Discourse Analysis of Alternative Media Contents in Pakistan: A Case Study of TTP

MS Thesis

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Dedication

I dedicate my thesis to my loving Ammi and Ghat Mama Ji, through whom I become able to complete my degree of MS in Media and Communication Studies.

Acknowledgment

First of all, I would like to thanks, the most beneficent and merciful Almighty Allah, without whose blessing I wouldn't have been writing this thesis.

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Regards

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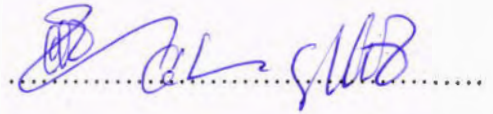
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Certificate of Approval

It is certified that we have read this thesis entitled "Discourse Analysis of Alternative Media Contents in Pakistan: A Case Study of TTP" submitted by Basar Ali. It is our judgment that this thesis is of sufficient standard to warrant its acceptance by the International Islamic University Islamabad for the award of MS Degree in Media and Communication Studies.
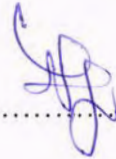
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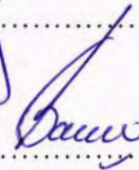**Supervisor**
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Abstract

The militant groups like TTP and TTP JA use alternative media for the propagation of their messages and radicalized narrative to reach out to the greater possible audience. The aim of this study is to investigate the nature of discourse used in TTP and other such groups created texts and videos on the alternative media. For this purpose the pamphlets, pamphlets turned press releases and videos issued by TTP from May 2014 to May 2015 were selected. The text messages were divided in to two categories while the videos were analyzed, separately. During this research the Fair Clough's critical discourse analysis (CDA) approach, specifically his three dimensional model was utilized for the analysis of the text and video messages. After thorough investigation it was proved that messages created by TTP on alternative media are mostly a counter narrative against the mainstream government narrative. Some of their messages create confusion or fear amongst its audience. In most cases radical group categorically say they didn't want harm common people but their messages and language used in the text means otherwise. They used discourse like 'Napak,' 'Murtad' for military and government. They used metaphors like 'Kufr' and 'Shirk' frequently for democracy. They had also used discourses which created big confusions even in the belief system of the society. Some messages are clear in broader social context, but it create fear because of its threatening language, however meaning of some of the messages were found ambiguous.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

A struggle made after 60's to find the measures which stimulate the birth of alternative media against the mainstream media in the world. An earlier interpretation stated that the alternative media initiators do not have any commercial goals, but focused on some ideas like social responsibility, a lost self-identity or any other[1]. Later some of the other scholars disagreed to the concept as it did not seem stable to them. They were of the view that the self-identification objective of the alternative media showed that it is a tool for branding or expression of a lifestyle politics. The media producers have also disapproved the idea (Duncombe, 1998; Sandoval & Fuchs, 2010).

Another social scientist came with a rational kind of statement regarding alternative media. Comedia (1984) stated that it is the media in opposition to the mainstream media; it would not have a well-established order, nor the capitalist system and not the conventional treatment of the news or any other subject. And this kind of explanation of the alternative media describes more appropriately the title of that kind of media.

Some people were of the view that this new form of media might be troublesome; however, Downing (2001) has also said that everything at some point is alternative to something else. He further explained that the term alternative could generate other forms of media (which will actually be alternative media) like radical, citizens and several others. Mainstream media is the one which we can access easily and available everywhere. Most of the TV and radio channels, newspapers and some internet websites make the mainstream media. However, the alternative media could be available on one's choice. The mainstream media channels and

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[1] Alternatives in print: an international catalog of books, pamphlets, periodicals and audiovisual materials (1980) Compiled by the Task Force on Alternatives in Print, Social Responsibilities Round Table, American Library Association, 6th. ed., New York, N.Y.: Neal-Schuman and London: Mansell.

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outlets have its proper structure, budgets and various other aspects, some of them are big channels having larger networks. On the other hand alternative media is a small kind of media, in most cases polarized to one side or to the other. It has not that much huge budget. It might be a newspaper, radio, sometime television and in most cases online sources. It has small but specific audience[2].

Mainstream media mostly project the interests of the incumbent government and corporate sector; in comparison the alternative media focus on the rights of those who kept excluded by the mainstream communication channels. It could include poor, religious or ethnic minorities, labourer or any other deprived fraction of the society (Atton, 2002). However the media scholar Roger Silverstone stated in his book, 'Why Study the Media?' in 1999 that alternative media have produced new spaces for alternative voices that provide focus for both specific community interests as well as for the contrary and the subversive.

Another concept; the radical alternative media was described by Downing, he stated that it's the media which work in opposition to the mainstream media, the mainstream media always have much power than its small or weak rival. The alternative media, especially radical one is always considered negative by its opposition and constructive by the majority of the focused audience. As in most cases such an alternative media tend to break rules and work underground. It works directly against the power structure like sometime against the government (Downing et. al, 2001).

Pakistan is a critically important South Asian country due to various reasons and especially because of its geographical position in the continent (Asia). Like other countries of the world it also has a vibrant media landscape. The media in Pakistan suffer from various pressures and restrictions; however now it enjoys independence to some extent. In 2002, during the regime of the then president General (retd) Pervez Musharaf, a new media scenario emerged

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[2]Retrieved from http:_smallbusiness.chron.com mainstream-vs-alternative-media-21113.html on May 07, 2015

in the country. He liberalized media in 2002 by giving it freedom. The television sector boomed up specifically, radio sector (FM radios) has also grown up but couldn't compete the TV sector. Masses were diverted from the only one state owned media channel to variety of entertainment and news channels. Recently the advent of internet not only facilitate the live streaming of both radio and TV channels but it also gave way to the birth of social media (which is now frequently use as an alternative media tool) and online media[3].

A bit before September 11, 2001 incident, radical elements reemerged in Afghanistan with a new name 'Taliban'. It was a prominent radical group which has occupied large swaths of Afghanistan territories and had established its own government. However, the terrorism incident of September 11 in United States has shocked the world and changed its dynamics in all perspectives. The aftermath of 9/11 attacks not only affected Afghanistan but it had also affected Pakistan. For the first time the buzz word was heard in Pakistan about the phenomenon like Talibanization and terrorism. After the 9/11 happening most of the war against terrorism shifted to Afghanistan as the Taliban government gave asylum to the then Al Qaeda chief Osama Bin Laden. At the same time radicalization triggered in various areas of Pakistan, especially in some northern parts of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and FATA (Sultan & Qazi, 2010).

In fact, the phenomenon of extremism and militancy was not new in Pakistan, but the 9/11 was a revival of already existing militancy in Pakistan. From the time of Russian invasion in Afghanistan in 1979, the country suffered from challenges like increasing religion based extremism, radicalization which was now reshaped in the form of Talibanization. The recent trend of militancy is rooted in the phenomenon which was termed as Talibanization. The

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[3]International Media Support. (2009). Between radicalization and democratization in an unfolding conflict:Media in Pakistan: https://www.mediasupport.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/11/ims-media-pakistan-radicalisation-2009.pdf (Retrieved on May 07, 2015)

trend is now a serious risk for peace in Pakistan and the rest of the world (Malik & Iqbal, 2010).

After the twins' tower attacks in US, militants' movements in Pakistan had also boosted up. And the extremism incidents became a routine matter. Later in 2007, around 13 different militant groups merged under the leadership of Baitullah Mehsud, a slain commander of Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP). At that time, the TTP main objectives was resistance against the state and implementation of sharia in Pakistan (Hassan, 2008).

A special correspondent for Geo News (a prominent Pakistani Urdu news channel) on militancy Muhammad Rasool Dawar said during an interview with this researcher that TTP formed in 2007 by Baitullah Mehsud, which is now divided into five different groups including TTP Mehsud, TTP Jamatul Ahrar (TTP JA), Punjabi Taliban, Jandullah Group and TTP (leading by Fazalullah). They all have their own commanders and spokesperson, however TTP JA is much more active. These all outfitsare reportedly working for the implementation of Sharia in the country but had split over internal differences. He informed that the division and reunion among the militant groups is a common phenomenon, these days.

Dawar revealed that Taliban in Pakistan (TTP) initially used Pamphlets (which were paste on walls and doors of the mosques) as their communication means to the public, in remote areas, and to the media channels, as well. He added that most of these pamphlets were handwritten and later on they had started issuing properly printed pamphlets to their target audience and media channels. He added that after sometime TTP faced various problems in circulation of these pamphlets, then they started the use of emails for sending all such pamphlets (sometime in the form of press release) to media channels and the last stage was making of websites and social media accounts for the propagation of their messages and agenda. The radical elements

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used all the tools for dissemination of their messages to public and sometime to government or other authorities.

He further said that most of the radical groups complained of the media channels that they were not satisfied by the coverage given to them. They later decided to use alternative media means properly for the dissemination of their messages. Then they started publication of pamphlets, launch websites and made accounts on all popular social media networks, like Facebook and Twitter.

In the present research work, we have studied that what discourse normally used by this radical force TTP in their messages, which they disseminate through alternative media. During the study the discourse used by TTP in its messages on alternative media was analyzed.

Discourse analysis is in fact the evaluation of the language practice of the media, this approach assist researcher to reach the actual and in-depth meaning of a text or spoken language used in the media. Discourse analysis is the approach through which one can reach to the diversity of the text, however there are various methods made so far to use this tool of language analysis (Matheson, 2005).

Norman Fairclough who is known for his model on Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) stated that CDA is systematic technique to find the relation between discursive practice/text and social and cultural structure; and study this linkage in the context of power and hegemony (Fairclough, 1993).

1.1 Statement of problem

This study aims at exploring and analyzing the discourses that TTP created in its alternative media messages (in pamphlets and videos) during a specific time period, from May 2014 to

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May 2015. The alternative media means (especially through internet like Facebook, YouTube, Twitter and several others) is now under a wide use, everywhere and each and every person has an easy access to it. Hence, Taliban (TTP), the notorious militant group in Pakistan, is also using the same networks for its communication to reach to the public, government and other targeted audience. The TTP is applying different type of discourses, time to time, in their messages to build a specific mindset in the society. Now these (messages) can be delivered easily to common people through various alternative media channels. And it definitely affects them in many ways. However, the problem is that the real text and discourse disseminated by these militants' through both their spoken and written messages (pamphlets and videos) never analyzed in the past.

