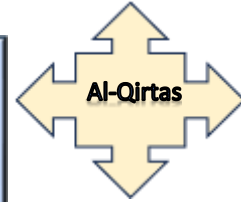Al-Qirtas

The Representation of The Taliban 2.0 in International Print Media: A Comparative Analysis of The International Newspapers

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Abstract

This study aims to find out the representation of the Taliban 2.0 in international media. The crux of this document argues that the international media has used propaganda techniques while reporting about the Taliban 2.0. Framing theory by Erwin Goffman is induced in this research. To find out the result the international media is divided into the model of Siebert that explained in his book of four theories of press media libertarian, authoritarian, social responsibility, and communist theory practiced in the world. The US, India, the UK, and Russia are selected for the sake of this research. The New York Times, Times of India, and The Times newspapers have been used respectively from the above-stated countries. A quantitative method approach comprising content analysis is used to examine the content of the selected newspapers. The findings reveal that NYT has used 58% propaganda techniques in their news stories while the TOI and The Times have used 56% in their news stories.

Keywords:
Representation of Taliban 2.0, International Press Media, Framing Theory, Propaganda Techniques, and Content Analysis.

Introduction

The portrayal of information through various media channels such as newspapers, television, radio, and online platforms, as well as entertainment mediums, significantly shapes societal perceptions. Media serves as a channel for conveying information, education, and entertainment, while also shaping public opinions and judgments on diverse matters. However, numerous studies have highlighted the considerable impact of mass media on public sentiment, revealing predominant misrepresentations of social, economic, and political issues. Consequently, it becomes imperative to critically examine and address any instances of injustice or distortion in

media coverage. Representation theory suggests that media constructs the reality we perceive, influencing our worldview from an early age through exposure and experiences. Much of our understanding is shaped by media narratives, which often come with preconceived norms, attitudes, and conclusions. (Jan, 2013) media have the power to influence the people who are media reliant. Media selectively highlights events and frames them in a particular manner, guiding audience interpretation and shaping their perceptions (Goffman, 1974) Moreover, media coverage can dictate the prominence of topics on the public agenda; frequent portrayal of a news item can lead audiences to perceive it as more significant (Macomb's and Shaw, 1968).

Every issue has its different representation and portrayal in the global world. Four common practices of media run in different corners of the world. Each model has its terms and conditions of representation and portrayal. In Authoritarian states, the coverage and representation of an issue will be more vigilant and according to the rules and regulations of the state's Plato (407- 327 B.C.). In the Libertarian states, the media has the freedom to publish anything at any time and act as a watchdog (Akhavan-Majid, 1991). Social Responsibility states press is taken to be for the people and society (Siebert, Peterson, and Schramm, 1984). The task of the press is to make a code of conduct and follow it. In Communist states, all forms of communication are under the state and the state has absolute power to run the media as per their wishes to full fill their propaganda. The research paper examines how international press media represents Taliban 2.0. Taliban 2.0 are that came to power after making a pact with the US known as Doha Accord in February 2020. Previously they were thrown out of power by the US and its allies' military intervention in 2002. The notion of Taliban 2.0 also states that their second stint in power would be different from their first rule. So, this research paper covers how international media covers their second stint in power.

Statement of Problem

The Afghans are on the verge of famine, insurgency, and humanitarian, religious, economic, and political crisis even after the twenty years of the efforts of the international community of state-building (Batrawy, 2021). State building efforts which cost billions of dollars, and sacrificed thousands of Afghans and International troops failed to achieve the primary goal of an inclusive, pro-democratic and durable Afghanistan. It is the same goal that Afghanistan has been fighting to reach since its creation in 1747 (Shah, 2021). With the taking over Afghanistan, the fundamental question is what the new Taliban regime looks like? Is it possible for the Taliban to facilitate an inclusive government? With all the multi-ethnicity, religious and linguistic factions living in Afghanistan could be able to join the Taliban in decision making? The Afghan history is filled with immense efforts toward peace and stability. Yet the outcome has been a failure such that some scholars have described Afghanistan's experience as try again, fail again, and fail better. Till 1880 all Afghan regimes opted for a centralized form of governance ruled by the King or President. However, centralized governance resulted in corruption and ethnic conflict. The factor of pleasing the foreign powers can't be negligible. The meddling of foreign powers in Afghanistan triggered their interests. For instance, The British used Afghanistan as a Buffer State against USSR. Then the USSR occupation of Afghanistan and used its territory against the United States during Cold

War. Finally, the invasion of Afghanistan by the United States for counterterrorism purposes and to preserve its influence over the region.

