Socio-Cultural Practice in Migrant Discourse: A Socio-Cognitive Analysis of Multimodal Representation of Afghan Migrants Living in Pakistan

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Abstract

This study provides details on the social aspects of the visual discourse under study. The study using van Leeuwen's Social Actor and Action Model elaborated on the visual-textual social actors and actions that surfaced after the analysis of visual and linguistic narrative structures. In the context of the current study, it generates a contradictory narrative of Afghan refugees. The process of using language is persuasion. The audience has a preconceived notion about a particular genre, which shapes their expectations. Through a narrative, persuasive and rhetorical technique, language use in selected data sets is saturated in sociocultural settings. As a result, acts, people, migratory concerns, and powerful arguments in favor of policy reconsideration dominate the dialogue. The narrative technique elicits emotional responses from viewers to shape their viewpoint, whereas the rhetorical approach uses statistical data to convey logical conclusions. Nevertheless, language has been employed in the most significant way to help viewers identify with the narrative and concerns that correspond with their ideas and experiences. The discourse offers stories of migration-related atrocities that are a re-presentation of reality, but not the "genuine" thing. Linguistically, representational strategies such as inclusion, passivation (receivers of violence/help), activation (battlers against everyday living problems), personalization (humanizing of social actors), specific examples, identification, determination, nomination (use of names), categorization/identification (about cultural identity), and association bring audiences' attention to social problems that migrants encounter. The study also shed light on the nature of the order of discourse and explained the socio-political hidden ideology behind representing Afghan migration through visuals. Lastly, the revealed ideology proposed reconsideration of Afghan migration policies implemented in Pakistan.

Keywords: Social Action, Social Actor, Afghan Migrants, Migration Policies, Ideology

Introduction

The Afghan migration amongst others has been considered one of the largest displaced movements in the world and the Afghan refugees are considered the largest protracted refugee group. The violent exchanges that happened forty years ago, between Taraki (Communist group) and the Amin government and then the Soviet invasion in 1979, led to the forced fleeing of more than 400,000 Afghans from their country to take shelter in Pakistan and Iran. As the year 1980 ended, it was recorded that about 4 million Afghan refugees had relocated to various parts of Pakistan and Iran (Amnesty International, 2019; Sadiq, 2022). Over the past four decades, Afghan refugees have always been on the move i.e. either returning for a while to their country or getting displaced again as refugees, due to the upsurge of war and conflict in their country. Pakistan has seen many successive generations of Afghan refugees living in various shelter camps across the country. Despite being part of the local social network, the Afghan generations born and living in Pakistan have been persistently denied their rights to live peacefully and are constantly considered a threat to the national security of Pakistan (Amnesty International, 2019; Sadiq, 2022).

As mentioned earlier, Pakistan faced its first wave of Afghan refugees in 1979 due to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. The second wave of Afghans was seen with the increase in tension in the American-Afghan war and thus, Pakistan was left with no choice, other than accommodating the

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issue of refugee settlement. With more than five million Afghan refugees living in different parts of the country, Pakistan proves itself a supporting neighbour to Afghanistan. It has always provided support and accommodation to one of the largest sheltered "refugee populations". With the refugees issue at hand, Pakistan, due to the military operations in the north of the country, is also confronted with the issue of about 2 million Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs). Over the past three decades along with the provision of basic facilities such as "education", "health" and "the right to work", Pakistan has managed to provide a home to Afghan refugees (Grare, & Maley, 2011, p. 1; Khan, 2017, p. 2).

The 2014 Army Public School Massacre of more than 100 children and the increase in the threat of terrorism and terrorist activities instigated the Government of Pakistan (henceforth GOP) to develop and carry out a National Action Plan, which was developed in January 2015 (Ramay, 2016, p. 5). It incorporated annexures replete with rigorous operations to drive Afghans out of the country (Sadat, 2017). Strategies employed for routine harassment and crackdown of Afghan shelter camps and forced repatriation of Afghan refugees involved stern actions such as threats, unsolicited bribes and bullying by the Police, which resulted in various unpleasant incidents. This state of affairs deprived them of their relatively stable conditions of security in Pakistan as compared to that in Afghanistan and eventually, was "made a focus for reprisals" for the APS 2014 Attack (Ihar Ullah, 2017; Simpson, 2017; Tramz, 2014, Amnesty International, 2019, p. 22; Sadiq, 2022). In addition to this, most of the print media in Pakistan emphasized the importance of state security, while the issues faced by the Afghan refugees in Pakistan were considered peripheral (Batool, 2019).

