The Linguistic Representation of the Taliban in the Afghani Newspaper, Comparison between Before and After the Power Change

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Bachelor of Arts

15 credits

Autumn semester 2022

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Contents

Abstract

Bearing in mind the big role media plays in shaping public opinion and the importance of understanding how ideologies can be conveyed to the public through language, this study uses qualitative analysis to investigate the discursive representation changes around the existence of the Taliban or what they call themselves now, the Islamic Emirate, in the Afghan media before and after the power shift. In specific, it illustrates how linguistic devices are used to transmit the discourse changes through the used language in the Afghani newspaper to legitimize or delegitimize having the Taliban in Afghanistan. The primary data of this study consists of articles published in English from a digitalized newspaper published in Afghanistan. This study uses Corpus Linguistics to organize the findings around the representation of the Taliban in the gathered data. Findings results were analyzed through CDA and Fairclough, the three-dimensional model, to reveal the alteration that occurred to the discourse, which can, in turn, show the way how language devices are used to circulate the Taliban's various images among the recipients.

1 Introduction and Aim

For over two decades, the Taliban started to be a considerable power in central Asia, specifically in Afghanistan and the southern part of Pakistan. In its most, the Taliban governed Afghanistan from 1996 to 2001. Late in 2001, the US forces overthrew the Taliban from the ruling position because they hosted AL-Qaeda, which was responsible for the 9-11 attacks in the US. After 20 years, the Taliban re-emerged in the ruling position after the US forces withdrew from Afghanistan (Reinares, 2021). The power struggle between the Afghani army, with the help of the joined US forces against the Taliban, has been a hot topic in the media. This motivated researchers to analyze the media databases to identify the used discourse in the conflict. Therefore, this study is designed to investigate the context around the Taliban's representation and how language is used to circulate the discursive changes in Afghanistan.

Many researchers considered media discourse the main dominator impacting public opinion. The usage of language in reporting news has piqued the attention of many critical discourse analyses (CDA) practitioners (Yusuf et al., 2022) and (Hussain, 2016). As one of the most decisive components when dealing with critical linguistics, CDA plays a big role analyzing public discourse when it comes to reporting news and scrutinizing the hidden system of values and ideology which constitute the language. Fairclough states that by using CDA one "can be clear of the way in which language tends to impose on the addressors view of the world on the addressees" (Fairclough, 1989, p. 139). Hence, for scholars and occasional readers, CDA helps the receiver to understand the news more systematically and comprehensively.

Considering Fairclough's claim language word choice is not innocent, the study penetrates through newspaper language to reveal how the obscure message in a discourse can be enforced through language. In this study, the unarbitrary use of the language was traced by identifying the portrayal of the Taliban in the Afghani media before and after the Taliban's assumption of control over Afghanistan. With the help of corpus linguistics and CDA, the study focused on words in context in newspaper articles in which attitudes about the Taliban are portrayed. This was done in 2020 and 2022 to investigate the different portrayals of the Taliban image in these two periods, hence, reveal how linguistic devices are used to pass portrayal changes through the newspaper.
In a question form, the purpose of this study is to analyze:

1- In which context did the representation of the Taliban presence and attitudes appear in the Afghani newspaper in 2020 and 2022?
2- How does the Afghani newspaper use language devices to convey the ideological representation to its recipients about the Taliban in each aforementioned period?

2 Background

2.1 The Taliban Image through History

The Taliban was one of the factions waging a civil war for control over the country after the Soviet Union withdrawal and the collapse of the Afghani government (Pal, 2021). The Pakistani religious schools shaped the Taliban's political and social views. Schools provided the Taliban with Islamic knowledge by teaching Quran prospects and Islamic law. The teaching included harsh interpretation of Islam in minimizing women's rights and structuring hostility towards the Shi'a Muslims (Tripathi, 2011, p. 108-109). Meanwhile, the Afghan society and economy were fragmented and vulnerable in the presence of many warlords. Taliban movement emerged with promises to end the upheaval and restore Afghanistan's peace. The Taliban attracted many Afghans, promising to end the dark era Afghanistan faced during and after the Soviet war. Taliban fighters attacked the strongholds of the warlords and managed to control their areas. In these areas, former leaders exploited farmers and traders, so the farmers welcomed the arrival of the Taliban (p.109). After gaining power, the implicit aim of the Taliban aimed to erase all signs of westernization, women were hidden from public view and forbidden to work. Television was banned and so was music, chess, and soccer. Adultery punishment was stoning, and alcohol drinkers were whipped (Van Linschoten, 2012, p. 145). The minority in the country was represented by the Shi'a Muslims whose loyalty to Afghanistan was questioned because of their connection to the Iranian religion and culture. Among other things, social and sectarian disintegration formed a golden opportunity for the Taliban to be structured. Demographically, Sunni Muslims forms 80% of the population of Afghanistan, while 20% Shi'a forms the rest (Tripathi, 2011, p. 113-114). The Taliban systematically destroyed the local administration, which caused communication elimination between the authorities and the public. Taliban agenda was to highlight the protection and management inability of the regime alone without the help of the US army (Dorronsoro, 2009, p. 16). Consequently, they managed to spread their control over Afghanistan and gave themselves back their old title the "Islamic Emirate" (Their, 2020).

2.2 The political Situation in Afghanistan Between the Taliban and the Afghan Government in Association with the US Forces from 2001 until 2022

During the Cold War, the US government supported Afghanistan's armed factions with weapons and military training in the war against the Soviet Union. By doing this, they promoted Islamic jihadism (Stewart, 2021). In 2001, Islamic jihadis and the Taliban, came to power after internal struggles among ethnic and religious groups. As a result of the Taliban and Al-Qaeda connection, Afghanistan became a number one target for the US after the 9/11 attacks (Morgan, 2009, p. 222). The Taliban-US relationship turned worse after the Taliban refused to hand over the main suspect of the 9/11 attacks (Baig, & Muhammad, 2020). Consequently, the Taliban regime was overthrown, and they retracted to the southern border of Pakistan. After the Taliban overthrow, Hamid Karzai was elected as a president in 2004 (Aleem, 2011, p. 23). The Taliban met President Karzai to negotiate their immunity. Their

request stipulated dissolving the Taliban army without any conditions (Dobbins, & Malkasian, 2015, p. 53). US President Bush banned all negotiations until 2009 (Sheikh, & Greenwood, 2013). Despite the ban, Karzai decided to take another approach in 2005 and form a commission to reconcile with the Taliban. He established the Afghan High Peace Council (HPC) in 2010 to show the intention of seeking peace with the Taliban (McCrisken, 2012). After 10 years by the Pakistani border, the Taliban regained power, and the civil society was unhappy with the situation in Afghanistan even after newly elected president Ashraf Ghani in 2014 (Taieb, 2020). Despite the efforts to make peace in the country, HPC didn't take the necessary steps toward the improvement of the situation in Afghanistan. For two decades, the war resulted in civilian casualties caused by the Taliban bombings, and the Afghan government air and ground strikes, supported by the US and NATO forces. It also resulted in human and material losses to all parties involved in the war (Wilke & Naseemi, 2022, p. 203). This led the US to lay the plans and preparation regarding dealings with the Taliban and planning for the 2021 withdrawal. The withdrawal was carefully planned and specified in all stages. However, the so well-planned withdrawal became more of an escape mission with great humanitarian losses in Afghanistan (Karakoç, 2021). After the withdrawal, the conflict was seized, but Afghan society was left with a low ceiling of human freedom and economic crises. Women were stripped of their rights, and poverty was common in Afghanistan (Abawe et al., 2022, p. 2). The Taliban systematically continued the suppression of the Shia Muslims in Afghanistan, which shows that they still carry the same mentality since their ruling position 20 years ago (Hakimi, 2022, p. 84).