Now after exacting two decades later, in the faster world everybody has access to information. Nobody must rely on conventional media for what is happening in the world. The images, footages, and writings coming from Afghanistan are inevitable. The quagmire of Afghanistan is magnetizing everyone in it. But is it the reality portrayed by the media, or something fishy? This research has been encapsulated the world print media for the representation of the Taliban. The News Paper from the United States of America, Russia, the United Kingdom, and India have been analyzed. These countries have their stakes or interest in Afghanistan. These countries have played a pivotal role in destroying or building Afghanistan. These countries have dealt with the Taliban according to their interest in the past. So, this research has been discussed that how these countries are portraying the real cleavages of Afghanistan. The research has disclosed the fact that whether the global media is representing the real issues of Afghani people or just these countries are minding their own business.

Purpose of Study

The purpose of this study is to determine whether the global media is portraying the true picture of the Taliban 2.0 and the crisis of the Afghan community or not. The research also discovers whether the picture foreign media paints about the Taliban 2.0 would be considered skeptical or not. The picture media painted in electronic media during 1990 of the Taliban has shunned the people across the globe. The media portrayal of the Taliban during 1990 was only focused on humans, drugs, and religious and ethnic abusers, which we can't deviate from this fact. But during their first stint in power, The Taliban was welcomed by the Afghanis. To some extent, they put a control on corruption, build roads, and pledged to lead the country with peace and prosperity. Ironically, these measures were neglected by most of the foreign media (Osama   Javed, 2021).

After twenty years of living in sanctuaries, the Taliban spontaneously came and captured all the territories of Afghanistan. The media across the world again reported the fact that their new regime will not be different from their past regime. Although, the Taliban has assured the world that they will not create any panic around this time. The Taliban have promised that there will not be any retributions, but experts say it's too early to trust these promises (Team, 2021). The media has once again neglected the reporting of representing a peaceful Taliban. Since the Taliban took over the country, there was no lawlessness or corruption in the country. A middle aged trader said they no longer had to pay bribes at every checkpoint they crossed with their goods. Previously, each truck had to pay 10,000 to 15,000 Afghanis to Afghan guards at the border with Pakistan (Al-Jazeera, 2021).

Research Questions

R1: Does the representation of the Taliban in International media same as their first stint in power?

R2: Does the international media uses propaganda techniques while representing Taliban 2.0?

R3: Does the Taliban dependent on the international media for their portrayal?

Assumptions

The researcher assumes that the media representations of the Taliban 2.0 in the US, Russia, United Kingdom, and India are biased according to their interest. Because the representation of the Taliban's previous stint in the power in the 1990s was also biased. The researcher has been dug out the facts and figures by evaluating the four major Newspapers, New York Times, The Times, and The Times of India respectively of these countries.

Limitations

The foremost limitation that the researcher has been faced is that the researcher doesn't have many resources, the time, and the money to go to Afghanistan to depict the reality of the Taliban 2.0 regime. So, the researcher must depend upon the content that is available on the Internet who are portraying the Taliban 2.0 as human rights abusers. The second limitation researcher has faced that the lack of previous studies in this research area. There are studies available on the internet about the Taliban's first regime but there are few writings available about their new stint in power that helps the researcher to strengthen and validate his research. Lastly, while doing the sampling process the Moscow newspaper has not available. Unfortunately, not even a single communist country such as China and North Korea has published their newspaper on Internet.

Significance of Study

The significance of this research is to help readers to understand the media messages and content that they are consuming. Media doesn't only transmit information but also shape messages(FEN, 1969). It has also helped people to understand the biasness in media and how it can affect the perception of an issue. The research has been enabled the reader to understand how the media sets the agenda and later framed it. To disclose the news, the editors and newsroom staff shape the political reality. The reader learns not only about the given issue but also how much importance to attach to that issue from the amount of information in a news story (McCombs & Shaw, 1974). Frames are abstractions that work to organize or structure message meaning (Goffman, 1974).

