aspect of the cultural community. Knowledge is however defined by the entire community and not just the individual's beliefs (Abrams & Hogg, 2006).

This is the case for ideology where the community members are known to each other rather than oneself. According to Fowler, (2013), this means that within a community, there is a different and stratified knowledge depending on the expertise of that particular community. This further refers to the everyday language in the public discourse and newspapers, assuming that fewer people have the knowledge about this concept. In a nutshell, Tarone, (2007) described that the bigger level description of the group's shared beliefs and the knowledge concept is the idealisation and abstraction, for the natural language concept that is shared by the community and is known in a different and unique ways to the entire community and its members.

The shared knowledge nature, in other words refers to the point that there is a need to socially and cognitively define communities to be able to take decisions that are highly practical and knowledge-based and adhere to the community beliefs which are directed by the community, and in most cases, followed by the discourses of mass media or sociolinguistics.

2.5.2 Group Belief

In respect of the knowledge discussed above, the groups in a community may be formed depending on different goals, practices, aims or interests. The groups are also known for their shared beliefs which include their ideologies, the attitudes and knowledge (Tenorio, 2011). As there is a discussion over the group belief, the racists might be sharing the beliefs about whites being superior which might be taken for granted and at the end defined as knowledge. The groups would also be having a highly complex belief evaluation regarding aspects such as abortion, immigration or social problem such as euthanasia.

Furthermore, Stein & Wright, (2005) in their study stated that the group believes are ideologically characterised, and so they are controlled and completely organised by the ideologies underlying them. The group beliefs control the events and the context model of the members speaking as a group, and so are indirect structures of discourses

that are directly influenced by the general group beliefs while the biased models control their discourse structure.

The groups depend on the social functions, and so they take different forms, expressed in a way that they either promote a cause or influence social policy, either for the case of pacifists, feminists or the anti-racists. On the other hand, it could be the beliefs focusing more on the values and norms of the everyday practice such as the case of the professional groups, the doctors or the scholars. These educated people might have a similar ideology. Thus it could be said that with different ideological functions, there is a need to formulate a general ideological theory and the functions, which are different from the abstracts that are provided (Potter & Kappeler, 2006).

2.5.3 Strategic Processing

Considering the ideological model which is very much biased, along with the shared social beliefs, Bergs, (2005) stated that the strategies produced depend on the language context discussed above along with the ability to text and talk, understand word by word, turn by turn and sentence by sentence. In addition to this, Stoddart (2007) presented the idea of variables wither in syntactic, phonological or the lexical form in the strategic processing should be controlled by the representations underlying the meanings locally and globally, also engaging in the users and their core languages. Both the speakers and the writers in their content should be using appropriate language, proper pronouns, intonations, level of precision and specification, proper choice and change of the topic, politeness, no arguments, implicitness, narrative structures, fallacies and the host should be having an effective strategically formed ideology (Popkewitz, 2011). This is the general strategy that should be controlled by the underlying in-groups while polarised out-groups of the ideologies. This means that good things should be preferred to bad things and bad things should be ignored for the sake of good things.

2.5.4 From Ideology to Discourse

In summary, it could be stated that the cognitive processes are underlying the comprehension as well as the production of the ideological discourse, so there is a complex relationship between discourse and ideology which in other words is not direct but indirect. These discourses might depend on the context which would be biased ideologically, while the way participants interpret the events through their subjective

mental models, deals directly with the beliefs of the groups controlled ideologically (Van Dijk, 2008a).

However, this theory also allows speakers to give the contextual conditions to speakers to dissimulate or hide the opinions of their ideologies. The opinion leaders including the pacifists, the feminists and the antiracists would not be aggressive under such circumstances, and they would respond with appropriate and relevant arguments (Voelklein & Howarth, 2005). Thus, it could be said that in this case, discourse is not completely transparent ideologically. Therefore, discourse analysis would not allow a researcher to infer in the beliefs of people. In addition, researchers have also shown that these ideological beliefs depend significantly on the communicative situations of the participants and are non-deterministic. By non-deterministic, it is meant that the members do not express their beliefs with the groups they are associated with. Thus, this discourse is mostly a variable term in the contextual or the personal form (Blackledge, 2006).

It is also strategically true that there are bargaining and situations in which negotiations are possible, and the ideological statements are explicit and suspended; which might be highly relevant. It does not mean that these ideologies are becoming less important at an increasing rate in this globalised world, but they are taken very lightly so that it is easy to resolve the conflicts arising between two parties (Van Dijk, 2013b).

As the point is to resolve the conflicts, this has an influence on the methodologies when ideology is studied. In the in-group talks, there is a presupposition of the ideological beliefs while in the out-group members, the ideological beliefs may be modified or censored such as the discourse that is politically correct (Tarone, 2007). Considering these cases, discourse and ideology and the relation between them require practical, special and empirical methods to find a relevant solution to this thing.

2.5.4.1 Discourse Strategies and Discourse Structures of Ideology

When there is an acquirement of ideology, the discourses are expressed and enacted. Therefore, it is important to formulate strategies and structures in the most discursive manner. Considering this, one of the most common structure is the pronoun "WE" which is used deictically by the current speaker to refer to the in-group. Considering the theory, it depends on the context as well as the discourse's variable

structure which is marked as the ideology. The expression of the word or the phrase or the stress or volume with specific intonation should be interpreted as a racist or sexist. Also, the preferences of these topics would be expressed as an ideology that would be neoliberal.

2.5.4.2 Ways to Express Ideology in Discourse and Discourse Practices

The overall strategy for text, discourse and conversation is the positive representation of the group work that is "Us" and the negative representation of the actions of another group. It is important to emphasise on the presenters' good things while laying emphasis on the bad things of the opponent.Similarly, there should be a de-emphasis on the good things of the opponents and the bad things of the presenters. This means that there should be a careful selection of the topic which should relate to the change that would be positive (Van Dijk, 2001b). All the roads directly or indirectly lead to certain discourse practices. For Fairclough, discourse practice straddles (stands in between) the division between society and culture (i.e. issues of values) on the one hand, and discourse, language and text on the other" (p. 60). Discourse practice (e.g. the process of discourse production and consumption). While there is a slippage between the usage of discourse practices and discursive practices the latter is itself a form of social practice, which focuses on the processes of text production, distribution and consumption. At the same, the discourses are also forms of social practices. They are also undoubtedly texts in the wider sense. However, in the relationship of text, discourse and discursive practices Fairclough (1992) adds an intervening third dimension "which focuses on discourse as a specifically discursive practice" (p.71). It can be inferred that discursive practices are mediating set-up that joins text with discourse at the same time overlapping.

On the other hand, the local meanings should be premeditated that is there should be a manifestation of explicit versus implicit and precision of vague versus precise. In addition, there should also be detailed definition versus rough granularity and the level that should be focused on should be detailed and general versus specific (Parker, 2014). There should be no misguidance, and proper evidence should be provided while the local coherence should be dependent on the models that would be biased. The bad things of one group should be denied using proper terms while positive terminologies should be used to support the group.

The actions should be the interactive outcomes, the communicative acts and the speech act where the speeches should be presupposed in the good or bad things about the group such as the accusations and the promises and the interactive strategies should be implied using positive aspects such as agreements and cooperation (Purvis & Hunt, 1993).

There is always a difference of opinion due to people's personal experience, resulting in confusions and ideological conflicts. There may be the identification of the social groups leading various ideological positions. A woman according to Van Dijk, (1995b) is not just a woman, but a socialist, a mother, a wife, and a professional journalist and so on. It is important to present a correct perspective or opinion, and it is not always the case that these perspectives would be compatible with different ideologies present in society along with different cultures.

Previous empirical research regarding attitudes along with opinions and ideologies relates that every individual has a different way to express their views and opinions about the issues. The concept of stable ideology and attitude is not possible (Van Dijk, 2001b). There are certain ways through which cognitions such as general, abstract and social could be postulated as it is not possible to reduce the social representations into mental models. As there is uniqueness in the expression of words and the interaction of people, this uniqueness is accounted by the mental model as well as the contextual model where opinions of ideologies are expressed (Purvis & Hunt, 1993). In these situations, different social activists might express or might have the same opinions as one another. These similarities are not permanent but situation based, depending on the way it is perceived in the social memory. (Scollon, 1995).

2.5.5 Mental Model

When there is structuring or processing of text, context plays a significant and crucial role in influencing these aspects. In the field of linguistics and discourse analysis, the role of context is essential to assess the relationship in respect of a simple conversation, rather than analysis of the precise strategies and nature which is cognition (Levinson, 2000). The concept of cognition advocates context model determined by micro context is considered as a form of a mental model of a communicative situation or event. (Van Dijk, 2006c). The mental functions of a human being dependent on the theoretical entities which are basically known as the

mental models. In other words, the mental model represents what is going on in the minds of the person in real or either in their imaginary situations. Linking it with the linguistics, it is used to comprehend discourse, perception or the imagination of an individual (Johnson-Laird, 1983). The meaning of 'context' of discourse is restricted by subjective interpretations of language users of the specific situation or event of which the discourse is about, that is by their mental models. People are able to understand a discourse if they are able to construct a model for it. (Van Dijk, 2006a).

Mental models signify people's experiences in the past, and their episodic memory (long-term memory). So the mental model of news represents past experiences of newsmakers and the way they take that event or issue. (Van Dijk 2009a).

It underlies the images that are visuals and could also be representing the situations that he or she could not visualise. There is a possibility present in each of the mental model. It represents what is truly explicit but not something that is false. It leads to the characteristics of being naïve in the systematic errors. This model is important because it provides an account that is unified of three different reasoning (Croft, 1998). This reasoning includes: probabilistic, modal or the deductive reasoning. It involves the premises model, inferring that is probably and seems likely to be true and it also infers something that is possible or that it might be true (Johnson-Laird, 1983). This reasoning are based on different conditional assertions, sentential connectives such as the use of "and" and "or" and something which is in the imaginary or hypothetical cases.

Certain challenges with respect to this model include the explanation of causal reasoning, reasoning that is deontic or obligatory regarding the ethics of right and wrong, or permissible and impermissible. It also includes the defeasible reasoning where there are certain demands incorporated such as the change in the belief of one person as well as the strategic thinking occurring to make decisions about individual inferences (Croft, 1998).

2.5.6 Context Model

Context models are known as the special case which is derived after what is named to be the experience model. This means that context models are basically the special variation of the experience model representing the communicative episodes in which the individual participates, which is often a part of their everyday life. The context models, however, represent the actions that are ongoing and are basically

dynamic (Levinson, 2000). These actions will be updated continuously when processing a talk or text. They have these overall schematic structures with specified categories turning to the communicative events. Thus these categories are being made explicit when it comes to discourse analysis such as ethnicity, class, power and believe in setting characteristics such as the circumstances.

The context is of two types, macro-micro. The macro context indicates to the historical, political, cultural, and social structure in which a communicative event takes place, whereas micro context indicates the immediate or present situation and interaction in which a communicative event takes place. Micro context is defined on the basis of the concept of cognition and reflects it as a form of a mental model of a communicative situation and calls it a context model. Context models are mental representations that regulate many of the features of text production as well as comprehension like, on one hand, genre, choice of topic, and local coherence; on the other and speech act, style, rhetorical structures, imagery, irony (Van Dijk, 2006b).

This helps to reduce the complexity basically of the social situation that is the way language users contextualise their discourse production and do comprehension. It also involves the relevance of language and culture and the social domain such as politics.

2.5.6.1 From Mental Models to Discourse

There are different types of memories. Thus it is important to interface between both ideologies and discourse: most of which is set and relapsed in the episodic memory. There is influence by the opinions based on ideologies; thus representing different events from the perspective of the ideological groups (Pan & Kosicki,1993).
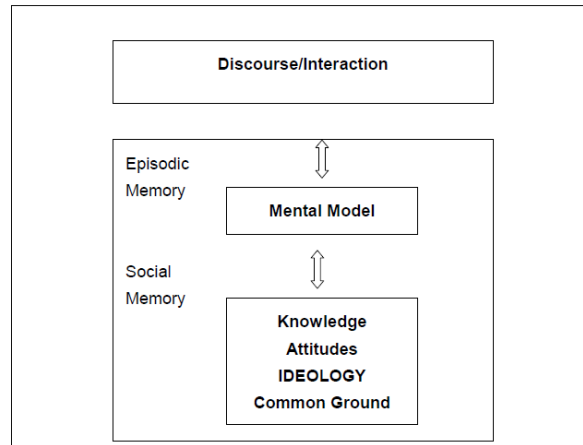
Figure 1: Ideology and Discourse. Retrieved from:

http://www.discourses.org/UnpublishedArticles/Ideology%20 and%20discourse.pdf

The model mentioned above presents richer information but fails to provide the information that in discourse is the semantic presentation. This information should, however, be left implicit when the production is discourse which is usually called presuppositions. In this way, discourses could be compared to icebergs which are expressed in a small amount as presuppositions, and as the information is presupposed, this is simply because of the fact that the receivers are of similar culture and have the ability to understand the information accurately. As semantic representation is concerned, it is defined as the discourse meaning which is the small selection of the information that is presented in the model so that related discourses are understood more appropriately (Preston, 2008).

In addition, it could also be interpreted from the model above that how speakers are able to influence a piece of information and leave an impact on the viewers or the listeners as in the context of socio-linguistics, beliefs, attitudes and knowledge plays a significant role in manipulating the outcomes of the viewers (Pan & Kosicki, 1993). These socially shared beliefs are common to all the members, and each of them is personally and intimately influenced by this model, and then they become the influencers and the opinion leaders in their circle and their surroundings. As far as the socially shared case is concerned, the specific information in the socio-linguistics is not always private or is not limited to just one-on-one interactions, but these socio-cultural beliefs relate to the basis of discourse (Kitis & Milapides, 1997). In other words, it could be said that there is not only general information required regarding the social beliefs but the participants in the current, as well as general and specific situations, are

also required to strengthen the positions which lack.

Thus, it could be summarised that these arguments between the discourse and social cognition are known as the communicative situation and represent events which are communicative and current and involve the participants more appropriately. The mental model indicates a communicative situation in the communicative event that is the micro and macrostructure of context, for instance, social, cultural and political norms in episodic memory and choice of topics and local coherence in the immediate communicative event.

2.5.6.2 Local Coherence

Coherence in general terms is one of the concepts that is discussed widely when discourse and text are studied. It has several meanings, but in linguistics, the focus is primarily on the processing and presentation of information in the form of written text, where semantics are predominant in their own domain. Local coherence similarly is controlled by the topic (Grosz, Weinstein & Joshi, 1995). In this case, the propositions are used differently, and the language is used a bit vaguely, however matching the topic clearly. The focus is on the facts that are consistent with the beliefs and the knowledge of the listener, representing the idea in a different way.

When local coherence is being studied, there is also a focus on cognitive strategies that are subjective to the coherence. This means that local coherence may be subjective as a speaker and a listener have two different beliefs (Van Dijk, 1982). When news discourse is taken into consideration, the crucial analysis includes the significant amount of political and social knowledge, and the beliefs are said to be presupposed by the journalists. There is a serious involvement of cognitive and not just linguistics as the micro and macro level semantics involves discourse coherence at all levels (Van Dijk, 1982). The users of a language are the most important subject of this study and the strategies used are highly analytical such as those where people start to establish their coherence when they hear a particular word or sentence in a particular sequence. There is a serious involvement of the propositions which are used strategically to influence the way people perceive any news. The grammar ambiguity is however cleared by using proper context and the text.

The expressed news in local discourse semantics are connected functionally or unconditionally and are highly relative to the knowledge of the reader (Van Dijk, 2013b).

There are several constraints in the news discourse having local structure consequences such as the temporal relationship and the financial relation of a specified institution. The shift in the topics has a subsequent proposition which might be connected directly to the issue that is being raised. In addition, it is expected that in the local news organisation, there shall be appropriate topics in which the texts need to fit in along with the schematic categories (Van Dijk, 2013b).

2.6   Media and Discourse Analysis

In the study of media and discourse analysis, socio-linguistics, mass media and mass communication are important elements to be discussed. It has been perceived that there have been continuous debates about the impact of the media on the general public. According to Fairclough (1995b), discourse analysis in this context is a discipline that is interdisciplinary. The focus of analysis is the cognitive process of reception and production followed by socio-cultural communication and dimensions of the usage of language. Similarly, the author Fairclough (1995b) stated that there is a complex relationship obtained between the context of a piece of news and the text of that news. It is an approach that is very much relevant for mass communication in the study of socio-linguistics to determine the news structure and how it is influenced by the textual structure. Considering the cognitive point of view presented by Fairclough (1988), there is a process of memory involved in the representation, understanding and the retrieval of the events of the news which he gathers and writes by analysing the process of news event by the knowledge and the beliefs of the general public. As a result, there is a well-known explicit role of values and news ideologies when it comes to production and understanding of the news. As these ideologies are socially inherited, there is a need to understand the sociological and psychological impact of news on the viewers. There is a psychological dimension that is not merely cognitive. Thus it should be called socio-cognitive by dealing with the process of representing and understanding the news and its events.

There are several disciplines in the field of socio-linguistics and social sciences, having self-contained and autonomous disciplines and pros and cons. However, the biggest advantage is to observe the phenomenon of mass communication while there is a development of the theoretical framework and involves a process of understanding and producing social cognition.

There have been many types of research that have been conducted with regards to this study like the presentation of Islam and Pakistan in Western media. However, there have been local studies which have been conducted in Pakistan related to this topic. One of the studies was conducted by Rustam (2013) which was related to the investigation of linguistics and pragmatic devices used in the headlines of a well-renowned news channel CNN with regards to the political crises and unrest in Pakistan. According to this study, the author has stated that there are several pragmatic encoded meanings of headlines. CNN laid emphasis on the political turmoil, flood disaster and several terrorist activities and religious controversies as the subjects for endless media debate, reflecting a very negative image of Pakistan in the world. The researcher of this study has chosen different features such as emotional sense, urgency, idiomatic connotations, metaphorical meanings, topicality and irony which were used in these headlines of CNN to present the image of Pakistan. The research by Sajid (2012) has studied the Western and Pakistani newspapers. It is more of a comparative study between the Western and Pakistani newspapers and semiotic analysis of presentation of Islam and Muslims in these newspapers. Also, the presentation of women in the Pakistani and Western newspapers is one of the objectives of this study. The presentation of Islamic personalities, festivals is the theme of the analysis carried about. The war on terrorism is also dealt with, along with terrorism and Islam and the exploitation of women in Islam. Hence in order to find out ideology, it is significant to not just look into the headlines (or just a specific part of the story), but the whole news story is covering a scenario which covers textual and contextual aspects side by side.

2.6.1 Power of Media

Considering the role of news media, there is a brief conceptual analysis required to understand the institutional and social power and to avoid the personal influence dimensions such as those of the individual journalist (Montgomery, 2007). The media power is highly persuasive and symbolic and has the high potential to control the minds and thought processes of both their viewers and readers through their indirect actions. The sociological and psychological aspect of media suggests that there is a very persuasive symbolic power of the media that results in audience retaining information in the minds, even if they are less active and purely passive. People are unable to resist the persuasion of the mass media as their minds are highly effective to realise the nature of what is represented, resulting in taking journalist opinions as correct and highly

legitimate (McBeth & Clemons, 2011). Thus, this analysis requires symbolic dimensions that go beyond the political approach and social power. This so-called social cognition includes different ideologies and attitudes that are shared between the viewers and the group of readers. The precise meaning is highly manipulated and influenced by the media power influencing the mindsets of the general public (Preston, 2008).

As there is a greater critical analysis, the social power includes the media power, implying reference to power, manipulating the enactment that is evaluated in the negative terms because information is said to be highly biased and concealed in a way that is not necessarily in the best interest of the viewers or readers (McBeth & Clemons, 2011). Furthermore, the power abuse can also be related to the dominance which is the process involved in the reproduction of strategies that are aimed at preferential access which is continued through social resources and inequality legitimation.

2.6.2 Access to Media

In the previous section of the chapter, the power of media was discussed, while in this section, the access is to be appraised. The previous section shows that the power of media is based highly on the access of the valued social resources. In literal terms, this relates to the access to public discourse, especially the mass media. It is, however, challenging to control the mass communication and its means as it is one of the most technical and critical conditions of the power in the so-called society presenting contemporary information (Scollon, 2014). Apart from the social and economic conditions of power, the social groups also play a significant role to active the different forms of information which are either influential or consequential discourse such as the ones making an important corporate decision (Scollon, 2014).

Thus, it could be stated that ordinary people have greater control and are active to access the daily conversation with people within their social circles such as their friends, family members or their colleagues (Thomas, 2014). As there is easy access to dialogues with the professional and officials, these ordinary people make complete use of the information provided on the news media, even though they lack the authentic news content.

On the other hand, as the elite institutions or groups are concerned, they are defined by the broader scope and range of the patterns to public access or

communicative events including important discourses (Wade, 2005). Several individuals such as scholars, politicians, managers and other professionals do not have much access to events such as press conferences, meetings or press release. This is the most important aspect of their media discourse as if they were able to control the patterns of media and media access they would have been more powerful than the media. There is a vicious cycle of dependency as the elite are dependent on the media to show their power, while the media is interested in showing their power structure. As this is the case, it is clear that the news media may themselves be the channel of dominance and elite power, which is not highly public but important to the elite institutions (Eagleton, 2006).

2.6.3   News as Discourse

News discourse is an essential concept to be studied for this study. It is a special means to enhance the plausibility and truth of the news appearance (Fowler, 2013). This being said, there are certain standard strategies of news discourse to promote the persuasive process for assertions. These strategies include the following:

1. Emphasis on the events that are factual in nature such as going directly to the event place and noting accurate descriptions

2. Building a strong relational structure to present the fact such as inserting facts to the situation models that are very well-known.

3. Providing information that has two different dimensions such as emotional and attitudinal dimension such as representing and memorising the facts in a better way (Fowler, 2013).

The strategies above are an important part of the social and cognitive psychology, having an impact on the inherent news value systems. The negative and violent emotions in the news, satisfy the emotions of the public as it satisfies the emotional and cognitive condition of the effective information processing. This is known as the rhetoric way to present the news and results in very effective sales for the media. One such evidence of sales is in the Western countries where the newspaper consumption is the highest. The companies are able to sell 10 times more of their press when they apply this rhetoric strategy (Fowler, 2013).

2.6.3.1 News Production and Interpretation

There is a micro-sociological way of the news making. It is the perspective given by Thomas (2014) that allows a newsmaker to evaluate the discourse processing and dimensions. The cognitive analysis is a very crucial component in the production, interaction and interpretation process of the news. The actual processes in the understanding of news writing and decision making are journalistic, and only in this perspective of cognition, the journalists are able to make newsgathering that encounters the activities within the newsroom. The cognitive analysis shows the understanding, representing and summarising the process of the production of news text (McQuail & Windahl, 2015).

This results in two major objective of analysis that is the account of transforming text and talk into news discourse and hence formulating these processes in the cognitive theory. For the scholars of socio-linguistics and mass communication, there is a simple, local and psychological approach which is irrelevant when it comes to respecting the mass issues in this field (Barzilay & McKeown, 2005). The psychologists and linguists involved in this field focus on their textual as well as grammatical structures of the news discourse that is at this moment said to be the most concrete and central manifestation of news. On the other hand, the psychologists would emphasise on the understanding and the production of the news that is determined by the cognitive representation of the individual (Barzilay & McKeown, 2005). It is made explicitly in terms of presentation and memory processes to integrate the research direction that could not be possible without cognitive and discourse analysis. The combination of these two fields helps to recognise the nature of news making and to evaluate the relevance of social processes to embed the actual and social news transformation.

The interactions and activities of journalists and their actual way of writing and rewriting texts are also inherently social (Wade, 2005). The discourse understanding and production involves features such as texts that may have a direct social position in the context of the process of verbal interaction. The news style is formal in nature and is highly persuasive with specified stylistic options that account for the memory model that is cognitive and for the understanding of the individuals (Kellner, 2011). They also hold a dynamic process of influence, understanding and any other impact that the news discourse has on the public or the readers.

2.6.3.2 Power of Media and News

As we define the role of news media, we take the approach of the notions of power and limit the properties of the institutional power or social power on the dimensions of the personal influence of journalists. Therefore, under such circumstances, social power will be defined as a social relation between the groups that are controlled by a more powerful institution to influence the minds of the less powerful groups (general public/viewers in this case) (Fletcher, 2013).

Media powers are highly persuasive and symbolic as they have the primary control on the minds of viewers and readers. However, the actions are not directly related (Gibbs, Rozaidi & Eisenberg, 2013). There are few exceptions such as the coercive and physical force that aims at gaining power and indirectly control opinions, beliefs, plans. The general public could not resist the persuasion of sociolinguistics, due to the symbolic power presented by the media. Thus, according to Gibbs, Rozaidi & Eisenberg (2013), it can be said that the media has an effective influence on the nature and control of people and have the ability to change their minds, such as those who are accepting news and opinions as correct or legitimate. These so-called social cognitions such as ideologies shared by these opinion makers can help relate to a more appropriate mental representation, such as the news report and the insights of the media power (Van Dijk, 2011). Thus, these vague notions also known as the manipulations or the influence could, however, be given a precise meaning. As we analyse this more critically, the standards, values and norms of the media power enactment could be evaluated in negative terms and information could be highly biased and concealed in a way that directly contradicts beliefs and general knowledge of the audience, bringing the best interest in them. The term dominance would fit perfectly here which usually refers to the process involvement of reproduction of the strategies that are aimed to continue the preferable access to resources that are social and inequality that is legitimate (Fletcher, 2013).

2.6.3.3 Prejudice in Media Discourse

The society in which we live in is a multiethnic society comprising various ethnic groups that play a prominent role in the thought process of each other. Whenever there is a new group in society becoming salient, the conflicts and the socioeconomic circumstances result in crucial talks and informal distribution of beliefs (Solomona et

al., 2005). This social sharing and expressions of the minority groups and their attitude play an important role in the persuasion and formulation of ethnic prejudice in society. When we talk about prejudice, there is a focus on racism that is not reflected in everyday communication but is presented in areas such as literature and comics, textbooks, media discourse and different genres.

In media, racism is one of the most debatable and most focused topics. The way minority is being portrayed in TV programs lead to increasing differences between the countries, regional or the national press as well as newspapers. There is an increasing stereotyping, and the news about the minority being negative is how the majority perceives it (Selby & Cowdery, 1995). Mainly, the social problems which are very general such as mugging or the drugs are associated with the minority. Thus, the media influence is significant, and the tendency that the reporting will influence on the majority is enormous. The racist attitudes and the ideologies are formed by the extremists of the right wing.

The cognitive notions such as differentiation, categorisation or the group representation deal with the cognitive process and in the social functions between in and out groups, influencing the distinctions upon social information processes. There is a cognitive representation of these homogeneous characteristics that are also the social representation of the general out groups and ethnic minority (Macnamara, 2005). There are a social representation and strategies involved in the cognitive process which without such differentiation and negative bias remains to be vague when explained the actions of prejudice. The content of stereotype ethnicity is held by both groups, especially when the attitudes are important for the theory known as prejudice. In addition, there is a cognitive strategy and schemata of prejudice which is used for within their social contexts to determine their organisation, content, function, relevance, acquisition and so on (Curran, 2002).

Once the cognitive setup regarding the ethnic information processing is done, the interpretation, usage, storage and retrieval of this information focuses on interpreting the actions. This is how the strategies are formed to analyse the cognitive process having features such as rule-based analysis and processing the information (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). These also include flexible, goal-directed, multilevel, and effective and strategies that are parallel in nature. The social situations are very complex. Therefore, the participants are unable to grasp the entire information in detail.

Different strategies are required to cooperate with each other to be able to interpret the activities that are nonverbal in the most structured and proper manner (Voelklein & Howarth, 2005).

2.6.3.4 Reflection of Pakistani Events in Western Media

Pakistan has been on the radar of news for a couple of years due to the political unrest along with situational crises in the country. The evidence from the electronic media reflects that the way Pakistani events are depicted in the Western media, whether it is electronic media or print media, is pragmatic. Different linguistic practices are used to cover and reveal the news, leaving a negative impact on the overall society.

The most crucial period in which Pakistan was in the headlines throughout were the years 2009 and 2010 as there had been extreme level of diplomacy and Pakistan was a victim of extensive suicide bombing, natural catastrophes, drone attacks, assassination of Punjab province's governor, corruption in the Pakistani cricket, as well as the most controversial event that is the killing of Osama Bin Laden. These issues received the highest level of attention from the Western media and the Pakistani news on social, print and electronic media were over flooded, making it reach every corner of the world.

The role that the Western media played in destroying the image of Pakistan in the Western world was significant. The professionals were paid to manipulate the content and to exaggerate the news so that each of these reflected a double meaning and left doubt in front of the viewers and readers.

When the media discourse is concerned, language and speech play a very important role in the way people depict news. Thus the speech act theory refers to the point that each sentence holds a different meaning when that sentence is spoken or is written. The Western media does not understand the difference in the conventional procedure it uses the conventional impact it results into. One such example is the non-involvement of the affected person in pieces of news. Secondly, the procedure is moulded on behalf of their preference, completely ignoring the feelings and thoughts of the participants. There are several illocutionary actions, points and direction of fit which includes the representatives, the expressive and the directives that leave an impact on the general public who listens to them and believes them. The previous studies show that the headlines are the most important expression describing the state

of affairs. These headlines are a certain proposition and represent a greater frequency among the population in relation to the most demanded commitment during the period selected for news. The prototypes such as expose, report, accuse and predict, argue, conclude, criticise and justify, hold greater significance and the Western media plays on these categories gaining TRP for their show and maximum sales. An example of exposing is the revealing videos of the terrorist who has been killed (Osama Bin Laden) in the territory of Pakistan, and the writer aims at creating the awareness about the information that is unknown to the readers. Furthermore, the prototype report is to inform the readers about the current events taking place in Pakistan. For example, a "blast in northern Pakistan kills innocent" or "A deadly blast in Karachi killed 100s of innocent people", these types of headlines catch attention and lead to the certain impression in the minds of the readers or viewers.

In a nutshell, it could be stated that the significant number of headlines in the Western media about Pakistan are negative and are associated with several illocutionary prototypes meaning that the news conveyed is more than what should actually be stated in the headline. This determines a negative role of Pakistan in society and causes the feelings of dejection and pessimism in the minds of readers or listeners. Much of what is reflected in the Western media relates to the sorry state of affairs which limits the foreign investment and presents an act of regret among the general public.

2.7   Contemporary Research Works

There have been several research studies in the realm of CDA, political and media discourse to analyse ideology of a socially prevailing issues generally, or in particular about Islam and Pakistan in Western discourse. However, the studies have been approached in a variety of ways getting benefitted from several approaches.

There are a number of considerable research studies on CDA, investigating political discourses in other disposition and genres as follows. Ali and Kazemian (2015) have probed into a speech by Liaquat Ali Khan titled 'Pakistan and the Modern World' in light of Van Dijk's Socio-cognitive Model to highlight the important aspects of discourse production and comprehension as well as a text "Pakistan Zindabad" to identify problems showing the gap and unawareness on the part of teachers and students regarding the critical discourse of the text in classroom reading context. They are mainly pursued to discover how the language of a politician pursues people in the

depiction of power dominance, and the imposition of ideology.

In another study, Zhou and Kazemian (2015) have explored John F. Kennedy's Inaugural Address based on Burkean identification theory to figure out how the speaker has achieved its rhetorical effect, and have discussed how the politician has used the identification strategies to exceed division, gain identification, induce cooperation, and then, realize their motives.

Going through the recent annals of studies, some other significant studies have also investigated various political, advertisement etc. discourses in light of CDA, and rhetoric to distinguish various strategies exploited by orators and political pundits and how they make the text or specifically discourse relatively persuasive, significant, appealing and dubious, as well as how they deliver their intended objectives to the audience (Cap & Okulska, 2013, Kazemian et al., 2013; Kazemian & Hashemi, 2014a; Noor et al., 2015). Prior studies have tended to concentrate on some other varieties and discourses.

A study by Makamani, (2014) conducted in England and Shona, sought to examine linguistic and discursive strategies used to create discourse reflective of carrying out the policy of HIV and AIDS for Zimbabwe of 1999 by private newspapers and government. The study was designed to compare messages from newspapers with views by the people of Zimbabwe about the implementation of the policy. Taking the benefits form Van Dijk's notion of the Ideological Square show that how some facts concerning the implementation of the policy are either highlighted or downplayed to shape the perception, the study pointed out that newspaper reports used quantification, nominalisation, positive politeness, thematisation, intertextuality, proverbs, euphemism, idioms, metaphors and action, claptraps, deictic referencing, adjectives and direct speech, personal pronouns, verbs as linguistic and discursive strategies for building purposes and agenda-setting about the implementation of the HIV and AIDS policy. The findings stated that private and government newspapers do not entirely agree on the portrayal of human agents, there is a general agreement between newspaper reports and Zimbabweans that people thus far face econo-political and socio-economic challenges that effect against the smooth implementation of the AIDS and HIV policy. Government newspapers incline to tone down aspects which reveal inadequacies of government. The study shows this as deception both by the government and private newspapers (Makamani, 2014).

Another PhD study similar to the nature and objectives of the study in hand investigated the linguistic and pragmatic devices used in CNN headlines on the issues of crises and political unrest in Pakistan. The research argued that headlines have pragmatically encoded meanings. The research was quite substantial as the representation of Pakistan in the cyber media headlines has been studied. Quantitative as well as qualitative descriptive methods for analysis were applied to analyse and discuss the news headlines. The results indicated that the representatives are the most frequently found illocutionary acts in the data as compared to the directives commissives and expressive. The study found that linguistic devices not only facilitate the headline writers to shape the news events in multiple ways but also support the headlines to function as speech acts. (Rustam, 2009).

Drawing on the theoretical framework of Fairclough's approach to the research of Sajid (2011) got benefitted from the Barthe's model of semiological analysis that concluded that there was a war of words and western media were predominantly biased in representing Muslims and Islam. The data has been analysed quantitatively and qualitatively both. The research explored the Western and Pakistani newspapers both to highlight how the western newspapers are linguistically loaded to convey stereotypical ideology about Muslims and Islam (Sajid, 2011).

Talking about war on terrorism, professor Adam Hodges (2011) in his doctoral study in the realm of CDA, analyses three forms of data- focus group interviews, US media discourse and presidential speeches-to give a holistic and longitudinal analysis of the creation, circulation, and contestation of the narrative of Bush's administration about the war on terrorism. The thesis draws on the Fairclough's concept of media discourse (1995a), and this dimension has two aspects one of which is the concept of intertextuality where the already-present discourse is restored and reshaped within different settings. It is debated that relating ideas on intertextuality to the political discourse analysis, is vital to understand micro-level discursive action contributes to the circulation and then contestation of cultural narratives at macro-level like the narrative of the administration of Bush in the war on terrorism. The narrative redirects a dominant set of assumptions and explanations of America's reaction to terrorism since 9/11. It acts as a discursive formation that in Foucault's terms is a 'regime of truth.' Foucault claims that power is everywhere and comes from everywhere and in this sense, it is neither an agency nor a structure. In its place, it is a kind of "metapower" or "regime

of truth" that penetrates in society and is in constant variability and negotiation. Foucault uses the term "power/knowledge" to denote that power is established through accepted forms of knowledge, understanding and "truth". Every society has its rules of truth, and Foucault calls it a regime of truth and its "general politics" of truth, and these are the varieties of discourse which is accepted and functions as "truth". It is the mechanisms and instances which let one distinguish true and false statements; the techniques and procedures given importance in the acquisition of truth; the status of those who are charged with saying what counts as true (Rabinow, 1991, p.73). In his analysis, Hodges states that even as social actors resist the narrative and its policies, they make it appropriate the language of narrative to be listened to and understood. This works to reproduce and strengthen the narrative, and discourse enters new context as it is reshaped. This recontextualisation fosters the possibility for the advent of new meanings and here rests the probability of resistance and social transformation (Hodges, 2011).

Another article by Professor Hodges (2015), studies the discourse about race and racism that resulted in the US media subsequent to the shooting death, in February 2012 of an African American Trayvon Martin, by a vicinity watch volunteer, George Zimmerman. The analysis studies news programs from the three main cable television channels in the United States that are MSNBC, CNN and Fox News. The research had objectives to find out to what extent the mainstream media's discourse about race was embedded in folk ideas and to what extent (if at all) the conversation move beyond those ideas? The study draws on the theoretical framework of Hill's (2008) debate of the 'folk theory of race and racism' in contrast to critical race theory. The research aimed to unmask the ideologies of race and language that reinforce talk about race and racism in to expose the concealed assumptions in the discourse that hamper more productive dialogue on the subject.

In a research endeavour concerning ideology and western discourse, the researcher highlighted the contradictory ideas taken into consideration encompassed Iran Nuclear Program, Iran Sanctions, and Syria Crisis. The ideological stances of most of the western countries and Iranian officials strongly different for the mentioned subject. Briefly, the study tried to elucidate how linguistic devices carry ideological traits in their discourse properties causing in misrepresentation of the news stories while at the same legitimising the ideological stances of their preferred and favoured sources.

(Shojaei et al., 2013). Drawing on Fairclough's (1995b) approach and Van Dijk's (1998a) socio-cognitive approach of analysis of news discourse, within the paradigm of Critical Discourse Analysis, this study analysed how these(three) cases of ideologically conflicting ideas are represented and interpreted in western print media. Fascinatingly, the results revealed that linguistic tools are among the most important devices through which ideological tendencies can be positioned in the news stories. Also, such linguistic tools as lexicalisation, presupposition, collocational patterns, modality and intertextuality were determined as the elements with the highest frequency in terms of usage in the representations of news stories.

Poorebrahim & Zarei, (2013) conducted a study to critically uncover the way Islam is represented in western discourse by forming the relationship between language and ideology, and the discourse practices it uses and its possible effect. The headlines from widely spread print media of the west including the Independent, the Herald Tribune, The Times and the New York Times, from January 2008 to December 2012 were selected, and Muslim and Islam reproductions were studied in that. The study was executed using a fusion of Edward Said's approach of "Orientalism" and Van Dijk's approach of "Ideological Square", characterised by "positive self-presentation" versus "negative other presentation". The analysis established that Islam is over and again stereotyped and Muslims are negatively symbolised, through a number of selected linguistic choices and specific construction of the headlines both (Poorebrahim, & Zarei, 2013).

In a research work taking on Van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach in critical discourse analysis, Alazzany (2014) analyses the speeches of Yemen's former president, Ali Abdullah Saleh and the political goals and themes in his speeches and the employed discursive strategies. Alazzany discerns that Saleh follows socially resonant themes for instance democracy, patriotism and legitimacy to influence public attitudes. Saleh dominantly used discursive strategies which were representing the protests as a threat to the country's security and stability and considered, illegal and illegitimate acts contradicting the values and principles of democracy, even though depicting himself as an elected, legitimate president of a country ruled by democratic institutions. The study analysed and found out that the speeches also integrated specific discursive strategies for instance speech acts, classification and charges of conspiracy.

In the light of studies mentioned above the researcher has narrowed down her

research as follows.

2.8   Researcher's Quest

There have been numerous studies done in the realm of sociolinguistics and discourse analysis. However, the Western discourse and their ideology about Pakistan has been the researcher's main quest for her dissertation. In the light of above literature reviewed there have been theories and research studies carried out in discourse analysis, critically approaching it through the prism of power or hegemony and ideology in media discourse particularly in the western context. At the same time, there have been studies to probe into the discourse of Western media representing Islam and Pakistan. The comparative analysis of Western and local newspaper, and pragmatic analysis of headlines, a negative representation of Islam and Pakistan in these, intrigue the researcher to quest for the ideology behind this discourse specifically aiming Pakistan. However, t h e researcher has selected the complete news story instead of some heading or chunks from newspapers or any other news source. The ideology is one of the theoretical approaches in critical discourse analysis. From ideology to the strategic processing of discourse; from strategic processing to mental model and context model, there are two types of context, i.e. macro and micro context. Macro context as reviewed is historical political and social communicative event, and micro context includes immediate communicative situation. For instance choice of topic, and local coherence in the immediate communicative event. In order to get the complete understanding of the ideology of Western media, which is found missing in related research studies, researcher nominated to analyse the complete news story in a particular historical and immediate communicative event.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

Methodology in research is the logical and systematic theoretical analysis of the methods applied to a study. It encompasses the theoretical analysis of the organisation of methods and principles associated with the research. It encompasses concepts such as paradigm, theory, theoretical model and suitable techniques (qualitative or quantitative). A methodology does not tend to provide solutions to the problems in research questions, and it is because it is not the same as a method. Rather a methodology deals with the theoretical underpinning for understanding and choosing which practices method or methods can be applied to a specific case to determine the results (Irny& Rose, 2005).

This chapter explores the fundamental nature of reality, research existence, research paradigm followed by theory and theoretical framework. All this has been executed by taking into consideration the research design and strategy, investigation type, tools (course of action in research), research sampling and data collection methods, techniques and sampling, ethical considerations, and limitations.

3.1 Introduction

In the domain of linguistics and sociolinguistics, there is an extensive practice of ideological analysis of both languages and discourse, and there have been critical endeavours in the field of social sciences. Language and communication help express the ideas which writers might uncover with close understanding, reading and systematic analysis (Van Dijk, 2001a). As there are many different assumptions and widespread practices, the underlying ideologies are way beyond just explicit. In the field of discourse analysis, there are several concepts of psychological and social sciences which have a significant influence on the way others speak and present different ideas with the agency of what we call ideological discourse analysis.

The focus of this entire study is in discourse analysis concerning a specific

ideology of a specific social group. Precisely, the researcher emphasises how the ideology of Western society changes its perception of Pakistan and how the Western media presents Pakistan in the world. The focus is on the language the Western media uses, and its explicit way of communication, as the prime concentration of this research, is related to the subject called sociolinguistics.

Also, there is also an in-depth analysis of discourse ideology and news where both educational and informative aspects are studied as a reader mainly perceives the values imposed subliminally by language entirely on how the news and the media represent it. Also, the emphasis of this study is to the point that why Pakistan has been considered as a country where terrorism is bred and what were the events that made people perceive Pakistan as the most dangerous countries in the world, despite the fact that the most of the sufferings have been faced by Pakistanis in all walks of life; they have suffered economically, socially, politically and psychologically.

3.1   Research Paradigm

There have been several research studies which depend on the fundamental philosophical assumptions regarding the aspects constituting valid research where the research methods are said to be appropriate for the knowledge development in the related study. As it is essential for a researcher to conduct and evaluate his research, it is, therefore, important to understand all the assumptions of a study (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004). In this section of the chapter, the prevailing philosophical assumptions are presented after an in-depth analysis.

As there have been several studies conducted about the research paradigm, one of the studies by Zeeman et al., (2002) stated that there are three major dimensions of a research process. These three dimensions include ontology, epistemology and methodology. The research paradigm relates to the system that is all-encompassing and is interrelated to the thinking and practices defining the core nature of these three enquiries.

According to Thomas Kuhn (1962) considering the term paradigm, it has been initiated from the Greek philosophy and has been originated from the word paradeigma referring to different patterns helping to denote the conceptual framework that has been eventually shared by the scientists' community by providing them a convenient model to examine the problems and find the solutions (cited by Flick, 2009, p.69). Kuhn in his

study defines paradigm as: "an integrated cluster of substantive concepts, variables and problems attached with corresponding methodological approaches and tools…" In other words, the researcher refers paradigm to be a set of values and beliefs and assumptions that the researchers' community has in common regarding the nature of research conducted. It is hence a pattern that is being implied, the structure and the framework of systems of academic as well as scientific ideas, assumptions and values.

In the research paradigm concept, the aspects of ontology and epistemology are concerned with the worldview of an individual having a tremendous impact on the perceived relative importance of the reality aspect (Denscombe, 2008).

Ontology and Epistemology are terms commonly used in academia, although they can seem intimidating. The Epistemology is concerned with the questions "What do you know?" and "How do you know it?", Whereas ontology is concerned with "What is there?". Both of these work as the foundations of any approach to a research question from positivist stances (deductive and more scientific views – quantitative research methods," counting and measuring") to interpretive stances (inductive–observational qualitative research methods, "deeper truth" reasoning views) (Saunders, Lewis, & Thornhill, 2007).

The research paradigm by Gephart (2004) is classified into three different philosophical categories which are positivism, subjectivism and the interpretivism.

These three categories are conveniently placed and used in the theories of linguistics, psychology and sociology. The research in hand lies in interpretive paradigm. The critical theory being offshoot or subdivision of interpretivism because of labelling reality as an emancipatory entity because of its relative nature. The interpretivism is the approach where the researcher has a metaprogramme which functions as a filter for the difference, and it enables the researcher to appreciate (criticise) the meanings that people dwell on different constructions. The researcher can understand and explain why people have different experiences rather than search for external causes and fundamental laws to justify their behaviour. (Easterby-Smith, Thorpe et al. 1991)

Interpretivism conceptualises discourse as a communicative action   that is constructive of social and organisational realities. The interpretive approach considers language as the basic building block of texts and discourses is viewed not merely as an

intentional means of information exchange but mainly as constructive of social and organisational realities, through its framing effects on individuals' thoughts, interpretations and actions. A researcher in this approach takes the advantage to begin to focus on interpretive frameworks emphasising the social construction of meaning and also the central role of language as a symbolic medium in shaping or constructing social reality. The other approaches focus on how managers, consultants, facilitators, and other actors can employ language to achieve certain outcomes whereas interpretive studies focus on the emergent nature and effects of discourse on agents and the social context, and on the mutual constitution of discourses and contexts (Heracleous, 2006). Due to the fact that interpretivism sees discourse as emerging from social realities not just intentional means of information exchange but also emphasises the social construction of meaning, interpretivism is a stance, chosen for the research in hand.

3.2   Epistemological Stance

Epistemology in real terms refers to the perceived relationship with the knowledge that is being undiscovered. Epistemology refers to "how we know what we know", or in simple terms; it means the relationship between an individual referred to as the knower with what can be known (Crotty, 1998). In the philosophical grounds, it provides different kinds of knowledge and ways to ensure that these are legitimate or adequate. It is also related to the nature of reality of the study of being, complementing the nature and postulating the realities that exist outside the minds of the typical individual.

When a study is highly critical, a researcher adopts a subjective and transactional epistemology where both an investigator and an object are assumed to be linked interactively, influencing the inquiry.

3.2.1   Social Constructivism

In epistemology, there are several concepts that could be undertaken for this study. However, social constructivism is one of those concepts that have been adopted to collaborate with the nature of reality. Originating from the sociological field, social constructivism has been associated with qualitative research since the post-modern era (Van Dijk, 1993b). It follows the relativist stance and is an anti-realist influencing the social constructionism within the theory of current issues. It has a substantial impact on the methodology of research as it is said to be the imperative for the theories to

appreciate the existing differences between them. It helps better evaluate the validity of a research argument which has been followed by the research nature.

On the other hand, the author Wodak & Meyer (2009) proposed that this term is assumed to be the generic term of constructivism which suggests that each in the world is constructed mentally with the experiences of the world through the cognitive processes rather than any other process. In all the cognitive processes, the social constructivism completes knowledge and focuses merely on the processes which are being created, negotiated, sustained as well as modified with the goal of understanding the world in a better way. According to Jørgensen & Phillips (2002), "The key premises of social constructionism have roots in French poststructuralist theory and its rejection of totalising and universalising theories…social constructionism as a broader category of which poststructuralism is a subcategory" (p.6). Being constructivist or constructionist has several dimensions of research tasks. Both enlightens the way in which we do research about how we should view data (Crotty, 1998).

Social constructivism according to Van Dijk (2011), in its profound nature needs to be understood clearly to be able to evaluate the validity and nature of arguments in a better way. The social constructivism proposes that in his cognitive processes, each individual constructs the experiences depending on his individual and social forces. Knowledge is not necessarily being a part of cognition while an individual still is able to understand the surrounding arguments correctly. Having its relative and subjective nature the research in hand falls best in the social constructivism as it equally postulates on cognitive processes in an individual's mind. In social constructivism, the two major concepts include postmodernism and post-structuralism which are essential ingredients of this study. These two concepts are defined below:

3.3.1.1 Postmodernism

In the epistemological lifeboat, postmodernism is recognised by two significant assumptions depending on their diverse and eclectic nature. The first assumption is that the objective or neutral thoughts guaranteeing the one-ness of the world is not bounded by a common denominator such as "future", "truth" or "nature" (Cilliers & Spurrett, 1999). There have been several arguments related to this concept, one of which is about the stability and totality to maintain the order in the modern society through the idea of

grand narratives which refer to how culture represents their beliefs and practices. What were formerly regarded as clear-cut differences in style appear to have vanished too, postmodernism in this context favours the mini-narratives and focuses on the provisional, situational and contingent, approach stating that there is no stability, truth or proper reason when a story is presented. This is very much related to this study as the core idea of this research is to study the rationale or ideology of the Western media depicting Pakistan in the news discourse.

3.3.1.2 Post-structuralism

According to Wetherell (1998), post-structuralism is the second phenomenon of social constructivism in the study of linguistics. It is primarily the backlash of the structuralist movement. This concept originated from the concept of structuralism in the study of linguistics. There is scepticism intensified in this concept. The style and tone of this concept tend to be more emotional, urgent and ecstatic, and the style is self-consciously showy and glitzy or flashy (Tompkins, 1980). However, the post-structuralist school of thought believes that if there is an accurate observation and systematic data collection, an individual can reach a reliable conclusion about different groups and their usage of languages. It refers to the concept that, "there are no facts, only interpretations". The words used in this theory are mostly contaminated, and there is no reference to good without referring evil or a day without referring to night. The aim of this concept is that humans are considered to possess an independent identity while they are viewed as a product of linguistic forces decentering the intellectual universe (Easthope, 1988). The post-structuralist phenomenon is the most appropriate concept for this study as it embarks on the concept of understanding good in relation to bad and postulating on the concept of interpretations. The study in hand embarks how certain ideologies are articulated, enacted and reproduced in shaping ideology (good or bad). Hence post-structuralist stance is the most relevant the study can relate to, for getting benefits from its theories.

As these two concepts of the social constructivism are taken into consideration in this study of sociolinguistics, focusing on the Western media and its use of language, it is analysed that this study would have get benefits from the theories of critical discourse analysis emerging from these concepts above.

3.4   Critical Discourse Analysis as Theory

Foucault as post-structuralist philosopher supplicated discourse analysis, as often used in politically oriented studies and their analysis (Wooffitt, 2005). The approach and its method analyses how the social world, voiced through language, is positioned by various sources of power (Given, 2008). It is where the approach is adjacent to social constructivism, as the researcher attempts to understand how our society is being constructed or shaped by language, which in succession reflects existing power relationships (Magalhães & Sanchez 2009). The critical discourse analysis from Foucauldian perspective aims to understand how an individual views the world, and it studies classification, personal and institutional relationships, ideology, and politics which are also the objectives to explore of the study in hand. This is where the present study gets benefitted from the Foucauldian perspective of critical discourse analysis via social constructivism.

Social constructivism is an umbrella term for several theories about culture and society. Critical discourse analysis is one of the theories of social constructivist approaches nevertheless it is one of the most extensively used approaches within social constructivism (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002).

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is a contemporary approach through which languages and discourses are studied in the social institutions. As we draw attention towards the critical linguistics and discourse of poststructuralist, this theory emphasises the knowledge, social relations, power and identity which are constructed through written or spoken texts. Critical discourse analysis refers to the bases of the critical theory of language which is used in the social practices tied up with the historical context where the social relations exist (Van Dijk, 1999). The questions which are included in this theory are: how is the text used in a language being positioned? With this language positioning, whose interests are served? What are the interests that are being contradicted? Moreover, what is the eventual consequence of this language positioning? All these questions relate to the power relation with discourse, and so it is called critical discourse analysis. The present study seeks to find out that how ideologies are enacted and reproduced through discourse structures and linguistic strategies context being part of the discourse. To highlight those discourse practices and linguistic strategies; the intended or unintended use of the certain linguistic feature in reflecting an ideology are the significant quests of this research. The critical theory of

discourse analysis is a contemporary theory which suits best for this study for these reasons.

According to Van Dijk, CDA deals mainly with the power abuse when discourse dimension is being talked about along with inequality and injustice resulting from it. Critical discourse analysis in addition to the factor mentioned above does not have the aim to contribute to the specified paradigm, discipline or the discourse theory; rather it is primarily interested to press the social issues and elaborate with the realisation of the sociopolitical goal (Van Dijk, 1995a). The author also mentions that the focus is mainly on social problems including inequality and dominance, but it does not mean that the theoretical issues are being ignored. It refers to the analysis of the association between discourse and dominance. The stance of CDA is explicitly sociopolitical where they relate to the perspectives and aims of a society on the whole. Ignoring the extremists and activists, the CDA analysts focus and go beyond the serious issues of the day. The presupposed understanding of the structure and their general insights cause a long-term and indirect analysis of the conditions, causes and the consequences of the issues. When in a research study, CDA is being used as a theory, the focus is on three different concepts including power, ideology and hegemony. In CDA, these three aspects are being discussed and studied in detail helping to contribute to better understanding of the intricacies.

Both Gramsci and Foucault in devising their theories of power and ideology diffuse the power relations to the complex mechanisms of society. Power according to Gramsci resides in ideology. It can also be said that, to be conscious of the social hegemonic forces within which an individual realises himself already initiate and produce power. Once a social group is able to modify the entirety of these relations and mark it "common sense", it is establishing a hegemonic order. The concept of power is all over in Foucault's theory as well as in his analysis. According to him, power is "omnipresent". It is produced every moment and comes from everywhere. Parallel to Gramsci, Foucault also considers power as a relation of force which only exists in action. Gramsci saw power relations in terms of binary oppositions (such as the oppressor and oppressed, the rulers and the ruled and leaders and the led). Foucault considered power, as well as the resistance it generates, is diffused and not localised at some points and is decentered rather (Daldal, 2014).

CDA is to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are

ideologically shaped discourse by relations of power and struggles over power; and to explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony (Fairclough,1993)

Power, ideology and hegemony are three important yet distinctive constructs in CDA. However, they work in parallel and side by side, and in order to analyse one, the other cannot be subsided.

3.4.1 Power

Power exists everywhere, in every relationship; we are persistently either subjecting it or being objects of it. When power is talked about in CDA, it refers to dominance that is usually institutionalised (Van Dijk, 2015). By power, it relates to the social dominance which is not at all merely enacted, but the members of the groups are a victim of everyday sexual harassment or racism. Also, as power is taken into consideration, it may be condoned or primarily supported by a majority of the group members, or legitimated by laws (Woolard, 1992). In addition to all these, the cultural, social and the political dominance in their everyday life implies the concept of a hierarchy of power where some of the group members are dominant than others, and these groups play an important role in the decision-making or planning or controlling the processes or relations with power enactment. These are those who are called the power elites as their decisions have exceptional access to discourse (Van Dijk, 2009b). In other words, they are referred to as those elements having symbolic power and their communicative and discursive work is what people believe.

3.4.2 Hegemony

The concept of hegemony is deeply related to the idea of consensus, and mind management is suggesting that CDA is far dominant from what is just straightforward (Van Dijk, 2015). This concept relates that there is no clear picture of the two parties being discussed; victim and villain. However, it has been suggested that there are different categories of dominance that are studied while those categories appear to be produced jointly through different social interaction complex forms, discourses and communication (Woolard, 1992).

In other words, if the minds of the individuals are dominated or influenced by in such a way that they readily accept dominance, hegemony is the term that relates to their interest out of free will. One of the most important functions of this discourse

dominance is poised to manufacturing acceptance, legitimacy and consensus of dominance (Van Dijk, 2009b). When power and dominance are sketched in theory, they have control over the different type of discourse which is primarily the crucial implication of the correlation formed between power and dominance. This control of discourse is mainly established through controlling the social action while primarily implying the conditions to control the mindsets and thought the process of individuals when the social representation takes place. As there is more control over the text and context, there are more people involved or associated with the influence which is also said to be known as hegemony.

3.4.3 Ideology

Ideologies, knowledge and attitudes are mainly the generalised representation of the ideas shared by society, hence, becoming the characteristics of the cultures and groups, the specified models, the personal and unique contextualization (Van Dijk, 2015). The ideology defines the language that is being produced to understand the specific text, even if there is no social determination of the processes (Woolard, 1992). In other words, it can be said that there are models that allow the individual to link with their individual and social actions or discourses to interpret with the social order, experiences and personal opinions of the group relation that include both the power and dominance (Van Dijk, 2009a). Ideologies are expressed and reproduced in discourse (Van Dijk, 1995c). As discussed in chapter 2, the discourse plays a particular role in the reproduction of ideologies. Associating with the Marxist stance, ideologies can be defined simply as the basis of social representations in agreement with a social group and its members (Van Dijk, 1998b). Precisely, ideology is a self-sufficient representation and a mutual framework of social practices of groups and the members, which functions as a means of directing and leading social practices constructed as discourse. For Van Dijk, ideologies are abstract mental systems that form socially shared attitudes. Therefore ideologies indirectly influence the personal cognition of group members in understanding the discourse with other actions and interactions. During such social actions and interactions he calls this mental representations of individuals as "models" and these, "models control how people act, speak or write, or how they understand the social practices of others" (p. 2). This mental representations "are often articulated along Us versus Them dimensions, in which speakers of one group will generally tend to present themselves or their own group in positive terms,

and other groups in negative terms" Van Dijk, 1995c, p. 22). Analysis based on this contrastive dimension of "Us" versus "Them" is central to most of Van Dijk's research (1988, 1991, 1995c). The research in hand draws on the work of Van Dijk(1998b) to speculate the relations between discourse and ideology in drawing attention to Western ideology in specific reference to media discourse, has objectives to examine how "Us" and " Them" are represented in the discourse of Western media keeping the binary of West and Pakistan. This conjecture involves the most significant theoretical viewpoint of Van Dijk's Ideological Square (1998c) because the main objective of the thesis is unveiling Western ideology and manipulation directing towards viewers and readers include the properties of their structural news. Here it is important to consider that HOW actually does this manipulation takes place.

3.5   Theoretical Framework

When the theoretical framework is studied, it refers to the framework consisting of several concepts which are relevant to the theories of the study. It helps to demonstrate the concepts that are highly relevant to the research and however relate to the broader aspects of the knowledge that is being considered (Davis, 1995). A theoretical framework is an important concept that contributes to a study in a number of ways. It connects a researcher to the knowledge that is available and helps to give a basis for the choice of the research method. It also helps to assume the research questions to be answered and takes into consideration the questions how and why by permitting them the intellectual transitions to describe a phenomenon about different aspects of the study (Grosz, Weinstein & Joshi, 1995).

It has been discussed above in detail that the critical discourses are primarily constituted to what we call "forms of life" related to the universal or omnipresent ways of either valuing, knowing or experiencing the world. This aspect could be used to assert knowledge and power or for critique or resistance. Used in everyday life, they are to build productive power, forming an ideology or for the sake of normalisation and regulation, or developing power relation, or for the sake of hegemony. As this study emphasises the news about Pakistan reflecting its socio-political events concerning the war on terrorism, the focus is on how the Western media present Pakistan in the world through its news and the use of language. Considering that the media plays a significant role in developing the ideology of society, the researcher for this study has taken Van Dijk's (1995c, 1998c) Ideological Square as a theoretical framework and the entire study

is revolving around this concept.

3.5.1 Ideological Square

Van Dijk (1998c) contributes a practical, theoretical concept called the "Ideological Square", which captures the dual strategies of positive "ingroup" description and negative "outgroup" description. The strategy of this binary opposition or dichotomy is often expressed in discourse by linguistic features (Van Dijk, 1998c,

p. 33, as cited in Hakam, 2009, p. 37). According to this notion, the discourse analysis exposes the emphasis on "Our" good things while the emphasis on "Their" bad things and de-emphasis on "Our" bad things de-emphasis on "Their" good things.

Van Dijk supports that various group ideologies encompass the representation of Self and Others, Us and Them. Therefore several appear to be polarised – "We" or "Us" with Good and "They" or "Them" with Bad, and the "Ideological Square" operates to polarise in- and out-groups to depict the "We" group in a favourable position and the "They" group in an unfavourable light (Kuo & Nakamura, 2005, p. 410). Accordingly, Van Dijk (1993a) shed light on an additional strategy to express assimilation is to denote the "Other" in a negative position which is identified as "negative other presentation" (Tardy, 2009, p. 282). This ideological polarisation is being instigated by many of forms such as the lexical choices that imply positive or negative assessments, along with in the syntactic structure of entire propositions and their categories (as in active/passive, cleft/ non-cleft, nominalisation/full clause). This approach of polarisation entails of emphasising o u r good actions/properties; emphasising their bad actions/properties, diminishing our bad actions/properties; and diminishing their good actions/properties (Kuo & Nakamura, 2005).

This study in a sociolinguistics positions subject which is being studied, focusing on the language being used to interpret. The study in hand positions how Western media used language to portray specific ideology about Pakistan for which Van Dijk's theory was being used. The theoretical framework for this study is Van Dijk's Ideological Square in critical discourse analysis because the research in hand has the objective to unmask Western ideology and manipulation aimed towards receivers (audience and readers) analysing linguistic and discursive properties of the structure of the news.

3.6   Research Design

In a study, research design is said to be the strategy or the process helping in facilitating the decision making by using general to specific tools for data collection and data analysis. It should also be analysed that which of the research designs should be used for a study depending on the problem of the research and the research aims along with factors that are being discussed for the experience and knowledge of the researcher.

The research design can, however, be classified into three major categories which are: qualitative, quantitative and mixed approach research studies. The qualitative design of research primarily focuses on how different groups of people perceive reality which could be emphasised by the social or psychological factors. On the other hand, quantitative research has the aim to find out the data and spread it across a bunch of people. Whereas the mixed approach is also known to be the triangulation research design where there is a combination of both the qualitative and quantitative study used to comment on the nature of reality as well as existence. However, the study in hand lies in purely qualitative research as far as research design is concerned adhering to its research objectives and their dimensions.

3.6.1   Qualitative Research Design

For this particular study, the researcher has made use of the qualitative research design. As this study is about sociolinguistics and language in use, focusing on the social context of Western media and their reflection of Pakistani socio-political events, from the perspective a global issue. There is a detailed analysis conducted of the socio-cognitive model presented by Van Dijk (2006c) within the qualitative method of research design. The model helps suffice the objectives of the research and develop a related technique to help respond to the research objectives in the most accurate manner (Van Dijk, 2008c).

Qualitative research is a technique that is much useful for subjects that are social and cultural by nature. This research design is useful as it covers all the aspect in broader terms. It helps generate possible ideas to formulate a realistic research analysis, reinforcing and helping to evaluate a more extensive scale finding.

3.7   Data Collection and Processing

The data collection and processing is a cautious and intricate task, therefore, to achieve the research objectives, the following steps were taken for data collection and data processing:

3.7.1   Selecting a News Source Online

Official website of BBC, CNN and the Maxnews were selected out of some options available depending on the fact these are the most popular and reliable sources from West covering almost all the issues around the world and CNN and BBC having its bureau offices in Pakistan.

3.8   Research Sampling

According to Coyne (1997), the research sample refers to the process to select some particular units from the entire population by drawing a procedure as this sample represents the whole population. The population is divided into different characteristics depending on the nature of research and the research objectives. There are different types of sampling techniques such as cluster sampling, random sampling, stratified sampling, and purposeful sampling. All these techniques are used in different situations and depending on the nature of the study.

3.8.1   Purposeful Sampling

This study takes into account purposeful sampling as a part of the research methodology. The judgmental or non-probability sampling, focusing on the techniques where the investigation is on the basis of the researcher's judgment, is chosen (Suri, 2011). In this type of research sampling, the samples that are investigated are quite small compared to the sample size in the probability sampling techniques. The goal of this technique is to pick up the sample that is very much associated with the study rather than picking up samples randomly and generalising the research.

For this particular study, there have been the selective pieces of news chosen relevant to the study that is from the channel BBC, CNN and Maxnews to evaluate the use of its language reflecting socio-political issues in Pakistan and different terrorist activities happening in the country. As discussed that there are several categories when using purposeful sampling, the most appropriate sampling method for this study turns out to be criterion sampling as it seems to be very much appropriate for this

research which is more prone towards the qualitative research having specific objectives.

Personal judgment or key words technique is used in purposive sampling to choose samples that achieve research objectives and answer research questions. The purposeful sampling is used in qualitative research for the "identification and selection of information-rich cases related to the phenomenon of interest" (p.1). Purposive sampling is also referred to as judgement sampling in selecting a sample that is believed to be representative of the given population. In purposive sampling, the researcher deliberately identifies criteria for selecting the sample. The accuracy of this sampling technique is dependent on the researcher's criteria.

As this is the case, the criterion-I sampling which is a fundamental technique in purposeful sampling shares a variety of characteristics with the random sampling. This technique has the objectives to identify and pick the cases which identify predetermined criterion of importance. In this case, the sample is selected based on the experience and their knowledge regarding a particular phenomenon. The samples chosen for the study in hand are highly specialised playing an important role in the Western media by developing a particular ideology of the entire group and representing the Islamic states especially Pakistan as the nation where as far as the war on terrorism is concerned. Pertaining to the objectives of the research and the dimension of research questions the criteria for selection of the sample is the news story explicitly featuring sociopolitical issues of Pakistan from the perspective of the global issue that is a war on terrorism (Gay et al., 2009).