2.3 Theoretical Framework

For Fairclough, CDA is the study of how power is exercised in language use. He assumes that any use of language is a communicative event. Language helps create changes, hence can be used to change behaviour which makes language a power tool. Fairclough stated that the critical reason for analyzing any targeted discourse is to point out all unnoticed ideological power and language connections (1989, p.5). Fairclough defines the discourse as "ways of representing aspects of the world – the processes, relations, and structures of the material world, the 'mental world' of thoughts, feelings, beliefs and so forth" (2003, p. 176). When analyzing any discourse, researchers should pay attention to power also, as he points out "they are different elements but not discrete, fully separate elements" (2000, p.122). Among all kinds of texts, Fairclough's preference was for media discourse, specifically the one used in the news due to the massive changes that it can cause in society. Furthermore, discourse analysis is a result of the social practice "Discourse refers to the whole process of social interaction of which a text is just a part" (Fairclough, 1989, p. 24). He suggests that discourse analysis should not be limited only to the text level. Instead, it delves into the interrelationships between the text, the discourse production and consumption, and the discourse social context. Based on the previously mentioned assumptions, Fairclough developed his theory into models of three dimensions. According to

Fairclough (1989), any communicative event can be analyzed through the following three-dimensional model:

- Text: “Description is the stage which is concerned with formal properties of text” (p.26). In this dimension the analysis is limited to the word level in speeches, texts, images, or all mentioned above.
- Discursive practice: “Interpretation is concerned with the relationship between text and interaction with seeing the text as the product of a process of production, and as recourse in the process of interpretation” (p.26). The analysis of the text level which involves the producing, circulating, and the consuming of the discourse.
- Social practice: “Explanation is concerned with the relationship between interaction and social context with the social determination of the process of production and interpretation, and their social effects” (p.26). The analysis of the organization or society’s norm affects the social structure. The three-dimensional models can be demonstrated in the following figure:

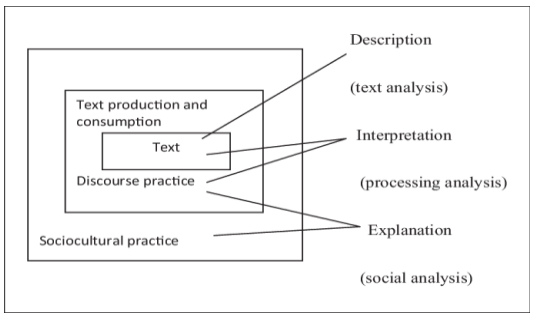

Figure 1. The Three Dimension models of discourse [adapted from Fairclough, Norman. 1992. Discourse and Social Change (Page 93, Figure 5-2). Cambridge: Polity Press].

CDA study is a preference for researchers to help them reveal how power is exercised through language. Researchers conducted a similar theoretical approach to this study to obtain the aim of their studies. Hussain (2016) applied CDA to the media discourse in Pakistan to reveal the role of media in shaping the portrayal of the Taliban, and to examine the plausibility of the media as peace journalism by analyzing the used language in reporting the Taliban-Pakistan conflict. The researcher used CDA adopting Fairclough three-dimensional model to unveil the hidden meaning in the used language in the media. Hussain’s paper inspires this paper to investigate how legitimation and delegitimation around the Taliban is circulated in the Afghani media before and after the power shift, as it was not discussed in Hussain’s paper.

Through CDA, authors discussed the role of media in the reported news to unveil how language was used to support the portrayal of a certain agenda. Lakić (2017) used critical discourse analysis in qualitative research to sough through reporting coverage and point out how language was used to legitimize actions and evoke sympathy in the reader. The study adopted the three-dimensional model of Fairclough to analyze how language in the media discourse was used to serve a certain

agenda. Nurjannah (2017) conducted another study benefiting from the three-dimensional model of Fairclough to reveal the opaque use of language in media discourse. The author applied the three-dimensional model in a comparative analysis of media discourses to show how two different media with different approaches towards the reported event used language differently in line with their political conviction. Lakić's and Nurjannah's studies use the same theoretical approach adopted in this paper to unveil how linguistic devices are used in portraying the reported subjects negatively or positively.

Scheffels et al. (2019) conducted a CDA qualitative analysis on media discourse to reveal how linguistic choices in media reporting can raise the reader's awareness of the subject. The researchers coded their findings to unveil the themes that emerge in the discussed topic. The themes were further analyzed under Fairclough's approach in CDA. This paper runs a similar coding process to reach the common themes around the Taliban's portrayal in both discourses.

Of the aforementioned studies, none have been conducted to compare the Afghani media discourse around Taliban representation before and after the power change in Afghanistan. To fill this gap, this comparative analysis investigates how media discourse used language to pass a negative or a positive portrayal of the Taliban through the Afghani circulated news within the CDA approach of Fairclough.

3 Materials and Method

3.1 Data Sources and collection

The analysis is based on the newspapers articles that mentioned the Taliban before and after the power shift in Afghanistan. Therefore, the first step in this study was collecting 811 articles from News bank, a university platform that provides access to various digital publications, including newspapers. In News bank, the articles were collected from Bakhtar newspaper in two different timelines and then grouped into two different corpora. The first corpus covers the last six months of 2020, where all articles mentioning the Taliban were collected. The second corpus covers the last six months of 2022, except December, where all articles mentioning the Islamic Emirate were collected. As it was discussed on p 5, Islamic Emirate is the replacement of the word Taliban in the 2022 Afghani newspaper.

Table: A Articles' amount and the number of words each corpus contains.

Bakhtar Newspaper	**(The Taliban) before power change**	**(Islamic Emirate) After power change**
Articles	497	314
Tokens	70993	71112

The articles were collected from Bakhtar newspaper for two reasons. The first reason is that it is a governmental platform that has an English digitalized publication, which makes it accessible to all of the Afghani diaspora. The other reason is that after the power shift, Bakhtar newspaper was the only

surviving newspaper in Afghanistan for a long while until Kabul Press newspaper's limited reappearance. Kabul Press moved its activities to publish digitally from Iran. Furthermore, Bakhtar newspaper articles are processed through Antconc application to make the corpora analysis easier. The gathered corpus in 2020 was named Before Power and the gathered corpus in 2022 was named After Power to make it easier to refer to during the analysis.