Subsequently, the representation of the Taliban during their last stint in power was highly shaped and biased. Although, it is a fact that their rule was fascist but the whole world media organizations didn't depict the reality (Al-Jazeera, 2021). The depiction of the Taliban 2.0 in Global media is also biased and altered. But the reality is to some extent different. Like, the Taliban 2.0 have pledged to secure the Embassies and assured the foreign governments and organizations that their personnel are safe (Dawn, 2021). The Taliban 2.0 stressed that other nations will face not any threats after taking over Afghanistan (Dawn, 2021). The Taliban 2.0 promised that they will end the narcotics industry in Afghanistan (Dawn, 2021). The Taliban. 2.0 has promised women's rights, media freedom, and amnesty for government officials after taking charge (AL Jazeera, 2021). There are three types of the Taliban, one is the good Taliban who is a good boy the second is the bad Taliban who is the bad boy, and the third Taliban is the ugly one as you might expect in the eyes of the beholder (The Hindu, 2021). Condescendingly, the research has allowed the reader to understand which country has portrayed the Taliban as good, bad, and the ugliest

ones. After analyzing the Global Media, the researcher has pointed out which Newspaper has published more content about the Taliban 2.0 and applied frames to it.

Theoretical Framework

Theories help us to design a research question, guide the selection of relevant data, interpret data and put forward the explanation of underlying causes or influences of observed phenomena. The theoretical framework is the structure that can hold or support a theory of a research study. In a Nutshell, in this research, the researcher has been applied the Framing Theory to critically analyze the representation of the Taliban 2.0 in the International Media. Framing Theory is one of the most important media theories whilst media analysis. The idea of framing is based on the book written by renowned sociologist Erving Goffman (1974) titled Frame Analysis: An essay on the organization of experience. Goffman used the ideas of frames to label "schemata of interpretation" that allow people to locate, perceive, and identify" occurrences and events (Lindstrom & Marais, 2012). For decades' media scholars have used the Frame analysis to explain how the media deliver news and advocate an interpretation of certain events. Frame analysis presents four main purposes while formulating media research. To define the problem, diagnose a course, make a value judgment, and suggest remedies Marais, Willemien & Linström, Margaret (2012).

The theory stipulates how the media shape a certain event and present it to the audience. According to the theory, the media highlights certain events and interprets them in their way. This theory suggests how something is suggested to the audience influences people's choice of how to process that information. In this way, the media exercise a selective influence over how people view reality. Framing is referred to as a second level of the agenda setting theory. The agenda-setting theory states that Mass Media set the agenda for what people should care about and determines which issue should become the public attention (Mc Combs & Shaw, 1972). When we are framing something usually, add or leave something in that frame. Avoiding or adding one part of the picture is called propaganda. In their book Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of Mass Media, the propaganda model was first introduced in 1988 by (Herman, 1988) A Propaganda Model focuses on the inequality of wealth and power and its multilevel effect on mass-media interests and choices. The Propaganda Model views media as a business that sells its product (to the audience, reader, and subscribers). There are various propaganda techniques used by media organizations to disperse their agenda. So, in this research, the researcher has been applied propaganda techniques to analyze which newspaper has used propaganda techniques about the Taliban 2.0.

Literature Review

Literature is a mostly collection of written works, but some are passed on by word of mouth. Literature can also be based on the real world as well as imagination. Literature is loosely used in communication, and in common sense, literature means whatever is written or printed (Dunbar, 1935). The purpose of the literature review is to narrate the connection of each work to others under thought. In this research, the researcher has been analyzed the literature review which helps the reader to understand the relevance of the topic. The subject of the researcher is the Representation of the Taliban 2.0 in international print media. This segment has been help the

reader about the role of media while representing any event or news story. Although the read-up on the portrayal of the Taliban is not a new talk of the town and there is no lack of writing in this regard. A lot of researchers and credible scholars have a lot of literature compromises on the representation of the Taliban. This research is also an attempt to understand the role of media and how media frame the news. The study has been elucidated the portrayal of the Taliban 2.0 in Global media. And by doing so, the researcher has been determined that what are the specific reasons for the portrayal. In this research article, the researcher has been validated different research articles that has been enabled people to understand why this research is important at this time.