The size of the sample is hardly prescribed in qualitative research. For the qualitative research, the size of the sample "depends". Moreover, there is "no hard and fast rules specify a correct number (size)" (p.136). Sample size normally is not the main issue in discourse analysis because the interest is in the variety of ways the language is used rather than verities (quantity) of language (text or discourse) (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). As Daniael (2011) states, "Large variations in linguistic patterning can emerge from a small number of people. So a larger sample size may just make the analytic task unmanageable rather than adding to the analytic outcomes" (p.59).

3.9   News Selection

The year 2009 and 2010 were chosen as the years from which the news was

collected as it was one of the most crucial period faced by Pakistan. The year 2008-09 was the most significant year and hence the years 2009 to 2010 carry a considerable reason to be selected for analysis in terms of following. One, there were more than 140,000 Pakistani forces were deployed on Pakistan Afghanistan border, which is the maximum number of forces ever deployed since 2001 (Khan, 2012). Second, 89% of all the operations since 2001, was conducted in the year 2007-09 and mainly in the year 2009 either major or minor operations (Khan, 2012). Third, according to "Pakistan Security Report 2009" by PIPS published in the 2009, 2,586 terrorists, insurgent and sectarian incidents were informed that killed 3,021 people and injured 7,334 (Wasim, 2010). Fourthly, according to Pakistan Institute of Peace Studies, there were more than 3500 of causalities faced by Pakistan armed forces in the year 2009 which is the largest number of causalities since 2001 (Amir, 2009). Fifth, according to State bank of Pakistan even though foreign reserves increased noticeably from $10.83 billion in the year 2007-08 to $14.75 billion in October 2009, however, inflation increased 21 % in the year 2008- 09 from 10.3 % in the year 2007-08. The sharp increase in foreign reserves is mostly due to the IMF-approved loan of $11.3 billion (November 2008), with a total of the foreign loan exceeding as much as $50 billion (Khan, 2012). The researcher followed the hyperlinks from different pages and termed it as crawling. The pages having the news were saved as the HTML files as these files contained all the relevant information with regards to the news headline, publication date and the description and links.

3.10 News Processing

The researcher carefully processed the news by taking the following steps:

1. Selecting the Relevant Material: As the study focused on the news from the years 2009 and 2010, all the irrelevant material was however deleted to make the data very precise for the study. Only that news related to Pakistan and giving coverage to the socio-political events of Pakistan were selected. Only the necessary items which contained informative words like 'Pakistan', 'war', 'war on terrorism' were selected .

2. Copying all the data to the Microsoft Word files: To collect raw data, all of the relevant material was copied to the Microsoft Word file as this helped the researcher to arrange data systematically for future reference and processing.

The news was sectioned or divided into different paras and was numbered for the convenience of the analysis so that each segment can be referred to as the specification of numbers without confusion.

3.10.1 Coding the Data

Coding is the process of sorting and organising data while codes label, compile and organise the data in a systematic layout. Qualitative data analysis is a careful process of breaking down data into smaller labelled units and then putting the most relatable and pertinent units together in an analytical form (Gay et al., 2009). The data for the current research has been coded in the most crucial categories prescribed by Van Dijk's Socio-cognitive Model (2006c) For the classification of the codes, the codes were identified and labelled in the significant dichotomy of "Us" versus "Them". The codes were identified and classified into three levels. First on the level of meaning in local meaning and coherence and selection of topic. Secondly on the level of form in syntax and rhetorical structures and thirdly on the level of action that is speech acts pertaining to accusation and promises. All these are further demarcated in the dominant dichotomy of "Us" versus "Them" emphasising "Our Good" and "Their bad" were placed in one group in the table, however, the other de-emphasising "Our Bad" and "Their Good" were placed in the other. Tables are available in the annexure.

3.11 Research Methods

In the specialisation of research, there are two categories in which the research can be conducted. These are named as primary research and secondary research. The primary research is conducted through primary data which is afresh and involves methods such as surveys or questionnaires or interviews with the small groups or the individuals. On the other hand, the secondary research is conducted through secondary data, the data which is already available and published. This includes government publications, earlier research studies, census report, personal records, publications, books magazines, newspapers article and news reports (Komar, 2011).

Data collection in the secondary type starts with the evaluation or analysis of the background knowledge as it is much helpful to contribute to the analysis of the research. In addition to the research methods are the research approaches which could be inductive or deductive or either one of them. The inductive approach refers to

collecting information through experiences, observations and by doing experiments so that the conclusion of the research is probabilistic and can give validity to the research (Weiss & Wodak, 2007). On the other hand, the deductive approach starts with a view or theory that is general and ends up with the specified regulations, rules, laws and the views that have to be accepted on a mass level and testing the theory.

As the nature of this study is qualitative, it is directed by the deductive approach giving the top-down reasoning for every finding based on the theory applied to the data.

3.11.1 Van Dijk's Socio-Cognitive Model

Whenever media and political discourses are studied, there are always several phenomena that play an essential role to analyse ideology. Thus professor Van Dijk who primarily deals with news in the press, knowledge and context, ideology and discursive racism, presented this theory of ideology which creates a relationship between the cognitive structures, that is, the only way through which the social structures and heterogeneous discourse structures are linked theoretically. Therefore, this approach supports to bring in the most widely used Van Dijk's Socio-cognitive Model (2006c) in media and political discourse. It is said that in the socio-cognitive model of Van Dijk emerging from the Ideological Square approach, has mainly two different levels of analysis which are the contextual analysis and the textual analysis. The research in hand had the objectives to explore the mechanism of discourse structures and linguistic features in sustaining the ideology. However, the model had been adapted on the contextual and textual level generally and specifically and further in meaning, form and action and not on interactional strategies such as cooperation and agreement keeping in mind the objectives of research and dynamics of the chosen data. The adapted model was named as "Socio-cognitive Model of Cognisance Reportage" to gratify the rudiments of the data of specific news and reporting style.

3.11.1.1 Contextual Analysis

In the field of sociolinguistics or critical discourse analysis, the importance of context to explain and interpret the daily life situation requires a refined clarification. According to Van Dijk (2007, p.283), "context obviously does matter", but the point is to what extent is there a contextual influence and to what extent should it be analysed. When the contextual analysis is referred to, there is indeed the subjective representation of events and historical references are used as a speaker represents a social group and

addresses himself as a social group member. The context model is biased ideologically as there is a subjective presentation of events that are communicative including the members as participants of a particular group or category. As this is done, there are two different groups formed through this analysis known as in-group and out-group and results into the concept of "Us" versus "Them" when presenting any context.

3.11.1.2 Textual Discourse Analysis

Textual analysis is one of the facets to explore Socio-cognitive Model. When talking about the generalised strategy of text discourse, the idea is how to positively present the actions of "Us", with regards to the negative presentation of "Their" actions. In the text discourse analysis, the emphasis is primarily on "Us" and "Them" underlined dichotomy, on the level of **meaning; form;** and **action** emphasising on the good things of "Us" against "Their" bad things and de-emphasizing on "Their" good things versus "Our" bad things.

1. Meaning

   Meaning is analysed on two levels. One is at macrostructure level, and the other is a locally created meaning within the text at microstructure level.

   a. Topics (semantic macrostructures): Change or select positive or negative topics about "Us" or "Them".

   b. Local meanings and coherence Positive or Negative Meanings for "Us" or "Them" are:

- Manifestation: Explicit versus Implicit

- Precision: Precise versus Vague

- Granularity: Detailed versus Rough,

- Level: General versus Specific,

- Modality: We/They, Must/Should,

- Evidentiality: 'We have the truth' versus 'They are misguided',

- Local coherence: Based on biased models within the text,

- Disclaimers (denying 'Our' bad things): `We are not racists, but...',

   c. Lexicon: Select positive or negative terms for "Us" or "Them" (e.g. `terrorist' versus `freedom fighter' and 'terrorism' versus 'freedom movement')

2 Form

   a. Syntax: (Deemphasise or emphasise positive or negative agency of "Us" or "Them".

- Passives versus active sentences (`USA invades Iran' versus 'Iran invaded by USA')

- Full clauses or propositions versus nominalisations (The *invasion* of Iran').

   b. Rhetorical structures: Emphasising or de-emphasising 'Our' or 'Their' Good or Bad things by:

Forms: Repetition

Meanings: alliteration, hyperboles, metonymies, metaphors, euphemisms, number games, irony, personification.

   3. Action

   a. Speech acts

Speech acts that presuppose 'Our' or 'Their' Good or Bad things: promises, accusations, etc.

3.11.2 Execution of the Analysis

Keeping in mind the diversity of the model and richness of sample, the researcher has chosen the layout for analysis part in chapter 4, which is straightforwardly executable and is even systematic. Since researcher has selected fifteen complete news stories from BBC, CNN, the Newsmax and not just a part of it, hence in order to do that researcher has divided the news into paragraphs and numbered those to execute the analysis precisely and closely at different levels keeping in mind the diversity of the model chosen. The model works at the contextual and textual level both. The textual level further works at the level of, meaning, form and action. Also, the chapter is divided into two parts, Analysis A and Analysis B for each sample to stand out.

The researcher has introduced the data set first (Paragraph wise) and then, analysed on different levels to keep each level relatable and make the complete ideological move understandable at varying levels of a para autonomously, at first stage and then move with analysis sequentially and uninterruptedly.

As the research is getting benefits from the model of Van Dijk and the study would revolve mainly around the Ideology of discourse with the core of the dichotomy

of "Us versus Them" between two ideologically formed social groups. There would be the use of the words "Us" and "Them" and to make it comprehensible, the researcher has used Us with first capitalised letter and enclosed in inverted commas, i.e. "Us"; and Them is be used likewise with first capitalised letter and enclosed in inverted commas, i.e. "Them". The researcher has deliberately used the word the United States and not the acronym US to avoid any confusion between the US and "Us". The dataset specifically taken from the sample are quoted in single inverted commas and the bold font to stand out of the rest of the text in the analysis.

3.12   The Rationale of the Methods

This study aims to analyse Western media discourse and its use of language to present Pakistan on the international forum. Different approaches were studied and made use of for the sake of finding research relevance and to achieve the research objectives. The rationale for using these methods is quite palpable: to evaluate truth and to analyse the ideological conflict between the intermediary of assertion and denial of BBC, CNN and the Maxnews.

It would not have been possible to provide detailed research with this discourse approach encompassing the socio-cognitive process in forming ideology without the analysis of text and discourse at different levels. The reasons for using the socio-cognitive model by Van Dijk is that it provides an in-depth analysis of the sample information with regards to social, historical, psychological and political aspects. In this research, the research method is operationalised emerging from the theoretical approach that helps to apply these tools to methods while making appropriate use of helping to interpret the results derived from the research questions. Not just this, but it also assisted to develop an extensive interpretation while investigating the problem and answering the research questions. The reason for selecting the complete news story /article and not just headlines or headings is because one cannot get a comprehensive ideological understanding underlying a discourse without analysing the complete news story. Micro context or immediate context is formed within the text which creates cohesive links operating in the text. It is not possible to analyses ideology and having a complete understanding of this construct without having insight into complete text and discourse. Headlines can be deceptive for the fact that they are specifically designed to catch the reader's attention. So if the text or discourse is analysed in isolation and not within that communicative situation (micro context), it might fail to achieve its full

purpose. Critical discourse analysis is a holistic tool of analysis, and it cannot take place in isolation. There has to be a context outside the text as well as within the specified text. Hence to get a complete ideological understanding a full story/article is chosen. The news schema is presented as well as identified certainly. The two different stories are analysed and presented in the news discourse independently. The integration of the several stories taking place in the same country was identified, and the situations were analysed more profoundly. The effect of communication through the language being used in it is evaluated through different contextual features, and the news is evaluated depending on the ideological background and the discourse of a particular situation that is a war on terrorism. The actual image of the Western Media was demonstrated on the socio-cognitive level as well as the expression of speech, and its underlying meanings is asserted so that the underlined meaning could be depicted in a better and more profound manner. Different aspects of the news discourse and the difference it makes in the lives of the individuals were accomplished by relevant news structure including the corresponding layout, enhancing different news features.

For delimiting the samples from the year 2009 to 2010 for this thesis embeds a significant reason. The year 2009 was the most significant year and hence carries a considerable reason to be selected for analysis in terms of following. The year 2009 was the most significant year and hence carries a huge reason to be selected for analysis. The year holds a sharp increase in inflation followed by exceeding foreign loan; maximum number of forces ever deployed on Pak-Afghan border; 89% of military operations were conducted since 2001; 2,586 terrorists, insurgent and sectarian incidents were informed that killed 3,021 people and injured 7,334 (Khan, 2012; Wasim, 2010; Amir, 2009). Therefore on the basis of the stated reason, the year 2009 and 2010 bring about the substantial reasons that should be analysed, that having contributed largely to this war on terrorism; and having suffered a whole heap from the war on terrorism, what is the stance of the Western media and how does it reflect its ideology either positive or negative about Pakistan.

3.13   Ethical Issues in Collecting Secondary Data

Secondary research analysis is one of the most common practices considered to have comparatively lesser ethical challenges than the primary data collection and analysis. However, with the given seriousness, the researcher of a study should be contributing towards genuine knowledge as the secondary data cannot materialise

without adhering to the ethical standards and rules (Cowton, 1998). Since it is an online news and available to the readers worldwide to read, the researcher has had the leverage to collect this data and analyse because it was already available online and published. However, the researcher has only used the data for analysis purposes for this thesis.

3.14 Research Limitations

Whenever secondary data is taken as a research tool, there is always some vagueness and ambiguities present in data collection. Secondly, there are specific factors that limit the undermining of research value that is the inability to control the available data along with the quality of data. As this study involves studying the controversial issues, there are some ethical considerations that are also required and needed to be taken care of. In addition, when the secondary data is studied, and the results are interpreted, there are some issues of availability. Whatever is available out there is considered the whole of it. The researcher intends to highlight the ideology of the Western media and its available online news and the ideology embedded in its discourse creates a specific impression and repute about Pakistan. The key information (like topics, local meanings, syntax, rhetorical structures, presupposition) for each dataset is coded and presented methodically in a table form in annexure to allow an enhanced overview of the ideological nature of the discourse in each article at a glance, however these elements separately or independently are not sufficed to give a complete ideology drawn out of the text or discourse. In order to draw comprehensive ideology, it is, therefore, crucial to examine these elements with the proper context within the text and their position in discourse.

3.15 Important Terms

Following are the definitions of important terms used in the analysis.

3.15.1 Evidentiality

Evidentiality is primarily an "epistemic modality" connoting the assessment of a speaker's evidence regarding the statement that he or she gives. Evidential is the word from which Evidentiality is derived. Evidential refers to form which includes verbal affix, which is the grammatical expression of Evidentiality.

There are four means in which a speaker can imply that what he is saying is not based on facts but: 1- he is guessing or speculating about it ; 2- he is confirming it as

a deduction ; 3- he has been informed or told about it ; (iv) it is a matter of appearance, and it is based on the evidence of (may or may not be fallible)

Evidentiality can be divided into two main categories: direct evidentiality means that the speaker has directly seen or observed and witnessed the action, and indirect evidentiality, shows that the speaker has no straight evidence for his statement, but has other sources as a reason to make the statements (Palmer, 1986).

3.15.2 Granularity

Granularity refers to the condition of being granular while in the technical term it refers to the scale of detail in the data set. In this study, granularity refers to the perspective when there is a need to understand the text and creating perceptions while reading. It can be said that a granularity structure be present only if different or at least two levels of information are existing in text, in a way that the sentence at the coarse granularity can be decomposed into the sentence events at the fine granularity, and the sentence at the fine granularity combine to form at least one segment of the sentence at the coarse granularity. Here coarse means ambiguous "not very clear" sentence/part to be described as an individual granule.

After describing granularity overall, it is important to define two types of granularity.

3.15.2.1 Part-Whole Relations

The part-whole relation describes that if X is part of Y, and Y is part of Z, then Z is part of X too.

3.15.2.2 Causal Relations

Causation in linguistics and specifically computational linguistics is the only form of causality that is relevant for granularity extraction and identification. The following are the types of causal constructs significant for granularity identification and extraction:

Causal Connectives: These connectives are mostly prepositional (like because of, due to thanks to); adverbial (like the result that, for this reason), or clause links (like since, because, for).

Causation Verbs: This type has a causal relation unified with the verb. For example, melt, kill, (represent a causal connection with the final or resulting situation),

poison, hang, clean (represent a causal link with the part of the causing event)

Conditionals: This describes conditionals as linguistic structures typically of the form If X then Y. These structures represent temporal relations, causation, among other relations (Mehta, Hobbs and Hovy, 2011).

3.15.3 Presupposition

Presupposition in linguistics refers to the implicit assumptions about background belief about the world that relate to uttering a truth that in discourse is taken for granted. A presupposition is triggered by a lexical item or linguistic construction which is liable for the presupposition (Kadmon, 2001).

Following is the list of presuppositional triggers by Levinson from the book on Pragmatics (1983).

- Definite description

- Factive verb

- Implicative verbs

- Change of state of verbs

- Iterative and adverb of frequency /frequentative (to come back; no longer; another time; for the nth time; restore; repeat; more)

- Temporal clause

- Cleft sentences

- Comparisons and contrasts

- Counterfactual conditionals

- Questions

- Possessive case

3.15.4 Nominalisation

Nominalisation is word formation in which an adjective or a verb (or any other part of speech) is transformed or used as a noun. It is also called nouning.

In transformational-generative grammar, the nominalisation refers to the derivation of a noun phrase from an underlying clause (Leech, 2006).

Nominalisation can weaken the vigour of one's speech. It can also make the context passive or even eliminate context and conceal any sense of agency. Not only this but also it makes something that is vague or ambiguous or uncertain seem stable automated and precisely and intricately defined. Nominalisation gives primacy to actions rather than to people who are responsible for those actions. This makes it appropriate because we do not know who is responsible or because responsibility is not highlighted, relevant or not given any importance to. Mainly and often nominalisation conceals power relationships and reduces the sense of what is and who is genuinely involved in a matter. It is there an instrument of manipulation, in politics and business. It gives a sense of emphasising on products and results, rather than the course of action, procedure and processes by which results are achieved (Hitching, 2013).

3.15.5 Local Coherence

Local coherence is a strategy to form meaning connections between consecutive sentences in a text or between elements-phrases or clauses- of the sentence. These strategies require guidance and limits from the universal perspective to relate to the discourse as a whole to get through gaps and create a logical sense (Beaugrande, 1991). It operates as "bottom-up" with words and phrases and also "top-down" with macro proposition overall schema, frame and script. Local strategies control specific meaning by looking forward to meanings to be established and understood completely, or "backwards" for meaning only partially interpreted. It shows that the reader operates a top-down strategy for interpreting which creates expectations about what is likely to come in the incoming text. It is the foretelling power of top-down processing that facilitates the reader come across, via, his bottom-up processing, miss-spelt or ungrammatical structures in the text and to find out what was the most probable intended meaning. (Brown and Yule, 1983, p.235)

3.15.6 Modality

Modality is a grammatical expression of the subjective assertiveness and opinions of the subject or speaker including obligation, permissibility, possibility, probability, ability, desire, necessity, and contingency/likelihood.

Since it is semantic-grammatical category relating to the status of the proposition that defines the event expressed by an expression or statement, modality can also be construed as the connection of the validity of sentence meanings to a

combination of ways in which people may conceive the world to be different. In other words, modality lets language users direct what is, what may be, what would be, and what should be (Bybee et al., 1994).

All languages express modality through either grammatical mood or modal systems and at times both. The English language also states modality through modal verbs and grammatical mood.

The main verbs used to express modal meanings are the following:

- Core modal verbs: may, might, can, could, will, shall, must would, should,

- Semi-modals: ought to, used to, dare, need,

- Verbs with modal meanings: have to, be able to, and be going to.

3.15.7 Rhetorical Implicature

"Implicature" means either the associating of meaning or implying one thing by saying something else, or the object of that act of associating meaning. Implicatures can be any part of sentence meaning or depending on discourse context and can be conventional (in many senses) or unconventional, figures of speech for instance metaphor, irony, and understatement provide the examples. Implicature has a variety of goals: maintaining good social relations, misleading without lying, style, and verbal efficiency (Meibauer, 2006).

CHAPTER 4

ANALYSIS

A particular knowledge that a social group has is knowledge for them, but it is a prejudiced belief for another social group. Hence the knowledge is ideological and biased, either negative or positive. However, not all the knowledge is ideological according to Van Dijk (2006b). So if a social group claims to "know" something or some facts or information based on those facts that are surely ideological. The knowledge or information that refers to the context which is used in a news discourse is also ideological. Context not only explains what people say but how they say it. Context is a mental construct, and they do control or at least influence text. Mental models signify people's experiences in the past, and their episodic memory (long-term memory). So the mental model of news represents past experiences of newsmaker and the way they take that event or issue. These models are subjective, and somewhat biased presentations of 'reality', and may also depict evaluations of events, different situations and issues (opinions), as well as emotions associated with such events as with war on terrorism – as is normally the case by the dramatic, traumatic or dramatic events of our lives. (Van Dijk, 2009a)

The discourse is not always transparent in terms of ideology, and discourse analysis does not always let us deduce what people's ideological beliefs are. This depends on the definition of the communicative situation or an event by the participants (hence newsmaker), that is, in context. (Van Dijk, 2006b).

In a book titled 'News as Discourse' by Van Dijk, he explains that the major goal of discourse analysis is to depict explicit and systematic, descriptions of components of language use that is called discourse. Such an explanation or description has two main dimensions, which is simply called textual and contextual. Textual dimensions comprise the structures of discourse at different levels of description. Contextual dimensions relate these structural descriptions to various properties of the context, such as cognitive processes and presentations or sociocultural factors (Van Dijk, 1988). Hence without looking into the properties of

context -one of which is a presentation of the events and sociocultural factors- it is unlikely to achieve a full-fledged contextual analysis and linking that with the structure of discourse for textual analysis. When the contextual analysis takes place, it is only possible when historical facts and information is analysed simultaneously along with the text. To contextually analyse the text, the researcher has selected all the historical references from the news discourse and looked into the ideology of the text and discourse through the lenses of these references. Moreover, without explaining them and getting to know them the contextual analysis is not possible. It is to be clear here that the researcher is however not interested in these events outside this text that Western media has used but these are ONLY important as critical discourse analysis is holistic and all the information that is presented has to be looked into deeply to understand the whole text and discourse and contextual analysis is one of the segments in it. For the presentation of events and socio-cultural factors, it is important to explain the events which have been referred to, in the news from the ideological perspective of the underlying dichotomy of "Us" vs 'Them 'and "in group" and "out-group" notion. Hence, the researcher is deeply looking into the events which have been referred to, in the news to contextually analyse the subjective representation of the referred events in news where the newsmaker that produces the news as a member of an ideologically attached social group or as group member; and portraying ideologically "not so neutral" context models and subjective representations of communicated events and its participants that is Pakistan as members of categories or groups. The researcher in this section will analyse that whether and how Western media has created a dichotomy or binary with Pakistan and is depicting a certain ideology.

Since the year 2001 and the incident of 9/11, the Western region has been fighting "war on terrorism" to invade Iraq and make war in Afghanistan. It has been a devastating and clear intention of the United States to become a political player taking over Afghanistan. The terrorism and the religious extremism has been seen growing strong in Afghanistan, Pakistan and other central Asian states throughout this time, causing instability in Pakistan. However, Pakistan has been an ally of the United States for fighting a global war against terrorism, but it was not much acknowledged.

4.1　CNN News Analysis

The news stories are divided into paragraphs and assigned numbers sequentially to execute the analysis precisely and closely at different levels keeping in

mind the diversity of the model chosen. The model works at the contextual and textual level both simultaneously. The textual level further works at the level of, meaning, form and action. In the chapter, the dataset is introduced first (Paragraph wise) and then, analysed on different levels to keep each level relatable and make the complete ideological move understandable and intact at varying levels of a para autonomously, at first stage and then move with analysis sequentially and uninterruptedly.

4.1.1 CNN News 1

4.1.1.1 Context and Background of the News

The news is about the United States the then vice president Biden who assures to support Pakistan on few conditions and suspecting that Pakistan uses the aid against India by referring to the Mumbai terrorist attacks took place in the year 2008. Since Pakistan and the terrorists prevailing in Pakistan were held responsible for this massacre, there was a serious issue rising between both the countries. The entire media around the world accused those ten terrorists to be Pakistani which led down Pakistan as a nation. This attack has left a serious impact on the people of India about the people of Pakistan. There were multiple attacks that were coordinated across Mumbai which is the financial capital of the country and is the largest city (Obama, 2009). There were ten gunmen held responsible for the attack and all the news channels said that they had come through a boat from Pakistan that landed in Mumbai Harbor when they then spilt in pairs to spread out throughout the city. It is said that these terrorists belonged to the Jihadist group that is known as Lashkar-e-Taiba which means "army of the pure". Even though these terrorists were said to be Muslims, there were several Muslims who had become a victim of these attacks. There was a casualty of around 172 people including the local Mumbaikars as well as the visitors that came from around the world and were staying in the beautiful Taj hotel and other places. The evidence from the Mumbai attack suggests that the attacks were not sudden but were preplanned as it was noticed that the terrorists had perfectly known the back hallways and the hidden doors of the Taj hotel (Rabasa, 2009). This was not possible without the help of the locals living in Mumbai which clearly means that it was the plan of the Indian locals. Even though Pakistan clearly stated that they were standing with the Indians to fight against the terrorists, the Indian government was not satisfied with this response, thus issued a 69 pages report that detailed the linkages between Pakistan and the Mumbai attackers. The report was also issued to Pakistan as they had demanded the evidence of their

involvement. However, the report was seen to be quiet diplomatic, which persuaded the international company to force Pakistan to accept their involvement and shut down the Jaish-e-Muhammad or LeT which were said to be the terrorist groups (O'Rourke, 2010). Pakistan itself is fighting against terrorism, and there have been increased pressures from the international community and India both. The increase in the consequences on the Pakistani society was said to have directly associated to the extent of accusations laid on them. There is an increase in the pressure which is selective to only the intelligence and the military agencies that contribute to destabilising the fragile civil government. As the target in India was all the high profile locations, it indicated that the terrorists aimed to weaken their trust in the security system of the country on the national level. This was a major connection that India did with the terrorists and Pakistan as if the nationalists would lose their trust in the security would benefit Pakistan directly and indirectly (Rabasa, 2009). The Mumbai attacks are just one incident there are many others that could be mentioned to prove that India plays a significant role in the economic destabilisation of Pakistan rather than Pakistan using the aid to destabilise India or against India(Kaplan, 2009). Also, there is no sign that Pakistan spends the United States' aid against India. Here it is also worth mentioning the fact that the attempts made by India to undermine the stability of Pakistan had been innumerable. For instance, they breached the Indus treaty along with the promise of building dams just so that Pakistan is deprived of water (Lieven, 2002).

4.1.1.2 Text and Discourse

4.1.1.2.1　　　　Meaning

4.1.1.2.1.a　　　Semantic Macrostructure (Topic)

Biden assures Pakistan of support against terrorism (headline)

The purpose of the headline is to quickly and briefly draw the attention to the story focusing on the specific theme and shaping up the ideology of the consumers before they go through the whole text. The headline is in active voice form with 'Biden' that is a metonymy for the United States is subject and the 'support' is a positive word directly linked with the subject of the sentence that is Biden who was then vice president of the United States. At the same, the word terrorism is associated with Pakistan in the sentence. The headline has enticed and engaged the audience to believe the positive gesture of the United States to back, endorse, assist or aide Pakistan whereas Pakistan to be the vulnerable, endangered and unsafe place which is unable to counter the

terrorism without the help of the United States.

4.1.1.2.1.b   Semantic Microstructure

Vice President-elect Joe Biden assured Pakistani President Asif Ali Zardari on Friday that the incoming Obama administration will continue to support Pakistan's efforts to strengthen democracy and combat terrorism, according to Pakistan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs. (Para 1)

Lexicon

The use of certain lexical items are intentional and at times spontaneous in accordance with the underlying mental model. However, in any case, the use of the specific lexicon or adjectives with the Biden like 'assured' which show self-possessed, established, and reliable and dependable traits for the Vice President and hence the United States. Whereas Mr Zardari or Pakistan is dependent on the United States. These lexical items show a positive trait for the United States and CNN seems to have built an "in group" with the United States by using these lexical items not only in the headline but also in the main text or news and the beginning of the news.

Action

Speech acts

The beginning of the news also has presupposition triggered by the aspectual verb 'continue' in the proclamation that Obama administration 'will continue to support Pakistan's efforts' in combating terrorism and strengthening democracy. The CNN presupposes that the other administration had been supporting Pakistan previously and the Obama administration will also 'continue' to do that. The presupposition reinforces the impact of positive semantic choices for the United States. At the same time there is accusative presupposition triggered by factives 'to strengthen democracy and combat terrorism' in saying that the United States had been and will also continue to do the same in strengthening and combating terrorism as Pakistan has not been successful in either firming up democracy or combating terrorism without the help of the United States. Hence a positive supportive, dependable "Us" and dependent and controlled "Them" is seen in the ideological demonstration of CNN through its discourse.

Biden told Zardari that the new U.S. administration would also help Pakistan "meet its socio-economic requirements and capacity building," the ministry said in a written statement. (Para 2)

Lexicon

The semantic choices like 'help' with the United States' administration, appears to be a deliberate choice for "Us". The repeated use of such lexical item reinforces the positive impact of the United States as a helpmate, collaborator and aide. These semantic choices make the news consumer believe that The United States is in a powerful position to 'help' Pakistan build its socio-economic and capacity building requirement which, Pakistan is not able to meet otherwise.

The vice president-elect "assured the Pakistani leadership" of the United States' "continued assistance to Pakistan," the statement said. No additional details were provided. (Para 3)

Local Meaning and Coherence

The para 3 of CNN news also continues to showcase "Our good" with two instances of the indirect evidentiality that are '"assured the Pakistani leadership"' '" continued assistance to Pakistan,"'. Both the quotatives suggest that the CNN does not have direct evidence though, however providing the evidence as a direct quotation. This infers that the vice president has assured leadership in Pakistan and depicts a positive, assertive and self-reliant attitude of the United States. The second quotative puts forward that the United States had been assisting Pakistan and will continue to do so. The CNN showed Pakistan relying on and needing assistance from the United States- a dependent "Them" and a positive, self-reliant "Us".

Form

Rhetorical Structures

There is a repetition of the point in this para that the United States 'continued' to assist or help Pakistan. The rhetorical implicature of repetition of emphasises, highlight and draw attention to the details of that action. The 'continued' help emphasised that the United States was and is still very helpful for Pakistan.

Action

Speech acts

The quotation '" continued assistance"' possess a presupposition triggered by the aspectual verb 'continued' with assistance. The presupposed repetition reinforces that the United Stated had been assisting Pakistan and is still doing.

The United States has provided Pakistan with billions of dollars in aid for those counterterrorism activities. Last year, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee passed a bill authorising $7.5 billion in non-military aid over the next five years. (Para 7)

Local Meaning and Coherence:

There is a context created within the news, and that has been brought forward and warped to enhance the information that the United States has provided billion dollar aid to counter terrorism which implies that Pakistan needs billion dollars of aid to meet its counterterrorism wage. The context has been recreated and brought forward to glorify the United States' act of providing 'billion dollars in aid'.

Lexicon:

The semantic choices like 'provided' with the United States make it appear glorified and idealised. The use of positive semantic choices depicts a positive "Us" who is at a giving end.

Form

Rhetorical Structures

In order to appear more persuasive, the CNN has employed number game by stating exact numbers to overstate the 'aid' provided by the United States. The expressions like 'billions of dollars in aid', '$7.5 billion in non-military aid' and that for next 'five years' not only provide exact numbers to make the facts more concrete but also builds up and inflate the act of providing aid. This implies intervention, cooperation and collaboration of the United States and dependency of Pakistan on the United States to counter terrorism in Pakistan.

The measure is sponsored by committee chairman Biden and the ranking Republican on the panel, Sen. Richard Lugar of Indiana. It would provide money for developments such as schools, roads and medical clinics, and it conditions security aid on State Department certification that Pakistan is making efforts against the Taliban and al Qaeda. The bill has not come before the full Senate. (Para 8)

Local Meaning and Coherence

The CNN puts detailed precision of the fact that the bill or the aid package would provide money for the development that includes roads, schools, and medical clinics. The precise information not only provides a precise detail of the breakdown of

the aid package but also illustrates Pakistan's dependency on the United States for the improvement and development in physical and organisational structures like schools and medical clinics but also in infrastructures like roads and transportation facilities. It plays up the point that Pakistan lags behind in education, health facilities and infrastructures. The CNN shows Pakistan's reliance on the United States at the same time adoring the help and assistance of the United States.

November's attacks in Mumbai, India, fueled tensions between Pakistan and India, longtime rivals that have fought three wars since independence and conducted tit-for-tat nuclear weapons tests in 1998. (Para 10)

Local Meaning and Coherence

The para 10 reflects detailed 'longtime' rivalry between India and Pakistan provided with the precision of the details. The CNN first brings in the discussion about Mumbai attacks and then gives precise details about the past relationship details of the 'longtime rivals' India and Pakistan. The CNN demonstrates with a precision that one, India and Pakistan are longtime rivals; second Pakistan had fought three wars with India, and third Pakistan conducted nuclear weapon test in 1998 for equivalent retaliation or 'tit-for-tat'. The detailed precision of Indo-Pak relationship highlights the longtime rivalry with India and Pakistan's involvement in the war with its neighbour. What it also builds up magnifies Pakistan's 'nuclear weapons tests in 1998' in retaliation of India's nuclear weapon test. The precise details overplay Pakistan's relationship with its immediate neighbours, the military onus to have fought three major wars and carrying our nuclear weapon test in retaliation of India nuclear weapon test. Hence complete detrimental, prejudicial and also pregnable Pakistan or "Them" has been shown.

Form

Syntax

The nominalisation of the Mumbai attacks with specification 'November's attacks in Mumbai' instead of "The attacks in November", shows more reporting and coverage given to the attacks by making it look more accurately defined. The nominalisation along with all precise details dramatise and lay it on thick and causing to fuel up the tension between India and Pakistan.

Rhetorical Structures

The numeric 'three wars' with India since Pakistan got independence, is a rhetoric device to use number game in order to overemphasise the wars that were imposed on Pakistan by India or vice versa. This exaggeration shows a military onus and pregnablity of Pakistan and Pakistan army to be in a vulnerable state of war most of the time since independence.

India has said Islamic militants trained in Pakistan were behind the three-day siege of India's financial capital. Pakistani officials have promised to cooperate with the investigation but have insisted that India show it the evidence supporting its case. (Para 11)

Lexicon:

The use of the adjective 'Islamic' in lexicons 'Islamic militant' is ideological and depicts a negative ideology either deliberate or spontaneous that the CNN possess while reporting about Pakistan. Islam is the state religion of Pakistan. The people or the followers have a sensitive and emotional relationship with their religion. However, associating the religion in general or Islam in specific with the militancy or terrorism provokes the emotional resentment amongst the Muslim. The allegation of militancy and associating that with Islam which is the state religion and religion of 95% of the total population of Pakistan, and training in Pakistan is ideological and explicit manifestation against Pakistan and Islam.

4.1.1.3 Overall Analysis of the News 1

The news starts with positive verbs 'assure' associated with the United States and, framing a positive stance for "Us" and Pakistan being vulnerable and pregnable to fight against terrorism. The assistance, help and aid of the United States are depicted with precise details and the breakdown of its consumption in education, health and infrastructures as for developments such as 'schools, roads and medical clinics'. On the level of meaning also predict the precise details of Pakistan vulnerability and pregnability in having 'longtime' rivalry and having fought 'three wars' with India. The lexical choices and indirect evidentialities suggest the United States the ally who help, assist and reinforces in terms of financial aid packages to counter terrorism in Pakistan.

The form of the news highlight incident of Mumbai attacks and how it has fueled tension between India and Pakistan. At the same, the rhetorical implicatures have been used in a way to repeat the act of 'continued assistance' and quantifying and

overplaying the expanse of aid packages that are 'billions of dollars', '$7.5 billion in non-military aid', that for 'five years'.

The news has the CNN presupposed the proclamation that the United States had been assisting Pakistan and the accusative presupposition that Pakistan has not been that successful in strengthening its democracy and combating terrorism. The news overall rotates around "Our good" and "Their bad" in terms of "Our" assistance help and "Their" vulnerability and pregnability in war, getting aid for health, education and infrastructure and dependency on the United States to meet its socio-economic requirements.

Table i
CNN News 1

Meaning – CNN News 1

			US (Our Good)	THEM (Their Bad)
Selection of topic	**Positive**		Biden assures Pakistan of support against terrorism (headline)	
	Negative			Biden assures Pakistan of support against terrorism (headline)
Local Meaning and Coherence	**Precision**	**Precise**	It would provide money for developments such as schools, roads and medical clinics (8)	It would provide money for developments such as schools, roads and medical clinics (8) November's attacks in Mumbai, India, fueled tensions between Pakistan and India, longtime rivals that have fought three wars since independence and conducted tit-for-tat nuclear weapons tests in 1998.(10)
		Vague		
	Evidentiality	**We have truth**	The vice president-elect "assured the Pakistani leadership" of the United States' "continued assistance to Pakistan," (3)	
		They are misguided		
	Local coherence	**Biased models**	The United States has provided Pakistan with billions of dollars in aid for those counterterrorism activities(7)	
Lexicon		**Positive**	assured (1) provided (7)	
		Negative		

Form – CNN News 1

		US (Our Good)	THEM (Their Bad)
Syntax	**Proposition clause**		
	Nominalisation clause		November's attacks in Mumbai, India, fueled tensions between Pakistan and India (10)
Rhetorical Structures	**Number game**	billions of dollars, $7.5 billion in non-military aid, five years (7)	
	Repetition	'will continue to support' and '"continued assistance"'(1) (3)	

Action – CNN News 1

		US (Our Good)	THEM (Their Bad)
Speech acts (Presupposition)	**Promises**	will continue to support (1);	
	Accusations		Pakistan's efforts to strengthen democracy and combat terrorism(1);

4.1.2 CNN News 2

4.1.2.1 Context and Background of the News

The news is about the then president Musharraf's statement that Pakistan is 'treated unequally' in the war against terrorism. This is the fact universally known that Pakistan has contributed a lot in the global war against terrorism. One, there were more than 140,000 Pakistani forces were deployed on Pakistan Afghanistan border, which is the maximum number of forces ever deployed since 2001 (Khan, 2012). Second, 89% of all the operations since 2001, was conducted in the year 2007-09 and mainly in the year 2009 either major or minor operations (Khan, 2012). Third, according to "Pakistan Security Report 2009" by PIPS published in the 2009, 2,586 terrorists, insurgent and sectarian incidents were informed that killed 3,021 people and injured 7,334 (Wasim, 2010). Fourthly, according to Pakistan Institute of Peace Studies, there were more than 3500 of causalities faced by Pakistan armed forces in the year 2009 which is the largest number of causalities since 2001 (Amir, 2009). Fifth, according to State bank of Pakistan even though foreign reserves increased noticeably from $10.83 billion in the year 2007-08 to $14.75 billion in October 2009, however, inflation increased 21 % in the year 2008- 09 from 10.3 % in the year 2007-08. The sharp increase in foreign reserves is mostly due to the IMF-approved loan of $11.3 billion (November 2008), with a total of the foreign loan exceeding as much as $50 billion (Khan, 2012). The facts also show that Pakistanis faced the consequences of the war, yet they had to face drone attacks which caused a lot of civilian casualties.

4.1.2.1 Text and Discourse

4.1.2.1.1   Meaning

4.1.2.2.1.a Semantic Macrostructure (Topic)

Musharraf: Pakistan 'treated unequally' in war on terror (headline)

The headline of the news is a statement by the then President of Pakistan Gen. Parvaiz Musharaf. The general pattern of the headline is a statement most of the time, and that is persuasive attractive and catchy with an assertion of an opinion to persuade and frame the theme of the news. On the contrary, this news has a little unusual and infrequent style of headline. The headline is in the form of the dialogue, and the addresser is introduced at first before the whole statement goes out. By doing so, the CNN detaches itself from the statement by issuing a disclaimer by first introducing the

addresser that is 'Musharraf', and detaching and disconnecting itself from the statement. Moreover, the statement says that Pakistan is being ''treated unequally'' in the war against terrorism. It declares Pakistan being victimised but the CNN shows complete detachment and disconnection with the statement by one, introducing the addresser and second, using quotative ''treated unequally''. In spite, the CNN has disconnected and detached itself from this statement or the opinion yet it has kept it in passive voice form without the agency of the act ''treated unequally''. The statement by President Musharaf hints the unequal treatment by West and the United States, but the CNN has camouflaged the agency by using passive voice. There is a manifestation that Pakistan is not treated equally in the war on terrorism, but the manifestation is implicit due to the CNN, detaching itself from the statement. In the headline, the CNN has built up and ideological "out-group" for Pakistan and seems to have an ideological inclination with West and the United States.

4.1.2.2.1.b Semantic Macrostructure

The interview took place amid reports Friday of U.S. drones striking militant targets in Pakistan just days after the start of the Obama administration -- which has made combating al Qaeda and Taliban militants in the Pakistan tribal region near Afghanistan its most immediate national security priority. (Para 2)

Local Meaning and Coherence

There is a detailed granularity explaining about the interview of the President Musharaf and under what circumstances the president gave the statements and building up the scenario and local context of the news. At the beginning of the news story, the CNN exhibits the major concerns from President Musharaf's concern on Pakistan being treated unequally and claiming that it hurts Pakistan, its leadership and its government. The same has been brought forward in para 2. The local context is created and warped by bringing on the discussion about 'drones striking militant targets in Pakistan'. The news starts with the headline about President Musharraf's stance, however by bringing on the discussion about militants in Pakistan and 'U.S. drones striking militant targets', the CNN not only twists the situation but create the local context where it justifies the act of being ''treated unequally''. The detailed granularity about the drone attacks as in 'U.S. drones striking militant targets in Pakistan'; the Obama administration has 'made combating al Qaeda and Taliban militants' traced in the tribal region Pakistan near

Afghanistan. The detailed granularity of the traces of militants and al Qaida Taliban militants' in Pakistan link it with President Musharaf's grievance of treating Pakistan unequally. The detailed granularity gives a rationale and justification of the drone attacks in response to President Musharaf's grievance. If "They" make a complaint about X, X is because of Y and Y is hazardous, so Y is justified.

Musharraf emphasized that for 42 years, up until 1989, Pakistan had been a "strategic partner" of the United States. However, many Pakistanis felt abandoned by the United States after the Russians pulled out of Afghanistan. Musharraf said the 1989 "peace dividend" went to Europe -- East Europe. Pakistan was "left alone" from 1989 to 2001, and during that period, the militant Taliban movement took control of Afghanistan. "What did Pakistan get out of fighting for 10 years with you? Nothing, sir," he said, explaining why public opinion in Pakistan has been "so much against the United States." (Para 6)

Action

Speech acts

There is an accusative presupposition triggered by the focus "" so much against"' in saying that public opinion in Pakistan is "so much against the United States." .Pakistan had been fighting to wipe out terrorism and has lost many lives of soldiers and officers because of these fights, and yet the efforts have never been acknowledged positively. There is presupped accusation besides the fact that Pakistan has provided its land, ISI, and major air bases to fight against terrorism in Afghanistan. The drone attacks have killed several unarmed civilians too. The overall scenario of killing the innocents and not acknowledging Pakistan's efforts in the war against terrorism hurt people of Pakistan, leadership and government and CNN presupposed and accused Pakistani public of having "so much against the United States.". The presupposition and concealing the actual reason shows CNN's ideological "in group" with the West and the United States in particular. Hence the presupposed accusation is in accordance with the underlying mental model of the CNN leading to the negative representation of "Them" that is Pakistan.

Musharraf, once Pakistan's army chief, resigned under intense political pressure in August as the ruling coalition began taking steps to impeach him. He swept to power in 1999 in a bloodless coup. (Para 8)

Local Meaning and Coherence

The para has detailed precision about President Musharaf's tenure in the government as president, how he took over the government and how he had to resign from the government. The step by step precise details about President Musharaf include one, 'once Pakistan's army chief'; second, that he 'swept to power in 1999' in a bloodless coup; third, 'resigned under intense political pressure'; fourth, 'ruling coalition began taking steps to impeach him'. All the step by step information reflect army chief is taking over the government in 'coup' directing towards martial law; he faced strong political pressure directing towards political instability and chaos in Pakistan; he was guilty and being impeached by the ruling coalition. All the details, directly and indirectly, refer to and reflect the imposition of military, invasion, major disaster, the inefficiency of civil, political government. All these details picture a negative image of Pakistan. These contextual references are deliberate and biased models which are ideological and show negative "Them".

Lexicon

The semantic choices like 'intense', 'pressure', and 'bloodless coup' with Pakistan and its political condition, show chaos, violence and illegal seizure in Pakistan. These semantic choices are deliberate in agreement with underlying mental models for Pakistan to show a chaotic and negative image of "Them".

4.1.2.2 Overall Analysis of the News 2

The CNN news 2 opens up with the headline in a dialogue form by President Musharaf. Right from the beginning the CNN detaches itself and disclaims the statement in the headline by using quotative. The headline states that according to President Musharaf Pakistan is being 'treated unequally'. In the news, the CNN seems to justify the act and shedding more light on the presence of Taliban and al Qaida militants in the tribal area of Pakistan by providing the precise details and warping the context to create a local context.

There are presupposed accusation about anti-Americanism in Pakistan due to the attacks and marginalising the fact that Pakistan provided full military and intelligence support to combat terrorism and proved to be the most helpful ally to the United States. The semantic choices rather built up and magnified the chaotic political situation in Pakistan to camouflage the unequal treatment with Pakistan in the war

against terrorism and justifying the act of unequal treatment by the West.

Table ii
CNN News 2

Meaning – CNN News 2

			US (Our Good)	THEM (Their Bad)
Selection of topic	**Positive**		Musharraf: Pakistan 'treated unequally' in war on terror (headline)	
	Negative			
Local Meaning Coherence	**Precision**	**Precise**		Musharraf, once Pakistan's army chief, resigned under intense political pressure in August as the ruling coalition began taking steps to impeach him. He swept to power in 1999 in a bloodless coup (8)
		Vague		
	Granularity	**Detailed**	The interview took place amid … U.S. drones striking militant targets in Pakistan … which has made combating al Qaeda and Taliban militants in the Pakistan tribal region near Afghanistan its most immediate national security priority (2)	The interview took place amid … U.S. drones striking militant targets in Pakistan … which has made combating al Qaeda and Taliban militants in the Pakistan tribal region near Afghanistan its most immediate national security priority (2)
		Rough		
	Local coherence	**Biased models**		The interview took place amid … U.S. drones striking militant targets in Pakistan … which has made combating al Qaeda and Taliban militants in the Pakistan tribal region near Afghanistan its most immediate national security priority (2)
Lexicon		**Positive**		
		Negative		intense political pressure , bloodless coup (8)

Action – CNN News 2

		US (Our Good)	THEM (Their Bad)
Speech acts (Presupposition)	**Promises**		
	Accusations		…explaining why public opinion in Pakistan has been "so much against the United States." (6)

4.1.3   CNN News 3

4.1.3.1 Context and Background of the News

The news is about the Bush legacy of drone attacks carried forward by the Obama administration. The last thing the administration of Obama wanted to do was to continue with the legacy of Bush. Their administration confronted with their deal to prove the people of the United States and also to the people of Pakistan and Afghanistan that they were working differently and in favour of all the people. Although people of Pakistan had doubts regarding the actions of the United States, they related Americans with supporting the military rule by giving billions of dollars in their interest (Fair, Littman, Malhotra & Shapiro, 2013). The drone attacks, however, killed more than 30 of the noncombatant's civilians which definitely not in favour of Pakistan.

4.1.3.1 Text and Discourse

4.1.3.1.1   Meaning

4.1.3.2.2 .a Semantic Macrostructure (Topic)

Pakistan drone strategy originated with Bush, official says. (Headline)

The headline of the news has a noun clause in the subject position of the active voice sentence. The noun clause sums up about the drone attacks in Pakistan by the United States as a strategy to target militants in the tribal area of Pakistan along the Afghanistan borders. The drone attacks in Pakistan is quite a sensitive issue in the world overall and specifically Pakistan. For Pakistan and the people in Pakistan, they want to get rid of the terrorism, but they are paying an extra cost to it besides working efficiently to combat terrorism, Pakistan is fighting the United States' war. Several unarmed civilians in Pakistan have lost their lives due to these attacks. For the rest of the world, the drone attacks are taken differently. From the other perspective, it appears that the United States is fighting Pakistan's war to eradicate militants from Pakistan's land. For the world it may seem, Pakistan lacks strategic and military skills to combat militants in tribal areas and across the borders and depends on the United States. The display of this sensitive issue in the headline with a noun clause makes it bulging, and when on the one hand it is a sensitive issue for Pakistan, the world would decode it according to their underlying mental model and knowledge of the context. The CNN then relates the drone issue with the Bush government and the policy as old as the previous Bush government. There is an ideological disposition to validate and legitimate that the drone

attacks by displaying that they are not new, they have been happening in the past as well. The headline overall sketches the illustration that 'drone strategy' for Pakistan is something that is planned long ago in Bush's administration and hence as legit.

4.1.3.2.1.b Semantic Microstructure

Although the United States is the only country in the region known to have the ability to launch missiles from drones, which are controlled remotely, U.S. officials normally do not comment on suspected drone strikes. (Para 4)

Local Meaning and Coherence

The para entails the evidentiality and explicit manifestation that it is only the United States that have ability and strength to launch missiles from drones controlled remotely. This has explicitly manifested "Our" sovereignty, dominion, power that no one else in the region has. The use of the word 'known' shows the evidentiality of the positive "Us" as known by everyone and the CNN is reporting that with that evidentiality. This makes the ability look more glorified and glamorised and make a big thing out these attacks by the United States the 'only' country to have the ability to carry out drone attacks. This shows "Our good" and unique strength in war strategies.

The more expansive target set was approved in the final months of the Bush administration in late 2008 but has been stepped up under the Obama White House, the official said. It is seen as a key strategy to help protect the growing number of U.S. forces in neighbouring Afghanistan from insurgents operating in Pakistan's border region. (Para 5)

Lexicon

The semantic choices like 'insurgent' with Pakistan depict the ideological display of biased mental models which is planned, intentional and deliberate mostly to show the negative meaning and impact associated with "Them" that is Pakistan. In the para, the lexicon 'insurgents' is used for militants 'operating in Pakistan' and the threat 'U.S. forces' have to face because of these, indicates Pakistan as an unsafe country having insurgents causing a hazard for the United States forces in Afghanistan.

Drone-launched missiles are now hitting lower-level al Qaeda and Taliban personnel, camps, training areas, bomb makers, buildings and other targets in the remote region. (Para 6)

Local Meaning and Coherence

The precision of details and granularity of each information and fact provides an ideological and negative connotation by over emphasising and laying it on thick. The details demonstrate that drone attacks hit al Qaida and Taliban militants their temporary accommodation, 'camps', the places where they make bombs, 'bomb makers', compounds, and 'buildings'. The details and precision imply that Taliban and al Qaida militants have their accommodations in tribal areas of Pakistan and they also provide training and make bombs in that area. As this justifies the act of the United States' drone attacks in Pakistan, it overplays that how these militants work and operate in Pakistan. It implies the magnitude of the danger, hazard and risk in the tribal area of Pakistan. It shows an unsafe "Them".

"The enemy, to be sure, has lost commanders, operational planners, weapons specialists, facilitators and more. But they've also lost fighters and trainers, the kinds of people who have killed American and allied forces in Afghanistan," he said. "Just because they're not big names doesn't mean they don't kill. They do. Their facilities -- where they prepare, rest and ready weapons -- are legitimate targets, too." (Para 8)

Local Meaning and Coherence

The para entails detailed precision and granularity of the negative reflection in keeping with the underlying biased mental model in the local meaning of the news. The para exhibits the information provided by the officials in detail that the militants located in Pakistan lost 'commanders', ' weapons specialists', 'operational planners', 'facilitators', 'fighters', 'trainers' and the culprits who have killed forces and American in Afghanistan. All the details, on the one hand, indicate the presence of commanders, weapon specialists, planners, facilitators, fighters and trainers, on the other hand, it signifies the presence of these militants in an organised manner with a vast and advanced network of specialists of each domain. On the one hand, it justifies the drone attacks in Pakistan and on the other hand it implies Pakistan is unsafe, lack skills and cannot counter these militants without the help of the United States. These details and precisions raise suspicions on the competence of Pakistan, its government, intelligence agencies, ISI, army and its role in the war on terrorism. Hence the ideologically negative image of them is depicted.

The administration has been sensitive to accusations that a large number of

civilians have been killed since the stepped-up raids began. Statistics kept by the New America Foundation indicate that 30 percent of those who died in drone strikes in Pakistan since 2004 were not militants. (Para 10)

Form

Rhetorical Structures

The ironical expression 'accusations' emphasises the impression and clue that a large number of 'non-militants' and civilians die due to 'the stepped-up raids' and drone attacks. The ironical expression implies the positive characteristics of the United States administration while denying the causalities of '30 percent' civilians and calling it a mere accusation where in fact it is not. This emphasises negative attribute of Pakistan for accusing and positive trait of the United States by defending themselves. The ideological dichotomy of "Us vs Them" is noticeable in the ironical expression by accusing "Them" and absolving "Us".

The U.S. counterterrorism official disputed that, saying, "We believe the number of non-combatant casualties since this campaign intensified is under 30 -- those being people who were near terrorist targets, often by choice -- while the total for militants taken off the battlefield exceeds 500." The official said those figures are based not only on intelligence but also on visual observations before and after strikes. (Para 11)

Local Meaning and Coherence

There is an explicit manifestation about the information (whether true or false) that the non-combatant causalities were people who were near the terrorist target 'by choice'. The CNN which is an ideological 'in-group" with the United States, justifies the 'non-combatant casualties' by pardoning itself from killing civilians and non-combatants in drone strikes. There is also an evidentiality in the statement by directly quoting the statement of the official. The quotative 'people who were near terrorist targets, often by choice', appears more emphatic and factual because the CNN chose the strategy to directly report or use the direct quote of the official. This ideologically portrays that people who got killed were there by choice hence the United States is neither guilty nor responsible.

Form

Rhetorical Structures

The United States has been targeted for killing non-combatants in drone attacks, while The CNN brings up the number of militants who have been killed in these attacks that 'exceeds 500'. The rhetorical implicature of the number game to highlight the magnitude, and to overstate and play up the risk of the presence of these militants fortifies the success of these attacks at the same time legitimising these attacks to compensate, minimise and downplay the allegations of killing the civilian and non-combatants. At the same time a large number of militants who 'exceeds 500', implies the possible threat and danger that was there in Pakistan which the United States helped to sweep. The number game highlights the success of the drone attacks while minimising and compensating the death of non-combatants during these attacks hence "Our good". On the other hand, it makes a big thing out of these big militant numbers that 'exceeds 500' to exaggerate their presence in Pakistan, hence "Their bad".

4.1.3.2 Overall Analysis of the News 3

The headline is first and on the top part of the news usually in a bigger font than the text which not only attracts the readers in a particular way but also tends to impact the news consumers emphatically because of having visual markers like big fonts. The headline of the news outlines and contours about 'Pakistan drone strategy'. The drone attacks in the tribal area of Pakistan has been a sensitive issue for Pakistan for also losing the lives of the innocent civilians and non-combatants and for the rest of the world it raised questions on Pakistan government, army and ISI to let the United States carry out drone attacks or be lacking in resources to combat militants on its own land. The fact of the matter was that it was Pakistan which was suffering in terms of civilian casualties and in terms of overall repute just to counter the terrorism as per the needs and requirements of the United States. However, the resentment from Pakistani people against these attacks were natural and legit to which the CNN shape and contours in the headline 'Pakistan drone strategy' is as legit and legal as it is not new and traces back the previous administration by Bush.

The microstructure level of meaning submits the explicit manifestation, evidentiality and precise details that the United States in the only country in the region to have the ability to launch the attacks and the terrorist targets were big fish like

'commanders', 'weapons specialists', 'operational planners', 'facilitators' , 'fighters' , 'trainers' and the culprits who have killed forces and American in Afghanistan, hence "Our good". At the same time, the CNN denies the fact that civilians and non-combatants were only the ones who were near the target by choice and disowns any responsibilities to the death rate. While overplaying the success of targeting big fish in the tribal areas, the CNN tends to imply the presence of their advanced network in Pakistan by overstating the potential threat because of their presence which shows an unsafe, vulnerable and negative "Them".

The rhetorical implicatures like number games have been used to highlight the number of militants who were killed as in achievement of the United States; compensating the loss of innocent lives of civilians who were non-combatants who were killed by the drone attacks; and directing toward the magnitude and potential threat of the presence of these militants in Pakistan by exaggerating the scenario through this implicature. This fortifies the positive "Us" and the negative "Them".

Table iii
CNN News 3

Meaning – CNN News 3

			US (Our Good)	THEM (Their Bad)
Selection of topic	**Positive**		Pakistan drone strategy originated with Bush, official says. (Headline)	
	Negative			Pakistan drone strategy originated with Bush, official says. (Headline)
Local meaning and coherence	**Manifestation**	**Explicit**	United States is the only country in the region known to have the ability to launch missiles from drones(4)	"those being people who were near terrorist targets, often by choice" (11)
		Implicit		
	Precision	**Precise**		Drone-launched missiles are now hitting lower-level al Qaeda and Taliban personnel, camps, training areas, bomb makers, buildings and other targets in the remote region(6); "The enemy … has lost commanders, operational planners, weapons specialists, facilitators and more… they've also lost fighters and trainers, the kinds of people who have killed American and allied forces in Afghanistan (8)
		Vague		
	Granularity	**Detailed**		Drone-launched missiles are now hitting lower-level al Qaeda and Taliban personnel, camps, training areas, bomb makers, buildings and other targets in the remote region (6); "The enemy … has lost commanders, operational planners, weapons specialists, facilitators and more… they've also lost fighters and trainers, the kinds of people who have killed American and allied forces in Afghanistan (8)
		Rough		
	Evidentiality	**We have truth**	United States is the only country in the region known to have the ability	"those being people who were near terrorist targets, often by choice" (11)

		to launch missiles from drones(4)	
		They are misguided	
Lexicon	**Positive**		
	Negative		insurgents(5)

Form – CNN News 3

		US (Our Good)	THEM (Their Bad)
Rhetorical Structures	**Hyperbole**		accusations (10)
	Number game		exceeds 500 (11)

4.1.4   CNN News 4

4.1.4.1 Context and background of the News

The attack on Pakistan border post was the fourth encounter along the turning point and took place after a numerous drone strikes into the tribal regions of Pakistan that already inflamed anti-American in the region. After the border violation and attack on Pakistani soldiers, the officials closed the main Torkham border crossing to the hundreds of NATO supply vehicles to Afghanistan. Pakistan stated it would "protect its sovereignty in all circumstances", while the then interior minister Rehman Malik also stated his concerns and confusion after the attacks on being "allied" or "enemies". The incident was definitely an enemy act. The United States had increased its war on militants acting from inside Pakistan after seemingly becoming frustrated with Islamabad's negation to target them. The then Prime Minister Yousuf Raza Gilani, told the CIA director to visit Islamabad, as Pakistan was "profoundly concerned" about the infiltrations and drone strikes (The Tribune, 2010, September 30). These were taking place without taking Pakistan into confidence, hence was causing anti-Americanism and the brutal killing of the soldiers was not acceptable as well.

4.1.4.1 Text and Discourse

4.1.4.1.1   Meaning

4.1.4.2.1.a Semantic Macrostructure (Topic)

U.S. pressing to reopen key supply route into Pakistan (headline)

The headline of the CNN news is clear and obvious as far as the meaning is concerned. The headline is self-explanatory, yet the context is missing. The lexical choices like 'pressing' imply quick or immediate action or attention and factive verb 'reopen' presupposes that something has been closed and is supposed to be opened again. On the macrostructure level, the news does not carry any ideological meaning neither negative nor positive, yet the context is missing as to why the route was closed at first place. However, the CNN has marginalised the context that the NATO supply route was closed by Pakistan after Pakistan Frontier Corps soldiers were martyred after they fired on the NATO helicopter due to border violence. The CNN has concealed and marginalised "Our bad" in the headline of the news.

4.1.4.2.1.b Semantic Microstructure

U.S. military operations in Afghanistan could continue to be fully supplied even

if Pakistan refuses to open a major border post blocking hundreds of fuel tankers, the
Pentagon said Tuesday. (Para 1)

Local Meaning and Coherence

The para has an explicit manifestation that the United States is not dependent
on Pakistan and the operation in Afghanistan is 'fully supplied' and functional besides
Pakistan refused to open the route for fuel tankers. The explicit manifestation
ideologically detaches Pakistan from the West or the United States. The fact cannot be
ignored that Pakistan is one of the strongest allies and had supported fully in terms of
war against terror, yet at this point when Pakistan has shown retaliation on the guiltless
death of its soldiers by the NATO helicopter, the CNN reporting about that in explicit
manifestation to "out-group" Pakistan and inferring that Pakistan's cooperation is not
needed either, and the United States is sufficed to do in Afghanistan without Pakistan's
cooperation.

Lexicon

The lexical choices like 'refuse' which indicate decline, rejection and turning
down, create a negative impression about Pakistan. The negative lexical choices have
the long-lasting impact of news consumers that spread far beyond about whom they are
hurled. The use of such semantic choices not only outcastes but also give an impression
of non-cooperative other.

The pending decisions come as NATO prepares to release a report on its
investigation into a recent deadly skirmish on the Pakistan-Afghanistan border. That
incident, in which three Pakistan Frontier Corps soldiers were killed after firing on a
NATO helicopter, is the latest pressure point in relations between the two countries.
After that border violence, the Pakistani government closed Torkham gate, the
traditional Khyber Pass crossing between Pakistan and Afghanistan and a major
supply route for U.S. forces. (Para 3)

Local Meaning and Coherence

The CNN has brought forward the information from the previous part of the
same news. The local coherence has been twisted and warped as the guiltless death of
three Pakistani soldiers was presented in a way as it was the result of firing on NATO
helicopter initiated by the soldiers. The biased local coherence reflects that they were
Pakistani soldiers who initiated the fire on helicopter first and later killed because of

that. However, the reality is different and warped, as in actual it was NATO helicopter which violated border and then Pakistani soldiers opened fire. The 'border violence' is however put in the next sentence and discussed vaguely. Who violated the border is not being revealed. The meaning at the micro level in terms of local coherence of biased models and vague reflection of "Our bad", overstate the negative characteristic of Pakistan and underplay the foible and reprehension of "Us".

Form

Syntax

The form of the sentence also downplays and tone downs the foible of the NATO helicopter of killing three guiltless Pakistani soldiers. The passive voice sentence 'Pakistan Frontier Corps soldiers' were killed 'after firing on a NATO helicopter' put all the blame on Pakistan by sidelining its reprehension in violating borders first. Firstly by camouflaging who killed Pakistani soldiers and secondly, by maximising and highlighting that the soldiers opened fire on NATO helicopter. The passive voice form of the sentence reflects "Their bad" by sidelining "Our bad".

The United States claims that a separate, more southern route through Pakistan, and other routes into northern Afghanistan will allow enough fuel and other supplies to be brought in to support U.S. and NATO operations. "It has not in any way impacted our ability to resupply fuel to our operations around Afghanistan," Morrell said at a briefing Tuesday. "And we do not suspect it will even if this were to last into the future." (Para 4)

Local Meaning and Coherence

There is an evidentiality of the ideological out casting of Pakistan by the CNN. The quotative directs that the CNN give an evidentiality by directly quoting that route blocking by Pakistan has not affected the '" ability to resupply fuel"' to their operation around Afghanistan. The evidentiality boasts and brag the ability of NATO and the United States not being dependent on Pakistan or in other words Pakistan not as a major facilitator for the United States and the United States carrying out the operation effectively without the support of Pakistan. The evidentiality creates a binary between Pakistan as "out-group" and the United States and NATO as "in group". The ideological binary suggests that Pakistan is not geographically and logistically beneficial for the United States and the NATO and the United States are sufficient on their own to carry

out operations in Afghanistan. The CNN glorifies the supremacy of the United States and minimises Pakistan's geographical significance in the global war against terror.

There is strong modality also in the next sentence about the same stance by the CNN. The CNN is reporting the statement by the official with the strong modality of their claim that the NATO supplies are not dependent on Pakistan and its route and according to them it 'will' not affect them even if in future Pakistan does not open the route for the NATO supply. The strong modality reinforces the notion that was put in the last sentence of the same para. The modality 'will' fortifies that Pakistan closing its border did not affect and it 'will' not affect the United States and NATO in future either. There is a strong dichotomised binary of "Us vs Them" reported by the officials as presented by the CNN.

