

Cross-Border Narratives: Construction of Pakistan's Image on Facebook in Afghanistan

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Abstract

In Afghanistan, misconceptions about Pakistan are widespread. This study aims to understand those misconceptions by examining social media discourses. Facebook is a popular social network in Afghanistan; therefore, between October 2020 and February 2021, the researchers studied the discourses on selected Facebook pages, including those run by news organizations and individual users. Using Critical Discourse Analysis, 205 posts in toto and the comments made on them by users were analysed. The analysis found that Afghans have negative feelings toward Pakistan and Pakistanis, perceiving them as both "others" and "enemies." However, the perception of Pakistan as an enemy state dominated the discourses produced on individually run pages, as well as the comments made by users. The study concludes that all Afghans harbour prejudices against Pakistanis and that the majority regard Pakistan as an enemy state. The researchers recommend more studies on wider Afghan media discourses to validate these findings.

Keywords: Pakistan, Afghanistan, Other, Enemy, Facebook

Introduction

Contemporary Afghanistan has seen a huge rise and the popularity of social media in general, and Facebook in particular, which has significantly increased regular messaging and image sharing among Afghans. In addition, they have a tremendous impact on the spread and dissemination of political narratives and ideologies within Afghan society. Among social media platforms, Facebook is the most popular platform in Afghanistan, with over 2.5 million Facebook users, followed by Twitter and other networks. These users generally use social media for the purpose of news updates, information sharing, and political participation (Ibrahimi et al., 2015). Also, there are some pro-government and anti-government groups, which primarily utilize social media platforms like Facebook to share their opinions and shape public perceptions of certain groups both inside and outside of Afghanistan, such as Pakistanis and Iranians. For example, it has been observed in recent years that after any violent incidents in Afghanistan, there was a flood of Facebook posts

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blaming Pakistan and Iran for the bloodshed in the country (Ibrahimi et al., 2015). Since many Afghans have long held negative views about Pakistan, as the existing research indicate (Durani & Khan, 2002), the present study aims to look into the ways Pakistan is being discussed on Facebook in Afghanistan and what image of Pakistan or Pakistanis predominates in the country. The following section briefly reviews the literature that points out the factors that contribute to Pakistan's negative image in Afghanistan.

Literature Review

Pakistan and Afghanistan are neighbouring countries that share close historical ties, a common religious identity, exceptional social fabric likeness, traditional empathy, and ethno-cultural roots, dating back to the pre-division Indian subcontinent (Mairaj-ul-Hamid, 2017). However, it is an unfortunate historical reality that Afghanistan has maintained an adversarial stance towards Pakistan since its independence on August 14, 1947, due to many reasons (Burke & Ziring, 1973). One of them, for example, is the Durand Line issue, which caused anger between the two countries, leading Afghanistan to vote against Pakistan's membership in the United Nations on September 30, the same year. Although the negative vote was immediately rejected, the seeds of mistrust planted early on harmed the relationship (Ahmad, 2010). Another example is the Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan in 1979, and the subsequent Afghans seeking refuge in Pakistan, which has remained a source of concern for both countries, even though Pakistan welcomed Afghans and it has hosted around three million refugees (Hussain & Latif, 2012). Following Taliban attacks on the Afghan Parliament and Kabul Airport in the recent past, Afghan President Ashraf Ghani declared that Pakistan was the source of the attacks and that "Pakistan is in an unceasing spontaneous war with Afghanistan" (Haider, 2015). Amidst all of this, Afghans' negative sentiments regarding Pakistan are now also sourced from the media, particularly social media.

Afghanistan's media has grown significantly in recent years, with over 80 terrestrial television stations, more than 175 FM radio stations, and hundreds of print media outlets by the end of 2012 (Ibrahimi et al., 2015). However, most of the debates in the news and views programmes on Afghan TV channels have been observed to be biased toward Pakistan. Take the matter of Afghan refugees, who have been hosted by the Pakistani government for nearly forty years, for instance, which the Afghan media has exploited to defame Pakistan. Some recent instances of this defamation of Pakistan included the negative coverage of the living conditions of Afghan refugees in Pakistan and the forceful deportation of these refugees by the Pakistani authorities. Similarly, the arrest and prosecution of Sharbat Gul, a well-known National Geographic Woman, for carrying a fake Pakistani national identity card has been reported by Afghan media as part of the persecution of Afghan refugees in Pakistan (Boone, 2016). The growing popularity and power of social media in the world have

forced traditional media outlets to establish an online presence to disseminate their narratives, which they tend to develop or popularize more widely.