On the portrayal of the Taliban in Print media of Pakistan, Muhammad Umar, Ijaz Hussain and Muhammad Ashraf in their research article title, "An Examination of media frames regarding Taliban – (2019)" critically examined Dawn and The Nation newspaper through agenda setting theory. The data were collected from the online versions of respected newspapers. A qualitative research approach was used, and the content was categorized into two categories which were Friend and Foe. Throughout a year the Taliban were framed by Dawn and The Nation in the sum of 241 editorials. The findings indicated that both newspapers preliminarily framed the Taliban as a foe in their editorial of one year. The study also reveals that The Nation was a bit friendlier than Dawn in representing the Taliban. However, it appeared that the agenda of both newspapers states that the Taliban are terrorists and a threat to internal security. Another article written by Jelvin Jose (2021) titled, "The politicization of Social Media in India" finds that India's Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) operates around 200,000 to 300,000 WhatsApp groups and controls 180,00 fake Twitter handles. He stated that the party has developed an effective IT wing linked to disinformation and propaganda to stoke communal divisions to reap electoral benefits. Further, this disinformation deepens tension among Hindu and Muslim communities. He also found that the BJP has used anti-national messages to delegitimize the recent farmer's protest. He clarified that a significant part of the success of the BJP's social media strategy has been its ability to propagate messages that were more personal and had a great influence on citizens' political perceptions.

Subsequently, on the representation of Muslims and the Media after 9/11 (Halil, 2004) in his research article titled, "A Muslims discourse in the American Media" In 2004 severely examined the representation of Muslims in the American media in the wake of an increasing number of Muslims living there and could Muslims speak for themselves after the 9/11 period. He used the tool of post-colonial analysis and covered the mainstream media of America's depiction of the status of Muslims after 9/11. He found a shift, in the form of differentiation between moderates and fundamentalists. He also revealed that American Muslims are in the struggle for existence as an essential part of society. Besides this, he found that mainstream media coverage of 9/11 did not disparage Islam Itself, rather than media praised Islam as a peaceful religion while simultaneously defaming fundamentalists. Moore and Kerry (2008) in their research title, "Image of Islam in the UK: the representation of British Muslim in the National print news media 2000-2008" in 2008 stipulated that coverage of British Muslims has increased significantly since 2000,

peaking in 2006, and remained at the top level in 2007 and 2008. The increase in British Muslim coverage was due to terrorism and terrorism stories. They found that 36% of the stories of British Muslims were overall about terrorism. They also found that 22% of the stories were related to religious and cultural differences in British culture and Islam. 11% of stories published in Media were about Islamic Extremism. They dwelled that coverage of attacks or problems faced by Muslims steadily declined. In sum, the coverage of British Muslims was focused on Muslims as a threat.

A study by Dr. Sumera Batool titled, "Representation of Religious Minorities in Indian and Pakistani Print Media" in 2018 discussed the role of Pakistani and Indian Print Media in the portrayal of religious minorities in their respective countries. She used Media Hegemony Theory in her research as mass media plays important role in making and maintaining identities. The study was based on the Quantitative Methodology and applied content analysis to analyze the media text on minorities. The sampling was compromised on Daily Dawn and The Nation from Pakistan and Hindustan Times and Time of India from the period of 1990 to 2010. The sampling was also collected from an Online Platform. In her findings, the Pakistani Media has been more silent concerning Pakistani Hindus whereas the Indian Media has given more negative representation to Indian Muslims. The following research article titled, "Islamophobia in China: News Coverage Stereotypes and Chinese Muslims Perceptions of Themselves and Islam" by Luwei rose and Fan yang in (2018) analyzed the representation of Islam in Chinese Media. The analysis spanning the period was compromised on Ten years of news reports about Muslims and Islam in China State news media demonstrates that Chinese news reports project an overall negative view of Muslims. The sampling was done in the Non-Muslims Chinese population revealing negative stereotypes of Muslims. The study finds out that there is an overall negative framing of news coverage of Muslims and Islam, and the Chinese Muslims are cognizant of negative media portrayal of Islam and Themselves

Methodology

In this research, the researcher has used a quantitative methodology. The importance of quantitative methodology in this research is that we have proper values that how many times the media has portrayed Taliban 2.0 in a negative, positive or neutral way. Subsequently, after applying the quantitative methodology in this research the researcher has been found out how people have a perception of the Taliban 2.0 because of the news frame and the propaganda technique used by the news organizations to orchestrate Taliban 2.0. For this research, the researcher has selected International Media as a population. Subsequently, the researcher narrows down the International Media into a model presented by Fred Siebert called Authoritarian, Libertarian, Social Responsibility and Communism Models of press media practicing in the world written in his book "Four Theories of Press". So, for this research, the researcher has chosen Purposive Sampling and has been select one digital newspaper from each model. Further, the researcher only covers the international pages of the respective digital newspapers instead of focusing on the whole newspaper. The focus on international pages is that mostly International Pages of newspaper covers the stories and events around the globe. The

researcher has selected India for Authoritarian, United States for Libertarian, the United Kingdom for Social Responsibility, and Russia for Communist model.