1.2. Objectives of the study

The TTP became a leading militant group of Pakistan, which communicates the people and government of Pakistan frequently, for its various purposes. TTP is using various alternative media sources for the propagation of its messages and videos and to create a meaningful and objective oriented discourses. The discourses created by this militant group are rarely analyzed. This study is an attempt to analyze the discourses created by TTP in its messages. The study has following main objectives:

- To analyze and find as to how TTP alternative media messages create fear among common people.

- To analyze the threats posed by TTP in its written and video messages.

- To analyze how much TTP messages and discourses are clear or confusing in the context of their meanings.

1.3 Significance of the study

There were rare studies carried out on alternative media in Pakistan. The current study has opened ways for research on alternative media; it had made possible application and study of various theories of alternative media in the Pakistan's prospect.

Such studies will also enable the researchers to suggest a definition of alternative media in Pakistani prospective. This study will provide guideline that how to construct a meaningful message for alternative media, which only target the selected audience and convey clear meanings.

<center>**Chapter 2**</center>

Literature Review

In the past. a large number of researchers have worked on various aspects of alternative media such as its effects on the people of different age groups, its different types, controls and many other angles, these works were carried out not only in some specific regions but across the world. Social sciences encompassed each and every small thing about alternative media, i.e its effects, discourse analysis, content analysis and its relation to other media channels (mainstream media) etc. The scholars in the past have also observed that which form of alternative media is more effective and which is less effective. Some of the past research works have been reviewed in the context of the present subject, it aims to prove the feasibility of such researches in Pakistan.

A study was conducted by Downing (2001) started with the argument that how to define alternative media. During the research he described that each and everything, at some point, is alternative to something. else. In his work he stressed another view that the theoretical conceptualization of the term alternative media is critically, needed. His research posed a really important question that whether the term alternative media is only about posing an alternative to mainstream media? Or if the term implies that such media want to challenge all forms of domination (good and bad) and foster societal alternatives to capitalism?

Indymedia (2009) studied that there were multiple channels or media like print, handwritten and others which could use as alternative media, but he argued that the internet based online media is considered as the much popular alternative media. He presented examples of various websites and social media pages and groups used as an alternative media tool by different groups. Internet made easy, use of alternative media for everyone.

Couldry (2003) research proved that participatory media approach stresses that democratic media potentials can only be felt by opening up access to media production, which sometimes

create severe ethical problems. However, the ideas about a participatory media organization were not new at all. It has already been discussed and found in the works of some earlier researchers. They imagined a media system in which media enable dialogue and communicative exchange and in which every recipient can also become a producer. The researches further explained that many current approaches of alternative media (especially social media networks) recognized the concept of democratic media system. So, for example, Couldry (2003) points out that the most important task for the alternative media is to challenge the highly concentrated media system (mainstream media) and the resulting symbolic power of the capitalist owned mass media by overcoming ''the entrenched division of labourer. Somehow one can say it is resemble to the Marxist approach of economy, however here it's embedded in media power.

Atton (2002) pointed out that the ability to express and publish opinion, information or news story in the alternative media is different from the situation in the mass media. Access to the mass media both print and electronic for the common readers or viewers is severely limited and sometime not possible for all people. He further stated that they could only share their opinion to the media organization by sending letters to the editor (in newspapers) which occasionally gets published. Unlike the alternative media supporters claim a democratic, participatory ethos, where readers are very often able to contribute articles, blogs and take part in editorial decision-making, even becoming editors by themselves. Now the blogging phenomenon had made this concept clearer.

According to an article published on website pbs.org that martyrdom is romanticized and idolized in the TTPs video, audio and written messages. The media content created by this and several other radical groups were glorifying child martyrs to attract more young people to the field. The article further stated that young children were showed singing songs in the background of the videos, having lyrics like: 'If you try to find me after I have died, you will

never find my whole body, you will find me in little pieces.' The voice of children or young boys is used for creating a charm in the mission and in the message. The article informed that these content never disseminate through any of the mainstream media outlet but through the alternative media sources, it added that it is alternative media which made accessible all such content to the each and every person in the society.

According to an AFP news story published in various newspapers in January 2009, Qari Hussain, the designated chief of the TTP suicide squad, held a press conference in Peshawar where he distributed a Taliban propaganda tape showing 'men and youths, some apparently in their teen age, addressing the camera about their intention to carry out suicide attacks, the video was rendered with Urdu-language militant anthems and little music tune in the background (AFP, 18 January 2009).

Khan (2009) found that publishing newspapers, magazines or other circulars like pamphlets were a bit risky and sometime expensive, however establishing a pirated FM radio station was not that much difficult and danger. Khan proved with his arguments that making a radio station was comparatively easy, radio is an easy and effective alternative medium for the militant or radical groups like Taliban. In most of the KP and Fata areas Taliban propagated their messages and media propaganda through FM radios. He explained that a transmitter, amplifier and car or bike battery are the bare necessities needed for launching an FM channel, equipment that is readily available at a low price in the local markets of FATA and KP.

Huang (2007), studied that media do not work independently, it become polarized in according to various political preferences and this why he explained that during later 1970s and early 80s alternative media launched a rhetorical war against government and the mainstream media for its biased and polarized approach. He exemplified the struggle of Formosa and Formosa Weekly magazine for freedom of speech and free assembly in Taiwan. The alternative media was used at that time as a political force and to communicate the

counter discourse against the mainstream media, along with rapid political variation and identity issues, media coverage; in Taiwan media has been notoriously pre-occupied by partisan biases instead of journalistic professionalism. In his study he observed that the two alternative media publication Formosa and Formosa Weekly have played a critical role for democratization and freedom of expression. He also narrated that these publications were a tool against the dictators' voices and made a change possible.

Kenix (2009) described during one of his studies that the traditional media (mainstream media) is the main source of news in a society and the people depend and believe in its deliverance to various issues. He studied that the traditional media also cover sexual and sexual assault news under specific news frame. He also stated that at various point mainstream media confronted or tied by several constraints, hence the alternative media increase awareness about that very issue. He gave an example that independent bloggers employ eyewitnesses and primary information. His study proved in various cases the analysis and information of the alternative media are more thoughtful than that of private owned media.

Atton & Wickenden (2005) are of the view that alternative media are directly spoken to the people and for the people without any hindrance and obstacle. The alternative media tools are mostly everyone personal and independent and it doesn't bound to follow any set structure or journalism norms. Actually this practice disturbs the moral standards of journalism abitbut has increased public awareness.

According to Powell (2010), it's a fact that all discussions on alternative media regarding sexual assaults or any other issue like militancy are not positive and sometime not 100% true. But it sometime makes a way to facts and reality. A large number of information which is normally inaccessible sometimes emerges through this practice. He also informed about the drawbacks that sometimes these discussions led one to tragic results as well.

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Askanius & Gustafsson (2010) reported about alternative media that certain situations in various parts of the world magnified the role of alternative media. In their research, they discussed that how people use alternative media as a tool against the mainstream media, during protests or other movements. They further stated that earlier the micro level media was used for several non-commercial objectives and was considered as non-professional and illegal. He further stated but now a day's several online communities like Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, Myspace and several others have become commercialized and now are the main propagating source of alternative politics and protest movements. Both the social scientists found that these social media tools not only provide an easy access to a group of likeminded people to access their target audience but it also help to promoted the ideas which has commonly been neglected by the traditional media. They studied two different protests demonstration held in 2007 and 2008 in Denmark and Sweden respectively to prove how alternative media democratize media and public opinion.

2.1. Discourse

Giles (2002) stated in his article regarding qualitative research that discourse analysis has become a popular qualitative approach for both psychology and media studies in recent years, and it's a bit new to the media students in Pakistan. He asserted that discourse analysis used to analyze discourses on a particular issue create both conscious and unconscious agendas of the writer. The researcher MacLure, (2003) pin pointed that main objective of the discourse analysis is to analyze text much more than attending to whatever is 'in' those texts.

Shaista and Iqbal (2009) have conducted discourse analysis of the editorials written about TTP in two Pakistan prominent English dailies The News and Dawn. Both researchers aimed to find that how these Pakistani English dailies make image of this militant group. They collected editorials of both papers written about TTP during a certain period of time and

analyzed the discourse. The researchers later after a thorough research reached to a point that The News is using comparatively negative frames toward Taliban issues, however Dawn was not found contradictory. The research finding revealed that the discourse used in The News editorial showed that it was more open and politically active in Taliban issues. In an earlier statement it has been mentioned that the militant groups was not satisfied of the narrative of the mainstream media channels, this is why they used alternative media for making a counter narrative.

Gautlett (2002) have worked on a very critical idea that media disseminates the leading discourse. He, during, his study stated that the leading discourse is the part of each and every channel and no one can ignore it. The further explanation showed that media have less potential to deviate from such a phenomenon, sometime even in public interest. This researcher during his work found that media channels and the leading discourse were not only metaphors but it also stressed on proliferation and new thoughts; however an idea emerged that sometime, some very good and important discourse engulfed by the leading one and voice of a particular class of the society remained suppressed.

Dijk (1985), described three decades ago that discourse analysis was viewed as an evolving multidisciplinary area between 1960s and 1970s. He listed the disciplines like rhetoric, cognitive and psychological studies, linguistics and various arts and humanities subjects including media studies. Dijk further explained the evolution process engrossed methodical study of the structure and function of various under study texts. During further explanation he stated that the actually discourse analysis is related to media to analyses it works under various frames. The researcher added that the analysis not only deal with textual analysis but it also carried out an observation of the relation of the transcript, dialogues and other texts with the social and ethical goals of the discourse or communication through a specific discourse.

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The social science researchers Meyer (2004), Davis and French (2008) concluded their research work while stating that discourse analysis is not merely an etymological exercise but it's a tool to create knowledge on certain specific subject. In according to the study that the discourse analysis doesn't mean to analyses the language, its structure etc, but it end in a new knowledge. Simply we can say that discourse analysis add new things to the universal knowledge body.

MacLure (2003) explained the discourse analysis in a bit better way, in his view discourse analysis is a tool used for determining discourse on a certain past or present issue. Sometime the analyst seeks for the common discourse of media content and sometime of the general masses. During study of written text the researcher during discourse analysis explore the intentional and unintentional agendas of the writer.

Another researcher Schifferin (1994), elaborated another angle of the discourse analysis. He explained it in the domain of English language. He said that discourse analysis could be more efficient if it include the evaluation of oral and written forms and background of the text that show where it really placed. He said that some people focus on the language but according to him both background and context of the text are also critically important.

