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Article:	Framing of Afghan Taliban Regime in Editorials of the US, Indian and Pakistani Print Media
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ABSTRACT

This research examines framing of Taliban regime, that took place on August 15, 2021, in the editorials of Pakistani (Daily Dawn), U.S (The New York times, NYT) and Indian (The Hindu) print media. Editorials of the selected newspaper were collected using ProQuest. The word "Afghanistan Government" is searched and selected from August to November 2021 for the selected newspaper. 20 editorials of NYT predicted 2021 Taliban control where 35% of editorials framed conflict, 30% having responsibility, 20% economics, 10% morals, & 5% framed it as human interest. However, daily Dawn published 17 editorials on the subject of Taliban control over Afghanistan. 35% emphasised economy, 29% mortality, 17% responsibility, 11% human interest, 5% conflict. 11 editorials in The Hindu discussed Taliban control, where 36% emphasised responsibility, 27% economy, and 9% mortality & conflict. Daily Dawn was either neutral or positive however, criticizing the Taliban, a negative tone is used.

Keywords: Afghan Taliban, Regime change, Print Media, Framing theory.

Introduction:

The international world launched an assault on the Taliban almost immediately after 9/11, incident in New York City. It has been hypothesized that both the Tehreek-e Taliban Pakistan (TTP) and Al Qaeda are behind the plan of this occurrence. Because all three of these ideas have a common thread, it is impossible to create a single definition that incorporates terrorism, extremism, and fundamentalism all at the same time. This contradiction exists as a result of the fact that some individuals perceive terrorism as a kind of liberty, while others consider it as a form of horror. The following explains why this occurs: On the other side, the Taliban have been operating ever since Pakistan and the United States (US) conceived of the notion of establishing them as a means of influencing the Soviet Union. This was done in an attempt to get a foothold in Afghanistan. In the years after the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1996, the Taliban rose to power in Afghanistan and consolidated their hold on the country. After the acts of terrorism that took place on September 11, 2001, Pakistan offered its assistance to the insurgency that was being led by the Taliban (Gall, 2021).

Afghanistan in a Nutshell

Afghanistan has, for the most part throughout its history, acting either as a border security buffer zone or as a transit place for the major civilizations of the world. There are, however, a few notable exceptions to this rule. On the other hand, instances like this one are happening less and less often. Afghanistan is a landlocked nation, despite the fact that its total landmass is far less than that of Texas. Because of the challenging terrain and the cultural traditions that are widely practiced in the region, it is much simpler for combatants to pass themselves off as locals. Archaeological evidence of the Indian Indus Valley Civilization has been discovered in India at a number of different places, two of which are Shortugai and Mundigak. Both of these sites date back to at least the second millennium before the Common Era (BCE). The impact of the Indian subcontinent was felt for millennia when nomadic tribes finally settled there and brought the Indian way of life and religion with them. This process continued for thousands of years. Dari, a language that is mutually understandable with Iranian Farsi, is now the language that is spoken in Afghanistan at a frequency that is greater than any other. It is possible to trace the origins of Persian culture all the way back to the west (Nasir, 2019).

Historical Background of Afghanistan

After Abdur Rahman's death in 1901, a number of individuals sought to emulate his style of governance. All of the country's leaders before Hamid Karzai were therefore assassinated or exiled. According to Soviet and Western estimates following World War II, at the end of the 1950s, over three-quarters of Afghanistan's secondary school students residing in Kabul, a city with a population of just 1.8%. In an attempt to exercise influence over the country during this period, Russia donated firearms and highways, while the United States offered money and further infrastructure (Ullah, 2014).

As Kabul continued to flourish, the city's expanding middle class began to indulge in newer, more cutting-edge forms of luxury. At the beginning of the 1960s, Kabul University was home to a number of students who, had they been living in the United States instead of Afghanistan, would have been outstanding prospects for the position. The most prestigious research institution in the United States served in the 1960s as a fertile ground for the development of novel ideas, some of which even broke new ground. This was due to the

institution's well-deserved reputation for excellence, which made it a favourable environment for the growth of novel ideas. The decade of the 1960s was marked by the occurrence of this phenomena. The People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA), sometimes known as the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, has been Afghanistan's leading political party ever since it was established in 1965. Sometimes it is referred to as the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan. It is believed that one of the most significant financial backers of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, which has ties to the Soviet Union, has tied the Soviet Union. In 1973, former Prime Minister Mohammed Daud staged a coup d'état, which ultimately led to the toppling of King Zahir Shah and the foundation of a republic. Mohammed Daud was responsible for this. After that, he carried out a purge in which both communists and Islamists were included as targets of his efforts since he attacked both groups. He targeted both of these groups. On the other side, Daud was put to death in 1978 as a kind of revenge carried out by the PDPA in the name of the organisation. This crime was carried out in the year 1978. They spent little time in destroying Sharia law along with a number of Islamic conventions that had been in existence for many years before they gained power and immediately started their reign of terror. When they took control, they had been in place for many years. Some of these traditions are considered to be part of Islamic culture and have been passed down from one generation to the next (Burns, 2016).