The study keeping in view the intensity of the situation of Afghan migrants aims to explore virtual resistance represented through multimodal representation of Afghans living in Pakistan. The study explored multimodal projection of the issues of Afghans represented by Muhammad Muheisen and UNHCR on their official Facebook pages. The study instead of answers the following research question:

What societal and cultural perspectives and hidden philosophy of the visual counter-discourse are developed and highlighted in the photographic projections in terms of represented social actors/actions, socio-cultural transformation and socio-political effects?

Literature Review

The review of the literature on the visual representation of refugees reveals that most of the recent studies have focused on the problem of refugees residing in European premises. While on the contrary, refugees from war-driven regions have tried to find homes in other parts of the world as well. Thus, the literature exposes the gap in the study of the visual representation of refugees and allows the current study to explore the plight of Afghan refugees in their photographic representations. In addition to this, the past researches also reveal the gap of not reflecting on the underlying structures of resistant discourse in the visual depictions, which again provides grounds for the current study.

In a visual depiction of the refugees, Lenette, C. (2016) used the iconographic-iconological image framework as a procedure to comprehend the living practice of the refugees depicted in four photographic representations. Photographs, which were some 20 to 35 years old, represented various refugee situations. The application of the iconographic-iconological image framework proposed several motifs emerging from the photographs, which according to the study, have legal tender in today's highly controversial discourses on the worldwide refugee organization and are apparent in present-day discourses and current refugee works.

Lenette (2016) conducted another study on the visual depiction of Syrian refugees. The research concluded that the emotive response and indignation due to the printing of photographs of drowned Alan Kurdi determined the powerful public impact of visual discourse. The influence of such visuals also exposes that portrayal of such deaths is comparatively infrequent in the media; nevertheless, exploration of such pictorial discourse and their significance on political development also depicts its scarcity in the relevant field. The study proposed an explanation of the principle features related to visual depictions of refugee deaths by representing current instances and suggested taking into account discussions on such images based on disciplines such as journalism, art and photography. It aimed at twofold perspectives: firstly reflecting the plight of refugees and secondly emphasizing anonymity causing a reduction in the viewer's or readers' ability to develop a connection with the catastrophe. This study contributes to the body of knowledge and therefore bridges the gap

prevalent between mass media depictions and political developments. The perspectives mentioned here relate to the current political upheaval regarding the issue of migratory deaths.

Another study was conducted post-Chinese exclusion (1882-1943) by Johnson (2017). The study investigated family photographs of Chinese immigrants who migrated to the United States after the political unrest. Due to customs and immigration laws, Chinese families were bound to submit photographs that provided proof of kinship other than the biological kinship documents. The study focussed on how family photography was created in the official documents and how enforced immigration laws created and recreated family boundaries.

Another study by Cabanes (2017) looked at how photographic properties can convey voice. This is defined as the ability to talk and listen to one's life and the social conditions in which one's life is embedded. It focused on the opportunities that images provide to the cultural minorities of migrants to clarify such voices in the context of collaborative research. In this study, we took up the case of Shutter Story, a joint photo exhibition featuring photo stories by Indian and Korean immigrants from Manila, Philippines. Using data from participant observation, studies have shown that the ability of photography, which is also indicative, symbolic, and symbolic, is important in the voice of speaking. It allowed migrants to tell rich, multimodal stories about their lives, albeit with some major warnings. In addition, it also showed that the emphasis on "hearing" the voice is that the photograph cannot ultimately correct its meaning. Studies show that the locals who visited the exhibition were mostly willing to talk about photography, but often did not fully understand the complex story of immigrants. All this data shows that the joint photo exhibition project is not just, about how migrants speak and listen. They should also discuss how migrants could listen and allow them to adapt their statements to the way they are listening. This is a valuable reminder that the broader process of multicultural dialogue must also be taken into account when designing photographs and the voices of immigrant cultural minorities. This article is particularly relevant to this study as it is in line with the philosophy of current research. Similar to the study of the Filipino photo gallery, in the current study, photography is considered suitable for representing the person who took the picture. In addition, as the survey points out, it is important to include the voice of immigrants, so the current survey also includes the concept of focus group interviews as one of the methodological perspectives.

