Identity(ies) in Counter-terrorism Discourse: Analyzing Discursive Strategies of Pakistan's Constructive Patriots

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Abstract

In this paper, discursive choices made by constructive patriots of Pakistan which serve to construct and project their identity(ies) as moderate nationalists are examined. In doing so, this study details multifaceted topic of the counter-terrorism discourses of Pakistan which include exclusion of the others, role allocation, association/dissociation and identification/definition. These discursive choices perform multiple functions, two of which are explored here: (a) the projection of constructive nationalist identity as progressive and tolerant by Pakistanis and (b) distancing them from radicalized sections of Pakistani society. To achieve these ends, the counter-terrorism discourse samples have been collected from the online discussion forums of Dawn, a nationally distributed daily newspaper of Pakistan, and analyzed employing Critical Discourse Analysis. These samples serve as substantiated instances of identification paradigm of Pakistani society which emerges from a sub-cultural sphere (i.e. religio-political) and serves to nurture a critical distance between the counter-terrorism and more radicalized discourses of the country.

Keywords*: constructive patriots, identity, Pakistan, Critical Discourse Analysis, Systemic Functional Linguistics*

1. Background

Since the 1980s, sectarian and religious violence has erupted across Pakistan as an essential instrument of a Saudi-Iranian proxy conflict (Abbas, 2010; Hussain, 2007) and it still persists as the principal apparatus through which power is exercised upon governments by different political players in the country. The cold war period of 1985-1991 led to the incremental production of a Jihadi discourse in Pakistan and Afghanistan (Ahmed, 2012). The Jihadi literature and Jihadi philosophy (mainstreamed back then) has taken the shape of Talibanization and a demand for implementation of shariah (Islamic) law in Pakistan. On the other hand, anti-Talibanization and a counter-terrorism narrative have always existed in Pakistan. It is in this connection that this paper focuses on counter-terrorism discourse of Pakistan in the online discussion forums of *Dawn,* a nationally distributed daily newspaper of Pakistan. The counter-terrorism discourse not only serves to construct the identity of *constructive patriots* (defined below) but also projects the moderate and anti-extremism mindset of Pakistani society.

Thus, it could be stated that this study investigates how constructive Pakistanis discursively project themselves and their concerns about country's security in the violence prone state of Pakistan. In doing so, this study analyzes the lexico-grammatical features of counter-terrorism discourse in the online discussion forums of *Dawn*. The term "constructive patriots" could be defined as the group of citizens who exhibit "an attachment to country characterized by critical loyalty" and they resort to questioning and criticism driven by "a desire for a positive change" (Schatz et al. ,1999, p.153). The counter-terrorism discourse is significant because, in the data from this particular study, the constructive patriots assert their identities most actively and passionately through counter-terrorism arguments. Through counter-terrorism discourse the

constructive patriots not only project their identity but also preach religious harmony and indiscriminate security for all the citizens of Pakistan irrespective of religious and sectarian beliefs through an implicit subtext. This study, therefore, addresses a couple of questions: a) what discursive strategies are realized by Pakistan's constructive patriots for the sake of self-projection and identity construction? b) how does constructive patriots' discourse represent social actors related to country's security in contrast to their own representation? Thus, as these questions indicate, this study attempts to provide substantiated instances of *identification paradigm* of Pakistani society which emerges from a sub-cultural sphere (i.e. religio-political) and serves to nurture a critical distance between moderate counter-terrorism and radicalized pro-Taliban discourses of the country. To define *identification paradigm*, this study takes *identification paradigm* as a network of available identities from which individuals and groups, advertently or inadvertently, choose some and project themselves.

2. Terrorism and counter-terrorism discourse in Pakistan

According to Wellman (2013), defining terrorism is a challenging task because different individuals conceive of terrorism very differently. Rejecting Poland's (2011) and Jenkins's (2006) normative definitions of terrorism (based on moral grounds), Wellman (2013) uses a descriptive definition of terrorism which states that terrorism stands for: "an attempt to coerce an indirect target by means of terror produced by the use or threat of violence against a direct target" (Wellman, 2013, p. 8). In the case of Pakistan, the victims become the direct target and the rest of Pakistan's population who either endorse or condemn such violent acts become the indirect target. So, Pakistanis are either coerced to believe in terrorists' ideologies or they rebut and express ant-terrorism ideologies. As far as counter-terrorism is concerned, it is

> generally defined within specific frames of terrorism. In one frame, terrorism may be defined as a crime. In this case, counter-terrorism may tend to be defined prescriptively in terms of police and law enforcement work… when terrorism is defined in terms of war and or revolution, counter-terrorism tends to be prescribed in terms of military responses. (Sheehan, 2007, p. 49-50).