The Geo Correspondent Muhammad Rasool Dawar stated in May 2015 during an interview with this researcher that after start of operation Zarb-e-Azb the media activities of Taliban became lowered. He said that the militant group has used almost all the major alternative media sources for propagation of their messages. They had used pamphlets, videos and social media networks frequently for the purpose.

Dawar (2015) mentioned that now members of the militant groups were now of the view that this is not only war of weapons but it's a media war also, this why they were using all such tools to present their counter narrative against the international and national mainstream narrative regarding them. This is why now all militant groups including TTP have made their

media wings, which are more vibrant. They contacted media channels and other personnel through social media and email etc.

Ismail (1998) encircled various broad perspectives in his research work; he carried out a study from a political economy perspective. During his work he analyzed the conservative and radical Islamist discourse, which now a day's is a major area of the study, however he examined its role in formation of political field in Egypt and its impact on the dominant relations of power in society. His work was based on Greimas's On Meaning: Selected Writings in Semiotic Theory (1987). During his study Ismail attempted to extract the prominent defining features of the discourse of Conservative Islamists (Jihadists and militant Islamists), and how this discourse challenges the post-independence secularist and nationalist discourse.

Salam & Bergoch (2009), who were not actually working on discourse analysis but they had a project on the content analysis of one of the alternative media channel (websites) of an international militant groups Al-Qaeda and their associates. During their work they found that these Muslim extremist groups are borrowing historical/Qur'anic terminologies to persuade collective Muslim memory and demonize their opponents and their allies.

Akhtar (2000) has also highlighted the concept of media used by militants. He carried out his work by studyingthe three-sided relationship between politics, religion and mass media in Pakistan. For the purposed he analyzed discourse of four mainstream newspapers of the country. Though he didn't include militants' media (alternate to that of mainstream media) in his work, despite it (militant media) was at on its boom at that time. Though the picture of Pakistani media is incomplete without discussing radicalized media, anyhow researcher may leave it for one reason or another.

Khan (2004) is considered the one who has conducted the first ever study on the publications of militant organizations in Pakistan. This researcher has attempted to work on the pro-al-Qaeda concept of journalism in Pakistan, in the perspective of political Islam. Khan described that these publications are promoting "jihadi view of life and their contents tried to sharpen a jihadi identity."

Pak Institute for Peace Studies (PIPS) (2010) has organized a series of policy dialogues on 'Understanding Militants' Print Media in Pakistan and its Impact', in its third session at Islamabad Press Club Talat Masood a former Pakistan's army official and Defense and political analyst reportedly said that role of Pakistan's mainstream media against radical and extremist forces is appreciable. In his view the people associated with militant print media think that if they left to propagate their ideology, then some other forces would dominate them different levels. Salim Safi, a TV anchor said during same session that mainstream media is not lonely responsible for supporting radicalism or militancy in Pakistan. He said that not only they but international community's confirmed that jihad and various other radical ideologies had influenced a large number of journalists during the Afghan jihad era. Ammar Khan Nasir editor of monthly Al-Shariah who was also present stated Pakistan should re-evaluate the discourse of jihad at the state level.

Bailey et al, (2008) distinguished four different approaches of alternative media; all these approaches describe the understanding and definition of alternative media and the ways it work. The first approach is serving a community, second is alternative media as an alternative to mainstream media, third is linking alternative media to civil society and the final one is alternative media as rhizome.

2.2. Theoretical framework

The theoretical framework of the present research is critical discourse analysis theory, and it is specifically based on Fairclough social approach of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). The CDA is not a one trend concept but it is an approach under which we can find many trends. This is why one can't generally accept a single definition for CDA. The main objective of CDA is to uncover the socio-political inequalities, whether based on political, economic, cultural, religious, or gendered grounds, exist in a certain society.

In according to Fairclough (1995), CDA is the field which deal often with the study of opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes. It further investigate that how such practices, events and texts arises and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power. It further determines that how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony.

Following the suit of Fairclough Wodak described the purpose of CDA is to analyze "opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language" (Wodak & Meyer, 2001)

Fairclough deconstructing or dividing society through his CDA approach in its various elements, his approach aims to critically investigate possible social inequalities as expressed constituted, legitimized by discursive practices. The other objectives of the CDA approach are to make visible the opaque aspects of a discourse. The approach of Critical Discourse Analysis in fact emerged from Critical Theory (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999), which was developed by the Frankfort school.

In reference to the explanation of Kincheloe and McLaren (2000), the Critical Theory basically examines competing power interests between groups and individuals within a society. It is also identifying that who wins and who loses in specific situations. The privileged groups, critics argue, often have an interest in supporting the status quo to protect their advantages; the dynamics of such efforts often become a central focus of critical research. Critical research attempts to expose the forces that prevent individuals and groups from shaping the decisions that crucially affect their lives.

The man of the concept Fairclough extended Critical Theory, when he connected it to discourse analysis. So his approach of critical discourse analysis explains the ways in which people are unequally positioned in a society and the ways discourse constitutes objects and is constituted by them, in society, and the ways meanings are created by both language production and its consumption. Henceforth comes the dialectical and mutual relationship between the social and the linguistic. As language both constitutes the social practice and is constituted by the social practices as well, so the language and the social practice are mutually connected (Fairclough, 2003).

The Fairclough CDA approach actually analyses a text at three different levels to investigate and access to the hidden and real message. The first level or dimension is discourse as text, in which the researcher is supposed to study basic theme of the textual content. While Fairclough describe the second dimension of his model is 'discourse as discursive practice.' According to him it includes all the factors involved in the production of the text. His third and last dimension is to take discourse as social practice. This face of CDA deals with the social, ideological and hegemonic practices existing in a society, it also sees that how these practices shape or form discursive practices (Fairclough, 2003).

This research is basically grounded on Fairclough CDA approach; however other linguists and social scientists have also made various frameworks and approaches for the analysis of

discourse. Van Dijk (1998) stated that discourse analysis is an approach that unveils the social, political and historical discourse of a society, by analyzing the written and spoken text. Laclau (1998), Atkin (2002) and several other has designed their own frameworks of analyzing discourses.

2.3. Hypotheses

Following are the hypotheses study:

H:1   The messages of TTP on alternative media likely to create terror or fear in the society.

H:2   TTP messages on alternative media more often use threatening language.

H:3   The texts generated by TTP are ambiguous and create confusion.

Chapter 3

Research Methodology

This research is carried out in according to the qualitative method of social science research. In this study the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) technique has been applied on the selected TTP and TTP JA (a well know sub group of TTP) alternative media messages. However, the material issued or published by the prominent militant group TTP or it's any other major group communicated through various alternative media outletsis rarely founded; because government agencies monitor the social media accounts which propagate agenda of the radicals and shuts it down. On the other hand no one, even the research organizations didn't maintain any such archives. Government and all the private ownership of these alternative media outlets curb radical content to minimize propagation of extremist ideas and their information or sometime success stories.

3.1. Time frame

As TTP formed in 2007 and soon after its inception, it has started its independent media practices (alternative media); because the militant group leadership was of the view that the mainstream media was not giving them sufficient coverage and manipulating their messages. It was impossible during this research to study all data issued by this radical group since 2007, because its retrieval and management was not an easy task. For the present study I have been collected the pamphlets, electronic pamphlets and videos circulated by TTP and its one other prominently known branch JamatulAhrar (JA) during 12 months from May 01, 2014 to May 20, 2015, through various alternative media sources.

All the collected data was analyzed in according to the set hypothesis or research questions. The time frame was kept a bit short, because no one in Pakistan has a long record of the militant publications, especially of those published on alternative media sources.

3.2. Alternative media types

Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) uses various alternative media networks (social media, conventional media and other electronic services, pamphlets etc) for the propagation of their narrative, messages and success stories. They have made accounts on all popular social media networks like Facebook and Twitter; however government blocked all such accounts time to time, so retrieving an absolute and complete data from all such accounts is not possible. A headline appeared on Dunya TV website that "Pakistan's social media space exploded, criticizing outlawed Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan's (TTP) newly launched official internet presence. The account that hosted the website was suspended by the web hosting service provider within hours." (Dunya News Web Desk, 2014) which verify the former statement that how these militant organization form their accounts on social media websites and how soon they blocked or suspended by the monitoring organization.

Hence for the present research, I collected only videos and pamphlets released by Pakistan major radical group, these both are important alternative media tools. The researcher has also look for social media accounts of TTP high leadership, but most of the accounts were found suspended and it has less amount of data than the required one. Therefore during this work we have only utilized pamphlets and videos released by TTP and TTP JA spokespersons during specific time duration. Initially TTP were used to propagate handwritten pamphlets, however later they transformed it to a mechanically printed form of the pamphlets. Later when members of the radical groups faced hurdles in spreading of pamphlets and other propagating material, then they adopted using email, they were used to send their pamphlets

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to media organizations through email in the form of press release and they were also post it on their own official website Umermedia.com. In the present research I have only used the pamphlets and videos sent or spread through emails.

They also applied same method (email) for sending their video contents to the media organizations or journalists. Here during this study we analyzed several pamphlets and videos sent by the TTP or TTP (JA) groups from May 01, 2014 to May 20, 2015, through Fairclough three dimensional CDA approach.

3.3. Population of the study and sampling

After a thorough search through various research institutes and media organizations, I have been able to collected 54 various pamphlets including pictures, graphical presentations and around seven different videos sent by TTP and TTP (JammatulAhrar) during one whole year. When I sorted all the pamphlets mean text material, 50% of the material was differeht claims of various blasts and attacks at took place across the country. All the claims have same nature, language and aptitude therefore it was analyzed together.

The other 27 pamphlets included policy statements, warnings, administrative and technical information about TTP and its other group. However in all its seven videos TTP has attempted to exhibit its power to its opponents.

During research all the available set of date was analyzed rather than to apply a specific sampling technique. All the available data was taken as a sample.

3.4. Data analysis method

During the present study the discourse used by TTP and TTP JA leaders and spokespersons in their alternative media messages have been critically analyzed. The selected samples of their text and video messages were analyzed through three dimensional critical discourse analyses (CDA) model of Fairclough (1992). As Fairclough (1995) has also stated in one of his explanation of discourse analysis that it is 'a type of language associated phenomenon with a particular representation, from a specific point of view of some social practice.'