Morrell said the formal report on the joint investigation into the border incident will be released Wednesday morning in Kabul. "Obviously, there was an unfortunate incident in which it looks as though, I think it was, three (Pakistan) Frontier Corps soldiers were killed as one of our helicopters was investigating what looked to be a new fighting position that was being erected along the border that posed a potential threat to our forces in Afghanistan," Morrell said. "And I guess they came under fire while they were checking out that position." (Para 6)

Local Meaning and Coherence

The para has implicit manifestation, vague details, and rough granularity about Pakistan border violence by NATO helicopter and NATO helicopter killing three Pakistani soldiers. The Pentagon Press Secretary Geoff Morrell states and the CNN reports that in direct narration starting with 'I think' and 'I guess' in statements saying that three Pakistan Frontier Corps soldiers were killed and soldiers came under fire as the helicopter was checking the enemy position. There is no surety and certainty on the exact number of the casualties by Pentagon Press Secretary on such big incident and loss of lives and the reason behind that. The expression 'I think' and 'I guess' create vagueness in the meaning on the microstructure level, as it appears just a matter of understanding and speculation without not being sure and having no accurate and correct details as he 'think'(s) it only and he 'guess'(s) the reason behind killing the soldiers. There is rough granularity in one, the reason of death, second, who killed the soldiers, and third, why they were killed. The rough linkage between these three strands

fails to justify the cause and the subject of killing. The CNN has marginalised the border violence by the helicopter and understated their foible. There is neither "Our good" nor "Their bad" that is highlighted but "Our bad" is trivialised by vague details and rough granularity by the CNN.

Form

Syntax

The forms of the sentences also imply no blame on the subject of the action as the subject is eliminated and not presented. In one sentence the subject as "who" killed Pakistani soldiers is not presented as in '"… three (Pakistan) Frontier Corps soldiers were killed"'. Moreover, in the other sentence the Pakistani soldiers are in subject position in active voice sentence as in stating, '" they (Pakistani soldiers) came under fire while they (the United States' helicopters) were checking out that position"', and therefore the subject of the sentence (Pakistani soldiers) are responsible because they 'came under fire' and not the ones who fired . It is the fault of Pakistani soldiers according to the CNN reporting, to be under fire and not the ones who fired. The form of the sentence has trivialised the NATO and the United States' forces action to kill by one, eliminating them from the sentence as the subject and second, by putting Pakistani soldiers as the subject in the other sentence. Hence "Our bad" is diminished and "Their bad" is formed and laid it on thick.

The United States and NATO are making efforts at military and diplomatic levels to apologize to Pakistan for the border clash. At the same time, the Pentagon insists that U.S. and allied forces will defend themselves. "We will retain the right to defend our forces, to defend ourselves," Morrell said. "Our forces who operate on the border with Pakistan are in a very dangerous and difficult situation." (Para 7)

Local Meaning and Coherence

The para has explicit manifestation by Pentagon reported by the CNN about the idea that the United States and allied forces will defend itself and they will retain the right to defend their forces and themselves. The statement explicitly manifests that the United States and the allied forces "used" their right of defending themselves. The manifestation euphemistically implies that they were targeted first and it was the need for defending themselves. It also implies that whatever the consequences may be the United States and the allied forces will defend themselves. This shows assertiveness

and showing power on the other ideological group that is Pakistan which was directly affected by this action by losing three of its soldiers. The explicit manifestation and assertiveness of using the rights show supremacy, authority and hegemony of the United States and the allied forces that they are ideologically exercising on "Them" that is Pakistan.

The use of strong modality in saying that the United States and the allied forces 'will' defend themselves and 'will' retain the right to defend their forces, to defend themselves shows assertiveness and power over "Them". The strong modality displays the use of power without looking for consequences.

Action

Speech acts

There is accusative presupposition triggered by the definite description that the United States and the allied forces will 'defend' themselves. This definite description signifies that the Pakistani soldiers were killed because the forces had to this to 'defend' themselves and they were threatened and endangered from Pakistan's side. This accusative presupposition also conceals the United States foibles and reprehensions in violating Pakistani border. The aspectual verb 'retain' in saying they will 'retain' the right to defend their forces, to defend themselves triggers accusative presupposition at the same time asserting their power and hegemony. The presupposition implies that they have been using this right to defend the forces and they will hold, preserve and maintain their right. There is a negative ideological meaning associated with Pakistan as to threaten the allied forces first and positive meaning for "Us" for asserting the power and hegemony over "Them".

He said the United States hopes for a quick reopening of the border crossing, but the delays and recent attacks on fuel convoys are not hampering U.S. operations. Pakistan itself would benefit from reopening the border, he suggested. (Para 8)

Local Meaning and Coherence

There is detailed granularity of meaning on microstructure level of the news in this part of the text. The granularity of the meaning puts forward the postulation that border closing for NATO supply is not affecting the United States and it Pakistan that is not at 'benefit' from not opening the border. The two postulations are two separate granular, but the benefits are shown to Pakistan or "Them", or in other words, it is

implied that it is Pakistan that is being affected out of this border closure and not the United States. The granularity also implies that the United States and NATO forces are not dependent on Pakistan and are independent, whereas it is Pakistan which is dependent for its benefit. According to the CNN, the granular X is independent, and granular Y is dependent on X, which overstates that X that is United States is superior to Y that is Pakistan. In showing potential and prospective benefits to Pakistan, the Pentagon Press Secretary as reported by the CNN has out grouped Pakistan. There is negative attribution of dependency of Pakistan on the West for benefits and commercial aspects and positive characteristics of the United States and NATO of being independent by creating the ideological dichotomy of "Us vs Them".

"This is a huge commercial enterprise for them, and they do not get paid until that fuel is delivered to the point of destination in Afghanistan," Morrell said about Pakistani fuel shippers. "So they have incentive to protect the convoys, to make sure that the situation is such that they can get to their destination safely." (Para 9)

Local Meaning and Coherence

There is evidentiality of the positive characteristics of "Us". The quotative '"This (opening the border) is a huge commercial enterprise for them (Pakistan)"' by Morrell as reported by the CNN, displays a directly quoted strong evidence that opening border is a big commercial enterprise for flourishing financial aspects for Pakistan. The evidentiality infers that the NATO supply causes to flourish financial aspects for Pakistan. The other quotative, '" they (Pakistan) have the incentive to protect the convoys"' infers that Pakistan has the stimulus to open the border and protect NATO supplies for financial and industrial benefit aspects provided by the United States. The strong evidentiality aggrandise, glorify and dignify the characteristics of the United States that is ideologically in grouped with the CNN. The evidentiality does not suggest negative character traits of Pakistan, but it creates and highlights reliance of Pakistan on the United States to flourish its commercial and industrial traits.

The border closing by Pakistan and new attacks on fuel convoys have focused attention on both the supply routes through Pakistan and the ongoing discussions between the United States and Pakistan over whether Islamabad can do more to fight militants who take refuge along the Afghanistan-Pakistan border. (Para 10)

Form

Syntax

The form of the sentence gives no attention to border violation by the NATO forces. The nominalisation of the clause 'The border closing by Pakistan' and 'new attacks on fuel convoys', conceals the context and makes the border closing looks more prominent and precisely defined. There is no focus on the fact that Pakistan closed the border after border violation by the United States' helicopter. The nominalisation of 'border closing' instead of "Pakistan closed the border" makes questions Pakistan's cooperation with the United States in the war against terrorism which the CNN rose in the coming text as, 'whether Islamabad can do more to fight militants'. The form of the sentence trivialises about the United States border violation by subsiding and sidelining that incident and putting more focus on 'border closing by Pakistan' which was the result of a border violation. The ideological polarisation is articulated underlying biased mental models to trivialise "Our bad" and creating and highlighting "Their bad".

"There have been attacks historically on NATO convoys passaging through Pakistan to Afghanistan. And they are sometimes sensational, and they are sometimes horrific, and they are sometimes deadly, and that is tragic," Morrell said. "But if you put this in context and in perspective, we're talking about, you know, impacting about one percent of the supplies that we funnel through Pakistan into Afghanistan. So they have never really adversely impacted our ability to conduct operations in Afghanistan." (Para 12)

Local Meaning and Coherence

There is the local coherence of the biased model. The biased model is a warped situation that the CNN reported in the news. It has been warped to defocus the attention from border violence to closing that border and how and it is not affecting the NATO supply to Afghanistan. The biased model also reflects a strong ideological out grouping for Pakistan by the CNN as it chose to report the Morrell' statements. There is not only the local coherence of biased models, but the level of negative meaning associated with Pakistan is very specific and targeted to show the threat and danger that NATO convoys face in Pakistan. The specific lexicon has been used to be very specific like 'sensational', 'horrific', 'deadly' and 'tragic' to show outrage, uproar, horrendous, dreadful, lethal, life-threatening, disastrous and catastrophic situations very

specifically. The level of meaning is very specific, particular and discreet to sketch negative image of Pakistan.

Lexicon

The negative lexicon has been used with Pakistan as according to Morrell as reported by the CNN, the NATO convoys face the attacks and these circumstances in Pakistan which are 'sensational', 'horrific', 'deadly' and 'tragic' to show violence, disturbance, atrocious, frightful, disastrous, life-threatening, devastating and appalling situations. The negative lexical choices are enunciated in accordance with biased underlying mental models to depict the negative ideological meaning by the CNN.

Some outside observers have scolded the Pentagon for depending too heavily on Pakistan shipping routes, concerned that it provides Pakistan with a way to subvert U.S. policies. Heritage Foundation Senior Research Fellow Lisa Curtis says the United States must step up efforts to open more supply routes outside of Pakistan. (Para 13)

Local Meaning and Coherence

There is detailed precision in the negative ideological meaning associated with Pakistan. The CNN says that 'some outside observers' have 'scolded' the Pentagon for depending on Pakistan heavily. The precise details like 'some outside observers' and 'scolded' pictures a dramatic situation which dramatises and overplays that the United States should not depend on Pakistan that heavily. The precise and dramatic outlay of scolding the outside sources for relying on creates an ideological dichotomy between the United States and Pakistan in which the United States raises suspicion for relying on Pakistan as this would give it the power to challenge or topple the United States' policies. The CNN sustained an "out-group" for Pakistan for not relying on it. There is detailed granularity that is depending too much on Pakistan would empower it to 'subvert' the United States policies depicts the negative image of Pakistan by showing it an ideological opponent who would "misuse" its position and would 'subvert' the policies to carry out effective operations in Afghanistan. This raises questions and challenges Pakistan's contribution to the war against terrorism. The granular X that is 'Pentagon for depending too heavily on Pakistan' causes the granular Y 'with a way to subvert U.S. policies'. The each granular has a part-whole relation and looks distinct to show a negative picture of Pakistan.

"Not only are the Pakistani supply routes increasingly under threat of militant

attacks, the U.S. dependence on Pakistani supply routes provides Islamabad leverage to resist U.S. pressure to shut down Taliban sanctuaries and to crack down more forcefully on terrorist networks," Curtis said in a Heritage Foundation e-mail. (Para 14)

Local Meaning and Coherence

The para has evidentiality as in the form of quotative by the officials as reported by the CNN. The evidentiality, 'Pakistani supply routes' are 'increasingly under threat of militant attacks' manifests that Pakistan is a dangerous place and is not proving safe route to the NATO supplies which challenges Pakistan's geographical and logistics contribution in the war against terrorism. The granularity of negative description like one, 'the U.S. dependence on Pakistani supply routes' and second, 'provides Islamabad leverage to resist U.S. pressure', shows Pakistan an ideological partner of militants as formed by the CNN. This granularity infers that Pakistan is against the Taliban's invasion and implies that it wants to provide a safe haven to the Taliban in Pakistan. Hence the detailed granularity not only forms an ideological "out-group" with Pakistan but also creates an ideological "in-group" between Taliban and Pakistan which is an accusation and a clear sign of the West and Western media not acknowledging Pakistan's active contribution in the war against terrorism with the United States. There is a negative meaning formed for Pakistan by associating it with the Taliban.

4.1.4.3 Overall Analysis of the News 4

The CNN news has a self-explanatory headline with neither "Our good" nor "Their bad" description, but the context is concealed as Pakistan closed the border after border violence by the United States' helicopter. The border violation by the United States that is "Our bad" is marginalised and trivialised of meaning. At microstructure level, the negative characteristics are attributed to Pakistan by explicit manifestation that the United States and the allied forces will defend themselves by implying Pakistan threatened the sovereignty of these forces. The death of Pakistani soldiers and border violence was very vaguely reported by rough granularity by some vague lexical choices like 'I think' and 'I guess'. The detailed granularity ideologically "out-grouped" Pakistan and creates a dichotomy of "Us vs Them" by showing potential benefits to Pakistan demonstrating that it is Pakistan who is dependent on the United States for providing commercial enterprise and financial and industrial aspects. The detailed

granularity of the negative meaning also suggests that Pakistan takes 'leverage' because of the United States depending too much on Pakistan for the NATO supply and it provides a position to the United States to 'subvert' the United States policies. The strong modality like 'will' associated with the United States shows an ideological power over Pakistan. The local coherence of biased models has been brought forward to highlight firing on NATO helicopter by warping the fact that the helicopters violated the borders first as a result of which Pakistani soldiers opened fire on them. The meaning at micro level implies dangerous and non-cooperative Pakistan which would "misuse" its geographical position and a dependent Pakistan which is depending on the United States for the 'benefit' of its commercial enterprise. The negative lexical choices are enunciated in accordance with biased underlying mental models to depict the negative ideological meaning by the CNN. These choices show violence, disturbance and atrocious, frightful, catastrophic, life-threatening, devastating and dreadful situations.

The form on the syntactic level also trivialises "Our bad" by concealing border violation by the United States' helicopters. The passive voice sentence conceals the subject of the action and hence camouflaged "Our bad". The nominalisation as in 'border closing by Pakistan' makes the context very trivial and magnifies the border closing for NATO supplies in Afghanistan raise questions on Pakistan's contribution in the war against terrorism. There is also accusative presupposition that the United States and the allied forces are not safe in Pakistan and they will defend themselves no matter if they have to kill anyone. In order to justify the unguilt death of Pakistani soldiers by the United States' helicopter, the accusative presupposition implies it was the right of the forces to defend themselves. The CNN has tried to camouflage "Our bad" by highlighting "Their bad" at micro and macrostructure level of the meaning.

Table iv
CNN News 4

Meaning - CNN News 4

			US	THEM
Selection of topic	**Positive**			
	Negative			U.S. pressing to reopen key supply route into Pakistan (headline)
Local meaning and coherence	**Manifestation**	**Explicit**	U.S. and allied forces will defend themselves. "We will retain the right to defend our forces, to defend ourselves." (7)	U.S. military operations in Afghanistan could continue to be fully supplied even if Pakistan refuses to open a major border post blocking hundreds of fuel tankers(1)
		Implicit		
	Precision	**Precise**		Some outside observers have scolded the Pentagon for depending too heavily on Pakistan (13)
		Vague	After that border violence, the Pakistani government closed Torkham gate (3); I think it was, three (Pakistan) Frontier Corps soldiers were killed & "And I guess they came under fire while they were checking out that position." (6)	
	Granularity	**Detailed**	…delays and recent attacks on fuel convoys are not hampering U.S. operations. Pakistan itself would benefit from reopening the border. (8)	…delays and recent attacks on fuel convoys are not hampering U.S. operations. Pakistan itself would benefit from reopening the border. (8) ; Some outside observers have scolded the Pentagon for depending too heavily on Pakistan … it provides Pakistan with a way to subvert U.S. policies (13); the U.S. dependence on Pakistani supply routes provides Islamabad leverage to resist U.S. pressure(14)
		Rough	I think it was, three (Pakistan) Frontier Corps soldiers were killed & "And I guess they came under fire while they were checking out that position." (6) ;	

			US (Our Good)	THEM (Their Bad)
	Level	**General**		
		Specific		"…they are sometimes sensational, and they are sometimes horrific and they are sometimes deadly and that is tragic,"(12)
	Modality	**Strong**	will(4) ; will, will (7)	will (4)
		Weak		
	Evidentiality	**We have truth**	"It has not in any way impacted our ability to resupply fuel" (4); "This is a huge commercial enterprise for them"(9) Pakistani supply routes increasingly under threat of militant attacks(14)	"…they have incentive to protect the convoys" (9)
		They are misguided		
	Local coherence	**Biased models**	three Pakistan Frontier Corps soldiers were killed after firing on a NATO helicopter (3)	"…they have never really adversely impacted our ability to conduct operations in Afghanistan." (12)
Lexicon		**Positive**		
		Negative		refuses (1); sensational, horrific, deadly tragic(12)

Form – CNN News 4

		US (Our Good)	THEM (Their Bad)
Syntax	**Active (Emphasing)**		"And I guess they came under fire while they were checking out that position." (6)
	Passive (De-emphasising)	…three (Pakistan) Frontier Corps soldiers were killed as one of our helicopters was investigating . (6)	…three Pakistan Frontier Corps soldiers were killed after firing on a NATO helicopter(3)
	Proposition clause		
	Nominalisation clause		The border closing by Pakistan and new attacks on fuel convoys have focused attention … whether Islamabad can do more to fight militants (10)

Action – CNN News 4

		US (Our Good)	THEM (Their Bad)
Speech acts (Presupposition)	**Promises**		
	Accusations		… U.S. and allied forces will defend themselves & "We will retain the right to defend our forces, to defend ourselves." (7)

4.1.5   CNN News 5

4.1.5.1 Context and background of the News

The news is about the United States' help and finalising aid package for Pakistan. The United States did provide billions of dollars to Pakistan in order to increase their bilateral cooperation and to improve its image; there had always been mixed views about American for Pakistanis (O'Connor & Griffiths, 2007). The aid was basically given in the interest of United States. They also offered border control, poverty alleviation as well as refugee assistance to help Pakistan lead to economic progress and contribute to the war against terrorism. As Pakistan had deployed more than 70000 of its troop to the border of Afghanistan and had been successful in launching more than 38 major successful operations to fight the foreign terrorist, the Washington pledge was basically the reward of Pakistan to help the United States' government. There were more than 300 army men of Pakistan as well as the paramilitary troops who were killed, and there were a significant amount of casualties faced by Pakistan compared to other United States ally when it comes to the war on terrorism. Pakistan in addition to that also provided its intelligence that was one of the topmost contributions to fight terrorism and had resulted in immense success around the world (O'Connor & Griffiths, 2007).

4.1.5.1 Text and Discourse

4.1.5.1.1   Meaning

4.1.5.2.1.a Semantic Macrostructure (Topic)

Sources: U.S. finalizing aid package to help Pakistan fight extremists (headline)

The headline is in active voice form, and the United States is in subject position with positive verbs and lexicons ' finalising', and 'to help' Pakistan. The overall semantic choices in agreement with the syntactic structure positions the United States as capable and competent enough to finalise 'aid package'. It positions the United States as a donor, provider, and benefactor to Pakistan, and Pakistan as reliant to be receiving 'aid package' to fight extremists. The headline shows the supremacy of the United States and dependence of Pakistan on the United States to fight extremists.

4.1.5.2.1.b Semantic Microstructure

The Obama administration is putting the final touches on a security assistance package totaling as much as $2 billion over five years to help Pakistan fight extremists

on its border with Afghanistan, senior U.S. officials and diplomatic sources tell CNN. (Para 1)

Form

Rhetorical Structures

The headline has already foretold and build up the ideological direction of the CNN news 5 that is about finalising the aid package to 'help' Pakistan which draws the positive picture of the United States as benefactor and facilitator. The expression '$2 billion over five years' is a number game and a rhetorical implicature to glorify, magnify and to build up the act of aid and assistance. The expression 'as much as $2 billion' is a hyperbolic expression to inflate and the lay the aid package on thick on the one hand to glorify the United States as a benefactor and on the other hand Pakistan as reliant on the aid packages to fight extremists. The number game not only helps to quantify the exact facts to make the statement concrete and fact-based but it also overemphasises the action by aggrandising it.

The aid is expected to be announced later this week when Pakistani officials are in Washington to hold high-level talks. The package aims to address Pakistan's insistence it does not have the capability to go after terrorists, and needs more support from the United States, the sources said. The aid will help the Pakistanis purchase helicopters, weapons systems and equipment to intercept communications. (Para 2)

Local Meaning and Coherence

There is the detailed precision of the display of positive characteristics associated with the United States that is "Us". The precise details of the aid that how it would help Pakistan purchase 'systems and equipment to intercept communications', 'helicopters', and 'weapons', displays the robustness and vigour of the aid to help Pakistan buy this many equipment. The precise details also imply Pakistan requirement and dependence on the United States for having these weapons and equipment. Hence "Us" as a benefactor and "Them" as a dependent are shown as displayed by the CNN.

Lexicon

The negative helping verb, 'does not' with the word 'capability' for Pakistan reflects the clear and negative rendering of negative characteristics associated with Pakistan in terms of challenging its accomplishments that have already been attained

and power, potential and aptitude to combat terrorism in future.

Form

Syntax

The form of the sentence also delineates and draws more focus on Pakistan's reliance on the United States' aid. The nominalisation of the clause, 'Pakistan's insistence and 'it does not have the capability to go after terrorists' has two postulations that either conceal the context or put more focus on the negative traits of "Them" as reported by the CNN. First and for most, it highlights the impeachment that it was Pakistan which insisted for the aid and second allegation that, Pakistan does not have the 'capability to go after terrorists'. The nominalisation of the clause with these two allegations put for focus on insistence and inability to conceal the fact that it was the United States' war that Pakistan was fighting in tribal areas. The form of the sentence, suggests the benefactor, supreme positive "Us" and the reliant and dependent negative "Them.

The $2 billion package is on top of billions of dollars the United States already gives Pakistan in military aid and a $7.5 billion aid package over five years in non-military counter-terrorism assistance approved by Congress last year. "They key is to beef up their ability to go after militants, it can't be diverted to other threats," one senior U.S. official said. (Para 4)

Local Meaning and Coherence

The detailed precision about the aid packages like '$2 billion package' that is already granted and '$7.5 billion aid package' that is nonmilitary assistance for five years pinpoints the aid assistance categorisation, breakdown and their purposes to give a precise manifestation of all the good the United States is doing. This makes the United States appear supreme, sovereign, hegemonic and powerful in relation to Pakistan.

Form

Rhetorical Structures

The exact amount of the package '$2 billion packages' and '$7.5 billion aid package over five years' are the number game strategy and a rhetorical implicature to highlight the United States as a benefactor to make it appear more tangible and palpable. The hyperbolic expression 'on top' of billions of dollars aid that the United States has

already given to Pakistan is implied to play up and intensify the action and the amount of aid. Moreover, the repetition of the aid packages in the previous text at the beginning of the news and the 4th para gives an emphatic and stressful positive meaning about the United States. The rhetorical strategies that are number game, hyperbole and repetition are used to make the statement appear more established and concrete and to enlarge the impact of the numbers and repetitive facts. This shows the display of ideological and positive characteristics of the United States as supreme and peace builder to show Pakistan as an economically dependent state for eradicating terrorism from the region hence negative "Them".

Pakistan has long claimed its military is geared toward defending itself against threats from countries like India, and does not have the kind of equipment it needs to fight insurgents. U.S. officials said they recognize Pakistan's current military hardware is not perfectly suited toward such operations, but made clear the new aid must be directed toward fighting extremists, rather than India. "We recognise they need different kinds of capacities and more of them to handle extremists form within their own border," one official said. "They do need more capacity and the kinds of capabilities that are geared toward fighting extremists, rather than a major land conflict." (Para 5)

Local Meaning and Coherence

The para has explicit manifestation that Pakistan does not have 'equipment it needs to fight insurgents.' The statement explicitly manifests the negative traits of the incapability of Pakistan as reported by the CNN. There is also an implicit manifestation to support the explicit manifestation by bringing forth the Kashmir dispute by labelling it as "' a major land conflict"'. The explicit manifestation with the evidentiality corroborates negative explicit manifestation. The evidentiality appears that the CNN has evidence about what it claims and that Pakistan itself 'claimed' that its military the equipment to fight insurgents. The CNN also brings forward the biased model by putting forth stance about threats from countries like India to show the threats to Pakistan's sovereignty by distorting the facts and putting more light on the threats from India. The other postulation substantiates the biased model of local coherence by bringing in the Kashmir issue and mentioning it as "' a major land conflict"' with India. The negative manifestation about Pakistan's lack of equipment as reported by the CNN with the evidence of reporting Pakistan's claim of not having the equipment and

deforming the context by making local context, Pakistan not gearing capabilities to fight extremism rather on '" a major land conflict"' that is Kashmir conflict. The immense Kashmir issue is attributed as '" a major land conflict"' to not only create a local context but also to conform to the allegations of lack of equipment. It also belittles a major dispute by calling it '" a major land conflict"' merely. It is not just "land" conflict rather it is associated with the emotions and feelings of Pakistanis in general and Kashmiris in specific.

Action

Speech acts

There is an accusative presupposition triggered by the definite description in reporting that the aid should be used for '"fighting extremists, rather than India"' and '"fighting extremists, rather than a major land conflict"' that is Kashmir. The CNN presupposes that Pakistan does not use the aid effectively to fight extremists rather it uses the aid against the issues with India and Kashmir dispute. It depicts an ideological and negative image of Pakistan which betrays the United States and uses the aid to create disturbance in the region rather than eradicating the terrorism.

The White House assessment, obtained by CNN, is particularly tough on Pakistan's inability to make gains in South Waziristan, where many analysts believe key al Qaeda leaders have gained a safe haven to use as a base to plot terror attacks against Western targets. (Para 8)

Local Meaning and Coherence

There is an evidentiality of the postulation that 'key al Qaeda leaders have gained a safe haven (in Pakistan) to use as a base to plot terror attacks against Western targets' which implies that the CNN knows about the postulation from being told by another source that is analysts which are provided as evidentiality. The evidentiality accuses that major al Qaida leaders have their 'safe haven' and they also plot attacks for Western targets which implies Pakistan either supports these activities or does not cooperate enough to counter these activities and is incapable of carrying out operations against them.

Lexicon

The semantic choices as 'inability' with Pakistan challenge Pakistan's efforts

that it has already done to eradicate terrorism by fighting against the terrorists either within Pakistan or across the borders. The lexicon 'safe haven' for terrorists in Pakistan also suggests an ideologically negative traits associated with Pakistan. This raises questions against Pakistan's contribution to the global war against terrorism and its policies regarding keeping peace in the region. The semantic choices reflect ideologically negative portrayal of Pakistan.

The report notes that from March to June, the Pakistani military "continued to avoid military engagements that would put it in direct conflict with Afghan Taliban or [al Qaeda] forces in North Waziristan. (Para 9)

Action

Speech acts

There is an accusative presupposition that Pakistan military has been avoiding military engagements to come face to face with Taliban forces in North Waziristan triggered by the aspectual verb '"continued"' with quotative. The presupposition underlying biased mental model triggers accusation which disacknowledges Pakistan military's achievements and challenges its contribution in the war against terrorism, and it also raises questions for Pakistan's no tolerance for terrorism within and outside Pakistan.

"We need to demonstrate we are in it for more than six months to a year. This offers a time horizon and allows them to chill out about that," the official said. Even with the harsh White House report, U.S. officials do acknowledge that Pakistan has made some progress in combating terrorism, noting the country has suffered thousands of casualties as a result of its campaign against extremists in its tribal areas bordering Afghanistan. Suspected U.S. drone strikes have also increased in Pakistan, killing dozens of high-level militants in the tribal areas. Although the U.S. does not comment on drone strikes, Pakistani officials have said they could not be done without Pakistani cooperation. (Para 11)

Local Meaning and Coherence

The para has a disclaimer that denies that they are Pakistani officials that have said the drone strikes were not possible without Pakistan's cooperation. This is a fact known to everyone that the drone strikes were imposed on Pakistan and Pakistan suffered the most because of these in terms of loss of lives of civilians and non-

combatants due to these strikes. According to the then President Musharaf "Nobody in Pakistan is comfortable with the strikes" (CNN News Official, 2009 January 23), means Pakistanis were against these strikes due to loss of civilian lives, yet Pakistan cooperated with the United States for a universal and global war on terrorism. Hence Pakistan's cooperation in terms of compromises and sacrifices cannot be ignored, yet the CNN denies Pakistan's cooperation "Their good" by saying that the United States does not comment on drone strikes and they were Pakistani officials who have said that. The disclaimer shows the CNN marginalises Pakistan's contribution and cooperation in the war against terrorism.

Lexicon

The lexical choice like the determiner 'some' with progress in saying Pakistan has made 'some progress' in combating terrorism. The determiner shows an unspecified and unknown extent of progress, which fizzles out the impact of the positive action. The determiner 'some' doesn't not carry an ideologically negative meaning, yet it does not create a positive meaning either. It does not help to positively acknowledge Pakistan's progress in combating terrorism.

Action

Speech acts

There is a presupposition in the statement that Pakistan has made some progress in combating terrorism. The presupposition is triggered by the determiner 'some' as it presupposes that Pakistan has not made some "substantial" or "specified" progress rather it has made only 'some' progress. The accusative presupposition challenges the contribution of Pakistan in combating terrorism. It does not contribute to acknowledge and positively portray Pakistan's progress in combating terrorism.

4.1.5.3 Overall Analysis of the News 5

The CNN news 5 opens up with semantic and syntactic synthesis creating a positive picture of the United States as a benefactor to provide 'help' in the form of aid package and Pakistan as relying on the United States to fight extremism. The microstructure of meaning establishes evidentiality and explicit manifestation that Pakistan 'claimed', Pakistan military does not have the equipment to fight insurgents. The explicit manifestation accompanied by an implicit manifestation that Pakistan needs more capabilities to fight extremism rather than gearing and indulging in Kashmir

dispute with India and calling it 'a piece of land'. The precise details of how the aid will help Pakistan purchase equipment, weapons systems, helicopters and equipment to intercept communications to fight insurgents, shows vigour of the aid and at the same time dependency of Pakistan on the United States to purchase this many equipment to fight with insurgents. In terms of the aid and its effective use, the CNN has warped the context and created a local context by bringing forth the Kashmir dispute and accusing Pakistan that it should not use the aid against India. The evidentiality, explicit manifestation, precision of details highlight the negative traits of Pakistan in terms of lacking equipment to fight insurgents and relying on the United States' aid. It also implies Pakistan "misuses" the aid and uses it against India rather than utilising it to counter terrorism in the region. The precision manifests the supremacy of the United States to provide the aid and reliance of Pakistan for purchasing equipment to fight terrorism. The lexical choices used for Pakistan also display an ideologically negative portrayal of Pakistan like the negative word 'no' with 'capability' and the negative word 'inability'. The ideological meaning at macro and micro level of the news portray the biased mental models articulated through evidentiality, explicit manifestation, precision and selection of lexicon to highlight "Our good" and "Their bad".

The form of the news in terms of rhetorical structures tend to overplay and aggrandising the amount of 'aid'. The number game or quantifying the exact amount of aid makes the aid package appear concrete and authentic which overstates "Our good" as a benefactor and also highlights "Their bad" as depending and relying on "Us" for fighting with extremists.

The accusative presupposition is elicited in agreement with underlying biased mental models that imply that Pakistan does not use the aid effectively to counter terrorism rather it "misuses" the aid against India for Kashmir dispute. The accusative presupposition defies Pakistan's contribution in the global war against terrorism.

Table v
CNN News 5

Meaning – CNN News 5

			US	THEM
Selection of topic	**Positive**		Sources: U.S. finalizing aid package to help Pakistan fight extremists (headline)	
	Negative			Sources: U.S. finalizing aid package to help Pakistan fight extremists (headline)
Local meaning and coherence	**Manifestation**	**Explicit**		Pakistan … does not have the kind of equipment it needs to fight insurgents. (5)
		Implicit		"They do need more capacity and the kinds of capabilities that are geared toward fighting extremists, rather than a major land conflict." (5)
	Precision	**Precise**	The aid will help the Pakistanis purchase helicopters, weapons systems and equipment to intercept communications. (2)	The aid will help the Pakistanis purchase helicopters, weapons systems and equipment to intercept communications. (2)
		Vague		
	Evidentiality	**We have truth**		Pakistan has long claimed its military …does not have the kind of equipment it needs to fight insurgents. (5); many analysts believe key al Qaeda leaders have gained a safe haven to use as a base to plot terror attacks against Western targets. (8)
		They are misguided		
	Local coherence	**Biased models**		… aid must be directed toward fighting extremists, rather than India… , rather than a major land conflict.(5)
	Disclaimer	**Denying**		Although the U.S. does not comment on drone strikes, Pakistani officials have said they could not be done without Pakistani cooperation. (Para 11)
		Confirming		

| | | | (no) capability (2);

inability, safe haven (al Qaeda) (8);

some progress (11) |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Lexicon** | **Positive** | | |
| | **Negative** | | (no) capability (2);

inability, safe haven (al Qaeda) (8);

some progress (11) |

Form – CNN News 5

		US (Our Good)	THEM (Their Bad)
Rhetorical Structures	**Hyperbole**	as much as $2 billion over five (1); top of billions of dollars (4)	
	Number game	$2 billion over five years (1); $2 billion package, billions of dollars, $7.5 billion aid package (4)	$2 billion over five years (1); $2 billion package, billions of dollars, $7.5 billion aid package (4)
	Repetition		['$2 billion over five years' , '$2 billion package', 'billions of dollars', '$7.5 billion aid package'] (1,4)

Action – CNN News 5

		US (Our Good)	THEM (Their Bad)
Speech acts (Presumposition)	**Promises**		
	Accusations		… aid must be directed toward fighting extremists, rather than India… , rather than a major land conflict.(5); "continued to avoid military …in direct conflict with Afghan Taliban or [al Qaeda] forces in North Waziristan" (9); Pakistan has made some progress in combating terrorism (11)

4.2   BBC News Analysis

The news stories from the BBC are divided into paragraphs and assigned numbers sequentially to carry out the analysis precisely and closely at different levels keeping in mind the diversity of the model chosen. The dataset is introduced first (Paragraph wise) and then, analysed on different levels to keep each level relatable and make the complete ideological move understandable and intact at varying levels of a para autonomously, at first stage and then move with analysis sequentially and uninterruptedly.

4.2.1   BBC News 1

4.2.1.1 Context and Background of the News

The news is about the predominance and mastery of the United States 'aide' that 'hails' on Pakistan. The United States did provide billions of dollars to Pakistan in order to increase their bilateral cooperation and to improve its image; there had always been mixed views about American for Pakistanis. The aid was basically given in the interest of United States. The pledge was basically the reward of Pakistan to help the United States' government (O'Connor & Griffiths, 2007).

4.2.1.1 Text and Discourse

4.2.1.1.1   Meaning

4.2.1.2.1.a Semantic Macrostructure (Topic)

Key US aide hails Pakistan's war (headline)

The heading or the title of the news is an active voice sentence where the United States is in an active subject position associated with a positive verb 'hails' with the noun 'aide' shows the supremacy and power of the subject that is the United States. At the same time, the lexicon 'hail' shows the predominance, mastery and control over the object to pour and shower the 'aide' on the object. The heading forms an impression of a positive "Us" and more dependent "Them" with a horrendous word associated with it that is 'war'.

4.2.1.2.1.b Semantic Microstructure

President Obama's national security adviser has concluded talks in Pakistan by reiterating US support for Islamabad's battle with the Taliban. Gen James Jones met senior leaders including the president, prime minister and army chief. (Para 1)

Lexicon

The selection of lexicon 'support' with United States and 'battle' with Islamabad depicts a dichotomy of "Us" vs "Them" as in United States as supporter and the one who helps, assists and reinforces and on the other hand Islamabad that is capital of Pakistan and metonym for Pakistan's political nub and axis. It depicts a positive ideological meaning for "Us" and negative of "Them".

Gen Jones - who is on a tour of Afghanistan, Pakistan and India - said that Washington and Islamabad face a common battle against extremists. "Terrorism is not simply the enemy of America," he said. "It is a direct and urgent threat to the Pakistani people," he said in a statement after meetings. (Para 3)

Lexicon

The choice of the adjectives like 'threat' with Pakistan indicates an impression of menace, warning, hazard, and risk for the country. Hence an ideologically negative manifestation is associated with Pakistan.

Form

Syntax

The formation of the sentence, 'It is a direct and urgent threat to the Pakistani people', where 'It' refers to the 'terrorism' according to the preceding sentence, has the 'Pakistani people' being the direct object and hence face fatality of the noun 'terrorism' and its consequences as in the verb 'threat'.

Rhetorical Structures

The words 'direct' and 'urgent' in '…the direct and urgent threat to the' people of Pakistan shows hyperbole and exaggeration to heap on the impression of 'threat' faced by Pakistani people.

He described the Pakistani government's push against militants a "tremendous confidence-builder for the future". "That translates into popular support in the United States for what the government is trying to do, what the army is trying to do, and it obviously helps us in our overall fight," he said in a TV interview. (Para 4)

Action

Speech acts

The use of the aspectual verb 'trying' in 'government is trying' and 'the army is trying' triggers presupposition that Pakistani government and army were not 'trying' earlier to fight against militants. This gives an overall impression that Pakistan government and army were not participating actively to against terrorism.

His visit comes after dozens of people were killed in a strike by a US drone aircraft on Wednesday in the militant stronghold of South Waziristan. (Para 6)

Form

Rhetorical Structures

In this para, the use of the adjective 'stronghold' with South Waziristan- a mountainous range in Pakistan- is a hyperbolic expression to associate with a district of KPK in Pakistan. Instead of the word "hold" the 'stronghold' portrays a relatively higher threat and risk and make it sound more vulnerable to the militants. The rhetorical expression implies a possible threat and danger in the district of KPK which is already under drone attacks by the United States. The hyperbolic expression also gives an implicit justification of carrying out these drone attacks and killing dozens of unarmed and defenceless civilians due to these attacks.

The US military does not routinely confirm drone attacks, but the armed forces and the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) operating in Afghanistan are believed to be the only forces capable of deploying drones in the region. (Para 8)

Lexicon

The choice of the word 'capable' with CIA that is a civilian foreign intelligence service of the federal government of the United States, shows the competence of the CIA. The statement that it is the 'only' force which is 'capable' is employed to show the uniqueness, onliness and supremacy of CIA at the same time showing 'militant stronghold' Waziristan that is a district of KPK in Pakistan which is vulnerable and the CIA is the 'only' capable force to curb the militants there.

The national security adviser said that attacks such as November's year's deadly siege in Mumbai must be prevented and vowed to help Pakistan and India improve their relations to combat the militant threat. (Para 9)

Lexicon

The BBC referred to Mumbai attack and used the word 'deadly' with 'siege'

which India blames Pakistan to be involved in these attacks. It not only gives an impact of fatal and lethal large militant operation to which Indian and West believe Pakistan has involvement. Here it is important to consider that Pakistan had already faced similar 'siege' in Marriot Hotel Islamabad back in 2008. Hence bring up the Mumbai attack and using the lexicons like 'deadly' and 'siege' at the same time marginalising Marriot attack shows how West has an ideological inclination towards showing it is India that is victimised and it is Pakistan that is "Them" that is responsible.

Action

Speech acts

The BBC uses the definite description, 'Pakistan and India improve their relations to combat the militant threat' which triggers that Pakistan and India do not have a good relation. Also, it presupposes that Pakistan faces the militant threat which is triggered by the fictive 'to combat the militant threat' which shows that Pakistan does face a militant threat which needs to be sought out.

4.2.1.3 Overall Analysis of the News 1

The news 1 has the heading which depicts the United States as a facilitator who proves 'aide' to Pakistan to combat its war. The news has the positive lexical choices 'support', 'capable' associated with The United States and CIA whereas the ideologically negative lexicon like 'battle', 'threat' and 'siege' are associated with Pakistan which highlight the possible hazard of risk, danger and menace faced by Pakistan. The syntactic structures present Pakistan as responsible to the terrorism or the most endangered because of militants in one of its provinces and these are further magnified with the hyperbolic expressions. The news has also got accusative presuppositions which depict that Pakistan and Pakistan army has not been trying earlier to fight the terrorism and that Pakistan faces a deadlock regarding its relationship with its neighbour like India. Also, it has got triggers that presuppose that India faced the 'deadly siege' because of Pakistan being involved in the Mumbai attacks. There is an ideological dichotomy of "Us" vs "Them" depicting the United States as an immense 'support' provider and Pakistan being vulnerable and most endangered because of militants and terrorists and terrorism.

Table vi
BBC News 1

Meaning– BBC News1

		US	THEM
Selection of topic	**Positive**	Key US aide hails Pakistan's war (headline)	
	Negative		Key US aide hails Pakistan's war (headline)
Lexicon	**Positive**	US support (1); CIA…capable (8);	
	Negative		Islamabad's battle (1); threat (3); deadly siege (9);

Form – BBC News 1

		US (Our Good)	THEM (Their Bad)
Syntax	**Active (Emphasing)**		It is a direct and urgent threat to the Pakistani people (3);
	Passive (De-emphasising)		
Rhetorical Structures	**Hyperbole**		direct and urgent(3); militant stronghold of South Waziristan(6)

Action – BBC News 1

		US (Our Good)	THEM (Their Bad)
Speech acts (Presupposition	**Promises**		
	Accusations		government is trying to do, what the army is trying to do(4); Pakistan and India improve their relations to combat the militant threat(9)

4.2.2   BBC News 2

4.2.2.1 Context and Background of the News

The news is about Clinton the 67th United States Secretary of States' visit to Pakistan where she 'vows' to support Pakistan. Before carrying out a thorough analysis, it is crucial to understand the "off and on" relationship of Pakistan and the United States which mostly catered the United States' interest. The following table represents the change in the strategic environment and the relationship between the countries:

Table vii

Pak US Relationship

Time duration	The tension of cold war (state)	Pakistan is important to the US	Outcomes
1950's	Very high	1. High 2. Extensive military aid 3. Military alliance	High level of development in Iran as well as Middle East
1960's	Cooperation and détente	1. Reduced 2. Unexpectedly low after the sanctions of 1965	1. Increased involvement of China in Pakistan and reduced influence of US 2. Start of the Pakistan-China strategic relationship
1970's	Mild tension till the start of the second cold war in 1978	1. Low even after the tilt in 1971 2. There was an increase in the pressures of non-proliferation	1. Increased support of China for the nuclear programs 2. Strong non-proliferation US pressures 3. US embassy was burnt
1980's	Intense	1. Very much high 2. "frontline state" to fight in Afghanistan	4. Ballistic missiles were supplied by China

		against soviet union 3. Economic and military assistance massively 4. Ignorance of Pakistan's nuclear weapon programs	
1990's	1. The disintegration of the Soviet Union 2. Cold war ended 3. Experiments by Afghanistan (Mujahidin and later Taliban)	1. Very low 2. Arms embargoes and sanctions	
2000's	1. 9/11 incident along with the war on terrorism 2. Escape of Al Qaeda and Taliban 3. Increase in the importance of energy resources access to central Asia 4. War in Iraq	1. There was a frontline state against global terrorism 2. Al Qaeda and Taliban escaped to Pakistan 3. Radical Islam and Al Qaeda concern increased in and throughout Pakistan.	The US had increased their support for Pakistan and neglected their role in creating Al Qaeda or Taliban

4.2.2.2 Text and Discourse

4.2.2.2.1   Meaning

4.2.2.2.1.a Semantic Macrostructure (Topic)

Clinton vows to support Pakistan (headline)

The headline is a significant part to catch, attract or reform the reader's attention only but also shape the way people would perceive the reality and hence shaping up their ideology. The headline of the news 2 is an active voice sentence where the Clinton the 67th United States Secretary of States is a subject of the sentence with the positive verbs like 'vows' and 'support'. The headline brings forth an impression of a positive United States' secretary who makes promises to support and is predominant and powerful. Hence there is an ideologically positive meaning associated with the Clinton and The United States.

4.2.2.2.1.b Semantic Microstructure

Hillary Clinton: "In recent weeks Pakistan has endured a barrage of attacks". *US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton has pledged to "turn the page" on her country's* *relationship with Pakistan. Speaking during a three-day visit to the country, she also* *promised US support for Pakistan's fight against Taliban militants. (Para 1)*

Lexicon

In the opening lines of the news 2, BBC chose to use the lexicon 'endured' and 'barrage' with Pakistan. The verb 'endured' which depicts painful suffering that Pakistan goes through and also the adjective 'barrage' which amplifies the intensity of the attacks as it shows a bombardment and a storm of attacks and which can surely highlight the possible sense of chaos and danger leading to insecurity to the world.

Form

Rhetorical Structures:

The rhetorical expression 'barrage' for attacks in Pakistan is a hyperbolic implicature which magnifies the impact of attacks and implies an enlarged impact of the attacks.

Shortly after her arrival, a massive car bomb killed dozens of people in the *north-western city of Peshawar. (Para 2)*

Local Meaning and Coherence

The para starts with the conjunction of addition with the specification of information in the descriptive sentence. There is cohesion between this part of the sentence and the previous para. This sentence gives specifications of information about 'barrage of attacks' of one of which took place in Peshawar right after Clinton's arrival in Pakistan. The facts have been amplified magnified and twisted and has been brought forward in the conceding part of the news by providing a specification of information.

Form

Rhetorical Structures

The adjective 'massive' for the noun 'bomb' is a hyperbolic expression and a rhetorical implicature which outspreads the effect of the bombing that took place in one of the cities of Pakistan. It gives an ideologically negative picture of Pakistan.

The start of Mrs Clinton's visit was overshadowed by a massive car bomb in the north-western city of Peshawar, which killed at least 91 people and injured scores more. The secretary said the attack had been "vicious and brutal", and that the US was "standing shoulder to shoulder" with Pakistan in its fight against the militants. (Para 6)

Local Meaning and Coherence

There is an indirect evidentiality of the fact (as BBC presents) that the United States was '"standing shoulder to shoulder"'. The use of quotation and the direct speech or quotation implies that the BBC has been told about it and it is a matter of appearance based on the facts presented in the form of quotation. The evidence or making the fact out of quotation is provided to make the United States sound a very supportive and helpful ally to combat terrorism and concealing the fact that this is the United States' war that Pakistani is fighting.

Form

Rhetorical Structures

BBC has used rhetorical implicatures by stating the exact numbers of casualties that is '91 people' in the attack. The number game strategy has been used to transfuse its ideological belief to the consumers of the news. There is a hyperbolic expression also in the same sentence that is 'scores more'. There is not only an exaggeration in this

expression, but it also edifies the impact along with previous hyperbolic expression '91 people'. The specific expression also contains an irony as it has a pun in it by saying 'scores more'. This gives an impression of a game or a competitive game. It is ridiculing the causalities and the suffering of the people of Pakistan. There is also a repetition of the incident of 'the massive car bomb' as highlighted previously in the news in para 2. The repetition of this incident on the arrival of Mrs Clinton is to shed more light on the terrible and devastating incident from which Pakistan is suffering. This ideologically implies a negative connotation with Pakistan's image.

She commended the Pakistani army for its operations against the Taliban in the South Waziristan province, and offered US help to Pakistan in its "fight for peace and security". "We will give you the help that you need, in order to achieve your goal," she said. (Para 7)

Lexicon

The semantic choices like 'offered' and 'help' associated with Mrs Clinton and the United States offer a positive meaning associated with the West and United States. It gives an impression of a country which has power and knacks not only to help Pakistan but also it is a supportive ally. This presents an ideologically positive picture of West or United States, and BBC seems to form an ideological "Us" with the United States.

Form

Syntax

The sentence structure in stating that the United States' secretary of States 'offered US help to Pakistan' suggests that BBC has precisely defined the act of help. The nominalisation of the verb help into 'US help' conceals the facts and makes it look more prominent rather than imprecise and ambiguous to highlight the effect of help in a stressful way. The syntactic choice of the BBC gives an impression of more "helpful" ally by nominalising the verb "help".

The US has concerns about the increasing numbers of militant attacks on the Pakistan authorities, and the security of its nuclear weapons. (Para 8)

Local Meaning and Coherence

There is an explicit manifestation of the prospective threat regarding the

'security' of Pakistan's 'nuclear weapon' and United States' concern regarding that. There is cohesion between two clauses of the sentence separated by the comparative conjunction 'and' to link two ideas that are considered and shown to be similar. One, the militant attacks based on a recent incident and second, the security concern based on prospective fear of nuclear weapons and their safety and protection. The fact of car bomb attack has been brought forward and twisted and presented in a way to make Pakistan's nuclear weapon look vulnerable and not safe.

This is Mrs Clinton's fifth visit to the country, and her first as US secretary of state. During her visit, Mrs Clinton will visit mosques and shrines, meet Pashtun elders and university students and hold a record number of media interviews with local journalists. (Para 9)

Local Meaning and Coherence

There is a precision in details about the visit of Mrs Clinton and grading of her actions to the fineness of the detail of each action that she did during her visit to Pakistan. The granularity of ideological meaning associated with Mrs Clinton's course of actions or "Us" is very precise and detailed as talking about some fine details and concrete information in a specific order. The 'fifth visit' and 'first as US secretary of state' exert as backdrop to the course of actions coming in the following part of text and then specifications about the actions that she will do include 'will visit mosques and shrines' ; 'meet Pashtun elders and university' and 'media interviews with local journalists'. These precise details and independent granules of information not only highpoint "Our good" but also sprouts and reflect the overall sense of anarchy in KPK Pakistan. There is an ideological sense of chaos that is implied while highlighting "Our good" in detail.

As she arrived in the country, she said she hoped her visit would reinforce the US commitment to the region. "It is unfortunate that there are those who question our motives, perhaps are sceptical that we're going to commit to a long-term relationship, and I want to try to clear the air on that," she said. (Para 10)

Lexicon

In this part of the text, the use of the word 'hope' gives a positive feeling of trust, expectation and aspiration associated with Mrs Clinton. The use of such lexical items or verbs gives an ideological meaning of ambition and determination associated

with Mrs Clinton and the United States, hence a positive "Us".

Last week the US Senate passed a big defence spending bill which aims to ensure that military aid to Pakistan is used solely to fight America's "war on terror". It sets tough new conditions which say that no resources given by the US to Pakistan may be used against India. The bill also stipulates that US military hardware sent to Pakistan must be tracked to see where it ends up. (Para 13)

Form

Syntax

The sentence structure evinces that the United States passed a 'big' defence bill for Pakistan at first place and secondly The United States has reservations on the spending of this aid at the right place. The manifestation is to emphasise the outlook of the meaning and its effect on the noun clause. The noun clause 'a big defence spending bill' is formed with the adjectives 'big' and 'defence spending' and it highlights the fact that the United States has granted 'big' defence bill or aid. The act might be nebulous or fuzzy, but the nominalisation and the clause with high sounding adjectives made it robust, distinct and well defined an act. The ideological "Us vs Them" is considerably apparent in this syntactic structure with "Our good" and "Their bad"polarisation.

Action

Speech acts

In this part of the text, the BBC assumes and accuse Pakistan that the military aid was not being used to fight the war on terror for America 'only' rather it has been used for other activities. The presupposition is triggered by the factive verb 'to ensure' in a statement that the defence spending bill targets 'to ensure' that military aid that is given to Pakistan is used 'solely' to fight America's war on terrorism. It creates a dichotomy of "Us vs Them" as in the United States a donor, benefactor and supporting Pakistan military financially and in return Pakistan deceiving the United States by not using the aid 'solely' for 'America's "war on terror"'. Also in the next part, there is an accusative presupposition triggered by the definite description that no resources given by the United States to Pakistan 'may be used against India'. There is an accusation that Pakistan not only misuses the aid but uses it against India, knowing Pakistan has faced several wars from India either big war or limited all initiated by India, yet the BBC puts

the stance to show it is Pakistan that uses the United States' aid against India. Here BBC has "in grouped" India with The United States, and an ideological dichotomy is visible to portray "Their bad".

Correspondents say the bill is likely to fuel tensions over what Islamabad sees as US interference in its domestic affairs. Earlier this month, President Barack Obama signed into law a $7.5bn aid package for Pakistan tripling non-military US aid to an annual outlay of $1.5bn for five years. The aid money will not be directly handed over to Pakistan but will be spent on different development projects through the US embassy in Islamabad, Washington says. (Para 14)

Form

Rhetorical Structures

The use of the rhetorical implicature number game is used to aggrandise the impact of aid and packages for Pakistan by exactly quantifying and giving the exact figures. The use of expression '$7.5bn aid', 'tripling non-military US aid' and $1.5bn for five years, are used to lay the figures on thick to make the consumers believe the "Our good" and the United States as a benefactor and donor.

Action

Speech acts

The para suggests accusative presupposition triggered by the definite description of the detail that the aid money will be spent on different development projects through the United States embassy in Islamabad and it 'will not be directly handed over to Pakistan'. This incriminates and denounces Pakistan for not being trusted for a reason described in the previous part of the news, that the United States suspects Pakistan to misuse these aid packages and have doubts that Pakistan would use these against India. These accusations depict a negative ideology of the BBC in depicting Pakistan.

4.2.2.3 Overall Analysis of the News 2

The news 2 gets the headline and starting with positive semantic choices with the United States like 'vows' and 'support'. Right from the beginning of the news, the BBC has shown the tendency to overplay the terrorist activities and attacks and the visit of Mrs Clinton as Secretary of States' visit to Pakistan. The details of Mrs Clinton's

visit to Pakistan are rendered with granularity and precisions of details. The BBC chooses positive semantic adoptions like 'offered', 'helped', for depicting a positive role of the United States in the war against terrorism and helping Pakistan in that. Though BBC has not "out grouped" Pakistan completely in doing so but "Our good" has been overplayed to depict a positive image of the United States.

As far as the syntactic formation is concerned, it also appears to highlight the United States as a benefactor and supporter and the sponsor for 'defence spending bill' to Pakistan. While the United States has been overplayed by quantifying the exact numbers of aid and aid packages, the growing threats and militant activities and vulnerability of Pakistan is blown up out of all proportion by the use of hyperbolic expression and repetition of the terrorist 'attacks'. This makes the news consumers believe that Pakistan is the most unsafe place to live and cannot combat these militants on its own without the 'support', 'help' and 'aid' of the United States. There are also accusative presuppositions which infer that Pakistan misuses these aid packages and there is need 'to ensure' that Pakistan does not use the military aid 'against India'. There is not only a presupposed accusation but also there is criticism and culpability on Pakistan for creating trouble in the region and across the borders with India. The news executes along the dichotomy of "Us Vs "Them", where BBC is inclined with the United States and tends to overstate its contribution in Pakistan's war against terrorism, and eclipses and underplays Pakistan for being the most vulnerable and unsafe country which also misuses foreign aid and uses against India.

Table viii
BBC News 2

Meaning – BBC News 2

			US (Our Good)	THEM (Their Bad)
Selection of topic	**Positive**		Clinton vows to support Pakistan (headline)	
	Negative			
Local meaning and coherence	**Positive** **Negative**	**Precise**	Mrs Clinton's fifth visit … her first as US secretary of state. … Mrs Clinton will visit mosques and shrines, meet Pashtun elders and university students and hold a record number of media interviews with local journalists (9)	
		Vague		
	Granularity	**Detailed**	This is Mrs Clinton's fifth visit to the country, and her first as US secretary of state. During her visit, Mrs Clinton will visit mosques and shrines, meet Pashtun elders and university students and hold a record number of media interviews with local journalists (9)	
		Rough		
	Evidentiality	**We have truth**	US was "standing shoulder to shoulder" (6)	
		They are misguided		
	Local coherence	**Biased models**		Shortly after her arrival, a massive car bomb killed dozens of people in the north-western city of Peshawar (2)
Lexicon		**Positive**	offered, helped (7);	
		Negative		

Form – BBC News 2

		US (Our Good)	THEM (Their Bad)
Syntax	**Proposition clause**		
	Nominalisation clause	…and offered US help to Pakistan(7); defence spending (13)	
Rhetorical Structures	**Hyperbole**		massive (2) ; (injured) scores more (6)
	Number game	'$7.5bn aid', 'tripling non-military US aid',' $1.5bn for five years' (14)	killed 91 people (6)
	Irony		(injured) scores more (6)
	Repetition		massive car bomb (2) (6)

Action – BBC News 2

		US (Our Good)	THEM (Their Bad)
Speech acts (Presupposition)	**Promises**		
	Accusations		'…to ensure that military aid to Pakistan is used solely to fight America's "war on terror"' , '… no resources given by the US to Pakistan may be used against India' (13); The aid money will not be directly handed over to Pakistan but will be spent on different development projects through the US embassy in Islamabad. (14)

4.2.3   BBC News 3

4.2.3.1 Context and Background of the News

As there is a focus on the news presented by BBC 'Afghanistan and Pakistan face decisive year' it is observable that the United States had a fundamental "national security goal" that was to keep the interest of America safe and sound. As they worked upon chasing these goals, it was observed that the United States and the entire Western Society had conducted the war on terrorism, especially in the region of Afghanistan, as the United States believed that their country's security was immensely challenged by the terrorist's groups prevailing there named al-Qaeda and the Taliban. The United States was highly determined by their involvement to root out the terrorists and establish complete democracy and stabilising the nations to protect the United States. As this was the case, and in order to deal with Afghanistan, Pakistan became the prime focus of United States due to their close association and bonding with the earlier Taliban government and their strategic essential to be able to destabilise Afghanistan. As the researcher studies this alliance between both the countries; Pakistan and United States, it seems that Pakistan's assistance was quite valuable to the United States as this was one of the biggest contributions to their success against Afghanistan.

According to the news article by BBC 'Afghanistan and Pakistan face decisive year', it is quite evident that the BBC has written from the certain perspective. The BBC mentions that the year 2010 would be a decisive year for both Pakistan and Afghanistan because of the social, political and economic threats it faces, without realising the fact that most of the problems in both these countries are caused by the United States. This news story clearly shifts all the burdens of problems to Pakistan and Afghanistan as the topic shows. This article lays emphasis on the relationship between Afghanistan and Pakistan and challenges faced by both of these countries. This is one of the two articles of BBC that the researcher has selected for the analysis to find out how ideologically BBC portrays Pakistan to the rest of the world.

The news story is laid out in three different parts. The analysis is carried in a way to find out the links with each part individually and cohesion within the text and within the sentence as well. As it is not possible to analyse macro context and micro context independently, as the macro context is formed on political social and ethnic communicative events at large whereas micro context is formed on the basis of the immediate communicative event including local coherence, lexical choices selection of

appropriate rhetorical implicature and syntactic structures. The researcher will analyse the context just simultaneously with local coherence to logically link micro context in local coherence and meaning, with macrostructure on the level of historical, political and social communicative events which make macro context.

4.2.4 Text and Discourse

4.2.4.1.1 Meaning

4.2.3.2.1.a Semantic Macrostructure (Topic)

The very first topic or title of this BBC news is about facing the decisive year of Afghanistan and Pakistan, is an overall technique of critique which has been carried throughout the news. The overall topic of this news is a critique of the role of Afghanistan and Pakistan in the war on terrorism. In this critique, by putting the two countries on the same table of discussion under the same agenda, thus Pakistan is characterised as a political opponent of the BBC, that is part of the "out group" that suggests as one of "Them". Headlines or titles come first and are top for sure. Being First noticeable text headline which is in bigger and bold font is also a visual marker that magnifies the importance of the topic globally. Hence the content is important too.

The ideological implicature of hooking on the two countries together is that if one of them is accused of being convicted of something negative, it is also applied to the other as well that is "Them". Talking about Pakistan with Afghanistan is a strategy to bring them parallel in terms of Afghan government (newly elected) failure; its 'undermanned', 'undertrained' and not so 'equipped' army is implied to bring Pakistan to the same level and creating an ideological "Them". By attaching Afghanistan and Pakistan the sense of "attachment" is given to the two by creating a sense of "Them" and also by detaching Pakistan from West and its media that is, "Us". Afghanistan, being the hub of the most of the extremist groups as being discussed in the news, Pakistan, on the other hand, is not launching any such groups and rather is a victim itself. It is being discussed in the heading with Afghanistan and also mentioned to face a decisive year, shows an ideological bias by matching and connecting the two states together attached to one action. The word 'decisive' being used in the heading is used as hyperbole because for Pakistan it is not a decisive year rather Pakistan is either being a victim or being on the forefront to fight for internal as well as global terrorism. So the word 'decisive' is a biased model for being used with Pakistan keeping in mind the efforts and struggles to fight against terrorism locally and globally, as the position

and stance of Pakistan are being suspected as in the war on terrorism by saying that it will also face a decisive year together with Afghanistan.

The subheadings used in the news are in bold, and it is a visual marker for prominence. Therefore, it also spotlights the importance of the topic of subheadings. Hence this visual marker also emphasises the topic, its importance and the message or content embedded in it.

Talking about the headings which separate the content of news story by sectioning it under each headline. The news story comprises of three main headings as follows:

- Karzai undermined

- Pakistan crisis

- Impasse

All the three headings consist of ideologically negative words whether it is with Afghanistan or Pakistan, there is an ideologically negative meaning associated. Headings are written in bold, and they have the visual marker of catching the attention of the reader more significantly. Whether it is about Karzai government, it takes the reader directly to the Afghanistan's overall crude position because of the word 'undermined'. The word 'crisis' being used with Pakistan puts the image in as Pakistan is in great difficulty, disaster, and the critical period. Having the top two headings exhibiting ideologically negative meaning about these two countries the third heading adds to the meaning of previous two. Its talks about deadlock and dead-end which further describes a negativity and full stop.

4.2.3.2.1.b Semantic Microstructure

People in the South Asia region will be holding their breath in the new year. (Para 1)

Local Meaning and Coherence

In the first line, the idiomatic phrase 'holding their breath' gives an explicit manifestation of the prospective halt for Pakistan and the people in South Asia in general by saying they will be holding their breath. It shows that the new year may give them a kind of breakthrough which will halt down the activities and people will be 'holding their breath' in awe or terror. Such explicit manifestation is being used to

make it a dramatic and magnificent act. The modality of this line is linked to something dramatic coming in the way of people of South Asia who 'will be' holding their breath. This modality is apparently neither positive nor really negative. It is the first line of the news story and 'holding the breath' is leading to something alarming because there is binate between Pakistan and Afghanistan and it arises suspicion about the "breakthrough" because of which these people 'will' hold their breath. This modality gives the strong possibility of something alarming, and at the same time, it is setting a micro context for the upcoming discourse in the news.

Form

Rhetorical Structures

The expressions like 'holding their breath' as the next year is approaching are idiomatic and hyperbolic. This hyperbolic rhetorical expression is making, the forthcoming news even more dramatic. Apparently, this is not really a negative ideological expression, but it is nor a positive expression too indeed. This rhetorical hyperbole is used to make the statement dramatic, is for grounding or working as a foundation for the upcoming contextual or textual patterns in the discourse about and Afghanistan and Pakistan both, and Pakistan specifically. This expression is the ideological foregrounding of upcoming biased models in the discourse. This rhetorical hyperbolic expression serves as a context within the discourse too as BBC tries to make the foundation.

If both nations fail to achieve a modicum of political stability and success against extremism and economic growth, the world will be faced with an expansion of Islamic extremism, doubts about the safety of Pakistan's nuclear weapons and major questions about US prestige and power as it withdraws from Afghanistan. (Para 2)

Local Meaning and Coherence

In para 2, local coherence has been brought forward to create a negative and destructive impact of "Them". In first part of the sentence or the descriptive clause, it has been flaunted that if Pakistan and Afghanistan fail to achieve political stability, success against terrorism and economic growth, it is likely that world will have to face 'Islamic extremism', and the doubts would prevail about nuclear weapons of Pakistan amongst the world as detailed in declarative clause. In this long sentence, top-down local coherence is applied to create a situation within the text and by describing the

specification of this proposition in the descriptive clause and then highlighting a negative meaning of its consequences in the declarative clause by associating it with "Them" hence Pakistan. In the same paragraph, another situation has been put forth about 'US prestige and power' of positive "Us" and that major questions that will raise in that case of failure of political stability of "Them". Also, the words 'precise and power' associated with the United States shows a precision of meaning of these positive words associated with the United States or "Us" to show acute positivity of United States in the matter. At the same time, it entails an ideological disclaimer of withdrawing from Afghanistan. It says that the United States is not going to be less powerful or less prestigious if they have to withdraw from Afghanistan. Rather that would be because of political instability and not being successful against extremism and economic growth in Afghanistan that is one of "Them". This shows an ideologically biased mental model by giving a reason or justification to withdraw from Afghanistan in future because of not anything else but the instability of Afghanistan itself. The possible and strong modality in saying that the world 'will' be facing an expansion of Islamic extremism' if Pakistan and Afghanistan do not achieve a bit of stability. This puts much on Pakistan's shoulders and in a way it shows that political instability is the reason of expansion of Islamic terrorism. There is part-whole granularity in expression 'Islamic extremism', as BBC has very finely related terrorism and Islam together. This creates a part-whole relation with Pakistan because Pakistan is an Islamic State and relating extremism to Islam relates it to Pakistan with detailed granularity. Though extremism has no religion as it is merely a state of mind caused by some mental ailment, so relating religion with extremism or terrorism is simply biased context model.

