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Article Title

News Framing of Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan on Tolo News Web TV and Afghanistan International Web TV

Abstract

Late 2021 saw a significant change in global politics when the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan (Taliban) came into existence after the fall of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan. Countries across the globe did not recognize this new government because they had not yet considered the demands of the international community regarding girls' education, Inclusive government, women's work, and freedom of speech. This study aims to understand how Afghanistan International Television and TOLO News framed the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan in their web-based news from April to July 2022. The findings reveal key contrasts in news outlining and obtaining. TOLO News emphasized responsibility and frequently quoted IEA officials, AITV primarily utilized a conflict frame and focused on the economic implications. The discoveries demonstrate that TOLO News kept a nonpartisan position, while AITV showed a dominatingly negative inclination against the IEA.

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Title

News Framing of Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan on Tolo News Web TV and Afghanistan International Web TV

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Keywords:

Islamic Emirate, Framing, AITV, TOLO News, Content Analysis, Thematic

Abstract

Late 2021 saw a significant change in global politics when the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan (Taliban) came into existence after the fall of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan. Countries across the globe did not recognize this new government because they had not yet considered the demands of the international community regarding girls' education, Inclusive government, women's work, and freedom of speech. This study aims to understand how Afghanistan International Television and TOLO News framed the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan in their web-based news from April to July 2022. The findings reveal key contrasts in news outlining and obtaining. TOLO News emphasized responsibility and frequently quoted IEA officials, AITV primarily utilized a conflict frame and focused on the economic implications. The discoveries demonstrate that TOLO News kept a nonpartisan position, while AITV showed a dominatingly negative inclination against the IEA.

Contents:

Introduction

The Rise of the Taliban in Afghanistan

Afghanistan gained independence from British rule in 1919 under Amanullah Khan. The first 60 years were relatively peaceful but marked by poverty. The last 40 years saw direct occupation and proxy wars, leading to human catastrophes and some progress. The monarchy was overthrown in the 1970s, followed by a Soviet invasion after Marxist reforms sparked an uprising. (Britannica, 2022)

The Soviet Union withdrew in 1988-1989, and pro-Communist leader Najibullah was deposed in 1992. The Taliban, emerging from the Mujahideen, quickly gained control of Afghanistan by 1996. Their rise surprised both the Afghan Mujahedeen and the international community. (Sahbi, Ali & Iqbal, 2011; Hussain and Jahangir, 2023)

After the September 11 attacks, the US demanded the Taliban hand over Osama bin Laden. When they refused, a global coalition led by the US launched an attack on Afghanistan on October 7, 2001, toppling the Taliban. The Bonn Agreement established a new government, but the Taliban gradually resumed attacks. (CFR, 2021)

In April 2021, US President Joe Biden announced the withdrawal of US troops by September 11, 2021. By August 2021, the Taliban took control of Afghanistan, leading to a cessation of most international aid and frozen assets. The Taliban's return marked significant changes, including restrictions on media and women's rights. (IRC, 2022; HRW, 2022)

Media in Afghanistan

Afghanistan's media history began in 1873 with the first newspaper. Radio followed in 1925, and TV in 1978. Post-2001 saw a significant increase in media outlets, with 100 TV stations, 213 radio stations, 270 print media, and 15 news agencies by 2019. However, political issues, economic challenges, and foreign invasions have hindered media development. (Tanveer, 1999; Aryan, 2019;). The Taliban's takeover in August 2021 led to severe restrictions on media. Many outlets closed, and thousands of journalists, especially women, lost their jobs. Access to information became highly restricted, and repression of journalists increased. (HRW, 2022; Iqbal and Hussain, 2017)

The researcher chose to examine the coverage of the Islamic Emirate in TOLO News and Afghanistan International, highlighting differing perspectives due to their broadcasting locations and principles.

TOLO News Television

Afghan TV began in 1978 during Dawood Khan's presidency, initially with one hour of daily programming. Saber Momand from the Ministry of Information and Culture reported that Kabul has 51 operational TV stations, with 45 more registering, and 54 stations operating in the provinces, with 53 others applying for licenses (Hand, 2017).