Finally, a study conducted by Chouliaraki, & Stolic (2017) investigated how media visual representations of Syrian refugees depict the crisis faced by them. Therefore, the research exposes the alarming need for ethical obligations by the European Political forums. Taking into account data from European print media, the researcher investigated visual depictions of refugee calamities. The article divided the visuals into various perspectives such as depicting natural living, migratory movements, acts of charity, acts of threat, etc. The study concluded that, even though these classifications of visuals depict the vulnerability of the refugees, nevertheless the policies eventually fail to cultivate humanity towards migrants and refugees. This debacle of not reflecting refugees as humans contemplate the thought of re-evaluating political reforms and government policies (p. 10).

The current research, reviewing the prevalent literature on CDS, Semiotics and Visual images and Visual representation of refugees identifies the gap to propose a Socio-Cognitive Approach to reveal social and cultural roles of Afghan migrants to reveal implicit and subtle counter-discourse in the photographic representations of Afghan refugees.

Data Analysis

Discourse as a socio-cultural Practice

To study the social-cultural integration and acculturation of Afghan refugees in the Pakistani context and the third research question of the study, this part of the study explains data generated through the multimodal representation of refugees. Both textual (taglines) and visual data sets are investigated to explore the counter-discursive strategies, ideology and power constructed and places 'discourse within a view of power as hegemony and a view of the evolution of power relations as a hegemonic struggle' (Fairclough, 1992, p. 86). This section is further divided into three sub-sections Structures and Relations, Order of Discourse, and Ideological and Political Effects of Discourse (see Figure 1 Figure.

Figure 1

Organizing and Basic Themes of Visual Discourse as Social Practice
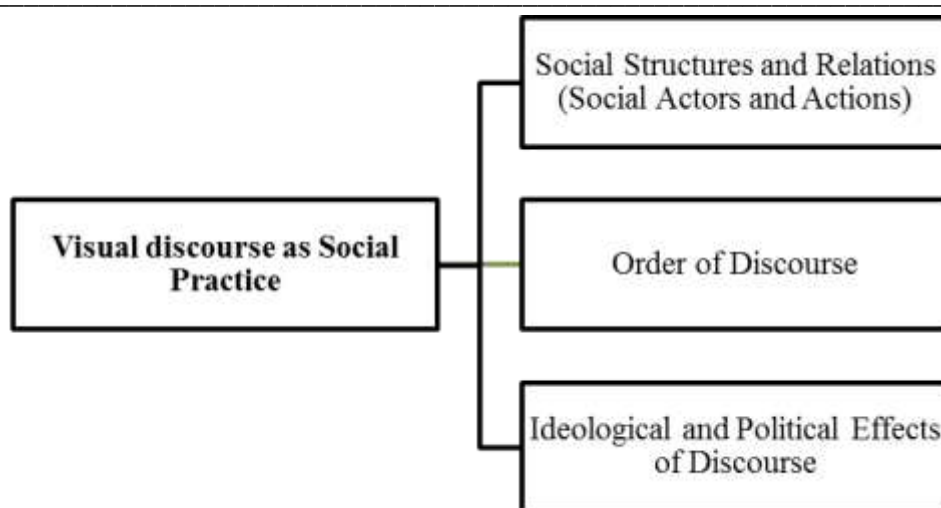
Social Structures and relations identify the multimodal representation of social actors (such as Active/Passive, Individualized/Grouped, etc.) and actions (material and semiotic) revealed in the data sets. The subsection explaining order discourse elaborates on the transformation and commodification of migrants' multimodal representation. The section elaborates on how representation of Afghan refugees in multimodal frames such as charity, victimization, economisation, etc. reflect the gradually changing perception of Afghan refugees living in Pakistan, i.e. from indiscriminately regarding them as 'terrorists' to sympathetically considering them as 'helpless'. Finally, the analysis also details the socio-political impact of representing Afghan migrants and their adversities in the social and political realms in Pakistan.

Socio-Cultural Practice in Multimodal Discourse

This section presents the nature of the socio-cultural practice of which the visual discourse is a part and therefore explains the basis of employed socio-cognitive discursive strategies. The section specifies the hegemonic relations and structures in terms of represented multimodal social actors and actions of Afghan refugees and therefore highlights and explains the constitutive instances of the social/discursive practice sphere. Section 3.2.2., reveals how instances of social relations and structures contribute in terms of reproducing or transforming the representation of Afghan refugees and therefore implies disarticulation of existing discourse narrative (NAP) with the new configurations giving prominence to atrocities Afghan refugees face in Pakistan. The last section informs how socio-cognitive discursive strategies and their respective visual/linguistic variables explored, reveal ideological effects that relate to Foucault's (1972, 1980) notion of discourse. The section reveals the existing system of knowledge and belief lexicalized in interviews of Afghan refugees living in Pakistan and asserts the truth in state discourse as a truth and a "thing of the world" (Foucault, 1980, p. 131). Therefore, the section divulges how the silent struggle of Afghan refugees reflected in photographs as the one exploited, subjected and dominated, provides the possibility of alternative discourse that challenges the current regime of truth.