The media has an apparent impact on information diffusion, the formation of ideologies, conflicts, and peace. Of course, Pakistan and Afghanistan are no exception in terms of media coverage. Like Afghanistan, India and Pakistan are neighbours, but their relations have not been favourable since the independence of both countries. A recent study examined the ways the Indian press portrayed Pakistan and India. It revealed that the Indian press used ideological language to present India as a powerful country with many allies while portraying Pakistan as a weak and lonely country, afflicted by fraud, terrorism, and its implementers (Safi et al., 2020). "Ideologies are the fundamental beliefs of a group and its members" (Van Dijk, 2000, p. 7), and any discourse or language used by members of a particular group tend to be ideologically founded. Thus, the ideological language is centred around the sinister techniques of us vs. them (Bloor & Bloor, 2013). Lately, a recent study examined the textual and visual elements of the Pakistani Facebook page 'Khabees Or.' It revealed that standards and norms within Pakistani society were associated with individuals who were referred to as part of the ingroup, or "Us," while those who were referred to as part of the outgroup, or "Them," were associated with international norms and standards (Hayat et al., 2021).

The facts narrated above demonstrate how media discourses shape national identities by setting members of the ingroup (self) apart from the members of the outgroup (other). However, these identities (self and others) are constructed, reconstructed, or expressed on social media by members of in/out-groups rather than media professionals. A recent study looked at the discourses surrounding Persian and Arabic identities on social media and discovered self vs.-other images; people who identified with each identity depicted themselves positively and others negatively as negations of the self (Khosravinik & Sarkhoh, 2017). Likewise, social media in Afghanistan is playing a critical role in advancing ideological positions as well as disseminating political narratives. The findings of a study, for example, demonstrated that groups like the Taliban and Hezb-e-Islami portrayed Afghanistan on their social media accounts as an occupied country, with the Afghan government serving as a puppet. On the other hand, the Afghan government and pro-government organizations designated these groups as terrorists. However, Afghan individual social media users have expressed hostility to both terrorist groups and the Afghan government (Ibrahimi et al., 2015).

The facts reported in the preceding section have already revealed that Facebook is currently the most popular social network in Afghanistan after Twitter, and it is primarily utilized for news updates, sharing of information, and political activity (Ibrahimi et al., 2015). Afghan adolescents in Afghanistan spend over half an hour on Facebook daily, but they do not enthusiastically participate in any political discourse and even rarely follow Afghan politicians. Though Afghan adolescents'

participation in the 2019 presidential elections was disingenuous, they were active in polling activities on Facebook that required little effort and commitment (Orfan, 2020). Social media platforms allow people to write and share anything without any fear of violating the Afghan regulations; as a result, anyone in Afghanistan can post whatever they see, feel, or think is suitable. For example, according to Ibrahimi et al. (2015), anyone who supported Iran or Pakistan on social media was criticized and accused of being a spy and aiding neighbouring countries. It is generally accepted that all writing, including that on social media, expresses not just the writer's personal opinion, but also reflects societal thinking in some way (van Dijk, 2009a, 2009b; Wodak & Boukala, 2015). The previously discussed literature raises questions about the dominant discourses surrounding Pakistan that are disseminated through Facebook in Afghanistan, or more precisely, what are the most frequently discussed topics about Pakistan on Facebook in Afghanistan, and how these discourses construct Pakistan and Pakistanis, as well as the comments made by Facebook users on these discourses. This study attempts to address these questions using the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as a theoretical framework and method.

Theoretical Framework

According to Kress (1990) and van Dijk (1993), (as cited in Youssef, 2014, p. 8), CDA seeks to demonstrate the relationship between "linguistic-discursive practices" and "socio-political structures of power and domination," as well as the part discourse plays in the creation, replication, and contestation of power and dominance. In the social and political context, CDA reveals how ideologies (Fairclough, 2013), "social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context" (van Dijk, 2001, p. 352). One way that language expresses its power is through the media. Since media have surpassed all previous institutions of cultural creation and knowledge replication, they are at the center of scholarly interest in the modern world. According to Youssef (2014), there are a few factors that encourage interest in researching media discourses: first, media discourses are readily available data that offer a wealth of sources for the study. Second, media discourses both impact and reflect the views of speech communities regarding language. Third, media also shape and create the way politics, culture, ideological views, and social life are constructed and expressed. Last but not least, media discourses can disclose a great deal about the social meanings and prejudices that are created, ingrained, and perpetuated via communication and discourse (Youssef, 2014).