3.2 Method of Data Analysis

After forming both corpora, a comparative corpus analysis was conducted to reveal the impact of the words in their contexts on the discourses and to point out all similarities and differences between the discourses (Baker, 2006, p. 134). Each of these two corpora was inserted into Antconc application, once as a target corpus and once more as a reference, e.g. Before Power corpus was added first as a target corpus where After Power corpus was added as a reference corpus, then After Power corpus was added as a target and Before Power corpus was placed as a reference. This process provides the study with a keyword list. The Keyness function is a method to unveil two lexical wordlists of which words frequently appeared when representing the portrayal and the attitudes of the Taliban in each of the periods (organized respectively in terms of saliency). Baker (2006) suggested when to use the Keyness option as he said, "To compare frequencies in one wordlist against another in order to determine which words occur statistically more often in wordlist A when compared with wordlist B and vice versa" (p. 125). The analysis included words a reader meets more often in one corpus when compared with the often-used words in the reference corpus.

Once the keyword lists were determined, the context around each keyword was examined and coded as coding is a useful method for researchers to organize the data and categorize in which context these words occur, hence determining what the most frequent themes in the gathered data are (Miles & Huberman, 1994). The study relied on the coded findings of the keyword list to inform the research of the prevailing themes in each corpus. The thematic analysis is a methodology that helps a researcher who "seeks to theorize the sociocultural contexts, and structural conditions, that enable the individual accounts that are provided" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 85).

All the themes were further discussed within the three-dimensional modle of Fairclough to reveal the representation of the Taliban before and after the power shift, and to show how newspapers and power dominators take advantage of the newspaper's medium to transmit various portrayals of the Taliban through language.

According to Fairclough (1989), a critical analysis of discourse should go systematically from description to interpretation, then from interpretation to finally explanation. In this study, the description model focused on the textual level and word level in the articles, such as words or characters collection that are chosen in the Taliban representation, as well as the relationship between these words. At the interpretation model, the study focused on identifying how language users reach an understanding of the discourse based on the user's production, circulation, and consumption of the

discourse around the Taliban. The identification revealed the attitudes and portrayals the sender wants to convey to the recipient. In this study case the recipient is newspaper readers, and the sender is the newspaper. Lastly, the explanation model, at this level, the study explained the linguistic choices in which the social context was produced. The last level help to clearly understand the connection between language, power and ideology in Afghanistan. After analyzing the targeted words in the Before power and After Power corpora, the results of both corpora were compared to point out all similarities and differences in the used language of the Taliban representation, and to examine the reasons behind all the differences.

4 Results and Discussion

After examining the overview of the findings and coding them, the first 20 words of both lists were included to follow this study's limitation. Specifically, the first 20 words of the keyword list when Before Power corpus is the target, and the first 20 words of the keyword list when After Power corpus is the target. The non-content and two letters' words were excluded from the lists, as well as the words Taliban, Islamic, Emirate, and Afghanistan because the Taliban was the search keyword when articles were collected to form the Before corpus. Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan were the search keywords when articles were collected to create the After Power corpus, which explains why these words appear at the top of the lists. Both lists without any exclusion is provided in the appendix. The following table contains the keywords of both corpora that assist the study in revealing discourses. It also contains the common themes that were found after coding the data.

The first 20 words of each keyword list with the common themes in the context of the words.

Table B: Keywords and themes

The most discussed topics around the Taliban in 2020	Before power Keyword list	The most discussed topics around Islamic Emirate in 2022	After power Keyword list
The Taliban as a terrorist organization	Killed, Insurgents, Attack Wounded, Clashes, Forces Security, Mine, Troops Violence, Night, District Afghan	The Islamic Emirate as a government with enhancement plans	Education Culture Aid, Countries Sector Businessmen
Disconnect between the civilians and the Taliban	Civilians Peace Talks	Connections between the Taliban and The civilians	Country, Scholars Year Problems
The governmental officials as the information resource in the published news	President Corps Told BNA	The Islamic Emirate representatives as the information resource in the published news	IEA, Minister, Deputy Ministry, Prime, Supreme Mawlawi, Kabir, Mujahed Muttaqi

4.1 Analysis of the Taliban Keywords Context Before the Power Change

In the analysis of the Before Power corpus, the study focused on the recurrent themes and reveal how words in the keyword list emerge in its context when portraying the Taliban. Each theme was supported with some analyzed examples of the related findings to demonstrate how language was used in portraying the Taliban in each theme. A list of the themes is provided below, respectively with the presented analysis.

Table C: The recurrent themes in the context of the Before Power keywords

• The Taliban as a terrorist organization.
• Disconnect between the Taliban and the civilians.
• The governmental officials as the power resource which provides the information to the media.

4.1.1 The Taliban as a Terrorist Organization

Looking at the keyword list of the Before Power corpus, one sees conflict-related words as a common topic in the articles that mentioned the Taliban in the Before Power corpus. Words like 'Killed', 'Attack', 'Wounded', 'Clashes', 'Mine', 'Violence', 'Security', 'Troops', and 'Insurgents', are used repetitively in Before Power corpus. Investigating in the connection between these words and the Taliban reveals how the Taliban is involved and portrayed in all conflict reported incidents. The following examples demonstrate in which context these words are used:

1. *The Taliban's plan to carry out a **suicide** attack on a checkpoint in Kandahar failed. The assailant wanted to target a military checkpoint in outskirts of famous Bazaar of Marof district, was identified by police and shot him before reaching his target* (October 7, 2020).

The word *attack* was in connection with the word *suicide* which portrays the Taliban as suicide attackers who kill the officials to take control over the passage to the area. The attack was attempted by one assailant representing the whole Taliban in the report.

2. *Two Taliban Mine **Planters** were killed in their own mine blast in Kandahar this morning* (September 12, 2020).

The word *mine* represents the Taliban as *mine planters* in Afghanistan which has a killing and destruction representation of the Taliban. The mine killed two of the Taliban which shows that the killing is random.

3. *Twelve Taliban **terrorists** were killed in a conflict by security troops in Nimroz last night (*August 29, 2020).

4. *Armed Taliban insurgents **destroyed** a 600-meter-long highway in the Chahar Dival area of Andar District* (November 10, 2020).

5. *Five Taliban **terrorist** insurgents were killed, and seven others were wounded in recent clashes with security **forces** in Helmand* (October 08, 2020).

Taliban insurgents were attached to the word terrorist as a group description, even when they were killed or wounded by the official forces. 'Insurgents' is used to stress that the Taliban are rebels who are not recognized as combatants but as terrorist members who kill and destroy randomly (Oxford University Press, 2022a).

6. *"We discussed the Afghan peace process, including **unacceptable high levels** of violence by the Taliban"* (September 16, 2020).

The government representative emphasizes the NATO consensus regarding the Taliban as a source of terror in Afghanistan.

The words 'Night' and 'District' were referring in the news reporting to what time and which places the clashes between both sides occurred. The context around these two words either show that majority of the Taliban attack was conducted at night time or show that the government stopped or prevented the Taliban attacks. As demonstrated in the following examples:

7. *Five soldiers were killed last night in a **Taliban attack** in Daikundi district* (August 20, 2020).

8. *ANA forces **repulsed a Taliban attack** on Kabul's Khakjabar district last night* (September 9, 2020).