Lexicon

In the para, words like 'Islamic extremism' shows a biased model and ideologically biased choice of an adjective with the word 'extremism'. Islam is the religion of the majority of the people of Afghanistan and Pakistan is criticised and the lexical choice of the adjective 'Islamic' with the word 'extremism' questions the religion of the people of Pakistan and Afghanistan.This is one commonality between Afghanistan and Pakistan, and by talking about religion here, it not only combines these two countries on this common ground but also associated the negative meaning of Islam and people related to it, including Pakistan. Also the lexicon 'withdraw' in saying that

the United States will have to withdraw from Afghanistan if the two states fail in political stability; success against extremism and economic growth rather than choosing the words surrender, quit, yield, defer shows a positive association with the United States hence "Us".

Form

Syntax

In the clause '… If both nations fail to achieve a modicum of political stability and success against extremism and economic growth...' the negative ideological agency of "Them" is depicted in the active clause by putting the condition of political and economic failure first in the active clause hence mainly highlighting the failure of political stability; success against extremism and failure in economic growth. The following clause '… the world will be faced with an expansion of Islamic extremism…' is ideologically less vigorous as compared to the main clause because it is in the passive voice. Syntactically, by attaching Pakistan with Afghanistan or "Them" and the negative characteristics of failure and being unsuccessful against extremism and economic growth are being ideologically associated with Pakistan in the main clause that is an active clause. Hence Pakistan is treated here as one of "Them" by including it with Afghanistan.

Rhetorical Structures

The alliteration of words 'prestige and power' rhetorically emphasise the quality of being powerful and prestigious being associated with the United States or "Us" that BBC relates itself with by glorifying its power.

Action

Speech Acts

In the phrase '... the world will be faced with an expansion of Islamic extremism, doubts about the safety of Pakistan's nuclear weapons…', there is an act of presupposition that accuses Pakistan, for being its nuclear weapons at risk, if it fails to show political stability; success against extremism and economic growth. There is this negative ideological accusation that is being associated with "Them". The expression 'expansion of Islamic extremism' triggers accusative presupposition due to the quantifier 'expansion'. It suggests that world was already suffering from Islamic

extremism and now there are chances of 'expansion' of this extremism. This accusative presupposition is a biased context model to relate Islam to extremism and Pakistan. This ideologically shows that Pakistan is an extremist state by religion.

The challenges for both countries are deeply interlinked and enormous. (Para 3)

Local Meaning and Coherence

In these lines, there is an ideological manifestation of the meaning associated with 'challenges' that they are 'enormous' and 'deeply interlinked'. The BBC has explicitly stated the challenges which have been talked about previously are huge and interlinked with one another. By interlinking Pakistan with Afghanistan, it has not only created a oneness between the two but between their problems clear-cut and also demarcated Pakistan in "out-group" with Afghanistan and not with "Us". The challenges of Afghanistan are explicitly manifested with that of Pakistan. There is also an ideological granularity and part-whole relationship, in saying that the 'challenges' are 'deeply' interlinked hence deeply intensifying the concord and harmony between the two states hence "Them" and, a precise and explicit discord with the United States and "Us".

Lexicon

The use of lexicon by BBC like 'challenges' with 'enormous' and 'interlinked' with Pakistan in this para depicts and negative ideological association with Pakistan and "Them". The word which depicts a competitive situation in terms of ability and strength makes Pakistan one of "Them" and hence "out-group", and adjectives like 'enormous' amplifies and maximises the noun it is being used with. Such lexical choices not only dichotomize "Us vs Them" but also triggers a negative meaning associated with Pakistan.

The primary task is whether both countries can work together with the Western alliance to roll back the Taliban and al-Qaeda threat they face. (Para 4)

Local Meaning and Coherence

The Ideological local coherence in the lines is observed in putting a positive facet of West or "Us" in the descriptive phrase of the sentence and its specifications and procuring in a descriptive clause that rolling back of 'Taliban and al-Qaeda threats' would only be possible if the two countries will work in support of West.

Hence the proposition in the first clause is bottom-up coherent with the conclusion in the declarative clause. So the decrease of the extremist group threats faced by "Them" is only possible, according to BBS with the help of West. Hence a positive ideology is depicted about "Us".

Lexicon

The lexical choice of words depicting danger, hazard and risks like 'threats' with Pakistan shows the negativity associated with Pakistan and also the consequences of such words.

Action

Speech Acts

In saying '… whether both countries can work together with the Western alliance…', depicts an accusative presupposition that Pakistan along with Afghanistan does not already work together with Western alliances. Thus BBC shows disagreement with Pakistan and its efforts against the war on terrorism by not acknowledging e f f o r t s of its military and security forces and sacrifices of its civilian population as well in the war, by presupposed accusation of not working together already.

That, in turn, rests on the success of the US and NATO's new strategy in both countries over the next 18 months as President Barack Obama has pledged to stabilize Afghanistan's political and economic institutions and start handing over Afghan security to the Afghan armed forces, starting in July 2011. (Para 5)

Local Meaning and Coherence

Since local coherence is a transfer of ideas from writer's mind to the reader with in text to give clear and orderly progress from beginning to the end. In this para, BBC has executed one concept of Afghanistan and Pakistan working together with the United States to roll back the threats of extremist groups. It has depicted a positive image of United States as a helpful and cooperative "Us", and it is built up previously in para 4 which serves as descriptive part by putting forth a proposition and specifications, specifically which has been carried forward in para 5 in declarative part to magnify the consequences of the goodness of United States or "Us" upon "Them". The phrase 'That in turn…' shows the local coherence of biased model is created in the previous para and now taken further to glorify in the successive text as 'success of the US and

NATO's new strategy'. Moreover, the plan of stabilising with the help of NATO is to be carried out in Afghanistan not in Pakistan but by bringing the previous impression of 'work together' in para 4, and connecting it in para 5 with stabilising the political and economic institutions is being associated with Pakistan by showing the universality between two states hence portraying an ideological negative Pakistan or "Them". Because it is known that the United States and NATO are unanimously stabilising ONLY in Afghanistan and not Pakistan. An ideological implicature of universality is depicted.

In the same para the granularity of ideology of meaning associated with "Us" is very precise and detailed as talking about some fine details and concrete information like 'over the next 18 months' and 'starting in July 2011' when talking about United

States' and NATO's strategy and handing over of the institutions to Afghanistan. The act of GIVING and handing over, of "Us" is very finely maximised and discussed in much precision and detail with providing some concrete fact-based knowledge based on biased context model.

Lexicon

The selection of lexicons like 'pledge', 'handing over', to 'stabilize' with Obama, the president of United States depicts some ideological trait of power and powerfulness that is being affiliated with Obama and hence "Us"- the one who is at giving end and grants the things to the less powerful.

Form

Syntax

In this part of a long sentence as this phrase in this para, '…as President Barack Obama has pledged to stabilize…', president Obama the president of United States hence "Us" is presented in ideologically positive manner by stating that he 'pledged to stabilize' the political and economic institutions of Afghanistan in and active voice in one of the clauses of a long sentence to emphasize a positivity of Obama, the president of United States and hence "Us". So the president and pledging to stabilize in in active place and not a passive place to amplify positive ideology of "Us".

For that to happen much will depend on whether the West is able to find effective government partners in both Islamabad and Kabul. (Para 6)

Local Meaning and Coherence

The theory of ideology presented by Van Dijk (2006c) suggests that speaker can also either hide or dissimulate and hence ideologically opine. The body of the text or discourse used in this news provides an elucidation of one of "Them", namely Afghanistan -which is going to face a 'decisive' year and is launching terrorism; and hub of extremist and terrorist groups so an ideological opponent - and Pakistan being geographic neighbor of Afghanistan and an Islamic state like that of Afghanistan and ideological partner. The following paras viz. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15 are discussed under the sole heading of 'Karzai undermined' and are somehow related to

Afghanistan and Karzai government, but it carries an ideological sameness or universality with Pakistan that BBC wants to depict. There is this linguistically strategic implicature in this news stories when Pakistan is discussed with Afghanistan, means to highlight that if BBC has found anything bad or adverse to depict about one of "Them",it also applies to others of "Them'". The news that is discussed under the heading of 'Karzai undermined' is not only depicting an ideology about Afghanistan but also Pakistan since it has been combined in the main heading.

Particularly talking about para 6, there is an explicit manifestation that the United States and NATO's strategy for next eighteen months are only possible to get materialised -as President Obama has assured to stabilise Afghanistan- if the United States is able to find operational government partners in both Afghanistan and Pakistan. By making the binary of Pakistan with Afghanistan here, BBC has put up a negative picture of the Pakistani government. It is evident and definite that Pakistan's government in collaboration with its military has been supporting the United States to evict terrorism from the region and had always let United States use Pakistan's land to carry out operations. Discussing this in the heading of 'Karzai undermined' with Afghanistan makes Pakistan as one of the opponents and makes it one of "Them". The modality in, much 'will' depend on Pakistan, and Afghanistan to be 'effective government partners' with the United States. This modality shows 'much' and the strong possibility that depends on these two countries to be effective enough in partnership with the United States. This, on the one hand, puts much on Pakistan's shoulders and at the same time emphasizes the need of Pakistan to be 'effective' with the United States implying that Pakistan had never been 'effective' partner with the United States.

Form

Rhetorical Structures

In this line, BBC has also rhetorically exhibited negative ideology that Pakistan has been non-effective government partners with West. As used euphemism when stated, whether West would be able to find 'effective', government partners in Pakistan and Afghanistan shows a relatively less harsh word, but it actually implies that government has been "non-effective" in doing any partnership with West. This could be the case with Afghanistan but not Pakistan. Pakistan government has been effective, operational and cooperative in every regard with West staying in its foreign policies and keeping its best regional interests in mind. Using such rhetorical strategies does not only make Pakistan as one of "Them" but also appears highly ideological and negative.

Action

Speech Acts

BBC renders to trigger a presupposition by using the adjective 'effective' in saying that stability in the region depends if West is able '…to find effective government partners in both Islamabad and Kabul'. Here it presupposes and accuses that previously West has not found 'effective' government partners in Pakistan though we know the fact that Karzai and its government is 'undermined' and could not make up to the expectations but considering Pakistani government in the same state is highly ideological and a strategic implicature of action using speech act to disrepute Pakistan by pulling it parallel to Afghanistan here.

So far the prospects are not all that hopeful. (Para 7)

Local Meaning and Coherence

Bringing forth the previous point and linking it here too. Previously Pakistan and its government has not only been discussed with 'Karzai undermined' and its non-effective government, in this line BBC has used negative manifestation explicitly and in fact not just hinted but explicitly manifested that the prospects are not hopeful and this hopelessness is meant to be linked with Pakistan as well and cast away in one of the hopeless "Them".

President Hamid Karzai has emerged as the victor after intensely controversial elections that undermined his domestic and international credibility, while the Afghan

army is still far from being able to take over major security responsibilities. (Para 8)

Local Meaning and Coherence

BBC puts the points with detailed granularity first, that Hamid Karzai has been elected after controversial elections and that had weakened his position internationally and domestically. BBC puts secondly that Afghan army is yet not able to take major

security responsibilities in the country, followed by the concessive conjunction 'while' which is subgroup of contrastive conjunction to contrast the idea put in clause one that is proposition clause and surprise with the idea put in clause followed by 'while' in the declarative clause. BBC while asserting about 'undermanned', 'undertrained' and 'yet to be equipped' Afghan army and air force, BBC is ideologically marginalising Pakistan army and air force and its contribution inside the country and along the borders to successfully accomplishing the 'security responsibilities' here. This ideological marginalisation has been done under the cover local coherence that is created for Hamid Karzai's controversial position , followed by Afghan army's inability to take 'major security responsibilities' , concealing the strength, accomplishment and power of Pakistan's armed forces under the heading since Pakistan is already polarised with Afghanistan in the news story hence one of "Them". Otherwise, it could have been discussed separately, discussing and acknowledging the accomplishments. But the strategic implicature is to marginalise Pakistan armed forces' contribution and hence put in parallel to that of Afghanistan covertly.

There will be renewed political wrangling as the West, and the Afghans have to decide whether to hold parliamentary elections in the new year. (Para 9)

Local Meaning and Coherence

The use of the modality like 'will' and 'have to' with the verbs like 'wrangling' and decision making simultaneously, means first to show strong possibility of prospective political unrest. On the other hand it shows West's credibility and power 'to decide' whether to hold parliamentary elections shows a power relation as of powerfulness, superiority, strength and credibility (self-imposed) in decision making for Afghanistan . BBC uses this ideologically positive and powerful modality with West or "Us", just after discussing 'undermined' Karzai government and, an inefficient Afghan army. This transmits an ideological showcase of power; having credibility, and being efficient to 'take over major security responsibilities' in and about the region. So

BBC portrays West having the power to decide about whether or not to hold parliamentary elections in new year depicts and ideological power and positivity of West or "Us" that BBC holds with West.

Form

Rhetorical Structures

The use of word 'political wrangling' is rhetorically an exaggeration of simple discussion or "taking a decision" about a matter. This issue of discussing whether or not to hold parliamentary elections is where West can participate as a facilitator or third party. In order to magnify political unrest, BBC has used the hyperbole as a rhetorical strategy to magnify the impact of political unrest of Afghanistan and to associate that with one of "Them" i.e. Pakistan.

The Afghan army is still undermanned, undertrained and has yet to be equipped with heavy weapons and an air force. (Para 10)

Local Meaning and Coherence

The local coherence from para eight has been carried to para 10 about Afghan army. BBC is manifesting about Afghan army's inability to take 'major security responsibilities' in para 8. Moreover, the para 10 which also works as a declarative part of para 8 and pictures about the negative trait of Afghan army with precision marked by the accuracy of expression and exactness as in 'undermanned, undertrained and has yet to be equipped'. These attributes seem to validate the inability an inefficiency of Afghan army manifested in para 8.

Lexicon

The lexical choices like, 'undermanned, 'undertrained' and 'yet to be equipped', with Afghan army and air force is a right choice of adjectives to be used. Since Afghanistan is discussed with Pakistan in bold and bigger font in title creates a visual marker of oneness, universality, and binary between Afghanistan and Pakistan, therefore having used such lexical choices shows a negative ideological meaning about Pakistan to highlight using Afghan "umbrella" to conceal all accomplishments and positive traits of Pakistan armed forces.

Form

Rhetorical Structures

There is a rhetorical device used to emphasize and highlight the negative trait of Afghan air force and army. The alliteration of the consonant [d] at the end of each adjective 'undermanned, undertrained' and 'yet to be equipped', is strategically used by BBC to highlight, `magnify`, enlarge and maximise these attributes associated with Afghanistan which is one of "Them" along with Pakistan.

Action

Speech Acts

These lines also propagate the negative traits of Afghan armed forces by assimilating that Afghan army was 'undermanned, undertrained' and 'yet to be equipped', and it is triggered by temporal adjective 'still' , that Afghan army is 'still' in the same state of inefficiency. The negative ideological propagation by BBC is not just confined to the use of negative lexical items but also amplifying the negative meaning with a presupposed notion, that it was 'undermanned, undertrained' and 'yet to be equipped', and it is 'still' in the same state. It is presupposing that army was and is 'still' inefficient to enlarge the impact.

The Afghan army also suffers from 80% illiteracy and a lack of recruits from the Pashtun belt, which are essential if the army is to be effective in the Taliban-controlled southern and eastern parts of the country. (Para 11)

Local Meaning and Coherence

The meaning that is created in these lines is marked by the quality of being specific, as far as the level is concerned. BBC is very specifically describing the specifications of Afghan army with concrete facts like when saying army is suffering from '80% illiteracy' and a 'lack of recruits from the Pashtun belt' . There is also granularity of ideologically negative meaning, highlighting the shortcomings of the Afghan army, which is depicted by causal relation characterised by conditional sentence as the two clauses are separated by 'if'. One clause is describing the facts of discrepancies and shortcomings of the Afghan army and the other clause describing that if these shortcomings are catered then army will be more effective in the areas controlled by Taliban in southern and eastern part of Afghanistan.

Lexicon

The lexical choices like that of 'illiteracy' and 'lack' of recruits for Afghan army

are a negative ideological meaning with Afghan army and Afghanistan. This cannot be ignored in terms of critically analysing this discourse from Pakistan's perspective as throughout this news story, Pakistan is created in binary with Afghanistan and both are ideologically and strongly assumed one of "Them". Hence such ideologically strong lexical items, being used with Afghanistan and not using any lexical items that are positive for Pakistan is a strategic implicature to marginalise the contribution of Pakistan army in the war of terrorism.

In the midst of what will certainly be a hot and possibly decisive summer of fighting in 2010 between Western forces and the Taliban, the other primary tasks of providing jobs and economic development, while building sustainable capacity within the Afghan government to serve the Afghan people, will be even more important and difficult to achieve. (Para 12)

Local Meaning and Coherence

The use of modality 'will' with Western forces and West for firstly fighting and secondly providing jobs and economic development creates an ideological power being able to fight decisively and establishing Afghanistan as providing jobs and to develop it economically. There is a positive ideological portrayal of West hence "Us". This showcasing of being powerfulness has been done with precision and exactness, referring to the exact year that is '2010' and then being more accurately and precisely telling that fight between Western forces and Taliban to take place in the 'summer'. It has showcased precisely Wests credibility of doing restoration projects to emphasise the power and goodness of the West to do these jobs and to be 'providing jobs and economic development, while building sustainable capacity within the Afghan government to serve the Afghan people'. The BBC has used this precision of expression to show its own powerfulness and Afghanistan's vulnerability to be facing decisive '2010' and 'summer'. The same technique of precision is used to portray "Our" credibility and "Their" vulnerability.

Form

Syntax

This long sentence is in the active voice if the form or syntax is considered. Since West and Western forces are glorified of being powerful and strong, the use of active voice makes the doer or agent that is West, more prominent projecting and more

noticeable. Hence an ideologically positive syntactic structure is used with West or "Us".

Rhetorical Structures

The rhetorical implicature of personification for summer as in 'decisive summer' is an ideologically highlighting phenomenon for the summer of 2010 to glorify the fight and restoration that West will do. This can also relate to the 'decisive year' in the title. BBC has not only personified this summer, but it has a connection to the 'decisive year' which both Pakistan and Afghanistan will face in next year. This also implies a euphemism that if Afghanistan faces decisive summer, Pakistan faces the same as in title it is said that 'Afghanistan and Pakistan face decisive year'. Hence all the ideological powerfulness of West that has been glorified do exercise power and influence in Afghanistan and Pakistan both at the same time according to BBC.

Action

Speech act

In this para BBC presupposes a prospective promise triggered by quantifier 'other'. It shows that Western forces out of 'other' restoration jobs, will also be 'providing jobs and economic development, while building sustainable capacity within the Afghan government to serve the Afghan people'. It depicts the sovereignty and supremacy and powerfulness of Western forces to be able to do restoration job effectively at the same time presupposing doing the same otherwise too.

The Taliban strategic plan for the summer is likely to be to avoid excessive fighting in the south and east which is being reinforced with 30,000 new American soldiers. (Para 13)

Local Meaning and Coherence

These specific lines portray evidentiality of meaning regarding Taliban strategy as the word 'likely' is used for the Taliban plan for not having excessive fights inside the country in south and east. The Taliban strategy is for the coming summer as not to fight in south and east because of increased deployment of 30,000 new American

soldiers in the region. The evidentiality is visible from the word 'likely' and BBC infers that it the matter of appearance based on evidence. They may be self-created or fallible or may be right, but this eventuality is inferred because of the specific level of meaning

provided by some facts based information providing an accurate count of new deployed American soldiers that is 30,000. This ideological evidentiality creates an extensive meaning about the United States by implying that BBC which is one of "Us", knows the truth and facts hence proclaim the Taliban plan so precisely.

Form

Rhetorical Structures

The number game as '30,000 new American soldiers' is employed here to show and glorify the United States' supremacy and powerfulness in having deployed such large army in the region for new restoration projects.

Instead, the Taliban will try to expand Taliban bases in the north and West of the country, where they can demoralize the forces of European NATO countries that are facing growing opposition at home about their deployment. (Para 14)

Local Meaning and Coherence

These lines embody ideological meaning created by local coherence brought forward. This local coherence has been carried out with in this specific discourse about 'Talban plan' and also carried forward within this long sentence. As in fist clause that is proposition clause, BBC has put up the specifications about the Taliban plan that they will increase their bases in the West and the north of Afghanistan and in second clause which is a declarative clause, it states that Taliban will try to deflate NATO forces, which are already facing opposition of their deployment from locals. Here the ideologically negative meaning is conveyed that Afghanistan is under new threat according to another new plan of Taliban. There is also granularity of ideological meaning that creates a part whole relationship between Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Taliban. This "part whole relationship" suggests that if X is part of Y and Y is part of Z then X is part of Z too. So here the granularity is so subtle that if Pakistan and Afghanistan are a binary product; and if Afghanistan is facing Taliban threat and their strategic plan; then that ideologically implies that Pakistan is also facing the same. This part whole relation, suggests that if Pakistan is part of Afghanistan (in facing decisive year), and Afghanistan faces serious Taliban threat then Pakistan automatically faces the same. This oneness between these two countries is very much created there throughout the news from the main title to small meaningful discourse and mental models. As in facing 'decisive year' together, and to the precise details in the discourse

there is a binary of "Them" as created by BBC. So this ideological granularity that is created as a result of part whole relation is ideological and carries a negative meaning for Pakistan for being as much vulnerable for terrorism, unsafe, and at high risk as Afghanistan is.

Lexicon

BBC has selected the word 'demoralize' with European NATO forces when they come face to face with Taliban. Instead of using the word to fight, to come in the state of war, wrestle, or to make them loose rather BBC has the careful lexical selection where it depicts that Taliban CAN try to 'demoralize' European NATO forces but not to have in position to fight, or war or coming face to face with them. This shows an ideological showcasing of powerfulness, being strong in numbers and weapons of West and European NATO forces. The word 'demoralize' is too mild and moderate a word which means dispirit and discourage but not by any chance coming face to face with an equal position as to fight. It is not appropriate to be used with European forces when they are facing Taliban which is a worldwide threat for terror according to them. Here BBC has focused more on adoring West and European forces rather than felt a need to highlight danger and risk of Taliban coming face to face with them. Hence a very mild negative lexicon is used to depict prospective defeat of West and European NATO forces. This can be compared to the lexical choice in para 9 for the verb 'wrangling' when it was a total exaggerated and even harsh choice to be used with the political matter of whether or not to have parliamentary elections again. Since politics is a different domain and military is a different one, so BBC tries not to display West or European NATO forces on the vulnerable side or open to risk, to be blamed for not coming up with the standards as BBC itself has been undermining Afghan army and air force in the news already.

Form

Syntax

This long sentence is in active voice, and the syntax of the sentence suggests, that the subject or doer that is Taliban of the verb demoralising, is in the active voice. This is done to provide the ideological sense of agency to the subject (Taliban) rather than making the object that is NATO European forces responsible and keep it far from the context of the Taliban plan.

The militants will also stretch the incoming US troops - forcing them to douse Taliban fires across the country - while they try to create greater insecurity in Central Asia. (Para 15)

Local Meaning and Coherence

There is local coherence within the text and also from previous lines. In the proposition clause BBC, gives a further specification of the Taliban plan that is to keep the United States troops busy stretching them throughout the country. The declarative clause is followed by the contrastive conjunction 'while' to surprise and create much sensation in the upcoming clause, in which it says that Taliban will create more insecurity in the region and central Asia. In the meanwhile when BBC creates a sensation about prospective threat from Taliban, it also in parallel, highlight the chivalry of United States' troops to be extinguishing the fires that Taliban cause in the region, hence ideologically strong "Us" is created who is helpful and peacekeeper rather than an interfering third party.

Form

Rhetorical Structures

The word 'fires' with Taliban fires is a metonymy of the Taliban's terrorist activities and it is metaphorical too. This rhetorical implicature is used to create the prospective sense of danger that will be caused by Taliban. Fire is symbolic of not only destroying its suburbs but also it spreads wildly if it gets uncontrolled or not extinguished properly on time. While this rhetorical structure draws a potential threat, BBC talks about the United States' troops' possible engagement to 'douse' or in extinguishing the fire already. Hence a positive "Us" is created in parallel to the dangerous opponent.

At the same time the Pakistan military, which now effectively controls policy towards India and Afghanistan, shows no signs of giving up on the sanctuaries that the Afghan Taliban have acquired in Pakistan. (Para 16)

Local Meaning and Coherence

While in previous paras talking solely about Afghanistan's 'undermined' government, its political instability; 'undertrained' 'undermanned 'army facing high 'illiteracy' rate and Taliban setting out the new 'strategic plan' and forcing to 'stretch'

the United States' troops across Afghanistan are specifications of descriptive part of text in previous part of the text. However, in this para starting with 'At the same time' creates a local coherence and a top-down coherence, that is the local meaning that is ideology associated previously in previous paras is now shifted to 'the Pakistan military' and the details of conclusion in this declarative part of the sentence are related to Pakistan army. It concedes the truth of a proposition, put forth in previous embedded text hence there is a content relation. There is local coherence at the intertext level mainly and also within this long sentence. BBC says that Pakistan having some effective policy towards two of its major threats that is Afghanistan and Afghan Taliban from Afghanistan shows not to give up on Afghan Taliban sanctuaries in Pakistan. Besides the fact that in the previous part of news Afghanistan is bashed by BBC and so is Pakistan by polarising the two countries in headings as well as in the news, in this part, however, Pakistan has been dealt little differently. This para is a declarative part of the sentence shows that Pakistan military shows no tolerance to keep Afghan Taliban sanctuaries being harboured in Pakistan and to launch terrorism from their land. BBC's stance here is different about Pakistan for two reasons. One West can never deny the fact that Pakistan has sacrificed a lot in terms of economy and military operations and its army has really sacrificed a lot and has conducted maximum operations (89% of all) from the year 2007 to 2009 in FATA and PATA and faced maximum causalities in the same year according to Pakistan Institute of Peace Studies. Second, Hillary Clinton, United States secretary of state (from 2009 to 2013), in one of her speeches in Washington stated very clearly that the United States is sowing what it harboured 20 years back. Moreover, according to CNN news Official (2009), she came up saying:

>…the people we are fighting today (Afghan Taliban) we funded 20 years ago …what we sow because we will harvest so we then left Pakistan we said okay

>fine you deal with the stingers that we've left all over your country you deal with the mines that are along the border and by the way we don't want to have anything to do with you….

Hence the United States admits that Pakistan is suffering and facing the terrorism that the United States harvested 20 years back. Also, Pakistan is an independent established state with the strongest armed forces who have been conduction operations to sweep away the terrorists. So BBC or even the United States, simply cannot categorically do the blame game in Pakistan because Pakistan army and

air force have conducted some major strikes in South Waziristan having assistance with the United States and CIA.

Form

Rhetorical Structures

The word 'sanctuaries' that is used with Afghan Taliban as being here in Pakistan, according to Oxford Advance Learner Dictionary means following:

1. [countable noun] an area where wild birds or animals are protected and are encouraged to breed.

2. [uncountable noun] safety and protection, especially for people who are being chased or attacked.

If the first meaning is taken into consideration, it's a metaphor for the areas occupied by Afghan Taliban in Pakistan. Sanctuary means a place where "wild animals" are "kept" and "encouraged to breed". To portray the danger associated with Afghan Taliban and their presence in Pakistan is compared to the place where wild animals are kept. However, this word is not simply a metaphor, but a hyperbole that the Afghan Taliban not only live there but they are "encouraged" to breed (terrorism). There is a negative ideological, rhetorical device used with Afghanistan hence one of "Them" to show the danger associated.

Action

Speech Acts

The word 'sanctuaries' as used with Afghan Taliban, has different meanings two of which have already been discussed. Therein this para BBC says that Pakistan has no tolerance for Afghan Taliban in its policies but if the literal meanings of the word sanctuary:

1. [countable noun] an area where wild birds or animals are protected and are encouraged to breed.

2. [uncountable noun] safety and protection, especially for people who are being chased or attacked.

The word 'sanctuaries' being used with Afghan Taliban itself shows a presupposition, as triggered by definite description. No matter in the previous clause it's been said that Pakistan has no tolerance policy towards Afghan Taliban, but at the

same time, it presupposes that they were once "protected" on the land of Pakistan and also "encouraged" (according to first meaning) to "breed" terrorism from here.

Also, the second meaning entails another definite description which triggers accusation and presupposition that Afghan Taliban were once provided with a safety here and they were "protected" may be from the United States and its forces, for being chased or attacked. There is a trust deficit which depicts a negative ideology, depicted in the lines though apparently, BBC is highlighting Pakistan's no tolerance policy on giving up Afghan sanctuaries in Pakistan it is presupposing and accusing that they were once protected here and were encouraged to launch terrorism from here.

Without Pakistan eliminating these sanctuaries or forcing the Afghan Taliban leadership into talks with Kabul, US success in Afghanistan is unlikely. (Para 17)

Local Meaning and Coherence

There is an explicit manifestation of the point by BBC about one of "Them", that unless Pakistan eliminates Afghan Taliban sanctuaries, the success of the United States is unlikely. This explicit manifestation is more vivid by putting the condition of success of United States in Afghanistan directly on Pakistan and putting this parallel to the fact of forcing that Afghan Taliban leadership into talks with the Afghan government. By putting these two conditions parallel for United States' success. The BBC has not only explicitly manifested a binary between Pakistan and Afghanistan but also has set Pakistan responsible at first place for the United States not being successful in Afghanistan.

Lexicon

In this para the negative lexical choices like 'Without' being used with Pakistan in 'Without Pakistan eliminating …' semantically carries a negative ideology being associated with Pakistan. Whereas it could have been assimilated as "With Pakistan … success is likely" by making it one of "Us", but BBC chose a semantic option carrying a negative meaning and at the same time created an "out-group" mood by choosing the word 'Without' and that too at the beginning of a sentence. At the same time, the positive word 'success' associated with the United States depicts a positive, strong and powerful "Us", whereas it could have been "US cannot be successful, or US failure is likely". Hence just to avoid the words like "failure" and "cannot be successful" being used with the United States, BBC chose the better and positive word 'success' with the

United States hence "Us", shows an ideological positivity associated with the United States.

Form

Syntax

In this specific para, if it is divided into two clauses, the clear dichotomy of "Us" and "Them" can be seen underlying and concealed in ideological syntactic structure. In first clause, there is an ideological dichotomy at two levels. One, a negative ideological association is with Pakistan by putting it as in subject position and elimination of Afghan sanctuaries as a predicate in the clause, as in 1- [Without Pakistan], 2- [eliminating these sanctuaries]. Hence Pakistan is set responsible, and the responsibility is being overstated and overblown by making Pakistan a subject here.

Secondly, by putting Pakistan in the main clause or proposition clause putting forth an idea of elimination of Afghan sanctuaries from Pakistan, is indeed making Pakistan responsible for all the forthcoming consequences in a subordinate clause that is '…US success in Afghanistan is unlikely.' If the subordinate or consequential clause is probed into, BBC has used the noun 'success' in '…US success in Afghanistan is unlikely.'. Here BBC has used the sentence structure 'US success' which is 'unlikely', instead of using the success of US is unlikely, BBC has used this specific formation to make it less vigorous and less responsible on the part of United States by putting it in subject position and not being successful in predicate position. Also if the overall formation of the sentence is seen, United States being unsuccessful in Afghanistan and it is being put in the subordinated clause hence passive, and the main proposition is put in first and active formation to highlight.

Action

Speech Acts

In this para, there is ideological presupposition being carried forward from previous para 16 and is validated again by stating that without Pakistan elimination these sanctuaries, shows two aspects. One, Pakistan is not doing anything previously for eliminating these sanctuaries already is triggered by factive. Second, the United States is not successful in Afghanistan, and that is because of Pakistan which is not eliminating these sanctuaries already, and it has not been forcing Afghan Taliban

leadership to talk with Kabul that is Afghan government. It is definite description which triggers accusation and presupposition that there exists a problem already and second accusative presupposition is because of the previous accusation stated already. Hence BBC presupposed a negative ideology associated with Pakistan or "Them".

> *Pakistan itself faces a triple crisis*
>
> - *acute political instability - President Asif Ali Zardari may soon be forced to resign, which could trigger long-term political unrest*
> - *an ever-worsening economic crisis that is creating vast armies of jobless youth who are being attracted to the message of extremism*
> - *the army's success rate in dealing with its own indigenous Taliban problem. (Para 18)*

Local Meaning and Coherence

The information in this para is threefold. BBC is talking about Pakistan's triple crisis entails the information with a detailed granularity. In a first phrase, it talks about the triple crisis faced by Pakistan and in next phrases it, in detail, decomposes the proposition demonstrated in the first clause, 'acute political instability'; 'ever-worsening economic crisis' and 'jobless youth'; and also 'army's success rate' in dealing with Taliban is the local ideological meanings created in detailed granularity. By associating Pakistan with crisis and then detailing with a profound granularity shows an ideologically negative association being attached to one of "Them" by highlighting each of the issues in detail as clear as a granular independently.

Lexicon

In these lines, lexical choices by BBC reveal its ideology. BBC has chosen intense negative words. The entirely overall and consistent selection of these words (verbs and noun) sound and depict a negativity in itself like, 'forced', 'resign', 'trigger', and 'message of extremism', clearly shows a negative ideology of BBC for Pakistan and at the same time dissociating Pakistan from "Us".

BBC shows an ideological negativity associated with Pakistan by using sever negative adjectives and magnifying the negativity like used in, 'triple crisis', 'political instability', 'political unrest', 'ever-worsening economic crisis', 'jobless youth' , and 'own indigenous Taliban problem'. The negative semantic choice is obvious. Either for the verbs and noun or adjectives, BBC is depicting negative ideology altogether

in this para. So the direct and obvious lexical choice is considered a deliberate depiction of negative ideology associated with Pakistan at the same time making "Them" distant and distinct from "Us".

Form

Syntax

In the 2nd clause of the sentence while BBC is talking about the acute political instability in Pakistan when in 1st clause it proposed that Pakistan is facing 'triple crisis', there is passive voice used in the 2nd clause. BBC has set forth a big accusative proposition in the first phrase and to justify it and explained in detail in the coming phrases. Hence talking about political instability BBC has used passive voice phrase to highlight that act of resigning and the president Asif Ali Zardari who may soon be forced to do so. But by whom, is not specified and it's not specified by BBC to highlights the act of resignation to validate political instability and President Asif Ali Zardari at first place. So an ideologically negative adjunct is depicted with Pakistan by using this passive voice structure to signify the object that is president and verb that is an act of resignation. Had it been an active voice, it would not have had put much emphasis on the verb which gives an impression of the chaotic political situation.

Rhetorical Structures

BBC in this news story mainly points out Pakistan, seems to use the rhetorical structures like number games, euphemism and hyperbole to transfuse its ideology to its worldwide readers. The use of word 'triple' in 'triple crisis', as in saying Pakistan faces it, BBC is using a number game strategy and that too an odd number to enhance the effect of crisis as much as the number is large and odd. Not only the number game but also it's hyperbole to exaggerate the sense of crisis. Also in saying that Pakistan faces 'ever-worsening' economic crisis and making it superlative degree with the economic crisis, also shows a negative ideology which is being exaggerated hence the negative ideological association is depicted. As a result of the 'ever-worsening economic crisis', according to BBC, is created a 'vast armies of jobless youth' is hyperbolic which is another rhetorical tool of exaggeration. The phrase 'army's success rate' in dealing with Taliban problem is the local context within the text as well as the macro context is a euphemism. By saying 'army's success' rate in context of calling it one of the 'triple crisis' is implied that there is actually no success rate and hence a

euphemism being used, to covertly state a negative ideology about Pakistan army as BBC and "Us" cannot deny the facts of Pakistan army's cooperation in eradicating terrorist groups. The efforts are already discussed and clear by the maximum number of operations being conducted in the year 2008-09 and a massive number of fatalities of security forces because of this war. Even then BBC spoke ideologically negative by not acknowledging the success rate of the army though used euphemism to picture a negative image of Pakistan.

The key to any improvement rests on the army and the political forces coming to a mutual understanding and working relationship with each other and providing support to Western efforts in Afghanistan. (Para 19)

Local Meaning and Coherence

In this part of the news, BBC has discussed two (already) dichotomised units together, that is Pakistan, and the other is West. There is, on the one hand, an explicit manifestation of 'Western efforts' which are already there needs to be supported by Pakistan's political forces and army in working relationship with each other and with mutual understanding and on the other hand later has been discussed vaguely and generally. The enormous efforts of Pakistan military and security forces have been marginalised by not discussing and acknowledging and by putting it together with Pakistan's political instability and making it the condition to provide support to Western efforts. Hence the contribution is depicted vaguely, hence a clear demarcation of "Us" and "Them" at the same time marginalising the efforts and struggles of "Them" by putting it in a political crisis faced then in 2009 by Pakistan.

Lexicon

In these lines of BBC news article, BBC here seems to positively ideologically portray West by using positive words saturated with positivity in itself like 'improvement' 'mutual understanding', 'support' and 'Western efforts'. BBC shows an alliance with West, United States by making a powerful "Us" which is shown by its deliberate lexical choices of all the words which not only depict a positivity but optimism as well. However, the words 'support', 'efforts' with Western in concluding phrase exhibit an explicit positive ideology associated with West.

Action

Speech Acts

By describing the 'key to improvement,' there is a hint of presupposition and aspectual verb that is 'rests' triggers this presupposition that Pakistan's army and political forces are not on mutual understanding already and they are not on working relationship ship too. BBC is accusative by stating so hence a negative ideology about "Them". Also by stating the condition of army and political forces coming on relationship and proving a support to 'Western efforts' presupposes that West is playing an effective role in Afghanistan, is quite effortful already but the support needs to be shown up by Pakistan its army and its political institutions hence there is this presupposition which shows a positive ideology about West or "Us". Word 'efforts' here depict definite description which triggers this presupposition that Western efforts are there and West has been working positively in Afghanistan and also presupposes a promise of showing up more as well, but on condition which 'rests' on Pakistan. Also, the aspectual word 'support' triggers a presupposition that 'Western efforts' are already there and they need support from Pakistan to be effective in the region.

However, for the moment that appears unlikely while the army is hedging its bets with the Afghan Taliban, as it is fearful about a potential power vacuum in Afghanistan once the Americans start to leave in 2011. (Para 20)

Local Meaning and Coherence

These lines create an evidentiality of the matter that Pakistan army is playing a double game and is not going to interfere with Afghan Taliban for the expected power vacuum created in Afghanistan once America withdraws from there. Here BBC proclaims that what it is saying is not a matter of fact, and presenting an indirect evidentiality, and it states, that is a matter of appearance as the word 'appears' is being used while putting the proposition. This shows this indirect evidentiality. This evidentiality is certainly a result of the negative ideology of BBC about Pakistan. Also these lines in connection to the previous lines in para 19, are creating a local coherence of previously used biased model, as the word 'However' being used at the beginning of it and it's a contrastive conjunction which is linking up the idea presented in previous lines with the following lines and at the same time creating a different or opposite idea in the next lines negating the previous. At first, BBC has put proposition or condition

of 'support' of Pakistan with 'Western efforts', and at in the next it has contrasted the idea by putting the evidentiality that it 'appears unlikely'. Here it has shown a local coherence with contrastive ideas. Also, BBC seems to play safe, and these lines also serve as a disclaimer of what it said in para 19. As it is being started with word 'However' and then putting the declarative remark that Pakistan army is 'hedging its bets' (or playing safe in other words). So in para 19 proposing Pakistan's political institutions and army working together to support 'Western efforts' and then totally reversing the stance in para 20 is disclaiming the idea of para 19 where it apparently encouraged Pakistan to support West or "Us" but sooner in next lines disclaimed and explicitly proclaimed that 'support' from Pakistan 'appears unlikely' and hence created a definite "out-group" notion.

Lexicon

The lexical choices like, 'fearful' ,'hedging its bets' shows a weak and vulnerable picture of Pakistan and also a state which is not interested in peace in the region overall, but is playing more diplomatic for merely its interest. However, these two lexical choices totally differ with facts because on the one hand, Pakistan army is very clear about its stance as conducted several operations of which 89% have been conducted in the year 2008-09; faced maximum fatalities in 2009 and still being chosen to characterise 'fearful', is BBC's negative ideology associated with it. Also the selection of words 'potential power' suggest a positive meaning and ideology associated with Americans as to magnify and glorify its presence in Afghanistan by depicting it a real superpower, whose absence may lead an insecurity and fear to Pakistan hence depicted weaken here.

Form

Rhetorical Structures

In these lines, the alliteration of words 'potential power' is amplifying the quality of being powerful that is attached to America. Alliteration does not only make the group of words sound musical and make it stand out in the text but also plays an emphatic role in enhancing its meaning. Hence the positive aspect of the power of "Us", is glorified with the help of this rhetorical tool of alliteration.

Action

Speech Acts

These lines have a presupposition entailing in the temporal clause headed by the word 'once' in the saying that Pakistan is fearful, 'once the Americans started to leave in 2011', triggers this presupposition that Pakistan army is fearful about Americans leaving the region presupposing that it was their presence which was making Pakistan army not to be fearful, whereas Pakistan army is not the one that would be 'fearful' as it is not 'undermanned', 'undertrained' and 'yet to be equipped with heavy weapons and an air force' like that of Afghanistan. Pakistan is an atomic power, and also the efforts of the army in the war on terrorism are already discussed in the introduction section of this thesis. So this presupposition is merely and ideologically negative connotation being attached to Pakistan

Other neighbouring countries - India, Iran, Russia and the Central Asian republics - may start thinking along the same lines and prepare their own Afghan proxies to oppose the Afghan Taliban, which could result in a return to a brutal civil war similar to that of the 1990s. (Para 21)

Local Meaning and Coherence

This para is linked with the previous para 19 and 20, and hence the local coherence of biased model is created as local coherence operates within a sentence and also in subsequent sentences. So in earlier sentence of para 19 there is specification of information which expresses proposition that 'Western efforts' can work if Pakistan shows 'support' by its political institutions and military forces working together; para 20 is a declarative sentence and states that it 'appears unlikely' because Pakistan does not want to take risk or at least mitigate the risk in dealing with any sort with Afghan Taliban once Americans leave. Hence in this para, BBC takes the previous meaning forward by embedding it with the further declaration and creates a content relation between this and previous sentences. By budding an idea in text (as in para 19), declaring a conclusion out of it (as in para 20) and then on the basis of that conclusion, assuming enormous and disastrous consequences like that of 'which could result in a return to a brutal civil war similar to that of the 1990s.'. Hence a negative ideology is created for Pakistan by making Pakistan responsible for the prospective civil war, the idea of which has been budded within the text with its specifications mentioned and the

consequences have been maximised as much as civil war. Also, the information has been stated specifically. The level of information is specific and not general, and the manifestation is explicit with the negative ideological meaning locally created within the text. For instance, talking about neighbouring countries - Central Asian republics, Iran, India, Russia to get into preparing their Afghan proxies the level of specification meaning is specific and concrete to validate the prospects of civil war and magnitude of terror, threat and risk is magnified. Hence by making Pakistan set responsible explicitly for the prospective civil war and causing the neighbouring countries for preparing their own Afghan proxies is ideological and negative which is associated with "Them".

Pakistan's fight against its own Taliban is going well, but that is insufficient as long as the army does not move militarily or politically against the Afghan Taliban or other Punjab-based extremist groups now allied with the Taliban. (Para 22)

Local Meaning and Coherence

In this specific para while BBC talks about Pakistan's fight against Afghan Taliban and other extremist groups there is indirect inferential evidentiality that this fight is 'insufficient' and deduced it from an instance that army doesn't move militarily or politically against these Afghan Taliban and others. The BBC has depicted negative ideology by inferring this 'insufficient' feature for the fight that Pakistan is already fighting globally. Also, the level of information that is provided and the meaning associated with that information is specific particular to make this evidentiality on concrete grounds appear validated. For instance, stating the need specifically of Pakistan to move militarily and politically not only against Afghan Taliban but also Punjab based extremist groups and then further describing that these extremist groups are allied with Afghan Taliban now is a specific level of information that is provided to infer a meaning that is ideologically negative associated with Pakistan.

Lexicon

If the lexical choice is considered, it is self-evident that BBC very explicitly seems to choose the adjectives like 'insufficient' as for Pakistan's fight or in other words its contribution in the past and now ongoing fight for global terrorism. Talking about 'own Taliban' and using the adjective 'own' with a threatening figure like 'Taliban' is to associate a sense of indigenousness or "homegrown" product. Whereas

Pakistan never owns these Taliban since they are imposed or came illegally to the land mostly. Keeping this fact and still choosing these semantically negative and magnified choices with Pakistan, is just ideologically negative impact shows for Pakistan.

Form

Syntax

In this para, BBC has used nominalisation clause while talking about 'Pakistan's fight against its own Taliban'. By nominalisation, the action is turned into a thing or noun, and it focuses the result of the action and the consequences produced by that action which is nominalised. In this particular para, BBC has eliminated the context and used a nominalisation clause to make Pakistan nebulous and made the action and its consequences, prominent and highlighted. It can be further validated as in subordinate clause it has used the word 'insufficient' for 'Pakistan's fight' against Afghan Taliban and other extremist groups allied with Taliban. BBC has minimised Pakistan's efforts in fighting the war on terrorism internally and globally too. A negative ideological "Them" is associated with Pakistan in this para by using the certain syntactic choices.

Action

Speech Acts

There is a presupposition in this sentence that Pakistan is fighting against its own Taliban which is 'going well'. Here the adverb 'well' triggers the presupposition that Pakistan is fighting against its own Taliban and it is going well. But at the same in the following clause claiming that this is 'insufficient' and at that moment talking about 'Punjab-based extremist groups', and then 'now allied with the Taliban', BBC here proclaims another accusative presupposition as triggered by the temporal clause starting with the word 'now allied with the Taliban' that Punjab-based extremist group does already exist, and they are of equal threat and danger as that of Afghan Taliban because being highlighted together and parallel just with the conjunction 'or' between them as to portray they are intersubstitutable in any regard. Not only BBC did not miss a chance to create a binary of Pakistan with Afghanistan here but also magnified 'Punjab-based extremist groups' much as Afghan Taliban whereas the magnitude of prospective threat from the local extremist group is concerned, it is not

in any dynamics equal to that of Afghan Taliban as stated just earlier. An ideological negativity is seen associated with Punjab and Pakistan yet again.

Pakistani calculations also involve India - and the failure of both nations to resume the dialogue halted after the 2008 attacks in Mumbai (Bombay). (Para 23)

Local Meaning and Coherence

In this para under the heading of 'impasse' that means deadlock, BBC talks about the points which create a deadlock in the situation according to BBC. Having talked about Pakistan in the very title of the news with Afghanistan then in a subheading 'Pakistan crisis' and then in 'Impasse', BBC depicts explicit manifestation about the impasse and that according to BBC, Pakistan faces a deadlock because of the 'failure' of India and Pakistan in not resuming and talks after the Mumbai attacks in 2008. This depicts the negative ideology of BBC about Pakistan which is very explicitly manifested as it is directly stated as nothing is left tacit. At the same time, the level of meaning that is associated is ideological and is very specifically created when BBC talks about the halted dialogues and refer it to Mumbai attacks specifically.

Lexicon

Just like the heading 'impasse', the content discussed under the heading seems to have to carry more of the ideologically negative words associated with Pakistan hence "Them". The lexical choices like 'failure' with Pakistan as a nation and direct the readers to think towards an overtly negative direction for Pakistan depict a negative ideology BBC possess. Also, the word like 'halted' with dialogue shows a selection of negative choices hence a negative ideology being associated with Pakistan.

Form

Syntax

BBC using the nominalisation 'failure' while talking about India and Pakistan not resuming dialogue after Mumbai attacks, BBC has chosen the nominalisation of the verb to fail as in 'failure' to make it something that is fuzzy or nebulous to appear stable, mechanical and accurately defined to highlight it. Also, the context and cause of the 'failure' have gone passive by nominalising this word. Since the action "fail" is a negative attribute hence by nominalisation, it has been highlighted which shows BBC's ideologically negative syntactic choice for Pakistan. Hence a negative "Them" is created.

Rhetorical Structures

In the heading of 'impasse' which means deadlock is talking about 'Pakistani calculations' refer to exaggerating the phenomenon of the impasse. Here the use of hyperbole in exaggerating the phenomenon of deadlock or impasse by using the word 'calculations' and also in its plural form as in 'Pakistani calculations' shows there is a list of things already there or yet to be added to credit of Pakistan for causing this 'impasse' or situation of deadlock in any improvement in the situation in the region.

India fears that extremist Punjabi groups could launch another Mumbai-style attack and are demanding that Pakistan break up all indigenous extremist groups that fought in Indian-administered Kashmir in the 1990s. (Para 24)

Local Meaning and Coherence

In these lines, the local coherence is brought forward from previous lines, BBC has dealt this point very precisely, and the level of meaning associated is specific when BBC makes a concrete reference by providing figures in mentioning the year of 1990 when some extremist groups fought in Indian occupied Kashmir. So the 'impasse' which has been discussed in previous lines is brought forward in next line with much detail and specification while giving the reference of not only Mumbai attacks but fights that were fought back in 1990 in Indian occupied Kashmir.

Lexicon

The lexical choice like that of 'fears' for using it with India who is the biggest neighbouring enemy of Pakistan and blames Pakistan for launching attacks like that of Mumbai attacks 2008.Having used this word 'fears' with Pakistan's enemy who always accuse Pakistan of either flaring up extremist groups in Kashmir or launch an attack in Mumbai, this type of lexical choices make Pakistan look more of troublesome and terrifying neighbouring country and hence an ideologically negative "Them". Also, BBC chose to use the word 'Indian-administrated Kashmir' and not Indian occupied Kashmir, depicts that BBC has used an Indian stance in dealing with Kashmir dispute and not that of Pakistan's. Hence BBC has created an "out-group" for Pakistan and hence treated as one of "Them".

Form

Rhetorical Structures

In these lines BBC has also manoeuvred rhetorical devices as the euphemism in saying that India is demanding Pakistan to 'break up' all 'indigenous' extremist groups implies a euphemistic statement that Pakistan has made up these extremist groups. It portrays a negative ideology of BBC about Pakistan.

Action

Speech Acts

In this para, there is a presupposition that Pakistan already has made up all extremist groups that have been fighting in Kashmir in 1990. By using the word 'break up' which is an aspectual verb and triggers an accusative presupposition that Pakistan has "made up" these extremist groups earlier in past which fought in 1990 in Kashmir. Also the use of word 'another' in saying that, India fears that these extremist groups can launch another attack like that of Mumbai, this word which is an adverb of frequency and iterative triggers a presupposition that this act has taken place in past and it can/may occur in future too. This carries a negative ideological expression on BBC's part about Pakistan or "Them".

Islamabad is refusing to do so until Delhi resumes talks with it. (Para 25)

Local Meaning and Coherence

In this line, BBC has used a very explicit manifestation in creating a negative meaning about Pakistan. It has clearly and explicitly manifested that Islamabad (Pakistan) is refusing to break up these extremist groups and putting forth the condition for **'resuming'** dialogue with India. It shows Pakistan is the one responsible for **'impasse'** or deadlock in the region. It carries a negative ideology about Pakistan and hence "Them".

The Obama administration has so far failed to persuade India and Pakistan to resume a dialogue or settle their differences, and if that remains the case in the new year, Pakistan is more than likely to continue defying US pressure to help with Afghanistan. (Para 26)

Local Meaning and Coherence

In this particular para, the BBC has used granularity of negative meaning which is very detailed as there is a causal relation in this conditional sentence in the conditional clause as in '… if that remains the case in the…' Pakistan will defy United States'

pressure to help Afghanistan. This shows firstly, Pakistan has not been convinced to resume dialogues with India and not shown any cooperation for keeping peace in the region. And secondly, that Pakistan would only be helping Afghanistan because of United States' pressure and, secondly it has never been on friendly ties, and it had never struggled for peace in the region.

Also, there is indirect evidentiality when BBC used the word 'likely' in '…Pakistan is more than likely to continue defying US pressure…' .It implies that BBC is saying so because it has deduced this and that is the matter of appearance from the evidence which has been locally created in previous clause and lines. In presenting so, BBC puts forth an ideologically negative meaning with the help of granularity and evidentiality which is locally created.

Lexicon

In this para, BBC chose word 'defying' for Pakistan. According to Oxford Dictionary the word "defy" means refuse to obey. Here using this word for Pakistan against United States' pressure, makes Pakistan, not on equal terms with the United States but this word pictures more of a "master-slave" relation, where Pakistan is a slave which is bound to obey its master or is bound to work under its master's pressure. Such lexical choices portray Pakistan, not an ally of the United States in the war on terrorism but just an "out-group" entity and one of "Them" which is an ideological opponent.

Form

Syntax

BBC using an active voice in saying, 'Pakistan is more than likely to continue defying US pressure to help with Afghanistan.', makes Pakistan appear, not complying with the United States in any cooperation in keeping peace in the region. By putting this in the active voice, BBC has magnified and highlighted this act of 'defying' US pressure and hence showed Pakistan as a non-cooperative state in the region and also in a war against terrorism. This carries an ideologically negative syntactic structure for Pakistan and makes Pakistan not one of "Us" but "Them".

Action

Speech Acts

The use of the aspectual verb 'continue' in these lines triggers an accusative

presupposition in saying that, '…Pakistan is more than likely to continue defying US pressure to help with Afghanistan'. It implies that Pakistan is yet continuing not to cooperate with the United States in helping in a global war that is a war on terrorism. It presupposes an ideologically negative connotation for Pakistan and makes it not one of "Us" which is cooperating in the scenario of a global threat but more like a stubborn infant.

There is growing anti-Americanism in Pakistan despite Washington's pledge of an annual $1.5bn aid package for the next five years. (Para 27)

Local Meaning and Coherence

Despite the fact that in these lines BBC abruptly talks about growing 'anti-Americanism' and also for the first time BBC talks directly about US-Pak relations from BBC's perspective very overtly and openly, in an explicit manifestation though without solid evidence. But in these lines, there is a scenario created within the text in the descriptive clause and put forth a proposition in this clause and brought forward the conclusion in the next declarative clause. The local coherence is deployed as in descriptive clause it is stated that there is 'anti-Americanism' growing in Pakistan and this proposition is followed by a concessive conjunction 'despite' which is a subgroup of contrastive conjunction to make the declarative clause look surprising and unexpected and more of the high-lighted phenomenon. The declarative clause states the fact that the United States has pledged Pakistan of an annual aid of as much as 1.5 billion dollars and for next five years. The level of meaning is very specific along with exact and specific details of facts and figures to show "Our" supremacy to pour aid. Also, BBC has stated a specific level of meaning by giving some concrete information and accurate figure of annual aid to facilitate and validate the negative ideology that BBC has been carrying throughout this news story.

Lexicon

The lexical choices of adjectives like 'growing' and nouns like 'anti-Americanism' which also implies an ideology and then using it with Pakistan proposes, Pakistan having an opposite ideology which is not a pro-American ideology states BBC's lexical choices are highly ideological and negative for Pakistan. The use of adjective 'growing' is hence magnifying and even intensifying the 'anti-Americanism' scenario which is prevailing according to BBC. Such lexical choices

are ideological and make Pakistan one of "Them".

Form

Rhetorical Structures

The use of expression 'growing anti-Americanism' is more of an exaggerated expression hence a hyperbole. Pakistan can have a different stance on American policies and may agree or disagree to this in few aspects but calling it 'growing anti-Americanism' is just a hyperbolic expression for merely of the difference of opinion about some policies or course of actions that Pakistan wants to follow or adopt in foreign policies. Hence the rhetorical structure carries ideologically exaggerated and negative meaning for Pakistan and makes it a strong "out-group" entity and "Them".

Action

Speech Acts

The use of the word, 'growing' which is a quantifier with 'anti-Americanism' triggers presupposition, which states that anti-Americanism was already there and now it is growing and increasing. This speech act demarcates these two nations and demarcates their ideological objectives whereas Pakistan has always been supporting the United States and let it use Pakistan's land for combating terrorism in Afghanistan. But this expression says opposite and makes Pakistan not only an "out-group" but also creates an ideologically negative meaning associated with Pakistan.

With the present lack of security in Pakistan - and the volatile mood towards the US and India that is partly being fueled by the military - it is difficult to see how US aid can be effectively spent or how other economic investments can take place. (Para 28)

Local Meaning and Coherence

Here in this line, BBC has used granularity with accurateness by creating a causal relationship between successive clauses. Starting with the word 'with' these lines show the causal relation of one with the other. For instance, it is said that with lack of security and 'volatile' mood towards the United States and India it seems difficult that Pakistan will be able to use United States' aid effectively. At the same time in these lines, there appears the evidentiality of not effectively using this aid for two reasons. Firstly because Pakistan shows a 'volatile' uncertain mood towards India and

United States and secondly it claims that Pakistan military is not letting it cooperate with the United States and India. The evidentiality is visible because BBC is speculating about it in the first clause about 'lack of security' and then deducing the consequences in saying that, effective investment of the aid is difficult because of the evidence provided in the previous clause that is lack of security and volatile mood of Pakistan which is because its military is fueling to do so. Also BBC talking about the United States and India on one end and keeping Pakistan on the other end, making a binary with India who is Pakistan's biggest threat in the region and out casting Pakistan and polarising with it, clearly exhibits an explicit "Us" vs "Them" showcasing where India and the United States are "Us" and Pakistan is "Them".

Lexicon

The words like 'lack of security', 'volatile mood', 'fueled by the military', show some adverse lexical choices by BBC for Pakistan. Adjectives like 'lack' with security; 'volatile' with mood and using verbs like 'fueled' with the military; are visibly negative and adverse choice of words which shows a negative ideology BBC possess for Pakistan.

Form

Rhetorical Structures

BBC has used a rhetorical implicature of repetition in lines 26, 27 and 28 about Pakistan, 'defying' to United States' pressure not being persuaded to help in Afghanistan; and having 'growing anti-Americanism' in Pakistan; and Pakistan having 'volatile' mood towards the United States which clearly depicts a trust deficit by the United States for Pakistan on not efficiently working or cooperating for war on terrorism. Also there is irony in the phrase that Pakistan shows volatile mood towards the United States and India because it is being 'fueled by the military', whereas looking at the contextual scenario and facts and figures, Pakistan army has suffered the most in these years and has readily helped the United States and West to combat terrorism in the region as well as in Pakistan specifically.

At present, there is an enormous flight of local capital from both Afghanistan and Pakistan that has increased since the Obama plan was announced. (Para 29)

Local Meaning and Coherence

In these lines as there is subjective representation of an already biased 'plan' as announced by Obama, however, the level of meaning is specific, and there is detailed granularity of expression in talking about increased enormous flight from Afghanistan and Pakistan in declarative clause and linking it with the causal connective 'since' in proposition clause. This shows the granularity of expression by BBC as it has intricately, finely and very specifically portrayed the specification of declarative clause followed by 'since' in next clause. The flow of economy out of these two countries according to BBC is because of Obama's plan of tracking down all the Al Qaeda links in Pakistan and Afghanistan. It depicts Pakistan as economically weaken state now. Afghanistan undoubtedly, suffers from the worst period politically, economically and militarily but putting Pakistan in parallel to this situation is ideological and negative. Pakistan has suffered economically only because of this war on terrorism and while combating with it. Calling this capital flight, a consequence of 'Obama plan' is a subjective representation and ideologically negative meaning being associated with Pakistan.

Lexicon

The use of adjective like 'enormous' with economic unrest as in 'flight of local capital' is done to highlight and magnify the impact of economic turbulence or downfall.

Action

Speech Acts

There is a presupposition in these lines which is triggered by the aspectual verb 'increased'. It shows that Pakistan along with Afghanistan already have been suffering from capital flight or in other words flow of economy out of the country and now it has 'increased'. Pakistan might have been facing economic unrest, but the reason is different from that of Afghanistan. Afghanistan's political, economic and military state is in no comparison with that of Pakistan's. Pakistan might be facing a little span of political unrest, but its military side has always been strong inside the country and along the borders. The economic downfall is just because Pakistan itself has been suffering from terrorism just like the United States or other Western countries. BBC simply has outcasted Pakistan by comparing its economic instability with that of Afghanistan's and

hence put a negative ideological presupposition.

The recent arrests in the US and Europe of suspects linked to the Afghanistan-Pakistan region indicate that the world could face a wider extremist threat if it fails to effectively stabilise Afghanistan and help Pakistan towards a quick economic and political recovery. (Para 30)

Local Meaning and Coherence

The use of word 'indicate' before saying that world could face more terrorism if Afghanistan and Pakistan are not stabilised politically and economically, depicts a negative evidentiality that BBC has created that it is based on the evidence and the matter (possibly fallible) appears to be so. The matter is that some suspects have been found out that are linked to Afghanistan and Pakistan in the United States and Europe arrests. The evidentiality created here carries a negative ideology for Pakistan as it has been talked about with Afghanistan which has some Al Qaeda links and can be a safe haven for them but not Pakistan. So Pakistan being portrayed one of "Them" is also accused of having the strong links with 'suspects' that are arrested from Western countries is an implicature to show Pakistan as much a big threat as Afghanistan is by putting them together.

Lexicon

The lexical choices of BBC like 'extremist threat' because of Pakistan is the choice of negative words that shows BBC takes Pakistan as an ideological opponent and BBC's portrayal, itself by using such lexical choices is an ideologically negative picture that it shows.

Form

Syntax

The form of the sentence in these lines as 'The recent arrests… linked to the Afghanistan-Pakistan....', embeds an ideologically negative implicature by nominalising the verb "to arrest" into 'arrests'. As the nominalisation is a linguistic strategy to eliminate context, conceal power relation; emphasise the product rather than the process, so here as well it has been used to highlight the 'arrests' that took place concealing the vitality and truth of the linkage of suspects with Pakistan.

Rhetorical Structures

The repetition of the issue of economic unrest in previous lines and this line too for instance in 27, 28,29,30 'pledge of an annual $1.5bn aid package', suspicion on effectiveness of US aid to be spent on 'economic investments', 'enormous flight of local capital', 'Pakistan towards a quick economic and political recovery', rhetorically emphasises the negative characteristic attribute. The economic turbulence is highlighted by repetition. But here the economic unrest is subjectively represented, as this unrest is because Pakistan has socially, militarily and its civilians have suffered because of this global war on terrorism leading to an economic downfall. This economic unrest that BBC has used throughout repeatedly to picture a negative image of Pakistan. Though actually, it is nothing but being a victim of the war on terrorism just like other Western countries. Even then in this regard, Pakistan has been treated an "out-group" and one of "Them".

Action

Speech Acts

BBC has used speech acts like presupposition that is triggered by the second degree of adjective 'wider' as in saying that world can face 'wider extremist threat'

because of Pakistan shows that world was already facing an extremist threat that was wide and in future, it could be 'wider'. Moreover, the adjective 'quick' triggers a presupposition in stating that the United States to help Pakistan towards 'a quick economic and political recovery', again puts forth a negative image by implying that Pakistan is facing an economic unrest already and it is because of United States that the 'recovery' is possible that 'quickly'.

4.2.4.2 Overall Analysis of the News 3

The news story is analysed, probing into each segment separately. It is, however, significant to analyse this news on the whole. The overall mapping of the news story does not suggest a positive picture portrayed by BBC about Pakistan. However, the detailed analysis says the same. The very title 'Afghanistan and Pakistan face decisive year' of the news comprises a biased model. Though this title suggests a oneness and universality of the two countries, at a glance, it could have been assumed that both of the countries face decisive years in its ways however the chances of such interpretation may be bleak. Each segment is analysed at the contextual as well as the textual level to seek how BBC has reflected the socio-political events of Pakistan. The

overall analysis is essential to knit the small segments at large.

The opening of the news story comprises of the rhetorically hyperbolic expressions 'holding their breath' which gives a dramatic opening to the news and gives an ideologically not very positive meaning to people of South Asia, and Pakistan in specific. The first five paras create a subtle specification of meaning to create oneness and universality and a binary between Pakistan and Afghanistan. BBC shows concern about the United States' 'prestige and power' in withdrawing from Afghanistan without stabilising it. At the same time, it says that challenges that Pakistan and Afghanistan face are 'deeply interlinked' and also 'enormous'. While BBC is linking the two countries, their challenges, on the other hand, it makes it a point of concern for the United States to save its 'prestige and power' in front of the world. While opponent, "Them" is drawn to be 'interlinked' in facing Taliban and Al Qaeda threats, the other, "Us" is concerned about its 'prestige and power' in front of the world.