Pakistan is one of the worst terrorism struck countries in the world and "has become the thirteenth most violent and the thirteenth most fragile country on the globe" (Tajik, 2014, p. 103). Along with internal factors (i.e. the role of political and military leadership and myopic interpretation of history in textbooks etc.) the role of external factors and certain social actors cannot be overlooked while determining the evolution of terrorism in Pakistan. While detailing the external factors and social actors, Murphy (2012) links terrorism in Pakistan with the Kashmir issue, the Soviet-Afghanistan war, the US efforts to defeat the Soviet Union in the 1980s and the US led war on terror in the wake of the 9/11 attacks. Because of the multiplicity and multidimensionality of terrorism related issues, the counter-terrorism strategies also need to be multipurposed. Unfortunately, counter-terrorism efforts of Pakistan's government and security agencies have not met much success lately and displayed both quantitative and qualitative deficits. While the *quantitative deficits* of counter-terrorism efforts can be traced to poorly equipped and ill-trained security forces, the *qualitative deficits* of counter-terrorism can be ascribed to the popularity of the Jehadi rhetoric (see Yousuf 2014). Terrorist groups like Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) and Lashkar-e-Jhangvi (LJ) claim to be fighting for religion and the security agencies fight for salaries which is not an impetus strong enough to boost their morale (Tajik, 2014, p.117). Most recently (in the wake of attacks on both civilians and security forces) the discourse of terrorism, counter-terrorism and security has expanded exponentially in Pakistan. It could be argued that the online discussion forums of *Dawn* represent a microcosm of Pakistani society and their ecology reflects Pakistan's popular discourses and narratives. Talking about the online discussions in Pakistan,

Yusuf (2015) is of the view that the use of media in Pakistan has always reflected its internal dynamics, especially those surrounding religion. The state is quick to notice supposedly controversial material in the online discussion forums which could hurt public sentiments. This is why the state banned Facebook and YouTube in Pakistan when some controversial material appeared on the sites. The mainstream population of the country is conservative and public discourses reflect a worldview embedded in the religion of Islam. Therefore, the counter-terrorism discourses have to be in tune with the popular narrative in order to get common currency and general acceptance. Consequently, the constructive patriots project themselves and their ideologies in such a way as to endorse the popular national narrative(s) of the country on the one hand, and not hurt the religious sentiment of the general populace on the other.

3. Theory and method
The analytical framework for this study is encompasses two levels: the level of macrostructure (i.e. thematic analysis) and the level of microstructure (i.e. lexico-grammatical analysis). This two-level analysis draws upon Critical Discourse Analysis, CDA (Fairclough, 1992a, 1992b, 1995a, 2001; Wodak & Reisigl, 2001; van Leeuwen, 2008) because CDA allows movement between macrostructures and microstructures easily, thus making the framework dynamic and accommodating. For the analysis of microstructures, this study uses the labels of Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) (Halliday 1984, Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). To briefly summarize the relationship between CDA and SFL, according to Matthiessen (2012: 443) the relationship between CDA and SFL is historical because many theorists have been using SFL to do CDA research (see Young & Harrison 2004) for some time. From the point of view of SFL, CDA is one of a number of specialized or special-purpose kinds of discourse analysis. The "critical" aspect of CDA can be located within appliable and socially accountable strands of linguistics studies (Matthiessen, 2012, p. 443). According to SFL practioners (e.g. Matthiessen, 2012, p. 443), CDA can be characterized alongside other types of discourse analysis in terms of the semiotic environment in which discourses operate. The semiotic environment refers to three parameters of context identified in SFL, field, tenor and mode. (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). Here *field* refers to the context and nature of an activity; *tenor* stands for the roles and relationships of the participants in a communication activity and *mode* denotes the role language or any other semiotic systems play in a given context. According to Matthiessen (2012), CDA is more focused on tenor, or complementary aspects of communicative relationship between participants in different social situations. To address the challenge of relating microcategories to macrocategories, Fairclough (1992a, p. 71-73) proposed a "social theory of discourse". This theory involves a "three-dimensional conception of discourse" including text, discursive practice and social practice, each of which is informed by a distinct analytical tradition. This conceptualization in Fairclough's more recent accounts of CDA (Fairclough 2001, 2003) brings it closer to SFL.

The discourse samples for this particular study were collected from the comment sections of the electronic edition of *Dawn*, the leading English language newspaper of Pakistan. The comments on the electronic editions of *Dawn* were studied from May 1, 2013 to April 30, 2017 and a corpus was compiled using purposive sampling. The general aim of the data collection process was to identify, for microtextual discourse analysis, the different ways in which anti-terrorism sentiments were invoked by the commenters. Given this context, the following framework was used as the comments were reviewed:

(1) *Identifying relevant texts* by examining a range of discussions on Dawn's comment sections about terrorism and counter-terrorism efforts of the state and non-state actors

(2) *Text selection* according to explicit inclusion and exclusion criteria and;

(3) *Discursively analysing the data for themes*.

The inclusion and exclusion criteria were:

- Those written in English;
- Posts that were about terrorism and counter-terrorism discourse in Pakistan and;
- Those posted during the heydays of terrorism in Pakistan, when the Pakistani government intended to start negotiation with different terrorist groups.

Taking all these issues into consideration, ten discussions from the electronic edition of *Dawn* between July 1, 2013 to April 30, 2017 were selected and analyzed for this study. The break-up of the selected comments and ranking clauses is given in Table A.