Social Relations and Structures

Social Actors

As mentioned above, this section identifies hegemonic relations and structures in Afghan Refugee photographs through represented multimodal social actors and social actions of Afghan migrants, UNHCR, GOP and others. Both visual and linguistic perspectives are based on van Leeuwen's socio-semantic categorisation of social actors and social actions. The multimodal text means anything visually or textually represented through photographs and taglines respectively, which depict the social actors/actions as passive/active, included/excluded, objectified/impersonalized and functionalized/identified. van Leeuwen (2008) restates that active/passive voice and narrative structures (linguistics and visual) are significant to the representation of social actors in a given discursive event. However, it is equally important to highlight that social actors are not just realised and identified through grammatical roles but require other cognitive-functional processes to represent social structures appointed to the represented participants in a given discourse. In this regard, van Leeuwen (2008) articulated the role of social actors in the discourse by elaborating various socio-semantic categories. Therefore, the ideological reasons invoked through a representation of

participants in the given multimodal data sets can be realised in terms of being passive/active, included/excluded, objectified/impersonalized and functionalized/identified.

Table 1

Descriptive Statistical Analysis of Social Actor Representation in Afghan Refugee Photographs

Socio-Semantic Category			Represented Social Actors in Visuals							
			Afghans		Pakistani Government		UNHCR		Others	
			N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Exclusion	**and**	*Included*	80	100%	10	12.50%	6	7.50%	0	00%
Inclusion		*Backgrounded*	0	00%	70	87.50%	74	92.50%	0	00%
		Suppressed	0	00%	0	00%	0	0%	0	00%
Role Allocation		*Activated*	80	100%	10	12.50%	6	7.50%	0	00%
		Subjected	65	81.25%	70	87.50%	74	92.50%	0	00%
		Beneficiaries	40	50%	0	00%	0	00%	0	00%
Specification	**and**	*Impersonalized*	60	75%	2	2.50%	40	50%	0	00%
Generalisation		*Objectified*	80	100%	10	12.50%	6	7.50%	0	00%

Table 2

Descriptive Statistical Analysis of Social Actor Representation in Taglines
3.2.1.2. Exclusion/Inclusion: Suppression and Backgrounding

Socio-Semantic Category		Represented Social Actors in Taglines							
		Afghans		Pakistani Government		UNHCR		Others	
		N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Exclusion and Inclusion	*Included*	80	100%	5	6.25%	30	37.5%	5	6.25%
	Backgrounded	0	00%	2	2.5%	13	16.25%	0	00%
	Suppressed	1	1.25%	0	00	0	00	0	00
Role Allocation	*Activated*	57	71.25%	5	6.25%	22	27.50%	1	1.25%
	Subjected	28	35%	0	00	0	00	0	00
	Beneficialized	12	15%	0	00	0	00	0	00
Specification and Generalisation	*Group*	45	56.25%	5	6.25%	25	31.25	5	6.25%
	Individualized	35	43.75%	5	6.25%	35	43.75%	5	6.25%

Parameters of exclusion and inclusion indicate the ways social actors are represented, suppressed or backgrounded. The use of both visual and linguistic discursive markers serves the purpose of ideological reasoning of suppressing i.e. eliminating the social actor(s) from the given discourse event, or backgrounding i.e. the social actor(s) are not categorically mentioned but the text reflects their presence (van Leeuwen, 2008; Shahid, 2018). The multimodal data sets mostly depicted Afghan migrants included in both visual and textual representations; whereas, though the taglines did portray the presence of UNHCR and GoP, nevertheless, almost all of the visuals reflected suppressed exclusion. This inclusion and exclusion of Afghan migrants and UNHCR/GoP are shown in roles such as the needy/victim and the powerful/lawmakers/benefiters. The Afghan migrants, shown as the victims (social actors) are represented as living in the lower strata of the society i.e. in Pakistan. On the other hand, the representation of UNHCR and GoP as the benefiters (social actors) is shown to be a part of respectable strata in Pakistan. The use of noun phrases such as 'generous contribution', 'every possible assistance', 'youth empowerment', etc., associated with UNHCR and GoP shows their status in Pakistan, whereas, Afghan migrants on the receiving end reflect empathetic appraisement.