TOLO news, Afghanistan's first 24-hour news station, launched in August 2010. Owned by MOBY Group, it has sibling networks TOLO TV and Lemar TV, which are available both terrestrially and via satellite. TOLO news broadcasts in Dari and Pashto and is accessible online in multiple languages. MOBY Group, started by Saad Mohseni, received funding from the US government and News Corporation. The Taliban labeled TOLO TV a "propaganda network" in 2015 (Wikipedia, n.d.). TOLO TV is the most-watched Persian/Dari station, with Lemar TV catering to Pashto speakers (media landscape, n.d.).

Afghanistan International Television

The Taliban banned international media transmissions, hindering Afghans' access to information, and making international media a crucial source despite availability challenges (IFJ, 2022). Afghanistan International TV (AITV) was launched on the day the Taliban took over Kabul. Created by journalists outside Afghanistan and operated by Volant Media UK Ltd., AITV aims to be a 24-hour global news network, offering educational programming, talk shows, documentaries, and debates. AITV operates from studios in London and Washington, providing independent coverage and critical discussions on various issues (AITV, 2021).

Problem Statement

Western think tanks and human rights organizations frequently criticize human rights issues in Afghanistan under the Islamic Emirate government (Taliban government II), claims the IEA often denies. Media outlets frame significant issues differently due to various intra-organizational and societal factors. This study aims to explore how TOLO News Web TV and Afghanistan International Web TV frame sensitive issues, such as human rights violations by the IEA government. Specifically, it investigates the extent of coverage given to positive and negative events in Afghanistan and how these outlets use their news sources to build specific narratives about the Islamic Emirate government.

Objective of the Study

This study aims to explore the reflection of the Taliban's government through Afghan media, specifically focusing on TOLO News Web TV and Afghanistan International Web TV. The objectives are:

- To analyze media coverage after the Taliban's rise to power.
- To determine the subjects and trends in this coverage.
- To analyze how TOLO News Web TV and Afghanistan International Web TV frame the Taliban's rule in Afghanistan.
- To identify the similarities and differences in coverage between TOLO News Web TV and Afghanistan International Web TV.

Literature Review

Mass media profoundly shapes societal views. McQuail (1994) notes that the impact of media includes capturing public attention, influencing behaviors, shaping opinions, defining reality, conferring legitimacy, and disseminating information. Entman (1993) emphasizes the media's role in framing social realities influenced by societal norms and values. Media not only informs but also provides perspectives on policymakers' actions (Nadeem & Bukhari, 2019).

Television, a powerful medium, delivers visual messages globally and significantly affects public opinion and socialization. Its impact on viewers, especially in advanced societies, is profound as people often prioritize TV over social interactions (Nawid, 2018). Afghanistan has seen a surge in media since 2001, with numerous government and non-government outlets operating, highlighting a diverse media landscape (Hand, 2017; Hussain and Siraj, 2019).

International media, particularly from the U.S., extensively covered Afghanistan's issues, focusing on politics, socioeconomic challenges, and reconstruction (Jawad, 2013). Pakistani media, close to the situation, often depicted the Taliban neutrally or negatively, reflecting the government's stance. This portrayal varied between media outlets, with differences in framing observed in studies (Nadeem & Bukhari, 2019; Safdar & Adraian, 2014; Hussain and Ahmad, 2020).

Research also indicates shifts in media framing of the Taliban in Pakistani newspapers before and after their takeover, reflecting changes in the government's stance and media tone (Zaeem, Qureshi, & Farrukh, 2022; Hussain, 2020). U.S. media often highlights crises in developing countries, portraying them negatively through government sources (Alam, 2021Alam). Swedish media depicted the Taliban and Swedish soldiers differently, reflecting societal attitudes.

Theoretical Framework

Media framing involves setting agendas and guiding public discourse, playing a crucial role in interpreting societal issues (Casero-Ripollés, 2018). Media frames are communication modalities used to contextualize issues within texts. This study uses framing theory to analyze how TOLO Web and AITV Web cover events in Afghanistan under the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan.

Theories and Approaches to Media Framing

Framing theory explores how media shapes perceptions. Chong and Druckman (2007) argue that framing impacts understanding based on existing attitudes. Early studies like Gitlin's and Tuchman's explored media frames rooted in personal causes, highlighting the evolution from journalistic objectivity to framing (D'Angelo, 2018). Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) identified common news frames, such as conflict and human interest, with conflict often prevailing. Framing analysis assesses how media representation affects audience perceptions and behavior, focusing on both micro and macro levels (Nadeem & Bukhari, 2019).