3.5. Background

Fairclough is of the view that text analysis alone is not sufficient for discourse analysis, as it does not explain links between texts and societal and cultural processes and structures. He further suggested that an interdisciplinary perspective is needed, where a researcher could combine both textual and social analysis. The research scholars after a through cognitive process described about the benefit derived from drawing on the macro-sociological tradition, that social practices are formed by social structures and power relations, however the people have a lower understanding of the processes. Understanding discourse as both constitutive and constituted is like a central theme to Fairclough's theory. He also perceived that relationship between discursive practice and social structures is a complicated phenomenon and variable across time, deviating from the approaches (Fairclough, 1992).

After a through work Fairclough defined discourse at three different ways and actually he confined the term discourse, to semiotic systems such as language and images, unlikely to Laclau and Mouffe, who treat all social practice as discourse (Jorgensen and Phillips, 2002). Fairclough who is known for his work over discourse understanding stated that in any analysis two dimensions of discourse are critically important, first is focal, the one is communicative event which in his view is an instance of language use such as a newspaper article, a film, a video, an interview or a political speech, while the other is the order of

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discourse which in according to him is a configuration of all the discourse types which are used within a social institution or a social field. Discourse types consist of discourses and genres.

His work explained genre is a particular use of language which participates and constitutes a portion of a particular social practice, like interview is a genre, a new genre or an advertising genre (Fairclough, 1995). According to this ideology the orders of discourse include the order of discourse of the media, mean discourse using by media, the health service or an individual hospital, actually in an order of discourse, there are specific discursive practices through which text and verbal communication is produced and consumed or interpreted (Fairclough 1998).

Fairclough answered that why analysis of various issues and discourses is needed, he described the name critical discourse analysis is intended to generate critical social research in according to critical social theory, he argued that such researches contribute to the rectification of several injustices and inequalities prevailing in the society. Chouliaraki and Fairclough both of the view that real goal of CDA as explanatory critique, which is a starting point in a problem that could solve through research (Chouliaraki & Fairclough 1999).

3.6. Three dimensional model

There are several approaches that are commonly used for analysis of various orders of the discourse. Fairclough who is one of the prominent scholar on the subject designed a three dimensional model for the purpose, his model stated that every instance of language use is a communicative event comprised of three different dimensions. He explained that one is text (speech, writing, visual image or a combination of these); the other is a discursive practice which in according to his view involved both production and consumption of texts and the last one is social practice.

Two other scholars in their commentary regarding Fairclough three dimensional model stated that general purpose of the model is to provide an analytical framework or method for making an effective discourse analysis. They further commented that the model is grounded on the principle that any text can never be understood or analyzed in isolation, but it can only make a sense in relation to a net of other texts and a social context (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002).

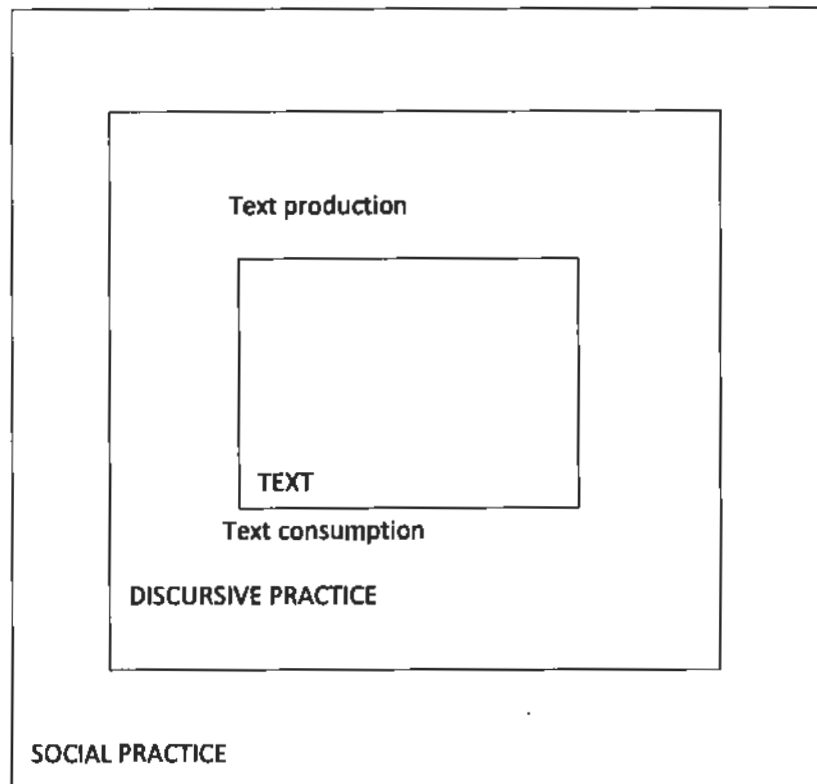Fairclough's three-dimensional model is shown through the following Figure.

Figure: Fairclough three dimensional model of critical discourse analysis

The social structure, social practice and communication are critically important components of a society or community, hence social scientist always conduct researches on its various aspects and emerging issues. The under discussion Fairclough model is an analytical

framework for empirical research on communication and society and their mutual relations. In according to Fairclough explanation of the model. all three dimensions should be covered in a discourse analysis of a specific communicative event. He further emphasized that analysis should focus on the linguistic features of the 'text,' and the other, processes relating to the production and consumption of the text mean (discursive practice); and the social practice to which the communicative event belongs (social practice) (Fairclough. 1992).

According to the three-dimensional model of Fairclough the three levels of discourse e.g. discursive practice. text and social practice shouldn't analyses as together as it can be analytically separated. Through this model he [Fairclough] explained that how a discourse analyst should look in to a discourse when he aims an analysis.

Jorgensen & Phillips (2002) have explained and elaborated each and every subject of the three dimension model of Fairclough model in their book Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method. They explained with example that how he used these three dimensions for the analysis of various text and spoken discourses. They also quoted a few example works from Fairclough publications. Both the scholars explained the three dimensions of the model in according to the flowing scheme. And the same method has been applied for the analysis of selected TTP pamphlets and videos.

Discursive Practice

When a researcher applies three-dimensional model of discourses analysis, he is supposed to concentrate on how the text is produced before it reached to the people and how it is consumed or interpreted by the target audience when once it reached to them. Fairclough stated that if the empirical or experimental material is a newspaper articles, then the researcher will observe all the process through which a text approved for the newspaper publication. it is his job to go through the policy of the newspaper, editing and gatekeeping

process and several other censorship phenomenon's. During this phase he is also responsible to see how people or audience interprets the same text when it once go through them. Shortly we can say through this phase the researcher is supposed to analyses the production and consumption of a discourse in a society. Some studies showed that a less number of researchers observe the consumption of a discourse; Fairclough himself implies it rarely, as he was more focused on the linguistic side of the analysis.

Text

The text is one of the important or basic dimensions of the three, only by detailed language analysis of a particular text using various tools, it is possible to determine that how discourses are activated textually and provide backing for a particular explanation. Fairclough suggested various important parameters for analysis of a text piece. Some of the critically important parameter enlisted by Fairclough listed below.

Interactional control: relationship of the speakers, which also include the question of who sets the conversational agenda. In the present work mostly TTP sets the agenda, as all under observation text, created by TTP. They mostly address government, army and citizens of Pakistan.

Ethos – how the language establish identities.

Metaphors: Metaphors which has been frequently used in TTP texts and videos are identified and interpreted in according to the context.

Wording: the words and its worth has also been judged. It was observed that the text or video speeches are extempore are pre prepared.

Grammar: the grammar is also thoroughly examined in this methodology (Fairclough 1992.).

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All these subjects explain that how a text treats a communicative event and various related social relations. The text creates various social realities, social identities and consequently some social relations. Fairclough explained that while analyzing a text a researcher should more focused on the two grammatical elements transitivity and modality. For analyzing transitivity the researcher will observe that how an event or process is connected or not connected to a subject or an object. However modality analysis concentrated on the subject of speaker's degree of affinity with or affiliation to her or his statement.

Social Practice

After going through the analyses of the text and discursive practice, now we are going to explain the broader and wider dimension of the model, social practice; the other (earlier) two were its parts. Under this dimension a researcher contextualizes a discourse to its broader social network, in according to Fairclough there are two aspects to this contextualization. He explained that at first the link between the discursive practice and its order of discourse is to be explored (Fairclough 1992), as to determine that to what kind of network of discourses does the under observation discursive practice belong? And the other query is that how are the discourses distributed and regulated across texts?

The second aspect of the social practice is to map the partly non-discursive, social and cultural relations and structures that constitute the wider context of the discursive practice, the social matrix of discourse, in Fairclough's terms (Fairclough 1992b).

Some of the critiques of discourse analysis tools stated that such questions cannot be answered by discourse analysis as Fairclough defined and stressed to ensure its answer.

During present research variability has been observed at different levels, though it's a qualitative type of the social science research, so here the variables couldn't be defined as do in the quantitative research. The change in the discourse is considered as key variable during this study. The study has analyzed the intensity of the language and approach to the real meaning. Actually the main variables noted and observed during this study were the alternative media outlet and various discourse types.

Results and Findings

This research is based on the analysis of discourse; the discourse produced and disseminated by TTP through its different alternative media channels. TTP is considered as a notorious militant group in Pakistan, which has an organized media wing. Its wing monitors mainstream media properly and when it realized that the mainstream media do not give them appropriate coverage both in publishing and broadcasting of their messages. The radical group's media wing has also realized that mainstream media has created a narrative against them. Then the militant group has started using of alternative media and established a counter narrative.

During data collection it was found that TTP was using various alternative media tools, earlier they would use to propagate their messages through handwritten pamphlets, which they would paste on walls and on mosque gates, during the night hours and the people would use to see it in the morning. With the passage of time TTP started printing of their pamphlets through printing press or through computer printers, but later its propagation became a problem for the members of the group, as government set a strong watch on them.

At the later stage the leadership of the militant group decided to propagate their messages to media organizations (newspapers and TV channels) through emails rather than to distribute it directly to the people. A senior journalist who had covered militancy for a long time, Rasool Dawar said that when TTP leaders felt that mainstream media was not publishing or broadcasting their messages with its real spirit; they had created accounts on various social media networks to propagate their narrative. Most of such account were blocked by the authorities time to time, later TTP made a website, where it share its claims, success stories and other information and the website became a high source of news for the journalists.

The TTP used to share its information both in text and in video forms. During this research we just took the text and video material for discourse analysis which was published or released to the media from May 2014 to May 2015. There were around 54 textual contents, 27 of the totals were found claims of various blasts, attacks and other activities of the group while the other were miscellaneous content. The data contain seven videos of TTP, as well for its discourse analysis.