The Taliban After 9/11

In 1994, under the supervision of the country's most conservative imam, a group of southern Afghans headed by Mullah Muhammad Omar seized control of Kabul from warlords. A few months later, the Taliban had amassed 15,000 militants and seized control of the southern province of Kandahar (Finn, 2018).

Initially, the Taliban were able to count on a large amount of support, particularly in the southern areas of Afghanistan that are known for their conservatism. This was owing to the fact that they were regarded as an alternative to warlords and the extensive corruption that existed inside the Afghan government.

When the Taliban seized control of Kabul in September of 1996, one of their first orders was to drive out the country's last surviving militias. Ahmad Shah Massoud, also known as the "Lion of Panjshir," was one of the individuals who were exiled from the country due to his participation in the war against the Soviet Union. One week before the Taliban seized control, a man of ethnic Tajik descent called Massoud warned the United States in a meeting that was sanctioned by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) (Waldman, 2016).

During the subsequent five years, the Taliban regime's human rights breaches, notably the prohibition of women from public life, public executions, and a variety of sanctions for not adhering to the regime's strict interpretation of Islam, was extensively criticized. However, Al-Qaida strengthened under the protection of the Taliban. When two of its operatives posing as journalists assassinated Massoud on September 9, 2001, it was the first time it had succeeded after several failures. Terrorist attacks happened a few days after 9/11 and the accompanying U.S. demands for bin Laden and al-Qaeda affiliates to be turned up to the Taliban (Sherly, 2018).

Taliban and Fall of the Afghan Government

According to one source, 100 of Afghanistan's 400 districts would fall to the Taliban between May and June 2021. One commander said his militants avoided conquering provincial

capitals before U.S. soldiers left, suggesting the Taliban's fast progress scared some members. The Taliban started capturing border crossings in July, stripping Afghanistan of customs money. More than 200 districts have fallen to the Taliban in 2021, but no provincial capitals where Afghan soldiers are stationed have been taken (Khan, B. Y., Naseer, F., & Khan, A. (2020)

It was significant because the Taliban won control of their first regional capital on August 6, 2021. On August 13, seventy high-ranking officials from the United States voiced their alarm about the possibility that the Taliban may seize control of Kabul in the next few days. The Taliban were successful in seizing control of the last major cities and eliminating what remained of the organised opposition to the Afghan government. They were able to do this in the eastern section of Jalalabad and in the northern half of Mazar-e-Sharif. On the morning of August 15, 2021, the Taliban launched their assault on Kabul, which would ultimately put an end to their control of Afghanistan and signal the successful conclusion of the operation. In September of 2021, a number of individuals who had previously held positions of power in Afghanistan attempted to organise an armed uprising against the Taliban in the province of Panjshir, which had major historical importance. In spite of charges that the Taliban were responsible for the deaths of people throughout the process of seizing control of the province and forming their own government in Afghanistan, the Taliban were successful in achieving their goals (Waldman, 2016).

Literature Review

During the month of August 2021, the Taliban were successful in their attempt to seize control of Afghanistan for the second time in their organization's existence. This unexpected change of events, in conjunction with the rapid withdrawal of American troops, brought an end to the bloodiest and longest war in the annals of American military history. As foreign soldiers depart Afghanistan, ethnic tensions among the country's many diverse population groups are once again growing, leading to an increase in violence (Khan, B. Y., Naseer, F., & Ahmad, R., 2021)

In answer to the question, "Should someone be held accountable?" Terry wrote an article with the title "Afghan Regime," and it was published. In spite of the fact that the Taliban have pledged to provide amnesty to the people of Afghanistan as a whole as well as to former members of the Afghan government in particular, they have continued to imprison and torture former members of the Afghan military and members of the Afghan government. They not only drive individuals out of their homes, but they also set fire to the properties once they have done so.

Research that was conducted by Human Rights Watch and released at the beginning of October 2021 said that a significant number of Hazara families living in the southern Helmand and northern Balkh provinces were forced to abandon their homes and seek refuge elsewhere. The people who lived in the provinces of Kunduz, Daikundi, Uruzgan, and Kandahar have had their houses forcefully taken away from them in the past. As a direct and immediate result of this, Pashtuns and other individuals who adhere to the ideology of the Taliban have been granted ownership of the lands that once belonged to these non-Pashtun families (Khan, B. Y., Naseer, F., & Khan, A. (2020).

In spite of the Taliban's announcement that they would be granting a general amnesty to the people of Afghanistan and, in particular, to former members of the Afghan government,

the Taliban have reportedly continued to imprison and torture former members of the Afghan military and government employees, as stated in the article "Limited Engagement: In Afghan Provinces" written by Ram and published in *The Hindu*. Research that was conducted by Human Rights Watch and released at the beginning of October 2021 said that a significant number of Hazara families living in the southern Helmand and northern Balkh provinces were forced to abandon their homes and seek refuge elsewhere.