Goffman (1974) introduced framing theory, linking it to social structures and interactions. Framing, distinct from agenda-setting, impacts public perception by highlighting specific aspects of issues. Tuchman (1978) argues that news framing constrains our sense of reality by emphasizing certain aspects of events while downplaying others. This framing process, carried out by information professionals, creates specific interpretive frameworks that affect audience perceptions. News stories are shaped to highlight particular themes and characters, influencing public opinion and understanding.

Gitlin stresses three key areas for media framing research:

1. Media Content: Types of frames in media texts and their distribution.
2. Media Production: The impact of social institutions and power structures on news framing.
3. Media Audiences: How audiences use and respond to frames and their influence on public opinion and policy.

Entman (1993) further elaborates on framing, focusing on:

1. Audience Autonomy: Dominant frames are those most likely to be accepted by the public.
2. Journalistic Objectivity: Journalists may unintentionally impose dominant frames; understanding framing could lead to more balanced reporting.
3. Content Analysis: Proper analysis is essential to accurately identify frames and avoid assumptions.
4. Public Opinion and Democracy: Media framing can influence public opinion and democratic processes.

Content Analysis of Media Frames

Five key methods for assessing media frames are computer-assisted, hermeneutic, manual holistic, linguistic, and deductive approaches. These methods are not mutually exclusive but offer different perspectives on frame analysis.

Hermeneutic Approach

This qualitative method interprets media texts in relation to broader cultural contexts, often using small sample sizes without quantification. Examples include Haller and Ralph (2001) and Coleman and Dysart (2005). However, this approach may suffer from selection bias and lack of methodological transparency.

Linguistic Approach

This technique examines word choice, placement, and structure within texts to identify frames, focusing on paragraphs rather than entire articles. Pan and Kosicki (1993) propose analyzing syntax, script, theme, and rhetoric. While it offers detailed analysis, it is complex and difficult to apply to large text samples.

Manual Holistic Approach

Frames are manually coded based on qualitative analysis of news texts, followed by quantitative content analysis. Studies like Meyer, Simon, & Xenos (2000) show that frame accuracy relies on transparent extraction methods. However, without clear criteria, this approach risks introducing researcher bias.

Computer-Assisted Approach

This quantitative method identifies frames by analyzing word usage through software. Miller (1997) and Hertog and McLeod (2001) emphasize the objectivity of frame extraction, though it may lack reliability due to the infrequent appearance of key terms.

Deductive Approach

Frames are pre-defined and then coded into content analysis, as seen in Semetko & Valkenburg (2000). This approach is limited by its reliance on existing frames, potentially overlooking new or emerging frames.

Frame Typology Frame types include:

- Iyengar's Thematic vs. Episodic Frames: Thematic frames cover broad trends, while episodic frames focus on specific experiences.
- Scheufele's Individual vs. Media Frames: Individual frames are cognitive, while media frames pertain to news content.
- De Vreese's Issue-Specific vs. Generic Frames: Issue-specific frames are tied to specific topics, while generic frames are broader.
- Semetko & Valkenburg's General Frames: Include conflict, human interest, assigning blame, morality, and economic repercussions, with additional macro frames like metacommunication, speculation, and cynicism identified by Constantinescu and Tedesco (2007).

Framing analysis often overlaps and multiple frames can appear in a single news item. For science-related themes, a multi-method approach is recommended, drawing on existing research and expert input.

Research Questions

1. How do Tolo News Web TV and Afghanistan International Web TV report on the Taliban government in Afghanistan?
2. What are the similarities and differences between Tolo News Web TV and Afghanistan International Web TV in their coverage of the Afghan Taliban?

Hypotheses

- H1a: The framing of the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan (IEA) will differ between Tolo News and Afghanistan International TV (AITV).
- H1b: AITV will use more conflict framing compared to Tolo News.
- H1c: Tolo News will employ more responsibility framing compared to AITV.
- H2: Tolo News will use more thematic framing than AITV.
- H3: AITV will use more negative framing compared to Tolo News.