In this chapter we will first analyze textual material and later the videos. Initially sorting of the pamphlets or various textual data of TTP and its separated group TTP JamatulAhrar (JA) found that the 50% of the pamphlets were claims of different terrorist incidents, which will be analyzed together while the other content will analyses as separate. Most of these pamphlets were issued as press release as it can't directly reach to the masses.

4.1. Pamphlets or textual material

All the data was analyzed in according to the three-dimensional model of Norman Fairclough. first we started with messages, where TTP groups claimed various extremism actives, it use a specific type of discourse. In general, it was found that all the discourse made by Pakistani Taliban made against the government and security forces officials.

4.2. Pamphlets or text made about claiming extremist activities

A point is worth mentioning that TTP issued some of its messages (textual) in Urdu while sometimes it publish or post it in English language, as well. Here, two main factors are involved. if they use only Urdu, its mean they are addressing the people in Pakistan or in the few neighbouring countries only, but when they translate their message into English, it explains that they want disseminate their message to the whole world, directly.

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Making messages in both Urdu and English testify that the militant group has also had educated people in their circles, so it curb the claims of some people that only the uneducated people led toward extremism.

The general design of the TTP or TTP Jamatul Ahrarh textual message or pamphlets is like the one showed in the Figure.2 in the appendix. They start with '*Kalma*' and most of the time with no '*Salam*' (greetings) as '*Salam*' is one of the important components of an Islamic letters or any other communication, which address one or many persons. They have sometime sent some messages direct in the email body, while the other times, they form a proper graphics and transparent card with their specific monograms or logos.

Media and the common people receive messages from TTP and TTP JA to claim responsibility of a bomb blast, gun attack, killing of different government officials mostly members of the security agencies or celebrities. The press release designed in a pamphlet form given in appendix at number 2, stated that two men of the militant group has attacked a police post in Hangu in the morning hours, as result of the attack several security officials were killed while some were injured. The pamphlet issued by TTP Jammmatul Ahrar used various adjectives like '*Shaeen Sifat*' (like an eagle) for its members, the pamphlets used term '*shaheed*' (martyred) for its member who lost life in the attack, and 'ghazi' for the survivors, while used word 'halak' (killed) for the security forces officials who lost lives in the gunfight. The group at the time claimed the attack and warned that they will keep continue all such attacks in future.

TTP operating its offensive in an area which has a mix religious and social fabric, we can articulate it as socio-religious culture, where most of the people were Pashto speaking and Muslims, especially people of Hangu were Pashtuns and Muslims. Police and security forces say that their men martyred while militants have the same claim for their lost men. The

discursive practice in this regard always ends in confusion, as any of the text didn't let them to access to the reality. Most of the text contain language full of anger and revenge, therefore most of the time it has aggressive elements which make the meaning of the message confusing or ambiguous; and consequently, it creates fear among the common people. Getting a job in law enforcement agencies is considered a prestigious opportunity in Pakistan, though the other factor is that the joblessness in Pakistan has also tend the people to join forces. hence the threats to the forces and government organizations from all such militants create fear in the families and other associates of the people working in all such forces i.e. police and army.

Another message issued by the same TTP-JA group issued in English, it's again used a discourse full of hatred for Pakistan army. The group claimed that they have killed several army soldiers and used term '*Apostate*' for the Pakistan army. By using various metaphors, words and discourses the militant group want to create hatred against military in the country and get support and encouragement for its own men. The TTP exhibits its strength through its publication circulars. In most of the cases they presented themselves as victorious. For the common people only such discourse and communication established a good image of TTP, otherwise they were considered as unseen force or villains. If these messages created by TTP and its other chapters against the country and its military due their enmity or biasness. reached directly to the people, unedited or non-censored. it may create problems. The proper grammar and context study of TTP messages proved that they capsule their messages in an effective and attractive form, and it can easily affect the people who have even a lesser percentage of radical cells in their mind. Because, every person interprets text or verbal communication in according to their own social context and knowledge.

Most of the time the militant groups use threatening language against the military and other government officials and offices, which create a fear in the mind of the relatives of the

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concerned people, these messages, confuse a large number of people among the right and wrong. Many of the people living in the rural areas of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa are witnessed that so many people have left forces jobs, only because of such warnings and threats.

Another message issued over the killing of an army Lieutenant Colonel Tahir Azeem on March 29, 2015, the message came from TTP spokesperson Muhammad Khurasani. The text in the message has a victory blend, which always could see after a big victory in a battlefield. In their pamphlet they claimed the killing of the Colonel and used a full of hate discourse against the national military.

They used phrase 'American Frontline Force' for Pakistani army, from this they want show that Pakistani forces are fighting for securing the US interest in the region rather to protect their country. He also used another term 'Napak' (dirty) for the military, further in the statement he praised Allah and thanked him for getting such big achievement.

"ہم کفر کے فرنٹ لائن فورس سے اپنے مظلوم مسلمان بہن بھانیوں اور شہدا کا ایسا انتقام لیں گے کہ ان کی آئندہ نسلیں یاد رکھیں گی ۔انشاءاللہ"

In the above sentence they declared Pakistan army as infidels' front line force, TTP also said that it will take revenge of killing of its innocent brothers and sisters in the way, that the coming generation of their enemies will keep it remember.

The researcher didn't feel that the members of the militant group will write any of their messages without any proper thinking or decision, every message look like constructed after a thorough consolation and for achieving some specific objectives. The language used in their texts and videos create big confusion, like first of all TTPs messages declared army as infidel, and on other hand the group stated that it will take revenge of their brothers and sister, so if their relatives or friends were Muslims then what about the religion of the forces? It creates a

really big confusion that who is the real Muslim and who is fighting for the right cause. The people who really take any text serious are even confused about the beliefs of the both groups. forces and the militants.

The discursive practice created after circulation of all such text are full of questions, confusion and the threats, if anyone use the clause ان کی آئندہ نسلیں یاد رکھیں گی like this against national army. then definitely people will think so many time before to permit their children to join forces. As the text have a full revengeful language, but the creator might not think that it will reach not only to the targeted audience but to the people in common, and then it should also be considered that how a common man will deconstruct or perceive this message.

All this stuff and text created by a social practice which is really a war between Taliban and Pakistani forces in many northern parts of the country. And this practice is responsible for making so many discourses which were really made fear and confusion. Many people were even confronted with identity crisis after going through such pamphlets and messages. The real identity issue created by the militant and non-militant discourse was religious identity.

If we view from a broader social context the people of Pakistan live in premises of a country and they were supposed to respect and don't violate its writ. They were supposed to follow its laws and morally support its army. On the other hand the people came from nowhere, without having an assured identity. Taliban, has started demanding people to support them in their anti-state agenda. it basically took the people to a state of confusion and fear. The big reality is. that these radical group use religion as common ground.

TTP discourses at various places are evident of that they claim killing of civilian on the account of their association with forces, especially against them. A common man when heard narrative of both the forces and militant. he became confuse that whether it's a battle between two groups or Muslim and Non-Muslim, both the narrative and counter narrative made

various identity images blurred. TTP in its messages continuously pronounced that it will continue attacks. it also create terror among the people, as the target and identity of the enemy is not clear in the ongoing war.

On May 08, 2015 TTP spokesperson issued a pamphlet through an email, in which they claimed the responsibility for the attack on Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif aerial convoy, which result loss of lives of several foreign ambassadors. In the same piece of text TTP also threatened mainstream media to be neutral and also warned media persons that they (TTP) are under their observation.

Pakistan has word democratic in its constitutional name and its politicians and educated class are always favour democracy in the country, however,

"شریعت اور کفر وجمہوریت کے اس جنگ میں ہم اس وقت چین سے نہیں بیٹھیں گے جب تک کہ جمہوریت اور اسکے رکھوالوں کا نام و نشان نہ مٹھا دیں"

However in this piece of text TTP show its opposition toward democracy in Pakistan and stated that they were in fact fighting against democracy in the country and will never get calmed till end the democracy and those who want protect or restore it, here the hidden meaning is a threat for most of the politicians and some scholars who advocate democracy in Pakistan. In the text where the group showed its anger against democracy also showed that its enemy of the whole nation as whole country took part in election by casting vote, even the religious parties. but in one way or another their messages are threats for all its audience. The other thing if the militant group didn't mean what emerge from its message, so it's clearly indicates that they had lost control of their language or they are not taking it serious.

In a broader social perspective there are various religious parties both political and non-political groups in Pakistan e.g. Jamait Ulema e Islam (JUI) and Jamaat Islami (JI), both have millions of followers. On the media screens public saw leaders of both these parties

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promoting democracy, if it's against Sharia then why they were practicing and promoting it? The TTP should make a clear strategy and shouldn't confused common perception over an already clear things. Claiming killing of the foreign ambassadors not only shows that group want to embarrass the country worldwide but declared it a destabilized one. The message like this makes TTP agenda and manifesto ambiguous among the people. Sometimes the militant group says that they do not want to harm common people, so if they are using a hatred discourse against its forces and various other organization of the country, so the social reality that almost the whole population of this country own this country, its organizations, forces, even sports teams. then how such discourse could popular or make a space in the public sphere.

In the same text TTP addressed the media organization management that they were warned them again and again to avoid their Hippocratic attitude toward them, if they didn't then there will no one help them. the pamphlet also warned them that they (the militant group) was monitoring them. All such messages affected the construction of news in the newsroom of several mainstream media organizations.

The discourse used in this message it showed that TTP have a vibrant media wing and it even know about the working sociology of media channels, this why its talk about the helplessness of the media men at the time of any real crisis. In a social practice so many journalists and their organizations or vehicles have been targeted time to time by the militant. The media organizations and persons were threatened to work tactfully or get ready for the otherwise consequences.

On May 09, TTP claimed attack on PML-N and PTI leadership in Haripur, on May 12 the TTP members attacked a police van in Kolachi tehsil of DI Khan as result two police men were killed. the information disseminated by Taliban, stated that two labourer were also

killed in the gunfight, who were died when came in the line of police fire. The TTP pamphlet mentioned that they minimize probability of harming common people in their attacks, as they made their attacks more focused and target oriented.

Here the militant messages also pointed at police that they are not focused and psychologically strong, this is why they shot unwanted and innocent persons during the fight and in hidden meaning TTP showed that its members are more experienced that the government police force. The group who constructed messages know that the people in Pakistan has less trust in police department and by disseminating the ratio of distrust will increase.