The researcher has analyzed each newspaper from 1st August 2021 until 31st December 2021. The selection of this date is that from the first of August the Taliban have increased their pace of capturing the land of Afghanistan. The researcher has selected The New York Times from the United States, The Times from the United Kingdom, and The Times of India from India. The rationale for the selection of these newspapers is that they were easily available and regarded as credible newspapers in their country.

Data Evaluation

For the data evaluation, the researcher has used tabulation, categorization, and coding techniques. The researcher generated some codes and later counted these codes in the selected newspaper. So, the result produced by counting these codes is in numbers. Later, these numbers are evaluated through a simple percentage formula that shows us which country has used propaganda techniques in their newspapers. In this research, the population consists of the four newspapers and based on these four the research has analyzed which newspaper has published the most stories about the Taliban 2.0. Four International Digital Newspapers New York Times, The Times and The Times of India. The researcher has analyzed data from 1st August to 31st December 2021 which counts 5 months.

Data Processing

Data processing is concerned with editing, coding, classifying, tabulating and charting, and diagramming research data. While data processing, the researcher will apply Propaganda techniques proposed by Noam Chomsky in his book Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of Mass Media. While using propaganda techniques the researcher has been found which newspaper has applied more propaganda techniques in their news while publishing stories about the Taliban 2.0 during the five months that have collected. The researcher has applied the following propaganda techniques: Repetition, Scapegoating, Appeal to Ridicule, Artificial Dichotomy, and Name-Calling.

Table No 1 – Data Processing

Sr. No	Technique	Interpretation
1	Repetition	This is the repeating of a certain symbol or slogan so that the audience remembers it. This could be in the form of a jingle, or an image placed on nearly everything in the picture or scene. This also includes using subliminal phrases, images, or other content in a piece of propaganda.

2	Scapegoating	Scapegoating is a propaganda technique that has been used throughout history as a means for people to move blame and responsibility away from themselves by attributing it to others. A scapegoat is a person or group made to bear the blame for or punished for those errors committed by others.
3	Appeal to Ridicule	Ridiculing something is to place it in a lower social position. If a person is associated with that thing, then they, too, are moved to that lower position. The ridiculed thing is thus poisoned and made undesirable, and people will distance themselves from it.
4	Artificial Dichotomy	This is when someone tries to claim there are only two sides to an issue and that both sides must have an equal presentation to be evaluated. This technique is used to dupe us into believing there is only one way to look at an issue, when in fact there may be many alternative viewpoints or "sides".
5	Name - Calling	Name-calling propaganda occurs when complementary or pejorative words are used by governments, individuals, or the media to describe another person or group. The purpose is to subliminally manipulate or influence public opinion to generate conformity with the opinions of those producing the propaganda.

Content Analysis

Content analysis is a research tool used to determine the presence of certain words, themes, or concepts within some given qualitative and quantitative data. Using content analysis, researchers can quantify and analyze the presence, meanings, and relationships of certain words, themes, or concepts. Researchers can evaluate language used within a news article to search for bias or partiality. This section is based on finding content analysis by applying simple percentage formula. The content analysis will be composed of coding of each propaganda technique which later classified into identical, contradictory, and no relation categories. The identical category displays how many times the newspaper has published news stories of Taliban 2.0 by applying propaganda techniques which we have stated above in the table. The contradictory category downplays how many times the newspaper has published the news stories of Taliban 2.0 without applying propaganda techniques. In the last, the no relation category suggests that the techniques were not able to analyze or that the newspaper just reported the fact. Subsequently, the table is made to find out the propaganda techniques for each newspaper.

Table No 2 – New York Times Newspaper

Sr. No	Coding	Categories	Total	Obtained Data	Total Percentage
1	Repetition	Identical	155	97	63%
		Contradictory	155	40	25%
		No Relation	155	18	12%
2	Scapegoating	Identical	155	83	54%
		Contradictory	155	53	34%
		No Relation	155	19	12%
3	Appeal to Ridicule	Identical	155	103	67%
		Contradictory	155	40	26%
		No Relation	155	12	7%
4	Artificial Dichotomy	Identical	155	88	57%
		Contradictory	155	40	26%
		No Relation	155	27	17%
5	Name - Calling	Identical	155	77	50%
		Contradictory	155	62	40%
		No Relation	155	16	10%