Through the coverage of post-Taliban events in the media in Afghanistan, Kevin was made aware of the brutality that the Taliban meted out to Afghan women and other members of marginalized groups who had the audacity to voice their thoughts in public. This included both women and members of other groups. Other disadvantaged ethnic groups in Afghanistan's so-called Islamic Emirate only assist to nurture the notion that they have very few rights as a result of the discriminatory policies and practices that are now in place, which were implemented by the Taliban (Khan, B. Y., Naseer, F., & Ahmad, R. (2021)

The Taliban suddenly withdrew their demands for a decentralized administration that included women, respect for women's rights, civil rights, and freedom of speech and expression on the third day of discussions, according to a spokesperson for the National Resistance Front named Sibghatullah Ahmadi who spoke with BBC Farsi, "we will never violate these red lines on women's and children's rights, fair elections, the abolition of tyranny, freedom of speech, and decentralization." These red lines include issues such as the rights of women and children, fair elections, the abolition of tyranny, and freedom of speech. Issues such as the rights of women and children, free and fair elections, the elimination of dictatorship, and the ability to speak one's mind are examples of these "red lines." (Khan, B. Y., Naseer, F., & Ahmad, R., 2021)

According to Dr. Latif Pedram, the founder and head of the Afghanistan National Congress Party, a new struggle in Afghanistan that is driven by ethnic injustices has started after the departure of foreign soldiers there. This is the opinion of Dr. Latif Pedram. This dispute is a consequence of the injustices that were done by the previous regime. They have succeeded in shifting the public's perception of the government, and as a result, the average Afghan now advocates for a more equitable political system that takes into account the concerns of all ethnic groups rather than giving preference to the Pashtun governing class. This is owing to the fact that the administration has been viewed as preferring the Pashtun (Raffay, 2021).

Pedram proceeded by claiming that governance by the Taliban is unwanted and that the Islamic Emirate of the Taliban is close to causing the country to split apart as a consequence of their acts. He said this because of the measures that they have taken. It's probable that ethnic persecution, economic turmoil, authoritarianism, and ethnic dominance are all to blame for Afghanistan's fall from grace "he had made a statement. It is important to come to an agreement on a new social contract in order to protect and re-create the structure of such a nation. This new social contract must take the shape of a federal government in order to preserve and re-create the structure of such a country. Dissolution is the sole alternative course of action available in the event that this does not take place." (Pedram, 21)

According to Henry (2021), all of the ministers in the Taliban administration are clerics; yet, none of them have any professional background or expertise in the subjects for which they are responsible. Because of the Taliban's building of an exclusive administration, its disregard

for human rights, and its history of human rights abuses and terrorism, the international community is wary of conducting business with the Taliban's interim government. This is because the Taliban has a history of human rights abuses and terrorism. As a direct consequence of this predicament, the administration of the Taliban is very dependent on financial assistance from outside sources in order to deliver services and garner support from those residing inside the nation.

According to an article by Mehmood Ali titled "The future discourse analysis of Taliban Government in Afghanistan" published in *The Daily Dawn*, the Taliban's government would not be able to hold Afghanistan without foreign aid and international legitimacy. The Taliban have not met the minimum requirements for international legitimacy in terms of political participation and respect for human rights. As a result, it seems unlikely that the Taliban would be able to garner sufficient support for its government in the near future, leading to its swift downfall. In Afghanistan, in addition to the Taliban, there are a number of armed groups and terrorist organizations that might ultimately seize power by exploiting the Taliban's internal conflicts and weaknesses; this could spark a new civil war. Consequently, we are confronted with a situation in which Afghanistan faces a fresh crisis with far-reaching ramifications (Ali, 2021).

In an article titled "Return of the Taliban," author Zahid Hussain argues that, although the world was astonished by the Taliban's easy takeover, the fall of Afghanistan's democratic government was humorous and shocking. Moreover, he said that the world's dominant and most powerful state is in peril this time, while it was the Soviet Union the prior time. Despite the training of an Afghan army by US military forces, he says that fundamentalists and extremists continue to govern Afghanistan's territory. The new Taliban administration will represent a threat to the country's social and political framework, resulting in an economic and social catastrophe (Hussain, 2021).

Problem Statement

Following the tragic events of September 11, 2001, prominent newspapers in Pakistan, India, and the United States often referred to the Taliban as terrorists in their editorials. The United States of America and India were particularly notorious for this practice. This study's aims to explore the many depictions of the Taliban that have appeared in newspapers that have been distributed in Pakistan, the United States of America, and India. These newspapers have been read by people in respective three countries. In order to arrive at a judgment on the future of the Taliban rule in Afghanistan, it is required to do an analysis of the framing used by these key print media outlets. The most prominent newspapers have, throughout the course of time, written about the rule of the Taliban in a number of various tones and styles.