Research Methodology

Media Influence and Framing in Afghanistan

In today's media-driven world, mental images are shaped significantly by media, often more than by personal experiences. Satellite communication has enhanced the media's power to create, manipulate, and influence perceptions. As Christopher (1997) notes, images are crafted by skilled production teams rather than personal experiences. Bernard (1963) adds that media shapes our views of foreign communities and nations. Media channels are crucial in shaping our understanding of global and political issues. Studies have shown that media can profoundly influence viewers' language, behavior, and perceptions of various nations, communities, and groups.

In Afghanistan, television serves multiple roles including news, analysis, and political purposes. Since the 2001 U.S. invasion, foreign funding has boosted both public and private media sectors, increasing the media's influence over events.

- Syntactic Structures: Word choice.
- Script Structures: Event newsworthiness.
- Thematic Structures: Causal themes.

- Rhetorical Structures: Journalistic stylistic decisions.

Scheufele ([1999](#)) notes that media frames depend on extrinsic and intrinsic factors such as ideology and social values, influencing news production. Powell ([2011](#)) argues that even objective journalists can be swayed by dominant frames.

Themes of News

Framing involves selecting and arranging facts to create news narratives. Frames shape how information is processed and understood. For example, dominant Western viewpoints can misrepresent the "other" (Powell, [2011](#)).

News Trends

Trends show how Taliban-related events attract journalists and public interest. The frequency and nature of news stories reflect audience engagement and the level of interaction.

Attitude of News: News will be categorized as:

- Positive: Showcasing growth, democratic values, and peace.
- Negative: Highlighting unrest, destruction, instability, and criticism.
- Neutral: Lacking clear positive or negative emphasis.

Sources of News: According to Scheufele ([1999](#)), media frames are influenced by:

- Islamic Emirate Officials: E.g., Foreign Minister Molawee Ameer Khan Mutaqi
- US Officials: E.g., Special Representative Tom West
- UN Representatives
- Opposition Groups: E.g., Ahmad Massoud
- Social Media: E.g., Facebook, Twitter
- Other Media: E.g., CNN, BBC
- International Organizations
- Iranian Officials: E.g., Foreign Minister Ameer Abdul Lahai
- Pakistani Officials: E.g., Prime Minister Imran Khan
- Residents and Activists
- Religious Leaders
- Armed Opposition Groups: E.g., Jabhay Azade
- Central Asian Leaders: E.g., Tajikistan President

- Regional Countries: E.g., China, Russia
- Others: E.g., Former President Hamid Karzai

The Unit of Analysis

The unit of analysis in the study is the analysis of sentences in selected news and stories on both TV websites. The operational definitions of variables are presented in Table.

Table 1

variable in the framing of news

Variables	Categories	Explanation and coding rules
Themes of News	Political	News/ stories about policy issues, governments, and other political issues. Codes: international community, Neighbors, USA,
	War and terror	News/ reports that describe the characteristics of soldiers or armed forces, and war between the Taliban and its opposition. Codes: Terrorist, rebels, Haqqani, targeted killing, Taliban, insurgents, Clashes an
	Education	News about learning skills and knowledge. Codes: school, girls, boys, universities, scholarships, religious schools, and…
	Freedom of Speech	News/ reports describe the situation of media and journalists in Afghanistan. Codes: Journalists, press, work, freedom, violence, and.
	Human Rights	News/Reports describing the rights of civilians, particularly women's rights in Afghanistan. Codes: education, eliminate, minority, gender, and ..
	Culture	News/ reports describing the ideas, customs, languages, and social behaviors. Codes: Pashto, Persian, Muslim, Tajik, Pashtoon, Uzbek and
Attitude and Ideology of News	Positive	Peace, security, struggle against corruption, improvement…
	Negative	Terrorist, backward, dark-minded, uneducated, killer, biased..
	Natural	They are either good or bad works.

These variables define the type and relevance of data to be collected from the selected samples related to Islamic Emirat in order to understand how the news and report are framed regarding Islamic Emirat of Afghanistan by these two TVs.

Data Collection and Methodology
Data Collection
Data Collection Method

- Period: April 1, 2022, to July 2022
- Sources: TOLO TV and Afghanistan International TV websites
- Data Type: Qualitative

- Data Organization: Gathered data will be saved in separate Word files, categorized by frame samples, and organized into distinct folders.