Karzai Undermined: This news story is reflecting Pakistani socio-political events by BBC, keeping certain social objectives of channel and country in consideration. In order to reflect Pakistan in the news, different strategies have been employed. Firstly making Pakistan a binary with Afghanistan and its bad aspects and making two of them an "out-group" together and highlighting the shortcomings of one to imply it to the second automatically. Secondly glorifying "Us" in every possible way. The stance of "Us versus Them" is generated to show "Our Good and Their Bad". Nevertheless, this part of the news is carried forward on the point of how to retain United States' prestige and power from falling back in front of the world. In order to do so or presenting an ideologically positive "Us" is presented. In this specific part of the news, there is apparently a discussion about Afghanistan and not Pakistan in particular. But the first line under this heading, BBC explicitly manifests about the United States and NATO's new policy only to be successful if Pakistan and Afghan government substantiate to be 'effective' partners, in other words being cooperative with the United States and NATO. The rest of the nine paras consist of a discussion about 'controversial elections', and prospective 'wrangling' whether or not to hold the parliamentary elections again. Besides that this part also contains Afghan army to take 'major security responsibilities' and still being 'undermanned', 'undertrained' and 'yet to be equipped', and suffering from '80% illiteracy'. Throughout this undermining of the Afghan army, BBC has ideologically

marginalised the strength and efficiency of Pakistan army. This undermining of the Afghan army is significant as it marginalises Pakistan army and its effective contribution in the war on terrorism. The Afghanistan is not only treated as Pakistan's geographical neighbour, but ideologically it is also considered Pakistan's neighbour regarding destabilising Pakistan's image and reflecting a certain ideology.

Pakistan Crisis: This part of the news is starting with the comparative conjunction 'At the same time' and then talking about Pakistan army its internal and external policies, shows that BBC is treating Pakistan no different from the Afghan army. Besides the fact that it has stated that Pakistan shows no signs of giving up on internal Taliban threats, yet Pakistan is not making effective policies to counter terrorism outside its borders referring to Afghanistan and India Para 16. But so little that BBC has just highlighted as the achievement of Pakistan army, soon in the coming lines, BBC manifests a contrary statement in para 18. It says Pakistan faces 'triple crisis' one of them is Pakistan army's success rate in dealing with Pakistan's own 'indigenous Taliban problem'. Soon in para 22, BBC shifts its stance, and it portrays that Pakistan's fight against its own Taliban is 'going well', but it is 'insufficient' as it doesn't move against militarily against Afghan Taliban and Punjab based extremist groups which are allied with Taliban. It appears that BBC has adopted "to and fro" policy to portray an image of Pakistan army. As little it acknowledges Pakistan army's efforts, soon in the next step, it nullifies even intensely with a new statement. West has no option in acknowledging the efforts of Pakistan army and it can never deny the statistic that Pakistan has sacrificed a lot in terms of economy and military operations and its army has actually sacrificed a lot and has led maximum number of operations (89% of all) from the year 2007 to 2009 in FATA and PATA and it has faced maximum causalities in the same year according to Pakistan Institute of Peace Studies. This achievement of Pakistan army is not hidden from the world and West, and the United States may secretly admire. But the ideological "to and fro" and shift shows that this representation is subjective and is the result of biased models.

Impasse: This heading renders an explicitly negative conclusion as the news is coming to its concluding part. This part describes the deadlock and setting Pakistan responsible for it. Firstly, it talks about 'failure' of Pakistan to do dialogues with India; secondly, it talks about India's 'fear' of Pakistan executing 'Mumbai-style attacks' again. There is an ideological presupposition that Pakistan had launched the Mumbai

attacks in 2008 and hence India is demanding to break up the 'extremist groups that fought in Indian- administered Kashmir in the 1990s.' Here BBC corresponds to Indian ideology because of projecting its fears so specifically and also using the word 'Indian- administered Kashmir' instead of Indian-occupied Kashmir. Talking about deadlock or impasse, Thirdly BBC has mentioned supposedly 'anti-Americanism' prevailing and the annual 'aid' of 1.5 billion dollars. Fourthly it talks about 'flight of local capitals' from Pakistan and Afghanistan because of the recent crackdown of 'suspects' from the United States and Europe and their links with Afghanistan and Pakistan and prospective 'extremist' threats because of this. All these four points in concluding part of the news suggest a negative ideological meaning about Pakistan.

The overall news is a step by step ideological pouring of BBC about Pakistan. Whether it is the main title or subheading. From the title and headings (semantic macrostructure) to the content (at the level of local meanings and coherence; form rhetorical structures or actions) BBC has asserted its specific ideology about Pakistan, and the discourse used is indeed ideological.

Table ix
BBC News 3

Meaning - BBC News 3

			US (Our Good)	THEM(Their Bad)
Selection of topic	**Positive**			
	Negative			- Afghanistan and Pakistan face decisive year; - Karzai undermined; - Pakistan crisis; - Impasse
Local meaning and coherence	**Manifestation**	**Explicit**	The key to any improvement rests on … providing support to Western efforts in Afghanistan (19);	People in the South Asia region will be holding their breath (1) ; 'challenges' that they face are 'enormous' and 'deeply interlinked'(3) ; whether West is able to find effective government partners in both Islamabad and Kabul (6) ; prospects are not all that hopeful (7) ; Without Pakistan eliminating … US success in Afghanistan is unlikely(17); the failure of both nations to resume the dialogue (23); Islamabad is refusing to do
		Implicit		
	Precision	**Precise**	prestige and power (2); providing jobs and economic development, while building sustainable capacity within the Afghan government to serve the Afghan people (12);	undermanned, undertrained and has yet to be equipped (10); Pakistan break up all indigenous extremist groups that fought in Indian-administered Kashmir in the 1990s (24);
		Vague		The key to any improvement rests on the army and the political forces coming to a mutual understanding … and
	Granularity	**Detailed**	'over the next 18 months' and 'starting in July 2011' (5)	Islamic extremism (2) ; 'challenges' that they are 'enormous' and 'deeply interlinked'(3); victor after intensely controversial … still far from being able to take over major security responsibilities (8); which are essential if the army is to be effective(11); Taliban will try to expand Taliban bases in the north and West of the country(14); acute political instability, ever-

			continue defying US pressure to help with Afghanistan (26); With the present lack of security in Pakistan - and the volatile mood towards the US and India that is partly being fueled by the military (28);
	Rough		
Level	**General**		
	Specific		80% illiteracy, lack of recruits from the Pashtun belt(11); India, Iran, Russia and the Central Asian republics - … prepare their own Afghan proxies to oppose / a brutal civil war similar to that of the 1990s (21); the army does not move militarily or politically against the Afghan Taliban or other Punjab-based extremist groups now allied with the Taliban (22); the dialogue halted after
Modality	**Strong**	have to (9) ; will (12);	will be(2) ; will (6); will(9);
	Weak		
Evidentiality	**We have truth**		strategic plan …is likely to be to avoid excessive fighting (13); for the moment that (improvement) appears unlikely (20) ; that is insufficient … the army does not move militarily or politically against the Afghan Taliban or other Punjab-based extremist groups (22); Pakistan is more than likely to continue defying US pressure(26); With the present
	They are misguided		
Local coherence	**Biased models**	roll back the Taliban and al- Qaeda threat (4) ;	Islamic extremism (2) ; success of the US and NATO's new strategy (5) ; undermanned, undertrained and has yet to be equipped (10) ; Taliban will try to expand Taliban bases in the north and West of the country (14); they

				Taliban have acquired in Pakistan (16); for the moment that (improvement) appears unlikely (19); which could result in a return to a brutal civil war similar to that
Lexicon		Positive	withdraw (2) ; pledge handing over, stabilize, (5) ; success(17); improvement, mutual understanding, support , Western efforts (19) ; potential power (20);	
		Negative	Demoralize(14); fears, Indian-administrated Kashmir (24);	Islamic extremism (2) ; 'challenges', 'enormous', 'interlinked'(3) ; threats(4) ; undermanned, undertrained, yet to be equipped (10); illiteracy, lack (11); without(17) ; triple crisis, political instability, 'political unrest, ever-worsening economic crisis, jobless youth , own indigenous Taliban problem (18); fearful ,hedging its bets (20); insufficient, own

Form – BBC News 3

		US (Our Good)	THEM (Their Bad)
Syntax	**Active (Emphasing)**	…as President Barack Obama has pledged to stabilize… (5) ; Western forces … primary tasks of providing jobs and economic development, while building sustainable capacity within the Afghan government to serve the Afghan people… (12)	If both nations fail to achieve…(2) ; Taliban will try to expand Taliban bases … where they can demoralize the forces of European NATO countries(14); Without Pakistan eliminating … US success in Afghanistan is unlikely(17); Pakistan is … likely to continue defying US pressure to help with
	Passive (De-emphasising)		President Asif Ali Zardari may soon be forced to resign (18)
	Proposition clause		
	Nominalisation clause		Pakistan's fight against its own Taliban (22); the failure (23); The recent arrests… linked to the Afghanistan-Pakistan (30)
Rhetorical Structures	**Hyperbole**		holding their breath (1) ; political wrangling (9) ; sanctuaries (16) ; triple crisis, ever-worsening economic crisis (18) ; Pakistani calculations
	Metonym	Taliban fires (15)	
	Metaphor	Taliban fires (15)	sanctuaries (16)
	Euphemism		whether…effective (6) ; decisive summer (12); army's success (18); break up all indigenous extremist groups (24);
	Number game	30,000 new American soldiers(13)	triple crisis, vast armies of jobless youth (18)
	Alliteration	*p*restige and *p*ower(2) ; *p*otential *p*ower(20)	undermanne*d*, undertraine*d* ,yet to be equippe*d* (10)
	Personification		decisive summer (12)
	Repetition		['defying' to United States, 'growing anti-Americanism', 'volatile' mood towards the United States] (26,27,28); [pledge of an annual $1.5bn aid package, suspicion on effectiveness of US aid to be spent on economic investments, enormous flight of local capital, Pakistan towards a quick economic and political recovery]

Action –BBC News 3

		US (Our Good)	THEM (Their Bad)
Speech acts (Presupposition)	**Promises**	providing jobs and economic development, while building sustainable capacity within the Afghan government to serve the Afghan people (12);	
	Accusations		expansion of Islamic extremism (2) ; '… whether both countries can work … with the Western alliance…' (4) ; whether the West is able to find effective government partners in both Islamabad and Kabul (6); still undermanned, undertrained' yet to be equipped (10); sanctuaries (16); Without Pakistan eliminating … US success in Afghanistan is unlikely(17); key to any improvement rests on the army and the political forces coming to a mutual understanding (19); the (Pak) army is … fearful about a potential power vacuum in Afghanistan once the Americans started to leave in 2011 (20); its own Taliban is going well /Punjab-based extremist groups now allied with the Taliban (22); Punjabi groups could launch another Mumbai-style attack and are demanding that Pakistan break up all indigenous extremist groups (24); Pakistan is … likely to continue defying US pressure to help with Afghanistan (26); growing anti-Americanism(27); flight of local capital …that has increased (29); wider extremist threat/ a quick economic and political recovery (30)

4.2.4   BBC News 4

4.2.4.1 Context and Background of the News

The news is about the Terrorism fatwa as issued by an Islamic scholar from Pakistan. The West and Western media associate the extremism with Islam in general and Pakistan in specific, the fatwa is crucial in the scenario to disconnect and distinguish Islam from the terrorism.

4.2.4.2 Text and Discourse

4.2.4.2.1   Meaning

4.2.4.2.1.a Semantic Macrostructure (Topic)

Islamic Scholar Tahir ul-Qadri Issues Terrorism Fatwa (headline)

A fatwā in the Islam is a nonbinding (having no legal power) but authoritative legal opinion or scholarly interpretation that the mufti who is a qualified jurist or Sheikh-ul-Islam (outstanding scholar) can give on issues relating to the Islamic law (Hallaq, 2013). At first immediately upon looking, the statement appeals to news consumers to believe that an 'Islamic Scholar' has issued a fatwa in favour of terrorism. The statement by no means conveys anything positive related to Islamic scholar Tahir-ul-Qadri from Pakistan. It points towards 'terrorism' and directly relating that with 'fatwa' which has legal power and scholarly interpretation. Instead of using a preposition "about" before 'fatwa', the lexical choices and the expression 'terrorism fatwa' is deceptive which does not preamble anything positive coming in the news. Hence at a macro level, the meaning is misleading as it directly attaches 'terrorism' with 'fatwa'.

4.2.4.2.1.b Semantic Microstructure

Although many scholars have made similar rulings in the past, Dr Qadri argued that his massive document goes much further by omitting "ifs and buts" added by other thinkers. He said that it set out a point-by-point theological rebuttal of every argument used by al-Qaeda inspired recruiters. (Para 4)

Local Meaning and Coherence

The information from the previous part of the news has been brought forward, as Dr Qasdri has wholly discarded the al Qaida's violent and extremist ideology in his 600-page judgment or fatwa. The BBC also exhibited in previous paras that according

to Dr Qadri Islam never allows suicide bombing and massacre. However these facts have been brought forward but twisted in this para as BBC starts the sentence with the concessive conjunction 'although' that is a subgroup of contrastive conjunction, and it has been used to contrast the idea that has been presented previously hence there is local coherence of biased model or information that was previously discussed. It implies that no matter the violent ideology has been discarded and dismantled by Dr Qadri, yet this is not something that previously had not been done. In other words, BBC infers that this fatwa is not a new juncture and such type of fatwas had been issued in the past as well. Dr Tahir-ul-Qadri is a well-known Pakistani politician and Sunni Islamic scholar. He is the founder and the leader of Pakistan Awami Tehreek party known as PAT. He was a professor of international constitutional law at the University of the Punjab (A Profile of Shaykh-ul-Islam Dr Muhammad Tahir-ul-Qadri, n.d.). According to BBC as a well-known Pakistani politician and Islamic scholar yet the fatwa is not a new thing as presented by someone.

The populist scholar developed his document last year as a response to the increase in bombings across Pakistan by militants. (Para 5)

Local Meaning and Coherence

There is granularity in the expression of the ideologically negative connotation of increase in terrorism across Pakistan. As soon as BBC discusses Dr Qadri's fatwa against al Qaida's violent ideology and extremism, soon after it also renders about the 'increase in bombing' in Pakistan. The expression contains detailed granularity and the fatwa by Dr Qadri has a part-whole relationship with the 'increase in bombings across Pakistan'. The profound and detailed expression of one granular after another shows ideologically negative association being attached to "Them" that is Pakistan by highlighting one of the issues that are 'increase' in a militant bombing in detail as clear as a granular independently and associating that with other granular that is fatwa.

However, some scholarly rulings in the Middle East have argued that the conflict between Israel and the Palestinians is an exceptional situation where "martyrdom" attacks can be justified. (Para 10)

Local Meaning and Coherence

The para starts with the contrastive conjunction 'but', and hence local meaning has been brought forward and twisted, distorted and deviated by connecting the

outcomes of Dr Qadri's fatwa with some of the Middle East scholar's fatwa where these attacks are not only justified but are titled '"martyrdom"'. Apparently there is no direct allegation on Pakistan or Pakistani scholar but linking Middle Eastern scholar's argument not only reverses the importance of Dr Qadri's fatwa but invalidates the potential effect of Pakistani scholar. This does not suggest an ideologically negative meaning, but it does not even stipulate how Pakistan and its well-known religious scholar dismantles with al-Qaida's violent ideology.

4.2.4.3 Overall Analysis of the News 4

The headline expresses part of the main topic, summarises its critique of the news. The general principle of the dichotomy of "Us vs Them" in discourse affects both forms and meanings either in the main news or in the headlines. However, BBC has enhanced the negative properties of terrorism by reporting a gruesome act of terrorism with a fatwa by a well-known Pakistani scholar, with the main headline without expounding that the fatwa is against the violent ideology of terrorism.

In the main news also, besides Dr Qadri's '600-page judgement' that is completely against the terrorism , suicide attacks and violent ideology of al Qaida, the main emphasis has been on the negative side of the picture by focusing more in 'increase in bombing across Pakistan' with local coherence of biased models and detailed granularity of the expression. Also, the impact of this fatwa is abolished by connecting that with Middle Eastern scholar's fatwa where they justify suicide attacks with '"martyrdom"'.

Table ix
BBC News 4

Meaning – BBC News 4

			US (Our Good)	THEM (Their Bad)
Selection of topic	**Positive**			
	Negative			Islamic Scholar Tahir ul-Qadri Issues Terrorism Fatwa (headline)
Local Meaning Coherence	**Granularity**	**Detailed**		The populist scholar developed his document last year as a response to the increase in bombings across Pakistan by militants (5)
		Rough		
	Local coherence	**Biased models**		Although many scholars have made similar rulings in the past, Dr Qadri argued that his massive document goes much further by omitting "ifs and buts" added by other thinkers (4) ; But some scholarly rulings in the Middle East have argued that the conflict between Israel and the Palestinians is an exceptional situation where "martyrdom" attacks can be justified (10)

4.2.5   BBC News 5

4.2.5.1 Context and Background of the News

The context explains what people say and indeed how they say it. Context is a mental construct which influences text. These mental constructs form mental models which signify people's experiences in the past, and their episodic memory (long-term memory). In terms of sociolinguistics, these mental models signify the experience of a social group according to their culture class, race or ethnicity. Thus the context that is formed and used in a news discourse is also ideological. So the mental model of news represents past experiences or social experiences of newsmaker and the way they perceive event or issue presently. These models are subjective, and fairly biased representations of "reality", and may also depict evaluations of events, different situations and issues (opinions), in its own certain way. As with war on terrorism – as is normally the case by the dramatic, traumatic or dramatic events of our lives each social group has a different emotional and social experience of this war. (Van Dijk, 2009b)

In this news BBC tends to focus on the strategic dialogue that took place between Pakistan and the United States that led to a significant break between the past troubles within two of these countries. In the previous news, BBC had created a binary of Pakistan with Afghanistan though knowing the fact and it had always been noticed that the relationship between Pakistan and Afghanistan had been a victim of conflicting interests. These two countries have never been at ease, and there always have been deep suspicions in the bilateral politics when these two countries are concerned. Even though Pakistan had wanted a friendly relation with the government of Afghanistan, there were certain things that were materialised as the relationships worsened when Hamid Karzai was the president. As in the previous news, Pakistan was outcast in "out-group" with Afghanistan; news 2 seems to have a different strategy as to deal with Pakistan that is an ideological "Them". Pakistan is dealt alone and not under the umbrella of Afghanistan. That is what the apparently the topic suggests, however, the detailed analysis is as under.

4.2.5.3 Text and Discourse

4.2.5.3.1   Meaning

4.2.5.2.1.a Semantic Macrostructure (Topic)

The heading or the title of this news story 'US-Pakistan dialogue with a difference' is somewhat catchy because of the word 'difference'. The use of this type of vague nouns leaves an ideological uncertainty, which can neither be graded positive nor negative intrinsically. However, if news 1 is taken into account, West is yet to 'find effective government partners' in Pakistan; and also there is 'growing anti-Americanism in Pakistan', it is visible that the previous US-Pakistan relation is really not appreciated much and the prospective meaning of 'difference' of dialogue, this time is somewhat opposite to the previous relation. Hence the title suggests something sensational and surprising coming in the news.

Heading, help the readers to grasp the structure of news. It creates a visual marker, and the news producer uses this marker to structure the draft of the news for the readers. The subheadings of the news are:

- Transactional relation
- Key demand
- Major role

The subheading of the news suggests that these 'dialogues' are going to be judged under the ups and downs of transactional relationship; key demands by Pakistan; and Major role of the United States and Pakistan. The Pak-US relation beginning is marked by as after the independence of Pakistan. The subheadings are catchy and carry some ideological meaning as far as the relationship is concerned. Though subheading provides the skeleton to the news and it helps the reader identify the overall content of the news and these subheadings are also shaping the news. The transactional relation suggests the "off-on" relation between Pakistan and the United States. Because of the word 'transactional', it looks more of a material "deal" oriented relation Where the two countries are using each other for benefits and national or foreign policy interests. The word 'demand' in the second heading conforms to the "deal" which two countries are going to carry out, and exchange of demands are going to be there in the 'dialogue with the difference'. The third heading though is less ideological as it talks about the major role. This major role can be of the United States or Pakistan or even some other

country.

The detailed analysis of the news as for micro semantic structure is as under with parallel to contextual references to analyse microstructures from a certain perspective.

4.2.5.2.1.b Semantic Microstructure

When Pakistan's powerful army chief, Gen Ashfaq Kayani, and Foreign Minister Shah Mahmood Qureshi got off the plane in Washington to conduct what was called the "strategic dialogue" with the US last week, they carried a 56-page shopping list asking for money, arms... and more money. (Para 1)

Local Meaning and Coherence

This para has precision in the expression in first part of the long sentence. The precision to set a background for the declarative or the second part of the sentence. BBC when points to General Ashfaq Kayani and Foreign Minister Shah Mehmood Qureshi's visit to America, it sets the scene with precision by using image building words 'got off' the plane, and carrying 'a 56-page shopping list' , 'for money, arms... and more money'. Such dramatic yet precise expressions are apparently not negative, but they are not very positive expressions too. This dramatic precision in the first part is ideological and sets a background for second part of the sentence describing demands of Pakistan that it put forth.

Form

Syntax

The overall form of this long sentence is considered, it is an active voice, where the subjects are General Ashfaq Kayani and Foreign Minister Shah Mehmood Qureshi, and the verb is 'to conduct' the strategic dialogue. BBC ideologically puts these Pakistani officials active doer of conducting the strategic dialogue. Out of a long active voice sentence, this specific part, in saying that General Ashfaq Kayani and Foreign Minister Shah Mehmood Qureshi reached Washington to conduct what 'was called a "strategic dialogue"', is in the passive voice. That shows that BBC keeps the object or doer of this action, undefined, as who calls it '"strategic dialogue"', it doesn't want to take it to itself to call it a '"strategic dialogue"'. BBC here exhibits a negative ideology about Pakistani officials and Pakistan overall. Firstly, to write this phrase in

inverted commas show a visual marker of presenting it as to be perceived as sarcasm or as a joke. So not only BBC did not mean this 'strategic dialogue' to be actually a strategic dialogue but also the passive form of this specific part emphasises this notion of sarcasm eliminating the subject of this action.

Rhetorical Structures

Three rhetorically ideological expressions as to call 'powerful' army chief; '56-page shopping list'; and '"strategic dialogue"' in inverted commas, show an ideological distance and not agreeing to call it a strategic dialogue actually, emphasise the negative image of Pakistan. BBC, on the one hand, creates a pun of '56-page shopping list'; and '"strategic dialogue"', cannot mean the army chief to be 'powerful'. This is ironic because BBC means the otherwise. Marking the 'strategic dialogue' in inverted commas to make it a joke, and calling a '56-page' official agenda, to be a shopping list, show BBC is not taking this visit or dialogue any serious. This creates an ideologically negative meaning of Pakistan and makes Pakistan an ideological opponent right in the beginning of this news.

That has been the norm for US-Pakistan dialogues in the past 50 years of an on-off relationship. Meanwhile, the US has always urged Pakistan to fit into its own strategic plans, such as doing more to combat terrorism. (Para 2)

Local Meaning and Coherence

There is local coherence in this para brought forward from the previous para of biased models full of pun and irony about the visit of Pakistani officials to the United States in saying 'That has been the norm for US-Pakistan dialogues'. There is an ideological emphasis if the level of meaning is considered. It is specific as BBC gives reference of a contextual reference to '50 years of an on-off relationship' to make it concrete, though this is subjective representation. This expression of '50 years of an on-off relationship' carries a specific level of meaning for Pakistan. The Pak-US relationship has always been 'on-off' for the reason that the United States has always used it for its own interest. From extensive military aid and strong military alliance to swift and worse "U-Turn" after the sanctions of 1965 by India and even worst after Pakistan got split in 1971; from that to "frontline state" fight against Soviet Union in Afghanistan, ignoring Pakistan's nuclear program; from that to 9/11 and rebuking Pakistan for harbouring terrorist 'sanctuaries' in Pakistan; to using Pakistan's land for

invasion in Afghanistan and using its air bases. This 'off-on' relationship has always been in United States' interest because it has been switching this relationship off or on according to its national interests only. Pakistan has always been on the recessive end of this '50 years of an on-off relationship'. It was the United States who has always decided its manoeuvre to keep its relationship on or off with Pakistan. Here the subjective presentation with a specific level of meaning of this relationship shows BBC's negative ideology which it has depicted for Pakistan.

Form

Rhetorical Structure

Apparently, the word 'norm' is not an ideologically negative word, but its context within the sentence and also in the previous para makes it a biased model and makes ironical. If it is Pakistan's norm to have 'shopping' list and ask for 'money, arms... and more money', then this dialogue is not with a 'difference' this time. The word 'norm' here figuratively implies, that Pakistan always seek 'money, arms... and more money' having a 'shopping list' in hand. Here this word is ironical and carries an ideologically negative meaning for Pakistan.

Action

Speech acts

The West has always one mantra "to do more" towards Pakistan besides Pakistan significant support in strategic planning and intelligence cooperation and most of all providing its bases to the NATO forces to combat terrorism. The West is never satisfied what Pakistan is already doing and how much Pakistan had already lost in terms of military and civil lives fatalities. Here in these lines too BBC says 'US has always urged Pakistan to …, such as doing more to combat terrorism'. It presupposes an accusation triggered by the adverb and iterative 'more' that Pakistan is not already doing much to combat terrorism. Even if it acknowledges that Pakistan is doing something at the same time it accuses of not "doing much". This has always led to trust deficit between West and Pakistan and that is clearly visible in the ideological dichotomy that BBC reflects here.

However, this time there was a difference. (Para 3)

Local Meaning and Coherence

This sentence is linked to para 2, creates a local coherence as it is started with the word 'However'. Having started with the contrastive conjunction suggests that it has a contrastive declaration as said in the previous proposition and again it says that there was a 'difference' this time. BBC appears to have a "to and fro" move in talking about Pakistan's stance in this visit. At one place it says, Pakistan brought 'shopping list', then it says, its Pakistan 'norm' and soon in the third para it changes the statement and says this time there was a 'difference'. The word 'difference' has been used so relatively from the title to this part and probably further too. BBC is ideologically propagating a negative image of Pakistan by using "to and fro" strategy.

The Pakistanis also carried a brief which frankly, addressed Pakistan's strategic interests and security needs with regard to India, Afghanistan and sensitive issues like nuclear weapons and terrorism. (Para 4)

Local Meaning and Coherence

There is an ideological disclaimer by BBC in, 'The Pakistanis also carried a brief which frankly, addressed' only Pakistan's strategic interest. The word 'frankly'

shows an honesty move of disclaiming this negative manifestation about Pakistan, that this visit and the dialogue is only conducted to address Pakistan' strategic interests. It is said without evasiveness apparently. However, it combines positive self-presentation with negative other presentation, as manifesting a big statement but disclaiming at the same time. Here is even clearer why BBC has used the word 'shopping list' for this official document consisting agenda, and why it was not taking the responsibility to call it an actual 'strategic dialogue'. This has been done explicitly manifest that the dialogue 'addressed Pakistan's strategic interests and security needs with regard to India, Afghanistan and sensitive issues like nuclear weapons and terrorism', shows Pakistan has the one-sided agenda behind this dialogue hence ideological "Them". The "to and fro" strategy of exhibiting negative ideology is evident here too. Here again, BBC says that Pakistan addressed their own interests only, and there is no 'difference' seen as such. The level of meaning is specific in talking about 'Pakistan's strategic interest' in detail counting one by one; 'India, Afghanistan and sensitive issues like nuclear weapons and terrorism'. While BBC accuses Pakistan to address only

Pakistan's strategic interests, it makes sure to provide the detail of the facts and hence negative ideological picture to conform to the accusation.

Form

Syntax

Here BBC chose to nominalise the verb 'brief', in the phrase saying that General Kayani and Foreign Minister 'also carried a brief which' according to BBC addressed only Pakistan's strategic interests. This has been done to decontextualise it from the actual scenario and to highlight and to make it look prominent. By decontextualising, it is referred that BBC has accused Pakistan to address only or all 'Pakistan's strategic interests' so it has concealed the actual scenario that even if Pakistan has done so, why it has done so. The only prominence is given to nominalised 'brief' and what it addressed.

Rhetorical Structures

In this para, BBC has rhetorically emphasised and generalised army chief, General Ashfaq Kayani, and Foreign Minister Shah Mahmood Qureshi, with 'Pakistanis' and used a metonym 'Pakistanis' to give this attribute to the whole nation. Instead of using the word "officials", BBC chose to use metonym 'Pakistanis' to

generalise all the accusations that it had made to the whole nation to give it a magnified, overstated, overblown intensity of accusations.

The US, rather than lecturing, wanted to listen, even if it could not comply with many of Pakistan's demands. (Para 5)

Local Meaning and Coherence

The level of meaning associated with "Our good" is quite noticeable and specific in this line. It is defined by sheer specification in detail and details as labelled are, 'rather than lecturing'; 'wanted to listen'; 'even if it could not comply with Pakistan's demands'. There is positive ideological meaning pictured in this sentence. It implies that the United States is a cooperative state and would let Pakistan speak its concern and welcome to 'listen' rather than lecturing, though it would not comply with some of the demands. Here Positive "Us" has been presented and also Pakistan has been outcasted ideologically by saying that the United States could not really comply with many of the demands by Pakistan. Also here it is important to mention that in para 4,

BBC has already outcasted Pakistan in saying that Pakistan only addressed its own strategic concerns.

Lexicon

The lexical choices like 'listen' for "Us" and 'demand' for "Them" shows a positive semantic ideology with "Us" to be cooperative, "not so demanding" and open-minded, unprejudiced state. Whereas the lexicon 'demand' with "Them" implies, Pakistan as an immature, self-centred, selfish child, which would only demand and others would listen. There could have been other choices too like plan, agenda, line up, and layout, but these lexical choices that have been used here are smartly chosen to depict a certain ideology of "Our good Their bad".

Form

Syntax

This sentence is in a syntactic form even, which comply with positive "Us" presentation. This is a simple subject-verb-object (SVO) sentence. However, some additional phrases were added in between to give a precise picture. 'The US' is the

subject of the sentence, 'wanted to listen' and not 'lecturing' are the main verbs, and Pakistan is the object. In this sentence where United States according to BBS, is engaged in a positive action, in an active subject position and directly complying with the ideologically positive verbs, shows a positive presentation of "Us".

For the Americans, this was a welcome change from the subterfuge, lack of clarity and covert support for militant groups that Pakistan has engaged in in the past. (Para 6)

Local Meaning and Coherence

This para is linked with the previous para as the demonstrative pronoun 'this' is referring back to the point where the United States was 'listening' to the demands rather than 'lecturing'. This biased local coherence has been taken forward in this para with a specific level of meaning and, and precision marked my accuracy of expression in dealing with negative traits that Pakistan has been accused of as being 'subterfuge', having ' lack of clarity' supporting 'militant groups' and doing it 'covertly' in the past. All these negative traits, though of past according to BBC, has been very specifically mentioned with the precision of expression shows emphasis on negative ideology and

its exhibition deliberately, no matter it was talking about 'welcome change', it never forgot to mention these traits of past as accused by BBC.

Lexicon

BBC has used severely negative words, though about past according to it, yet such lexical choices like 'subterfuge', 'lack of clarity' for expressions; and 'covert support' for militants show a negative ideology presented by BBC for "Them" that is Pakistan.

Action

Speech acts

The element of presupposition is triggered by definite description as 'a welcome change' in the sentence. As it says that Pakistan has been engaged in being 'subterfuge', having 'lack of clarity' supporting 'militant groups' and doing it covertly, highlights and predominates the strong presupposition that Pakistan was engaged in doing such things and hence presents a negative "Them".

For the Pakistanis, it was a chance to air all their pent-up grievances against Washington and demand to be given the same treatment as arch-rival India. (Para 7)

Local Meaning and Coherence

As far as the local meaning is concerned, the previous sentence was addressing 'a welcome change' that the United States faced. Moreover, this particular para 7, addresses Pakistani's 'chance' to 'air' the grievances' that were ever 'pent-up'. The selection of a topic for "Us vs Them" is noticeable and clear as "Positive vs Negative". For Americans, they are welcoming the 'change', and for Pakistani's they got a 'chance' to unveil their grievances. The choice of topics and biased models further creates a local coherence brought forward to support these positive and negative topics, BBC has done it with great precision and providing specific facts in telling about Pakistan's 'demand' as the fact that Pakistan wants the same treatment as given to 'arch-rival' India.

Lexicon

The lexical choices or adjectives like 'pent-up' with Pakistan's 'grievances' as they have against Washington, depicts Pakistan to be a non-cooperative, self-centred state, which is not coming on cooperative terms for evicting terrorism from the region.

For using the adjective 'arch-rival' with India, though it is a fact yet carries a negative ideological impression about Pakistan. Either there could have been no adjective used at all, or even it was to be used, that could have been "neighboring country", neighbor, or any other adjective that could have triggered a positive aspect or even a neutral aspect of description but not related to rivalries to portray that Pakistan is an agitated and nonconformist country and not a "good" geographic neighbor. Such lexical choices are ideological and also negative and explicitly show Pakistan an ideological "out-group" hence "Them".

Form

Rhetorical Structures

In this sentence again the use of metonym 'Pakistanis' for officials, army chief, General Ashfaq Kayani, and Foreign Minister Shah Mahmood Qureshi who are officials and are on the official visit, rhetorically emphasises all the negative meanings that have been explicitly or implicitly associated with these officials to make it rather generalizable to all the Pakistani nation and to give the feeling and negative meaning on a larger scale. These "smart" rhetorical choices depict certain ideology about Pakistan.

Action

Speech acts

The expression 'a chance to air' their grievances rhetorically emphasises presupposition triggered by the factive 'to air' that Pakistan possesses or have 'grievances' which were 'pent-up' so far. It makes Pakistan an ideological opponent and an opponent who keeps the 'grievances'. It shows a negative ideological presentation about Pakistan.

After 11 September, former Presidents George Bush and Pervez Musharraf carried out a largely transactional relationship. "I will give you an al-Qaeda operative in exchange for two F16 fighter-bombers" - was what that boiled down to. (Para 8)

Local Meaning and Coherence

In this para BBC has referred to a 'largely transactional relationship' and a "deal" of the two presidents, George Bush and Parvez Musharaf after September 11 in the first sentence. In the second sentence of this para, it stated that this transaction

relationship boils down to '"I will give you an al-Qaeda operative in exchange for two F16 fighter bombers"'. BBC' "to and for" strategy even serves well here. In one sentence attributing it 'largely transactional relationship' and sooner in next calling it an 'exchange' of al-Qaeda operative and F16s, it appears that just to highlight and dramatise the deal, BBC first takes a neutral stance and soon, negate it or revert by a sensational statement with precision and concrete facts, no matter if the facts are used subjectively. However, the presentation of these facts and the local coherence that it creates shows a negative ideological impression about Pakistan. The little BBC gives a neutral statement soon; it breaks up with a big contrary statement just like calling this 'largely transactional relationship' a mere deal for F16, however, the actual context has been discussed just above. The use of modality 'will' in '"I will give you an al- Qaeda operative"' ideologically shows that Pakistan is operating al-Qaeda and exercise power over it as much as to have a strong authority over it, showing easy accessibility of Pakistan with al-Qaeda but in exchange of F16s. BBC has also created an indirect evidentiality of negative meaning by using quotative as in "I will give you an al-Qaeda operative in exchange for two F16 fighter-bombers", though the credibility of these words are doubtful because BBC has used this reference subjectively to serve BBC's own purpose, the use of quotative shows the evidentiality to create ideologically negative meaning that it has associated with Pakistan.

Form

Syntax

Whole sentence in which BBC pictures, Pakistan's authority over al-Qaeda, as to be given, its operatives to the United States on an exchange condition, is nominalized as in '"I will give you an al-Qaeda operative in exchange for two F16 fighter-bombers"'. The whole sentence has been nominalised, as it has already been said that

this reference is decontextualised and subjectively represented by BBC. So again it is supported that BBC has nominalised this deal into a nominalisation clause to make it highlighted, and keeping it away from context and manipulating it according to its own ideological mantra which is going against Pakistan.

Rhetorical Structures

The rhetorical phrase 'boiled down' is a dramatic exaggeration as used with a strategic deal. This is the fact that every country keeps its concern on priority keeping

its foreign policies in mind. If the president puts its concerns straight and open up, and these concerns are already presented subjectively, then the phrase 'boiled down' makes exaggerated a phenomenon. Because at first place the deal is presented subjectively because F16s were part of 1.5 billion dollar aid plans and speedy delivery of F16s, helicopters and frigates. Calling this 'boiled down' is hyperbole as it was not boiled down to it, it was already part of the aid that the United States had announced. Such rhetorically exaggerated expressions magnify the negative ideology that BBC speaks out.

Action

Speech acts

The line, 'I will give you an al-Qaeda operative' also presupposes that I (in a broader sense Pakistan) have al-Qaeda and I keep sole control over it, and I can give you, in exchange for something valuable. The aspectual verb 'give' triggers presupposition that president Musharraf has control over al-Qaeda and its activities and they are easily retrievable if the president wants to. This action presents an ideologically negative picture of Pakistan.

While Mr Musharraf hosted the Afghan Taliban and other extremist groups, as a hedge against Indian influence in Kashmir and Afghanistan, Mr Bush pretended to look the other way. Mr Bush conducted crisis management rather than real engagement. (Para 9)

Local Meaning and Coherence

This para again seems to be at its top to present "Our good Their bad". The local coherence is shaped as in first clause which is a propositional clause BBC puts forth the point that Mr Musharaf had actually 'hosted' Afghan Taliban and also other extremist groups to use them against India in Kashmir and in the other clause separated by concessive conjunction 'while' to make the other idea appear more sensational and surprising , BBC states that Obama overlooked Pakistan's 'subterfuge' and looked positively into the matter and instead of any political one to one, he did 'crisis management'. On one had this biased model of local coherence states that 'Mr Musharraf hosted the Afghan Taliban and other extremist groups', which draws "Their" bad picture .On the other hand it presents "Our" good picture as in 'Mr Bush conducted crisis management rather than real engagement'.

Lexicon

The lexical choice 'hosted' with Afghan Taliban and extremist groups, makes Musharaf a "host" implies that Pakistan is harbouring them and terrorism. This is ideological and biased mental model as Pakistan had never 'hosted' extremism neither any of these extremist groups. Pakistan is the one mainly suffering from all the terrorism because of being a geographical neighbour of Afghanistan. Such semantic choices are ideologically negative.

President Barack Obama promised to put Pakistan on the top of his agenda. Now after 15 months of intense engagement, dozens of visits to Islamabad by American officials and unrelenting pressure, the Obama administration has finally got the Pakistanis to open up. (Para 10)

Local Meaning and Coherence

Therein this para, the precision in telling the efforts that the United States had put in are noticeable. It has been manifested explicitly with detailed and providing exact information that the United States has 'promised' to put Pakistan on top of agenda. Ideologically this part is, showing that the United States sees this relationship between two countries, on quality basis; there is neither assertion of hegemony, nor any grudges is a declarative sentence. However, in the next sentence starting with 'Now', which suggests a link with the previous sentence creates a local coherence, and the

specification of the proposition, presented in a later sentence. This sentence is an ideological justification for putting Pakistan 'on top' and showcasing positive image of United States and its efforts to be a cooperative collation partner in the war on terrorism. BBC has expressed precisely and in detail the efforts the United States has made like: '15 months of intense engagement'; 'dozens of visits' to Pakistan and 'unrelenting pressure' United States had to face. BBC here presets an ideologically positive "Us" who is putting in all efforts and exerting maximum energies, and Pakistan ideologically negative "Them", who is so hard to deal with.

Lexicon

The positive lexical choices like 'promised' with Obama, the president of United States shows the positivity and having powers to promise to get the promises fulfilled. Such ideological lexicons present a positive "Us".

Form

Syntax

In these lines as in saying 'the Obama administration has finally got the Pakistanis to open up', the Obama administration is in subject position in an active voice sentence and hence taking the complete credit of Pakistanis to open up. The possible and most probable structure of this sentence could have been that "the Pakistanis finally opened up to the Obama administration". But BBC attributes all the praises to American officials even in minor positive step by Pakistanis.

Rhetorical Structures

The rhetorical choices like 'dozens of visits' 'unrelenting pressure', 'intense engagement' are hyperbolic expressions to magnify the efforts the United States had to make to sort out 'grievances' between Pakistan and United States and to get Pakistan to 'open up'.

The metonym 'Pakistanis' has been used previously for army chief, General Ashfaq Kayani, and Pakistan's Foreign Minister Shah Mahmood Qureshi and in this part too, to make the whole scenario, generalisable and covering overall masses of Pakistan. This can be compared and hence validated, to the use of the word 'American officials' for the officials who visited Pakistan, and not calling them just "Americans".

This choice of metonym for Pakistani officials and not using such for American officials is a deliberate rhetorical choice that depicts an ideology of BBC to make the scenario generalisable and, applied to bigger masses to intensify the negative meaning it exhibits. Also the number game in saying '15 months of intense engagement', 'dozens of visits' is another rhetorical implicature to quantify and glorify "Our" good, to show the United States' efforts and involvement in getting Pakistan to 'open up'. It is done to make it look concrete and also intensify it by quantifying the scenario and Western efforts.

Now, said officials from both sides, everything was on the table. That is important right now. (Para 11)

Lexicon

In the previous text in the news BBC, has used metonym 'Pakistanis' about Pakistan's army chief, General Ashfaq Kayani, and, its Foreign Minister Shah

Mahmood Qureshi in para 4, 7 and 10. However, in this para, BBC has used the word 'officials' for this personnel, and they have been shown up in same phrase 'officials from both sides'. This shows a neutral ideological projection of Pakistan and bringing "Us" and "Them" in the same ideological frame.

Even though Pakistan may be a crumbling state unable to provide its people with electricity, water, security or jobs, the army's bargaining power with the US has increased dramatically. (Para 12)

Local Meaning and Coherence

This para has local coherence within this long sentence to depict a certain ideological stance by BBC. In first clause BBC says that Pakistan is unable to provide the necessities to its people, and in doing so BBC mentions all the specifications of propositional clause with precision and the level of meaning is specific as in calling it a 'crumbling state' and in telling that it is unable to provide with 'electricity', 'security', 'water', and 'jobs'. Separated by the concessive conjunction, 'Even though' shows there is a contrastive or surprising idea in next clause and in declarative clause BBC opens up with rebuking Pakistan army and, calling its strategic plans a 'bargaining power' is an explicit reflectivity of negative ideological perception. Contrasting two notions, one calling it a 'crumbling state' and second condemning the army's strategic plans which it has put forth, shows BBC uses Pakistan's weakness to conceal its strengths. Soon after para 11 where it had a neutral portrayal of Pakistan's image, BBC in next para broke up with a critique of army's policies and strategies and calling it a bargaining. It shows when West sees Pakistan exercising its power, even as little as in its army's strategic plans, BBC ideologically curbs its strengths to get them visible to the world and start highlighting the other issues.

Lexicon

The lexical choices like 'crumbling' with the state (Pakistan); showing inefficiency and using direct words like 'unable to provide' necessities like water, electricity and jobs, show and ideological grudge and open resentment against Pakistan. Also, the use of words like 'dramatically' in saying that, the power to argue over Pakistan army's own interests has increased dramatically shows BBC and its ideological partner West, does not take Pakistan seriously, just as calling its official agenda a 'shopping list'.

Form

Rhetorical Structures

There is a pun in the expression 'army's bargaining power'. This rhetorical implicature is used to express how casually and non-serious BBC shows Pakistan army's strength of not compromising its strategic interests. This, if compared to how BBC has depicted Afghan army as 'undermanned', 'undertrained' if it is not able to take 'major security responsibilities'. On the other hand, Pakistan army which is well equipped, highly trained, and not ready to surrender in front of West or United States, its act of not surrendering is taken dramatic and Pakistan 'army's bargaining power'. This shows an acute resentment and negativity that BBC reveals here.

Action

Speech acts

The use of aspectual verb 'increased' triggers a presupposition in saying that Pakistan army's power to bargain has increased, validates the accusation, BBC wants to put here. Its triggers accusation that Pakistan army not only this time has been bargaining but it has been bargaining in the past, and that has 'increased' this time. Such presupposition works to validate the ideological negativity that BBC wants to convey about Pakistan.

That is due to increases in its nuclear arsenal, its stepped-up fight against the Pakistani Taliban after years of dithering and its influence over the Afghan Taliban as the US and NATO prepare to start pulling out of Afghanistan next year. (Para 13)

Local Meaning and Coherence

This para has been started with 'That is due to', which creates a local coherence of biased models previously used that can be conveniently understood if looked bottom up. In para 12, BBC has talked about Pakistan army's firm policies and not bending down and called it 'army's bargain power', however in this para BBC says, that that is because of increase in 'nuclear arsenal', and 'stepped-up fight' against Taliban. These two accomplishments of Pakistan have been manifested very implicitly in a way not to get prominence because soon in the next phrase it nullifies these by adding 'after years of dithering'. Hence BBC vaguely mentions these accomplishments because soon it was followed by a negative reasoning that Pakistan is 'bargaining' even powerfully because now it has 'influence' over Afghan Taliban because NATO and United States

is soon expected to pull out of Afghanistan. BBC in this para has pointed out two strengths and accomplishments of Pakistan , but as they are linked to call it a reason of increased 'barging power' in para 12 that this is because of Pakistan wants to "take over" the power as NATO and United States soon prepare to leave Afghanistan. The level of meaning is so general and hence less impassive as compared to the specific meaning and implicitly manifestation of the negative strengths and achievemnts associated with Pakistan. Here achievements like an increase in 'nuclear arsenal', and 'stepped-up fight' against Taliban, are expressed so vaguely and subjectively that it has concealed the actual accomplishment.

Lexicon

The use of such words like 'Pakistani Taliban', creates a sense of oneness between these two. If a terrorist group executes a terrorist activity in West, it would not be called an "American Taliban" or a "French Taliban" but if these groups execute such activities in Pakistan soon they become 'Pakistani Taliban', and this becomes a discourse practice and a legitimate adjective. This shows a biased mental model in choosing such lexical items. Also, the verb 'dithering' gives a negative impact, and that too when it is being used to quash or reverse a recently mentioned achievement.

At the end of two days of talks, Mr Qureshi said he was satisfied as both sides "move from a relationship to a partnership". US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton shared her optimism. (Para 14)

Local Meaning and Coherence

This para expresses the success of the dialogue at the 'end of two days' dialogues. BBC says that Foreign Minister Shah Mehmood Qureshi was 'satisfied' from the dialogue as '"move from a relationship to a partnership"'. BBC has quoted Mr Qureshi's remarks that the conclusion of the transactional dialogue from 'relationship' to 'partnership' but has quoted in inverted commas to create a double meaning and that BBC detaches itself from this expression. It is a straightforward move and disclaimer my quoting Mr Qureshi's remarks and not taking any responsibility of Mr Qureshis's remarks and him being 'satisfied'. Hence so far this creates an ideological distance from Mr Qureshi's statement and hence emphasises the dichotomy of "Them".

Lexicon

The lexical choices by BBC like being 'satisfied' with Pakistan's Foreign minister; and sharing 'optimism' by United States Secretary of State Hillary Clinton show an ideological discrimination by BBC. With United States Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, choosing a word showing positivity, and positive attitude, whereas with Pakistan's Foreign minister, the word being 'satisfied'. Apparently, the word 'satisfied' is a neutral word, but it does not show as much positivity as the word 'optimism' does. Using different lexical choices for two people both being high officials belonging from Pakistan and United States respectively shows an ideological discrimination and clear exposition of "Us vs Them".

Form

Rhetorical Structures

The element of pun in the phrase '"move from a relationship to a partnership"', is a rhetorical implicature to emphasise that it is not what it appears to be as quoted in inverted commas. Also, it creates an element of humour, shows the extent to which BBC takes statements by Pakistani officials, casually and non-serious. This shows an ideological distance, for the opponent and considering him or his statements disdain.

However, the real dialogue was with Gen Kayani and the army which had prepared Pakistan's briefs, with no objections from Mr Qureshi or the civilian government. (Para 15)

Local Meaning and Coherence

This para starts with contrastive conjunction 'However' suggests its link with the previous para, where two contrastive points are linked, creates local coherence. Previous para 14, displays apparently a moment of consent between two ideological opponents, but this para contrasts that notion as BBC conveys that previous two days dialogue was not credible and the 'real' dialogue is between General Kayani and army from the consent of Foreign minister and civilian government. This is explained with detailed granularity, creating a part-whole relation between each segment of the sentence. These segments are that first if General Kayani prepared the brief, second, it was prepared from Mr Qureshi's consent, and third Mr Qureshi represents the civilian government. This creates a sense of generalisation for the people and civil-military

institutions responsible for this 'real' dialogue that took place between General Kayani and United States' army. The word 'real' dialogue does not create a positive sense in this para because it is contrasted with the previous para where US Secretary of State was optimistic about dialogue and Pakistan's Foreign minister was 'satisfied'. This highlights a negative ideological meaning about Pakistan army and army chief as troublesome army chief for the United States and West.

Form

Rhetorical Structures

The rhetorical expression 'real' suggests euphemism here for the dialogue referred in para 14 between civilian officials of both the countries. In para 15, BBC says that the 'real' dialogue was between army officials, implies that the one that took place between civilian official who seemed to be positive dialogue was not the real dialogue. This rhetorical implicature soon in para 15 denies even the tinge of positive meaning that BBC conveyed in para 14.

The army tried and failed to make US acceptance of its major demands as pre-conditions for the success of the talks. The US insisted on discussing every issue and conceded little. (Para 16)

Local Meaning and Coherence

This specific para consists detailed granularity in showing that Pakistan army 'tried' (first granular) and then 'failed' (second granular) to get its major demands accepted from the United States; and third, these demands are 'preconditions' for the dialogue being successful. Pakistan's failure in doing so has been expressed with detail, and further, this enriched the meaning with calling it 'preconditions' for the successful talk. Otherwise, no bilateral or foreign office level talk is successful if the mutual demands are not addressed and fulfilled. A part-whole relation has been established, to make the success of talks depending on non-failure of acceptance of demands, and acceptance of demands depending on unsuccessful talks. Also, the United States' part is generally signified, pertaining no negative meaning rather shows that the United States wants to cooperate as much as to discuss everything. United States' not accepting Pakistan's major demands, has been camouflaged, in the local meaning that is created by biased context models. That is 'army tried and failed' with a granularity of meaning vs 'The United States insisted' with the general level of meaning. It is

basically a mutual disagreement over the demands, but it has been expressed differently to address "Us" and "Them". This clearly shows "Us vs Them" and "Their" bad, expressed in detail and "Our" bad expressed generally, and it also shows ideological bias.

Lexicon

The lexical choices like Pakistan 'failed' and the United States 'insisted' on the same matter, i.e. not coming to mutual agreement over demands, shows BBC chooses noticeable negative lexicons for Pakistan and positive for the United States, for the same matter of disagreement over dialogues. Moreover, the word 'conceded little' instead of using did "not" concede shows BBC's selection of not using words that visibly create a negative impression about "Us". BBC rather chooses lexicons which sound least negative like 'little' instead of "not".

Form

Syntax

The syntactic form of this para suggests BBC has detached why United States did not accept the major demands and to do so nominalisation has been used in phrase 'US acceptance'. As nominalisation gives priority to action and not the people doing the action, so the act of accepting or not accepting is prioritised rather than setting the United States responsible for this to make the act firstly less blaming, secondly to give more prominence to the preceding phrase of Pakistan army's failure. This can be validated as in this sentence 'army' is in subject position instead of United States. This active voice sentence lays Pakistan army responsible for not getting acceptance, rather than the United States for not accepting Pakistan's major demands.

The US offered nothing new, but the most concrete results were reflected in a sector-by-sector dialogue by relevant ministries on each side, as to how the US can help rally Pakistan's faltering economy, lack of energy and improve its agriculture and infrastructure. (Para 17)

Local Meaning and Coherence

The fact that BBC has generated in this para, that United States offered to help recover or reform Pakistan's 'faltering economy'; its 'lack of energy' and also improve its 'agriculture and infrastructure'. In this para BBC, on the one hand,

indicates, 'how' the United States 'offered' that it can help Pakistan with a specific level of positive meaning associated with "Us", but on the other hand it also pointed out the economic demise of Pakistan with detailed precision. In the para, "Our" good is expressed with the specification of positive meaning versus, "Their" economic demise is expressed with detailed precision. BBC while reflecting 'most concrete results' of the sector by sector dialogue of relevant ministries, asserted this, with a slight tinge of the positivity about Pakistan, being fortified it with the United States. When it is about expressing 'most concrete results', it is ensured to be expressed with mutual efforts and not just with Pakistan's only. This shows the ideological fortification by BBC, of Pakistan with the United States when even the tinge of positivity has to be expressed.

Lexicon

The lexical choices like, offered, 'can help' with United States show an ideological positive connotation with United States and in the same sentence the adjectival choices like 'faltering' with economy, 'lack' of energy in Pakistan shows not only a negative ideology for Pakistan but ideological superiority of United States being associated with it, as to be in the position to offer and to help the ideological opponent, i.e. Pakistan-suffering from economic demise.

Form

Syntax

The United States in this para is in the active subject position since the content is about 'most concrete' dialogues and verbs are ideologically positive like 'offered' and 'helped'. If this is compared to the active subject position of the subject in para 16, it is clear that BBC uses active voice for Pakistan to be blamed as to be 'failed' in getting acceptance from the United States of major demands. This makes it clear that BBC chooses active voice syntax for Pakistan's "bad" and the same for the United States "good". There is an ideological discrimination in the syntax for "Us" and "Them" The placement of "Us" in subject position with a positive verb and, placing "Them" in subject position with the negative verb is well explanatory of the fact.

Action

Speech acts

There is a presupposition in this para which is triggered by the aspectual verb 'improve', for agriculture and infrastructure that these are in worst conditions and need improvement. Such presuppositions convey Pakistan as dilapidated and creaky. In the same sentence the expression that the United States offered 'nothing new', and this definite description triggers a presupposition that the United States had been offering the help in the past and is promising to do the same in future hence a positive "Us" is shown with a creaky dilapidated "Them".

The US is providing an annual $1.5bn aid package to Pakistan's civil sector for the next five years. However, Pakistan will still not get improved US trade access for its textile exports - a key demand to revive its moribund industry and something that would be clearly more effective than just aid. (Para 18)

Para 18 to 24 come under the headings of 'key demand'. These paras are expected to explain the demands of Pakistan, one by one, and how the United States corresponded to these.

Local Meaning and Coherence

This para shows a clear demarcation of negative modality with Pakistan in, 'Pakistan will still not get' improved trade access for textile industry, and positive modality in 'The US is providing' with the United States. It depicts United States' positive contingency and Pakistan's negative possibility because of positive and negative modality chosen by BBC to show ideologically negative and subjective attitude, and negative status of a proposition by BBC for Pakistan.

There is explicit manifestation about Pakistan in Pakistan will not get United States' 'trade access' for textile export. Though the United States is not providing the access, however here BBC has manifested this in a way to set Pakistan unable to get access and hence ideologically inefficient.

There is a negative indirect evidentiality as BBC states that the United States did not provide access to textile export because of its 'moribund industry'. BBC has inferred this from available evidence though fallible, but it is there in the text, Unites States did not provide access to export. This evidentiality also legitimises the act of

United States, as not providing access to textile export. This is ideologically justifying United States' act and also gives prominence to Pakistan's doomed textile industry as BBC presented.

Lexicon

The choice of words like 'providing' with the United States make it sound a "superpower" and authority who is also at a giving end, something which is high in supremacy and so self-sufficient as, 'providing' others to rectify their demises. The adjectival choices like 'moribund' with textile industry reflect an ideological doom associated with Pakistan. However, if the United States did not provide extended export access to Pakistan, should not imply that the textile industry is 'moribund'. Such lexical choices not only picture the negative image but also twist the reality.

Form

Syntax

In these lines, United States is in the active subject position with positive verb 'providing' in 'US is providing' 1.5billion dollars; and in next Pakistan is in active subject position, with negative verb phrase in 'Pakistan will still not get' access to textile export. These two different choices of subject position show BBC's ideological discrimination between "Us vs Them".

Rhetorical Structures

BBC uses the rhetorical implicature of applying number games as in mentioning that the United States is giving '$1.5bn aid package'. This is not only done to make the specific information tangible but also quantifying and giving exact numbers to highlight the point further and validate it. This rhetorical implicature of number game here is used to show ideologically positive "Us".

The military will quickly receive some $1bn in outstanding dues for fighting the war against militants, assured future funding and faster delivery of new weapons including helicopters, F16s and naval frigates. (Para 19)

Local Meaning and Coherence

BBC has enlightened that Pakistan will get 1 billion dollars for fighting a war against terrorism and, assurance of getting future funding, fast delivery weapons, F16s and naval frigates. This positive act of "pouring" in so much in Pakistan's lap, BBC has

demonstrated with detailed precision and granularity. The precision is noticeable in detailing everything, like quicker delivery of new weapons that are 'helicopter', 'F16s', and 'naval frigates'. The detailed granularity can be perceived in two clauses, one about 1 billion dollar aid, for the military to fight with militants; and second about further details of military grants, to make each party stand out yet linked to each other dependently. This shows a positive "Us" which is willing to help Pakistan and is imperium to grant money and weapons and frigates. At the same time, this act

marginalises, the strengths of Pakistan military, nuclear arsenal and well-equipped submarines and missiles that Pakistan is equipped with. This ideologically refers, Pakistan's army as dependent on the United States to strengthen itself to combat terrorism.

The Americans rejected Pakistan's plea for a civil nuclear deal like the US concluded with India, partly because of Pakistan's past nuclear proliferation record, but also because Mr Obama could never sell such a deal to the US Congress. However, this dialogue will continue under a newly formed Policy Steering Group. (Para 20)

Local Meaning and Coherence

This para has explicit manifestation about the United States which 'rejected' Pakistan's plea for a civil nuclear deal like that, done with India. This explicit manifestation ideologically makes Pakistan suspicious and not credible to have any assistance from the United States or advanced nuclear arsenals. There is detailed granularity of negative meaning as to highlight the negative image of Pakistan finely. There is a part-whole relation between the clauses in which BBC explains the reason of rejection of the plea. It says that it was first because of Pakistan's past 'proliferation' records on the one hand and secondly because of .Mr. Obama would not even sell this to US Congress. The first part or granular shows that Pakistan is not worth to have nuclear arsenals as it (might) has violated the regulations by International Atomic Energy Agency; and secondly, Mr Obama does not think Pakistan to be credible enough. However both of these reasons, internationally raise questions on Pakistan's nuclear arsenal and their safety which can lead to a global threat. This ideologically shows Pakistan a treacherous country.

Lexicon

The lexical choices like 'rejected' with the United States and 'plea' with

Pakistan, here show an ideological dichotomy of powerful and powerless. It shows the United States is powerful and supreme as to reject the plea and Pakistan is dependent and powerless which is less privileged to make a 'plea' and get 'rejected'. Such deliberate and adroit lexical choices by BBC show the dichotomy of "Us vs Them" evidently.

Form

Syntax

The syntactic choice of BBC also conforms to the lexical choices it makes. The active voice of the sentence shows BBC has put the United States on active subject position to exhibit its powerfulness strength and control over the verb 'rejected' and Pakistan being an unprivileged object.

Action

Speech acts

There is accusative presupposition triggered by the definite description in saying that Pakistan's pleas got rejected 'because of Pakistan's past nuclear proliferation record'. This shows that Pakistan had suspicious and menacing past records as far as nuclear arsenals are concerned. This accusative presupposition presents a negative picture of Pakistan and raises questions about the safety of nuclear arsenals. It is ideologically negative and derogatory and portrays a negative picture of Pakistan.

The US heaped praise on the army's recent campaign against the Pakistani Taliban, but it was equally tough on the need for the army to abandon its 30-year-long reliance on extremist groups to carry out foreign policy objectives and covert operations against India in Kashmir and Afghanistan. (Para 21)

Local Meaning and Coherence

This para starts off with United States 'heaped up praise', on Pakistan army campaigning against 'Pakistani Taliban' and then shedding light on this by detailing about covert operations with evidentiality and specific level of negative meaning contrary to the actual fact and concealing the actual facts of 'Pakistani Taliban' and these 'extremist groups'. Opening up the sentence and talking about United States 'heaped up praise' on the army give due to prominence to United States' positive act

of praise and acknowledging Pakistan army's efforts (at last). However, later in sentence explanation of this act with detailed evidentiality proclaims negative image of Pakistan.It is known fact that the extremist groups that fought 30 years back in Afghanistan were formed and "harvested" by a special funding from the United States, manifested clearly by Hilary Clinton in a speech, to fight in Afghanistan against the Soviet Union, for United States interests and they were not formed to meet 'foreign policy objectives and covert operations' of Pakistan solely (CNN Official, 2009).This fact has been established skillfully and subjectively by BBC, to call it Pakistan's '30-year-long reliance on extremist groups' with evidentiality that BBC has deduced about it from the fallible self-created subjective presentation of Pakistan in forming these extremists group. Though it talks about Pakistan campaigning against these extremist groups but the evidentiality that is created shows an ideological bias to hide the fact and detaching the United States from it and rather putting more focus on United States' 'praise' and Pakistan's '30-year-long reliance on extremist groups'. This creates positive "Us" and negative "Them", concealing and twisting the facts.

Lexicon

The lexical choices like 'heaped praise' from the United States, shows BBC ideology to make the United States look a powerful supreme state, which is not only at the giving end but also generous enough to praise an army who abandons the reliance on extremist groups whom it has been relying on for 30 years.

Form

Rhetorical Structures

The expression 'heaped praise' is an exaggeration and hence a hyperbole whereas it is clear that this was just an acknowledgement of Pakistan army's campaigning against these terrorist groups. This expression is an exaggeration when BBC, on the one hand, is acknowledging Pakistan's campaign against Pakistani Taliban but on the other hand giving a statement like that of Pakistan's dependence on extremist groups for 30 long years. This implies that BBC is subjectively presenting the context and exaggerating army's reliance on extremist groups as much as the rhetorical expression 'heaped praise', where it is simple acknowledgement followed by the much negative picture in the declarative clause by BBC. This rhetorical expression is a positive picture of United States for being generous enough for such an extremist

country relying on extremist groups according to BBC.

Action

Speech acts

In this para, the phrase where BBC claims that it was tough for Pakistan army 'to abandon' relying on extremist groups, triggers a presupposition because of the aspectual verb 'to abandon', that Pakistan army has been relying on these groups for past 30 years. Also the definite description about the operation in 'covert operations' triggers, a presupposition which ideologically draws a negative image of Pakistan. It not only triggers that there have been operations but also the operations of covert nature to make Pakistan and the role of its army in relying on these operations, look ideologically suspicious

Pakistan has said it will not act against Lashkar-e-Toiba, the militant group accused of carrying out the Mumbai (Bombay) attacks in 2008 until relations with India markedly improve. (Para 22)

Local Meaning and Coherence

In these lines, BBC has shaped evidentiality, of the matter that Pakistan will not act against Lashkar-e-Taiba and an extremist group which is 'accused' of Mumbai attacks. This evidentiality is shaped from quoting from, what Pakistan said as in 'Pakistan has said it would not act against' hence an indirect quotative evidentiality. This not only suggests that Pakistan is a non-cooperative neighbour, which is not doing much to keep peace in the region but also detailed description of Lashkar-e-Taiba which is according to BBC is; first, a militant group, and secondly, is accused of attack on Mumbai, explains the potential threats of this groups, which Pakistan is not acting against. Hence the evidentiality and the precision in detailing about the Lashkar gives Pakistan's impression of being harbouring the extremist groups and also vindicating these groups.

The potential threats of Lashkar-e- Taiba are also noticeable because of granularity of meaning, BBC has shaped. If Pakistan 'will not act against' Lashkar, Lashkar is an 'extremist group' and Lashkar is 'accused' of Mumbai attacks, implies Pakistan is upholding the Lashkar. This part-whole granularity and fineness of expression, yet create another ideological justification by BBC for attaching Pakistan with a militant group and revealing a negative image of Pakistan, marginalising

Pakistan army's effort in the war against terrorism.

Lashkar was set up and managed by the army's Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) and India has refused to deal with Pakistan until it curbs the group. (Para 23)

Local Meaning and Coherence

The negative local coherence of biased model has been brought forward; it gives a further specification of the proposition that was outlined in the previous para about Lashkar-e Taiba. As BBC is not getting over with explanation and providing specifications about Lashkar even more specifically (though biased models). This level in the description of Lashkar by BBC, suggests that it wants to highlight this even to its minute details. This ideological emphasis suggests negative "Them". There is also an explicit manifestation that India has 'refused' to deal with Pakistan unless it restrains the Lashkar. This manifestation along with the specific level of negative meaning suggests that Pakistan is an extremist country which has links with extremist groups and it is also a non-cooperative neighbouring country, which is instead of doing much in the war on terrorism is creating terrorism and harbouring the extremist groups. This is said in a way that also gives a justification for India not to deal with Pakistan and has put the blame and responsibility on Pakistan. There is an ideological blame game on Pakistan for setting Pakistan responsible for everything and pulling India out of it covertly.