Table A: Break-down of comments selected for inclusion in the investigation

	Threads	No. of comments	No. of clauses	URL
1	*TTP does not want to enforce Sharia at gunpoint, says Imran*	128	640	https://www.dawn.com/news/1095926
2	*TTP claims responsibility for twin bomb attacks in Karachi*	15	95	https://www.dawn.com/news/1058047
3	*Taliban 2.0*	20	178	https://www.dawn.com/news/1087283/taliban-20
4	*TTP negotiator rejects peace talks under constitution*	120	532	https://www.dawn.com/news/1085510
5	*Petition filed against Munawar Hasan on martyr remarks*	4	28	https://www.dawn.com/news/1055872
6	*JI chief's remarks an insult to Pakistan's martyrs: ISPR*	123	735	https://www.dawn.com/news/1055439
7	*TTP extortionists threaten another businessman*	23	75	https://www.dawn.com/news/1104295
8	*TTP provides core fighting group for IS: US general*	61	305	https://www.dawn.com/news/1314507
9	*Fazl joins martyrdom debate — 'even dog killed by US is martyr'*	10	64	https://www.dawn.com/news/1054450/fazl-joins-martyrdom-debate-even-dog-killed-by-us-is-martyr
10	*The Roots of Terrorism*	19	155	https://www.dawn.com/news/796177
	Total	523	2716	

The texts by the commenters discussing terrorism in Pakistan were coded manually and a list of keywords and phrases depicting various types of responses was created including information such as:

- The sympathizers and apologizers (of the terrorist groups)
- The haters of (of the terrorist groups)
- For prompt army action against the terrorists
- Against any army action against the terrorists

In this way, different discourses drawn upon were identified so there was a dual focus on 'what' was being presented (content: expression of security concerns for Pakistan and Pakistanis) and 'how' it was being presented (process: constructive patriots exporting anti-Taliban narratives).

Following section(s) present(s) detailed analysis of counter-terrorism discourse of Pakistan's constructive patriots in relation to terrorists' identity (re)construction.

4. Analysis
4.1 Exclusion: foregrounding/backgrounding and sarcasm/implicatures
One of the significant features of Pakistan's constructive patriots' counter-terrorism discourse is the exclusion of religious fundamentalism and militancy from the life of common Pakistanis by distancing common Pakistanis from radicalized Pakistanis. This exclusion is done in response to repeated attempts of Talibanized factions of society to legitimize the radicalization of the Taliban. The Talibanization is legitimized by Taliban apologists through providing justification for their terrorist acts, labeling them as 'our misguided brothers' and disseminating and mainstreaming their extremist narrative. To counter such strategies of Taliban apologists, the constructive patriots employ the following exclusionary strategies: foregrounding/backgrounding and sarcasm/implicatures. In order to achieve their end, the constructive patriots project themselves as representatives of the general Pakistani sentiment and construct the terrorists and terrorist organizations as disconnected from the mainstream. In addition to this, the constructive patriots discursively medicalize the terrorists' abettors and endorsers.

The following comments (see C.1 & C.2 below) present an intricate network of *ideational*[1]*, *interpersonal*[2] and *textual*[3] aspects of language which complement the discursive strategies of exclusionary discourse. The overarching discursive strategy realized in this connection is foregrounding of *exclamatives*[4] (e.g. the underlined chunks in C.1 and C.2, i.e. Wow, OMG and Congrats!) and *circumstantial adjuncts*[5] (e.g. 'at the same time' and 'on the second thought'). Through foregrounding of exclamatives and circumstantial adjuncts, a sarcastic tone is embedded within the text. In this respect the implicatures and sarcasm appear to be melded together in joint pursuit of demonizing the terrorist activities and distancing the terrorists from common Pakistanis (see Table B).

Table B: Discourse samples from the data 1/7

C.1**	<u>Wow</u>! they wanted to liberate it from US war by killing innocent people. **At the same time** it remains fine when US and Saudis pay them and train them for fighting any sort of war in the world. <u>Cograts</u>! to mass murderers and their supporters for success of peace talks. A common Pakistani will not be able to enjoy real freedom and will remain hostage to so called politicians, religious pundits and military. (Posted by U30 in *TTP does not want to enforce Shariah at gunpoint, says Imran* comments thread on March 27, 2014: dawn.com)
C.2	**Well, actually, on a second thought**, I agree with IK. Talibans don't want Sharia on gunpoint, in fact they don't want sahria at all... But what they want at gunpoint is lawlessness, mass killing, chaos, Fitna, durg trafficking, kidnapping, ransom.... <u>OMG</u>, these things could only be done by gunpoint... right? So IK is right. don't you guys agree? (Posted by U31 in *TTP does not want to enforce Shariah at gunpoint, says Imran* comments thread on March 27, 2014: dawn.com).

* The definitions of SFL terms are provided in the Endnotes.

** Here C stands for comment and 1 represents the number of examples.

The sarcastic tone of these comments could be understood if they are placed in the proper context. The innocent victims of terrorism (i.e. the common Pakistanis) are generally sympathetically treated, less often classified and often referred to generically only as "Pakistanis.": Here, as elsewhere in the corpus, the impression is being built up of a panoply of agencies (collective) and agents (individuals) involved in the security apparatus. The strategy of using *marked themes*[6] (see bold chunks in C.1 and C.2) and exclamatives gives the impression of a hyper-sensitivity associated with the perception of terrorism in Pakistan and an urgency to create distance from the terrorists. Though the density of such utterances does not seem to be very high in the overall themes and modality analysis (see Tables 1 & 2) almost all the comments in the data use either marked themes or exclamatives at least once or twice in their comments foregrounding their displeasure and disapproval of terrorist activities and the atrocities associated with the terrorists.

Let us have a look at Tables 1 and 2. Table 1 presents the mood analysis and Table 2 presents the theme analysis.