One of the strategies employed in the inclusion of Afghan migrants as social agents in the multimodal discourse was to recognize them as a group with specific categories and attributes. These specific categories and attributes were revealed through the use of noun phrases such as 'slum', 'outskirts of Islamabad', 'refugee villages', 'registered undocumented Afghans', etc. Therefore, the Afghan migrants are attributed with specific qualities and treated as outcasts and not belonging to the host country. The visuals also represented Afghans living in poor conditions and deprived of basic living facilities.

Role Allocation: Activation and Passivation

Another socio-semantic category that determines the social actor's position in a given discursive event is the allocation of a specific role to the participant. From a grammatical perspective, the representation of social actors in a given multimodal text is merely the participants that are mentioned in the clausal structure. However, it is also important to note that not all participants mentioned in a given text can be regarded conceptually or ideologically as social actors because some participants may be just physical objects (Bernard, 2018). Therefore, grammatically the 'agent' is the one doing the action and thus represents the purpose and significance of the action performed which is visibly obvious. Most of the time, the agent of a given clause is the subject of the verb in an active voice construction whereas, in the same construction, the receiver of the action is regarded as 'patient'. In the current data sets, almost all of the visuals and taglines have represented the Afghan Refugees; whereas, UNHCR, GoP and others have been excluded from the representation in the data sets (as evident from tables 1 and 2). van Leeuwen (2008) elaborates that the exclusion of reference of certain social actors invokes questions, "deduce information, links between information by a process of inference" (Bernard, 2018, p. 85). In this regard, the data sets, as mentioned above, mostly concentrate on the inclusion of Afghan Refugees as social actors at both visual and textual levels. The actions in visuals are represented through transactive visual narratives; whereas, transitivity processes are revealed in the text to reflect the actions of social actors i.e. Afghan Refugees. The active representation of Afghan Refugees performing various linguistic (verbs such as 'seek', 'play', 'feed', 'makes', 'waiting', 'stands', 'cherish', 'showing', 'attend', etc.,) and visual narrative structures depict the living conditions and the daily chores performed by the Afghan Refugees in horrific living standards. The realized ideological reason for portraying Afghan migrants as active participants is to highlight the atrocities faced by them day and night. However, some examples portray UNHCR and GoP both visually and textually, as 'agents' in a given transitive or transactive (visual narrative) clause.

The mentioned taglines and photographs in Chapter 4, depict the aid provided by the office of UNHCR and GoP. Berger (1966) and van Leeuwen (2008) iterated that a representation of social actors apart from defining principles of contextualization also functions as a medium for invoking emotive evaluations that ultimately arouse a feeling of association with the represented actors in a given discursive event. The representation of UNHCR and GoP as 'agent' through verbs such as 'works', 'launched', 'distributing', 'seeks youth empowerment', 'provides', 'supports', 'is providing free primary education', 'continues to host', 'vendors', 'has help channel', 'have decided to launch a support platform', 'will facilitate repatriation', 'has contributed', etc., ideologically depict Afghan migrants at the disposal of help and financial support from UNHCR and GoP. Apart from this, such grammatical constructions depict Afghan Refugees as suppressed, passivized, beneficialized and backgrounded entities, where some clausal constructions describe the help given to the Afghans while others describe Afghans as social actors. Therefore, the Afghan migrants and their existence is related by describing their living conditions both visually and linguistically.

Specification and Generalisation: Impersonalization and Objectivation

Generic or specific reference to social actors in a given discourse is a significant feature of socio-semantic categorization of represented participants where generic attribution is allocated to general classification and specificity is determined by referring to a particular participant in the text. The multimodal representation of Afghan migration in both photographs and their respective taglines depict concrete and generalized references associated with Afghan migrants and UNHCR/GoP. The strategy of specificity when highlighting Afghan migrants is relatively used more than generalization. The proper nouns such as 'Abu Khalid', 'Shams Ullah', 'Salma', 'Shah Wali', 'Safia', 'Shafia Bibi', 'Maria', etc. show the use of the strategy of specification in the data sets. Bourdieu (1986) and van Leeuwen (2008) mention the concrete references with the representation of the 'weak' and 'working class'. This implies that the producers of Afghan Migration multimodal discourse, invoke the appeal of empathetic and sympathetic feelings towards the Afghans. Apart from this, the strategy of generalization is also employed through both singular and plural nouns such as 'Afghan Refugee man', 'Afghan Refugee woman', 'Afghan girl', 'Afghan Refugee youth', 'Afghan Refugee children', 'Afghan Refugees', 'Afghan Refugee girls', etc.