It's a common practice that people of KP especially Pashtuns make some common mistakes in writing Urdu, however in case of Taliban we see less such mistakes. Anyhow there are many loopholes in their messages sometime other than language, as it sometime didn't communicate a clear message. In the same time TTP claimed so many such attacks in Peshawar, Swat, Karachi and even one on Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif's security official when he was off duty. In all such claims TTP media wing declared government claims falls and alleged that government were hiding its incompetence through continuous lies. Through alternative media the radical group make a sense that they are a big challenge for Pakistani forces and even the government and its forces are helpless to them. Their every message and pamphlet have severe threats, especially for government departments.

"اپنے اہداف پر بہت جلد پاکستان بھر حملے شروع کرنے والی ہے جس کے بعد کفر کے فرنٹ لائن فورس پاکستانی حکومت اور سیکیورٹی اداروں کی نیندیں حرام ہو جائیں گی"

The above statement took from one of TTP pamphlets, in which it threatened Pakistan government that TTP is soon going to start attacks on its set targets across Pakistan which will never let the infidel front line force and Pakistan government to sleep.

In the message TTP unveiling its plan and threatening government and its forces, it has several messages, one is that the radical group keep inform their enemy about their attacks and didn't try to make a silent attack. However on other hand as they didn't explain the word 'Ahdaaf' (targets), it's really a big mystery for the audience, and specially it create panic and fear among the common people. The messages also use word 'Kufr' for the army, as they word didn't define by the radical group. As per basic information Pakistan is Muslim country and its government, army and majority of its people are Muslims then how could it army declared as an infidel without a proper decree. Here the worth mentioned point is that most of the discourse constructed due to mutual enmity of the radical government with the government, which affect the common people to a great extent.

In a social context, people are confronted with identity crisis issues among the ideologies, religion understanding and between true and false. The opinion leader is also divided and they made the case more confused. The social structure going through a volatile stage where everyone considered suspicious and mysterious.

A pamphlet issued by TTP JammatulAhrar group issued claimed the blasts which blown up CDs and DVDs shop in Shabqadar tehsil of Charsadda. In the figure No.4 in appendix it can be seen that the radical group didn't start with any proper greetings like 'Salaam' and it mentioned the media outlets where they want to reach their message and other details about the sender was also mentioned. TTP JA has competent communication experts who know how to design a message at different occasions. The recent message stated that they attacked the CDs shops when its owners turned down their warnings of stopping this business and stop

propagation of vulgarity. The text in broader sense mean that TTP and its groups trying to execute its laws and rules everywhere even in the settled areas. And making a panic among people by making blasts and other tactics, in the social context it could say they again and again challenging the writ of the government.

In another message again TTP used a discourse like war between Sharia and democracy; they also used word *'Naapak'* for Pakistan army. They presented Pakistan army as liar and looser in their messages, as in one of their messages they claimed that they have attacked and occupied Khyber Sangar post from the army as 12 of their soldiers were targeted. The radical group message further stated that the army left six of their soldiers' bodies behind when they escaped. They in their messages said that army used to target common people both with gun and aerial attacks when they fail to cope over militants. The message alleged ISPR that it creating a propaganda against them which based on lies.

In all these messages TTP and its other group TTP JA trying to misrepresent Pakistan army image and create their own narrative against them. ISPR and government use mainstream media to establish their narrative against militancy and terrorism in Pakistan while the militant group was countering it through its social media tools or accounts and other alternative media sources.

The TTP JA claimed that attack on Lahore Church and used a new discourse that this attack was carried out by their Afia Siddique Brigade, and further stated that they will keep continue such attacks till the imposition of Sharia in the country, the group used a metaphor 'murtad' [apostate or one who left Islam and convert to another religion] frequently for the ruler of Pakistan and challenge their power by saying that if Pakistan government could stop us, then they should do it, and show their strength.

It's a big criticism of a small radical group on Pakistan government its strength and national security planning. The text showed that the militant didn't have any fear of the Pakistan state powers or its execution; this is why they are challenging it again and again.

Another TTP and TTP JA circular claimed attacks and killing of security forces official in Ogi area of Mansehra, they also warned all the forces officials and soldiers to left armed services, they argued that they should stop serving for democracy and should adopt service for the imposition of Sharia or otherwise face the music.

The TTP spokesperson Muhammad Khurasani claimed attack on PML-N leader Haji Sardar Khan Mohmand in Peshawar and stated that after ANP now PML-N is on their hit list, they also claimed that attack on Levis official in Chamarkand tehsil of Bajaur Agency, as result three officials were killed while several other were injured, they also claimed another attack in Char Bagh area of Swat, who was also an ally of the forces according to TTP message. In this message they said that their new war strategy proved more efficient and they asked people who love Islam should avoid those who support democracy.

The TTP JA claimed that improvised explosive device attack on the son of an Aman (peace) Lashkar son, in the statement Taliban said that the father of the victim Gul Dad Khan was head of an apostate peace Lashkar in Nawagair area of Bajaur Agency and stated that TTP will continuously follow and attack all those who support the democratic forces and democracy.

TTP also accepted that they have targeted DSP Bahawal Khan in DI Khan, claimed killing of two police officials in site area of Karachi, they claimed another attacked carried out in Quaid Abad area of Karachi. TTP claimed another attack carried out in Kurarram Agency, in which FC check posts were targeted. The TTP spokesperson Muhammad Khursani has also claimed

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the attack on police van in Loralai area of Balochistan, as result they stated all onboard police constables and officials were killed.

In all these messages, pamphlets sent through emails as press release, we found that TTP members used an anti-democracy, anti-military discourse. They used threatening and fear creating sentences and metaphors. Sometimes they use the language which makes the situation confused. There are two probabilities one is that the militant group intentionally kept their message a bit confusing or they lack communication skill.

In some of the samples they stated that they didn't want to harm public while on other cases they have claimed attacks on public spaces as well, many of their statements contradict each other and make the discursive practice, confused.

The Pakistan is a third world country and most of its people were confronted with unemployment and spending a life under the poverty line, on other hand TTP threatening them to leave government services. They had targeted many government officials only for their association to the government departments. This practice couldn't be justified at any way. The radical group itself don't have an alternate financial support for the people if they leave government service. All such illogical policies and strategies create confusion and fear among the people as almost each and every family has at least one or more than one members in government service. The other thing we found that the group mostly focuses on soft targets and the other fact that it has extended its attack from Fata, KP, to Punjab, Sindh and Balochistan. As it's a counter narrative, in most of the cases no one have any way to verify TTP or even ISPR claims and statements, hence the common people are clueless between both the militants and government.

4.3. Non-claim pamphlets/press releases

TTP not only claimed the attacks at various places but it also issues press releases which are in fact the replacement of their earlier propagated pamphlets to public and media they also answer the press briefings of ISPR, through such circulars. They also issue their policy statements and other ideas through such publications and if mainstream media turned it down then they themselves post it on their alternative media channels. Most of the timethrough such practices TTP tries to create a counter narrative and protect its identity.

The media release given in the Figure. 5 brought us to the fact that militant groups were monitoring mainstream media word by word. The statement issued by TTP JA spokesperson Ihsanullah Ihsan answered one of ISPR briefing and declared that security forces (ISPR) briefing was based on fantasies and lies and far away from real facts. The TTP circular used two terms 'Black Propaganda' and 'White Lie,' which in fact mean that the military were making propaganda against them which is based on lie.

In its social context it could be observed that both parties are so near to each other as they were talking to each other through media, mostly on alternative media. The analysis made after distribution and later consumption of both narrative and counter narrative always produce confusion and unstable ray of thoughts. The main properties of the discursive practice would be contradiction among thoughts and grouping in the society. In a broader social context. we can guess all such publications surface in a volatile and war facing society, which actually we are in. Another pamphlet issued by TPP JA for the people of Mohmand Agency. which asserted that TTP JA is not involved in collection of extortion money in the agency. however some unknown people use their name that actually want to defame the outfit and want to create a breach among them and the people. The message and its text proved that

these militant groups counter each and every propaganda against them through the use of alternative media channels.

The pamphlet issued by Muhammad Khurasani used several old terms like liar for the government and another new thing for Pakistani forces that they are contract killers and argued that they have killed innocent people for the sake of dollars. During continuous analysis of the text we found that Taliban have created a narrative against the government that they are liar and were killing innocents, they also declared that they (TTP) claim all their attacks and even accept martyrdom of their companions, proudly.

The consumption of such messages creates a state of confusion which led people to think that if both army and militants are so closed to each other on information media, then why the security forces doesn't reach or trace them. The other question may be that, is our force helpless against militants? If any person only exposed to TTP narrative who could even guessesthat the writ of the government in Pakistan has almost finished but the reality is unlike to all such created realities.

The TTP JA also issued a statement on the day of Yaum e Shahadat of Osama bin Laden and paid tribute to his services for Jihad; they also expressed their determination for the success of his mission and condemned West celebrations on his death.

Taliban has claimed that they have hit and destroyed a Pakistani helicopter in Gilgit which was coming with PM Nawaz Sharif aerial convoy; later the security officials rejected the claim. As result Muhammad Khurasani issued a pamphlet stated that they have all proves regarding their claim and they will broadcast it, soon. In their circular they criticized security officials that they always make tall claims but couldn't provide evidences.

TTP in its routine discourse use theword 'propaganda' and 'telling lie' type of phrases for government and its security organizations. on the ground of their statements regarding their war against militancy in country. TTP had quoted their several statements which they said were wrong and miss-presented. Another discourse of TTP that forces kill innocent people, they asked them to be strong on border with India rather to show wickedness to common people inside the country. TTP asked between the lines Ulema and journalists to be neutral and didn't support government against them. Taliban also created a culture of sharing the bios of their martyred members as they shared of the one commonly known as Commander Khawary. In the bio text, a number of adjectives were used to pay tribute to his war services and provide information to those who didn't know him.

During the period of our study of alternative media by TTP, the TTP chief Fazaullah has issued a letter on the occasion of Eidul Azha, where he share Eid greetings to all the people who he addressed. He addressed Pakistanis, rulers, Ulema, traders and other concerned people, he instructed them accordingly and said that their mission will be continued till the imposition of Sharia. He also used a word liar for media and later come to that agenda against democracy. They ensured their help and cooperation to the *'mujahideen'* of Syria and Iraq. In the letter again a hard language used for the rulers and forces, and they were presented as villain in the whole ongoing scenario.