Significance of the Study

This research is Content Analysis of the *New York Times* (NYT), the *Hindu*, and the *Daily Dawn* Editorials (15 August 2021 to 15 November 2021). Citizens of every nation are concerned about the Taliban government in Afghanistan, but the situation was especially dire in Pakistan. When the Taliban assumed control of Afghanistan, the focus returned to present policy and practice, despite the fact that it had been diverted to terrorism over the preceding 19 years of conflict. For Pakistan, the most devastated nation, it is crucial that this investigation be conducted. To get a deeper understanding of how the Afghan government was portrayed during this period, editorials from three prominent print magazines were examined. The

Taliban have achieved control in Afghanistan via agreements with the United States and other foreign soldiers. The media in Pakistan, the United States, and India frame things differently. Now, the research will examine the portrayal of the Taliban after their international agreement to assume rule.

Objectives of the Study

- To understand the framing strategies used by Pakistan, India, and the United States, the print media of the Afghan Taliban regime.
- Find out if the Taliban are portrayed in a positive light, a negative light, or a neutral light in the chosen newspapers.
- To explore the level of interpretation in the editorials of three important newspapers, the New York Times, the Hindu, and the Dawn.

Research Questions

1. How many editorials about the Afghan Taliban regime have appeared in each newspaper?
2. How accurate are the New York Times, the Daily Dawn, and the Hindu in their coverage of the Taliban's reign in Afghanistan?
3. What are the dominant frames used in the selected media during coverage of the new regime of Afghan Taliban in Afghanistan?
4. How the Taliban regime framed in the selected media Pakistan India and US?

Theoretical Framework

Framing Theory

The concept of Framing Theory is a relevant concept to this study, which is an expansion of Agenda-setting Theory and was developed by McCombs and Shaw. The primary tenet of Framing Theory is that the media focuses attention on certain occurrences and then emphasizes them within a context of importance. The way in which the news is presented to the public is determined by columnists or editors, and the information is transmitted as capsules. In this approach, as implied by the concept, a casing refers to how the media and media gatekeepers organize and present the events and issues they cover, as well as how viewers interpret what they are given.

Assumptions

Framing is linked to the following ideas (Larry, 2001):

1. Journalists are responsible for selecting which stories to cover and determining how to deliver those stories. This has an effect on what people believe about certain topics as well as how they think about those topics.
2. The lenses through which different people see information are quite different from one another. There is the potential for overlap or conflict between the frames of the audience and the frames of the media.
3. A frame is reinforced whenever it is invoked, regardless of whether the evocation is good or negative.
4. The procedure of building a frame is labour-intensive and time-consuming.

It's possible to make the process of selecting options easier by giving more weight to some aspects while giving less consideration to others. The newspaper is only one kind of publication that is an example of a media that provides the news in a certain manner. As a direct

consequence of this, the many interpretations that might be drawn about the subject matter are open to the readers (Goffman, 1999). A significant component of the framing process is bringing attention to a problem in order to offer context for events that have occurred more recently. It is probable that this will control how the audience perceives the situation as well as whether or not they adopt a certain view. It is probable that a negative framing will have a big impact on how people see the world around them since the media has a huge influence on how people perceive the world around them.

A multitude of elements, such as journalistic ideals, editorial policies, and relationships with powerful people of society, all have a role in the selection of news articles that are published by journalists. The way in which an issue is framed has a significant impact on both the way in which it is presented to the public and the way in which the public views the problem. People do not choose a frame to use as a filter for new information; rather, they see the world through the lens of the frames they already have and attempt to fit new information into existing frames. This

Research Methodology

The quantitative information that was obtained from the content analysis is used in order to achieve a better understanding of how the Taliban rule evolved over the course of time in order to achieve their goal. The information that was gathered from doing the content analysis is used in order to fulfil this goal. This study focuses on three newspapers that are commonly recognized as being the most significant in their respective nations of Pakistan, the United States of America, and India. The researcher selected the time period from August 15, 2021 to the 15th of November 2021 in which all the editorial published by the selected newspapers are taken as population of this study. The researchers studied deeply tone of the editorial which were compiled using ProQuest Database. A preliminary search was conducted using the phrase "Afghanistan Government" for each month followed by a search of the three publications under consideration. Editorial Titles were used to determine whether or not a story was still relevant. When titles could not be utilized to determine relevancy, the whole text was reviewed.

Frames used for this study

Frames	Indicators
Economic Frame	Trade, Financial Resources, Malign Actors, Dollars, Budget, Emergency Aid, Technology, Money, Human Development, Infrastructure, Industries, Export, Import.
Conflict Frame	Violence, Massacre, Terrorism, Genocide, Mobster, Extremist, Insurgent, Aggression, Weapons, War, Deaths, Threats.
Human Interest Frame	Living Standard of Afghan People, personal or private lives, individuals or groups, Empathy and sympathy, compassion, education, shelters, flag, food, dress, hatred, friendship.
Responsibility Frame	Human Rights, Regional political dynamics, international rights, Afghan citizen, Cease fire, struggles, social media.
Morality Frame	Women, girls, sharia, Islamic, religious factors, weddings, harassment, music, beard, burqa, parda, preachers, worshipers, mosques.