Population

- Basis: Media content, as highlighted by Shoemaker ([1996](#)), forms the foundation of media effects. Analyzing media content helps in forecasting its effects and understanding the world we perceive.
- Source: News articles from TOLO TV and Afghanistan International TV websites will be subjected to content analysis to verify theories and respond to study questions.

Sampling Plan

- Objective: Due to time constraints and the volume of data, a strategic sampling plan will be employed.
- Strategy: Focus on significant events and issues that are prominently reflected in the media. One or two reports from each major event or issue, which have high viewership, will be selected to ensure coverage of all thematic areas.

Frame Used

Approach: Deductive approach, using predefined frames for analysis.

Predefined Frames

1. Conflict Frame: Reflects disagreements between parties, individuals, or groups. It portrays different sides of an issue and discusses winners and losers. Common in internal conflicts. (Kahlstrom & Norin, 2012)
2. Human-Interest Frame: Presents events with a human face, focusing on personal stories or emotive aspects.
3. Responsibility Frame: Assigns blame for issues to specific individuals, groups, or governments.
4. Morality Frame: Analyzes issues based on moral guidelines or religious precepts.

5. Economic Repercussions Frame: Discusses events or issues in terms of their financial impacts on individuals, organizations, or nations. (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000)

Findings

1. Research Question (RQ): How do TOLO News and AITV report on the Taliban government?
2. Hypotheses (H)
- H1a: TOLO News and AITV present the Islamic Emirate differently.
- H1b: AITV uses more conflict framing compared to TOLO News.
- H1c: TOLO News employs more responsibility framing compared to AITV.

The analysis revealed:

- Responsibility Frame: TOLO TV used this frame more (11.3%) compared to AITV (2%).
- Economic Consequences Frame: TOLO TV covered this frame more extensively (27%) than AITV (7.2%).
- Human Interest Frame: TOLO TV also had a higher percentage of human interest frames (16%) compared to AITV (10.5%).
- Morality Frame: Both channels used this frame minimally.

The data supports H1a, H1b, and H1c. A Chi-Square test was employed to statistically compare observed and expected data.

Table 2

Differences in generic frames between AITV and TOLO News

Frame by Both TV	AITV	TOLO TV	Total % of used
Conflict	77.5%	40%	58.75%
Human Interest	11.5%	16%	13.75%
Economic Consequence	7.2%	27%	17.1%
Morality	2.8%	5.7%	4.25%
Responsibility	1%	11.3%	6.05%

H2: TOLO news will employ more thematic framing than AITV.

Iyengar (1993) explored the institutionalization of episodic and thematic news frames. Episodic frames focus on discrete events or cases, while thematic frames provide a broader societal context (Dimitrova, 2006). In this study, coding for episodic and thematic frames was applied to entire news items rather than individual paragraphs.

Findings

- AITV: Used episodic frames significantly more (68.4%) compared to thematic frames (31.6%).
- TOLO News: Displayed a more balanced use, with 49.3% episodic frames and 50.7% thematic frames.

The analysis revealed a substantial difference between the two TV webs. AITV's heavy reliance on episodic frames and TOLO News's more balanced approach led to significant differences, indicating that the second hypothesis (regarding the equal use of episodic and thematic frames) is false.

Table3

Differences in Episodic / Thematic Framing between AITV and TOLO TV.

Framing	AITV	TOLO TV	Total
Episodic	68.4%	49.3%	58.85%
Thematic	31.6%	50.7%	41.15%

RQ2: Similarities and Differences Between TOLO News and Afghanistan International TV in Covering the Afghan Taliban

The analysis of TOLO News and Afghanistan International TV (AITV) reveals both similarities and differences in their coverage of the Afghan Taliban. Key aspects include:

1. **Source Utilization**
   - AITV: Utilizes a consistent set of top sources, which are ranked similarly across different stories. The sources are crucial in shaping the validity and framing of their reports.
   - TOLO News: Also relies on a range of sources, but with variations in the percentage and prominence compared to AITV. This influences how the Taliban is framed in their coverage.

2. **Framing Differences**
   - AITV: Tends to focus more on episodic frames, emphasizing specific events and conflicts involving the Taliban.
   - TOLO News: Employs a more balanced approach with both episodic and thematic frames, offering a broader context in its reporting.