The OTHERS represented in the discourse such as UNHCR and GoP Pakistan are mostly represented through the use of specifications. The OTHERS are individualized via proper nouns such

as 'UNHCR field staff Yasir Ayaz Khan', 'Station House Officer Wilayat Shah', 'UNHCR's Assistant High Commissioner Mr. George', etc. The strategy of specification is also employed through the use of positive/powerful role allocation such as 'field staff', 'station house officer', 'lawyers', 'police authorities', 'provincial finance minister', 'provincial health minister', etc. and therefore depicts Afghan migrants as someone being considered as outcasts and involved in ordinary labour jobs; whereas, the OTHERS are shown being considered as part of Paki, therefore, enjoys respectable employment positions.

The individualization/specification of benefiters through proper nouns and positive role allocation highlights the notion of notoriety (Shahid, 2018). The benefiters individualized in the given discourse sets label them as a consensual group i.e. having the power that can signal a change in the lives of Afghan migrants.

Social Actions-Material and Semiotic

Van Leeuwen (2008) pointed out that the social actions of represented participants in a given discursive event could be identified/interpreted either as "material or semiotic" i.e. represented as "doing" or as "meaning" something (p. 59). The social actions of Afghan migrants, UNHCR and GoP in the data sets, therefore, can be represented through linguistic and visual narrative structures i.e. transitivity processes, transactional and non-transactional. As evident in the data sets, sections the most employed action by the represented participants was material and non-transactional at linguistic and visual levels respectively. In this regard, in most of the material and semiotic actions, Afghan migrants (actors) are shown completing/performing daily chores (goal) and reveal the difficulties faced by them, while making both ends meet. Matu (2008) pointed out that both visual and narrative processes are good tools for interpreting biases present in news discourse that might result in manipulation or change of ideological perspective. By exploring visual and narrative structures in the given data sets, it was revealed that both Muheisen and UNHCR's online news galleries reflect a bias towards the Afghan migrants and an ideological positioning is presented that shows positive values of Afghan migrants and ultimately demands support for them.

Apart from this, the transitivity processes also revealed the passivization of Afghan Refugees, where other entities were shown as powerful and Afghans were reflected in a more passive role. Jehadi and Abdullah (2012) elaborated that analysis that aims at interpreting the process types i.e. social actions assigned to various represented actors in a given discursive event, depict in-group and out-group positions. In the case of the study, some of the visuals and taglines show transactive and material actions depicting UNHCR and GoP beholding power to change and alter the living conditions of Afghan Refugees. Thus, the social group having participants such as UNHCR and GoP are shown as decision makers; whereas migrants are reflected as the targets of the actions of the decision-makers. As mentioned earlier, Afghan migrants were either the actors or the goals in the material processes, were either the phenomenon in the mental processes and carriers in a few of the relational processes. The narrative structures also reveal that no clause depicted migrants as the sayers in a given verbal process, reflecting the passive status of Afghan Refugees in Pakistan. Narrative structures, as if many other elements in functional grammar provide options "in representing reality" that can have "'ideological significance by mirroring a certain point of view" (Fowler, 1991, p. 71). Likewise, Fairclough (1995) suggested narrative structures as aspects of both visual and textual language that represent not only types and participants' roles but also provide ideological significance of representing or excluding certain participants. In this regard, the representation of the actions of UNHCR and GoP with verbs such as 'launched', 'distributing', 'renders', 'seeks', etc. towards the Afghan migrants reflect activation of the former and passivization of the latter.

Apart from narrative structures, semiotic actions were also reflected in the data sets. Khormaee and Sattarinezhad (2018) referred to semiotic actions as social actions that are not merely limited to the physical dimension. Thus, metaphoric expressions have the potential of reflecting semiotic actions. The study explored multimodal metaphors in the data sets and revealed semiotic actions where Afghan migration and Afghan migrants are reflected as 'colonizers', 'victims', 'needy', 'vulnerable' and 'human'.