RESULTS & DISCUSSIONS

This study examined 48 editorials. From 15 August 2021 to 15 November 2021, The New York Times published 20 relevant editorials, The Daily Dawn published 17 editorials and The Hindu published 11 editorials.

Table 4.1: Issues, Tone and Frames Used in the New York Times

Date	Editorial Title	Issues	Tone of the Editorial	Frames
17 Aug 2021	Kabul falls to the Taliban as the Afghan government collapses and the president flees (The NYT, 2021).	Surprise takeover of Taliban over Afghan Government	Neutral	Conflict Frame
23 Aug 2021	Fear and confusion take hold in Kabul as the Taliban move in and took control (The NYT, 2021).	Arrival of Taliban fighters in Kabul. Failure of Afghan Government	Negative	Conflict Frame

25 Aug 2021	Evacuation from Kabul falters as chaos at airport reigns (The NYT, 2021).	Warning of U.S. Embassy to Americans in Afghanistan after Taliban Took Control of Kabul	Negative	Responsibility Frame
29 Aug 2021	Afghan Americans, angry over Taliban victory, protest in Washington (The NYT, 2021).	Issues of Afghan Americans after Taliban took hold of Afghanistan	Negative	Responsibility Frame
1 Sep 2021	(The NYT, 2021).	Human Rights Organizations citizen US government	Negative	Responsibility Frame
12 Sep 2021	The Taliban has advanced and resistance has collapsed with surprising speed (The NYT, 2021).	U.S government claimed that Militants have quickly proceeded in Afghanistan beyond their expectations	Negative	Conflict Frame
17 Sep 2021	The U.N. chief urges the Security Council to 'use all tools' to help Afghanistan (The NYT, 2021).	To end hostilities in Afghanistan and Humanitarian crisis caused by Taliban in regime	Negative	Human Interest Frame
20 Sep 2021	The Taliban took over Afghanistan and soon began spreading terror (The NYT, 2021).	Taliban Armed men checkpoints	Negative	Conflict Frame
23 Sep 2021	Afghan women fear what will happen with the	Women Education in Afghanistan	Negative	Morality Frame

	Taliban once again in power (The NYT, 2021).			
27 Sep 2021	Afghans working for U.S. government broadcasters fear Taliban backlash (The NYT, 2021).	Taliban's blackmailing broadcasters for killing them.	Negative	Conflict Frame
9 Oct 2021	Britain joins the line of U.S. allies scrambling to evacuate staff from Kabul (The NYT, 2021).	Evacuation of British citizens in Afghanistan	Negative	Responsibility Frame
11 Oct 2021	Collapse and Conquest: The Taliban Strategy That Seized Afghanistan (The NYT, 201).	Deterioration of Afghanistan as Taliban took control of Afghanistan	Negative	Conflict Frame
17 Oct 2021	Taliban form all-male Afghan government of old guard members (The NYT, 2021).	Concerns of U.S cabinet over all-male members in Afghan government and no women inclusion	Negative	Morality Frame
26 Oct 2021	Will the regime of the Taliban be able to hold on? (The NYT, 2021)	Role of International Brokers in Taliban government	Negative	Economic Frame
3 Nov 2021	What the resurgence of the Taliban means for the country of Pakistan (The NYT, 2021).	Pakistan can once back has to face refugee crisis like in past	Negative	Economic Frame
5 Nov 2021	The United Kingdom has an interest in Afghanistan being peaceful and stable (The NYT, 2021).	British Citizens has setup military training institute in Afghanistan	Negative	Economic Frame

8 Nov 2021	As the Taliban return, Afghanistan's past threatens its future (The NYT, 2021).	Islamic Fundamentalists killing common Afghan citizens	Negative	Responsibility Frame
10 Nov 2021	The West Still Doesn't Understand the Taliban and their Government (The NYT, 2021).	Humanitarian crisis in Afghanistan after control of Afghanistan under Taliban and response of western countries	Negative	Responsibility Frame
13 Nov 2021	Afghanistan: Taliban Abuses Cause Widespread Fear (The NYT, 2021).	Afghan Taliban are threatening all the citizens of being killed if they will not follow the footsteps of their government	Negative	Conflict Frame
15 Nov 2021	Pakistan's hand in the Taliban's victory (The NYT, 2021).	U.S still believes that Pakistan is indirectly supporting Taliban for its own benefits	Negative	Economic Frame

The New York Times (NYT) published a total of 20 editorials on the subject of the potential of the Afghan Taliban seizing control of Afghanistan between the 15th of August and the 15th of November in the year 2021.