According to the CDA, text is a "specific and unique realization of a discourse and belongs to genres," while discourse is the "patterns and commonalities of knowledge and structures" (Wodak & Krzyzanowski, 2008, p. 6). This suggests that a range of texts and genres, including social media, can be used to realize discourses. Nowadays, heated debates that usually pit "us" against "them" are common on social media platforms, including Facebook, which frequently result in instances of

derogatory and abusive language use (Mondal et al., 2017). Within the CDA domain, there are several approaches for studying media discourse. But the "relational-dialectic," "discourse-historical," and "socio-cognitive" are the most frequently used ones. The first one looks into significant changes, occurring in the contemporary environment and how they affect the communication techniques of the general public (Fairclough, 1989). The second assumes "power, ideology, and history from a common ground for professionals in linguistics, semiotics, and discourse analysis despite the seemingly different background knowledge they advocate" (Mansouri et al., 2017, p. 2; Wodak & Reisigl, 2001). The third one examines the information, contexts, and ideological belief systems that make up a particular discourse while concentrating on racism and prejudice (van Dijk, 1991).

Within the CDA paradigm, van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach fits with the objectives of this study as it offers a general framework, namely the Ideological Square, which was the most frequently used approach, for studying identity construction (e.g., Self and Other). This study uses the same as its theoretical as well as analytical framework to examine how Pakistan is represented and constructed on Facebook in Afghanistan. The Ideological Square was defined as a division between "us" and "them" that manifests the positive and negative structures of the ingroup (us) and outgroup (them) in discourse and society (Van Dijk, 1993, 2000, 2011). Van Dijk (2000) framed the following four principles by which writers/speakers generally express their ideological positions:

- Emphasize positive things about 'us'
- Emphasize negative things about 'them'
- De-emphasize negative things about 'us'
- De-emphasize positive things about 'them'

Methodology

There are several methods for studying media discourses; nevertheless, content and discourse analysis are the most commonly employed. However, this study chose to take a discourse analysis because it provides a range of analytical frameworks that enable analysts to critically look at the language used to represent something or someone, as well as the intended goals behind this language use. The methodology employed in this study operates at two levels of analysis: the so-called entry-level analysis, which examines the content and related "surface" aspects; and the in-depth analysis, which investigates the patterns of representations (KhosraviNik et al., 2012). Within the entry-level analysis, the main category is that of discourse topics or themes, which are defined as units summarising the meaning of entire texts (KhosraviNik et al., 2012). This analysis involved multiple open-ended reads of each post for two reasons: first, to establish its relevance to the study; and second, to identify the dominant themes, or discourse topics (Carvalho, 2008). On the other hand, the in-depth analysis is guided by the linguistic devices used in the representation of positive

"self" and negative "other" presentation. The ideological square offers a variety of analytical techniques, one of them being "lexicalization," was used to examine how Pakistanis and Pakistan were represented and constructed in Facebook posts. Because the lexical choices made when presenting individuals or objects nouns, adjectives, adverbs, verbs, etc., convey not only the meanings of the presentation but also the judgments, positive or negative, of the individuals and objects (Shojaei et al., 2013). However, the first step in any discourse analysis is the systematic selection of data.

The posts on Facebook pages about Pakistan and user comments on those posts served as the main sources of data for this study. The sources of information and how all forms of news are disseminated on social media, particularly Facebook in Afghanistan, are as follows: (1) Facebook pages of news agencies; (2) pages of politicians; (3) pages of well-known news TVs; (4) most-viewed pages; (5) pages of civil activists and freelancers; and (6) individual users. However, it was impossible to choose them all since it would have taken a great deal of time and resources, which was outside the purview of this study. For this reason, the researchers preferred randomly choosing the most well-liked Facebook pages based on Afghanistan's native languages, including Pashto and Persian. The pages selected for this analysis are listed below, with the number of likes for each.