Orders of Discourse: Socio-Cognitive Discursive Transformation and Socio-Political Effects

Discourse plays a significant role in constituting social structures and social relations in general and ideology in particular. Therefore, these underlying socially determined conventions are embedded in networks and are termed "orders of discourse" (Fairclough, 2015, p. 60). Orders of discourse are

further embodied with socially acceptable ideologies and highlight a "discoursal perspective" that reflects types of discourse practice knitted in a given social space (p. 61). Henceforth, there are two ways that limit a particular discursive structure to a particular social phenomenon i.e. social relations and structures represented through revealed social actors and actions (see section above) and "distinguishable" capital form(s) that "constitute the theoretical criteria" for the given discourse structure (Brandl, 2017, p. 7).

This section reveals the discursive transformation of the global socio-political realm on migration issues through "symbolic capital" (p. 8) or as in Chouliaraki & Fairclough's (1999) terms "linguistic capital" employed in multimodal metaphors (see chapter 4); abstract noun phrases reflecting the impact of 'others' taglines and noun phrases marking 'THEM' values (see chapter 5). The global capitalistic competition of providing a voice to refugees worldwide and thus in Pakistan is working in dimensions such as commodification and technologization - reflecting atrocities i.e. selling the victimization, colonization and economization frames through social media (photographic representation in the case of the study) and finally, democratization- showing socio-political preferences/ideologies for security and help for Afghan refugees.

The commodification and technologization of Afghan Refugees reflecting their issues are highlighted through victimization and economization frames in the photographs. Afghan migrants are reflected as exposed to numerous dangers leading to victimization such as harassment from law imposers. Ijaz (2015) pointed out that the police in Pakistan have been constantly targeting Afghan migrants in the country after the APS attack, which led to harassment, detention and extortion that have ultimately forced Afghans towards an uncertain future. The data sets through the Victimization frame explored, depicted external organizations' aid in developing a secure position against instances of intimidation and threats from the police. The above-mentioned frame also reflected concerns regarding the efforts to be done by the GoP in its treatment towards Afghan migrants. The frame also revealed pre-conceptual structures suggesting the Pakistani Government develop laws that enforce the treatment of Afghan Refugees in compliance with human rights laws at the domestic and international levels.

Apart from reflecting on global capitalistic competition in representing the miserable side of refugees, this section also reveals orders of discourse reflecting discursive transformation through territorialization and regionalization of Afghan refugees in Pakistan by the State through explored Multimodal Metaphors of Colonisation and Economisation Frame. The vulnerability of Afghan Refugees in terms of lack of employment facilities is also commodified and technologicalized through social media depiction of Afghan Refugees. In this regard, the multimodal metaphoric expressions in the Economisation frame reflect the lack of livelihood opportunities for the Afghans living in Pakistan. The frame suggests the development of legal rights of labour by the Pakistani Government and employs Afghan Refugees as significant contributors to the expansion of Pakistan's economy. The representation of the economic situation of Afghans also depicts UNHCR and other donor organizations' remuneration efforts done to enable Afghans in exile to play a constructive role in the economic situation of Pakistan.

The legal status of Afghan Refugees living in Pakistan is vague and a constant question mark on international refugee policies. The Afghan Refugees in Pakistan have always been provided Afghan cards that were merely used as proof of registration therefore in other words the cards were a form of statistical information. The changing role of the State's stance i.e. narrowing socio-political distance between states is identified through both abstract noun phrases, which further reflects the impact of Pakistan and the employment of the Colonisation frame in taglines. The photographic representation of Afghan Refugees in the data sets provides democratization that reflects socio-political ideological dimensions suggested to be adopted in the case of the refugees. The Colonisation frame in this regard tries to imply the need for humanitarian refugee policies. The role of UNHCR as evident from the revealed metaphoric expressions in the Colonisation frame suggests Pakistan to adopt a policy that deals with refugees with integrity and assist them accordingly. The data sets imply that GoP should take an alternative ideological perspective towards the Afghan migrants to solve their legality in the country. In lieu of screening the legal status of refugees, the repatriation of illegal migrants should be achieved without using force or harassment and should be conducted in a way that looks lucrative for the returnees.

Pakistan has always been a host to millions of Afghan Refugees in the country and throughout the years from the very first influx of Afghans seeking refuge in 1979, the government has been shifting its policies. The study implies that the policymakers should be cognizant of the ground realities and take into consideration the long-term implications of the policies developed. Apart from this, the representations of Afghan Refugees and photographic discourse democratize the formulation of a policy that fulfils humanitarian obligations and is devoid of unfair, unethical and inhumane dimensions. The study suggests avoidance of a policy, which could instigate violation of international refugee law and ultimately destroy goodwill for Pakistan.