Table 1: Mood analysis

Clause Types	%age
Declaratives	70
Imperatives	7.5
Interrogatives	9
Exclamatives	7
Modulated statements/ command/ questions	5
Minor clauses	0.5
Let clauses	1

As this table shows, most of the clauses in the selected data are declaratives. This is not surprising as most of the written texts show similar trend and are dominated by declarative clauses. It is the distribution of clausal moods other than declaratives which reveal striking discursive and ideological patterns. Relatively higher frequency of exclamatives (7%), imperatives (7.5%) and interrogatives (9%) in the selected data is quite interesting. The text gets its sarcastic and satirical tone right through embedding these varying clausal moods into its texture (i.e. 'exclamatives' in the case of examples quoted in Table B above).

Table 2 Theme[7] analysis

Themes	sub-themes	overall % age	sub-themes % age
Textual[8]		11	
	Conjunctive		10
	Continuative[9]		1
Interpersonal[10]		9	
	Circumstantial[11]		2
	Vocative[12]		1
	Comment[13]		1
	Polarity[14]		1
	interrogative (modal) auxiliary		1
	Mood		1
Unmarked topical[15]		62	

Table 2 presents the theme analysis. Unmarked themes dominate the data with 62% of the clauses in the data starting with unmarked topical themes. However, these are 'marked topical themes' which are of great significance. The foregrounding of 'marked themes' facilitates text producers getting their intended message across (i.e. to express solidarity with the victims of terrorist attacks and to maintain distance from the radicalized factions of the society).

According to van Leeuwen (2008) counting frequencies cannot be used to reveal significant discourse patterns, because frequencies could change with the stages in the writer's argument and may not be an overall characteristic of the text. Despite this, sometimes, there remains a need to provide some quantitative data so that certain claims might be confirmed. As far as the online discussion forums of *Dawn*, the texts posted by the commenters are generally not that long and the line of the argument appears to be similar throughout.

Now, let us discuss another important discursive strategy of Pakistan's constructive patriot (role allocation) which serves to (re)construct identities of terrorists and victims of the terrorist attack.

4.2 Role Allocation: the active and passive roles of the terrorists and the victims

The roles that terrorists are represented as playing in the comments are also important. This aspect of representation is discussed quite extensively in the work of many critical linguists (e.g. Fairclough, 2001; Fowler, 1991; Kress & Hodge, 1979; van Dijk, 1991). The answer to questions like "who is represented as an agent or actor" and who acts as a patient or goal with respect to a given context, assumes great importance in this regard. The representations with certain foregrounding, backgrounding and exclusion strategies (re)allocate roles or (re)arrange social relations between the participants. Here, two comments are reproduced where participants (of the clauses) are either terrorists or the victims:

Table C: Discourse samples from the data 2/7

C.3	…[Has <u>he</u> (Imran Khan, one of Pakistan's popular political leader)] forgotten what <u>taliban</u> were doing in Afghanistan when in power. <u>They</u> turned the whole country into mud and stones, <u>they</u> were torturing and killing people including women in the name of shariah… (Posted by U32 in *TTP does not want to enforce Shariah at gun-point, says Imran* comments thread on March 27, 2014: dawn.com)
C.4	<u>Thousands of people including children</u> around our country have blown themselves away in order to defame Taliban [sarcastic statement]. (Posted by U33 in *TTP does not want to enforce Shariah at gunpoint, says Imran* comments thread on March 27, 2014: dawn.com)

In example C.3, "he (Imran Khan)" and "Taliban" are, grammatically, the senser and actor in relation to certain phenomena and actions (i.e. "forgotten" is a phenomenon; and "doing", "turned", "torturing" and "killing" are the actions); while "the whole country" and "people including women" are the goals of the material processes. In C.4, the phrase "thousands of people including children" is the actor of "affect" and "influence," while the embedded clause preceded by a prepositional phrase ("in order to defame Taliban") is circumstance: reason. In other words, in one of the representations—that of a populist, active audience theory (see van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 33), the active role is given to the Taliban, the passive role to innocent victims, while in the other—that of the "effects," or "hypodermic needle theory of mass communication" (see van Leeuwen, 2008,

p. 33) —, the active role is given to "thousands of people including children around our country" ironically and sarcastically, and the passive role to the Taliban. Thus, it could be argued that the representations can endow social actors with either active or passive roles. The activation was used by Pakistani constructive patriots when social actors like the Taliban were represented as the aggressive force in an activity; passivation was applied when they were sarcastically represented as having received the effect of an act, or as being the recipient of an act. But the text recipients who are well aware of the context of the discussion, know that— in both cases, either directly or indirectly— the violent action is ascribed to Taliban forces and the Taliban are made the active social actor or the actor of the material clauses in a Hallidayan sense (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). Table 3 shows the *transitivity*[16] analysis of the selected data where activated social actors are coded as actors in material processes, behaver in behavioral processes, senser in mental processes, sayers in verbal processes and assigner in relational processes.

Table 3 Transitivity analysis

Process Types	% age
Material[17]	40
Mental[18]	18
Relational: Identifying[19]	8
Relational: Attributive[20]	17
Behavioural[21]	1.6
Verbal[22]	13
Existential[23]	1

This table shows that the material clause dominates the selected comments data where the actor or doer performs a perceivable material act. The mental, relational attributive and verbal clauses appear as the second, third and fourth most frequently occurring phenomenon respectively. In mental and behavioural clauses 'clause participants' play the roles of 'senser' (of a phenomenon), 'behaver' (in a certain situation) and 'sayer' (of some verbiage) respectively.