Lexicon

The lexical choices by BBC for Lashkar-e-Taiba as, it was 'set up' and 'managed', by Pakistan army's Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) give a semantic impression that Pakistan is actually the one vindicating the terrorist groups whereas the reality is different. The word "manage" gives the full picture, and one can get the impression that from 9/11 till to date, ISI is the one directly or indirectly responsible for all terrorist activities because it 'managed' this group. Such direct and obvious and image building lexical choices with Pakistan army and ISI not only give an accusation but makes a direct link of Pakistan with these extremist groups without any doubt. These lexical choices are biased and ideological and depict negative ideology of BBC for Pakistan and its intelligence agency.

Form

Syntax

BBC has used passive voice to give more emphasis on the verb that is 'set up' and 'managed'. It had detached the doer of the action, i.e. Pakistan army and ISI and made them passive because somehow it's a known fact that the United States never wanted the Soviet Union to have a hold on Central Asia, so it in partnership with Pakistan army and ISI recruited Mujahideens and militants and also imported some from Saudi Arabia as said by Hillary Clinton in an official speech (CNN Official, 2009). Nonetheless, the blame has been put on Pakistan army and ISI. It is a known fact that the United States was the one who actually 'set up' the Lashkar, that is the reason BBC put the doer on passive position but could not help mentioning Pakistan's name categorically.

Both the US and NATO now view the Lashkar as a global terrorist group, with cells in Europe and the US supporting the Taliban and al-Qaeda. (Para 24)

Local Meaning and Coherence

The further specification of information about Lashkar is given with evidentiality of negative meaning about Lashkar. The expression 'Both the US and NATO now view the Lashkar as a global terrorist group', shows viewer's commitment (The United States and NATO's commitment) and directs to the source of knowledge as directed by BBC and creates an evidentiality of ideologically negative meaning for Lashkar. Its further specifies that Lashkar has it cells in Europe as well. This evidentiality and specific level of meaning cause the detailed granularity within the text, on the sentence level. In para 22 it says Pakistan 'will not act against Lashkar- e-Toiba'; Para 23 details that the Lashkar was 'set up and managed' by Pakistan army and ISI; and para 24 manifests that Lashkar is 'a global terrorist group'. The overall granularity of negative meaning creates a part-whole relation and ideologically implies that Pakistan and ISI are in part-whole relation with Lashkar and is 'global threat' as well.

Lexicon

The lexical choices like 'global' with a terrorist group which is 'accused' of Mumbai attacks and been, 'set up and managed' by Pakistan army and ISI, according to BBC, implies a widespread threat of Pakistan army and ISI across the globe.

The group is accused of carrying out the February suicide attack in Kabul that killed nine Indians. David Headley, a US citizen, has admitted planning the Mumbai

attacks and training at Lashkar bases in Pakistan. (Para 25)

Local Meaning and Coherence

In this para, there is local coherence based on a biased model from previous paras brought forward about Lashkar-e-Taiba since BBC is creating a generalisable meaning by associating Lashkar with Pakistan army and ISI. There is further detailing of Lashkar and accusations on it by referring to 'suicide attack in Kabul' and mentioning it that it 'killed nine Indians'. BBC in this para conveys about another attack by Lashkar that is in Kabul that killed nine Indians to link this fine granular with

Pakistan to give an impression of involvement of Pakistan as India and Pakistan are 'arch-rivals' and it is already mentioned in para 23 that Lashkar was 'set up' and 'managed' by ISI. Hence this creates a part-whole relation between Lashkar and its bases in Pakistan, which provides an ideologically negative picture of Pakistan's involvement in these attacks, hence with a detailed granularity. The detailed granularity is visible within the sentence and also linking back to previous paras. Moreover, BBC is validating these accusations by providing evidentiality about David Hadley and its link with Pakistan by providing indirect evidence within this discourse from the inferential that David Headley 'admitted planning the Mumbai attacks' and also got 'training at Lashkar bases in Pakistan'. Here it implies that BBC has deduced this based on evidence (possibly fallible).

Form

Syntax

In this para passive voice is used to give more domination to the accusation in, 'The group is accused of suicide attack in Kabul', keeping aside who accused. Time and again it has been referred that, the group was 'set up' by ISI and, Pakistan 'will not act against' the group and then this accusation and such syntactic choices which make accusation predominant, ideologically depict the negative and destructive image of Pakistan and its army. Hence such syntactic structures give more prominence to the very that is 'accused' rather that then who accused or the actual context.

Rhetorical Structures

BBC is repetitively referring to Lashkar, its 'bases'; being 'set up and managed' by ISI; Pakistan army's '30-year-long reliance', Pakistan not willing to 'act

against' Lashkar; David Hadley's remarks of having training of Mumbai attacks on the basis of Lashkar in Pakistan as in para 21, 22, 23, 24, 25. This shows how BBC wants to repeatedly use this card of extremist group against Pakistan and this repetition of Lashkar and its involvement in attacks ideologically conforms to Pakistan's image which BBC wants to highlight.

Action

Speech acts

There is presupposition triggered by factive verb 'admitted' in saying that David Hedley admitted having planned Mumbai attacks in Pakistan. This presupposes the accusation that there are Lashkar bases in Pakistan where militants are trained for terrorist activities across the border. Such presuppositions lead to an ideologically negative picture of Pakistan and raise questions about its security and raises questions against Pakistan's contribution in war on terrorism.

To India's chagrin, the US has acknowledged that Pakistan has a major role to play in peace talks between Kabul and the Afghan Taliban and that India and Pakistan need to come to an understanding over their mutual competition in Afghanistan. (Para 26)

Local Meaning and Coherence

This para has implicit manifestation about Pakistan's significant role in peace talk as it is the United States that 'has acknowledged' Pakistan's role to play in peace talks and not the BBC is reporting directly. This manifestation explicitly gives an ideologically positive picture of the United States, the status of the supremacy of power which would acknowledge or not acknowledge the role of a country in peace talks no matter it has to face 'India's chagrin' for that. At the same time the same manifestation implicitly states Pakistan's significant prospective role to play in peace talk .Also, there is indirect evidentiality that Pakistan has 'major role to play in peace talks' between Afghan Taliban and Afghanistan, as indirectly evident from inferential that the United States 'has acknowledged' so. This shows that the United States has just 'acknowledged' a major 'role to play' but Pakistan has not played it as yet or as it should have been. The United States has only 'acknowledged', Pakistan's role which is yet to be played in peace talks but have not acknowledged any efforts that it had done in keeping peace in the region. This skilful play with words, at one hand, makes the

United States a supreme power, but on the other hand give an ideological gesture that Pakistan has yet to do a lot and the universal slogan for Pakistan "to do more" by the United States, is best seen here keeping United States supremacy intact. Moreover the obligatory modality 'need to' in '…India and Pakistan need to come to an understanding…' over Afghanistan; shows the direction of discourse of BBC ,which is identified with West, by making it obligatory for Pakistan as a supreme power which would either acknowledge or not acknowledge; or Pakistan's "laid back" attitude in keeping peace in the region and setting its effective foreign policies with neighboring countries. This modality also depicts that Pakistan itself does not believe in dialogues and mutual understanding as presented by BBC.

Action

Speech acts

The definite description 'mutual competition' triggers presupposition in saying that India and Pakistan have to come to a mutual understanding over 'their mutual competition in Afghanistan'. It triggers that Pakistan takes India its competitor in Afghanistan and any activity or any strategic move Pakistan takes in Afghanistan, has some other agendas out of competition and Pakistan is not a peace-loving country otherwise not a helpful neighbour. These image building words in, definite description trigger presupposition and raises to mistrust, reservation and scepticism for Pakistan.

When Afghan President Hamid Karzai visited Islamabad in early March, he was bluntly told by the army that he would have to remove two Indian consulates in Afghanistan near the Pakistan border, before the army offered him help to talk to the Pakistan-based Afghan Taliban leaders. (Para 27)

Local Meaning and Coherence

There is this detailed step by step presentation of Hamid Karzai's visit to Islamabad to generate a certain meaning. According to BBC Mr Karzai was told 'bluntly' by the army that he has to remove Indian consulates near Pakistan border in Afghanistan. The way BBC has presented, Pakistan's demand from Afghan president to remove Indian consulates, validate the covert accusative presupposition on calling 'mutual competition' in Afghanistan in the previous para. There is detailed precision in explaining how BBC puts accusation on Pakistan for keeping conditions in front of

Afghanistan. This detailed and negative precision gives rise to Pakistan's negative image which leads to caginess, reservation and suspicion for Pakistan. This shows firstly Pakistan, a non-cooperative country which is not doing much to eradicate terrorism, and even if it does, it "cashes" the manoeuvre to 'help' Afghanistan only to talk to the Pakistan-based Afghan Taliban leaders unless Afghanistan conforms to Pakistan's conditions. This negative meaning is also conveyed with detailed granularity with causation of conditionals which means if Clause1 then Clause2. In arts, the granularity means fineness of details in showing some aspects. In this sentence too, BBC has shown the negative meaning with the fineness of details as to leave no doubt and nothing left unsaid that if Afghanistan in clause 1 acts on Pakistan's demand, Pakistan will only then 'help' Afghanistan. This shows the negative image of Pakistan with biased mental models created within local meaning of the discourse.

For Pakistan, one measure of the success of the talks is the degree to which they have rattled India. (Para 28)

Local Meaning and Coherence

There is an explicit manifestation about Pakistan's 'measure of success' of the talks with Afghanistan. BBC explicitly manifests that Pakistan's one of the criteria to successful Pak-Afghan talk is how far it can discompose and discomfit India. This gives a negative image of Pakistan and raises many questions on Pakistan's foreign policy. This not only portrays a negative picture of Pakistan but also leads to conceal India's negative image in Kashmir dispute and highlighting the relationship between two countries and manipulating Pakistan's negative role in the dispute. This further validates the presupposed accusation BBC brought on Pakistan by taking Afghanistan its 'mutual competition' in India. This draws a negative picture of Pakistan that Pakistan is "using" Afghanistan to rectify its national grudges with India.

Form

Rhetorical Structures

BBC has exploited the word 'rattled' by using the different possible meanings of this word. One of the meaning is to amuse the infant by the sounds of the specific toy. The use of pun 'rattled' implies a rhetorical implicature. In these lines, BBC rhetorically implies that Pakistan is befooling India as to divert its attention from Afghanistan. It implies that India is an infant to be 'rattled'. This is the pun on Pakistan's

foreign policies and how it exploits Afghanistan against India.

India feels snubbed by the US because its officials have not been given access to David Headley. Delhi is opposed to any dominant Pakistani role in Afghanistan and is nervous about any US-Pakistan nuclear talks. (Para 29)

Local Meaning and Coherence

These lines give an explicit manifestation of United States' supremacy to make India feel 'snubbed' and having the power to give access to David Headley. At the same time, there is unfolding of complex relationship triangle between India, Pakistan and Afghanistan. These lines also suggest India's apprehensions about 'Pakistani role' in Afghanistan, but this has been described vaguely and implicitly as compared to when

it pictured about Pakistan telling 'bluntly' to 'remove' Indian consulates from Durand line in previous para 27. These lines however vaguely show India is just 'opposed' to Pakistan's dominant role but not precisely as to be telling 'bluntly' and that to 'remove' Indian consulates. This precise versus vague picture of Pak-India rivalry from the Pakistani and Indian perspective, shows India to be less threatening for Pakistan and Pakistan is more of trouble in the region. This highlights and emphasises an ideologically negative picture of Pakistan overall.

Lexicon

The lexical choices like 'bluntly' telling Afghanistan to 'remove' Indian consulates, from Pakistan; and 'opposed' and 'nervous' with India about Pakistan getting along with Afghanistan and United States shows smart lexical choices by BBC to make Pakistan look more minacious and treacherous as compared to India. On the one hand these lexical choices just show India's state of mind, but on the other hand, the lexical choices with Pakistan are image building and do not just describe the state of mind but also the negative actions and their intensity at its largest.

The US will now have to do some fence-mending with India. However, the complex triangular relationship between the US, Pakistan and India depends for success on the US getting the two enemies to talk turkey about their conflicts. (Para 30)

Local Meaning and Coherence

There is positive modality that BBC has used for the United States for 'fence mending' with India. This positive modality by using 'will' shows United States'

willingness and display of authority and also contingency as in saying 'have to' in doing 'fence-mending' with India. This ideologically depicts the United States is influential country and pacifist overall, which would keep peace with all the countries. There is detailed granularity in the sentence about the 'triangular relationship' of Pakistan, United States and India, and its success depending on the United States to make these two countries to 'talk turkey' about mutual issues or conflicts. BBC in these lines shows the United States as moderator, mediator and facilitator which would make these two enemies to resolve the issues. It shows an ideologically powerful meaning about the United States. The causal verb 'depends' creates granularity between two clauses, where each stands out to give fineness of expression about the sovereignty of United States.

It also depends on getting the Pakistani army to undertake a real rather than an imagined strategic U-turn because backing extremists of any hue to carry out foreign policy goals is no longer internationally acceptable. (Para 31)

Local Meaning and Coherence

In this para local coherence based on biased models has been brought forward from the previous para. This local coherence about this triangular relationship is biased because the success of this relationship depends on the United States differently and on Pakistan differently. BBC shows the United States to be a mediator, pacifist in this triangle but Pakistan, the one which is 'backing' extremist. This also raises question and suspicions about Pakistan's foreign policy and its goals. It ideologically implies that Pakistan backs extremist groups as a foreign policy goals. The dichotomy of "Us vs Them" is visible here that how BBC, which relates itself to the United States, makes "Us" credible for mediation and on the other hand accusing Pakistan to stop backing extremists for the success of the triangular relationship.

Form

Syntax

The syntactic structure of this sentence in which nominalisation of the clause 'getting the Pakistani army' to undertake U-turn, shows BBC wants to divert the attention from the actual facts and magnify the army and its need to understand the 'strategic U-turn'. Here the context has been concealed by nominalising the clause and emphasising more on not to take 'the imagined strategic U-turn' according to

BBC.

Rhetorical Structures

The use of euphemism in saying that Pakistan army needs to 'undertake a real rather than an imagined strategic U-turn' implies that Pakistan army has NOT taken a U-turn from baking extremist. At first place, there is accusation on Pakistan for backing extremist for any foreign policy goals. Secondly, it implies that Pakistan has been backing up extremist groups as it foreign policy goals. It is a fact universally known that it was the United States which had used and "recruited" these extremists to fight against the Soviet Union in Afghanistan. BBC has used euphemism to understate that Pakistan has to actually take U-turn because West knows somewhere that it was the United States which has been 'backing' and "recruited" these extremists actually.

Action

Speech acts

There is accusative presupposition which is triggered by the definite description 'backing extremists', shows that's Pakistan army has been backing the extremists. BBC here presupposes and accuses Pakistan of backing the extremists' group, and it pictures Pakistan really menacing and treacherous state whereas the reality is different. Also the expression in saying that Pakistan army is backing extremists and it is 'no longer acceptable', presupposes again that Pakistan army has been backing extremists triggered by adverb and iterative 'no longer'. These accusative presuppositions draw a negative and treacherous image of Pakistan.

4.2.5.4 Overall Analysis of the News 5

The news makes it quite evident and clear how underlying ideologies control the subjective presentation of language, the structure of discourse, texts, its title, heading topic chosen in the headings and use of the adjective.

In the overall analysis, it is quite evident that the dialogue mainly aimed to overcome the mutual distrust that was critical to cooperate in future. Even though the core objectives of Pakistan could not be achieved, these dialogues could set an atmosphere that would lead to openness between the two countries which is quite significant for the future development of relationships between both the countries. However, these strategic dialogues led to processes that are ongoing and are important

for the development of United States than Pakistan. However, if these strategic dialogues take positive aspect, there could be long-term development in Pakistan, and the strategic interest could be met.

Considering the overall strategic dialogue between Pakistan and United States, it is clearly evident that it is in the early phase. The dialogue was primarily for the benefit of United States as they needed to secure assistance from Pakistan to fight against Afghanistan. The core agenda was to exploit Pakistan in all possible ways and to gain security concerns nationally to fight against Taliban (Waldman, 2010). As constant reservations to resurge Taliban over the war strategy of United States led to worsening the situations with a minor hope to win. As the United States withdrew their decision, it was clearly evident that they were in a weak position at the base of President Karzai. With this strategic dialogue, Pakistan had somehow gained their lost influential position which is considered very much vital for the future peace of the country. Also, from this strategic dialogue, it was very much evident that Pakistan and Afghanistan had cooperated with each other. However, there were some collaborations which persuaded the insurgents to accept the peace through the process of reconciliation (Qazi, 2012).

This news story on the relationship between the United States and Pakistan with regards to different perceptions and point of views, is presented in a very dramatic way and focuses on areas which include nuclear issues, extremist groups, America's benefit and its support for Pakistan, Pakistan army, and relationship triangle between India, Pakistan and Afghanistan. There is also a focus on rejection of the Pakistan's plea for civil nuclear and the friendly relationship with India that US wanted to create which conforms to Western ONLY ideology. The most important focus is on the militant group known as Lashkar-e-Taiba that was accused of the Mumbai attack and attack on Indian consulate in Kabul. In addition to that, it is also observed that there is an emphasis on the Afghanistan where the United States forced Pakistan to become its ally and go against the neighbouring country Afghanistan. From the news, it is quite evident that the United States had been taking benefit of Pakistan in different areas and exploiting them for the interest of United States. The biased context models suggest that events have been portrayed subjectively to meet certain interests by the media group being part of the certain social group.

The news which is apparently about the visit of Pakistani officials to the United

States starts off with the discussion of the 50-year relationship where there had been a continuous dialogue between both the countries. Pakistan, on the one hand, is trying to fight terrorism, while BBC is reflecting Pakistan as a country spreading hatred and fear in the minds of the people. From the news, it has also been observed that BBC has mixed views as on one point where it mentions that the United States is accusing Pakistan of several issues, on the other point it mentions that the United States is acknowledging Pakistan's role in the war and eradicating and curbing terrorism though it acknowledges very little. This off and on opinion shift shows BBC has certain ideological objectives to highlight by contouring, concealing and highlighting certain events subjectively. This news is divided into three sections which are under the headings, transactional relationship, key demand and major role. The author has divided this news very ideologically and diplomatically into different sections which were meant to describe how Pakistan and United States are playing their individual role in the world.

Transactional Relationship

By transactional relationship, it apparently seems the relationship where both the parties are involved actively and are willing to fulfil the expectations creating a long-term relationship with each other. In this article, the transactional relationship is between the United States and Pakistan where the BBC in para five mentions that the 'US, rather than lecturing, wanted to listen, even if it could not comply with many of Pakistan's demands'. Here BBC implies that the United States wanted to listen to the point of view of Pakistan and wanted to work with their demands rather than just imposing their beliefs and demands. Following this point, it was observed in para 6 that the Americans were ready to welcome the change. Since the incident of 9/11, Pakistan had been under strict observation and was not in a firm bargaining position. However, it was observed the United States was interested in every move that Pakistan did because every action by Pakistan had a direct or indirect impact on the United States. In addition to that, it has also been mentioned by Barack Obama that he would put Pakistan on the top of his agenda in para 10. The increased nuclear arsenal and the fight against Taliban along with forcing in Afghanistan had been a big game plan which was going in the mind of United States. As the transactional relationship is further opened up, it has been noticed that at the end of the conversation, both these countries were ready to have a partnership Hilary has been 'optimistic' about future and Mr Qureshi

was 'satisfied'. However, in para 16, it has been mentioned that Pakistan's army failed to convince the United States to accept their major demands and the United States insisted on discussing every aspect in very much detail. This segment of the news also relates to the point that the United States can help to improvise the economic as well as infrastructure sector of Pakistan. However, it would only help if Pakistan would provide them with benefits in return which might be related to Afghanistan or any other. From this section, it can be analysed that the United States was trying to evaluate all the benefits that it can obtain from Pakistan and exploit them completely. The transactional relationship was just a name given to this so-called one-sided meeting which was absolutely in the interest of United States and not Pakistan. As the United States wants to get benefited from Pakistan due to its geographical significance, BBC which is ideological partner of West shows United States' positive role in the transactional relationship as being optimistic and pacifist and a good "Us" at the same time making fun of the official visit and calling an official document a '56-page shopping list' by Pakistan. BBC has presented West as cooperative and positive "Us" at the same time Pakistan asking for 'F16 fighter bombers' and giving Al Qaeda operatives in return. The reality has been twisted because it is using Pakistan for its national benefits and not the United States being used actually.

Key demands

This second section of the news focused on the demands presented by both the parties where the United States is bounding Pakistan by giving that $1.5 billion aid for the next five years while there would be no trade or export benefits in the textile industry, even though this industry is one of the most profit generating industry of Pakistan. In addition to that, United States would also provide $1 billion outstanding dues to fight the war, and they would also be provided with modern equipment and technologies to fight better. Another important aspect which was revealed in this aspect was that America rejected Pakistan's plea for the civil nuclear deal which was related to India. This reflected a negative picture of the overall conversation as this civil nuclear deal would have changed the entire scenario. In the section of key demands, there had been significant focus on Taliban and militant group named as Lashkar-e-Toiba which was accused of carrying out Mumbai attacks in the year 2008. There was also an emphasis on ISI where India refused to deal with Pakistan until the time Pakistan limits these groups and work on providing assistance to them. In addition, there had been a

significant emphasis on Lashkar which is said to be a global terrorist group which has roots in Europe while the United States supports the terrorist groups named as Taliban and al-Qaeda. It cannot be ignored that at one point where BBC mentions that the United States is forcing Pakistan to fight against these extremist groups, without realizing the fact that Pakistan army has suffered the most in this war on terrorism this has been ideologically marginalized by putting more emphasis on Pakistan being 'rejected' for civil nuclear deal and not getting textile export access. BBC is rather highlighting Pakistan as a 'crumbling state' by highlighting major socio-political issues while discussing demands. Whether its Pakistan's being 'unable to provide its people with electricity, water, security or jobs'; nuclear 'proliferation record'; '30-year-long reliance on extremist groups' or not getting improved access to textile export, BBC has highlighted each issue precisely and skillfully and shown its negative ideology and at the same time marked a positive "Us" which is yet so pacifist and peacekeeper beside, "Them" being bad.

Major role

The third section of the article is named as major role where BBC has described the expectations and the roles of each of the involved countries with regards to maintaining peace in the world. This section is about Pakistan's role to be played in the region for overall peace in the region. The third section of the news, however, started with Lashkar-e-Taiba again. It pointed out the Kabul and Mumbai attacks where Pakistan was held responsible for these incidents according to BBC. The Mumbai attacker was named as David Headley who was a United States citizen but was said to be having bases in Pakistan and that he had learnt everything from there. According to India and its charges, United States was in support of Pakistan and believed that Pakistan wanted to play a major role in the peace talks, and it was important that India understood that Pakistan was important and there was a mutual competition when Afghanistan was concerned. It was important for Pakistan to have a mutual ground with India and understand the intention of United States who basically was doing nothing but exploiting Pakistan to enter into Afghanistan. As the United States was supporting Pakistan over India, India felt that they had been degraded and disregarded over Pakistan since United States was not giving India the access to reach David Headley since he was a US citizen. In addition, India was also concerned about the role of Pakistan in Afghanistan and how dominant Pakistan was with regards to its

geographical location and benefits it could provide to the United States. There had been a triangular relationship between these three countries which were India, Pakistan and the United States while it was the only United States who could bring peace amongst both these rival countries. The conflict between India and Pakistan could be resolved by the United States. However, it was the United States who were seeking benefits from the hatred of both these countries and using one another in different aspects. For

Pakistan, having positive relationships with the United States was an important aspect as it would have a positive impact on their strategic output and there would also be an improvement in their foreign policy goals. BBC has shown this triangle exploiting its own ideological benefits.It has shown the United States is a state which is so supreme that it would either acknowledge or not acknowledge a country's role and gave a supreme positive impact of the sovereignty of "Us". At the same time, BBC has shown Pakistan treacherous, troublesome geographical neighbour with India which has an agenda of exploiting Afghanistan to have "rattled" India by discomforting and discomfiting. In short, there is an ideological dichotomy of "Us vs Them" about foreign policy goals of "Us" and "Them". It is ideologically emphasised that "Us" has generous foreign policy goals to facilitate and keep peace in the region whereas "Them" has a foreign policy to discomfit its 'arch-rival' India and exploiting Afghanistan in achieving so.

As a whole, these talks between the United States and Pakistan, and this news story had highly mixed stance about certain facts and it seemed that BBC had either portrayed some facts so vaguely and some with detailed precision and some of the statements had contradictions and conflicts in the same article, these contradictions are due to certain ideological notion about Pakistan. The stamens may differ, but the ideological stance and objectives have remained one throughout.

Although the strategic dialog between Pakistan and United States had been on the basis of military, political and civilian, it was seen in para 8 that BBC shows that the United States is willing to fully support Pakistan just on the basis of its geographical location and because Pakistan was the only key through which they could enter Afghanistan. Furthermore, if the news is analysed critically, it is observed that in para 9 and 10, the BBC mentions that Mr Bush pretended to look the other way when the extremist groups were being talked about representing a positive picture of United States. Similarly, in the following para 10, it is mentioned that President Barack Obama

had promised to assist Pakistan and put it on the top of his agenda which ideologically refers to the creation of a positive relationship between both the countries and presented a positive image of United States in the world. However, on the other hand, Pakistan was accused of supporting militant groups and not acknowledging its efforts in the war on terrorism and Barack Obama following the policies and footprints of George Bush, had meant that they were ready to sacrifice and collaborate with the country that was involved in terrorism and deadly attacks. Though in para 26 BBC shows that the United States is "going out of the way" to have friendly ties with Pakistan, even though facing India's 'chagrin', yet in para 20 BBC mentions that United States 'rejected Pakistan's plea for a civil nuclear deal' which raises questions about the safety of nuclear arsenals. Moreover, in para 22, Pakistan is being held responsible for the Mumbai attacks of 2008 and laid emphasis on Lashkar-e-Taiba which was known to be one of the most dangerous militant groups in the world. This was followed by talking about Inter-Service Intelligence (ISI) which clearly reflected a negative image of Pakistan. The amount of negative representation is obvious, even though earlier it had been mentioned that Pakistan was cooperating and willing to have peace talks. Linking Pakistan with the extremist group represented the fact that BBC ideologically wanted to defame Pakistan in the world and accuse them on the basis of just one statement given by the attacker who was actually the United States citizen. This indirectly grew positive image of India as they gained sympathy and support from all over the world such as Europe and the United States. This section clearly shows all the blame on Pakistan for 'backing' the groups and its army for most of these incidents. The entire aspect and the relationship created is negative and creates a global threat which depicts a negative image of Pakistan to the rest of the world. This can lead to a profoundly negative impact on the economy of the country and its image in the world.

In para 26 it is taken into consideration, it is much evident that BBC is mentioning that Pakistan has a significant role to play in peace talks and there is a suggestion that India and Pakistan should understand the importance of mutual understanding and 'competition' in Afghanistan. In this point, it is also mentioned that the United States would prefer Pakistan over India and that would only be because Pakistan has a strong geographical position and the only route through which the United States can enter Afghanistan. It also reflects a strong perception and the supremacy of United States without whom the peace talk between India and Pakistan would not be

possible. However, in the immediately following point, it is mentioned when the president of Afghanistan Hamid Karzai visited Islamabad, he was told to remove two Indian consulates in Afghanistan where the army also offered them help to have peace talks. In para 27, BBC is trying to reflect the United States as a peacemaker. However, United States was the sole reason why there had been so much of misunderstanding and unwanted events taking place throughout the world, especially in Pakistan. BBC here reflects that Pakistan has been imposing their decisions on Afghanistan while they are the one who is supporting the right one. The BBC represented the United States or "Us" itself as the country that wanted to eradicate terrorism and spread peace throughout the world which in real terms was an opposite situation. United States wanted to enter Afghanistan for the sake of war on terrorism and to have a war with them which was represented in very positive and sugar-coated words by BBC whereas Pakistan was represented as a highly aggressive and negative country in the world.

In addition to that, in para 28 is analysed rationally, the author mentions that the success measure of Pakistan depends on the degree to which they have distressed India. This meant that BBC referred Pakistan to be a country which created panic in different countries and this is the way they would measure their success. This is a very negative concept which the BBC focuses on while the author in the very similar article mentions that Pakistan is the country that is focusing on the peace talks in comparison to Afghanistan and India. These contradictory statements reflect the ideology of BBC which is nothing more than spreading pessimism and hatred amongst the rest of the world.

In para 29, BBC mentions that India feels betrayed because the United States did not give them the access to the Mumbai attacker named David Headley, on the similar point, it accuses Pakistan of the attack. This point reflects that just because the attacker was a US citizen, he would get full support of the United States when it comes to punishments and charges. This reflected the point that the United States did not let the world punish their citizen who was responsible for the deadly attacks and was said to have learnt everything in Pakistan. This protection of David Headley indirectly can relate to the fact that it was the United States which was supporting these terrorist attacks in all ways and if the attacker was trained in Pakistan he was a UC citizen. However, BBC blamed Pakistan consistently for supporting the terrorist groups and accused that they did not do anything to eradicate terrorism. This shows BBC is just

protecting the United States and shifting the focus to Pakistan, and its involvement and his US citizenship are being ignored, hence showing "Our" bad so vaguely as to minimalise and showing "Their" bad so precisely as to magnify it.

In Para 9 and 10, BBC which is an ideological opponent of Pakistan and ideological "in group" with West is "pretending" to show that West focuses more on 'crisis management' in the region rather than any 'engagement' but on the other hand explicitly accusing Pakistan in para 21, 22, 23 and 25 for 'backing' extremist groups. It is then obvious that the little BBC vaguely shows some binary with Pakistan sooner BBC kicks out Pakistan out of that "Us" ideology, back into "Them". The binary is shown only to highlight the positive and pacifist "Us". This can be validated through the last para 31 where BBC spits all the menace out in concluding lines. The BBC concludes with the point saying that the foreign policy goals of Pakistan would not be acceptable on the international level and suggested that Pakistani army should not be supporting these extremist and terrorist groups as foreign policy goals. It accuses Pakistan of relying on extremist groups for its foreign policy goals which are not the fact. Firstly Pakistan is the one actively involved in the war against terrorism and secondly relying and "recruiting" extremists was never Pakistan's Mantra for meeting its national interests rather it was the United States which relied and recruited" on extremist groups to fight against the Soviet Union in Afghanistan. All the socio-political incidents have been subjectively portrayed and highlighted to meet Western ideological objectives.

Table xi
BBC News 5

Meaning -BBC News 5

			US (Our Good)	THEM (Their Bad)
Selection of topic	**Positive**		• US-Pakistan dialogue with a difference • Transactional	
	Negative			• US-Pakistan dialogue with a difference • Transactional relation • Key demand • Major role
Local meaning and coherence	**Manifestation**	**explicit**	Obama promised to put Pakistan on the top of his agenda(10); the US has acknowledged that Pakistan has a major role	Pakistan will still not get improved US trade access(17); The Americans rejected Pakistan's plea for a civil nuclear deal(20); India has refused to deal with Pakistan (23) ;
		Implicit		due to increases in its nuclear arsenal, its stepped-up fight against the Pakistani Taliban after years of dithering(13) ; the US has acknowledged that Pakistan has a major role to play in peace talks (26); which they have rattled India (28) ; Delhi is opposed to any dominant Pakistani role in Afghanistan (29) ;
	Precision	**Precise**	15 months of intense engagement, dozens of visits, unrelenting pressure(10);	got off the plane … to conduct … "strategic dialogue" … they carried a 56-page shopping list asking for money, arms... and more money (1); 50 years of an on-off relationship(2); the subterfuge, lack of clarity and covert support for militant groups that Pakistan has engaged in(6); grievances against Washington and demand to be given the same treatment as arch-rival India(7); crumbling state unable to provide its people with electricity, water, security or jobs (12); 1bn … for fighting the war against militants, assured future funding and faster delivery of new weapons including helicopters, F16s and naval frigates (19) ; Lashkar was set up and managed by the … (ISI) (23); When Afghan President … visited Islamabad … he was bluntly told by the army that he would have to remove two

				Indian consulates in Afghanistan near the Pakistan border, before the army offered him help to talk to the Pakistan-based Afghan Taliban leaders (27);
		Vague		due to increases in its nuclear arsenal, its stepped-up fight against the Pakistani Taliban after years of dithering (13); Delhi is opposed to any dominant Pakistani role in Afghanistan (29);
	Granularity	**Detailed**		with Gen Kayani and the army which had prepared Pakistan's briefs, with no objections from Mr Qureshi or the civilian government (15); The army tried and failed to make US acceptance of its major demands as pre-conditions for the success of the talks (16); Pakistan's faltering economy, lack of energy and improve its agriculture and infrastructure (17); $1bn … for fighting the war against militants, assured future funding and faster delivery of new weapons including helicopters, F16s and naval frigates (19) ; Americans rejected Pakistan's plea for a civil nuclear deal … partly because of Pakistan's past nuclear proliferation record, but also because Mr Obama could never sell such a deal to the US Congress (20) ; Pakistan… will not act against Lashkar-e-Toiba, the militant group accused of carrying out the Mumbai (Bombay) attacks (22) ; Pakistan 'will not act against Lashkar-e-Toiba' /LeT was 'set up and managed' by Pakistan army and ISI / Lashkar is 'a global terrorist group' (23, 24) ; accused of carrying out the … attack in Kabul … David Headley, … has admitted planning the Mumbai attacks and training at Lashkar bases in Pakistan (25) ; When Afghan President … visited Islamabad … he was bluntly told by the army that he would have to remove two Indian consulates in Afghanistan near the Pakistan border, before the army offered him help to talk to the Pakistan-based Afghan Taliban leaders (27); the complex triangular relationship between the US, Pakistan and India

			depends for success on the US getting the two enemies to talk turkey about their conflicts (30) ;
	Rough		
Level	**General**	The United States insisted (16);	
	Specific	rather than lecturing , wanted to listen, even if it could not comply with Pakistan's demands(5); US can help rally Pakistan's faltering economy, lack of energy and improve its agriculture and infrastructure (17) ;	Pakistan's strategic interests and security needs with regard to India, Afghanistan and sensitive issues like nuclear weapons and terrorism (4); the subterfuge, lack of clarity and covert support for militant groups that Pakistan has engaged in(6); grievances against Washington and demand to be given the same treatment as arch-rival India(7); reliance on extremist groups to carry out foreign policy objectives and covert operations against India in Kashmir and Afghanistan (21) ; with cells in Europe and the US supporting the Taliban and al-Qaeda (24) ;
Modality	**Strong**	Will (30) ;	will (8); will not get (18); need to (26);
	Weak		
Evidentiality	**We have truth**		"I will give you an al-Qaeda operative in exchange for two F16 fighter-bombers" - was what that boiled down to(8); its moribund industry(18); it was equally tough … for the army to abandon its 30-year-long reliance on extremist groups to carry out foreign policy objectives and covert operations against India in Kashmir and Afghanistan (21) ; Pakistan has said it will not act against Lashkar-e-Toiba, the militant group (22) ; Both the US and NATO now view the Lashkar as a global terrorist group (24) ; the US has acknowledged that Pakistan has a major role to play in peace talks (26);
	They are misguided		

Local coherence	Biased models	Mr Bush conducted crisis management rather than real engagement(9) ;	That has been the norm for US-Pakistan dialogues(2); However, this time there was a difference(3); a chance to air all their pent-up grievances(7); largely transactional relationship (8); Mr Musharraf hosted the Afghan Taliban and other extremist groups(9); Pakistan may be a crumbling state … the army's bargaining power with the US has increased (12); dithering, Pakistani Taliban (13); the real dialogue was with Gen Kayani and the army(15); the army tried and failed (16); Lashkar was set up and managed by the army's Inter- Services Intelligence (ISI) (23) ; accused of carrying out the February suicide attack in Kabul/the Mumbai attacks and training	
Disclaimer	Denying		Mr Qureshi said he was satisfied as both sides "move from a ~~relationship to a~~	
	Confirming		which frankly, addressed Pakistan's strategic interests and security ~~needs (4)~~	
Lexicon	Positive	listen(5); promised(10); optimism (14); insisted (16); can help (17); providing (18); rejected (20) ; heaped praise (21);	officials (11); satisfied (14);	
	Negative	concealed little (16); opposed, nervous (29);	Demand(5); subterfuge, lack of clarity, covert support(6); pent up, grievances, arch-rival(7); hosted (Taliban) (9); crumbling, unable to provide, dramatically (12); army failed (16); faltering, lack (17); moribund(18); plea (20) ; (LeT was)set up	

Form – BBC News 5

		US (Our Good)	THEM (Their Bad)
Syntax	**Active (Emphasing)**	The US, rather than lecturing, wanted to listen …Pakistan's demands(5); the Obama administration has finally got the Pakistanis to open up(10); The US offered … but the most concrete results (17); US is providing(18); The Americans rejected Pakistan's plea (20) ;	army chief, … Foreign Minister … carried a 56-page shopping list asking for money, arms... and more money(1); Pakistan will still not get(18);
	Passive (de-ephasising)		what was called the "strategic dialogue"(1); Lashkar was set up and managed by the army's Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI)
	Proposition clause		
	Nominalisation clause	US acceptance (16);	a brief which … addressed Pakistan's strategic interests and security needs(4); It also depends on getting the
Rhetorical Structures	**Hyperbole**	dozens of visits, unrelenting pressure, intense engagement (10); heaped praise(21) ;	boiled down (8);
	Metonym		Pakistanis(4); Pakistanis(7); Pakistanis(10);
	Euphemism		the real dialogue(15); undertake a real rather than an imagined strategic U-turn
	Number game		$1.5bn aid package(18);
	Irony		powerful army chief, 56-page shopping list, "strategic dialogue" (1); norm for US- Pakistan dialogues (2); army's
	Repetition		[30-year-long reliance on extremist groups/Lashkar-e-Toiba, the militant group/Lashkar was set up and managed by the army's … (ISI)/ Lashkar as a

Action - BBC News 5

		US (Our Good)	THEM (Their bad)
Speech acts (Presuppostion)	**Promises**	US offered nothing new, but the most concrete results(17);	
	Accusations		US has always urged Pakistan to … doing more to combat terrorism (2); a welcome change(6); a chance to air their grievances (7); I will give you an al-Qaeda operative (8); the army's bargaining power … has increased(12); improve its agriculture (17); because of Pakistan's past nuclear proliferation record (20) ; the army to abandon its 30-year-long reliance on extremist groups / covert operations against India in Kashmir and Afghanistan (21); David Headley, … has admitted planning the Mumbai attacks and training at Lashkar bases in Pakistan (25) ; India and Pakistan need to come to an understanding over their mutual competition in Afghanistan (26); backing extremists of any hue to carry out foreign policy goals is no longer internationally acceptable (31) ;

4.3   Maxnews Analysis

The news stories from the Maxnews are divided into paragraphs and assigned numbers sequentially to carry out the analysis precisely and closely at different levels keeping in mind the diversity of the model chosen. The dataset is introduced first (Paragraph wise) and then, analysed on different levels to keep each level relatable and make the complete ideological move understandable and intact at varying levels of a para autonomously, at first stage and then move with analysis sequentially and uninterruptedly.

4.3.1 Maxnews News 1

4.3.1.1 Context and Background of the News

The news is about the notion that Taliban and al- Qaida have the 'privileged sanctuaries' in FATA Pakistan, and have been getting support from Pakistan or Pakistan has not been able to counter them. Over the past eight years, there had been more than 200000 United States' soldiers fighting in Afghanistan but still failed. Just because the Afghan Taliban and Pakistan Taliban look same doesn't mean that the Pakistan Taliban is aiding the Afghan Taliban. It is clear that the western forces keep on blaming Pakistan over their failure is just because they want to hide their own abysmal and terrible failure (Sajjad, 2010). Even after fighting for eight years against Afghanistan, NATO and the United States forces have failed significantly and to hide this failure, they have played a blame game against Pakistan. In contrast, the armed forces of Pakistan have been playing a significant role in defeating the terrorist in a number of areas that were primarily aided by Afghanistan and the western allies of India. Pakistan and the Muslim community have majorly been subjected to sufferance and daily terrorist activities and attacks. The Pakistan military had lost thousands of soldiers in this conflict, and yet the western media does nothing but orchestrates clear and very much obvious propaganda against Pakistan (Sajjad, 2010). There had been thousands of civilians who lost their lives as a result of terrorist activities, and there had been billions of dollar loss of infrastructure and property. The economy of Pakistan suffered significantly as they spent around $60 billion in Afghanistan while offering peanuts of $1.5 billion to Pakistan.

4.3.1.2 Text and Discourse

4.3.1.2.1   Meaning

4.3.1.2.1.a Semantic Macrostructure (Topic)

U.S. Ally Pakistan Most Dangerous Place on Earth (headline)

The headline is the macrostructure of the news, and it is the first and on top text with bigger and bold font as compared to the rest of the text. It becomes a visual marker that emphasises the importance of the topic of the text or news. The adjective 'Most Dangerous' for Pakistan in its superlative degree puts forward impression of menacing, threatening and treacherous place and that too to a greater extent with the determiner 'Most' on earth. The negative semantic choice with bigger and bold font emphasises the negativity, menace, threat and treachery associated with Pakistan by the Maxnews. The negativity about Pakistan in the headline enables the readers to identify the nature of the news before going through the whole news. This shapes up their ideological beliefs before the readers go through the complete text of the news. The headline also catches the attention of the reader, and in such case, with negative lexical choices, the readers tend to catch the negative ideological implication about Pakistan before they actually go through the whole text. The headline has emphatically ideological and negative denotation about Pakistan.

4.3.1.2.1.b Semantic Microstructure

The geopolitical nexus of Afghanistan-Pakistan-Federally Administered Tribal Areas-India is now seen in the White House as a regional crisis that requires a holistic politico-military approach. But suspicions and disinformation about each other's motives, replete with conspiracy theories, have combined to make Pakistan, the Muslim world's only nuclear power, the most dangerous place on Earth. (Para 2)

Local Meaning and Coherence

The para has detailed granularity and precision of details about Pakistan as 'the most dangerous place on Earth'. The precise details include Pakistan 'the Muslim world's only nuclear power' and hence the most dangerous place on earth. The supporting details have precision about the notion dangerous place on earth has negative subtext about Pakistan. The detailed granularity about negative connotation of each granular not only rationalises each granular of information but also conveys a negative meaning about "Them". There are three granular of information one,

suspicions and disinformation plus conspiracy theories about Pakistan; second, 'the Muslim world's only nuclear power' and third, 'the most dangerous place on Earth'. Each granular has negative inference which causes or rationalises the other. The suspicions and Muslim world's only superpower ideologically rationalises the fact, as Pakistan 'the most dangerous place on earth'. The detailed granularity disseminates the negative meaning to picture the negative image of Pakistan along the dichotomy of "Us vs Them" underlying biased mental model.

Lexicon

The lexical choice like 'regional crisis' with Pakistan depicts as a place in catastrophe, extremity. Though according to the Maxnews the regional crisis involves countries and places that are 'geopolitical nexus' of 'Afghanistan-Pakistan-Federally Administered Tribal Areas-India'. The Maxnews has ideologically associated Pakistan with Afghanistan which is a vulnerable place for launching and budding terrorism. The Maxnews has out grouped Pakistan with Afghanistan by associating it with the place where extremists have got their sanctuaries. Pakistan cannot be the part of this 'regional crisis' nexus as it is combating global war against terrorism and also supported the United States in the war. The semantic choice 'regional crisis' makes Pakistan ideologically accompanying with Afghanistan and makes it one of "Them" and their negative implication with negative semantic choices.

President Obama sees the enemy in Afghanistan as the Taliban and al-Qaida. But al-Qaida shelters and the Taliban rests and trains in the mountain fastness of the Hindu Kush in Pakistan's Federally Administered Tribal Areas. And although Pakistan is "a major non-NATO ally," it also assists, through its Inter Services Intelligence agency, the Taliban insurgents fighting the U.S. and NATO forces in Afghanistan. This is not rumor, hearsay, or factoid but incontrovertible fact, confirmed by senior Pakistani generals on recent visits to EU headquarters in Brussels and to the director of national intelligence in the George W. Bush administration. (Para 3)

Local Meaning and Coherence

There is an evidentiality that Al Qaida takes refuge and Taliban take training in the mountain of Hindu Kush Mountains in Pakistan. The evidentiality is detectable by the use of the word 'confirmed' in stating that this is not factoid or rumour but incontrovertible fact as it is 'confirmed' by senior Pakistani generals. The evidentiality

provides that the Maxnews has the truth about the inference and it is not a factoid but 'confirmed' statement as 'confirmed' by the senior Pakistani generals. The presentation of negative evidentiality about Pakistan gives an impression as Pakistan as associated with the possible threat and danger by ideologically relating it with 'al-Qaida shelters' and Taliban's training in Pakistan. The evidentiality, on the one hand, states Pakistan's unintentional or deliberate involvement in providing shelters or training, it also implies negligence on Pakistan's part for letting Taliban and Al-Qaida continuing their activities as reported by the Maxnews. The evidentiality, as reported by the Maxnews, provides negative traits associated with Pakistan underlying biased mental model.

First reported in this column four months ago and confirmed last week by The New York Times, an ultrasecret wing of Inter Services Intelligence, known as Section S, still supplies the Taliban with guns, ammunition, and other supplies while the Pakistani army is fighting the insurgents in FATA. Pakistan's geopolitical calculus shows NATO, followed by the United States, succumbing to the Vietnam syndrome — and the Taliban prevailing. The intelligence agency inspired and nurtured the Taliban student movement with a view toward taking over Afghanistan in the wake of the Soviet defeat and withdrawal in 1989. About 1,300 Pakistani Inter Services Intelligence agents were assigned to the Taliban's campaign as it conquered Afghanistan from 1992 through 1996. (Para 4)

Local Meaning and Coherence

There is the local coherence of biased model about Pakistan's ISI that was assigned to the Taliban's campaign in Afghanistan from 1992 to 1996. The Maxnews is referring to the ISI nurturing the Taliban in the wake of Soviet Union. It is a well-known fact that the Taliban in Afghanistan was formed and "harvested" by special funding from the United States, manifested clearly by Hilary Clinton in a speech, to fight in Afghanistan against the Soviet Union, for United States interests solely (CNN Official, 2009). It is locally created subjective presentation of ISI's assigning to the Taliban's campaign. It shows an ideological bias to hide the fact and detaching the United States from it and rather putting more focus on ISI's assignment with the Taliban campaign. This creates negative "Them", by concealing and twisting the facts.

Action

Speech acts

There is an accusative presupposition triggered by the temporal clause that ISI's ultra-secret wing Section S 'still supplies the Taliban with guns, ammunition' and other supplies. The presupposition has accusations which denote that that ISI's ultra-secret wing Section S has been supplying ammunition to Taliban in the past and it still does. The presupposition accuses Pakistan but conceals the fact that if ISI ever did so in the past, it was in the United States interest only to fight against the Soviet Union.

Recognized by only three countries — Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates —the Taliban established a draconian regime of Islamic extremists that was entirely dependent on Pakistan for its survival. Osama bin Laden and his al-Qaida terrorist movement set up a score of training camps in Afghanistan, all under the intelligence agency's watchful eye. When this reporter traveled to Kandahar, Afghanistan, in June 2004, Pakistani supply trucks jammed the rutted highway bumper-to-bumper. (Para 5)

Local Meaning and Coherence

The para has explicit manifestation about extremists and their survival 'entirely dependent on Pakistan'. The manifestation has ideological and negative implication about Pakistan for establishing and survival of a draconian regime by 'Islamic extremists' as reported by the Maxnews. There is also detailed granularity about Pakistan being responsible for the survival of draconian regime of extremist. The two granular are one, Taliban settled 'a draconian regime of Islamic extremists', second, 'dependent on Pakistan for its survival'. The granular one is dependent on the second granular each having negative inference about Pakistan. The detailed granularity and explicit manifestation about Pakistan being responsible for the survival of extremists draconian regime is a question on Pakistan's foreign policy goals; responsibility of creating a regional crisis; and contribution in the war against terror. The biased models are premeditated in explicit manifestation, and detailed granularity of negative traits about Pakistan display ideological beliefs of the Western media.

Lexicon

The use of adjective 'Islamic' with noun 'extremists' is a presentation of the biased mental model associated with Islam that is the official religion of the Islam

Republic of Pakistan. The biases and ideological negativity associated with the religion raises questions about the beliefs of Pakistanis. The semantic choice 'draconian' with a regime that is linked with Pakistan ideologically creates a connection between severe reign and rule in Pakistan. The extreme dissentient semantic choices show negative traits about Pakistan underlying biased mental models.

No one in Islamabad believes the United States and NATO are prepared to stay for five more years, let alone the 10 or more years it would take to transform Afghanistan into a viable democracy. Pakistan's military leaders feel more comfortable with a Taliban-run Afghanistan than with the current crop of moderate leaders who are closer to New Delhi than to Islamabad. (Para 7)

Local Meaning and Coherence

The para has local coherence based on biased models. The para mainly states the United States and NATO stays in Afghanistan for five years to transform into a viable and sustainable democracy. The Maxnews relates that to Pakistan's military's concern based on speculation. The speculation is local coherence based on biased models. The local coherence has accusative speculation that Pakistan military leaders 'feel more comfortable with a Taliban-run Afghanistan'. This shows that Pakistan military does not want a moderate leader running moderate policies to become closer to India. The local coherence and speculation based on biased models depict that it is Pakistan which does not want a sustainable democracy in Afghanistan and is responsible for the regional crisis to foster terrorism and extremism in the region between the nexus of Pakistan-Afghanistan-India. The local coherence raises questions on Pakistan's active and positive contribution to the war against terrorism. The local coherence is based on biased models underlying the dichotomy of "Us vs Them" to create and highlight "Their Bad".

Section S's mission, as its operatives see it, is to block India's plans to supplant Pakistani influence when NATO and U.S. troops leave Afghanistan. Both Afghan and Indian intelligence are convinced Section S was responsible for the suicide bombing of the Indian Embassy in Kabul in July that killed 58. It is directly across the street from the Afghan Interior Ministry. (Para 8)

Local Meaning and Coherence

The para has evidentiality that ISI's Section S is responsible for the suicide

bombing in Indian Consulate in Kabul. The Maxnews has apparently to evidence, proofs or facts but tends to present an evidentiality merely on the basis of deduction because and Indian and Afghan intelligence is 'convinced' about this. The evidentiality makes it a matter of fact based on deduction because Afghan and Indian intelligence is 'convinced'. The evidentiality creates an ideological dichotomy of "Us vs Them". The Maxnews has and ideological in-grouping with Afghanistan and India by presenting them a victim and presents Pakistan's ISI 'responsible for suicide bombing' in Indian Consulate in Kabul as it believes and reports the speculation and accusation of Indian and Afghan intelligence. The evidentiality pertains negative traits about Pakistan as it challenges Pakistan's positive contribution in the war against terrorism which culminates the ideological and negative meaning about Pakistan in general and ISI in specific. There is also the precision of details about the suicide bombing to which ISI's Section S was set responsible by the Maxnews. The details of the bombing highlight the time and the exact number of the causalities in the suicidal blast. The precision of details tends to highlight the impact of the blast to which ISI's Section S is responsible according to the Maxnews. The precision of the details accentuates the negative traits concomitant with Pakistan. The evidentiality and detailed precision are negative in meaning and their association with Pakistan. These strategies are articulated underlying the biased mental model.

Success for President Obama's new plan for Afghanistan depends entirely on Pakistan's ability to root out Taliban and al-Qaida bases from their privileged sanctuaries in FATA. (Para 9)

Lexicon

The semantic choices and adjective 'privileged' with the Taliban and al-Qaida's hideouts and shelter in FATA Pakistan depicts Pakistan providing special rights, advantages and immunities to the Taliban and al-Qaida bases. The noun 'sanctuary' itself implies "haven", "shelter" and "refuge" for Taliban and al-Qaida. The lexical choice depicts Taliban and al-Qaida have safe house, immunity and asylum in Pakistan which depicts negligence on Pakistan's part and accuses Pakistan of nurturing the extremists according to the Maxnews. The lexical choices are planned and deliberate articulated along the biased mental model which depict an ideological and negative image of Pakistan in international media to the world.

With 120,000 Pakistani troops deployed in seven major tribal areas, where U.S. forces are not authorized to operate, results have been spotty at best. At worst, Taliban insurgents reappear when troops move on. The 1,400-mile frontier is a line on a map through some of the world's most rugged mountain terrain. U.S. drone attacks are subject to a Pakistani green light. U.S., Pakistani and Afghan intelligence officers are to work together in a half-dozen frontier posts. U.S. economic and military aid will be contingent on Pakistan's stepping up its campaign against Islamic terrorism inside its own borders, which include FATA. (Para 10)

Local Meaning and Coherence

The para has explicit manifestation that Pakistan will get the economic and military aid subject to speeding up its campaign against the 'Islamic' terrorism as reported by the Maxnews. The explicit manifestation creates an ideological dichotomy of "Us vs Them". Pakistan is the strongest and the valuable ally of the United States in the global war against terrorism, yet the explicit manifestation creates an ideological demarcation between the United States' and Pakistan's interests. The manifestation explicates that Pakistan will get the military and economic aid subject to 'stepping up' its campaign against 'Islamic terrorism' reported by Maxnews. The manifestation implies strong "Us vs Them" and the condition of relationship is based Pakistan 'stepping up' against terrorism whereas Pakistan is the United States' ally already doing much in terms of intelligence and military support.

Lexicon

The acute and intense lexical choices 'Islamic terrorism' shows terrorism associated with the religion of Pakistanis. Islam is the state religion of Pakistan and associating Islam with terrorism is based on the biased mental model about Pakistan and Islam. The adjective 'Islamic' with terrorism is a planned choice based on a biased mental model which present an ideological and negative image of Pakistan.

Action

Speech acts

There is an accusative presupposition in the statement triggered by the aspectual verb 'stepping up' in stating that The United States' aid is subject to Pakistan 'stepping up' against terrorism. The presupposition infers, Pakistan is not already speeding up or actively campaigning against terrorism. There is known the fact that Pakistan and

contributed and suffered much in the war against terrorism and provided military and intelligence support to the United States, yet relating Islam with the terrorism and accusing of not 'stepping up' against terrorism is ideological and based on the biased mental model.

Ahmad was in Washington when al-Qaida struck the twin towers and the Pentagon. Conspiracy theorists believe he knew about al-Qaida's plans beforehand and concluded that his stateside meetings with intelligence-community directors would give him extra cover. Three days after the Sept. 11 Commission's report went to press, commission member Fred Fielding was handed a verbal bombshell: Some Pakistanis were privy to al-Qaida's plans before the terrorist attacks. (Para 14)

Local Meaning and Coherence

The para has evidentiality that ISI's then Chief General Mehmood Ahmad 'knew' about al-Qaida's plan in advance when twin towers and Pentagon were struck. The evidentiality is articulated as the Maxnews stated 'Conspiracy theorists believe' that the ISI's chief knew beforehand and 'Fred Fielding was handed a verbal bombshell' that some Pakistanis were aware of al-Qaida's plan. The evidentiality incites the conjecture that ISI's chief was involved in the 9/11 attacks. The evidentiality rouses the presumption that ISI's chief dissimulated and deceived Pakistan army and Pakistan. This also accentuates the inference that ISI was privy of these attacks which implies the ISI's involvement in the attacks. In any of the cases, the evidentiality depicts an ideological and negative image of Pakistan by implying the deceit of ISI and supporting the extremism or by showing ISI's deceit and insubordination for Pakistan. The evidentiality shows lawlessness and criminality in the sensitive and the crucial institutions like ISI. The evidentiality portrays ideological and negative image underlying biased mental model.

4.3.1.3 Overall Analysis of the News 1

The macrostructure of the news has acute negative semantic choices against Pakistan. The adjective 'Most Dangerous' for Pakistan in its superlative degree presents and shapes the idea of menacing, hostile and treacherous place and that too to a greater extent with the determiner 'Most' with the adjective. The headline contours the ideological belief of the news consumers based on its own lexical choices underlying biased mental models. The para has the local coherence of biased models that Pakistan

military is more comfortable with 'Taliban-run' Afghanistan. There are instances of evidentiality that al-Qaida 'shelters', 'rest' and 'trains' in the Hindu Kush in Pakistan; ISI's Section S was responsible for suicide bombing in Indian consulate in Kabul and; ISI's chief Gen Mehmood Ahmed and other Pakistanis were privy to 9/11 attacks beforehand. All the instances of evidentiality are based on deduction leading to negative meaning associated with Pakistan. There are detailed granularity and precision of details Pakistan being 'the most dangerous place on Earth' relating it to being the Muslim world's only superpower and Pakistan's responsibility on Taliban establishing a draconian regime of 'Islamic extremism'. The detailed granularity, precision of details, explicit manifestations local coherence are enunciated underlying biased mental models which depict Pakistan as the most dangerous place on earth and ISI supporting Taliban and planning blast in Indian consulate in Kabul. The lexical choices are also a negative underlying biased mental model. The choices relate Islam with extremism and terrorism whereas Islam is the state religion of Pakistan and associating terrorism and extremism with Islam is challenging the basic religious beliefs of maximum Pakistanis who themselves are a victim of terrorism. There are also lexical choices which picture Pakistan as the place in crisis and providing haven to the extremists. The semantic choices are deliberate which express ideology along the biased mental models

The Maxnews has also used linguistic strategies to trigger presuppositions based on accusations. The accusative presuppositions are triggered by the aspectual verb that Pakistan is not already 'stepping up' against terrorism inside its borders. Pakistan is the country which has fully supported and helped the United States in Afghanistan and provided military and intelligence services against terrorism. There is also another presupposed accusation triggered by a temporal clause that ISI's Section S has been supporting and proving the ammunition to Taliban and it 'still' does.

The news has an ideological and negative inference about Pakistan on macro and microstructure of the news articulated through linguistics strategies underlying biased mental model and dichotomy of "Us vs Them".

Table xi
Maxnews 1

Meaning – Maxnews 1

			US (Our Good)	THEM (Our Bad)
Selection of topic	**Positive**			
	Negative			U.S. Ally Pakistan Most Dangerous Place on Earth (headline)
Local meaning and coherence	**Manifestation**	**Explicit**		the Taliban established a draconian regime of Islamic extremists that was entirely dependent on Pakistan for its survival (5); U.S. economic and military aid will be contingent on Pakistan's stepping up its campaign against Islamic terrorism (10)
		Implicit		
	Precision	**Precise**		Pakistan, the Muslim world's only nuclear power, the most dangerous place on Earth (2); Section S was responsible for the suicide bombing of the Indian Embassy in Kabul in July that killed 58(8)
		Vague		
	Granularity	**Detailed**		But suspicions and disinformation about each other's motives, replete with conspiracy theories, have combined to make Pakistan, the Muslim world's only nuclear power, the most dangerous place on Earth(2) ; the Taliban established a draconian regime of Islamic extremists that was entirely dependent on Pakistan for its survival (5)
		Rough		
	Evidentiality	**We have truth**		al-Qaida shelters and the Taliban rests and trains in the mountain fastness of the Hindu Kush in Pakistan's Federally Administered Tribal Areas… confirmed by senior Pakistani generals (3) ; Both Afghan and Indian intelligence are convinced Section S was responsible for

			the suicide bombing of the Indian Embassy in Kabul in July that killed 58(8) ; Fred Fielding was handed a verbal bombshell: Some Pakistanis were privy to al-Qaida's plans before the terrorist attacks & Conspiracy theorists believe he(Gen. Mehmood Ahmad) knew about al-Qaida's plans beforehand (14)
	They are misguided		
Local coherence	**Biased models**		Pakistan's military leaders feel more comfortable with a Taliban-run Afghanistan than (7)
Lexicon	**Positive**		
	Negative		regional crisis (2); draconian regime ,Islamic extremists (5); privileged sanctuaries (9); Islamic terrorism (9)

Action – Maxnews 1

		US (Our Good)	THEM (Their Bad)
Speech acts (Presupposition)	**Promises**		
	Accusations		…an ultrasecret wing of Inter Services Intelligence, known as Section S, still supplies the Taliban with guns, ammunition, and other supplies …(5) ; *U.S. economic and military aid will be contingent on Pakistan's stepping up its campaign against Islamic terrorism inside its own borders (10)*

4.3.2 Maxnews News 2

4.3.2.1 Context and Background of the News

The news is about the Maxnews's allegation about 'armed Islamist' and their network growing in Pakistan for 'decades'. The Maxnews depicts Pakistan as the Islamic extremist country having a strong perception that the religion Islam advocates aggressiveness. Punjab is the second-largest province of Pakistan when talking about its geography, but it contains 60% of the total population of Pakistan. In addition to that, it has been seen that the 70% of the army is taken from Punjab as well as it holds a high level of the proportion of the bureaucracy of the government (Nader & Laha, 2011). This is one of the reasons why the other provinces have significant resentment especially Sindh and Balochistan. As a result, this reflects the political unrest, resistance and the insurgency against Punjab. However, saying that these 'armed Islamist' and their network growing in Pakistan was growing for 'decades' is not the right aspect, rather it just enhances the political crises within the country itself. However, it cannot be actually ignored that Pakistan has been facing problems with regards to domestic terrorism and this had increased the threat to the security of the country "within". Several areas such as southern Punjab and Kuram, D.I. Khan, Para Chinar and the other tribal belt have been significantly influenced by the terrorism in the country. The suicide attacks as well as attacking the property, railway tracks, schools, infrastructure, gas pipeline and the banks are some examples of the terrorism growing in Pakistan (Nader & Laha, 2011). Therefore, these extremists combined with the sectarian terrorism creates differences on the religious ground, and there are several groups that are held responsible for the violence in the country. The intolerance level in the country has been prevailing since there had been terrorist attacks resulting into loss of economy, rising unemployment and the other socio-economic problems. The terrorism is Pakistan is actually a global agenda and have been prevailing in Afghanistan since the late 1970s. However, since the terrorist attack of 9/11 and the related invasion of United States in Afghanistan had resulted in Jihadis coming up with an attractive reason and cause to fight (Blaydes & Linzer, 2012). When the United States came up with the agenda of war on terror and Pakistan had joined hands with the United States, the jihadi groups turned their guns and targeted Pakistan instead of the coalition forces in Afghanistan (Markey, 2014). For Afghanistan, Pakistan had become the main obstacle in their strategic focal point and their fight against the attacks of western forces in Afghanistan

(Markey, 2014). The militants had resorted to the horrible and most ruthless acts of forcefulness. This resulted in significant dangers for Pakistan as it was considered to be the most dangerous country in the world. The militants of Afghanistan targeted any place in Pakistan, and it became a very common belief that Pakistan was home to extremist groups. Afghanistan had proven to be much stronger than expected as their jihadi terrorism and attacks in Pakistan turned out to refuelling the sectarian terrorism. The combination of these two groups threatened the national security of Pakistan from the perspective of both internal and external (Markey, 2014). The language they use against Islam clearly reflects the wrong belief they have against Islam. The violent and rash language used by them reflects their ideology that Islam promotes terrorism and does not believe in the concept of peaceful co-existence. While in reality, the concept of Islam is completely different as it promotes kindness, mercifulness and compassion.

4.3.2.2 Text and Discourse

4.3.2.2.1 Meaning

4.3.2.2.1.a Semantic Macrostructure (Topic)

Taliban Rattles Pakistan (headline)

The headline of the news is short active voice sentence having a subject-verb-object formation. The lexical selection of the verb 'Rattles' which shows upset, discomfit and fluster caused by the subject 'Taliban' on the object 'Pakistan'. The macrostructure level of the news on semantic level create an ideological picture, Pakistan is in a vulnerable position rattled and flustered by Taliban. The headline overall shapes an ideological boundary that has negative traits associated with Pakistan as the vulnerable and imperilled place.

4.3.2.2.1.b Semantic Microstructure

As the Taliban send suicide bombers inside Pakistan's cities, observers focus on the horrors and the continuing bloodshed. And though the Taliban has escalated its violence, which we warned it would since the assassination of Prime Minister-elect Benazir Bhutto in December 2007, the worst has yet to happen. Analysts must focus on the lessons learned so far so policy suggestions can be made — and fast. (Para 1)

Lexicon

The semantic choices in the first paragraph of the news have an obstinate and

negative impact due to the impact of terror, fright, violence and genocide associated with these lexicons. The impact of terror, fright and violence in the cities of Pakistan associates a sense of threat and danger to Pakistan, the cities of Pakistan directly, and also to the people of Pakistan as relating it to the assassination of ex-Prime Minister of Pakistan Benazir Bhutto. The lexicons with the possible sense of threat and hazard create a negative image of Pakistan as narrated by the Maxnews.