The TTP JA created a new discourse when it issued it Happy 9/11 pamphlet as the day considered a sad one in the American history. From the text found in the Figure 7 one can easily guess that how Taliban are celebrating the day, the even title the day as 'Yum-e-Furqan' the day which separated Kufr and Islam. the pamphlet stated.

TTP central spokesperson issued a letter on March 23, which is an important day in Pakistan's national calendar, Muhammad Khursani questioned that if Pakistan made on the

name of Islam then why both India and Pakistan are democratic countries. Pakistan should adopt Islamic system. He lamented over military, discrimination in government policies for its own people and the foreigners. He said that the people and the leadership have forgotten the real objective of making this country.

After the Army Public School Attack in Peshawar, when Pakistan government decided to hang some of the already arrested terrorists, it stimulates a strong reaction from the militant groups and they threatened government if any of their companions was executed then they will target the young members of military officials and politicians families. On the other hand they repeated a full of hate and threats discourse against army and the government. They also presented justification for their attacks on government organization and especially for APS attack, which was socially consider as a clueless excuse, for a huge massacre. . The TTP message stated that they targeted those children of military who were adult and not opposing their parents for AntiSharia practices. However many people know that there were several children killed in APS attack who were not adult. A strong hatred created among people against militants after APS attack and the discursive practice changed on 180 angle.

In Pakistan, a large number of people working in army and they respect it, if someone discourse more focused on a war with a Muslim army rather than some logically set goals, will definitely affect social practice.

Some of the messages and pamphlets issued by TTP disgruntled members at different times expressed about the controversies among the militant groups, however they didn't use any discourse which depicts an open hatred for each other. But at the very bottom, a conflict could be seen among various sub groups of the militants, but they used a respectful language for their leadership and elders, and even keep their position clear in various cases.

From its inception both TTP and TTP JA have created a discourse against democracy, however on Sep 15, 2014, Democracy Day, they asked people to not celebrate it. The TTP JA used the metaphors like democracy is 'Kufr' and democracy is 'Shirk.' These both words are unforgivable sins, in Islam. The pamphlets issued by the group read the argument that in democracy a man or woman became sovereign and have a right to make laws while there is no space in Islam for such things.

This kind of discourse for sure create a huge confusion in understanding of democracy, its religious aspects, as a huge number of Ulema in the country were striving for establishment of a democratic system. On the other hand Pakistan's constitution mentioned that all sovereignty of this country is with Allah and the human could use it as sacred power, in according to Islamic teachings. Sometime the messages came from the militancy are fill with sentimental arguments rather than the logical reasons.

The Figure No. 8 in the appendix showed that the militants' group always show their strength through alternative media; a message issued by former TTP spokesperson stated that the militant groups including "Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan JamaatulAhrar, Tehreek-e-Lashkar-e-Islam and Tehreek-e-Taliban are united under the umbrella of Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan against 'Taghoti' Infidel, Democratic, unIslamic system and the Na-Pak Murtad Army."

They used all such words and phrases against the Pakistan military while using a respectful and full with praises language on their own behalf. They once more attempted to prove Pakistani authorities false and liar when they decline the killing news of TTP chief Fazalullah, and said that the government and army were making a false propaganda.

In some of their pictures shaped pamphlets Taliban present the killing of its members in a beautiful way, they memorize or pay tribute to their services and other dealings. Like in one

instance the banned outfit in one of its message after killing of two of its important members Qari Imran, who was a trainer and Ahmad Farooq who worked with TTP media wing.

It can be simply summarized that most of Taliban messages were a bit loose on its contextual interpretation and sometimes it create a cognitive stress among its audience or readers. During research, it has been observed that the outfit didn't give appropriate attention to the contextual meanings and social fabric of the consumer. It's developed a particular discourse against Pakistani government, government system, army, police, and security forces, it's a discourse against a country which owned by its people, hence it will definitely create confusion and fear among the audience. It's used to present its strengths, policies, administrative developments and many other messages. The radical group in their text messages always tried to create a soft coroner in the hearts of majority of people and hatred against their enemies, however it's very strange, that someone could make a soft space for a group who always generated hatred against their country organizations, government and security organizations. But the discourse created against government officials and organization in the social structure like Pakistan, failed their most of the discourse. Their frequent messages, contradictions in policies and statements and threats to the civilians, created both panic and confusion among the common people.

4.4. Video messages

During the one-year set times TTP and TTP JA posted around seven total video messages on their alternative media sites and sent to the mainstream media as well via email. As in this time period the APS attack was the major incident, therefore two of the video statements were totally made in this perspectives. The radical groups almost adopted the same discourse in their video messages but in videos they made it stronger by showing their weapons, soldiers and training sessions.

The first video we have in hand started with high resolution graphics and it was presented from Umar Media. In the video, the incumbent spokesperson of TTP Umar Khalid Khursani was presented his stance over attack on seminary Talimul Quran, in according to him around 70 people including students and teachers of the seminary were killed.

The video was started with Quranic verses regarding Jehad and later with various graphic picture of the Rawalpindi incident took place on 10th of Muharram, when people of Shia sect allegedly attack a seminary of the opposite sect and killed several people there. The video was well edited, it have various footages use as B-roll and pictures in according to the speech of the militant leader. During his speech he criticized government and media for its discriminatory attitude, lies toward the students of the seminary. He said that media make havoc when people of Shia sect or any other group died or killed in the country while they did not take that much interest in Rawalpindi incident.

He asked people to come out for their support and should stand for Islamic revolution in the country as it's not possible without their help. He also used terms like '*Murtad*' for Shia sect people and government. He alleged government that all these bloodsheds was made on government's behest.

The Pakistan population distributed in various colours like a rainbow, it has people with different mindsets. TTP had created this message in reaction to an attack in Rawalpindi, it used so many provocative discourses and even exciting metaphors. While studying the discursive practice to see how this message would be decoded by the religious mindsets and various sects. It might create distrust in the society and even may make the conflict more serious between the two groups. Constructing a message sometime have one objective however the audience decode it in according to their context, which is sometime result opposite to the real meaning and objective.

A second media shared on the alternative media, showed some Quranic verses regarding Jihad and later some TTP commanders who were firing with their guns in air. Such a video could create a discursive practice like people talk about TTP strength, their weapons and leadership and sometime triggered various questions about their survival in Pakistan.

It shows a symbolic life of TTP members that how they get trained. If the discursive practice of this video, really analyzed, it would create different meanings to the common people, to military, to the people loyal to the country and to those who have a radical mindset.

As we collected only seven videos, so we used them all here in our thesis despite using any sampling technique. In the third video the TTP leader Khalif Umar Mansoor stood in front of a number of TTP members who sat on the ground while several armed men look standing on his both sides.

While starting his short Pashto speech he addressed Muslims in common and Muslims of Karachi in specific, he praised their religious struggle and talked about their problems. He told that TTP will help them to get rid of this difficult situation but it's possible on their active support. He said that they have targeted people like Chaudhry Aslam and others in Karachi due to their barbarism and cruelty and said that they would never let anyone to become a risk to their existence or survival.

He used the metaphor like 'Taghoot e Akbar' and said that they were fighting Ghazwa e Hind against the Taghoot and soon will cope over the India. He also used a loose language against the security agencies and other government officials. This word Taghoot and Ghazwa e Hind could only be rightly decode by the people who have some Islamic study or knowledge, while for others these are only two words.

In another Pashto speech Khalifa Umar Mansoor siting in a room like structure and having a large banner in background, inscribed with Kalama Tayyaba. A young boy was sitting beside him holding a gun. The text run on the video expressed that they young man look in the video was TTP suicide bomber. In the video message he threatened the military and political leadership of the country and said that they were their targets, and said that they will also hit their cities.

The segment regarding attacking the cities has created a huge panic among common people and they felt insecure. He also reacted on security forces deeds in Khyber II operation and said that they will reach to all these attack and had prepared so many suicide attackers on them.

The 5th video message I had in hand was of the TTP chief Maualana Fazal Ullah. In the video message he stand somewhere in an outdoor place in the shades of some trees and surrounded by numbers of TTP members.

His speech address look very aggressive, in which he lamented at Pakistan government and military, he also presented logics for their attack on APS. He declared both government and forces lair and declared that TTP work under a strong belief. He answered many of the questions raised in the day to day discursive practice regarding the performance of TTP and security forces, he denied killing of children in APS attack and said that they had only killed adults. children of the army officials.

He said that they were in war with the military and were fighting in the limits of certain Islamic war jurisdiction. He alleged that army was torturing its own people, including children and women as they have also attacked their sacred places which are not permitted by any religion. He also used the above mentioned discourse for army and he also said that democracy is 'Kufr'. he mentioned that it's their claim and no one can prove it wrong, if

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someone did then they will accept it but if it didn't happen then the authorities would have to accept what they are saying. He threatened the military and other opponents of the group through one way or another.

Another video came from TTP JA where Ihsan Ullah Ihsan describing the bad situation of Muslims in Burma and asked the other Muslims to stand for them, otherwise same situation could turn their ways.

In the last video TTP leader Khalif Umar Mansoor surrounded by other three other armed militant having a huge banner of Kalma Tayyaba in the back ground. He used a metaphor *Haq O Batil* which mean that TTP was fighting a war against the bad mean *Batil* and they will win it for several good reasons. He lashed out at the operations carried out by police after the APS attack and said that government decided to hang some of their fellows who were in the prison and executed one Dr Usman. He pointed at three men sitting beside him and said that he was sending them to hit a target and asked all the higher government leadership to control or stop them if they can.

The discourse used in all his speeches was more confident and threatening to the opposition. As if there is a war like situation in the country it will definitely affect the people. However some of the discourse created and propagated through media by TTP was not properly defined and not clear, it not only create confusion and terror in the mind of the common people and it's also left so many questions to be answered.

4.5. H 1: The messages of TTP on alternative media are likely to create terror or fear in the society.

TTP always threats army, government departments. It uses threatening language, and claims most of the terrorism incidents. It creates a sense of fear among the common people. The

discourse use in their messages showed that they were sit somewhere very near to their targeted audience and monitoring each and every move of the public and government and later sends their policies, accordingly. The majority of people live in the country are loyal to it and if someone has some hidden betrayal agenda, he even can't take it to the front. Labeling democracy as '*Kufr*' is one of the confusing discourse because socially all religious political parties supporting democracy in Pakistan, however TTP use it frequently in its messages. In some places even they stated that they were fighting against democracy. Majority of the people living in the country are pro-democracy, they not only support democracy but take part in the process (through their votes), and so if they threat democratic system, it mean, they threat the majority population of the country. The TTP and TTP JA texts in a broader social context depict a negative effect on people lives and activities, it could make standstill their cognitive process and it's a risk to the creativity, in every field of life.