35% of the editorials focused on the conflict frame, 30% of the editorials focused on the responsibility frame, 20% of the editorials focused on the economic frame while 10% of the editorials focused on the morality frame and 5% of the editorials focused on the human interest frame.

There was frequent use of derogatory language in each of the editorials from The New York Times (NYT) that were listed above, such as Islamic fundamentalists, extreme Islamists, provocative, and resurgence.

The majority of the editorials that were published in The New York Times focused their attention on the administration that was carried out by the Taliban as well as the potential path that Islamic fundamentalist rule in Afghanistan may take in the future.

At least six of the editorials that are published by the New York Times (NYT) about Afghan Taliban government during selected time period are read by a significant number of people all around the world, the sample of which are following:

- **Editorial Sample of 23 Aug 2021:** “But residents seemed unconvinced by their leaders’ assurances. In the center of the city people were pictured painting over advertisements and posters of women at beauty salons, apparently preparing for a takeover by the fundamentalist Taliban who do not allow images of humans or animal life, and have traditionally have banned music and the mixing of the sexes.”
- **Editorial Sample of 29 Aug 2021:** “As their homeland fell once again into the hands of the Taliban, more than 300 Afghan Americans went to the White House on Sunday to make their frustrations known.”
- **Editorial Sample of 12 Sep 2021:** “The Taliban offensive, which started in May when the United States began withdrawing troops, gathered speed over the past week. In city after city, the militants took down Afghan government flags and hoisted their own white banners.”
- **Editorial Sample of 17 Oct 2021:** “The U.S. State Department in a statement expressed concern that the Cabinet included only Taliban, no women and personalities with a troubling track record, but said the new administration would be judged by its actions. The carefully worded statement noted the Cabinet was interim, but said the Taliban would be held to their promise to give safe passage to both foreign nationals and Afghans, with proper travel documents, and ensure Afghan soil would not be used as to harm another.”
- **Editorial Sample of 3 Nov 2021:** “Lt Gen HR McMaster, the former US National Security Adviser, told a Policy Exchange seminar this week that Pakistan should be treated as a "pariah state" if it did not stop its support for jihadi groups.”
- **Editorial Sample of 8 Nov 2021:** “As of this week, Taliban militants have taken back nearly all the major cities, and contest or control most local districts across the country’s 34 provinces. More than three in four Afghans today are under 25: too young to remember the Taliban’s reign of fear and, especially in urban centers, too accustomed to freedoms to be eager to relinquish them.”
- **Editorial Sample of 15 Nov 2021:** “This has long been an open secret. “When history is written, it will be stated that the ISI defeated the Soviet Union in Afghanistan with the help of America,” Hamid Gul, a former ISI chief, said on television in 2014. “Then there will be another sentence. The ISI, with the help of America, defeated America and aided Taliban to control Afghanistan.”

Table 4.2: Issues, Tone and Frames Used in the Daily Dawn

Date	Editorial Title	Issues	Tone of the Editorial	Frames
16 Aug 2021	'Wasn't gloating': Imran says comment on Afghans breaking shackles of slavery was 'distorted' (DAWN, 2021).	Involvement of Pakistan in aiding Taliban to take control of Afghanistan is a propaganda	Neutral	Human Interest Frame
20 Aug 2021	Taliban 'making women invisible' in Afghanistan: UN expert (DAWN, 2021).	Gender segregation by Taliban government in Afghanistan	Negative	Morality Frame
23 Aug 2021	UK MPs blast 'systemic failures' during Afghan withdrawal (DAWN, 2021).	Role of International Stakeholders in Taliban government	Negative	Economic Frame
28 Aug 2021	Taliban to sign pact with UAE on running Afghan airports (DAWN, 2021).	UAE to help Taliban in running Airport operations	Neutral	Economic Frame
6 Sep 2021	Taliban shut down Afghan human rights body (DAWN, 2021).	Afghan citizens can seek no more justice under Taliban control	Neutral	Responsibility Frame
17 Sep 2021	Handful of Afghan women protest Taliban decree to cover faces (DAWN, 2021).	Taliban halted the protest by the women and shut down media channels for covering the protest	Negative	Morality Frame
20 Sep 2021	Taliban supreme leader orders women to wear	Taliban curtailing social	Negative	Morality Frame

	burqa in public: decree (DAWN, 2021).	freedom for women		
23 Sep 2021	Afghanistan's supreme leader wants world to recognise Taliban govt (DAWN, 2021).	Taliban wants International community to accept them so Afghanistan can overcome its financial deficiency	Positive	Economic Frame
28 Sep 2021	In letter to Taliban chief, Mufti Taqi Usmani urges reopening girls' schools (DAWN, 2021).	Girls education is an important issue in Afghanistan	Positive	Morality Frame
2 Oct 2021	US, EU urge Afghanistan's neighbours to protect its interests (DAWN, 2021).	US and EU wants neighbourhood to support Afghan citizens	Positive	Responsibility Frame
17 Oct 2021	Taliban clamp down on drugs, announce ban on poppy harvest (DAWN, 2021).	Poppy is main source of income of small farmers in Afghanistan	Negative	Economic Frame
21 Oct 2021	China's Xi strongly backs Afghanistan at regional conference (DAWN, 2021).	Peaceful and Stable Afghanistan should be common interest of all International Communities	Positive	Economic Frame
1 Nov 2021	Betrayed in Afghanistan (DAWN, 2021).	Violence Against Women has increased under Taliban government	Negative	Conflict Frame