Initially the mullahs of the most radical salafists, and al-Qaida, wanted to seize Pakistan gradually, with further infiltration. They were building their "emirate" sanctuary in Waziristan and beyond, while penetrating the intelligence agencies and other segments of the bureaucracy. (Para 3)

Local Meaning and Coherence

The para has precise details about the negative accusation that the extremists wanted to 'seize' Pakistan with infiltration. The details about extremists include 'mullahs', 'radical salafist' and, 'al-Qaida' which reinforces to highlight the notion that the extremists were to take hold of Pakistan forcibly. The precision supports to bring in the negative sense of chaos for Pakistan which brings in ideologically negative meaning with "Them" that is Pakistan. The detailed granularity about building their '"emirate" sanctuary' of 'mullahs', 'radical salafist' and, 'al-Qaida'in firstly Waziristan and beyond; second, intelligence agencies; third, segments of bureaucracy provide each granular predominantly to present the possible threat and danger of the extremists gradually penetrating in different organizations or larger bodies in Pakistan. Each granular looks distinguished yet affecting one and the other in terms of vulnerability from the possible hazard ad threat by radical Salafists and al-Qaida. The detailed granularity of negative traits depicts how extremists were building the 'sanctuary' in Waziristan, beyond Waziristan, in intelligence agencies and segments of bureaucracy by showing the vulnerability from the threat and extremism in the larger institutions in Pakistan. The ideologically negative image of Pakistan is shown by the detailed precision and granularity of the negative traits by linking Pakistan and its institutions to the radical slafists.

That week, Secretary of State Hillary Clinton said that Zardari's government was "abdicating to the Taliban and the extremists." In fact when the Jihadist forces entered the Swat valley and began heading towards the capital's suburbs, the country's

government was tested strategically. I told Fox News then that this was a "red line." Crossing it toward Islamabad meant a Taliban advance all over the country. But if the army would cross it in reverse, it would mean a full-fledged war against the Taliban. And in fact it did happen. So what are the lessons so far? (Para 5)

Local Meaning and Coherence

The para has detailed precision about the strategic testing of the government of Pakistan with details like one, jihadist entered in Swat valley of Pakistan; second, they began heading 'towards the capital's suburbs'. The detailed precision challenges the strategic performance of the government as stated by the Hillary Clinton reported by the Maxnews. The detailed precision of ideological description that tests the strategic performance of the government on the basis of the factors and their precise details and associating it with the jihadist and their entering in Sawat valley and their heading towards the suburbs of the capital. There is also detailed granularity about the jihadist heading towards the suburbs of Islamabad and called it '"red line"' as alleged by the Hillary Clinton. The prospective consequences of crossing the redline are stated with detailed granularity' and each granular separated by 'mean' that gives an impression granular X means Y. According to the Maxnews if Taliban crosses towards Islamabad 'means' Taliban will advance all over the country. Each granular stands independent and sustain a negative impact which infers Taliban are taking all over the country. The granularity offers negative peculiarities about Pakistan.

First, the Taliban and their jihadi allies have clearly shown that they have cells capable of conducting terror attacks way beyond their enclaves. Protracted violence in urban zones can be expected. The armed Islamists aren't a new force appearing only this year, but a network growing for decades. Now is their time to try to take out the secular government. (Para 6)

Lexicon

In concluding the 'lessons' learnt from Taliban heading towards the suburbs of the capital, the lexical choice like 'armed Islamists' is an ideological display of biased mental model associated with Pakistan and its religion. The religion is a sensitive topic for its believers as they get riled up if their religion is pointed negatively. The semantic choice 'armed Islamists' is provoking expression for the people of Islamic Republic of Pakistan as it pictures a negative image of their religion. Islam is the religion of peace

and tolerance and associating it with radicalism and fundamentalism is unjust and biases on the part of the Maxnews. The lexicon or adjective 'armed' with an exaggerated biased model associated with Islam, reinforces the negative connotation of the meaning. These biased mental models blow the negative traits up out of all proportion hence negative "Them" are evoked.

Action

Speech acts

The para also has accusative presupposition triggered by the definite description that these radicals are not 'new force appearing only this year', but it was a network 'growing for decades'. These presuppositions generate the negative meaning one; these forces are not new and second, these forces are 'growing' for decades. The accusative presupposition implies that Pakistan has either overlooked these jihadist or nurtured these jihadist and these are budding and developing for not years but decades. The accusation raises questions on Pakistan's foreign policy goals and competence of its intelligence agencies to have let these jihadist grow in Pakistan for years.

Second, the attacks against the military headquarters and bases, never performed before, can be replicated against more dangerous locations, including nuclear sites: storage locations, launching pads, or delivery systems. It is only a question of time. (Para 7)

Local Meaning and Coherence

The Maxnews reports the lessons learnt from jihadist heading to the suburbs of the capital of Pakistan. The second lesson as reported by the Maxnews brings forth the local coherence based in the biased model which also contains granularity of negative meaning associated with each granular locally created. The notion that there were attacks on military headquarters and bases can make it a possibility of possible threat and danger of nuclear arsenal, their 'sites', 'storage', 'location', 'launching pads' and 'delivery system' as reported by the Maxnews. The notion that military headquarters and bases were attacked makes it is a justification for the nuclear arsenals being vulnerable and in danger from jihadist as reported by the Maxnews is the local coherence of biased models. There is granularity of the negative impact that is brought forward in local coherence, by associating granular that is 'attacks against military headquarters and bases' with more sensitive places under threat like nuclear arsenals

their 'location' and 'storage' sites. The local coherence of biased models builds up a new context by distorting the facts, and the new contest becomes an independent granular that puts up with the negative traits and the danger of the nuclear arsenals.

Third, assassinations are still possible. As with the late Benazir Bhutto, the Taliban knows that achieving such goals can trigger even wider clashes inside the country. (Para 8)

Local Meaning and Coherence

There is detailed granularity about the possible assassinations of personalities as a result of the assassination of the ex-prime minister Benazir Bhutto. The granularity depicts a prospective threat to the prominent personalities, officials rationalizing it with the assassination of the Benazir Bhutto's assassination. The notion and rationale are each independent granular one affecting the other and both underpin negative implication. The detailed granularity carries negative implication about Pakistan underlying biased mental model.

Form

Rhetorical Structures

The generalised expression in plural form 'assassinations' is a hyperbolic expression. The plural form of the noun assassination is an aggrandised speculation to blow the assassination out of all proportion by making a big thing out one instant of assassination which might be as a result of personal or political grievances.

Fourth, the present government has decided to fight the Taliban enclaves in the Northwest provinces. If this government fails, such an opportunity will not happen again soon. (Para 9)

Local Meaning and Coherence

There is detailed granularity of negative implication and conjecture about Pakistan that the fight with Taliban enclaves in Northwest province 'will not happen again'. There are two granular, one about the failure of government in fighting with the Taliban and second that the fight will not happen again as reported by the Maxnews. The connection between two granular by rationalising one with the other the Maxnews tries to build up ideologically negative extrapolation about Pakistan underlying biased mental model.

4.3.2.3 Overall Analysis of the News 2

The headline of news 2 overall shapes an ideological periphery that have negative denotation associated with Pakistan as the susceptible and hazarded place by Taliban. The macrostructure, as well as microstructure of the news, entails negative implication about Pakistan. The negative lexical choices like 'horror', 'bloodshed' and 'armed Islamist' associate Pakistan with the possible impact of these negative words. The details about extremists that includes jihadist, radical salafist, and al-Qaida depict negative meaning with precise details. The strategic performance of the government was tested according to the Maxnews, by jihadist entering Sawat valley and heading towards the suburbs of the capital with the precision of negative details. The local coherence is based on biased models and warped details by stating the nuclear arsenals are vulnerable. The detailed granularity also suggests negative signification by relating one granular with the other. The Taliban building the 'sanctuary' in Waziristan means the intelligence agencies and bureaucracy equally endangered ; crossing towards the suburbs of the capital means Taliban advancing all over the country; attacks against military headquarters and bases means nuclear arsenals under the threat ; and the assassination of Benazir Bhutto means there will be more assassinations too according to the Maxnews.

The form and the rhetorical structure of the text depict hazardous conjecture about Pakistan. The use of plural noun 'assassinations' is a generalised exaggeration of the fact. The one assassination of Benazir Bhutto rationalises more assassinations by the Maxnews is an exaggeration and negative rhetorical implicature underlying biased mental model.

The accusative presupposition triggered by the definite description builds up the accusation that the network of 'armed Islamist' is developing from 'decades'. The news depicts negative ideology about Pakistan on macro and microstructure with precision, detailed granularity, local coherence of biased models, hyperbolic expressions, and accusative presupposition underlying biased mental model.

Table xii
Maxnews 2

Meaning – Maxnews 2

			US (Our Good)	THEM (Their Bad)
Selection of topic	**Positive**			
	Negative			Taliban Rattles Pakistan (headline)
Local Meaning and Coherence	**Precision**	**Precise**		the mullahs of the most radical salafists, and al-Qaida, wanted to seize Pakistan (3) ; …Jihadist forces entered the Swat valley and began heading towards the capital's suburbs, the country's government was tested strategically …(5)
		Vague		
	Granularity	**Detailed**		They were building their "emirate" sanctuary in Waziristan and beyond, while penetrating the intelligence agencies and other segments of the bureaucracy. (3) ; Crossing it toward Islamabad meant a Taliban advance all over the country (5) ; …attacks against the military headquarters and bases…can be replicated against more dangerous locations, including nuclear sites: storage locations, launching pads, or delivery systems (7) ; As with the late Benazir Bhutto, the Taliban knows that achieving such goals can trigger even wider clashes inside the country (8); If this government fails, such an opportunity will not happen again soon (9)
		Rough		
	Local coherence	**Biased models**		…attacks against the military headquarters and bases…can be replicated against more dangerous locations, including nuclear sites: storage locations, launching pads, or delivery systems (7)
Lexicon		**Positive**		
		Negative		horror, bloodshed (1) armed Islamists (6)

Form – Maxnews 2

		US (Our Good)	THEM (Their Bad)
Rhetorical Structures	**Hyperbole**		assassinations (8)

Action – Maxnews 2

		US (Our Good)	THEM (Their Bad)
Speech acts (Presupposition)	**Promises**		
	Accusations		The armed Islamists aren't a new force appearing only this year, but a network growing for decades (6)

4.3.3   Maxnews News 3

4.3.3.1 Context and Background of the News

The news titles Pakistan as on 'Edge of Political Disaster 'which states about the political instability in the presidency of Asif Ali Zardari. As the political instability is talked upon, there was a significant impact due to the intensifying United States' and NATO military campaigns leading to pressures on the tribal area of Pakistan which was adjacent to Afghanistan. This was done at the cost to stable political and economic situations. In the year 2009, the government was under the presidency of Asif Ali Zardari facing security issues and political and economic pressures that were mounting tremendously (Goldstone et al., 2010). The position of the president Zardari at that time had weakened because of intensification of the United States' attacks into Pakistan. There was fierce political resistance on the conditions that were laid by the United States while lending loans to Pakistan from IMD. There was massive unemployment at that time, and economy of the country was on the verge of collapsing leading to intense civil instability in the country. The rising political opposition and the pressure on the president to resign had led to further economic problems in the country. There were serious allegations on Pakistan in the Western media which complicated the situation and led to deteriorating political reputation in the world (Goldstone, et al., 2010).

4.3.3.2 Text and Discourse

4.3.3.2.1   Meaning

4.3.3.2.1.a Semantic Macrostructure (Topic)

Pakistan on Edge of Political Disaster (headline)

The headline of the news is a crucial and significant structure at large as it contours the direction of the news as well as reveals its main gist and theme. The macrostructure of the news that is the headline has the word 'Disaster' in it which gives an impression of catastrophe, calamity and set back. The noun 'Disaster' is used with the adjective 'Political' which relates the impact of the disaster to government and the public affairs of Pakistan. The headline starts with the word 'Pakistan', and the semantic choices give the meaning on macrostructure which depicts Pakistani politics its government and public affairs are in absolute chaos and calamity. The headline draws on the boundaries of the ideological organisation of discourse in which Pakistan is in the state of chaos and set back as far as its politics are concerned. The semantic choices

at macrostructure level are planned and deliberate and are an articulated underlying biased mental model.

4.3.5.3.1.b Semantic Microstructure

For America's television coloratura of right and left, the MO is to mold rather than inform. In Pakistan, they do more than mold; they fake it. The overwhelming majority of Pakistanis believe Sept. 11, 2001, was the work of two co-conspirators — Mossad and the CIA. (Para 2)

Local Meaning and Coherence

There is explicit manifestation about the notion that Pakistani media in general and television in specific as 'they fake it (information)'. The statement explicitly manifests the negative traits of Pakistani media as reported by the Maxnews. It manifests that Pakistan media had faked the news about 9/11 because the majority of Pakistanis believe that it was Mossad and the CIA conspired against the attacks. There is also explicit manifestation about the conjecture that America's television whether they represent left wing or right the method of operation is 'to mold rather than inform'. This manifests that the 'American television' or media, in general, is better than the Pakistani media, as the Pakistani media 'fake it' and the United States' media 'mold' it. The explicit manifestation is articulated along the dichotomy of "Us vs Them" along biased mental models which represent "Our good" and "Their bad".

Lexicon

The lexical choice 'fake' with Pakistani media depict forgery, fraud and hoax of the media and media houses. The lexical choice is direct and obvious as it depicts the negative traits of Pakistani media as reported by the Maxnews. The direct and obvious lexical choice by the Maxnews about Pakistani media are premeditated and conscious underlying biased mental model which illustrates ideological and negative meaning about Pakistan. The semantic choice 'coloratura' for the difference of right and left wings and ideological and internal disputes of the political system of these is a positive choice to depict the differences between the wings. The lexicon 'coloratura' implies a positive implication of the lexical choice as the beautiful ornamentation of different melodies and uniqueness of different colours by attributing the political difference as difference if melodies and individuality if each colour. The lexical choice present "Our good" and "Their Bad", underlined biased mental model.

Hardly surprising that Pakistan's politics tend to dabble in the surreal. A 2007 deal between former Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto and President Pervez Musharraf spawned the National Reconciliation Ordinance — with 8,041 political names guilty of corruption, financial bungling, misuse of authority and various and sundry criminal charges — that pardoned everybody. One provincial minister had 16 cases against him for murder and attempted murder. (Para 4)

Lexicon

The para has semantic choices like 'surreal' for Pakistan's political situation which depicts nonsensical, and irrational political scenario. The lexicon 'corruption' also reflect dishonest and fraudulent conduct, criminality and deceit associated with political personalities. The gerund 'bungling' with adjective 'financial' portray financial mismanagement and mishandling, and verb 'misuse' imply embezzlement and exploitation of authority by the politicians. These lexical choices depict negative traits of political situation and politicians of Pakistan underlying biased mental models that display irrational political scenario, the criminality of politician's financial embezzlement and misusing the authority by the politicians.

Form

Rhetorical Structures

The Maxnews has used number games to overstate and magnify the criminality and embezzlement of politicians by stating the exact numbers of the guilty politicians. The statistics '8,041 political names guilty' of corruption. The statistical data saying that one Pakistani provincial minister had '16 cases against him'quantify the exact number of cases against the minister. The number game strategy is used to quantify the conjecture of corruption charges on Pakistani politician to make it look concrete and based on facts. The hyperbolic expression 'sundry criminal charges' aggrandises the criminal charges to highlight the political disaster and criminality of politicians as reported by the Maxnews. The rhetorical structures imply negative denotation for Pakistan underlying biased mental models.

The pardons were short-lived. The Supreme Court has now revoked the NRO, and 248 high-profile beneficiaries, now subject to prosecution, are no longer allowed to leave the country. The defense minister, about to board a flight to Beijing, was told to return to his office. Several Cabinet ministers canceled official trips abroad. The

Supreme Court also reopened a case filed against President Asif Ali Zardari in Switzerland for money laundering, which the Swiss dismissed after he was elected president, releasing $60 million, now his money again. (Para 5)

Local Meaning and Coherence

The para has the precision of details about the NRO, or the National Reconciliation Ordinance was the ordinance issued by the then President of Pakistan, General Pervez Musharraf, in October 2007. It granted pardon to bureaucrats, political workers, politicians, and those who had charges of corruption, money laundering, and murder, embezzlement, and terrorism from1 January 1986 to 12 October 1999. The para has the precision of details about Supreme Court of Pakistan revoking this NRO and how it unveiled many politicians. The precise details include one, '248 high-profile beneficiaries' who cannot leave the country; second, the Supreme Court reopened the cases against President Asif Ali Zardari. The precision of details about the high-profile politician shows the criminality and forgery in politicians. The precision of negative details is articulated underlying biased mental model which sensationalise make a drama out of it.

Form

Rhetorical Structures

The para shows the statistical data, the exact number '248 high-profile beneficiaries' who were not allowed to leave the country. The number game strategy is used to present the notion based on facts to make it appear concrete. The statistical data inflate the negative statement about Pakistan which portray an ideological and negative image of Pakistan and its politicians.

The NRO debacle explains why Pakistanis have little faith in their politicians and why the country has fallen under military rule four times in its 62-year history. Today the military calls the tune — Pakistan is teetering on the edge of political disaster. Its Supreme Court revoked a general amnesty, decreed by former President Musharraf, for more than 8,000 politicians guilty of corruption, financial bungling, misuse of authority and various and sundry criminal charges. One provincial minister had 16 cases against him for murder and attempted murder. Whither one of the world's eight nuclear powers? especially against the Taliban. It also controls the country's nuclear arsenal. (Para 7)

Local Meaning and Coherence

There is the local coherence of biased models relating political instability or criminality of politicians with the controlling the nuclear arsenals. The Maxnews raises questions against Pakistan's nuclear arsenals and their safety from Taliban by warping the facts relating that with the nuclear arsenals and its safety based on speculation and likely risk by bringing in the new context. The local coherence is based on biased models to depict a notion with risk and a lot of danger. The local coherence based on the biased mental model is reflecting negative ideology of the newsmaker.

Lexicon

The lexical choice 'debacle' reflect failure and disaster of an ordinance by Ex-President of Pakistan. The ordinance or the NRO was revoked by the supreme court of Pakistan. The lexical choice 'debacle' is a negative selection of lexicon whereas it was just revoked. The semantic choice is enunciated based on the biased mental model having negative ideological beliefs.

Form

Rhetorical Structures

The rhetorical implicature number game is used to present the exact numbers that are '8,000 politicians guilty of corruption' to give concrete and fact-based information to present the criminality of Pakistani politicians. This linguistic strategy is used to lay the impression of criminality of '8,000 politicians' on thick. There is also repetition of the charges on the politicians in para 4, and 7. The conjecture '8,041 political names guilty'; one provincial minister who had '16 cases against him' for murder and attempted murder in para 4 and '8,000 politicians guilty of corruption', misuse of authority financial bungling, and various and several criminal charges; one provincial minister who had '16 cases against him' for murder and attempted murder in para 7 as well. The repetition of the instance of charges on more than 8000 guilty politicians and the minister having 16 cases against him, highlights the incidents and supposition to emphasise and make the fact look more noticeable emphatically. The repetition is carried out to emphasise the negative traits that have already been stated. This is done underlying biased mental model to highlight "Their bad".

A cartoon in the International Herald Tribune shows a soldier crouching behind an armored vehicle labeled the Pakistani army. Standing atop a village wall, a black-

bearded Taliban fighter is shouting through a megaphone, "Friend or foe today?" The question is pertinent because one branch of the Taliban is the enemy that occupied the Swat Valley and got to within 60 miles of Islamabad, the capital. And the other Taliban, fighting U.S., NATO and other allied forces in Afghanistan, is potentially friend again. But not before the United States and its allies tire of fighting the Afghan war. (Para 8)

Action

Speech acts

The para has an accusative presupposition that Taliban's are friends with Pakistan triggered by the definite description and referring to a cartoon in an international newspaper where a 'black-bearded Taliban fighter' is shouting at Pakistani soldier, "Friends or foe?". The two different relationship dynamics are further expressed in a statement that brings forth the same dynamics and justifies that with accusative presupposition that one branch of the Taliban that 'occupied' the Swat Valley are enemy while the other fighting with the NATO and the United States' forces in Afghanistan are friends. The accusative presupposition implies Pakistan supports the Taliban in Afghanistan which is an accusation because Pakistan has been fighting against terrorism within and across the borders. The accusative presupposition is articulated with a definite description of ideology underlying biased mental model.

High-ranking U.S. officials take it, in turn, to visit Kayani to reassure him of U.S. support. Adm. Mike Mullen, chairman of the Joint Chiefs, and CENTCOM commander Gen. David H. Petraeus are frequent visitors. Defense Secretary Bob Gates and national security adviser Jim Jones also came calling recently. The trouble is, Pakistan's military leader cannot concede the ulterior strategic calculation: Pakistan was safer after aiding and abetting the Taliban's conquest of Afghanistan in 1996. (Para 10)

Local Meaning and Coherence

The para has explicit manifestation that there is trouble and military leaders in Pakistan cannot accept 'ulterior strategic calculation' and Pakistan was safer when assisting Taliban's conquest in Afghanistan in 1996. The manifestation implies that the Pakistani military leader will not accept the United States' offer and this is the problem. The manifestation also includes that it is viable for Pakistan after assisting the Taliban in conquest in 1996. The manifestations depict dichotomy of "Us vs Them" where

Pakistan is not ready to help the United States in stepping up against Taliban based in South Waziristan. The manifestation ideologically outcasts Pakistan and its 'ulterior strategic calculation'. There is no doubt that Pakistan has been the most reliable ally to the United States and Pakistan has supported the United States and provided military and intelligence support by offering its military and air bases, yet the explicit manifestation quiets down the positive efforts of Pakistan against the global war against terrorism is ideological and based on biased mental model. The manifestation is held along the dichotomy of "Us vs Them" by portraying "Their Bad".

Last summer the Taliban in Pakistan got to within 60 miles of Islamabad, which was clearly a signal for a major counterattack that drove them back to South Waziristan. There they were pummeled by three Pakistani divisions until heavy snowfalls stopped major operations pending the spring thaw. But suicide bombers continue widely scattered attacks in major cities. (Para 11)

Form

Rhetorical Structures

There is rhetorical implicature of number game to present the statistical data about how near the Taliban got in Islamabad. The statement highlights that the Taliban 'got to within 60 miles of Islamabad', which implies the possible threat and danger associated with the Taliban and their access to the capital of Pakistan. The presentation of conjecture based on facts makes the information authentic and reliable which highlights and magnifies the impact associated with the information. The rhetorical implicature implies that Pakistan and specifically the capital which is prime economic and political centre or hub of the country is almost accessible to Taliban, as Taliban being few miles within the capital. This also presents the negligence of intelligence agencies as reported by the Maxnews and the vulnerability of Pakistan in terms of Taliban and the prospective risk and threat that is linked with the Taliban.

For Pakistani strategists, this could spell the end of Pakistan, caught in a gigantic pincer by India, still the only real enemy. Its 1971 conquest of East Pakistan, 1,000 miles east of West Pakistan, turned it into Bangladesh. In Pakistan's strategic eyes, Afghanistan must have a friendly regime in charge, as the country to their west is their defense in depth against India. (Para 14)

Form

Rhetorical Structures

There are rhetorical implicatures to build up and dramatise the incident of Dacca fall- a province of Pakistan in the East- in 1971. The Dacca fall was the result of Indian conspiracy against East and West Pakistan, to which the Maxnews calls 'gigantic pincer'. The expression has hyperbole and metaphor. The statement 'Pakistan, caught in a gigantic pincer by India' has a hyperbole 'gigantic' and metaphor 'pincer'. The metaphor 'pincer' is the figure of speech in which the instrument 'pincer' is applied to the Dacca fall regarded as representative or symbolic of the instrument 'pincer' which is a metal tool with concave jaws or blades arranged as scissors for pulling the things. The metaphor implies that Pakistan has been victimised by India shows the powerlessness and vulnerability of Pakistan and India's success. The expression 'gigantic' is an adjective that is used with the 'pincer' to exaggerate the symbolic effect of the metaphor that used with it. The hyperbolic expression 'gigantic', double the effect of the metaphoric meaning of 'pincer'. These rhetorical implicatures imply the helplessness and powerlessness in front of India the 'gigantic pincer' to have lost one of its provinces in 1971 and relating that to the present scenario where Pakistan wants to see 'friendly regime' with it which could defend it against India, as reported by the Maxnews. This depicts the negative image of Pakistan underlying biased mental model articulated in the form of rhetorical implicatures.

Meanwhile, the United States is stuck attempting to prop up both Pakistan and Afghanistan, both governed by unpopular presidents of dubious probity. (Para 15)

Lexicon

The lexical choices in the para depict negative ideology about Pakistan by labelling the president as 'unpopular' and 'dubious probity'. The adjective 'unpopular' entails unloved and unwanted, and 'dubious' implies suspicious, untrustworthy and unreliable, with the noun 'probity' of the president of Pakistan. The semantic choices imply distrustful and cynical political situation of Pakistan. There are not only negative lexical choices for Pakistan, but Afghanistan and Pakistan have been put together in same ideological speculation. The notion "in-groups" Pakistan with Afghanistan which associates all the anarchy attached to Afghan government with Pakistan as well. President Hamid Karzai resulted in a direct win in Afghanistan after the controversial

elections of 2009. It is also noted that the country was highly unstable and corrupt in the government of Hamid Karzai (Ross, 2010). The Maxnews has used these negative lexical choices for both Afghan and Pakistan president which not only depict a distrustful president but also attach Pakistan and Afghan president ideologically by using same lexical choices for attributing both the president in the same statement. The ideological attachment and negative lexical choices are premeditated choices articulated underlying biased mental model to show "Their bad".

4.3.3.3 Overall Analysis of the News 3

The headline of the news starts with the word 'Pakistan', and it has the noun 'Disaster' used with it. It is used with the adjective 'Political' which relates the impact of the disaster to government and the public affairs of Pakistan. The semantic choices give the meaning on macrostructure which depicts Pakistani politics its government and public affairs are in absolute turmoil and devastation. The news starts with the negative statement which already contours and directs towards negative ideological meaning about Pakistan. The microstructure of the news also has linguistic strategies that portray the negative traits of Pakistani politics and politicians. There is an explicit manifestation that the United States' media mould and inform the information but Pakistani media 'fake it'. The dichotomy of "Us vs Them" is created by presenting "Our good" and "Their bad". There is also another explicit manifestation that that infers that Pakistan was safe by helping Taliban in Afghanistan in 1996 and its military leaders cannot 'the ulterior strategic calculation' to step up against Taliban. The manifestation creates an ideological dichotomy of "Us vs Them" by out casting Pakistan for supporting the Taliban and not participating positively in the global war against terrorism. There is the precision of details about '248 high-profile beneficiaries' who were not allowed to leave the country also show a sense of chaos and criminality of politicians with the precision of details. There is local coherence based on biased models by twisting the context and relating the political disaster as the Maxnews calls it, with the safety of the nuclear arsenals of Pakistan. The lexical choices like 'fake', 'debacle', 'dubious' with Pakistan, its politics and its politicians are the planned semantic choices articulated underlying biased mental model.

The form of the news also suggests hyperbolic expressions 'sundry criminal charges' to exaggerate the charges on politicians. The metaphoric expression 'gigantic pincer' for India makes Pakistan appear vulnerable and powerless in front of India to

have lost one of its province in 1971. The number game strategy is used to highlight and concretise the big number of guilty politicians as in, '8,041 political names guilty'; '16 cases against him'; '248 high-profile beneficiaries';' 8,000 politicians guilty'. Also the same statistics and numeric have been repeated to put the special emphasis on the criminality and charges of the politicians. The form and rhetorical implicatures are implied to highlight the negative traits as reported by the Maxnews along the biased mental models.

There is accusative presupposition triggered by the definite description that 'Taliban, fighting U.S., NATO and other allied forces' are friends with Pakistan. The accusative presupposition raises questions and suspensions against Pakistan's contribution in the war against terrorism whereas Pakistan has always fought in the best of regional interest to eradicate terrorism from the region and provided military and intelligence support to the United States fighting in Afghanistan to fight against terrorism.

The news has ideological and negative implications about Pakistan at macro and microstructure. There are an explicit manifestation, the precision of details, local coherence based on biased models that highlight the negative traits of Pakistan and Pakistani politics. The rhetorical implicatures like hyperbole, number game and metaphors are little less direct, but they also infer negative inference about Pakistani politics and politicians and relating that with the war against terrorism. The presupposition also accuses Pakistan is friends with the Taliban to fight against NATO and the United States in Afghanistan. Hence all the discursive strategies are implied to culminate the negative traits of Pakistan reported by the Maxnews.

Table xiii
Maxnews 3

<table>
<tr><th colspan="3"></th><th colspan="2">Meaning - Maxnews 3</th></tr>
<tr><th colspan="3"></th><th>US (Our Good)</th><th>THEM (Their Bad)</th></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Selection of topic</td><td colspan="2">Positive</td><td></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Negative</td><td></td><td>Pakistan on Edge of Political Disaster (headline)</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="5">Local meaning and coherence</td><td rowspan="2">Manifestation</td><td>Explicit</td><td>For America's television coloratura of right and left, the MO is to mold rather than inform.(2)</td><td>In Pakistan, they (media) do more than mold; they fake it. (2); Trouble is, Pakistan's military leader cannot concede the ulterior strategic calculation: Pakistan was safer after aiding and abetting the Taliban's conquest of Afghanistan in 1996. (10)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Implicit</td><td></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Precision</td><td>Precise</td><td></td><td>248 high-profile beneficiaries… are no longer allowed to leave the country.The Supreme Court also reopened a case filed against President Asif Ali Zardari … for money laundering (5)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Vague</td><td></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>Local coherence</td><td>Biased models</td><td></td><td>Whither one of the world's eight nuclear powers? especially against the Taliban. (7)</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Lexicon</td><td colspan="2">Positive</td><td>coloratura (2)</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Negative</td><td></td><td>fake (2);

surreal, financial bungling, corruption, criminal, misuse (4)

debacle (7);

unpopular, dubious probity (15)</td></tr>
</table>

Form – Maxnews 3

		US (Our Good)	THEM (Their Bad)
Rhetorical Structures	**Hyperbole**		sundry criminal charges (4);
	Metaphor		gigantic pincer (14)
	Number game		'8,041 political names guilty', '16 cases against him' (4); '248 high-profile beneficiaries' (5); ' 8,000 politicians guilty' (7); Taliban in Pakistan got to within 60 miles of Islamabad (10)
	Repetition		['8,041 political names guilty'; One provincial minister had 16 cases against him for murder and attempted murder] (4); ['8,000 politicians guilty of corruption, financial bungling, misuse of authority and various and sundry criminal charges'; 'One provincial minister had 16 cases against him for murder and attempted murder'] (7)

Action – Maxnews 3

		US (Our Good)	THEM (Their Bad)
Speech acts (Presupposition)	**Promises**		
	Accusations		…one branch of the Taliban is the enemy that occupied the Swat Valley and got to within 60 miles of Islamabad, the capital. And the other Taliban, fighting U.S., NATO and other allied forces in Afghanistan, is potentially friend again (8)

4.3.4 Maxnews News 4

4.3.4.1 Context and Background of the News

The news is about the pressure of the United States on Pakistan to increase the crackdown against Taliban. The news majorly conspires and accuses Pakistan for 'downplaying' the presence of the extremists. It cannot be ignored that Pakistan has been facing problems with regards to domestic terrorism and this had increased the threat to the security of the country "within". Several areas such as southern Punjab and Kuram, D.I. Khan, Para Chinar and the other tribal belt have been significantly influenced by the terrorism in the country. The suicide attacks as well as attacking the property, railway tracks, schools, infrastructure, gas pipeline and the banks are some examples of the terrorism growing in Pakistan (Nader & Laha, 2011). Therefore, the extremists combined with the sectarian terrorism creates differences on the religious ground, and there are several groups that are held responsible for the violence in the country. The intolerance level in the country has been prevailing since there had been terrorist attacks resulting into loss of economy, rising unemployment and the other socio-economic problems. The terrorists prevailing in Pakistan is actually a global agenda and have been prevailing in Afghanistan since the late 1970s. However, since the terrorist attack of 9/11 and the related invasion of the United States in Afghanistan had resulted in Jihadis coming up with an attractive reason and cause to fight (Blaydes & Linzer, 2012). When the United States came up with the agenda of war on terror and Pakistan had joined hands with the United States, the jihadi groups turned their guns and targeted Pakistan instead of the coalition forces in Afghanistan (Markey, 2014). The militants had resorted to the horrible and most ruthless acts of forcefulness. This resulted in significant dangers for Pakistan as it was considered to be the most dangerous country in the world. The militants of Afghanistan targeted any place in Pakistan, and it became a very common belief that Pakistan was home to extremist groups. Afghanistan had proven to be much stronger than expected as their jihadi terrorism and attacks in Pakistan turned out to refuelling the sectarian terrorism. The combination of these two groups threatened the national security of Pakistan from the perspective of both internal and external (Markey, 2014).

4.3.4.2 Text and Discourse

4.3.4.2.1   Meaning

4.3.4.2.1.a Semantic Macrostructure (Topic)

U.S. Pressure on Pakistan Increasing Taliban Heat (headline)

The headline is supposed to be the most venting part of the news with the bigger font as compared to the rest of the news. The macrostructure of the news contours the expectations of the news consumers. The semantic choice like 'Pressure' with the United States as a subject in the sentence suggests the United States as supreme and superpower whereas Pakistan as subservient to the United States. The headline shows the ideological supremacy of the United States over Pakistan as reported by Maxnews.

4.3.4.2.1.b Semantic Microstructure

Pakistan's cooperation marks a shift after years of tolerating the presence of homegrown extremists operating openly in the country. The government recently has pressed an offensive in tribal areas home to al-Qaeda, has arrested major Taliban figures and has signed off on airstrikes by pilotless drones that have killed important terrorist suspects. (Para 2)

Lexicon

The lexical choice like 'homegrown' extremists puts forward an ideological notion and attachment between extremists and Pakistanis belonging to Pakistan and produced by Pakistan as reported by Newsmax. The lexicon 'home' for Al- Qaida in Pakistan also reflects Pakistan as a safe place for Al-Qaida. These lexical choices raise questions on Pakistan's contribution towards the war on terrorism and disloyalty to overall global peace. The lexical choices also marginalise Pakistan's contribution in the war against terrorism which uplifts an ideological and negative picture of Pakistan.

Form

Rhetorical Structures

The expression 'home' for extremists in Pakistan is a metaphor and hyperbolic expression. It is regarded as representative or symbolic for the safe place and permanent residence for extremists as narrated by the Maxnews according to this rhetorical implicature. The metaphor is also a hyperbolic expression to magnify the assertion of nourishing the terrorism and the extremists in Pakistan. The rhetorical implicatures are

a biased underlying mental model which reflect negative ideological conjecture about Pakistan.

Action

Speech acts

There is an accusative presupposition triggered by temporal clause 'after' in the statement saying that Pakistan has cooperated 'after'tolerating the 'homegrown extremists operating openly in the country'. The temporal clause supports the conjecture and charge that Pakistan has tolerated the presence of homegrown extremists operating openly in the country. The presupposition highlights and inflates the charge of Pakistan tolerating the extremists underlying the biased mental model.

Pakistan on Thursday announced the arrest of the Taliban's former finance minister, days after saying it killed about 75 militants and discovered a network of 156 caves used by the Taliban near the Afghan border. After downplaying for years the presence of extremist leaders in Pakistani cities, the government last month arrested a number of key Taliban figures, including Mullah Abdul Ghani Baradar, the Afghan Taliban's second in command. (Para 3)

Local Meaning and Coherence

There is evidentiality of negative attributes associated with Pakistan that Pakistan had arrested Taliban's finance minister near the Afghan border which signifies the presence of Taliban leader in Pakistan along the border with Afghanistan. The evidentiality is determined by the statement that 'Pakistan…announced' the arrest of Taliban's finance minister which gives a negative attribution of the presence of Taliban in Pakistan evidently 'announced' by Pakistan as reported by Maxnews. There is also local coherence of biased models as presented in subordinate clause 'after' in saying Pakistan has been downplaying the presence of Taliban leaders which reflect a deliberate act of 'downplaying' by Pakistan. This implies Pakistan has not given the importance to the presence and neglected the presence and hence ideologically associate the responsibility of presence of Taliban leaders to Pakistan. The ideological display of negative assertion is underlying the biased mental model along the dichotomy of "Us vs Them".

U.S. drone strikes have increased to 53 in Pakistan in 2009 from 36 in 2008 and five in 2007, according to statistics compiled by the Long War Journal website. An

August strike killed BaitullahMehsud, a major Taliban leader. (Para 4)

Local Meaning and Coherence

There is the precision of details about the statistics of strikes viz, '53 in Pakistan in 2009'; '36 in 2008' and 'five in 2007'. The precision of details is set forth against the August strike that killed major Taliban leader Baitullah Mehsud. The precision of the details reflects the need to increase drone strikes, from the year 2007 to 2009 leading to the extermination of major Taliban leader present in Pakistan. The precision of details leads to the presence of major Taliban leader in Pakistan convey the justification of these strikes and lead to a negative meaning as presented by the precision at the microstructure of the news. The precision of the details is planned underlying biased mental model along the dichotomy of "Us vs Them".

Although Pakistan's government hasn't done everything the United States has wanted, these developments are "all having an effect," said Richard Holbrooke, the State Department's special representative for Pakistan and Afghanistan. "I think that in Pakistan and in Afghanistan, but particularly in Pakistan, there's been a movement, a shift in sentiment here." (Para 5)

Form

Syntax

The form of the sentence in the para suggests an obvious portrayal of negative manifestation associated with Pakistan. In the active voice sentence, Pakistan is in subject position with the negative verb 'hasn't done anything'. The active voice sentence and the subject position of Pakistan put the assertion on the subject of not doing 'everything'. The statement is passed in the perspective of the United States pressure on Pakistan for increasing Taliban pressure. Though Pakistan has contributed and sacrificed significantly in the war against terrorism, yet the efforts are not acknowledged by the West or the Western media. The form of the sentence suggests and renders Pakistan directly for not having done everything that the United States has wanted. The ideological assertion of meaning through biased mental model brings in the dichotomy of "Us vs Them".

4.3.4.3 Overall Analysis of the News 4

The headline of the news contours the direction of the news with semantic choices like 'Pressure on' Pakistan which reflects Pakistan as subordinate to the United States. The headline forms an ideological and overblown image of the United States as supercilious and overweening than Pakistan. The microstructure level of the news suggests direct and lucid semantic choices to aver the negative meaning to associate with Pakistan. The lexicon like 'homegrown' and 'home' for al-Qaida in Pakistan illustrate, Pakistan as a safe place for the extremists. The precision of details about statistics of drone attacks suggests a justification of the drone strikes from the year 2007 to 2009 leading to provide negative evidentiality and biased model of local coherence about Pakistan 'downplaying' the presence of the extremist leaders. The local meaning and coherence on the microstructure of the discourse has ideological and negative meaning articulated through biased mental model latent through the dichotomy of "Us vs Them" in the news.

The form of the sentence at a syntactic level also suggest Pakistan as accused not doing 'everything' the United States wanted in combating terrorism, and the rhetorical implicature and hyperbolic expression overstate the perception that Pakistan has been 'home' to al- Qaida.

The accusative presupposition projects Pakistan tolerating the extremists for years. It is Pakistan that has been victimised and suffered the most for war against terrorism and presupposing and accusing Pakistan of tolerating these extremists is a representation of ideological and negative traits underlying biased mental model. The macro and microstructure of the news portray a negative image of Pakistan that is "Them", whereas the United States is the one as supreme and superpower to 'Pressure' Pakistan hence magnified and positive "Us".

Table xiv
Maxnews 4

			Meaning - Newsmax 4	
			US (Our Good)	**THEM (Their Bad)**
Selection of topic	**Positive**		U.S. Pressure on Pakistan Increasing Taliban Heat (headline)	
	Negative			
Local Meaning and Coherence	**Precision**	**Precise**		U.S. drone strikes have increased to 53 in Pakistan in 2009 from 36 in 2008 and five in 2007, according to statistics compiled by the Long War Journal website. An August strike killed Baitullah Mehsud, a major Taliban leader. (4)
		Vague		
	Evidentiality	**We have truth**		Pakistan … announced the arrest of the Taliban's former finance minister…near the Afghan border (3)
		They are misguided		
	Local coherence	**Biased models**		After downplaying for years the presence of extremist leaders in Pakistani cities, the government last month arrested a number of key Taliban figures (3)
Lexicon	**Positive**			
	Negative			homegrown extremists, home to al-Qaeda (2)

Form – Newsmax 4

		US (Our Good)	THEM (Their Bad)
Syntax	**Active (Emphasing)**		Pakistan's government hasn't done everything the United States has wanted (5)
	Passive (De-emphasising)		
Rhetorical Structures	**Hyperbole**		home to al-Qaeda (2)
	Metaphor		home to al-Qaeda (2)

Action – Newsmax 4

		US (Our Good)	THEM (Their Bad)
Speech acts (Presupposition)	**Promises**		
	Accusations		Pakistan's cooperation marks a shift after years of tolerating the presence of homegrown extremists operating openly in the country (2)

4.3.5 Maxnews News 5

4.3.5.1 Context and Background of the News

Wikileaks has released 77,000 of the documents, 180 reports of which originating from Afghan intelligence to spread the dubious role of Pakistan, its Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) and, of retired General Hamid Gul who led the ISI in the Afghan jihad during the Soviet Union's occupation of Afghanistan. Gen. Hameed Gul was known as the architect of the Soviet defeat and the reprehensible withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. He was once in good books but then Gen. Gul also claimed that the 9/11 attacks were an inside job and openly supported the Afghan resistance against the US-led occupation of Afghanistan which was similar to that of the Soviet Union. He has many times contested the charges against him on various international media channels such as CNN, Al Jazeera, and BBC, and labelled the reports as "fictional" , "preposterous", and considered "disinformation" to demean and diabolise him and the ISI in an attempt to find a victim play for the United States military's failures in Afghanistan (Gul, n.d., p.1)

4.3.5.2 Text and Discourse

4.3.5.2.1   Meaning

4.3.5.2.1.a Semantic Macrostructure (Topic)

WikiLeaks Reveals Pakistan's Intel Deceit (headline)

The headline expresses the theme or the gist of the main news. The headline is significant and carries semantic significance at macrostructure. The headline has lexicon 'Deceit', with Pakistan's intelligence. The lexicon depicts the traits like double-dealing, fraud, duplicity, trickery and bluff associated with Pakistan by Maxnews. It is first, and on top text with a bigger font from the rest of the news, it is the visual marker that emphasises the importance of the topic and the theme of the main news with negative traits associated with Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI). The headline is emphatically direct with a negative semantic choice which carries an ideological and negative meaning which contours negative picture of Pakistan in the headline.

4.3.5.2.1.b Semantic Microstructure

First and foremost, the documents reveal the abiding treachery of Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence service, the ISI, which has helped the Taliban kill Americans in Afghanistan at the same time it has solicited U.S. help to battle the Taliban in

Pakistan. (Para 2)

Lexicon

The semantic choice of the text that is 'treachery' with Pakistan's ISI reflects betrayal, disloyalty and back-stabbing by Pakistan. The semantic choice and the noun is direct evident and negative which illustrates an ideological and negative traits associated with Pakistan as reported by Maxnews. The negative lexicon incites the negative meaning which implies Pakistan has helped the Taliban to kill Americans and 'solicited' the United States at the same time.

Form

Rhetorical Structures

The adjective 'abiding' is and hyperbolic expression. The rhetorical implicature highlights the negative meaning and traits accompanied with it. The hyperbolic expression dramatises, magnifies and overstates the negative traits used for Pakistan's ISI.

But they shouldn't have been so shocked. For years, as The New York Times commented on Tuesday, "both Bush and Obama administration officials as well as top American commanders have confronted top Pakistani military officers with accusations of ISI complicity in attacks in Afghanistan, and even presented top Pakistani officials with lists of ISI and military operatives believed to be working with militants." (Para 4)

Action

Speech acts

The para has an accusative presupposition, according to Maxnews the deceit is 'for years'. The accusation is triggered by temporal clause 'for years'. This implies that both, Bush and Osama administrations and top American commanders have confronted Pakistani military officers about the complicity of ISI in attacks in Afghanistan. The presupposition determined by accusative temporal clause increases the impact of the accusations in the previous part of the news.

Of course, the Pakistanis are claiming that the U.S. field intelligence reports released by WikiLeaks are fabrications and lies, but that won't make them go away. Congress is now going to debate the ISI's treachery in public. Let's see how many of

our elected blamers actually have the stomach to face the facts as they are, not as they might like them to be. (Para 6)

Lexicon

The semantic selection 'treachery' with ISI again shows betrayal and disloyalty reported by Newsmax. The repeated and ideological negative lexicon is a biased mental model which is a conscious and deliberate choice. These repeated choices undermine Pakistan and Pakistan military's active and positive contribution in the war against terrorism. There is an ideological and negative depiction of Pakistan.

However, a wise administration would use this unauthorized disclosure as a teachable moment to put real pressure on the Pakistan government to cut off all aid to the Taliban. If Pakistan actually ended all such assistance, I doubt the Taliban would survive — at least, so long as the U.S. military maintains its robust presence in Afghanistan. A wise administration would also use these revelations as an additional justification for ratcheting up the pressure on Iran. (Para 11)

Action

Speech acts

The para has accusative presupposition triggered by the definite description which has an aspectual verb in it. The definite description, 'If Pakistan actually ended all such assistance' and the aspectual verb 'ended' presupposes and accuses Pakistan of assisting Taliban. The definite description and aspectual verb reflect that Taliban is surviving and are strong because they are backed up by Pakistan. This raises questions on Pakistan's positive contribution to the war against terrorism. There is an ideological and negative description of Pakistan, its ISI reflected through biased mental models in discourse.

4.3.5.3 Overall Analysis of the News 5

The headline of the news has unswerving manifestation which carries ideologically negative meaning associated with Pakistan and ISI. The meaning at the microstructure level of the news discourse carries negative as well. The negative lexical choice 'treachery' reflect betrayal and disloyalty associated with Pakistan as reported by Maxnews.

The form of the meaning also carries an ideological and negative portrayal of

Pakistan by repeatedly using the word 'treachery' in the news. Instead of giving a tedious impression the repetition reinforces the specific facts associated with the strategy.

The news has accusative presuppositions that Pakistan ISI has been accused of complicity in attacks in Afghanistan and that Taliban are surviving because Pakistan is backing the Taliban. The presupposition has an ideological and negative rendering of Pakistan and ISI besides Pakistan's immense contribution to the global war against terrorism. The contribution is abolished reflecting through discourse at macro and microstructure of the news.

Table xv
Maxnews 5

Meaning – Newsmax News 5

		US (Our Good)	THEM (Their Bad)
Selection of topic	**Positive**		
	Negative		WikiLeaks Reveals Pakistan's Intel Deceit
Lexicon	**Positive**		
	Negative		treachery (2); ISI's treachery (6)

Form – Newsmax News 5

		US (Our Good)	THEM (Their Bad)
Rhetorical Structures	**Hyperbole**		abiding treachery (2)

Action – Newsmax News 5

		US (Our Good)	THEM (Their Bad)
Speech acts (Presupposition)	**Promises**		
	Accusations		For years, … "both Bush and Obama administration officials, as well as top American commanders, have confronted top Pakistani military officers with accusations of ISI complicity in attacks in Afghanistan (4); If Pakistan actually ended all such assistance, I doubt the Taliban would survive (11)

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

The current study sought to find out the ideology of Western Media and how it reflected or presented the ideology by using biased context models; locally created meanings from biased models; insightful lexical choices in news discourse to highlight certain positive aspects of "Us" and vigilant lexical choices to present the bad picture of "Them". This chapter aimed to establish a valid conclusion of the entire research and evaluate how far the research aims and objectives of the study were achieved or not. The aim was to reveal how the selected news of reflected the ideology about Pakistan to the rest of the world. The study aimed to explore how Western Media reflected Pakistani-sociopolitical event, from the perspective of war on terrorism conforming to a specific ideology.

The conclusion of the entire study is followed by the research findings and the recommendations. This chapter aims to represent the specific ideology of Western Media and evaluate how media plays a significant role in influencing the mindsets of the audience who trusts them blindly. The research in hand specifically addressed how Western Media shapes the ideology about Pakistan to the world. Western Media had exploited the image of Pakistan by reflecting its socio-political events in a way to highlight the worst side of Pakistan.

Against Van Dijk's Ideological Square and Socio-cognitive Model, this research concluded the relation between the Western discourse and its ideology about Pakistan. The theory of ideology by Van Dijk did not only expound the way ideological discourses are produced and understood, but it also showed how ideologies themselves are broadly reproduced by the media and acquired by their members whom they are ideologically associate to.

The study had met the research objectives and had exclusively revolved around the research questions. The study sought to find how some syntactic structures can reflect the ideology of media. The rhetorical implicature and speech act also presented

some covert ideological features which were not ideological by themselves, but the micro and macro context made these rhetorical structures ideological and either positive or negative. There is no lexicon that is ideologically biased independently, in the same way, no syntactic structure is ideological. It was the specific use of these syntactic structures and lexical items that make it ideologically biased. The contextual analysis had been carried out to deeply analyse these linguistics devices, in parallel to figure out the subjective representation of contextual events which were significant to analyse these linguistics strategies. The Western Media intentionally chose such lexical items to present a particular image of Pakistan to the world. It manifests the aspects which have a certain ideology. Considering Pakistan, an ideological opponent, the Western Media had depicted that categorically which was evident in the news discourse covering Pakistan.

The study "Reflection of Pakistani socio-political events in Western Media" reflected how Western Media manipulated their choice of lexical items, syntactic structures and rhetorical implicatures in the news and represented Pakistan negatively to the rest of the world. Ideology is the term that refers to the belief systems of a group. It has a huge impact on the cognition of the general public and is the social representation of the news producer (institution or organisation) in general. They are also referred to as the norms of the society or a community as it helps to form their opinions, beliefs and common sense. This research focused on the Western ideology, i.e. of Western Media and analysed that how they played an important role in the two different areas of perception which are political and social. This study being socio-linguistic study emphasised the strategies and structure of discourses which formulated the certain discourse of a specific social group targeting the other social group to formulate the ideology about the second social group. The Western Media addressed the Pakistani socio-political event from an ideological perspective of the certain social group to which it ideologically conforms and makes an ideological binary and formed an "Us" targeting its ideological opponent which is Pakistan that is "Them". It had included other countries and extremist groups in "Them" throughout the news discourse from time to time, meeting its ideological objectives.

There had been several socio-political events of Pakistan that had been taken into consideration by Western Media post 9/11 which had been marked as the black day in the history of America. When the news of Western Media was taken into

consideration, there had been a crucial arena that challenges the prevailing attitude of others, especially in Pakistan. The intellectual beliefs result in strong emotional responses that are extensively presented in the media. One of the critical examples refers to the presentation of Pakistan's socio-political events in Western society which have created clashes in the most potent two media markets of West and East.

The Western news channels are the phenomenon of 24-hour news cycle which should be focusing on eliminating differences between different parts of the world. However, the manipulating factor had resulted in the Western Media showing Pakistan as a highly extremist country in all regards. Beginning with the events, there had been a difference of perception while the way Islam and Pakistan had been portrayed as the most dangerous ones. The Western Media had been planting seeds of irrationality and prejudice and creating a distorted picture of Pakistan and Islam in not only the Westerners' minds but the world's too. Pakistan was being portrayed as a country promoting violence, terrorism and global threat and was held responsible for any terrorist activity around the world.

The Western Media created not only biased mental models which explained the thought process of the individual in the real world and endorsed to shape the behaviour, but also a biased contextual model which focused on the broader perception of the people. In the human cognition, there was a negative picture created, and the relationships between these two parts of the world are destroyed. The negative perception of Pakistan and comprehension of the biased media discourse can result in the illogical reasoning of the viewers. On the other hand, the contextual model focused on the broader understanding and the surrounding elements of the system. There was a considerable impact of these model on the memory and perception of the people and their beliefs. The Western Media created a biased contextual model and presented a scripted view of Pakistan which was very much negative.

The media inaccuracy, the distortion in news and the omission of reality and biases in the news of the West had been glaring and cannot be ignored since the use of the discourse and the representation have influenced the overall society economically, militarily, culturally as well as politically as there had been many issues caused resulting from concentrated views and manipulations.

The ideology of Western Media was highly dominant and impacted the day to

day lives and perception of the people. The inaccuracy and distortion and the stereotyping in the Western Media portrayed Pakistan as the ugly face on the globe and doubted all their acts and discriminated them amongst the world. Instead of independent and fair judgment, it acted too mainstream and created a negative image overall.

It had been noticed that Pakistan had been a matter of discussion after the incident of nine-eleven. There had been increased terrorism, controversies, political unrest and increased violence in Pakistan which created numerous socio-political events that became the interest of the Western media in general. These negative activities that took place in Pakistan had a negative impact on the overall economy of the country and had impacted the country's reputation on the whole.

There had been significant studies on the incident of nine-eleven which had been considered as the most devastating incident in the history of the United States. The stereotyping and negative image created in the media stories and its headlines left no chance to accuse Muslims of all the chaos around the world. In the overall study, it had been observed that there had been a lot of extremist lexicons and statements were used when Pakistan was being discussed.

It cannot be ignored that the Western Media have raised propaganda of war on terrorism, involving Afghanistan and dragging Pakistan and forcing them to ally with them and go against their neighbouring country so that the United States could invade Afghanistan easily.

5.1   Findings of the Research

In the light of the in-depth analysis news of Western media discourse and above conclusion, the researcher had analysed and summed up the findings of how the Western Media reflected socio-political events of Pakistan. Following are the findings of the research.

1. While ideologies were drawn into discourse, they were expressed by their underlying structures, such as the polarisation between positive in-group description and negative out-group description. This took place not only explicitly by propositional means (topics, meanings, etc.) but also by many other discursive strategies that emphasise Our Good and Their Bad or de-emphasise Our Bad and Their Good such as headlines and topics, lexicalisation, syntactic structure, semantic choices such as disclaimers, and rhetorical

implicatures and promises and accusations in the form of presuppositions. Hence, at all levels of news, the influence of the ideological 'bias' of underlying mental models and social representations was witnessed based on ideologies from the perspective of war on terrorism.

2. The Western Media carried a specific negative ideology in its news discourse which does not conform to Pakistan's interests and mishandled to create a negative image of Pakistan to the world. The Western news channels had solely adapted to Western ideology by complying with the Western interests mainly. As Pakistan had been dichotomised ideologically with West, on the other hand, Western Media had "in grouped" itself with West. The media either ideologically combined Pakistan with a threatening figure like Afghan Taliban in general and Afghanistan in specific, to ideologically associate all the shortcomings related to Afghanistan with Pakistan, in terms of Afghanistan's 'undermined' political government, its 'undermanned' army and lack of security ; or Western Media had ideologically dichotomised Pakistan with West to portray a positive "Us" which would give Pakistan F-16 and naval 'frigates' and aids and as it is so pacifist not to get involved in 'engagement' with Pakistan, rather in 'crisis management' and all the positive activities . It presented Pakistan, a negative "Them" which was only working for its own goals and was a troublesome neighbour specifically to India as to set it responsible for Mumbai attacks in 2008, and February attacks in Kabul in Indian consulate and to had befooled and 'rattled' India, questioning its foreign policies By showing India being victimised by Pakistan, showed an ideological sympathy with India, Western Media proved to have dichotomised with Pakistan and form an ideological "Us" with India. It kept the 'arch-rival' India in "in-group" with West. The Western Media also exhibited its Western ideology agenda which was disreputing Pakistan, by accusing Pakistan of relying on extremist groups for its 'foreign policy goals' ; for discomposing ,discomfiting and to achieve success to had 'rattled' Indian and exploiting Afghanistan as a median in this triangle between these three countries ; and being responsible for causing disruption and turbulence in the region. Hence the Western Media had a specific ideology conforming to Western interests to an extent as to sympathise with India by victimising it and setting Pakistan

responsible for this which raised mistrust, reservation and scepticism about Pakistan to the world.

3. Western Media had the negative ideology about Pakistan which was depicted in its reflection on how it had used the political, social issues and other contextual references in a subjective way. To do so, Western Media had used the dichotomy of "Us vs Them" throughout the news. The events and issues had been exploited and applied subjectively. Whether it was about 'electricity issue', 'jobless youth', 'faltering' economic 'crisis', 'army's success rate', international access of Pakistan's textile industry, terrorism, political instability, foreign policies, grievances with United States and issues with Afghanistan and India, all of these had been exploited to hamper the image of Pakistan by emphasising and highlighting them and side by side marginalising the strengths and efforts of Pakistan, Pakistan army and ISI.

4. From Bush and Washington's pledge to give F-16 and 1.5 billion dollars aid and NATO's new strategy to Pakistan's acute political instability; fearing Pakistan to cause brutal civil war like 1990's , Western Media had highlighted "Our" good and "Their" bad, at the same time Western Media downplayed Pakistan army's success rate. While Western Media conceals the United States' own reliance on extremist groups to achieve its foreign policy goals, it highlights Pakistan's reliance on these groups. The Western Media in his subjective representation of events had, on the one hand, magnified Pakistan's bad image, on the other hand, it had mitigated Unites States' negative side and highlighted "Our" good picture.

5. The use of the word 'Indian Administrated Kashmir' rather than 'Indian Occupied Kashmir'; and conforming to Indian stance in using biased context models, in relationship triangle and accusing Pakistan of Mumbai attacks and Kabul attack at Indian consulates undoubtedly showed the dichotomy of "Us vs Them" and out grouping Pakistan by not conforming to Pakistan's stance at any point. This implied that West had a particular ideology which did not support Pakistan or its positive image to the world.

6. The malice of Western ideology was obvious the way it ideologically associated Pakistan with Afghanistan, and it's 'undermanned', 'under armed', '80% illiterate' and 'yet to be equipped army', marginalizing the efforts and services of Pakistan army and air force in the war on terrorism which was a global war.

The Western Media had accused Pakistan army and ISI of relying on extremist groups for its foreign policy goals without realising that it was entirely the other way around. This showed Western ideology to accuse Pakistan of safeguarding its own malicious foreign policy goals and its lust for power.

7. There had been several linguistic strategies used to manipulate Pakistan's devious image to the world as reported by the Western media. Biased meaning at the macro level, as well as micro level, had been used. The local coherence on biased mental models had been created and exploited subjectively, to create a micro context and then these cohesions had been brought forward and used in the discourse to manipulate them without using the actual context. These biased mental models had been exploited in a way that they had been further intensified and validated through the use of biased lexicons, rhetorical implicatures and syntactic structures and accusative speech acts.

8. The analysis of the news at macrostructure was significant to the analysis and the objectives of the research since it was concerned with the thematic (topic) structure of the news and the overall schema. The overall theme and topic pertain issues like 'undermined' government of Karzai who is ideologically "in-grouped" with Pakistan; also topics like 'Pakistan crisis'; 'impasse' and halt between dialogues with neighbours like India; 'transactional relation' in a negative way; discussing Pakistan's 'key demands'. All these headings define the overall coherence or semantic unity of discourse, and also passed the information which readers memorise best from the news report. The headlines and selection of topics for "Us" vs "Them" prompted the most important information of the context and mental model of Western Media (journalists) which means how Western Media perceived and defined the news event. The readers or audience, as a result, adhere to subjective media definitions and important information about Pakistan.

9. Explicit manifestation about "Our good and Their bad"; detailed specification of issues where Pakistan fell back (not being able to provide its people with electricity, water, security or jobs); defining "Our good" very precisely as talking about aids that it granted to Pakistan and: creating detailed evidentiality of "Our good" and "Their bad"; disclaiming or denying our bad things show Western Media has used the microstructures to misguide the world about Pakistan's actual image using these biased mental models based on micro

context. The Western Media also used the detailed specification when it had to talk about West "pouring" in aid to Pakistan whether money or F-16s, Western Media did it with detailed specification to highlight and magnify positive picture of West. The little Western Media projected positive about Pakistan; it ideologically fortified the act with the United States so that Pakistan could not have taken an ideological credit of owning the "good" alone in front of the world.

10. The Western Media used deliberate lexical choices very shrewdly and deliberately for displaying "Our" sovereignty, supremacy, pacifism, qualities showing "Us" as a mediator and in peacekeeper role; and the choices which showed treacherous "Them" and depict menace of Pakistan, which magnified the problems faced by Pakistan. It also used image building words that most likely show that Pakistan was safeguarding terrorists and provided 'sanctuaries'. On the one hand Western Media used direct and image building words to create Pakistan's negative image by using negative words which were ideologically biased words and, on the other hand Western Media also used lexical choices which did not give a direct impression of negativity about "Us" and avoided to use the negative form of sentence which included the word "not" even where it had to. Instead, it used the mildest words for doing the purpose of negation where it mentions Wests or the United States' refusing or not agreeing to some global matter of universal importance. Also, there had been such image building and intensified lexicons chosen which made Pakistan seem a worldwide threat and not just confined to West. Such lexical choices magnify the negative ideology of Western Media about Pakistan and also shaped up the same ideology in the receiver's mind.

11. The Western Media had used different linguistics strategies to depict its Western ideology which did not conform to any of Pakistan's interest and benefits or in favour. The Western Media had portrayed Pakistan a state in economic crisis, with sparse, faltering economy, an army which has failed to fight against its own indigenous Taliban. This device had been used differently to depict Pakistan's image and differently to shows the United States' image. The discrimination in linguistics choices also portrayed its ideology which enlightened the dichotomy of "Us vs Them".

12. The form of the sentence also suggested the ideological bias. The Western Media used passive voice where it had to even slightly mention something which could create any positive impact about Pakistan, by putting Pakistan on object position to make it appear passive and vague and not giving any direct credit. At the same time, Western Media used active voice with verbs showing power, pacifism, leadership, sovereignty and supremacy of West specifically the United States by putting it in active subject position to make West executive about all the positive verbs used in active voice. Not only this, the Western Media used passive voice for statements depicting a fallible accusation (self-created) having no apparent proofs even not in local coherence in the immediate context. This was done to ideologically detach speaker from saying so yet at the same time conveying the statement with negative verbs about "Them".The Western Media has used the active voice sentences for verbs carrying negative impact like, non-cooperative, destructive meaning with Pakistan and Pakistan army by putting it in subject position to make it responsible and executive for the negative verbs.

13. The Western Media also used the nominalisation clause instead of using a verb at certain places for detaching the context from the verb by making it a noun and putting more emphasis on the existence of that noun and concealing the cause of verb and people involved in it. This was also done to conceal power relations and to manipulate a negative action against Pakistan to make it look precisely defined. The nominalisation clause is employed to covey the idea carrying negative ideology about Pakistan in matters where West is also involved or responsible for the same action but by nominalisation or "nouning" of that action or its effect so that focus was shifted to Pakistan rather than getting West being highlighted about that accusative act.

14. Use of rhetorical devices like a euphemism, hyperbole, pun irony, and metonym, though do not directly depict any ideological meaning by themselves but they have highlighted and emphasised the negative image of Pakistan at the same time stressing and highlighting the positive image of the United States and West with their supremacy. The Western Media has repetitively used the topics which show a negative picture of Pakistan. Laskar-e-Taiba had repeatedly been pointed out in the story to make it strongly linked with Pakistan. The Western Media had "to and fro" move when it had to acknowledge Pakistan's

contribution to the war on terrorism. Just as the US-Pakistan relationship has been on "up and down" trajectory because of United States' national interest, similarly Western Media uses the same strategy. The little it acknowledged Pakistan's efforts in the war on terrorism, soon it brought about contextual references of biased context models repeatedly with more emphasis as a technique to belittle the tinge of the positive picture it had to show. The Pakistani officials and their official documents had been mocked by using pun to degrade and belittle the impact of seriousness. Metonyms have been used in a way to replace the smaller object with larger to give a magnified and generalizable impact of prospective accusation or threat to encompass and affect the larger masses. Same is done to exaggerate the prospective threat and danger associated with Pakistan by using hyperbole. The Western Media had not used as many rhetorical devices to emphasise "Our" good as much as it had used to emphasise "Their" bad. It had used these devices to emphasise Pakistan 's bad image. The number game was incorporated to enhance credibility and was a move to depict objectivity as numbers and statistics show objectivity quite persuasively.

15. The Western Media had been using accusative presuppositions triggered strongly. These presuppositions showed the general context which was stored in the speaker's episodic memory. These presuppositions did not directly give an ideological meaning, but they carry an overo all confirmation to the already said negative meaning. It had throughout presupposed and accused firstly, that Pakistan was not working enough or even little in the war on terrorism to eradicate terrorism from the region. Secondly, it had accused and presupposed that Pakistan army and ISI were relying on extremist groups as Pakistan's foreign policy goals and hence proved to have a negative ideology about Pakistan. The emphasis on the negative meaning was not explicitly expressed rather it was presupposed to be well-known and implied or inferred from general sociocultural knowledge.

16. The findings of the study substantiated to be in parallel with Van Dijk's (1998c) Ideological Square which explicates that the ideological discourse is not always neutral and captures the dual strategies of positive "ingroup" description and negative "outgroup" description, often expressed in discourse

by linguistic features through ideological discourse practices. The proposition of the finding extends that Western Media had acknowledged Pakistan's contribution in the war on terrorism and did present good/positive "Them" though rarely but soon it brought about contextual references of biased context models repeatedly with more emphasis as a technique to demean the clue of the positive picture it had to show. Alternatively, this had been done to create a local meaning and micro context to pave the way for intense presentation of "Their" bad in coming discourse.