The Taliban attacks at night were focused on in the discourse to reflect the destabilizations that the Taliban caused by depriving civilians of everyday life. The context around the word 'District' stresses the Taliban's spreading in many areas of Afghanistan and that Afghanistan is unsafe with the existence of the Taliban.

The language was employed to portray the Taliban as a terrorist group killing randomly and destroying aimlessly in Afghanistan in order to take control. In contrast, the US-supported government was portrayed as security maintainers in the country. The previous portrayals aim to delegitimize the Taliban's existence and actions in the country as a terrorist organization and legitimaize the government's actions in defeating the Taliban. Only the Taliban's killings were highlighted in the conflict-related words. The civilian victims who died in the government and its associates' air strikes (Wilke & Naseemi, 2022) were not mentioned in the Afghani media discourse, which detects obscuring the facts that are not in line with the Afghani government and its association partners' agenda.

4.1.2 Disconnect between the Taliban and the Civilians

Using language to invoke unity emotions between the civilians and the government in order to legitimize the US-supported government and delegitimize the Taliban was a prominent theme in the Before Power discourse. The context around the 'Civilians' revealed the language use to create unity and solidarity between the government and the civilians. 'Killed' was rarely used to refer to the death of civilians, but when it was used, emotional phrases and words were added into the same sentence to generate solidarity between the government and society. The 'Peace Talks' context was employed to show the governmental approval for peace suggestions but rejection and obstruction by the Taliban. The following paragraphs contain analysis supported with examples for each of the subsections.

4.1.2.1 Context Around the Taliban Attacks on Civilians and the Government Officials

The keyword's connection with other words revealed another theme in the discourse, in which the government was trying to form a unity with the civilians and portray the Taliban as a common enemy. Words like 'Martyred' was used to give a valuable religious reason for the death of the civilians and officials' victims and to demonize the killers (Oxford University Press, 2022b). Below are some of these examples:

1. *The Takhar Police Commander was **martyred** in an armed Taliban attack on checkpoints along the Baharak district of Takhar last night* (October 21, 2020).

2. *Eight Afghan national security forces were **martyred** following Taliban fighters' attacks in eastern Nangarhar province the night before last* (August 12, 2020).

The use of the word martyred reflects the sacrifices of the security forces in hindering the Taliban from spreading in wider areas of the country. The use of *national* reflects the already existing unity. The political science definition of *nation* asserts the ethical, cultural, historical, and lingual connection between the security forces and Afghan society (Eller & David, 1997).

3. *Five civilians were **martyred**, and seven others were wounded in a rocket attack on residential houses in Andar District Ghzani yesterday evening,* […] *when clashes broke out between the military and the Taliban (*August 19, 2020).

The civilians were referred to as martyrs when the Taliban attacked with rockets the residential areas while clashing with the official forces.
In the previous three examples, the word martyred referred to three groups: policemen, security forces, and civilians. In the following three examples, other words, including martyred, refer to the Taliban attitudes as they are the perpetrators, such as *slain* and *assassinated*. The portrayal shows within the same sentence that officials and civilians share the harm caused by the Taliban's actions.

4. *Five civilians were **martyred** in a Taliban mortar shell attack in Kunduz province yesterday. Officials, said six police were **martyred** in a Taliban attack in Kunduz at the weekend, while five officers were **slain** in Kapisa province* (July 13, 2020).

The civilians and police officers were called martyrs in a Taliban artillery attack on populated areas that the Taliban wanted to control. In the same report, a brutal way of killing portrays the Taliban radicality as a terrorist group.

5. *Two innocent civilians and a military officer have been **assassinated** by Taliban fighters in central Ghazni province yesterday* (December 7, 2020).

Even though the first group of victims is innocent civilians and the second is military officials both were presented as assassination victims of the Taliban. When a person is assassinated, he or she is killed in a planned attack (Oxford University Press, 2022c).

A high religious rank in Islam for the victims of the Taliban attacks was used even though the government was promoting an open and democratic style of living (Abawe et al., 2022). The Afghani officials and civilians were called martyrs to add a religious value to their death during defending the rightful case against the Taliban as invaders or also to stress that the victims were killed unjustly (Britannica, 2022). The Taliban's brutality in killing people was highlighted, as bombing and slaughtering, to portray them as an inhuman radical enemy. The killing was not arbitrary but rather planed, as the word " assassinated " appear around killing civilians and officials. The Taliban were systematically portrayed as a common enemy for the civilians and the officials to gain regional support and unity in fighting the Taliban. As the casualties of the airstrikes were not reported in the Afghani news, the word 'martyred' was not found around the civilian victims who died during the

airstrikes conducted by the US, NATO, and Afghani forces. The Taliban were not referred to either as martyrs or being martyred in all news reporting.

4.1.2.2 The Word 'Killed' in the Civilians Context

When reading the second and third examples of the conflict-related words' paragraph again, one can detect the use of the word 'killed' referring to the Taliban losses. After analyzing all articles that contained the word 'Killed' in the Before Power corpus, the results show that 'Killed' was used 99% to refer to the death of the Taliban. 1% of the word 'Killed' usage referred to the civilians when the Taliban killed them within a sentimental phrase mediated by the government and its associates towards these victims. Phrases such as '*including many women children*', *'maimed many young hopeful'* and '*heinous acts of terror'*.
As the following examples show:

1. *"Civilians have been killed and injured,* ***including women and children****"* (October 17, 2020).

This example is a republished quote from the United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan's speech *'Call for Halt to Violence in Afghanistan'.* The organization pointed at the violent escalation of the Taliban in Afghanistan and condemned the killing of civilians. The word selection aimed to stress the UNAMA's solidarity with civilians and invoke the public emotion of rejection towards the Taliban's violence. 'Killed' was used to refer to civilians and specified women and children as they are vulnerable victims in the case of war.

2. *"The suicide attack at a private learning center in West of Kabul killed 11 and* ***maimed many young hopefuls.*** *The rotten ideology of quest for false heaven has to be rooted out. Talibs & IS-K share the same ideological gene"* (October 26, 2020).

The previous example is a quote from the vice president's tweet, '*Taliban, IS-K Share Same Ideological Gene'*. The word *killed* and *maimed many young hopefuls* referred to students to shed light over the brutal ideology of the Taliban as students' killers. The context placed the Taliban and ISIS under the same brutal category.

The common denominator in using emotionally invoking phrases around 'Killed' is to assert national and governmental solidarity with civilians to strengthen their social bond. It also aims to invoke rejection toward the Taliban's violent ideologies that is aiming to destroy the social cohesion between the legit government and society.

4.1.2.3 'Peace Talks' Context in the Taliban Representation

The peace proposal was promoted by internal and external pressure where the word 'Talks' shows the interested parties of the peace talks process between the Taliban and the Afghan government. The results reveal that government officials are welcoming the signing of the proposal. External powers were also supporting the ceasefire as the provided examples demonstrate external support:

1. *President Donald Trump's administration brokered **peace talks** between the Afghan government and the Taliban to end 19 years of war. A condition of the agreement, to get the Taliban to the talk's tables, was that the United States will pull out its troops by April or May next year* (October 3, 2020).