Now consider the following example (C.5). It is clear from the example how "representations can endow social actors with either active or passive roles. Activation occurs when social actors are represented as the active, dynamic forces in an activity; and passivation when they are represented as 'undergoing' the activity, or as being "at the receiving end of it" (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 33). It is clear from C.5 that "the ruthless terrorists" and their subsequent anaphoric references "Taliban" are activated only in relation to violent material acts. As mentioned above, Table 3 shows the highest frequency of material clauses. The material actions of the Taliban like killing, flogging, playing football with the severed heads of victims and bombing etc. make up to 69% of the representations in the material clauses. Thus, by activating the Taliban and their sympathizers in relation to such violent activities, the counter-terrorism discourse of the constructive patriots expresses anger and resentment. "We," the people of Pakistan are represented as "innocent people" and "the families and friends of people killed" are either activated as protesters or sympathizers to victims, or passivized as an object of the Taliban's aggression (see the underlined parts in C.5). This sort of active role for terrorists is observed in 52% of the clauses.

Table D: Discourse sample from the data 3/7

C.5	The ruthless terrorists continue with their senseless killing of innocent people. They plan their attacks to cause maximum damages and thus maximum fear. We strongly condemn the attacks in Karachi and send our condolences to **the families and friends of people killed**. The nefarious adventures of these killers will continue unless we all stand untied against these common enemies. The message should be loud and clear: "give up your policy of death and destruction and be a productive member of the world community or be ready to be neutralized." (Posted by U34 in *TTP claims responsibility for twin bomb attacks in Karachi* comments thread on November 25 2013: dawn.com)

Though the activation could also be realized in various other ways, for example, through prepositional phrases ("circumstances" in the Hallidayan sense) headed by "by" or "from" as with "from the terrorists" and "by these uncivilized barbarians", such representations were not very frequent in the data.

4.3 Associations and dissociation: hypotaxis[24] and parataxis[25]

There is another way in which the constructive patriots of Pakistan preferred to project their identity as peace lovers in contrast to terrorists' identity as violence lovers. The constructive patriots' comments represent terrorists and their allies, aiders, abetters and sympathizers as a group: i.e. association. Association, according to van Leeuwen (2008, p. 40):

refers to groups formed by social actors and/or groups of social actors (either generically or specifically referred to) which are never labelled in the text (although the actors or groups who make up the association may of course themselves be named and/or categorized).

These groups are aggressively criticized and demonized by the text producers through certain linguistic representations. One of the most common realizations of 'association' in the overall comment data is hypotaxis as illustrated by example C.6:

Table E: Discourse sample from the data 4/7

C.6	I bet that 50% of this (the money Taliban threaten businessmen to pay) is going to S brothers for protecting and keeping Talibans in this business (Posted by U38 in *TTP extortionists threaten another businessman* comments thread on May 5, 2014: dawn.com).

In C.9, one of the ruling families of Pakistan and the Taliban are associated to form a group. This group is not represented as a stable and institutionalized group but as an alliance which only exists to serve its vested interests.

Commenting on the function of hypotactic clause relations in written texts, Eggins (2004, p. 337) is of the view:

Hypotaxis is generally more common in written text because dependency relations require more care by the writer to construct and more effort by readers to interpret than parataxis. The hierarchic organization of information demanded by hypotaxis also offers the writer a resource for offering readers a more closely controlled logic between events… it takes advantage of the time realities of writing to structure these clause complexes carefully, thereby guiding readers closely in how to interpret the logical relations between experiential information provided by the text.

Considering the fact that text producers use internet discussion forums in order to give voice to their ideational make up in an informal ephemeral writing mode—the mode which stands somewhere between the formal written and spoken modes—the frequency of hypotactic relations in counter-terrorism comments discourse in the selected data is quite high (see Table 4). Out of the hypotactic clause relations (23%), the association of actors is represented very frequently (68%). This seems to substantiate the claim about the relationships of 'association' and hypotaxis as stated earlier. A comparative representation of hypotactic and paratactic clause complex relations, is shown in Table 4 below.

As far as paratactic relationships, their frequency is even higher than the hypotactic relations in the overall data (see Table 4). The phenomenon of parataxis is a dominant feature of the written mode of text, according to Eggins (2004). Furthermore, van Leeuwen (2008, p. 38) while analyzing Race Odyssey's text for 'association'—which is obviously a written document—concluded that "the most common realization of 'association' is parataxis". The analysis of counter-terrorism discourse in the online discussion forums analyzed also found paratactic relations as a linguistic strategy to realize the 'association' and 'dissociation' between different social actors:

Table F: Discourse sample from the data 5/7

C.7	PTI doesnt support TTP (,) they want to negotiate and at least show the people in that region that the government is open for talks and will listen to reasonable demands (But) TTP is not up for negotiations. (Posted by U40 in *Taliban 2.0* comments thread on February 18, 2014: dawn.com).

In example C.7 the commenter attempts to dissociate PTI (PTI stands for Pakistan Tehrik-e-Insaf, Pakistan's movement for justice) from TTP or Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan, a major terrorist organization in Pakistan. The comment begins with paratactic relation (clauses separated by a comma) and ends with another paratactic relation (i.e. the conjunction 'but'). In both the cases, an attempt is made to dissociate PTI from TTP. On the other hand, PTI also seeks to achieve 'association' with 'the people' of Pakistan through another paratactic relation (and) in the first line of the same comment. In the overall data paratactic relations are used very frequently (69%) to realize association or dissociation.