17. The research extends the Foucauldian perspective as cited by Daldal (2014) that power and ideology, as well as the resistance it generates, is "omnipresent" dispersed and not localised at some points and is decentered rather. Because CDA is to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped discourse by relations of power and struggles over power (Fairclough,1993). The research found and concluded that power and struggle for power through ideologically loaded discourse is "omnipresent" and decentered but at the same time, it is constantly in locomotion and flow. It continually shifts from the subject (powerful) to object (powerless) at the same time not being decentered.

18. The Socio-cognitive Model of Cognisance Reportage as adapted from Van Dijk's Socio-cognitive Model (2006c) served to suffice to meet the research objectives to explore extensive discursive practices of Western Media while ideologies were drawn into discourse at contextual and textual levels in general and meaning; form; and action in particular.

5.2   Researcher's Critique

This research extends the findings of previous research studies where it was determined that the pragmatic devices were emphasised that were used in headlines to highlight issues of Pakistan and the news headings and cartoon pictures for semiological analysis in presenting Muslims and Islam negatively and biased. Also the previous studies by international scholars that the media and political discourses were recontextualized to foster the possibility of new meaning; the media discourse was embedded in folk ideas about race and racism and even moved beyond that; the use of specific themes in political discourse to influence public attitude; and the headlines of newspapers were examined to unmask ideology of West about Islam and that how Islam

is stereotyped and Muslims were negatively symbolised

The Socio-cognitive Model for ideological analysis is a holistic configuration of methods to analyse different levels (context, macro meaning, local coherence, form, speech acts). The ideological analysis to figure out production and consumption

processes of discourse are operational simultaneously on all levels; it is therefore not possible to detach one from another in the analysis. Each level functions as a context for the other level hence it is not possible firstly to detach one from another, and secondly one cannot have an outright and condensed ideological picture of discourse if analysed independently or disconnected on different levels.

The relationship history of Pakistan with the United States is long. However, it has been going through different phases of up and down trajectory. The United States has always used Pakistan for its own interests geographically either it was fighting the "front line" war with the Soviet Union, or it was an invasion of Afghanistan where Pakistan's land and its air bases were used by the United States. Besides Pakistan's full support and contribution in the war on terrorism and keeping peace across the globe, West has always seen Pakistan from a different angle. The Western Media is completely a channel which represents West and caters Western interests only. It is not an international channel to cater to the masses across the globe. The channel seems to have certain agenda to highlight and magnify West and suppress its ideological opponent. The discourse of Western Media exhibits the strict dichotomy of "Us vs Them". It explicitly propagates the negative picture of Pakistan highlighting where Pakistan falls back. The Western Media consistently uses a specific discourse altogether for Pakistan. The discourse is saturated with biased context models, discriminatory lexical choices, chauvinistic syntactic structures, distorted rhetorical devices and accusative presuppositions emphasising the negative image of Pakistan. This has been the norm of Western Media to always drag Afghanistan in when it has to talk about Pakistan. The Western Media tries to create an ideological binary between Pakistan and Afghanistan and always have exploited the political and military issues of Afghanistan by keeping them parallel with Pakistan to generalise and give a sense of inclusion and universality. The Western Media never seems to be appreciating or acknowledging efforts and contribution of Pakistan army, and ISI, though the role of Pakistan army is commendable as far as the war on terrorism is concerned whether the army is combating on its own or along with United States' security forces. The

media always highlight Pakistan's links with extremists group and its reliance on these groups for its foreign policy goals. The news overall show the doubts and credibility of Pakistan about its nuclear arsenal and their safety. Western Media explicitly manifests that Pakistan army relies on extremist groups which give rise to many suspicions and raise the question of peace not only within Pakistan, South Asia

but across the globe as well and create a false image of Pakistan. It seems West is insecure of power shift from West to East. The United States has enjoyed its supreme status of superpower for an extended period in history. Hence it is now insecure about the whole power shifting to East and Pakistan being an economic hub in collaboration with China as in China and Pakistan economic corridor project. To curb the insecurity and forthcoming shift of power from West to East, Western Media has a specific agenda to disrepute Pakistan and Islam to the world and spread its negative ideology about Pakistan, as it foresees Pakistan can emerge as a superpower in the next decades.

5.3   Recommendations

The media plays a highly vital role to create the image of any, person gender, social group, and even a country and could have a serious impact on building any perception about a country to the world. In the past years, it has been observed that Western media has been playing an important role in presenting the eastern society; especially Pakistan. This research in hand also concludes how Western Media has presented its ideology about Pakistan its socio-political events and issues and emphasising its weaknesses and vaguely and marginalising its strengths. The manipulation and propaganda created by Western Media have been quite obvious has been concluded without any doubt. The media whether it Western or eastern or belong to any part the world, be it print electronic or cyber media, carries a great deal of responsibility to convey the reality and truth. The main objective of the media should be, to highlight the facts and realities no matter what social group it belongs to. It is recommended to consider the code of ethical conducts while producing and giving the news. Not only giving wrong or incorrect statistics is, misguiding the audience or readers, using discourse to manipulate certain facts by emphasising certain things and deemphasising the other. At the same time, media houses need to pay special attention to be neutral and to play with feelings of masses as to handle the sensitive issues like religion so ruthlessly. The Western Media has played with emotions of Pakistanis and

Muslims all over the world by referring to 'expansion of Islamic' extremism. Extremism is a state of mind like fanaticism this too is a mental disorder, and by associating it with Islam puts a big question and at the same time hampers the feelings of Muslims. Such ruthless remarks can result in resentment, hatred and can ignite insurgency amongst the target masses for the media house, policy makers or at large the country it belongs to. It is recommended to media houses not use language for the defamatory purposes

The media has the responsibility and discretion to serve the public honestly and without any discrimination of colour, creed, gender, culture, social group, ethnicity or country. International media should pay special attention, not to single out a specific class or country just for their foreign policy goals. Media needs to be beyond all the global politics. At the same time, there is a strong need, for media houses to understand their positive role and formulate their channel policies without any discrimination of any kind. There should be some internationally established standards in setting parameters that should be defined in black and white and categorically, for the rights of individual as well as larger domain institutes, not to be hampered or deteriorate linguistically not even covertly. For this individual as well as institutions have to be linguistically so well equipped to know how they can raise a question against such violations. Besides that, there is also a need for every individual to know how media shapes up their knowledge without even letting the individual know. People intentionally or unintentionally are oblivious how media contour their knowledge in ideologically embedded discourse. Linguistics awareness should not just be confined to academic specialisation; rather individual should get aware of linguistic exploitation for their personal and social interests too.

5.4   Recommendations for Future Researchers

In the realm of academic specialisation and especially sociolinguistics, researchers seek to investigate and do research studies now and then. Ideology is, however, a multidisciplinary theory; it has a lot of scopes to be explored. Ideology can be explored in face to face TV talk shows and current affair shows. Journalists these days are found to exercise the hegemonic position of their "hot seat" and position to forcefully impose their ideological beliefs on the guests they invite. Exploring and unfolding their ideology will give another dimension of exploring ideology of the anchors on live shows an also how they spoon their verdict in the mouth of their guests.

This ideological research can be enriched if the semiotic analysis is also incorporated with ideological analysis. The pace, turn taking, and body language of the guests and anchors will give multidimensional research objectives to the researcher. The primary data will help the researchers to overcome the constraints of secondary data analysis and enrich their research. Such type of research can be carried out in local as well as international context. This would give a dimension to explore ideology on the basis of interaction strategies marked by cooperation and agreement; sound structure stress and

intonation. The future researchers can also explore the Eastern ideology in how people these days celebrate Western festivals in Pakistan openly. These events can include social festivals like Christmas, Valentine's Day, Halloween, Mother's Day, and Father's Day and personal festivities like bridal shower baby shower. This would include the understanding of the certain social group which is seen to criticise that specific class who tends to celebrate these Western festivals chronically these days and also the ideology of that particular class which celebrates these festivals

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APPENDIX A

CNN

NEWS 1:

Biden assures Pakistan of support against terrorism

ISLAMABAD, Pakistan (CNN) -- U.S. Vice President-elect Joe Biden assured Pakistani President Asif Ali Zardari on Friday that the incoming Obama administration will continue to support Pakistan's efforts to strengthen democracy and combat terrorism, according to Pakistan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
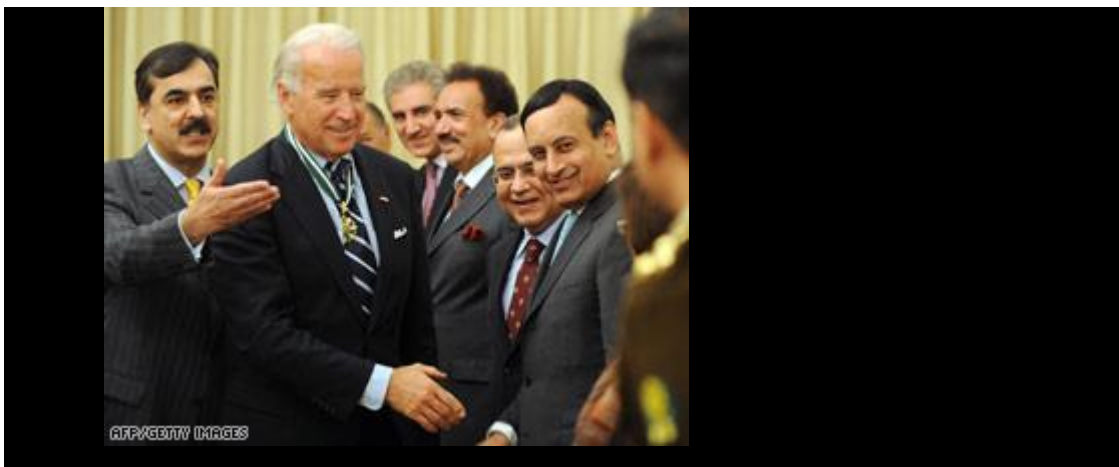
Vice President-elect Joe Biden meets Pakistani officials in Islamabad, Pakistan, on Friday.

Biden told Zardari that the new U.S. administration would also help Pakistan "meet its socio-economic requirements and capacity building," the ministry said in a

written statement.

The vice president-elect "assured the Pakistani leadership" of the United States' "continued assistance to Pakistan," the statement said.

No additional details were provided.

Sen. Lindsey Graham, R-South Carolina, accompanied Biden on the trip.

Biden "described Pakistan as an incredibly valued U.S. ally and said that the U.S. recognized Pakistan's important contribution and sacrifices in the fight against terrorism," the ministry said.

Zardari, who took office in September, said "Pakistan needed the support and understanding of the international community in this effort," according to the statement.

Pakistan's government is waging a bloody battle against Taliban and al Qaeda militants in its tribal regions along the border with Afghanistan. The United States has provided Pakistan with billions of dollars in aid for those counterterrorism activities.

Last year, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee passed a bill authorizing $7.5 billion in non-military aid over the next five years.

The measure is sponsored by committee

chairman **Biden** and the ranking Republican on the panel, Sen. Richard Lugar of Indiana. It would provide money for developments such as schools, roads and medical clinics, and it conditions security aid on State Department certification that Pakistan is making efforts against the Taliban and al Qaeda.

The bill has not come before the full Senate.

Biden also said he was hopeful that India and **Pakistan** could resolve their conflicts, according the ministry.

"The U.S. vice president-elect expressed the hope that both Pakistan and India will be able to overcome the current tensions and would resolve their differences peacefully," the ministry's statement said.

November's attacks in Mumbai, India, fueled tensions between Pakistan and India, longtime rivals that have fought three wars since independence and conducted tit-for-tat nuclear weapons tests in 1998.

India has said Islamic militants trained in Pakistan were behind the three-day siege of India's financial capital. Pakistani officials have promised to cooperate with the investigation but have insisted that India show it the evidence supporting its case.

On Wednesday, Pakistan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs said the sole surviving suspect in the Mumbai attacks, which killed more than 160 people, is a Pakistani national, state-run media reported.

NEWS 2

Musharraf: Pakistan 'treated unequally' in war on terror

(CNN) -- Pakistan's former president said his country is being treated "unequally" to other countries, despite being a staunch ally of the United States in its war on terror.

Former Pakistan President Pervez Musharraf says anti-American sentiment in Pakistan is high.

"Pakistan is being treated so unequally while we are the ones who are in the lead role fighting the global war on terror," said Pervez Musharraf, interviewed by CNN's Wolf Blitzer for "The Situation Room."

"This is what hurts Pakistan. It hurts the leadership. Indeed, it hurts the government. It hurts the people of Pakistan," said Musharraf, speaking from Dallas, Texas,

during a book tour in the United States.

The interview took place amid reports Friday of U.S. drones striking militant targets in Pakistan just days after the start of the Obama administration -- which has made combating al Qaeda and Taliban militants in the Pakistan tribal region near Afghanistan its most immediate national security priority.

Musharraf was asked whether he is comfortable with the continuation of the attacks, even with a new U.S. president in place.

"Nobody in Pakistan is comfortable with the strikes across the border. There is no doubt in that. Public opinion is very much against it," he said. "But as far as this issue of the new president -- President Obama having taken over and this continuing -- but I have always been saying that policies don't change with personalities; policies have national interest, and policies depend on an environment.

"So the environment and national interest of the United States being the same, I thought policies will remain constant," he said.

Musharraf also addressed a statement he made about the $10 billion in assistance from the United States that Pakistan has received, calling it a "pittance for a

country which is in the lead role to fight terrorism."

He emphasized his gratitude to the United States for the funding, but said the amount is low compared to billions spent in Afghanistan and "maybe over a trillion dollars" in Iraq.

"Please don't think that this $10 billion was such a great amount that we ought to be eternally grateful while we know that we deserve much more and we should have got much more and we must get much more if we are to fight the global war on terror," he said.

Musharraf stressed that Pakistan was "in the lead role fighting a war for you for 10 years, between '79 and '89," a reference to Pakistan's alliance with the United States and the Afghan mujahedeen rebels during the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

Musharraf emphasized that for 42 years, up until 1989, Pakistan had been a "strategic partner" of the United States.

But many Pakistanis felt abandoned by the United States after the Russians pulled out of Afghanistan. Musharraf said the 1989 "peace dividend" went to Europe -- East Europe.

Pakistan was "left alone" from 1989 to 2001, and

during that period, the militant Taliban movement took control of Afghanistan.

"What did Pakistan get out of fighting for 10 years with you? Nothing, sir," he said, explaining why public opinion in Pakistan has been "so much against the United States."

Musharraf said public opinion in his country is strongly against strikes by U.S. drones against militants in the Pakistani tribal region.

While al Qaeda and the Taliban must be confronted, he said, "public opinion is certainly against the methodology being adopted."

Musharraf, once Pakistan's army chief, resigned under intense political pressure in August as the ruling coalition began taking steps to impeach him. He swept to power in 1999 in a bloodless coup.

Asked why al Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden, who is thought to be somewhere in the border region, hasn't been found, he replied:

"I would like to ask the United States why he hasn't been found. They have their intelligence. There are -- you have more intelligence capability. I would like to ask the

United States, why Mullah Omar has not been found.

NEWS 3

Pakistan drone strategy originated with Bush, official says

Washington (CNN) -- When the latest apparent U.S. drone strike was conducted this week against militants in Pakistan, the obvious question appeared to be: Did the United States get a "big fish" in the Taliban or al Qaeda organizations?

But a U.S. counterterrorism official says that's now the wrong question to ask, and chances are those hit were not major players. He wouldn't discuss the specifics of the latest strike, but with the official backing of his bosses, he sought to explain how U.S. strategy has changed in the crucial effort to attack targets inside Pakistan with missiles fired from drones.

The plan now is to attack a broader set of terrorist targets far beyond the original effort to strike and kill top al Qaeda leaders, the official said.

The strategy originated not with President Obama but with the previous administration, he said.

Although the United States is the only country in the region known to have the ability to launch missiles from drones, which are controlled remotely, U.S. officials normally do not comment on suspected drone strikes.

The more expansive target set was approved in the final months of the Bush administration in late 2008 but has been stepped up under the Obama White House, the official said. It is seen as a key strategy to help protect the growing number of U.S. forces in neighboring Afghanistan from insurgents operating in Pakistan's border region.

Drone-launched missiles are now hitting lower-level al Qaeda and Taliban personnel, camps, training areas, bomb makers, buildings and other targets in the remote region.

"You've had an expanded target set for time now, and given the danger these groups pose and their relative inaccessibility, these kinds of strikes -- precise and effective -- have become almost like the cannon fire of this war. They're no longer extraordinary or even unusual," the official said.

"The enemy, to be sure, has lost commanders, operational planners, weapons specialists, facilitators and more. But they've also lost fighters and trainers, the kinds of people who have killed American and allied forces in Afghanistan," he said. "Just because they're not big names doesn't mean they don't kill. They do. Their facilities -- where they prepare, rest and ready weapons -- are legitimate targets, too."

Success in using the drones depends on larger intelligence efforts, said Frances Fragos Townsend, a former homeland security adviser to President George W. Bush and now a CNN intelligence analyst. Drones are just one tool in larger strategy, she said.

It requires other tools -- intelligence, military and diplomatic -- to support it, she said.

The administration has been sensitive to accusations that a

large number of civilians have been killed since the stepped-up raids began. Statistics kept by the New America Foundation indicate that 30 percent of those who died in drone strikes in Pakistan since 2004 were not militants.

The U.S. counterterrorism official disputed that, saying, "We believe the number of non-combatant casualties since this campaign intensified is under 30 -- those being people who were near terrorist targets, often by choice -- while the total for militants taken off the battlefield exceeds 500."

The official said those figures are based not only on intelligence but also on visual observations before and after strikes.

"The terrorists, who have a real incentive to spread stories of atrocities from the air, haven't done so because they can't do so," the official said. "They'd have to produce names, dates, photos and witnesses, the kinds of things you see almost instantly if the coalition makes a mistake in Afghanistan. But you just don't see that sort of thing coming out of the tribal areas. Instead, even press accounts from the area speak of militants cordoning off places that have been struck and of local and foreign fighters being hit."

NEWS 4

U.S. pressing to reopen key supply route into Pakistan

Washington (CNN) -- U.S. military operations in Afghanistan could continue to be fully supplied even if Pakistan refuses to open a major border post blocking hundreds of fuel tankers, the Pentagon said Tuesday.

But the United States is hoping to resolve the matter and reopen the route soon.

"We have been given indications that we are making progress on that front and hope to have the gate reopened as soon as possible," said Pentagon spokesman Geoff Morrell.

The pending decisions comes as NATO prepares to release a report on its investigation into a recent a deadly skirmish on the Pakistan-Afghanistan border. That incident, in which three Pakistan Frontier Corps soldiers were killed after firing on a NATO

helicopter, is the latest pressure point in relations between the two countries.

After that border violence, the Pakistani government closed Torkham gate, the traditional Khyber Pass crossing between Pakistan and Afghanistan and a major supply route for U.S. forces.

The United States claims that a separate, more southern route through Pakistan, and other routes into northern Afghanistan will allow enough fuel and other supplies to be brought in to support U.S. and NATO operations.

"It has not in any way impacted our ability to resupply fuel to our operations around Afghanistan," Morrell said at a briefing Tuesday. "And we don't suspect it will even if this were to last into the future."

Morrell said that despite tensions, the U.S. military continues to work closely with its Pakistani counterparts.

"There are mistakes. There are incidents which create misunderstandings. There are setbacks," Morrell said. "But that does not mean the relationship -- this crucial relationship to us -- is in any way derailed."

Morrell said the formal report on the joint investigation into the border incident will be released Wednesday morning in Kabul.

"Obviously, there was an unfortunate incident in which it looks as though, I think it was, three (Pakistan) Frontier Corps soldiers were killed as one of our helicopters was investigating what looked to be a new fighting position that was being erected along the border that posed a potential threat to our forces in Afghanistan," Morrell said. "And I guess they came under fire while they were checking out that position."

The United States and NATO are making efforts at military

and diplomatic levels to apologize to Pakistan for the border clash. At the same time, the Pentagon insists that U.S. and allied forces will defend themselves.

"We will retain the right to defend our forces, to defend ourselves." Morrell said. "Our forces who operate on the border with Pakistan are in a very dangerous and difficult situation."

He said the United States hopes for a quick reopening of the border crossing, but the delays and recent attacks on fuel convoys are not hampering U.S. operations. Pakistan itself would benefit from reopening the border, he suggested.

"This is a huge commercial enterprise for them and they do not get paid until that fuel is delivered to the point of destination in Afghanistan," Morrell said about Pakistani fuel shippers. "So they have incentive to protect the convoys, to make sure that the situation is such that they can get to their destination safely."

The border closing by Pakistan and new attacks on fuel convoys have focused attention on both the supply routes through Pakistan and the ongoing discussions between the United States and Pakistan over whether Islamabad can do more to fight militants who take refuge along the Afghanistan-Pakistan border.

Morrell said that attacks on fuel convoys interrupt just a tiny fraction of U.S. war supplies.

"There have been attacks historically on NATO convoys passaging through Pakistan to Afghanistan. And they are sometimes sensational and they are sometimes horrific and they are sometimes deadly and that is tragic," Morrell said. "But if you put this in context and in perspective, we're talking about, you know, impacting about one percent of the supplies that we funnel through Pakistan into Afghanistan. So they have never really

adversely impacted our ability to conduct operations in Afghanistan."

Some outside observers have scolded the Pentagon for depending too heavily on Pakistan shipping routes, concerned that it provides Pakistan with a way to subvert U.S. policies.

Heritage Foundation Senior Research Fellow Lisa Curtis says the United States must step up efforts to open more supply routes outside of Pakistan.

"Not only are the Pakistani supply routes increasingly under threat of militant attacks, the U.S. dependence on Pakistani supply routes provides Islamabad leverage to resist U.S. pressure to shut down Taliban sanctuaries and to crack down more forcefully on terrorist networks," Curtis said in a Heritage Foundation e-mail.

NEWS 5

Sources: U.S. finalizing aid package to help Pakistan fight extremists

Pakistan says it needs more help fighting attacks by extremists, such as this attack on a NATO oil tanker in October.

Washington (CNN) -- The Obama administration is putting the final touches on a security assistance package totaling as much as $2 billion over five years to help Pakistan fight extremists on its border with Afghanistan, senior U.S. officials and diplomatic sources tell CNN.

The aid is expected to be announced later this week when Pakistani officials are in Washington to hold high-level talks.

The package aims to address Pakistan's insistence it does not have the capability to go after terrorists, and needs more support from the United States, the sources said. The aid will help the Pakistanis purchase helicopters, weapons systems and equipment to intercept communications.

It falls under the United States' Foreign Military Financing (FMF) program, which provides grants and loans to countries to

purchase weapons and defense equipment produced in the United States. It also includes more counterinsurgency assistance to Pakistani troops and a program allowing members of the Pakistani military to study at American war colleges.

The $2 billion package is on top of billions of dollars the United States already gives Pakistan in military aid and a $7.5 billion aid package over five years in non-military counter-terrorism assistance approved by Congress last year.

"They key is to beef up their ability to go after militants, it can't be diverted to other threats," one senior U.S. official said.

Pakistan has long claimed its military is geared toward defending itself against threats from countries like India, and does not have the kind of equipment it needs to fight insurgents. U.S. officials said they recognize Pakistan's current military hardware is not perfectly suited toward such operations, but made clear the new aid must be directed toward fighting extremists, rather than India

"We recognize they need different kinds of capacities and more of them to handle extremists form within their own border," one official said. "They do need more capacity and the kinds of capabilities that are geared toward fighting extremists, rather than a major land conflict."

U.S. officials acknowledge the Pakistani military is stretched thin since this summer's devastating floods, and has had to divert resources from the fight against extremists to conduct relief efforts. They hope the new security assistance will address the military's resource limitations so they can redouble efforts to go after militants.

"There is an expectation with that capacity comes a greater

effort," a senior official said.

The aid comes on the heels of a White House report sent to Congress earlier this month which uses unusually tough language to suggest the ally is not doing nearly enough to confront the Taliban and al Qaeda, despite repeated Obama administration claims in public that Pakistan is working hard to crack down on militants

The White House assessment, obtained by CNN, is particularly tough on Pakistan's inability to make gains in South Waziristan, where many analysts believe key al Qaeda leaders have gained a safe haven to use as a base to plot terror attacks against Western targets.

The report notes that from March to June, the Pakistani military "continued to avoid military engagements that would put it in direct conflict with Afghan Taliban or [al Qaeda] forces in North Waziristan. This is as much a political choice as it is a reflection of an under-resourced military prioritizing its targets."

"The capacity issue is very real," another senior official said. "It's not like they could just go into North Waziristan if they wanted to and succeed. There is an issue of political will but the capacity issue remains extremely important."

The official said the multi-year assistance package is designed to provide the Pakistanis with "an issue of predictability and consistency" in U.S. military assistance, which has typically been done on a year-to-year basis. Pakistan has long voiced concerns the United States is not going to remain engaged with the region over the long term.

"We need to demonstrate we are in it for more than six months to a year. This offers a time horizon and allows them to

chill out about that," the official said.

Even with the harsh White House report, U.S. officials do acknowledge that Pakistan has made some progress in combating terrorism, noting the country has suffered thousands of casualties as a result of its campaign against extremists in its tribal areas bordering Afghanistan. Suspected U.S. drone strikes have also increased in Pakistan, killing dozens of high-level militants in the tribal areas. Although the U.S. does not comment on drone strikes, Pakistani officials have said they could not be done without Pakistani cooperation.

While in Pakistan in July, Secretary of State Hillary Clinton said the Pakistani government has become "very serious" about fighting the violent extremist organizations within its borders.

At the time, Clinton alluded to the security assistance being announced this week, while telling reporters the United States was "working on a multi-year package with the Pakistanis."

Pakistan Foreign Minister Shah Mehmood Qureshi and Pakistan's military chief, Gen. Ashfaq Parvez Kayani, are leading a Pakistani delegation arriving Tuesday for the U.S.-Pakistan Strategic Dialogue, three days of meetings starting Wednesday with Clinton, Defense Secretary Robert Gates and Adm. Mike Mullen, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

The talks address all facets of the relationship between Washington and Islamabad, but counterterrorism cooperation will be a major aspect of the talks.

"Pakistan has taken aggressive action within its borders. But clearly, this is an ongoing threat and more needs to be done," State Department spokesman P.J. Crowley said Monday. "That will be among the issues talked about."

APPENDIX B

BBC

NEWS 1

Key US aide hails Pakistan's war

President Obama's national security adviser has concluded talks in Pakistan by reiterating US support for Islamabad's battle with the Taliban.

US officials have expressed support for Pakistan's military offensive

Gen James Jones met senior leaders including the president, prime minister and army chief.

Pakistan responded by calling for an end to US drone attacks in its territory launched from Afghanistan.

It also expressed concerns that the continuing US presence in Afghanistan could trigger a new refugee crisis.

'Confidence-builder'

Gen Jones - who is on a tour of Afghanistan, Pakistan and India - said that Washington and Islamabad face a common battle against extremists.

"Terrorism is not simply the enemy of America," he said. "It is a direct and urgent threat to the Pakistani people," he said in a statement after meetings.

Drone strikes have been strongly criticised by the Pakistani government

He described the Pakistani government's push against militants a "tremendous confidence-builder for the future".

"That translates into popular support in the United States for what the government is trying to do, what the army is trying to do, and it obviously helps us in our overall fight," he said in a TV interview.

"It's a very, very important moment right now, it's a strategic moment, and the relationship is definitely (moving) in the right direction."

His visit comes after dozens of people were killed in a strike by a US drone aircraft on Wednesday in the militant stronghold of South Waziristan.

In a statement Pakistani Prime Minister Yusuf Raza Gilani called for an end to such strikes "in order to ensure (the) success of Pakistan's strategy for isolating the militants from the tribes". The

government is also aware that such attacks are deeply unpopular with the Pakistani public.

The US military does not routinely confirm drone attacks but the armed forces and the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) operating in Afghanistan are believed to be the only forces capable of deploying drones in the region.

The national security adviser said that attacks such as November's year's deadly siege in Mumbai must be prevented and vowed to help Pakistan and India improve their relations to combat the militant threat.

A statement from the White House after his Afghan trip said that he completed two days of meetings with Afghanistan's top civilian and military leadership, as well as international community representatives.

NEWS 2

Clinton vows to support Pakistan

Hillary Clinton: "In recent weeks Pakistan has endured a barrage of attacks"

US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton has pledged to "turn the page" on her country's relationship with Pakistan.

Speaking during a three-day visit to the country, she also promised US support for Pakistan's fight against Taliban militants.

Shortly after her arrival, a massive car bomb killed dozens of people in the north-western city of Peshawar.

Mrs Clinton said the countries should begin to move beyond co-operation on terrorism into development projects.

"This is a critical moment and the United States seeks to turn the page, to a new partnership, with not only the government, but the people of a democratic Pakistan," Mrs Clinton told a news conference in Islamabad.

"We hope to build a strong relationship based on mutual respect and mutual shared responsibility," she said.

"I am confident that if we listen to one

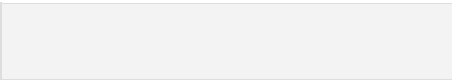another, we consult, we work closely together, we will succeed."

Pakistan's Foreign Minister Shah Mahmood Qureshi said the two countries needed to "build a relationship based on mutual respect and a relationship based on shared objectives".

He said his American counterpart's visit was "well timed" as Pakistan "entered a critical phase in its fight against extremism and terrorism".

"To visit Pakistan at this stage to express solidarity with the people of Pakistan is a loud and clear message from the government, the administration, and the people of the United States of America," he said.

US concerns

The start of Mrs Clinton's visit was overshadowed by a massive car bomb in the north-western city of Peshawar, which killed at least 91 people and injured scores more.

The secretary said the attack had been "vicious and brutal", and that the US was "standing shoulder to shoulder" with Pakistan in its fight against the militants.

She commended the Pakistani army for its operations against the Taliban in the South Waziristan province, and offered US help to

Pakistan in its "fight for peace and security".

"We will give you the help that you need, in order to achieve your goal," she said.

Mrs Clinton is expected to sign several civilian investment deals during her visit.

The US has concerns about the increasing numbers of militant attacks on the Pakistan authorities, and the security of its nuclear weapons.

This is Mrs Clinton's fifth visit to the country, and her first as US secretary of state.

During her visit, Mrs Clinton will visit mosques and shrines, meet Pashtun elders and university students and hold a record number of media interviews with local journalists.

As she arrived in the country, she said she hoped her visit would reinforce the US commitment to the region.

"It is unfortunate that there are those who question our motives, perhaps are sceptical that we're going to commit to a long-term relationship, and I want to try to clear the air on that," she said.

US 'interference'

The BBC's Kim Ghattas, who is travelling with Mrs Clinton, says the visit comes at a crucial time for Pakistan and for Washington's relations with Islamabad.

The country is a key ally and its help is crucial to US core interests.

The Obama administration is currently debating how best to implement its strategy to defeat al-Qaeda and the Taliban in both Afghanistan and Pakistan.

Last week the US Senate passed a big defence spending bill which aims to ensure that military aid to Pakistan is used solely to fight America's "war on terror".

It sets tough new conditions which say that no resources given by the US to Pakistan may be used against India.

The bill also stipulates that US military hardware sent to Pakistan must be tracked to see where it ends up.

Correspondents say the bill is likely to fuel tensions over what Islamabad sees as US interference in its domestic affairs.

Earlier this month, President Barack Obama signed into law a $7.5bn aid package for Pakistan tripling non-military US aid to an annual outlay of

$1.5bn for five years.

The aid money will not be directly handed over to Pakistan but will be spent on different development projects through the US embassy in Islamabad, Washington says.

NEWS 3

Afghanistan and Pakistan face decisive year

People in the South Asia region will be holding their breath in the new year. If both nations fail to achieve a modicum of political stability and success against extremism and economic growth, the world will be faced with an expansion of Islamic extremism, doubts about the safety of Pakistan's nuclear weapons and major questions about US prestige and power as it withdraws from Afghanistan.

The challenges   for both countries are deeply interlinked and enormous.

The primary task is whether both countries can work together with the Western alliance to roll back the Taliban and al-Qaeda threat they face.

That in turn rests on the success of the US and Nato's new strategy in both countries over the next 18 months as President Barack Obama has pledged to stabilise Afghanistan's political and economic institutions and start handing over Afghan security to the Afghan armed forces, starting in July 2011.

Karzai undermined

For that to happen much will depend on whether the West is able to find effective government partners in both Islamabad and Kabul.

So far the prospects are not all that hopeful.

President Hamid Karzai has emerged as the victor after intensely controversial elections that undermined his domestic and international credibility, while the Afghan army is still far from being able to take over major security responsibilities.

There will be renewed political wrangling as the West and the Afghans have to decide whether to hold parliamentary elections in the new year.

The Afghan army is still undermanned, undertrained and has yet to be equipped with heavy weapons and an air force.

The Afghan army also suffers from 80% illiteracy and a lack of recruits from the Pashtun belt, which are essential if the army is to be effective in the Taliban- controlled southern and eastern parts of the country.

In the midst of what will certainly be a hot and possibly decisive summer of

fighting in 2010 between Western forces and the Taliban, the other primary tasks of providing jobs and economic development, while building sustainable capacity

within the Afghan government to serve the Afghan people, will be even more important and difficult to achieve.

The Taliban strategic plan for the summer is likely to be to avoid excessive fighting in the south and east which is being reinforced with 30,000 new American soldiers.

Instead, the Taliban will try to expand Taliban bases in the north and west of the country, where they can demoralise the forces of European Nato countries that are facing growing opposition at home about their deployment.

The militants will also stretch the incoming US troops - forcing them to douse Taliban fires across the country -

Mr Karzai won a deeply flawed election

while they try to create greater insecurity in Central Asia.

Pakistan crisis

At the same time the Pakistan military, which now effectively controls policy towards India and Afghanistan, shows no signs of giving up on the sanctuaries that the Afghan Taliban have acquired in

Pakistan.

Without Pakistan eliminating these sanctuaries or forcing the Afghan Taliban leadership into talks with Kabul, US success in Afghanistan is unlikely.

Pakistan itself faces a triple crisis

- acute political instability
- President Asif Ali Zardari may
soon be forced to resign, which
could trigger long-term political
unrest

Pakistan has been wracked by violence

- an ever-worsening economic crisis that is creating vast armies
of jobless youth who are being attracted to the message of extremism

- the army's success rate in dealing with its own indigenous Taliban
problem.

The key to any improvement rests on the army and the political forces coming to a mutual understanding and working relationship with each other and providing support to Western efforts in Afghanistan.

However, for the moment that appears unlikely while the army is hedging its bets with the Afghan Taliban, as it is fearful about a potential power vacuum in Afghanistan once the Americans start to leave in 2011.

Other neighbouring countries - India, Iran, Russia and the Central Asian republics - may start thinking along the same lines and prepare their own Afghan proxies to oppose the Afghan Taliban, which could result in a return to a brutal civil war similar to that of the 1990s.

Pakistan's fight against its own Taliban is going well but that is insufficient as long as the army does not move militarily or politically against the Afghan Taliban or other Punjab-based extremist groups now allied with the Taliban.

Impasse

Pakistani calculations also involve India - and the failure of both nations to resume the dialogue halted after the 2008 attacks in Mumbai (Bombay).

India fears that extremist Punjabi groups could launch another Mumbai- style attack and are demanding that Pakistan break up all indigenous extremist groups that fought in Indian-administered Kashmir in the 1990s.

Islamabad is refusing to do so until Delhi resumes talks with it.

The Obama administration has so far failed to persuade India and Pakistan to resume a dialogue or settle their differences and if that remains the case in the new year, Pakistan is more than likely to continue defying US

pressure to help with Afghanistan.

There is growing anti-Americanism in Pakistan despite Washington's pledge of an annual $1.5bn aid package for the next five years.

With the present lack of security in Pakistan - and the volatile mood towards the US and India that is partly being fuelled by the military - it is difficult to see how US aid can be effectively spent or how other economic investments can take place.

At present there is an enormous flight of local capital from both Afghanistan and Pakistan that has increased since the Obama plan was announced.

The recent arrests in the US and Europe of suspects linked to the Afghanistan-Pakistan region indicate that the world could face a wider extremist threat if it fails to effectively stabilise Afghanistan and help Pakistan towards a quick economic and political recovery.

NEWS 4

Islamic Scholar Tahir ul-Qadri Issues Terrorism Fatwa
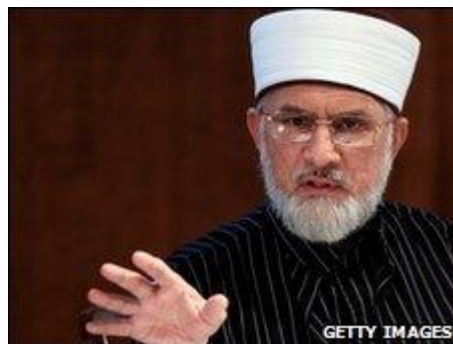
Dr Tahir ul-Qadri: 600-page ruling

An influential Muslim scholar has issued a global ruling against terrorism and suicide bombing.

Dr Tahir ul-Qadri, from Pakistan, says his 600-page judgement, known as a fatwa, completely dismantles al-Qaeda's violent ideology.

The scholar describes al-Qaeda as an "old evil with a new name" that has not been sufficiently challenged.

The scholar's movement is growing in the UK and has attracted the interest of policymakers and security chiefs.

In his religious ruling, delivered in London, Dr Qadri says that Islam forbids the massacre of innocent citizens and suicide bombings.

Although many scholars have made similar rulings in the past, Dr Qadri argued that his massive document goes much further by omitting "ifs and buts" added by other thinkers.

He said that it set out a point-by-point theological rebuttal of every argument used by al-Qaeda inspired recruiters.

The populist scholar developed his document last year as a response to the increase in bombings across Pakistan by militants.

'Heroes of hellfire'

The basic text has been extended to 600 pages to cover global issues, in an attempt to get its theological arguments taken up by Muslims in Western nations. It will be promoted in the UK by Dr Qadri's organisation, Minhaj ul-Quran International.

Dr Qadri spoke for more than hour to an audience of Muslims, clergy, MPs, police officers and other security officials.

"They [terrorists] can't claim that their suicide bombings are martyrdom operations and that they become the heroes of the Muslim Umma [global brotherhood]. No, they become heroes of hellfire, and they are leading towards hellfire," he said.

"There is no place for any martyrdom and their act is never, ever to be considered jihad."

Acts of vengeance

The document is not the first to condemn terrorism and suicide bombing to be launched in the UK.

Scholars from across the UK came together in the wake of the 7 July London attacks to denounce the bombers and urge communities to root out extremists.

But some scholarly rulings in the Middle East have argued that the conflict between Israel and the Palestinians is an exceptional situation where "martyrdom" attacks can be justified.

Dr Qadri said he rejected that view saying there were no situations under which acts of vengeance, such as attacks on market places or commuter trains, could ever be considered a justifiable act of war.

Although Dr Qadri has many followers in Pakistan, Minhaj ul-Quran International remained largely unknown in the UK until relatively recently.

It now has 10 mosques in cities with significant Muslim

communities and says it is targeting younger generations it believes have been let down by traditional leaders.

The organisation is attracting the attention of policymakers and security chiefs who are continuing to look for allies in the fight against extremists.

The Department for Communities, which runs most of the government's Preventing Violent Extremism strategy, has tried building bridges with a variety of liberal-minded groups, but often found that they have limited actual influence at the grassroots.

NEWS 5

US-Pakistan dialogue with a difference

When Pakistan's powerful army chief, Gen Ashfaq Kayani, and Foreign Minister Shah Mahmood Qureshi got off the plane in Washington to conduct what was called the "strategic dialogue" with the US last week, they carried a 56-page shopping list asking for money, arms... and more money.

That has been the norm for US-Pakistan dialogues in the past 50 years of an on-off relationship. Meanwhile, the US has always urged Pakistan to fit into its own strategic plans, such as doing more to combat terrorism.

However, this time there was a difference.

The Pakistanis also carried a brief which frankly addressed Pakistan's strategic interests and security needs with regard to India, Afghanistan and sensitive issues like nuclear weapons and terrorism.

Transactional relationship

The US, rather than lecturing, wanted to listen, even if it could not comply with many of Pakistan's demands.

For the Americans this was a welcome change from the subterfuge, lack of clarity and covert support for militant groups that Pakistan has engaged in in the past.

For the Pakistanis it was a

chance to air all their pent-up grievances against Washington and demand to be given the same treatment as arch-rival India.

After 11 September, former Presidents George Bush and Pervez Musharraf carried out a largely transactional relationship. "I will give you an al-Qaeda operative in exchange for two F16 fighter bombers" - was what that boiled down to.

While Mr Musharraf hosted the Afghan Taliban and other extremist groups, as a hedge against Indian influence in Kashmir and Afghanistan, Mr Bush pretended to look the other way. Mr Bush conducted crisis management rather than real engagement.

President Barack Obama promised to put Pakistan on the top of his agenda. Now after 15 months of intense engagement, dozens of visits to Islamabad by American officials and unrelenting pressure, the Obama administration has finally got the Pakistanis to open up.

Now, said officials from both sides, everything was on the table.

That is important right now. Pakistan wants to be at the heart of all major negotiations in the region

Even though Pakistan may be a crumbling state unable to provide its people with electricity, water, security or jobs, the army's bargaining power with the US has increased dramatically.

That is due to increases in its nuclear arsenal, its stepped-up fight against the Pakistani Taliban after years of dithering and its influence over the Afghan Taliban as the US and Nato prepare to start pulling out of Afghanistan next year.

At the end of two days of talks, Mr Qureshi said he was satisfied as both

sides ''move from a relationship to a partnership'.' US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton shared his optimism.

However, the real dialogue was with Gen Kayani and the army which had prepared Pakistan's briefs, with no objections from Mr Qureshi or the civilian government.

The army tried and failed to make US acceptance of its major demands as pre-conditions for the success of the talks. The US insisted on discussing every issue and conceded little.

The US offered nothing new, but the most concrete results were reflected in a sector-by-sector dialogue by relevant ministries on each side, as to how the US can help rally Pakistan's faltering economy, lack of energy and improve its agriculture and infrastructure.

Key demand

The US is providing an annual $1.5bn aid package to Pakistan's civil sector for the next five years.

However, Pakistan will still not get improved US trade access

for its textile exports - a key demand to revive its moribund industry and something that would be clearly more effective than just aid.

The military will quickly receive some $1bn in outstanding dues for fighting the war against militants, assured future funding and faster delivery of new weapons including helicopters, F16s and naval frigates.

The Americans rejected Pakistan's plea for a civil nuclear deal like the US concluded with India, partly because of Pakistan's past nuclear proliferation record, but also because Mr Obama could never sell such a deal to the US Congress.

However, this dialogue will continue under a newly formed Policy Steering

Group.

The US heaped praise on the army's recent campaign against the Pakistani Taliban, but it was equally tough on the need for the army to abandon its 30-year- long reliance on extremist groups to carry out foreign policy objectives and covert operations against India in Kashmir and Afghanistan.

Pakistan has said it will not act against Lashkar-e-Toiba, the militant group accused of carrying out the Mumbai (Bombay) attacks in 2008 until relations with India markedly improve.

Lashkar was set up and managed by the army's Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) and India has refused to deal with Pakistan until it curbs the group.

Both the US and Nato now view the Lashkar as a global terrorist group, with

cells in Europe and the US supporting the Taliban and al-Qaeda.

Major role

The group is accused of carrying out the February suicide attack in Kabul that killed nine Indians. David Headley, a US citizen, has admitted planning the Mumbai attacks and training at Lashkar bases in Pakistan.

To India's chagrin, the US has acknowledged that Pakistan has a major role to play in peace talks between Kabul and the Afghan Taliban and that India and

When Afghan President Hamid Karzai visited Islamabad in early March, he was bluntly told by the army that he would have to remove two Indian consulates in Afghanistan near the Pakistan border, before the army offered him help to talk to the Pakistan-based Afghan Taliban leaders.

For Pakistan, one measure of track

AFP Pakistan's economy is yet to get back on

success of the talks is the degree to which they have rattled India.

India feels snubbed by the US because its officials have not been given access to David Headley. Delhi is opposed to any dominant Pakistani role in Afghanistan and is nervous about any US-Pakistan nuclear talks.

The US will now have to do some fence-mending with India.

However the complex triangular relationship between the US, Pakistan and India depends for success on the US getting the two enemies to talk turkey about their conflicts.

It also depends on getting the Pakistani army to undertake a real rather than an imagined strategic U-turn, because backing extremists of any hue to carry out foreign policy goals is no longer internationally acceptable.

APPENDIX C

Maxnews

NEWS 1

U.S. Ally Pakistan Most Dangerous Place on Earth

The ancient Arab proverb "The enemy of my enemy is my friend" does not apply in Pakistan. Knowledge of Raumschach, or space chess, as played on "Star Trek," is more useful. It's a form of 3-D chess where one can lose on several levels.

The geopolitical nexus of Afghanistan-Pakistan-Federally Administered Tribal Areas-India is now seen in the White House as a regional crisis that requires a holistic politico-military approach. But suspicions and disinformation about each other's motives, replete with conspiracy theories, have combined to make Pakistan, the Muslim world's only nuclear power, the most dangerous place on Earth.

President Obama sees the enemy in Afghanistan as the Taliban and al-Qaida. But al-Qaida shelters and the Taliban rests and trains in the mountain fastness of the Hindu Kush in Pakistan's Federally Administered Tribal Areas. And although Pakistan is "a major non-NATO ally," it also assists, through its Inter Services Intelligence agency, the Taliban insurgents fighting the U.S. and NATO forces in Afghanistan.

This is not rumor, hearsay, or factoid but incontrovertible fact,

confirmed by senior Pakistani generals on recent visits to EU headquarters in Brussels and to the director of national intelligence in the George W. Bush administration.

First reported in this column four months ago and confirmed last week by The New York Times, an ultrasecret wing of Inter Services Intelligence, known as Section S, still supplies the Taliban with guns, ammunition, and other supplies while the Pakistani army is fighting the insurgents in FATA. Pakistan's geopolitical calculus shows NATO, followed by the United States, succumbing to the Vietnam syndrome — and the Taliban prevailing.

The intelligence agency inspired and nurtured the Taliban student movement with a view toward taking over Afghanistan in the wake of the Soviet defeat and withdrawal in 1989. About 1,300 Pakistani Inter Services Intelligence agents were assigned to the Taliban's campaign as it conquered Afghanistan from 1992 through 1996.

Recognized by only three countries — Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates —the Taliban established a draconian regime of Islamic extremists that was entirely dependent on Pakistan for its survival. Osama bin Laden and his al-Qaida terrorist movement set up a score of training camps in Afghanistan, all under the intelligence agency's watchful eye. When this reporter traveled to Kandahar, Afghanistan, in June 2004, Pakistani supply trucks jammed the rutted highway bumper-to-bumper.

Trust between Washington and Islamabad has been stuck in the single digits for decades. Pakistan's limited numbers of strategic planners long have thought of Afghanistan supplying strategic depth to the west as they faced their principal enemy, India, to the east.

No one in Islamabad believes the United States and NATO are prepared to stay for five more years, let alone the 10 or more years it would take to transform Afghanistan into a viable democracy. Pakistan's military leaders feel more comfortable with a Taliban-run Afghanistan than with the current crop of moderate leaders who are closer to New Delhi than to Islamabad.

Section S's mission, as its operatives see it, is to block India's plans to supplant Pakistani influence when NATO and U.S. troops leave Afghanistan. Both Afghan and Indian intelligence are convinced Section S was responsible for the suicide bombing of the Indian Embassy in Kabul in July that killed 58. It is directly across the street from the Afghan Interior Ministry.

Success for President Obama's new plan for Afghanistan depends entirely on Pakistan's ability to root out Taliban and al-Qaida bases from their privileged sanctuaries in FATA.

With 120,000 Pakistani troops deployed in seven major tribal areas, where U.S. forces are not authorized to operate, results have been spotty at best. At worst, Taliban insurgents reappear when troops move on. The 1,400-mile frontier is a line on a map through some of the world's most rugged mountain terrain. U.S. drone attacks are subject to a Pakistani green light. U.S., Pakistani and Afghan intelligence officers are to work together in a half-dozen frontier posts. U.S. economic and military aid will be contingent on Pakistan's stepping up its campaign against Islamic terrorism inside its own borders, which include FATA.

Perhaps the most promising change in the Obama plan is the quest to detach Taliban leaders from hard-liners who have made common cause with al-Qaida. Former Taliban Foreign Minister Wakil Ahmad Mutawakil, the most senior Taliban official captured, was

held for two years at Bagram Air Base and now lives in Kandahar. He traveled to Mecca in September to dine with Saudi King Abdullah and Afghan President Hamid Karzai's brother for talks about talks that could become part of Obama's plan.

A neutral Afghanistan that rejects al-Qaida and the status of which would be guaranteed by its principal neighbors — Iran, Pakistan, China — is already being talked about as a possible long-range successor to U.S. and NATO forces. Obama also must find a plausible exit strategy before the 2012 presidential election campaign.

Shortly after Sept. 11, 2001, back from an official trip to Washington, President Pervez Musharraf ordered Inter Services Intelligence chief Gen. Mahmoud Ahmad to fly to Kandahar and instruct Mullah Omar, the Taliban supremo, to turn over Osama bin Laden or face a U.S. invasion. Instead, the intelligence director took a delegation of Pakistani religious extremists with him on the trip and advised Mullah Omar to keep Osama bin Laden. Musharraf promptly fired Ahmad, whose insubordination changed the course of history.

Ahmad was in Washington when al-Qaida struck the twin towers and the Pentagon. Conspiracy theorists believe he knew about al-Qaida's plans beforehand and concluded that his stateside meetings with intelligence-community directors would give him extra cover. Three days after the Sept. 11 Commission's report went to press, commission member Fred Fielding was handed a verbal bombshell: Some Pakistanis were privy to al-Qaida's plans before the terrorist attacks.

Yet most Pakistanis continue to believe that the attacks of Sept. 11 were a plot engineered by the CIA and Mossad, the Israeli intelligence service, whose objective was war on Islam.

When a female Pakistani journalist covering Prime Minister Yousaf Raza Gilani's Washington visit in July told this reporter, "Everyone knows it was the CIA," we put the same question to eight of her colleagues sitting at the same table at the Pakistani Embassy. All eight said, "CIA and Mossad."

NEWS 2

Taliban Rattles Pakistan

As the Taliban send suicide bombers inside Pakistan's cities, observers focus on the horrors and the continuing bloodshed.

And though the Taliban has escalated its violence, which we warned it would since the assassination of Prime Minister-elect Benazir Bhutto in December 2007, the worst has yet to happen. Analysts must focus on the lessons learned so far so policy suggestions can be made — and fast.

The jihadi campaign in Pakistan was planned years ago, but the electoral victory in 2007 of the secular Party of the People, headed traditionally by the Bhutto clan, triggered an acceleration of the Taliban general offensive.

Initially the mullahs of the most radical salafists, and al-Qaida, wanted to seize Pakistan gradually, with further infiltration. They were building their "emirate" sanctuary in Waziristan and beyond, while penetrating the intelligence agencies and other segments of the bureaucracy.

But since September 2008, when Benazir's widower Asif Ali Zardari was elected as new president and as he clearly pledged to fight terrorism, the Taliban leaped to pre-empt his designs. In one short year, they escalated their attacks reaching a point 60 miles from Islamabad last April.

That week, Secretary of State Hillary Clinton said that Zardari's government was "abdicating to the Taliban and the extremists." In

fact when the Jihadist forces entered the Swat valley and began heading towards the capital's suburbs, the country's government was tested strategically.

I told Fox News then that this was a "red line." Crossing it toward Islamabad meant a Taliban advance all over the country. But if the army would cross it in reverse, it would mean a full-fledged war against the Taliban. And in fact it did happen. So what are the lessons so far?

First, the Taliban and their jihadi allies have clearly shown that they have cells capable of conducting terror attacks way beyond their enclaves. Protracted violence in urban zones can be expected.

The armed Islamists aren't a new force appearing only this year, but a network growing for decades. Now is their time to try to take out the secular government.

Second, the attacks against the military headquarters and bases, never performed before, can be replicated against more dangerous locations, including nuclear sites: storage locations, launching pads, or delivery systems. It is only a question of time.

Third, assassinations are still possible. As with the late Benazir Bhutto, the Taliban knows that achieving such goals can trigger even wider clashes inside the country.

Fourth, the present government has decided to fight the Taliban enclaves in the Northwest provinces. If this government fails, such an opportunity will not happen again soon.

Fifth, the Taliban war on the secular government in Pakistan, if anything, shows a determination to take over the country. It clearly shows that the notion of a "moderate Taliban" doesn't exist.

Otherwise the Pakistani Muslim government would have used moderate Taliban against the extremists.

Based on these findings, the following are strategic recommendations for the U.S. administration to consider:

• As Pakistan's armed forces and its government are waging a counter-campaign on the Taliban, Washington must refrain from the myth of "cutting deals with the good Taliban" as an exit strategy for Afghanistan. Such a hallucination would crumble the determination of counter Taliban forces in Afghanistan and would weaken the resolve of the Pakistanis engaged in their own national counter terrorism campaign against the Taliban.

• The Obama administration must help Zardari's government discreetly and only when asked. U.S. and Pakistani leaders should coordinate efforts without exposing this cooperation to jihadist propaganda.

• The Obama administration must rapidly extend resources to Gen. McChrystal in Afghanistan so that allies can move against the Taliban at the same time. Now that the Pakistanis are on the offensive in Waziristan, NATO and Afghan forces must take the offensive on the other side of the border. The Taliban must not be enabled to fight one adversary at a time.

Anything less and we risk losing not one but two countries in the region to the jihadists, one already nuclear.

NEWS 3

Pakistan on Edge of Political Disaster

In a satirical piece on Pakistan's "New Media Dictionary," Nadeem Paracha described "Conspiracy Theory" as "A theory that is not a theory at all but a hard fact on Pakistan's TV channels," where anything goes and where 90 percent of Pakistanis get their news.

For America's television coloratura of right and left, the MO is to mold rather than inform. In Pakistan, they do more than mold; they fake it. The overwhelming majority of Pakistanis believe Sept. 11, 2001, was the work of two co-conspirators — Mossad and the CIA.

In World War II, Tokyo Rose was tame compared to some of the outpourings on Pakistan's 50 TV channels. And "anyone disagreeing with the hard and loud factoids," adds Paracha, "is a Mossad/CIA/RAW (Indian) . . . agent and a possible swine flu carrier who would be lined up against the walls of Delhi's Red Fort and shot dead during Ghazwa-ul Hind in 2012" — the year of the forecast conquest of India by Muslims, which is also the year of a growing pile of apocalyptic warnings and anxieties about the end of the 5,125-year Mayan calendar. Armageddon is around the corner.

Hardly surprising that Pakistan's politics tend to dabble in the surreal.

A 2007 deal between former Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto and President Pervez Musharraf spawned the National Reconciliation

Ordinance — with 8,041 political names guilty of corruption, financial bungling, misuse of authority and various and sundry criminal charges — that pardoned everybody. One provincial minister had 16 cases against him for murder and attempted murder.

The pardons were short-lived. The Supreme Court has now revoked the NRO, and 248 high-profile beneficiaries, now subject to prosecution, are no longer allowed to leave the country. The defense minister, about to board a flight to Beijing, was told to return to his office. Several Cabinet ministers canceled official trips abroad.

The Supreme Court also reopened a case filed against President Asif Ali Zardari in Switzerland for money laundering, which the Swiss dismissed after he was elected president, releasing $60 million, now his money again. He also enjoys immunity as long as he is president. Zardari spent more than 11 years in prison on charges of corruption and murder, but no case against him was ever proved. Yet highly paid lawyers still couldn't get him out of jail.

The NRO debacle explains why Pakistanis have little faith in their politicians and why the country has fallen under military rule four times in its 62-year history. Today the military calls the tune — Pakistan is teetering on the edge of political disaster. Its Supreme Court revoked a general amnesty, decreed by former President Musharraf, for more than 8,000 politicians guilty of corruption, financial bungling, misuse of authority and various and sundry criminal charges. One provincial minister had 16 cases against him for murder and attempted murder. Whither one of the world's eight nuclear powers? especially against the Taliban. It also controls the country's nuclear arsenal.

A cartoon in the International Herald Tribune shows a soldier crouching behind an armored vehicle labeled the Pakistani army. Standing atop a village wall, a black-bearded Taliban fighter is shouting through a megaphone, "Friend or foe today?" The question is pertinent because one branch of the Taliban is the enemy that occupied the Swat Valley and got to within 60 miles of Islamabad, the capital. And the other Taliban, fighting U.S., NATO and other allied forces in Afghanistan, is potentially friend again. But not before the United States and its allies tire of fighting the Afghan war.

The United States is pressuring Pakistan military commander Gen. Ashfaq Parvez Kayani to continue and extend the offensive against Taliban/Pakistan, based in South Waziristan, to Taliban/Afghanistan that use North Waziristan as their safe haven, both in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas. As long as they can operate from these privileged sanctuaries, the Afghan war is unwinnable. Stepped-up U.S. drone attacks with unmanned Predators and Rapiers will not dislodge them, but they fuel still growing anti-U.S. sentiment in Pakistan. Visa extensions and new visas for U.S. diplomatic personnel are held up, a form of protest against "unrealistic" U.S. demands and the paucity of U.S. aid ($7.5 billion over the next five years). Polls show seven out of 10 Pakistanis are anti-American.

High-ranking U.S. officials take it in turn to visit Kayani to reassure him of U.S. support. Adm. Mike Mullen, chairman of the Joint Chiefs, and CENTCOM commander Gen. David H. Petraeus are frequent visitors. Defense Secretary Bob Gates and national security adviser Jim Jones also came calling recently. Trouble is, Pakistan's military leader cannot concede the ulterior strategic calculation: Pakistan was

safer after aiding and abetting the Taliban's conquest of Afghanistan in 1996.

Last summer the Taliban in Pakistan got to within 60 miles of Islamabad, which was clearly a signal for a major counterattack that drove them back to South Waziristan. There they were pummeled by three Pakistani divisions until heavy snowfalls stopped major operations pending the spring thaw. But suicide bombers continue widely scattered attacks in major cities.

The Afghan Taliban, on the other hand, was originally created by Pakistan's Inter-Service Intelligence agency to put an end to the civil war that had racked Afghanistan following the end of the Soviet occupation in 1989. And with covert Pakistani assistance, the Taliban took over in Kabul in 1996 until evicted by the U.S. invasion five years later. Since then, Pakistan's ISI has never lost contact with Mullah Muhammad Omar, the elusive Taliban overlord, underground for the past nine years.

Pakistan's leaders, both military and civilian, are convinced the United States will soon tire of blood and treasure expended in Afghanistan because, contrary to President Obama's belief, that is not where al-Qaida is these days. It's not safe for al-Qaida, therefore undesirable. Kayani and his generals want to make sure the post-NATO and then post-U.S. phase, as they see it, is not taken over by the pro-Indian Northern Alliance.

For Pakistani strategists, this could spell the end of Pakistan, caught in a gigantic pincer by India, still the only real enemy. Its 1971 conquest of East Pakistan, 1,000 miles east of West Pakistan, turned

it into Bangladesh. In Pakistan's strategic eyes, Afghanistan must have a friendly regime in charge, as the country to their west is their defense in depth against India.

Meanwhile, the United States is stuck attempting to prop up both Pakistan and Afghanistan, both governed by unpopular presidents of dubious probity.

NEWS 4

U.S. Pressure on Pakistan Increasing Taliban Heat

WASHINGTON — U.S. pressure on Pakistan to crack down on Taliban extremists within its borders is paying off, American officials and independent analysts say, paving the way for progress in the war in neighboring Afghanistan.

Pakistan's cooperation marks a shift after years of tolerating the presence of homegrown extremists operating openly in the country. The government recently has pressed an offensive in tribal areas home to al-Qaeda, has arrested major Taliban figures and has signed off on airstrikes by pilotless drones that have killed important terrorist suspects.

In recent months:

•Pakistan on Thursday announced the arrest of the Taliban's former finance minister, days after saying it killed about 75 militants and discovered a network of 156 caves used by the Taliban near the Afghan border.

•After downplaying for years the presence of extremist leaders in Pakistani cities, the government last month arrested a number of key Taliban figures, including Mullah Abdul Ghani Baradar, the Afghan Taliban's second in command.

•U.S. drone strikes have increased to 53 in Pakistan in 2009 from 36

in 2008 and five in 2007, according to statistics compiled by the Long War Journal website. An August strike killed Baitullah Mehsud, a major Taliban leader.

Although Pakistan's government hasn't done everything the United States has wanted, these developments are "all having an effect," said Richard Holbrooke, the State Department's special representative for Pakistan and Afghanistan. "I think that in Pakistan and in Afghanistan, but particularly in Pakistan, there's been a movement, a shift in sentiment here."

NEWS 5

WikiLeaks Reveals Pakistan's Intel Deceit

The explosive revelations of the "Afghan War Diary" released by WikiLeaks this week reveal several open secrets that have been well known to those who have closely followed this war for many years.

First and foremost, the documents reveal the abiding treachery of Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence service, the ISI, which has helped the Taliban kill Americans in Afghanistan at the same time it has solicited U.S. help to battle the Taliban in Pakistan.

Reps. Ron Paul, R-Texas, and Dennis Kucinich, D-Ohio, joined forces on Tuesday on the floor of the U.S. House of Representatives to excoriate the Bush and Obama administration for doing nothing to keep the ISI in line.

But they shouldn't have been so shocked. For years, as The New York Times commented on Tuesday, "both Bush and Obama administration officials as well as top American commanders have confronted top Pakistani military officers with accusations of ISI complicity in attacks in Afghanistan, and even presented top Pakistani officials with lists of ISI and military operatives believed to be working with militants."

Why do we continue to give money to Pakistan's military under such circumstances? Because war isn't fought according to Emily Post's rules of etiquette, and it is a very messy business, indeed.

Treachery on the battlefield is as old as valor.

Of course, the Pakistanis are claiming that the U.S. field intelligence reports released by WikiLeaks are fabrications and lies, but that won't make them go away. Congress is now going to debate the ISI's treachery in public.

Let's see how many of our elected blamers actually have the stomach to face the facts as they are, not as they might like them to be.

The second major "open secret" that the Afghan War Diary confirms is Iran's long-standing and ongoing support for the Taliban.

This, too, might come as a shock to anyone who believed the nonsense many so-called "experts" in terrorism have been feeding the public for many years that Shiite Iran would never think of helping a Sunni terrorist movement because of their sectarian differences.

As I reported last week, even the U.S. Treasury Department has gotten wise to the game, and has added its voice to a growing chorus of senior U.S. military leaders who have exposed Iran's active and ongoing support for the Taliban.

The leaked field intelligence reports begin in early 2004, and from the start they show that Iranian weapons are being seized in insurgent and Taliban weapons caches.

The weapons include Iranian-made anti-tank and anti-personnel mines, rocket and grenade launchers, mortars, IEDs, and various

components.

A May 2007 report showed that Iran's Revolutionary Guards Corps set up a special headquarters just across the border from Herat, the regional capital of Western Afghanistan, with "helicopter, tanks, and artillery launchers from the Sepah Pasdaran Army assigned to the HQ to perform distractive activities in Afghanistan, aimed at International and Afghan Government troops."

This is the same region where hundreds of top al-Qaida operatives escaped into Iran in the weeks following the 9/11 attacks on America. Iran continues to provide many of them sanctuary to this day, according to U.S. intelligence reports cited by Treasury and Pentagon officials.

Yet another document, dated Oct. 6, 2009, identifies a plot by insurgents to kidnap eleven children and transport them to Iran.

"One of the more interesting exposures of the WikiLeaks documents shows Iran's support from the Taliban," former undersecretary of State John Bolton said at a fundraiser for Maryland House of Delegates candidate Ron George on Tuesday.

"Iran is supporting the Taliban, Hamas, and other Sunni groups, as well as Hezbollah and Shiite groups. Iran is an equal opportunity supporter of terrorism," Bolton said.

He added, "If anything should convince us of Iran's intentions as regards its nuclear programs, look to their support for foreign terrorism over the past 20 years. Then imagine Iran getting nuclear weapons."

The overwhelming majority of the 76,912 Afghan War Diary documents released so far are similar to U.S. military field intelligence reports declassified and released after the 2003 liberation of Iraq.

The main difference is that they have not been declassified, so names of Afghan sources and other identifying information are still included in the data dump. The "Diary" also includes notes taken by military staff during sensitive meetings with local Afghan officials.

WikiLeaks is referring media who want to comment on this latest disclosure to a panoply of left-wing nongovernmental organizations, so their intent to harm the U.S. government, the intelligence community, and the war effort in Afghanistan is clear.

However, a wise administration would use this unauthorized disclosure as a teachable moment to put real pressure on the Pakistan government to cut off all aid to the Taliban. If Pakistan actually ended all such assistance, I doubt the Taliban would survive — at least, so long as the U.S. military maintains its robust presence in Afghanistan.

A wise administration would also use these revelations as an additional justification for ratcheting up the pressure on Iran.