The USA was one of the supporters of the peace talks, even a key role in the advancement of the peace talks where the Taliban demanded the USA withdrawal as a primary condition to come to the discussion table for the peace process. Language use aims to highlight the Taliban's reluctance to participate in the negotiations. The Taliban's reluctance is implied by the use of the phrase *to get the Taliban to the talk's table*.

2. *The Afghan government welcomed the statement issued by the Heads of Mission of the European Union and Canada on the imminent **peace talks** between the Afghan government and the Taliban delegation* (September 5, 2020).

3. *FM Atmar also thanked Pakistan for playing an active role in the Afghan peace process and for supporting the **peace talks** between the government of IRoA and the Taliban* (September 5, 2020).

In the two examples above, the government welcoming and thanking the foreign efforts to bring peace suggests the government's compliance with the peace proposal with the Taliban.
The government is concerned about the security situation in the country, as well as worried about the Taliban's continuing with the attacks despite the ongoing discussions regarding the ceasefire process.

4. *VP Saleh was one of many who condemned the incident and questioned the **high levels of violence** despite ongoing peace talks in Doha (*October 26, 2020).

5. *The Afghan government and the Taliban officially began the intra-Afghan talks in Qatar's capital city, Doha. However, the talks are currently mired in negotiations over the framework, **even as violence and bomb blasts continue in Afghanistan*** (October 10, 2020).

In the context of last two examples, the government implied message is absolving themselves of the Taliban's unwillingness to comply with the peace process under the supervision of the countries who support this step. The Taliban's indifference to civilian lives was implied in the previous two examples as the Taliban continued with their attacks even while both sides were negotiating the ceasefire. The common denominator around the peace talk context was stressing the government and the international alliances' willingness to discuss the peace proposal with the Taliban to provide safe

and secure living for the civilians. The Taliban was presented as the main obstacle in front of the peace attempts and the safe living conditions for the Afghans.

4.1.3 The Officials, as the Power Resource, Provide the Information to the Media

The resource of the published information in this analysis is of importance to know under which opinion the news is published, as well as to detect the power dominators that use the news to circulate the discourse. The presence of 'Told BNA' was a high frequency among the After power keywords. Various information sources were detected when looking at the collocations around the cluster. All news reporting adopts only the official point of view. The newspaper did not include the locals' point of view regarding what happened in the events. The provided examples detect the source of the news information:

1. *Kapisa police spokesman Abdul Shaqayeq Shurash **told BNA** that the men were martyred in Qorghul Issakhail area of Tagab district when a Taliban group opened fire on their car* (October 4, 2020).

The resource of the information is a governmental police spokesman describing to Bakhtar news agency how the Taliban killed the civilians. The spokesman chose the word *martyred* to refer to the Taliban's victims.

2. *A senior Atal Army Corps official in south of the country **told BNA** that 15 Taliban terrorists were killed, and six others wounded in the airstrike* (November 09, 2020)

The corps official is the information source in the previous example. His word choice when referring to the Taliban was *terrorists* while reporting the events to the news reporter.

3. *Daikundi security officials **told BNA** that defense officials prevented a number of Taliban's attacks in parts of Nawa Mish district in the province* (August 20, 2020).

The security official is the resource of the information in the last example. He tells the newspaper reporter about succeeding in the governmental defences to prevent attacks launched by the Taliban.

In the Before power corpus case, the security and the state officials are the information's resource, or in other words, the heard voice by the discourse receivers. This determines the word choice's selector in media, hence determining whose point of view forms the media discourse. The exclusivity of the reporting to the officials makes the circulated reporting selective. It also reflects the neglecting of the civic society's opinion when it comes to published media.

4.2 Analysis of the Islamic Emirate Keywords Context After the Power Change

The same concept of the Before Power analysis section was adopted when analyzing the After Power corpus. In this section, the study focuses on the recurrent themes that emerge around the After Power keywords list and reveal how the Islamic Emirate is portrayed in these themes. The themes are followed with some examples from the corpus to demonstrate the language used in each theme. A list of the themes is provided to give an overview of the After power analysis.

Table D: The recurrent themes in the context of the After Power keywords.

• The Islamic Emirate as a government with enhancement plans.
• Connections between the Islamic Emirate and society.
• The states officials as the Power resource which provides the information to the media.

4.2.1 The Islamic Emirate as a Government with Enhancement Plans

When looking at the words of the After Power keyword list, one sees a change in the frequent theme around the Taliban or what has changed in 2022 Afghan news to the 'Islamic Emirate'. The conflict terms disappeared, which signals a calmer situation in Afghanistan in 2022 under the role of the Islamic Emirate. Other words appeared like 'Culture', 'Education', 'Aid', and 'Businessmen' indicating a rebuilding notion. Examining the context around these words provides a clearer picture of the relation between these words and the Islamic Emirate. Names of ministers, leaders, and officials of the Islamic Emirate surrounded these words. The common theme in the context around the selected words reflects enhancements in the country executed by the new government. The following examples show how these words are connected to portray the Islamic Emirate positively:

1. ***Minister*** *Khairkhwa met with the head of Information and Culture of Bamyan Mawlawi Saif ul-Rahman Mohammadi to discuss better preservation of the historical sites in that province, added to the statement.*

The minister is presenting the Islamic Emirate as a government concerned about preserving and strengthening Afghanistan's cultural heritage.

2. ***Officials*** *of the Bamyan Department of Education say that they have done significant work to improve the education process in the past year and have achieved good results (*October 1, 2022).

One of the Islamic Emirate representatives is addressing the positive improvements in the educational section under the role of the Islamic Emirate. The Islamic Emirate's support for education in Afghanistan is implied in the improvements they could achieve under their rolling period.

3. *Mullah Mohammad Juma a local **official** of Nimroz during the distribution of the aid told BNA that each beggar received 5,000 Afghanis in cash after a survey from the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan* (October 12, 2022).

The word *aid* was related to the Islamic Emirate as a government with plans to enhance the financial condition of its compatriots. People in need were specified in the provided example to show that government stand with the low-income class as well.

4. *The Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan has always pushed to provide necessary facilities to Afghan businessmen and connect Afghanistan with the big markets of the region* (October 10, 2022).

The word 'Businessmen' context portrays the Islamic Emirate as the facilitator of proper ground for businessmen to invest in Afghanistan. The portrayal aimed to show the economic advancement the government is making in the country.

In all previous examples, the officials of the Islamic Emirate were involved. Their involvement was carrying a positive representation of themselves. The representation of the Islamic Emirate aimed to promote them as a legit government that is capable of rebuilding the nation.

Within the same context, the words 'Country' and 'Countries' emerge to portray the Islamic Emirate positively. The portrayal revolved around the contribution of the new government to improve, rebuild, and secure the country and enhance the state's relationship with the international community after the power shift. The context around the word 'Country' and 'Countries' is provided in the following examples:

5. *The **Islamic Emirate** is striving to build industrial parks, and commercial and agricultural centers in all the provinces so that the country can reach full self-sufficiency added to the statement of the **ministry*** (October 27, 2022).