The clause complexes with hypotactic and paratactic relations could be elaborated on by taking into consideration their further classification into *logico-semantic relationships*[26]. Table 4 shows that the discourse paradigm of Pakistani constructive patriots seems to prefer *expansion*[27]. The fact that *projection*[28] is least popular in the data "suggests that this is a text which constructs itself as an authority and so does not need to source comments to others" (Eggins, 2004, p. 338). Furthermore the table shows that projection in overall comments text is equally distributed between *locution*[29] and *ideas*[30]. Thus, it could be assumed that the text producers in this particular context create associations between social actors through certain explanations. This conclusion goes well with the findings of expansion where all three sub-classification of expansion are exploited by the text producers somewhat equally (see Table 4) who want to elaborate on their point of view well extending and enhancing the effect of the presented argument. See example C.8 below:

Table G: Discourse sample from the data 6/7

C.8	Are we negotiating with TTP or Mr Abdul Aziz? Who is completely hijacking this peace talks & destroying this one opportunity... <u>I wonder</u> Musharraf did the right thing when he kicked Abdul Aziz out from Lal-Masjid (Posted by U41 in *TTP negotiator rejects peace talks under constitution* comments thread on February 7, 2014: dawn.com).

There is a mental process in the second part of the comment (wonder), so this involves projection. In the preceding lines, the commenter creates an association between the terrorist organization (TTP) and a cleric (Mr. Abdul Aziz) and strengthens the argument through expansion: elaboration (relative clause) and expansion: extension (and). After that the commenter dissociates himself from the terrorists and aligns with a former President of Pakistan who ordered a massive crackdown on a militant group centered in a mosque called Lal Masjid or Red Mosque in the capital city of Pakistan.

Let us have a look at Table 4. This table shows the frequency of clause complex relations in the selected data.

Table 4 Clause complex relations

TAXIS		*% age*
Hypotaxis	Projection	3
	Expansion	20
Total		23
Parataxis	Projection	3.5
	Expansion	27
		30.5
LOGICO-SEMANTIC RELATIONS		
Projection	Locution	3
	Idea	4
Expansion	Elaboration	18
	Extension	15
	Enhancement	15

This table shows that expansion (20+27=47%) is the most frequently occurring clause complex relation in the selected data. Overall, paratacic relations dominate with about a 30% frequency of occurrence. The hypotactic relationship is observed in 23% of the total clauses in this particular set of data. As far as LOGICO-SEMANTIC RELATIONS, the table shows that 'expansion' dominates, and all three sub-strands of expansion are almost equally distributed (elaboration 18%, extension 15% and enhancement 15%).

4.4 Identifications and definitions: relational-attributive and relational-identifying clauses
Pakistan's constructive patriots' counter-terrorism discourse makes use of a range of discursive strategies which not only lead to identifying the terrorists, their apologists, sympathizers and allies; but also serves to distance the constructive patriots and common Pakistanis from them. Next, the foregrounding of certain discursive choice(s) in the identification process is discussed and analyzed in detail. The process of identification on the part of text producers "occurs when social actors are defined, not in terms of what they do, but in terms of what they, more or less

permanently, or unavoidably, are" (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 42). In his textual analysis of Race Odyssey, van Leeuwen (2008, p. 42) distinguishes between three types of identification practices:

a)   classification
b)   relational identification, and
c)   physical identification.

Out of these three categories, the first two could be observed in Pakistan's counter-terrorism discourse though with slightly different explanation and elaboration from that of van Leeuwen. In the case of 'classification', Pakistani constructive patriots refer to major categories by means of which Pakistani society differentiates between terrorists and the general populace of Pakistan. This is usually done in terms of different qualities and the attributes which the social actors or participants under scrutiny seem to possess. Thus the attributes and identities such as "savagery", "medieval mindset", "barbarianism", "barbarian", "cruelty", "criminal", "animal", "snakes", "blood-shedding way" and "thugs" represent terrorists repeatedly in Pakistan's counter-terrorism discourse. On the other hand the people killed by the Taliban in terrorist attacks are identified as "innocent", "unarmed", "good citizens", "general public" and "masses" etc. This kind of representation does not identify the Taliban or terrorists as Pakistani citizens. It could be observed that the identities associated with the terrorists seem to be terrorists' permanent attributes; these are the attributes which a civilized society would always refrain from owning. It is always difficult for the masses to perceive mass murderers who bomb people indiscriminately as saviors and fellow human beings. It is considerably more difficult to change the perception of terrorists from human sinners to true law makers. Identifications can be, and frequently are, attributes/values in relational identifying and relational attributive clauses. The counter-terrorism discourse of Pakistanis in the discussion forums, for example, describe the terrorists as "serpents, killers, murderers" and mass murderers" etc. which is their classification, description and definition only in a derogatory sense.

The second identification category of van Leeuwen's (2008) is relational identifications. As suggested by van Leeuwen (2008, p. 43), relational identifications generally signify the sense of "belonging together," the "relationality" of apparently divergent and convergent social actors. Thus, it could be assumed that relational identification represents social actors in terms of their personal kinship, or ideological relationships to one another, and relational identification is also realized by relational processes like classification:

Table H: Discourse sample from the data 7/7

C.9	…They are like the extreme nationalist parties in the world that are always rejected by the electorates in the election. Their slogan is to induce fear of Allah after death with no rationale explanation of Allah and the future after death. (Posted by U47 in *Petition filed against Munawar Hasan on martyr remarks* comments thread on November 12, 2013: dawn.com)

Typically, the clauses with relational identification are relational attributive and relational identifying ones (underlined in C.9). In these clauses the social actors have been identified in terms of the attributes and values they share. Table 3 shows the percentage of relational clauses in the selected data. Overall, 71% of the relational clauses are employed to relate terrorists to some significant social actors like political parties and political leaders. This phenomenon once confirms

that relational attributive and identifying linguistic strategies are of great importance in this context and seem to play a key role in building and solidifying arguments.