Table 1: *Selected Facebook Pages with Number of Likes*

No.	Name of the Page	Total Likes of the Page
1	Afghanistan My Passion	4.5M like
2	TOLO news	3.3M like
3	Pajhwok Afghan News	1.7M like
4	Amrullah Saleh	405K like

Afghanistan My Passion (AMP) is an individually run Facebook page and was selected based on the high number of likes. *Pajhwok Afghan News* (PAN) and *TOLO News* (TN) were selected because they post on Facebook in both languages, Pashto and Persian, and because PAN is run by Afghanistan's largest and independent news agency, and TN is managed by Afghanistan's first 24-hour news and current affairs channel. Amrullah Saleh's (AS) page posts in Persian, and though its likes were less as compared to other pages, it was selected because of the reason that Amrullah Saleh is an Afghan political figure who served as the first Vice President of Afghanistan. The posts from these Facebook pages that discussed Pakistan were manually searched by using the term "Pakistan." This search yielded a total of 205 posts during the randomly selected five-month period from October 1, 2020, to February 28, 2021.

The unit of analysis in this study was a single Facebook post or its users' comments; thus, all of the posts (205) underwent an initial analysis that included

numerous critical readings of each post, which assisted in finding the prominent themes (or discourse topics) discussed on Facebook, related to Pakistan. The researchers next looked at the lexical choices in these posts to better understand how Pakistan is represented and constructed on the selected Facebook pages. Finally, they studied the comments made by Facebook users on these posts, which helped them understand the public perception of Pakistan. The section below presents the key findings from this analysis.

Key Findings

An entry-level analysis was conducted on all 205 posts that were extracted from the selected Facebook pages. The analysis identified the prevalent discourse topics about Pakistan in the Facebook posts. The discourse topics and the number of posts for each topic from each Facebook page are presented in the following table:

Table 2: *Discourse of Topics Emerged in Facebook Posts (Oct 1, 2020 -Feb 28, 2021)*

No.	Discourse Topic	Number of Posts				Total
		AMP	PAN	AS	TN	
1.	Culture	1	5	0	0	6
2.	Education	0	6	1	2	9
3.	Health/ Development	4	0	0	4	8
4.	Sport	0	5	0	4	9
5.	Trade	4	7	1	5	17
6.	Military	4	7	3	4	18
7.	Terrorism	4	3	33	5	45
8.	Politics	7	41	10	30	88
9.	Refugees	0	5	0	0	5
	TOTAL	24	79	48	54	205

The results presented in the above table indicate that the majority of Pakistan-related posts on the selected Facebook pages discussed political themes, accounting for 43% of total posts, followed by the topic of terrorism (22%). Critical analysis of these results revealed that politics-related topics were most frequently discussed on the PAN page, accounting for 47% of all politics-related posts (88), followed by TN (34%). The higher number of posts on political themes on these two pages could be attributed to the fact that the former is the Facebook page of Afghanistan's largest news agency, while the latter is the page of Afghanistan's television news channel, and news organizations typically prefer political issues because they appeal to a wider audience, nationally and internationally (McChesney, 2002). These findings suggest that the Afghan media organizations discuss political topics related to Pakistan on their Facebook pages more frequently than individually operated pages, presumably to boost viewership.

The results shown in the above table further demonstrate that PAN posted Pakistan-related posts more frequently, accounting for 39% of the total, followed by TN (26%), AN (23%), and AMP (12%). These findings imply that all of the Facebook pages discussed Pakistan and Pakistanis, albeit with differences; therefore, it is reasonable to select them all for in-depth analysis.

To understand how Pakistan and Pakistanis are represented and constructed, the researchers searched for lexicons used to refer to them in posts from all of the selected Facebook pages during the period under study. Ninety words in all were found to be used about Pakistan and Pakistanis through this search. These words were then divided into three categories: “positive,” “neutral,” and “negative,” depending upon the qualities of the words, since each word tends to evoke specific emotions in the minds of readers/viewers (Tariq et al., 2021). The following table presents a summary of these results:

Table 3: *Lexical Choices for Referring to Pakistan*

Categories	Word Count	Percentage
Positive	13	14.44%
Negative	30	33.33%
Neutral	47	52.23%
Total	90	100.00%

The results presented in Table 3 indicate the highest percentage (i.e., 52%) of the neutral words used for Pakistan and Pakistanis in the posts from the selected Facebook pages throughout the study period as compared to the positive and negative words, which account for 48% of the total words used for Pakistan. The neutral words, as explained by Tariq et al. (2021), such as “academic,” “students,” “science,” “scholarship,” “children,” “women,” “economic,” “support,” “sport,” etc., cannot provoke strong (positive/negative) emotions. On the other hand, positive words may elicit pleasant feelings and peacefulness, while negative words may trigger the brain to feel sadness, anger, or fear (Tariq et al., 2021, pp. 156-157).