The above table shows that after analyzing 155 news stories from the New York Times E-Paper 63% of the news stories contain repetition of propaganda techniques while 25% of the news stories haven't used this technique and 12% of the stories haven't any relation with this repetition technique. The scapegoating propaganda has been used in 54% while 34% of the stories haven't used this propaganda technique and 12% of the stories don't have any relation to this technique. The appeal to ridicule techniques has been used in 67% of their stories while 26% of their stories don't contain this technique and 7% of their stories haven't found any relation with this propaganda technique. The artificial dichotomy has been used in 57% of their stories while 26% of their stories don't contain this propaganda technique and 17% of their stories have not had any relation to this technique. The name-calling propaganda technique has been found in 50% of their stories related to the Taliban 2.0 while 40% of their stories don't contain this technique and 10% of their
stories have no relation to this technique.

Table No 3 – Times of India Newspaper

Sr. No	Coding	Categories	Total	Obtained Data	Total Percentage
1	Repetition	Identical	320	177	56%
		Contradictory	320	88	27%
		No Relation	320	55	17%
2	Scapegoating	Identical	320	143	45%
		Contradictory	320	90	29%
		No Relation	320	87	26%
3	Appeal to Ridicule	Identical	320	169	53%
		Contradictory	320	70	21%
		No Relation	320	81	26%
4	Artificial Dichotomy	Identical	320	209	66%
		Contradictory	320	90	28%
		No Relation	320	21	6%
5	Name - Calling	Identical	320	185	58%
		Contradictory	320	103	32%
		No Relation	320	32	10%

The above table shows that after analyzing 320 news stories from the Times of India E-Paper 56% of the news stories contain repetition of propaganda techniques while 27% of the news stories haven't used this technique and 17% of the stories haven't any relation with this repetition technique. The scapegoating propaganda has been used in 45% while 29% of the stories haven't used this propaganda technique and 26% of the stories don't have any relation to this technique. The appeal to ridicule techniques has been used in 53% of their stories while 21% of their stories don't contain this technique and 26% of their stories haven't found any relation with this propaganda technique. The artificial dichotomy has been used in 66% of their stories while 28% of their stories don't contain this propaganda technique and 6% of their stories have not had any relation to this technique. The name-calling propaganda technique has been found in 58% of while 32% don't contain this technique and 10% of their stories have no relation to these techniques.

Table No 4 – The Times Newspaper

Sr. No	Coding	Categories	Total	Obtained Data	Total Percentage
1	Repetition	Identical	112	61	54%
		Contradictory	112	33	30%
		No Relation	112	18	16%

2	Scapegoating	Identical	112	54	49%
		Contradictory	112	47	42%
		No Relation	112	11	9%
3	Appeal to Ridicule	Identical	112	83	75%
		Contradictory	112	17	15%
		No Relation	112	12	10%
4	Artificial Dichotomy	Identical	112	63	57%
		Contradictory	112	39	35%
		No Relation	112	10	8%
5	Name – Calling	Identical	112	49	43%
		Contradictory	112	27	24%
		No Relation	112	36	33%

The above table shows that after analyzing 112 news stories from the Times E-Paper 54% of the news stories contain repetition of propaganda techniques while 30% of the news stories haven't used this technique and 16% of the stories haven't any relation with this repetition technique. The scapegoating propaganda has been used in 49% while 42% of the stories haven't used this propaganda technique and 9% of the stories don't have any relation to this technique. The appeal to ridicule techniques has been used in 75% of their stories while 15% of their stories don't contain this technique and 10% of their stories haven't found any relation with this propaganda technique. The artificial dichotomy has been used in 57% of their stories while 35% of their stories don't contain this propaganda technique and 8% of their stories have not had any relation to this technique. The name-calling propaganda technique has been found in 43% of them while 24% don't contain this technique and 33% of their stories have no relation to this technique.

**The comprehensive result of the Content Analysis**

To help to answer the main RQ, the content of NYT, TOI, and The Times has been separately counted to find out which newspaper has published the most news stories by applying the most propaganda techniques about the Taliban 2.0. The main RQ of the research is about the representation of Taliban 2.0 in international media whether positive or negative. The International pages of selected digital newspapers were counted from 1st August 2021 to 31st December 2021. The result of this writing is drawn by applying simple percentage formula after coding, categorization, and tabulation. As compared to Times of India, The Times, and New York Times news stories are identical to propaganda techniques 57.80% of the time. It also depicts that New York Times is 30.32% contradicts the propaganda technique while 11.87% of propaganda techniques were not able to analyze. In the light of content analysis, the researcher finds that The Times of India news stories are identical to propaganda techniques 55.18% of the time. It also shows that The Times of India is 27.68% contradict propaganda techniques while 17.25% of propaganda techniques were not able to analyze. Subsequently, The Times news stories are