Discussion and Conclusion: Reflection of Counter Narrative –Echoing Afghan Refugees' Living Conditions

This study provides answers to the research question and provides a reflective account of the socio-political nature of the counter-discourse revealed in the analysis of the first and second research questions. The chapter highlighted the socio-political perspective of the represented discourse events and revealed the social relations/ social structures, socio-cognitive discursive transformation and ideological effects on the political realm of the situation of Afghan refugees.

Van Leeuwen's socio-semantic classification was employed to reveal the analysis of social relations and social structures in the data sets. The analysis was based on the visual and textual discursive devices employed in the photographs and their respective taglines. From the data sets, it was proven that the producers of the multimodal news galleries drawing upon conceptual metaphors and schematic structures, reflect Afghan refugees as positive beings and therefore, provide a counter perspective to the metanarrative of Afghans as terrorists. The inclusion of Afghan refugees in both visuals and textual content works to construct the migrants as active participants, who are living in adverse conditions in slum areas in various cities of Pakistan. The 'Others' group (UNHCR, Pakistani Government, etc.) even though are represented as passive actors, certain nominalisations such as 'generous contribution', and 'every possible assistance', etc. reflect their status as the one in power in Pakistan and in charge of resource management amongst the Afghan migrants.

Apart from revealing the inclusive activated participation of Afghan refugees living in Pakistan, the migrants were also represented through the strategy of social specificity and genericization. The use of a generalisation socio-semantic strategy to represent and address Afghan migrants reflects an appeal for empathy towards the refugees. Whereas, the 'Others' (previously mentioned) in the multimodal data sets are individualised suggesting their role as benefiters that can control and regulate resources amongst the migrants and consequently, impact their living status.

In addition to the analysis of social structures and actions of the participants in the data sets, the study also explored the socio-cognitive dimensions of migrant discourse and revealed the discursive transformation of the socio-political depiction of Afghan refugees living in Pakistan. Post 9/11 and in particular, after the APS attacks, Afghan refugees are day in and out categorised as trouble makers or terrorists. The formation of the National Action Plan Post-APS Attack, officially legitimised hostility towards the Afghan refugees living in Pakistan. Coercive pressure from the government was reflected in the increase in threatening and extorting behaviour of the Police towards the Afghans. In addition to this, the Pakistani government never granted a uniform legal status to Afghan migrants living in Pakistan and therefore, forced repatriation Post-APS attack was somewhat considered a legal right of the state. The Afghan citizen cards made available only serve as evidence of being in the state. This means that the refugee cards are merely used to gather and provide statistical information. Moreover, despite the evidence of registration, the exact number of Afghan refugees living in Pakistan is still unknown, which, ultimately affects both the quality and quantity of resources to be provided to the migrants. Therefore, in this regard, it is significantly crucial to determine the actual number of Afghan refugees residing in Pakistan. Moreover, the registration of every Afghan refugee in Pakistan attributes significantly as it plays a potential political and economic (auxiliary) role in the status and refugee policy of non-governmental organizations (such as UNHCR and other non-governmental humanitarian organizations).

It is important that, as mentioned above, refugee documents do not provide Afghan refugees with any legal status for legal residence and legal work in Pakistan. In addition to the ambiguity of the legal status, when examining the public and government's perception of Afghan refugees living in Pakistan, one can find that there is hardly any understanding between those who were born and bred here and those who migrated from Afghanistan almost three decades ago. It has been observed since

the first Afghan migration i.e. Post-Russian-Afghan war; refugee policies of Pakistan have been in a constant state of flux and with the changing political scenario and political interests, the status of Afghan refugees living in Pakistan, is subject to constant vulnerability. Viewed from this perspective, Afghan refugees should be guaranteed official status in Pakistan. It is significant to note, most of the Afghans that have been forcefully repatriated, are more culturally and socially connected with Pakistan than Afghanistan due to the shared environment, food and religion (Siddikogl, 2016). Although Afghan refugees have at all times become the scapegoats for practically every problem in Pakistan, their "cultural and social affiliation" with Pakistan, makes the Afghan migrants want to remain in the state and not be repatriated to Afghanistan (Siddikogl, 2016, p. 16). In this context, the current study analysed the discursive visual representation of Afghan migrants living in Pakistan in order to emphasize and arouse sympathetic and empathetic emotions towards them.

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