The results presented in the above table further revealed that all the Facebook pages used 19% more negative words about Pakistan and Pakistanis than positive words. Some examples of negative words found in the analysed data include “disloyal,” “attack,” “terror,” “deadlier,” “slave,” “hurt,” “coercive,” “shoot,” “repercussions,” “violence,” and “terrorism.” The use of such words for Pakistan tends to elicit unpleasant emotions for Pakistan and Pakistanis among the readers (Tariq et al., 2021). These findings suggest that the writers of posts on the selected Facebook pages portrayed Pakistan and Pakistanis unfavourably. But these findings leave one unanswered question: which Facebook page portrayed Pakistan and Pakistanis frequently in a negative fashion and which did not?

The detailed results on the choice of words related to Pakistan and Pakistanis showed that the organizational pages, specifically PAN and TN, used more positive words after neutral words to describe Pakistan than negative words. However, they maintained the in- and outgroup dichotomies in their portrayals of Pakistan and Pakistanis, just like other independently operated Facebook pages, namely AMP and AS, did. The examination of posts on all the Facebook pages found that "we," "us," and "our" were commonly used to refer to Afghans, whereas "they," "them," and "their" were used to refer to Pakistanis. The use of such words for Pakistanis tended to categorize them as "other" (different). Since Deixis can stimulate perceptual relationships between "the uttered indexical expression and various situational features" (Chilton, 2004, p. 56). In this sense, the use of the first person plural "we" for Afghans tended to make perceivers construct group identity as "self" (ingroup), whereas "they" designates an "other" (outgroup) (Chilton, 2004). These findings suggest that all Facebook pages constructed Pakistan's and Pakistanis' identities as "Other," although organizational pages did not attribute negative characteristics to this other, whereas the pages that are run by individuals managed pages did, as the detailed results demonstrate.

These results further revealed that the individually managed pages, namely AMP and AS, frequently used words and phrases such as "terrorist," "terror state," "weak," "blacklisted," "lawless neighbour," etc., to describe Pakistan. These are some of the labels employed by the writers of AMP and AS to portray Pakistan as a negative "Other." The critical analysis of the discourses produced on individually run Facebook pages found that they tended to promote the narrative that we are at war with the Taliban and that Pakistan supports them, as evidenced by the posts found in the analysed data. For example, Saleh (2021a) claimed in a post that the Taliban are responsible for targeted assassinations and all blind attacks on the economic infrastructure and civic society. In a previous post, he stated that they (Taliban) do all of this to dominate our soil (Afghanistan) to serve the neighbour's (Pakistan) interests (Saleh, 2020). Similar sentiments he expressed in another post, which stated that Pakistan, as the Taliban's most important arms and strategic backer, is trying to do two things in parallel. First, they talk about peace to confuse minds and emphasize the peace narrative. However, there is no evidence that Pakistan's armament, logistical, health, education, or military support for the Taliban has decreased. He said that without Pakistan's support, the Taliban would be unable to endure as an armed movement for six months (Saleh, 2021b).

A close examination of the above statements reveals that both "Taliban" and "Pakistan" are portrayed in a highly negative light, with the latter being held responsible for all atrocities committed by the former in Afghanistan and the former's violent actions serving the interests of the latter, which is to take control of Afghanistan. These findings suggest that Pakistan was portrayed on the selected Facebook pages not just as "other," but also as "enemy." In addition, it appears to be

a common perception among Afghans, as confirmed by sentiments expressed by Afghan *them* (Facebook users) in their comments on Facebook posts analysed in this study.