identical to propaganda techniques 55.35% of the time and 29.10% of their stories contradict propaganda techniques. 15.53% of their stories were not able to analyze propaganda. The Moscow news stories were not able to determine because of the unavailability of their archives as the researcher has mentioned above. So, after analyzing all the newspapers, the data shows that New York Time news stories contain more propaganda techniques which shows a sign of negativity, unlike the Times of India, and The Times whose news stories contain fewer techniques.

Table No 5 – Total Percentage of NYT, TOI and The Times

Categories	NYT		TOI		The Times	
Identical	448	(57.80%)	883	(55.18%)	310	(55.35%)
Contradictory	235	(30.32%)	441	(27.56%)	163	(29.10%)
No Relation	92	(11.87%)	276	(17.25%)	87	(15.53%)
Total	775		1602		560	

Graphical Evaluation of the Obtained Data
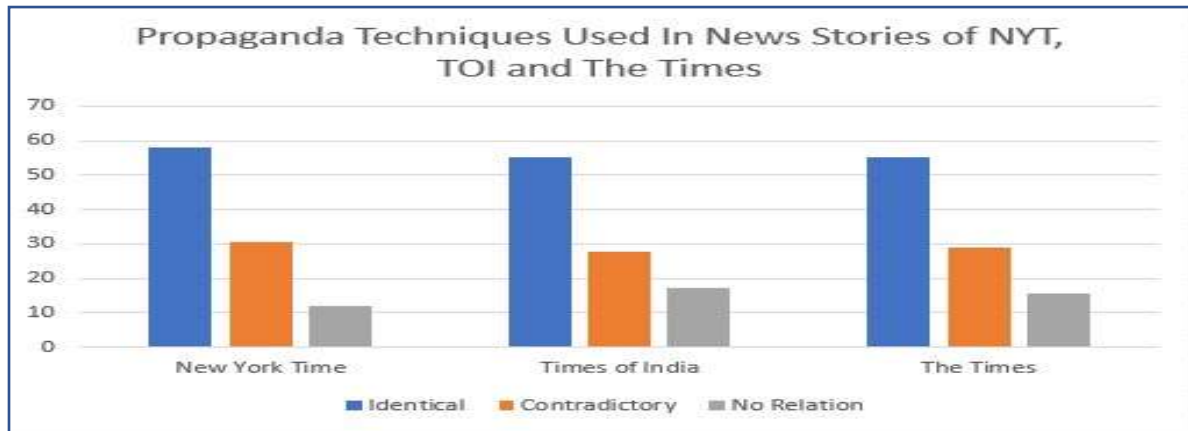
Discussion

The overall center stage of this research paper defines the representation of the Taliban 2.0 in international digital print media. The research encircled the phenomena of the propaganda which is taking place against the labelled hardcore militia the Taliban 2.0 in the US, UK, and India. The above table and pictorial representation showed that the portrayal of the Taliban 2.0 is unequivocally same in every newspaper. The difference occurs only between the number of publishing stories about their rule. Some stories depict their actual rule while some stories contain the element of propaganda. So, this led to researcher to deduced that it is because of the hegemony of the US, firstly. The other selected countries are dependent on US for the representation of the Taliban 2.0, so they published the same stories which US has published. Secondly, the events that happened in the Afghanistan after the seizure of the Taliban 2.0 are same. Thirdly, it is also due to the same Political Economy of these countries means these countries have the same vested interests in Afghanistan. The propaganda techniques which the researcher has picked from the

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news headlines from the newspapers explains the phenomena of aligning such statements that shows the posture of the Taliban 2.0 regime. Take some examples of repetition technique as follows: Abettors of 9/11 may threat global peace again (NYT, 2021), Killers of Thousands Innocuous Afghans stormed towards Kabul (TOI, 2021) and Terrorism resurrected in the land of Taliban (The Times, 2021). These techniques articulate that the international newspapers have repeatedly ingraining in the minds of their readers that the Taliban are killers, and their rule may have shattered the global peace. Some of the following Scapegoating techniques: Afghan desperate to flee Taliban throng Kabul airport, kills 7 (NYT, 2021), Afghan under the clout of poverty (TOI, 2021) and The looming threat of ISIS soon haunt Afghanistan and the region (The Times, 2021). These mentioned headlines paint the desperate picture of Afghanistan that after storming to Kabul the Taliban won't be able to handle the crises of particularly economy and terrorism. It gives US a smooth way to put all the onus on the Taliban suddenly and the US gets a chance to purify its two decades' role in Afghanistan and can scapegoat the Taliban in the eye of the global arena.