The third category, physical identification, "represents social actors in terms of physical characteristics which uniquely identify them in a given context. Physical identification can be realized by nouns denoting physical characteristics ("blonde," "redhead," "cripple") or by adjectives ("bearded," "tall") or by prepositional phrases with or without post-modifying highly generalized classifications such as "man" or "woman" (van Leeuwen 2008: 44). However, this category of identification is almost non-existent in the data; the text producers in the data only infrequently use some physical attributes like "bearded fellows" and "masked faces".

In addition to these three categories van Leeuwen (2008, p. 45) also identifies social actors in interpersonal terms. For these instances, he uses the term 'appraisement': "social actors are appraised when they are referred to in terms which evaluate them as good or bad, loved or hated, admired or pitied. This is realized by the set of nouns and idioms that denote such appraisement (and only such appraisement) as, for instance "the darling," "the bastard," "the wretch," or "thugs". In the data, this kind of representation is used in abundance and is congruent with the identification category 'classification' discussed above. In the case of representation of terrorists in counter-terrorism discourse, the negative appraisements are like to be overt and plentiful, and the counter-terrorism discourse in this data is no exception.

5. Summary of the findings and discussion

The counter-terrorism discourse of Pakistan's constructive patriots in the wake of 9/11 suggests that the issue of national security remained a central concern in the data analyzed. This analysis has attempted to uncover some of the distinctive ways in which Pakistan's constructive patriots construct and project their identity and discursively represent the terrorists' and common Pakistanis' identity. By employing all the discursive choices detailed above, they align themselves with the common Pakistanis (who have been the victims of Talibans' terrorist acts); and distance themselves from the radicalized factions of Pakistani society (who have been aiders, abettors and apologists of the Taliban and their violent acts). Table 5 summarizes the answer to the question with which this article started: how do constructive patriots represent themselves and the terrorists in their counter-terrorism discourse in order to construct their own and the Taliban's identity? The analysis is based on the general understanding that, in actual communication situations, the discursive choices need not be rigidly drawn. The boundaries between discursive choices, sometimes, blur or are blurred by the text producers to achievie specific representational effects. The analysis brings together a number of distinct yet interrelated lexico-grammatical choices: transitivity features, the mood and modality paradigm, and clause complex relations. All of these interlinked choices are important as they are collectively involved in the projection and construction of constructive patriots' and the Taliban's identity. Those who, in some way or another, are represented as being "concerned about" the Taliban or in opposition to military action against terrorists, are represented as "pro-Taliban" in the counter-terrorism narratives. They are unfavorably identified as the representatives of anti-pluralism and intolerance and dubbed "sympathizers" rather than "censurer" of the terrorists and the Taliban.

Table 5 summarizes the findings of this article.

Table 5 Summary of the findings

Strategies	Lexico-grammatical Features	Modes of Realization
Exclusion	Marked Themes	Exclamatives
		Circumstantial Adjuncts
		Vocatives
		Comments
Role Allocation	Participants of Transitivity System	Actors
		Sensers
		Sayers
		Carrier
		Token
Association and Dissociation	*Taxis*[31]	Hypotaxis
		Parataxis
	Logico-semantic Features	Expansion
		Projection
Identification and Definitions	Relational clauses	Identifying: Token/Value
		Attributive: Carrier/ Attribute

Table 5 shows the preferred discursive strategies of Pakistan's constructive patriots. The first strategy mentioned in the table is that of 'exclusion'. In the data, this strategy has been utilized through foregrounding the marked themes. The dominant modes of realizations of marked themes include exclamatives, circumstantial adjuncts, vocatives and comments. The second strategy mentioned in the table is that of 'role allocation'. This strategy has been used through tactful labeling of clause participants (of the transitivity system). The clause participants play the roles of actors, sensers, sayers and token/carrier in their respective clauses. Out of these, material clause and its participant 'actor' dominate in the data. Similarly 'association and dissociation' is the third discursive strategy of Pakistan's constructive patriots which is realized by TAXIS and LOGICOSEMANTIC relations as shown in the table. Finally, the terrorists have been defined and identified (i.e. the fourth discursive strategy in the table) by the constructive patriots through the predominant use of relational clauses. The relational clauses are realized either as relational identifying or relational attributive clauses.

It must be added that the trends highlighted in Table 5 establish the fact that the representation and identification fall under some definite categories such as: the 'othering' of terrorists via role allocations and identifications as "outlaws" and "animals"; the dissociation and exclusion of the terrorists from Pakistani citizenship through creating binaries like "suicide bombers" vs. "innocent victims". The construction of the identity of the terrorists in such a way serves to project the identity of the constructive patriots themselves. The constructive patriots stand in contrast to the terrorists and the Taliban; and the texts they produce in the online discussion forums of help to create their image as such. In addition to this, the constructive patriots refer to different groups of "terrorists" generically without any distinction between their aims and objectives. The allies, sympathizers and apologists of the terrorists, on the other hand, are individualized and nominated only to be identified as "mouthpieces" or "spokespersons" of the terrorists. The constructive patriots use such labeling to condemn and give voice to expressions of disgust and disapproval of

terrorist activities. Both terrorists and their overt and covert allies are frequently activated in relation to the passivated victims. As the quoted discourse instances confirm, the terrorists are most frequently depicted and described as "lesser than humans"; they are a "distorted form of humanity"; and a "particular version of religious interpretations" has morphed them. So, they are represented as not possessing anything in common with the constructive patriots.