Summarily, the key findings from this analysis demonstrated that, while independently run Facebook pages covered a wide range of topics, such as "terrorism," "culture," "military," and "politics," Afghan news organizations frequently addressed political issues about Pakistan on their pages. These findings also revealed that news organizations' pages frequently presented Pakistan neutrally and somewhat positively, but individually managed pages often portrayed Pakistan negatively. In addition, Pakistan was depicted on every page as "other," but the pages that are run by individuals, including a politician, went a step further and attempted to paint the image of Pakistan as an enemy, accusing it of supporting the Taliban, who were portrayed to be the cause of instability in Afghanistan. Additionally, this perception of Pakistan predominated in the comments made by Afghan people (Facebook users) in response to posts that were subject to this analysis. The following section briefly discusses these findings in the context of existing theories and research:

Discussion and Conclusion

The preceding discourse analysis revealed two perceptions related to Pakistan or Pakistanis: the first was that of "other," which dominated discourses produced on all of the selected Facebook pages. The image of "other" or the process of "othering" is a discursive manifestation of prejudice, which is "an antipathy based upon a faulty and inflexible generalization" that arises from one's strong attachment to a group or nationality, eventually leading to prejudice against other groups or nations (Tariq & Iqbal, 2023, p. 139). The process of "othering" often begins with an encounter between civilizations that have no prior history of interaction or understanding; similarly, it may occur between cultures that have been in regular contact and communication (Tariq et al., 2021, p. 153). Think about the citizens of Afghanistan and Pakistan, two distinct but neighbouring nations that maintained close ties and communication on a range of issues, such as the Durand Line dispute, the Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan, and the presence of Afghan refugees in Pakistan. These and other issues continued to produce misunderstandings and anxiety among people on both sides, leading them to perceive those on the other side as distinct or "other," thus encouraging feelings of hatred or dislike for them (Hussain & Latif, 2012). The previous analysis of discourses from selected Facebook pages of Afghanistan demonstrates the prevalence of prejudice toward Pakistan and Pakistanis among Afghans. The second image was that of the "enemy," which dominated discourses generated on pages managed by individuals, including a leading politician. Unlike Otherness, the enemy image cannot be limited to dislike or hatred because it inherently carries the risk of violence and destruction. It truly is a matter of life or death (Tariq & Iqbal, 2023, p. 141). In this sense, the enemy image is a belief held by a group that its basic values and security are directly threatened by some other group (Luostarinen

as cited in López, 2011, p. 568). In the analysed discourses, the Taliban were portrayed as the only group posing serious threats to Afghan security and survival, and Pakistan was accused of aiding and abetting this group. Such portrayals of them presented the picture of the state of Pakistan as an enemy to the state of Afghanistan. Overall, the findings of the study led the researchers to reach the following conclusion:

The negative perception of Pakistan and Pakistanis dominates the general cognitive frameworks of Afghanistan. They regard them as distinct or "other," even though they share deep historical links, a common religious identity, remarkable similarities in the social fabric, traditional empathy, and ethnocultural roots, among other things. In a society, there may be more than one "other," and not necessarily all of them are enemies, but all enemies are also the "other." The findings from this study revealed that Pakistanis are viewed both as "others" and as "enemies." However, the perception that Pakistan is an enemy state was found to be dominant in those discourses produced on individually run Facebook pages, as well as comments made by Afghan Facebook users. The study concludes that all Afghans harbour prejudiced feelings against Pakistanis and that, while not all, most Afghans perceive Pakistan to be an enemy state, possibly due to its alleged backing for the Taliban. While these results are limited in their generalizability due to their reliance on the discourses of the chosen Facebook pages, the researchers recommend conducting comparable studies including a wider range of Afghan media sources to corroborate these findings.

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- Saleh, A. (2021b, February 20). مکالمه تیلیفونی رییس جمهور افغانستان با رییس کل ناتو فرصت مهمی بود تا بتوانیم دیدگاه و نظریات خویش را شریک سازیم. پاکستان به عنوان مهمترین حامی تسلیحاتی و استراتژیک طالبان تلاش دارد دو کار را موازی انجام دهد. اول بخاطر تحریف اذهان سخن از صلح میگویند و روایت صلح را پر رنگ جلوه میدهند. اما در بعد دیگر هیچ قرینه ای از کم شدن حمایت تسلیحاتی - تدارکاتی - صحنی - تعلیماتی و نظامی پاکستان از طالبان دیده نمیشود. به تکرار باید گفت که بدون حمایت های پاکستان طالبان زنده بودن به عنوان جریان مسلح را Facebook برای شش ماه نخواهد داشت. <https://www.facebook.com/AmrullahSaleh.Afg>
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