6 Nov 2021	US launches satellite TV channel for Afghanistan to counter ban (DAWN, 2021).	U.S is putting pressure on Taliban to let broadcasters work with freedom	Negative	Human Interest Frame
10 Nov 2021	Taliban bar govt employees without beards from work (DAWN, 2021).	Taliban ordered government employees to have beard or go home	Negative	Responsibility Frame
12 Nov 2021	US hopes Taliban will quickly reverse closure of girls' schools (DAWN, 2021).	U.S talks with Taliban administration to open all schools of girls	Positive	Morality Frame
15 Nov 2021	Chinese FM lands in Kabul on unannounced visit after OIC moot (DAWN, 2021).	China is playing positive role to develop Taliban government in to something which will be good for all of neighbourhoods and international community	Positive	Economic Frame

The Daily Dawn published a total of 17 editorials on the subject of the potential of the Afghan Taliban seizing control of Afghanistan between the 15th of August and the 15th of November in the year 2021.

35% of the editorials focused on the economic frame, 29% of the editorials focused on the morality frame, 17% of the editorials focused on the responsibility frame while 11% of the editorials focused on the human interest frame and 5% of the editorials focused on the conflict frame.

Even though mixed language was used in each editorial, The Daily Dawn typically had a neutral to favourable tone, but a negative tone was used against the Taliban in situations involving females' education or breaches of human rights, which is similar with other newspapers.

The majority of the editorials that were published in Daily Dawn were centred on the repercussions that would be brought upon Pakistan as a direct consequence of their country's cooperation with the Taliban leadership in Afghanistan. The violation of human rights and the

lack of educational opportunities for women are only two of the many subjects that have been brought up for consideration.

At least five of the editorials that are published by the Daily Dawn about Afghan Taliban government during selected time period are read by a significant number of people all around the world, the sample of which are following:

- **Editorial Sample of 20 Aug 2021:** “These policies show a “pattern of absolute gender segregation and are aimed at making women invisible in the society”, Richard Bennett, UN special rapporteur on human rights in Afghanistan, told reporters in Kabul.”
- **Editorial Sample of 6 Sep 2021:** “The work of the rights commission, which included documenting civilian casualties of Afghanistan’s two-decade war, was halted when the Taliban ousted a US-backed government last year and the body’s top officials fled the country.”
- **Editorial Sample of 23 Sep 2021:** “Afghanistan has its role in world peace and stability. According to this need, the world should recognise the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan.”
- **Editorial Sample of 21 Oct 2021:** “A “peaceful, stable, developed and prosperous Afghanistan” is what Afghans aspire to, which “serves the common interests of regional countries and the international community,” Xi said.”
- **Editorial Sample of 10 Nov 2021:** “Employees were being instructed not to shave their beards and to wear local clothing consisting of a long, loose top and trousers, and a hat or turban. They were also told to ensure they prayed at the correct times.”

Table 4.3: Issues, Tone and Frames Used in the Hindu

Date	Editorial Title	Issues	Tone of the Editorial	Frames
15 Aug 2021	UN says world will 'scrutinise' Taliban actions (The Hindu, 2021).	The UN is urging Taliban to keep the promises and protect the rights of their citizens	Neutral	Responsibility Frame
17 Aug 2021	Facebook bans Taliban supporting content (The Hindu, 2021).	Facebook giant has declared Taliban as Terrorist Group	Negative	Conflict Frame
27 Aug 2021	Kabul talks focus on Taliban-led government (The Hindu, 2021).	Hoping for good news to include members in the Taliban government	Positive	Responsibility Frame

		which are beyond Taliban		
4 Sep 2021	IAF plane carrying 120 Indians lands at Jamnagar (DAWN, 2021).	Taliban are unpredictable Islamic Fundamentalists	Negative	Responsibility Frame
19 Sep 2021	Denmark's aid for Afghanistan (The Hindu, 2021).	Denmark is giving \$16 Million for Taliban government with a promise to maintain peace and stability	Positive	Economic Frame
26 Sep 2021	Broader representation must, says India (The Hindu, 2021).	Taliban government is still violating fundamental rights of Afghan citizens	Negative	Responsibility Frame
5 Oct 2021	Haunted by history, Afghan nationals in India fear for kin (The Hindu, 2021).	India cannot bear the violence being cause by Taliban government	Negative	Conflict Frame
13 Oct 2021	Taliban takeover of Afghanistan and India (The Hindu, 2021).	Ready to accept Taliban government if they can maintain peace and stability while not violating human rights	Positive	Human Interest Frame
2 Nov 2021	Dealing With the Taliban: India's Strategy in Afghanistan After U.S.	India is ready to engage in direct talks with	Positive	Economic Frame