The next technique appeal to ridicule accompanies: Taliban robbed billions of weapons in Bagram (NYT, 2021), Taliban order Afghan women to cover their face in public (TOI, 2021) and Taliban decree not allow girls education (The Times, 2021). One can deduct from the headlines that the international media has tried to ridicule the Taliban around the globe by labelling them as a thief and conservatives as they are against the liberal democratic norms and values. The fourth technique artificial dichotomy follows: Taliban may face Afghan's rage (NYT, 2021), Neighbors to welcome influx of refugee again and Russia (TOI, 2021), China plans to call Taliban delegation (The Times, 2021). Through a zooming lens a reader may find that the international media has tried to convey one side of picture to its audience. As the headlines shows that after returning to power the Taliban can face outrage but there are people who stood with the Taliban to regain their sovereignty. The last technique name calling headline include: The unelected to rule millions of Afghans (NYT,2021) and the reign of Afghanistan in the hands of Human Rights violators (TOI, 2021). It forms a notion across the globe that the Taliban rule will be authoritarian and after grabbing the reign of the country their rule will be a staunch one.

The resurgence of the Taliban 2.0 became the hot topic in the international society so eventually it became the epicenter of every discussion globally. Everybody wanted to thrive to get real access and information about their return in Kabul. As we know that the devastation in Afghanistan from the past five decades has been wrecked the country's infrastructure. Since the low network of Internet in Afghanistan led international audience to rely on the traditional media for the on-ground situation in Afghanistan such as from newspapers and television because if there was strong internet in Afghanistan the audience could have differentiated between the disparities between these two mediums. Eventually people read and watched the happenings in Kabul as the media wanted them to watch.

Conclusion And Recommendation

Conclusion

The analysis of the study area reveals that news stories about the Taliban 2.0 in international media are framed and have an element of propaganda techniques that shows a negative sign. The researcher has assumed that the international media is biased against the Taliban 2.0 and the result is matching with the finding that the Taliban 2.0 is negatively portrayed in international media. The Research Questions that the researcher raised has been answered. The answers that the researcher has found after conducting the research states that the representation of the Taliban 2.0 is same as their first stint in power because the Taliban in their first rule were represented as a human abuser, drug traffickers and women rights violators as mentioned in purpose of study. It also explains that the international media has used propaganda techniques while representing the Taliban 2.0. The third answer reveals that Taliban is dependent upon the international media for their representation internationally because if they have their own media, they could have shown the situation to international audience accordingly.

The researcher has counted the propaganda techniques in each newspaper which shows that the New York Times is doing more propaganda compared to the other newspapers. The Times of India and The Time averagely doing the same work but the data shows that NYT is ahead of other newspapers. The Moscow newspaper news stories have not been analyzed because they are operating under the communist regime which barely allows for the news organization to disperse the news mostly for the international readers. The researcher can't go to the other newspapers in Russia due to the language barrier and the Moscow is the only leading English language newspaper operating in Russia. The impacts of propaganda could be seen globally that the larger audience thinks that the Taliban are the terrorists. The audience also thinks that they are ethnic, women, and drug abusers. Yes, they have a staunch ideology due to their affiliation with their culture and religion that they want to implement over the country. But they are like any other country as a sovereign state and can make their policy that should be aligned to the United Nations manifest. The thing is that the Taliban are now the political party that came into power making the accord with the US and its allies in Doha 2020 known as Doha Accord. The reason for propaganda techniques could be that the countries have their interest and so they write and report according to their political interests.

Recommendations

This research study focuses on the representation of the Taliban 2.0 in international media and the writing proves that the international media uses a propaganda technique while presenting stories about the Taliban 2.0. However, to further understands the depth of the propaganda of the media there is still a lot of space to cover in this research. The researcher has used only the digital print newspaper for the sake of this research so further to validate this research the first recommendation is that a content analysis of visual elements of TV such as news reporting and the political talk shows about the Taliban should be analyzed. The second recommendation is that the social media platforms such as Twitter and Facebook could be considered as an area to conduct this research as well.

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