The Islamic Emirate representative claims that Afghanistan's self-sufficiency is possible with governmental production planning, which signals independence from other actors.

6. *After the **Islamic Emirate** regain sovereignty in the country, the reconstruction and restoration of the airports began* (September 21, 2022).

The national defence minister's statement stressed the Islamic Emirate's efforts to rebuild the country after reaching the power position.

7. ***Mawlawi*** *added "now security has been established in the whole country and everyone, including foreign tourists, can go to any part of the country and visit historical places and natural landscapes without any security tension"* (September 28, 2022).

The Islamic Emirate leader emphasizes the high level of security that the new government enforced after the power shift. He added that the country is secure not only for the Afghans but also for tourists to visit the country safely.

8. ***The Islamic Emirate is striving to connect*** *Afghanistan with other countries of the world, especially Turkey, Europe, India, and Arab countries through the same air corridors* (October 10, 2022).

The Islamic Emirate is trying to regain international relations to activate the trade route that passes Afghanistan, resulting in a better national economy for Afghans.

9. *Kabir said, most of the countries have* ***good interaction and relations with us*** *adding that talks with other countries, including the US, continue, and hopefully, it will result in good deeds* (October 10, 2022).

The deputy prime minister asserted restoring international relations and specified the US as it associated with the previous government against what was previously called the Taliban. The statement implies international recognition and connection with foreign countries.

All previous examples bore a common denominator, in which a positive portrayal of the Islamic Emirate was given. The commonality revolved around various interior improvements executed by the Islamic Emirate government in several state sectors, such as securing, rebuilding, and developing the country. Exteriorly, the portrayal focused on shedding light on enhancing Afghanistan's economy by trading with international countries and promoting for global recognition, which the Taliban is close to get, according to their claims. Media discourse did not mention the major power countries' concerns about Afghanistan becoming a safe haven for international terrorist networks, and human rights were not mentioned even though these are the main conditions for the recognition. The minimizations of human rights and the economic crisis (Abawe et al., 2022) were replaced with achievement claims, as the negative representation is against the agenda of media discourse around the Islamic Emirate government.

4.2.2 Connections between the Islamic Emirate and Society

Unity and solidarity reappeared prominently in the After Power discourse as well. The language was used to generate unity, but this time between the Islamic Emirate and the Afghans. The context between some words and the keyword list, such as 'Country', 'Problems', 'Scholars' and the Islamic

Emirate, showed how the government is concerned about its compatriots and that Afghanistan can pass through this hard time by unity. The context around the word 'Year' showed that the used language aimed to legitimize the Islamic Emirate with all obstacles that were exceeded in a year and delegitimize the previous government with all failures and problems that they left behind. The following analysis covers deeper all the points above.

4.2.2.1 The Context between 'Country', 'Problems', Scholars, and Governmental Officials

The context around 'Country' carried another theme when representing the Islamic Emirate. Other words also carried the same theme, such as 'Problems', 'Scholars', and names or positions of the Islamic Emirate representatives that appeared in the keyword list, such as 'Minister', Ministry, 'Mawlawi', and 'Kabir'. The common theme in the context around these words is the Islamic Emirate unity and solidarity with Afghans. The following examples provide how the words have a connection to form the context of unity and solidarity:

1. ***Mawlawi Kabir**, thanked them and said that bridging the gap between the Islamic Emirate and the people, serving the people and the country with honesty is the main goal of the Islamic Emirate* (October 2, 2022).

The PM deputy of the Islamic Emirate aimed in his statement to create a positive connection with the compatriots as he stressed prioritizing serving the Afghan nation.

2. *Afterward, **he** listened to the problems of the people of Wakhan, promising them that their community issues will be address consistently* (August 21, 2022).

The Islamic Emirate representation focused on the governmental concerns about Afghan society. The border minister represented the government as a solution which solves the social issues in Afghanistan.

3. *"**Our** scholars and people are aware of the failed efforts of sectarian separatists and will not allow any direction to invent religious, ethnic, linguistic and directional divisions and prejudices between them" (*October 2, 2022).

The foreign minister generates a trust connection between the government and its people. He relied on the people's awareness of standing as one in front of the segregation. The Islamic Emirate equality among the Afghan nation was implied in the PM statement.

4. *The Ministry of Foreign of the **Islamic Emirate** of Afghanistan, in a statement, said that the recent attacks on mosques, academic centers and public places is a conspiracy by the enemies of the Afghan people, and expressed their profound condolences to the families of the victims* (October 2, 2022).

The foreign minister asserts the Islamic Emirate's solidarity with the family of victims killed in the explosion. The minister also announced the condemnation of the actions of the country's enemies who want to destabilize Afghanistan.

A positive connection in the previous examples was presented in the context around the underlined words with the Islamic Emirate or its representatives. The connection between the Islamic Emirate and the Afghan society focused on unity and solidarity, which was the common thread in the representation. The representation was used to invoke belonging and solidarity among the government and society to form unity against enemies who want to divide society and destabilize the security. The Shia Muslims' suppression by the government forces (Hakimi, 2022) was not mentioned in the media reporting as it is against the picture of unity the government is striving to convey through the discourse.

4.2.2.2 Year's Context to Connect the Islamic Emirate with Society and Disconnect the Former Government

The word 'Year' appeared around the Islamic Emirate to emphasize the government's improvements that were obtained within a year since they took power in Afghanistan. *Year* usage did not stop at the level of positive representation of the Islamic Emirate achievement but also stressed connection with society and implemented disconnection between people and the former government. The following examples will provide the context around *year* and the Islamic Emirate:

1. *In the last six months, more than 6 billion Afghanis were collected from Kandahar Customs, which shows a 70% **increase** compared to last year* (October 29, 2022).

In the finance ministry announcement, the increase in the national income from exporting was compared to the previous governments' achievement during their last year of governing, which implies the current government's success in recovering Afghanistan's economy after the economic recession the country faced during the previous years.

2. *In the past year, **for the first time**, an orphanage center was established in Bamyan, where dozens of students are currently studying* (October 1, 2022).

In the context, the achievement of the Islamic Emirate was supported with *for the first time*, to stress that the previous government should have done that when it was governing. The Islamic Emirate want to show seriousness about making changes for a better Afghanistan.

3. *Mullah Khairullah Khairkhah called the last year full of achievements and according to him, during a year, the Ministry has taken concrete steps to* ***restore the former illusion*** *of the Ministry* (October 6, 2022).

The Islamic Emirate minister highlights the achievement of the Islamic Emirate within one year in the rolling position. The statement included corrective actions of the previous government's mistakes in managing the ministry.

The context around 'Year' highlighted the accomplishment of the Islamic Emirate within a year of governing to gain closeness with Afghan society. Meanwhile, the same sentence carried out a negative representation of the previous government's claimed failure. The positive representation of the Islamic Emirate and the negative representation of the former government was used to legitimize the power assumption of the current government as the appropriate leadership for Afghanistan, then delegitimize the previous leadership by blaming them for the failures in Afghanistan.