	Withdrawal (The Hindu, 2021).	Taliban government		
9 Nov 2021	Return To The 'Dark Days': Taliban Re-imposes Repressive Laws On Women (The Hindu, 2021).	Women are banned from going outside alone	Negative	Morality Frame
15 Nov 2021	India meets members of Taliban interim govt for first time (The Hindu, 2021)	India is willing to improve diplomatic relationship with Afghan Taliban Government	Positive	Economic Frame

The Hindu published a total of 11 editorials on the subject of the potential of the Afghan Taliban seizing control of Afghanistan between the 15th of August and the 15th of November in the year 2021.

36% of the editorials focused on the responsibility frame, 27% of the editorials focused on the economic frame, while 9% of the editorials focused on the morality frame, of the editorials focused on the human interest frame and 9% of the editorials focused on the conflict frame.

The editorial went from having a negative tone to a more positive one, giving the impression that the editorials were willing to engage in dialogue with the Afghan Taliban government in light of the current situation in the region and to acknowledge the legitimacy of the regime as a legitimate force within the country. The legitimacy of the Taliban as a legitimate force in Afghanistan was also accepted in the editorial.

At least three of the editorials that are published by the Hindu about Afghan Taliban government during selected time period are read by a significant number of people all around the world, the sample of which are following:

Editorial Sample of 17 Aug 2021: “Social media giant Facebook said that it has banned the Taliban and all content supporting it from its platforms as it considers the group to be a terrorist organisation.”

Editorial Sample of 13 Oct 2021: “For India, the house-of-cards collapse of the 20-year-old Afghan democracy represents a strategic setback and a stinging humiliation. Since 2001 India has spent a non-trivial \$3bn or so to bolster the American-installed regime.”

Editorial Sample of 2 Nov 2021: “India should consider appointing a special envoy dedicated to Afghan reconciliation. The envoy can ensure that Indian views are expressed at every meeting, broaden engagement with the Afghan government and other political actors, and reach out to certain Taliban representatives.”

4.1 Discussion & Conclusion

In the pieces that were published in each of the three journals, subjects such as the economy, conflict, human interest, responsibility, and morality were discussed on a fairly

consistent basis. The editorials that were published in the New York Times placed a greater emphasis on the conflict frames than the editorials that were published in the Daily Dawn and the Hindu, which were more concerned with problems connected to the economic and human interest's frames respectively. The editorials that were published in the New York Times also placed a greater emphasis on the conflict frames than the editorials that were published in the Hindu. After the Taliban were successful in seizing control of Afghanistan in 2021, they did not waste any time in exerting their newly acquired power by utilizing it to exert an effect on the articles published in not just one but three different periodicals. This occurred not too long after the Taliban had established their power over the country in its entirety. The editorials that were published in the New York Times, the Daily, and the Hindu typically comprised between 600 and 700 words, and the editorials that were published in the New York Post typically included around one thousand words each. Even though the Taliban were no longer in power in Afghanistan after they were removed from power in 2001, a significant number of people in the United States were ignorant of the political context that prevailed in Afghanistan after the Taliban were removed from power. This was the case despite the fact that the Taliban were no longer in control of Afghanistan. Despite the fact that the Taliban were no longer in control of Afghanistan, this continued to be the situation there.

According to extensive coverage of international events, the New York Times published more editorials on the Taliban administration in Afghanistan in 2021 than the Daily Dawn and the Hindu, while focusing primarily on the chaos and devastation caused by the Taliban's rise to power. This was the case despite the fact that the Daily Dawn and the Hindu focused on the same topic. Despite the fact that both the Daily Dawn and the Hindu concentrated their attention on the same subject, this was the outcome. Even while publications like the Daily Dawn and the Hindu focused the bulk of their emphasis on the rise of the Taliban to power, this was nonetheless the case.

After the Taliban were able to successfully seize control of Afghanistan in August 2021, the Daily Dawn started publishing pieces that questioned the truth of government claims about what had been taking place in Afghanistan. These articles threw doubt on the statements' accuracy. These publications raised doubts as to whether or not the Taliban had been speaking the truth about what had been taking place in that region. On the other hand, a significant portion of it was omitted; this may have been the result of the fact that the New York Times devoted a greater proportion of its space to reporting on Afghanistan. There were fewer editorials written on the topic of Pakistan's future relations with the administration of the Taliban, and there was no notion of reconciliation between the newly formed Taliban government and Pakistan. Moreover, there were fewer editorials published on the issue. Additionally, there was a decline in the number of editorials that were published on the subject. In addition, there was a reduction in the total number of editorials that were printed in the newspaper.

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