In conclusion, the lexico-grammatical configurations constituted through the particular combinations, regularities and frequencies could be interpreted as a realization of a set of constructed policies, or the constellation of strategies that are discursively set in some pre-defined way by the existing narratives. The production of such discourses is coterminous with the very strategies and tactics of the state itself. The state and the powers of the status quo achieve their objectives through the co-existence of both constructive and ultra-nationalists. This clash of competing narratives and discourses appears to be be manipulated to achieve certain ends in the discourse analyzed.

Endnotes
1. Ideational (metafunction)
   Language provides a theory of human experience, and certain of the resources of the lexico-grammar of every language are dedicated to that function". SFL calls this language function the ideational metafunction (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004).
2. Interpersonal (metafunction)
   Language is also about "proposition, or a proposal, whereby we inform or question, give an order or make an offer, and express our appraisal of and attitude towards whoever we are addressing and what we are talking about. This is called interpersonal metafunction of language (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004).
3. Textual (metafunction)
   It "relates to the construction of text. In a sense this can be regarded as an enabling or facilitating function (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004).
4. Exclamatives
   A word or clause that denotes exclamation (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004).
5. Cincumstantial adjuncts
   Circumstancial adjuncts are realized by adverbial groups or prepositional phrases (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004).
6. Marked themes
   The themes (see 7 for theme) other than subject, finite, process and Wh- are called marked themes (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004).
7. Theme
   Theme stands for meaning as a message. It is a quantum of information and a point of departure for the message. It is the element the speaker selects for 'grounding'what he or she is going on to say (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004).
8. Textual theme
   When a textual element (i.e. conjunctions, continuative etc.) functions as a theme, it is called textual theme (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004).
9. Continuative
   A continuative performs the function of moving a discourse or conversation forward, for example well, yes etc. (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004).

10. Interpersonal theme
    When an interpersonal element (i.e. exclamative, vocative etc.) functions as a theme, it is called interpersonal theme (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004).
11. Circumstantial theme
    A circumstantial adjuncts functioning as a theme of a clause is called circumstantial theme (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004).
12. Vocative
    In using a vocative the speaker enacts the participation of the addressee or addressees in exchange (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004).
13. Comment
    Comment Adjuncts function to express an assessment about the clause as a whole", for example frankly, unfortunately etc. (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004).
14. Polarity
    Polarity adjuncts are Yes and No (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004).
15. Unmarked topical theme
    "When an element of the clause to which a Transitivity function can be assigned occurs in first position in a clause, we describe it as a topical Theme" (Eggins 2004: 301-302). If topical theme is a subject in a declarative clause it is called unmarked topical theme (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004).
16. Circumstance
    Circumstances are realized by adverbial groups or prepositional phrases, Circumstances can occur not only with material processes, but with all process types (Eggins 2004: 222).
17. Transitivity
    "As well as being a mode of action, of giving and demanding goods-&-services and information, the clause is also a mode of reflection, of imposing order on the endless variation and flow of events. The grammatical system by which this is achieved is that of TRANSITIVITY" (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 170).
18. Material process
    We very often talk not about what we are doing, but about what we think or feel. Halliday calls processes which encode meanings of thinking or feeling mental processes (Halliday & Matthiessen 2014: 170).
19. Relational: identifying (clause)
    In relational 'identifying' clause, something has an identity assigned to it (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004).
20. Relational: attributive (clause)
    In relational attributive clause, some entity is said to have an attribute (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004).
21. Behavioural (clause)
    Halliday describes these processes semantically as a 'half-way house between mental and material processes. For example: breathe, cough, dream, frown, gawk, grimace, grin, laugh, look over (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004).
22. Verbal (clause)
    Verbal processes are processes of verbal action: saying and all its many synonyms, including symbolic exchanges of meaning such as in: My recipe says red wine". (Eggins 2004: 235).

23. Existential (clause)
    Existential processes represent experience by positing that 'there was/is something' (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004).
24. Hypotaxis
    Degree of interdependency is known technically as taxis. Hypotaxis is the relation between the clauses who have unequal status: between a dependent and independent clauses. (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 374).
25. Parataxis
    Degree of interdependency is known technically as taxis; and the parataxis are relations between the clauses of equal status (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 374).
26. Logico-sematic relations
    This is "the system that describes the specific type of meaning relationship between linked clauses. Again, there are two main options: clauses may be related through projection (where one clause is quoted or reported by another clause), or through expansion (where one clause develops or extends on the meanings of another). Projection offers two choices: locution (where what is projected is speech) and idea (where what is projected is thoughts). Expansion consists of three main options: elaboration (relations of restatement or equivalence); extension (relations of addition); and enhancement (relations of development)" Eggins 2004: 258- 259).
27. Expansion see 26
28. Projection see 26
29. Locution see 26
30. Idea see 26
31. Taxis
    Taxis stand for relationships of interdependence between the clauses (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004).

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