4.2.3 The State Officials, as the Power Resource, which Provide the Information to the Media

Language addressors in the After Power corpus were high-in-rank representatives of the Islamic Emirate. The word 'supreme' refers to Mawlawi and his speech or decree. The addressors were, in other findings, ministers of the government, such as 'Kabir', 'Mujahed', and 'Muttaqi'. The following examples demonstrate the addressors of the After Power discourse:

1. *The supreme leader of the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan* ***issued a decree lately****, in propose to free Afghanistan from drugs* (October 16, 2022).

The Islamic Emirate supreme leader is the resource of information in the news. He is represented as the one who can issue the regulations, for example forbidding drugs in Afghanistan.

2. *Mujahid* ***said that*** *Afghanistan was safe for all people including tourists and assured that anyone can visit the country legally without any concerns.* **(**July 21, 2022).

One of the Islamic Emirate representatives assured that Afghanistan is safe for people and tourists to visit under the government's security.

3. *Mawlawi Abdul Kabir* ***said that*** *the development of the people and their social and economic live situation is the IEA [1]priority* (July 21, 2022).

The PM deputy assured the Afghan society that the government prioritizes increasing individual income.

4. *The Foreign Minister Amir Khan Muttaqi* ***said that*** *the Ministry opened all borders to businessmen and citizens of the country in its effort during the past year* (September 7, 2022).

The governmental enhancements in the facilities to improve Afghanistan's economic and industrial situation are also statements from government officials.

The keyword list analysis shows that the top of the hierarchical pyramid in the Islamic Emirate are the discourse addressors in the published news. The civilians' opinion was neglected in the reporting. This determines, on the one hand, the power dominator in the country. On the other hand, it determines under whose choice the used language was circulated. Depending on the results, the Islamic Emirate controlled the language of the media discourse and excluded public opinion from being heard in the published news.

4.3 Comparison between the Results of After and Before Power Discourses

Changing the name of the Taliban to Islamic Emirate was not the only change that occurred in the Before Power and After Power discourse, as the summary of the changes shows:

Table E: Summary of how the discourse changed 2020-2022, which is further discussed below.

The Taliban Negative portrayal 2020		The Islamic Emirate positive portrayal 2022
Killing Civilians and Destroying schools, houses, and Afghanistan's infrastructure.	→	Rebuilding schools, houses, and infrastructure and securing the civilians
A common enemy for civilians and officials	→	Uniting with civilians against the countries' enemies
A reader receives the former government's political standpoint. Civilians' opinion is disregarded.	→	A reader receives the Islamic Emirate political standpoint. Civilians' opinion is disregarded.

In the Before Power discourse, the used language in describing the Taliban focused on portraying the Taliban as the main reason for destabilizing the country. The Before Power keywords list contained conflict and destruction-related words where all negative attitudes and portrayals were attributed to the Taliban as killers and saboteur group. The representation of the Islamic Emirate in the After power corpus changed from a terrorist organization planting bombs and destroying the country into a legitimate government that is capable of forming all the governmental institutions. The conflict-

[1] IEA is an acronym of the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan.

related words were replaced with enhancing processes executed by the Islamic Emirate. The discourse focused on the Islamic Emirate strengthening the country by supporting various sectors in the state as improving the educational and cultural sections, backing businessmen and investors who want to run beneficial projects to rebuild the country, securing Afghanistan, and strengthening international relations. As it was a negative portrayal in the Before Power discourse, the language use in the After Power discourse focused on the enhancements of the Islamic Emirate to abolish the negative picture that the Before Power corpus carried in representing the Taliban. It was noticeable that the Taliban were presented in the Before Power discourse as figures without names but rather negative adjectives as a way to dehumanize them. In the After Power corpus, the first 100 words of the keyword list contained 11 names, all names were officials in the Islamic Emirate.

The context around the Before Power keywords list showed the government's solidarity and unity with the victims of the Taliban attacks and rejection for the Taliban's actions. The word choice in the Before Power discourse was used to generate unity between the government and the civilians for two reasons. The first one is to legitimize the government's stay in power and to delegitimize the Taliban's existence in Afghanistan. The second reason was to criminalize the Taliban attacks and justify the governmental attacks on the Taliban. A similar use of the language was detected in the After Power corpus, but this time to regenerate unity and solidarity between the Islamic Emirate and Afghans, also to give a notion that the Islamic Emirate is the legitimate ruler of the country. The discourse was promoting the Islamic Emirate's goodness and unity with its people to legitimize the power shift and to pass a picture of the failure of the previous incompetent government to the discourse consumers.

The discourse producers were limited to the power dominator in both corpora. During the Before Power corpus analysis, the Taliban did not contribute with any information or statement to the published news. Having the government officials as a resource of information grants domination to the former government over the discourse and over the word choice of the circulated news around the Taliban. In the After Power corpus, the discourse producers changed with the power shift towards the Islamic Emirate. The Islamic Emirate dominated the circulated news, and readers now received the news from the new power dominator's political opinion and word choice. Imposing control over the discourse was an astute point that the Islamic Emirate was aware of (Yousaf & Jabarkhail, 2022). The Islamic Emirate's awareness of the media role was seen in using language in the After Power discourse to disprove the negative portrayal that was circulated around the Taliban before reaching the power position. Both discourses used the same linguistic tactics in promoting the positive we and highlighting the negative they. In both discourses, civic opinion was kept away from the media, even when both discourses promoted their unity with society.

5 Conclusion

Applying Fairclough's approach to the analysis of Afghan media discourse, this study analyzed the linguistic representation of the Taliban before and after reaching the power position in Afghanistan. It sought to reveal how linguistic choices were employed to create a negative or positive portrayal of the Taliban in the Afghan media discourse. It also touched upon Afghanistan's social and political situation before and after the power shift.

The results revealed that the Before Power discourse focused on giving the Taliban negative portrayals. The conflict-related words were the highly frequent words around the Taliban. The context between the conflict words and the Taliban is picturing the Taliban as a terrorist organization that kills civilians and destroys the country to get to the power position. The conflict-related words disappeared in the After power discourse to be replaced with the rebuild and improvement-related words around the Islamic Emirate. The Islamic Emirate was presented only positively in the media discourse as a government with enhancement processes. The discourse focused on the governmental willingness to improve various state sectors to verify their role in the advancement of society and the economy in the country.

The context around the high-frequency words of the Before Power corpus pictured the Taliban as a common enemy for the government and the civilians where civilians were portrayed as a target among other targets for the Taliban. The disconnection between the Taliban and the civilians was stressed as well in portraying the Taliban as impeders to the peace process in the country. The After Power corpus words context focused on the Islamic Emirate concerns about the country's society, economy, and security. The governmental concerns implied unity and solidarity between the Islamic Emirate and the Afghan society.

In both before and after power discourse, the media focused on the officials' point of view in the reporting. The power dominators were in control over the circulated news and the word choice of the media discourse. The civilians' voice was suppressed in both periods.

However, media discourses focused on highlighting positivity and blocked out all the negative portrayals around the ruling side. The negativity was attributed to the other side, which does not sit in the ruling position in the conflict. Media discourse portrayed the Taliban as the primary reason for the upheaval and the killing in Afghanistan in the Before discourse. The improbable change in the Media discourse was seen in the After Power discourse. The Islamic Emirate was presented as a legit government that is able to rebuild the nation, whereas the former governments were blamed for Afghanistan's failure in all aspects.