3. **Language and Tone**
   - AITV: Uses sharper language and often refers to the Taliban with terms that highlight conflict or criticism.
   - TOLO News: Adopts a softer tone, using more neutral language and focusing on various aspects of the Taliban's governance.

Overall, the choice of sources and framing techniques reflect differing editorial perspectives and priorities between the two TV webs.

Table 4

The mean number of attributions per story	Ranking
US officials	6.35
Social media	5.73
Opposite groups of the government	6.23
Others	4.8
Armed opposite groups	5.46

Source Utilization

- TOLO News: The top five sources account for 65.1% of all news published. The Islamic Emirate officials are the most frequently cited, reflecting a focus on official perspectives from the Taliban. In contrast, United Nations officials rank lower among the top sources.
- AITV: While also using a set of primary sources, the ranking differs. AITV's top sources include a variety of perspectives, and the order of these sources varies from TOLO News. This results in a distinct framing and focus compared to TOLO News.

In summary, TOLO News emphasizes Islamic Emirate officials more prominently, whereas AITV provides a more varied source base, affecting how each outlet frames and reports on the Taliban.

Table 5

Top Five Most Used Sources by TOLO News TV Web.

Ranking	The mean number of attributions per story
Islamic Emirate Officials	10.31
U Official	5.27
Residents of the country	6.57
Others	8.65
United Nations officials	4.62

According to the research, TOLO News and AITV differ significantly in their source attribution for reporting on the Islamic Emirate. TOLO News relies more heavily on IEA officials, attributing 15.6% of its sources to them, compared to AITV's 2.3%. On the other hand, AITV attributes 11.1% of its sources to government opposition groups, while TOLO News only uses 1.2%. Additionally, AITV cites US authorities more frequently, with 11.3% of its sources, compared to 8.1% for TOLO News.

Both networks show similar levels of attribution to United Nations officials, with AITV at 7.3% and TOLO News at 7%. There is a notable difference in social media usage, as TOLO News relies on social media sources for 4.2% of its reports, whereas AITV uses social media for 10.2%. When it comes to other media outlets like Reuters, Al-Jazeera, CNN, BBC, and VOA, AITV attributes 9.2% of its sources to these platforms, in contrast to TOLO News's 6.1%.

For Pakistani and Iranian officials, both networks show similar attribution: AITV at 5.5% for Pakistani officials and 4.3% for Iranian officials, while TOLO News has 5.3% and 4.1%, respectively. A significant discrepancy is seen in the attribution to residents of Afghanistan, with TOLO News at 10.1% compared to AITV's 2.2%. There is also a considerable difference in how both networks cover armed opposition groups, with AITV attributing 9.5% of its sources to these groups, whereas TOLO News attributes only 0.8%. Finally, both networks exhibit similar attribution in the "others" category, with TOLO News at 13.3% and AITV at 12.1%, covering sources such as former president Hamid Karzai, merchants, past government officials, private education sector representatives, human rights advocates, and media organizations like NAI.

Table 6

Differences in source attribution between AITV and TOLO TV websites.

Sources	AITV	TOLO TV	Total
Islamic Emirate Officials	2.3%	15.6%	11.45%
US officials	11.3%	8.1%	9.7%
United nation	7.3%	7%	7.15%
Government Opposite groups	11.1%	1.2%	6.2%
Social Media	10.2%	4.2%	7.2%
Others media	9.2%	6.1%	7.65%
Pakistani Official	5.5%	5.3%	5.4%
Iranian Official	4.3%	4.1%	3.7%
Resident of the country	2.2%	10.1%	6.6%
Women activist Groups	5.7%	2.7%	4.2%
Religious Leaders	0.3%	1.4%	0.85%
Armed Opposite GroupsCentral Asian countries	9.5%	0.8%	4.25%
Central Asian countries	2.1%	2.0%	2.05%
Regional Countries	2.1%	2%	2.05%
Others	10.1%	13.3%	11.7%