5.1 Limitations and Suggestions for Further Studies

The findings of this study have to be seen in light of some limitations. The study was based on primary sources of digitalized newspapers published in Afghanistan. The research could not benefit the opportunity to survey and interview people currently living in Afghanistan. However, it would be

interesting to compare the results of this study to the survey and interview results. This comparison could show the extent to which the new ideology is practised within various classes of Afghani society.

The same study could have been more extensive by including more words in the comparison between Before Power and After Power corpora. Due to the time and study length limitations, this study minimized the included tokens from the corpora to include only the top 20 hits of both keywords' lists. A suggestion for another study would be to include as many words as possible from the corpora to obtain wider research.

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7 Appendix

The keyword list as the Before power corpus is the reference and the After power corpus is the target:

KWIC | Plot | File | Cluster | N-Gram | Collocate | Word | Keyword

Keyword Types 231/5253 **Keyword Tokens** 26262/71056 **Page Size** 100 hits 1 to 100 of 231 hits

	Type	Rank	Freq_Tar	Freq_Ref	Range_Tar	Range_Ref	Keyness (Likelihood)	Keyness (Effect)
1	taliban	1	1755	2	496	2	2427.894	0.048
2	killed	2	613	50	252	26	567.193	0.017
3	were	3	921	230	362	106	448.188	0.026
4	insurgents	4	271	1	161	1	364.591	0.008
5	peace	5	368	34	95	23	325.335	0.010
6	attack	6	344	30	177	15	310.507	0.010
7	district	7	390	56	242	37	282.288	0.011
8	wounded	8	248	9	166	9	278.854	0.007
9	clashes	9	164	0	100	0	227.671	0.005
10	president	10	221	14	59	10	220.121	0.006
11	forces	11	415	95	229	49	217.595	0.012
12	talks	12	205	11	77	8	212.925	0.006
13	night	13	203	15	185	9	193.373	0.006
14	civilians	14	161	10	86	4	161.151	0.005
15	security	15	552	211	295	90	159.021	0.015
16	corps	16	175	15	147	7	158.750	0.005
17	mine	17	134	5	51	3	149.846	0.004
18	violence	18	114	1	56	1	148.122	0.003
19	afghan	19	598	252	168	119	146.137	0.017
20	in	20	2894	2074	495	311	141.539	0.076
21	troops	21	109	1	81	1	141.268	0.003
22	bna	22	247	51	229	50	140.758	0.007
23	told	23	202	31	196	30	140.611	0.006
23	told	23	202	31	196	30	140.611	0.006
24	armed	24	139	9	108	7	137.552	0.004
25	militants	25	105	1	80	1	135.788	0.003
26	fighters	26	133	8	92	4	134.230	0.004
27	yesterday	27	94	0	90	0	130.448	0.003
28	last	28	244	58	213	36	123.583	0.007
29	kandahar	29	172	27	74	11	118.113	0.005
30	attacks	30	152	19	95	9	117.985	0.004
31	checkpoints	31	84	0	71	0	116.565	0.002
32	helmand	32	172	29	61	10	113.015	0.005
33	army	33	144	19	129	8	108.807	0.004
34	others	34	183	37	129	31	105.934	0.005
35	air	35	146	21	85	10	105.393	0.004
36	intra	36	80	1	36	1	101.620	0.002
37	attacked	37	93	4	82	4	101.256	0.003
38	blast	38	86	3	49	1	97.256	0.002
39	group	39	153	29	127	16	92.870	0.004
40	targeted	40	106	10	89	7	92.819	0.003
41	morning	41	73	1	68	1	92.084	0.002
42	two	42	269	92	160	62	91.007	0.008
43	abdullah	43	71	1	20	1	89.363	0.002
44	ceasefire	44	64	0	36	0	88.802	0.002
45	martyred	45	112	14	62	9	86.912	0.003

The keyword list as the After power corpus is a reference and Before power corpus is a target:

	Type	Rank	Freq_Tar	Freq_Ref	Range_Tar	Range_Ref	Keyness (Likelihood)	Keyness (Effect)
1	emirate	1	815	5	312	3	1079.073	0.023
2	islamic	2	910	75	312	39	838.621	0.025
3	of	3	4224	2652	313	473	378.104	0.108
4	the	4	7024	5192	313	494	298.272	0.169
5	minister	5	387	70	164	33	242.363	0.011
6	deputy	6	284	32	110	26	230.890	0.008
7	ministry	7	389	94	121	72	193.607	0.011
8	afghanistan	8	929	458	261	123	163.949	0.026
9	prime	9	152	8	79	6	158.187	0.004
10	mawlawi	10	112	3	77	3	131.526	0.003
11	iea	11	85	0	65	0	117.744	0.002
12	country	12	535	238	191	151	117.225	0.015
13	countries	13	201	41	82	21	115.191	0.006
14	problems	14	99	4	67	4	108.863	0.003
15	kabir	15	73	0	24	0	101.115	0.002
16	mujahid	16	88	3	41	1	99.688	0.002
17	scholars	16	88	3	37	3	99.688	0.002
18	muttaqi	18	71	0	21	0	98.343	0.002
19	supreme	19	82	2	32	1	97.457	0.002
20	year	20	120	17	49	14	87.077	0.003
21	education	21	128	21	39	8	85.273	0.004
22	culture	22	79	4	31	3	82.912	0.002
23	aid	23	85	6	40	5	81.840	0.002
	Type	Rank	Freq_Tar	Freq_Ref	Range_Tar	Range_Ref	Keyness (Likelihood)	Keyness (Effect)
24	and	24	2706	2096	304	428	79.354	0.071
25	sector	25	68	2	39	2	78.797	0.002
26	businessmen	26	62	1	25	1	76.990	0.002
27	haqqani	27	55	0	25	0	76.175	0.002
28	leader	28	102	14	42	8	75.272	0.003
29	pm	29	65	2	44	2	74.818	0.002
30	department	30	94	12	41	8	71.985	0.003
31	information	31	111	19	48	12	71.969	0.003
32	is	32	507	275	189	122	69.866	0.014
33	hanafi	33	56	1	21	1	68.880	0.002
34	world	34	125	27	66	19	68.414	0.004
35	meeting	35	177	57	100	30	64.468	0.005
36	officials	36	240	96	147	69	63.662	0.007
37	amir	37	45	0	28	0	62.322	0.001
38	beradar	38	43	0	15	0	59.552	0.001
39	earthquake	38	43	0	16	0	59.552	0.001
40	lately	38	43	0	42	0	59.552	0.001
41	economic	41	97	18	60	9	59.548	0.003
42	azizi	42	41	0	13	0	56.781	0.001
43	revenue	42	41	0	17	0	56.781	0.001
44	water	44	46	1	12	1	55.416	0.001
45	mawlavi	45	57	4	39	4	54.967	0.002
46	foreign	46	173	62	73	31	54.478	0.005