Here are two samples of news and the sources of news

A Paragraph from News of AITV

(Videos published on social networks by Taliban fighters show that the group has killed prisoners of war and set fire to houses that they believe belong to the resistance front forces. Reports from people's sources in Panjshir, Takhar, Andraba, and Khost Farang indicate that the Taliban have started persecuting their family members and relatives in order to put pressure on the soldiers of the Afghan National Resistance Front. The Taliban have confirmed that at least 250 members of the Resistance Front have "surrendered" to the group in Panjshir alone. However public sources have always denied this claim and said that "captured people" were all civilians and had nothing to do with the conflict. According to information from local sources, the Taliban have warned the civilians in Andrab that "if you do not bring down the members of the resistance front from the mountain and surrender to us, we will force you to leave." International human rights organizations have not yet been able to publish a documentary report on the statistics of recent killings in northern Afghanistan.)

A paragraph from news of TOLO News;

(The local authorities of Panjshir claim that more than a hundred of their opposing forces in this province have surrendered to the Islamic Emirate with the mediation of ethnic elders. After the reports of the battles between the forces of the Islamic Emirate and the resistance front in Panjshir were spread, the spokesman of the governor of this province claimed that more than one hundred and ten of their opposing forces had surrendered to the Islamic Emirate. Abu Bakr Sediqi, the spokesman of the governor of Panjshir, said: "Fifty people from the opposition forces who had fled to the Cascade mountains, surrendered to the Islamic Emirate with their weapons in their hands, and more than 60 people who were in the Dara district and had fled to the mountains They came with guns in their hands and surrendered. At the same time, the Resistance Front, denying this issue, claims that the forces of the Islamic Emirate shelled some civilians in Qasan, Andarb.)

The hypothesis (H3) that AITV will use a more negative frame than TOLO News was thoroughly examined. To investigate this, news stories were categorized into negative, positive, and neutral frames based on the following criteria:

- Rule 1: An article was classified as positive if it contained more positive sentences than negative or neutral ones.
- Rule 2: An article was deemed negative if the ratio of negative sentences outweighed the positive and neutral sentences.
- Rule 3: Articles were categorized as neutral if they had a balanced ratio of positive and negative sentences.
- Rule 4: If an article had an equal number of positive and neutral sentences, it was considered favorable or friendly.

The findings revealed that AITV portrayed the Islamic Emirate in an overwhelmingly negative light, with 85.6% of its coverage falling into the negative frame category. In stark contrast, TOLO News only framed the Islamic Emirate negatively 19.3% of the time. TOLO News, however, used a neutral frame significantly more often, at 50.9%, compared to AITV's 14.1%. Additionally, TOLO News utilized a positive frame in 29.8% of its coverage, while AITV employed a positive frame in just 0.3% of its stories. This substantial difference underscores the more negative framing approach of AITV compared to TOLO News.

Table 7

used positive, negative, and natural frames by both TV webs.

TV Name	Positive Frame	Negative Frame	Natural Frame
AITV	0.3	85.6	14.1
TOLO TV	29.8	19.3	50.9

The offered statistic in the table is completely supporting H3.

Conclusion

This study examined how AITV and TOLO News framed and sourced stories about the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan (IEA). After the IEA took

control of Kabul in August 2021 and banned girls' schooling beyond sixth grade, the issue drew significant international and national criticism. Both channels extensively covered this topic, with TOLO News using an episodic frame, focusing on the personal impacts and international reactions. Headlines included reactions from various figures and organizations critical of the school closures. AITV, in contrast, predominantly used a conflict frame, highlighting internal strife within the IEA and its alleged human rights violations.

AITV's coverage used sharp language and critical tones, referring to the IEA as "Taliban" rather than "Islamic Emirate," whereas TOLO News employed softer language and referred to the IEA more formally. For instance, AITV reported on divisions within the IEA about school closures, while TOLO News highlighted protests and calls for reopening schools.

- Dominance of Conflict Frame: Most stories used a conflict frame, reflecting the nature of the events. The episodic frame was also prominent, accounting for 57.85% of the coverage.
- Differences in Tone: AITV used more critical language compared to TOLO News, which employed a softer tone and official terminology.
- Story Selection: AITV focused on negative aspects and internal conflicts within the IEA, while TOLO News reported on disagreements but with a less critical perspective.
- Source Attribution: AITV relied less on IEA sources and was more critical, whereas TOLO News maintained a more balanced approach.

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