4.6. H 2: TTP messages on alternative media mostly use threatening language.

Mullah Fazal Ullah, the TTP chief in one of his video message said that they were in a war like situation in Pakistan, They declared military, government; its organizations and its supporters are their enemies. The study proved that in most of the messages TTP address the institutes or the persons who belongs to government, forces or others, therefore they used a hard and threatening message. Through both the historical and current perspectives shows that all these messages and threats were created in reaction to the government narrative against the militants. logically the reactionary language must include the threatening metaphors. Threat always made for creating fear among the opposition.

4.7. H 3: The texts generated by TTP are ambiguous and create confusion.

In some cases TTP messages created identity confusion. The people even can't interpret the reality and identity of the (militants) beliefs, as sometime radical group made unauthentic and illogical religious statements which promote ambiguity. The discourse creators sometime couldn't realize the ambiguity in their messages, though the same messages creates confusion on the consumer end. The other fact is, if the social context or background of the audience about certain message is not clear to the audience, then he or she couldn't understand real meaning of the message.

Chapter 5

Discussion and Conclusion

Due to its geographical location and strategically depth, Pakistan is an important South Asian country which plays a potent role in the maintenance of global peace. Pakistan was suffering from various difficulties since its inception, but it considered more important when it support US agenda in a war between Soviet Union and Afghanistan, few decades ago.

We are still suffering from that old international controversy which was a cold war between Russia and America, when 9/11 happened and a new paradigm shift witnessed in war perspective and its reshaped world politics, economics, peace and even discourse. The Taliban who had already became popular and established in Afghanistan were gain much prominence when US war against terrorism shifted to Afghanistan in search of Osama in Laden. Pakistan, the neighboring country to Afghanistan couldn't safe in the war and it's became a supporter of the US.

Later with the passage of time Taliban made its roots in Pakistan as well and later a proper militant movement established with the name of Tehrik e Taliban Pakistan. They basically groomed in the tribal belt and some part of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa in the initial days, as now they have reached to each and every nook of the country. The main objective of the militant group was imposition of Sharia.

In initial days the militancy was a new phenomenon in Pakistan, hence all media were given it proper coverage. The mainstream media channels broadcast their news and even their video messages. But later some limitations were imposed on the media, regarding coverage and

broadcasting of militancy news. On the other hand the TTP leaders were forcing media to communicate their messages and news like they do for others.

A great confusion was under way that what should do with this conflict or war reports. Later on the militant organization realized that mainstream media were not giving them enough coverage. This is why they thought a bit out of the box and started use of alternative media networks or channels. In the earlier days they have started with pamphlets, most of which were hand written, later they arranged resources to publish it properly before propagation. Howeverlateron government stop printing presses for publishing any such material for the militant.

Later with the advent of social media these organizations established websites, YouTube channels and sent their pamphlets in the form of press release to media organizations and other concerned people. TTP was independent at the alternative media as there was no one to edit their work before posting on social media networks or before emailing it to the concern parties.

TTP members used to made their messages by their own and later disseminate it without proper editing and sometime edited messages. During the present work some TTP and TTP JA messages in the form of pamphlets and videos were selected and it has been analyzed on the CDA three dimensional approach of Norman Fairclough.

As TTP design its information for public by its own, in according to its policies, so it will definitely have its own structure and discourse. In the present research we analyzed all such discourse critically for its hidden meaning.

First of all we collected both the pamphlets and video data. In Pakistan TTP mostly claims different types of violence attacks and sometime it issues other policy statements regarding

its various development or issues. Hence we divided all our textual samples into two sections. one those in which TTP and TTP JA claims various terrorism incidents and the other was no claim messages and kept the videos as separate for the analysis. Then analyzed it in according to the three dimensional model of Fairclough. to test hypothesis

At the end of the analysis we found that TTP and its other group TTP JA have created different type of messages. TTP used to release such messages, on every important occasion. There are various things came to the front, like most of the TTP messages is a counter narrative to the mainstream media or government created narrative while on other hand TTP created its own discourse.

The militant always try to create a perfect message in all its perspectives, but in case of discourse analysis so many loopholes found in their text. The TTP and TTP JA pamphlets or emails were mostly written in Urdu and rarely in English while some of the video messages were also broadcasted in Pashto. They didn't use single language. the media wing of the banned outfit always choose language in according to the target audience.

Most of the time TTP create alternative media messages in according to their own understanding of a phenomenon, but when it comes to its consumption in a totally different social structure. the meanings turned to a new one rather than the desired one. Understanding a message is a cognitive process and sometime different people perceive same text at differently, in according to their own social context and experience. Most of the TTP messages were anti-government, anti-government policies, against the forces and democracy in the government.

It's proved that TTP messages have the phrases that are threatening and creating fears this why some of their messages create terror among the common people. They always threat government and its various departments of severe consequences for different reasons. Some

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of its texts were confusing as its meaning wasn't clear, so it create cognitive dissonance. Sometime they said that they didn't want harm common people as they were at war only against government and forces, while in the next message it claim various attacks which harm common people, the most.

During the studies it was found that the radical group was attempting to establish a discourse full of hatred against national army and the government system (democracy). They always tried in their message to make everything logical what they gone through. They created a discourse that democracy is '*Kufr*' and used it several times, but didn't have any proper logic for it. later in video message TTP chief Fazullah said that democracy is '*Kufr*' because they claim so, therefore how a person can trust such clueless decrees. Anybody, if want create a meaningful message, should create discourse tactfully and carefully. It should select its specific audience and should understand their existing social structure, before making a message.

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بسم اللہ الرحمٰن الرحیم

تاریخ: ۱۵ستمبر۲۰۱۴   پریس ریلیز نمبر: ۱۳

آج صبح ضلع ہنگو میں پولیس کی چوکی پر جماعت الاحرار کے شاہین

صفت دو مجاہدین نے حملہ کیا۔ حملے کے نتیجے میں کئی سیکیورٹی اہلکار ہلاک و

زخمی ہو گئے۔ جبکہ ایک مجاہد ساتھی شہید ہوا ہے اور دوسرا غازی بن کر محفوظ

مقام پر صحیح سلامت پہنچ چکا ہے۔ حملے کی ذمہ داری ہم قبول کرتے ہیں

اور واضح کرتے ہیں کہ ہمارے حملوں کا سلسلہ جاری رہے گا۔

انشاءاللہ

احسان اللہ احسان

مرکزی ترجمان: تحریک طالبان پاکستان جماعت الاحرار

Figure. 2

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

PRESS RELEASE # ___20___   DATE 30-Sep-2014

Pakistani apostate army tried to advance on the bases of Mujahideen of Tehreek-Taliban Pakistan Jamaat-ul-Ahrar at 3pm yesterday in Hassu khel, area of North Waziristan but the Mujahideen were informed in advance. Alert Mujahideen attacked pakistani army quickly. Thirteen soldiers were killed and more than two dozens wounded in the fight that continued about twelve hours. Two Mujahideen were also wounded. Eventually apostate army retreated through jets and helicopters. we congratulate Mujahideen on this success and determine that enemy will find only strictness among us against them.

Ehsanullah Ehsan

SPOKESMAN: TEHREEK-E-TALIBAN PAKISTAN JAMAAT-UL-AHRAR

Figure: 3

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

PRESS RELEASE

Date:	16-Nov-14	REF#TTPJA/PR/AT/16/11/14/00025
TO:	National, International & Social Media	
FROM:	Ehsanullah Ehsan (Spoke person of TTPJA)	
SUBJECT:	Mehmand Shabkader Blast	

ضلع چارسدہ کی تحصیل شبقدر میں سی ڈی سنٹر پر ہونے والے دھماکے کی ذمہ داری تحریک طالبان پاکستان جماعت الاحرار قبول

کرتی ہے۔ یہ دھماکہ گزشتہ رات16 November 2014 کوکیا ہے، جس میں سی ڈیز کی دکانوں کو نشانہ بنایا گیا ہے۔

واضح رہے یہ حملہ ہماری تنبیہ کے باوجود فاشی کو فروغ دینے والی سی ڈیز کی فروخت جاری رکھنے پر کیا گیا ہے، تحریک طالبان

پاکستان جماعت الاحرار کے دعوتی ونگ نے سی ڈیز دکان مالکان کووار ننگ دی تھی کہ وہ معاشرے میں فاشی کو فروغ دینے والے

اس کاروبار کے بجائے کسی متبادل کاروبار کو اختیار کریں، ہماری تنبیہاویز پر عمل درآمد نہ ہونے کی باعث یہ کاروائی عمل میں لائی گئی

ہے۔

ثُمَّ تَكُونُ جِلَافَةٌ عَلَى مِنْهَاجِ النُّبُوَّةِ

Figure. 4

بسم الله الرحمٰن الرحیم

PRESS RELEASE # —————————   DATE ——————————

Today Once Again DG ISPR briefed Media representative about Ope-
-ration Zarb-e-Azb, as usual it was based on lies, and it is called black
propaganda.During his briefing, he told about attack on Malala yous-
-afzai, futhure more he told that attack on malala was planned by a
called "Shura", that was consists of 10 members.I know much about
that beacause at that time I was the spokesman of Tehreek-e-Taliban.
It is a white lie.In fact, the planning was done by local Mujahideen and
the leaders were informed later.3 people were involved in that attack,
one of them is martyred and two are alive.The Story made by ISPR is
based on thoughts and fantasies & in press briefing they claimed that
they have martyred about 1000 mujahideen but it is also a false claim.
We challenge pakistan army to provide names of martyred or show the
video or footage of them, those who have been martyred in this was
everyone wishes to kill his enemy or to defeat his enemy.
But fantasies into reality is called lie.Truth can never be denied by
telling lies.

Ehsanullah Ehsan

SPOKESMAN: TEHREEK-E-TALIBAN PAKISTAN JAMAAT-UL-AHRAR

Figure. 5

بہت جلد امت مسلمہ اور خصوصاً پاکستان کے مظلوم مسلمان بڑی خوشخبریا ں سنیں گے جو جہادی
مید ان میں حیرت انگیز ہونگے اور کفر کے ایجنٹوں کی توقعیں حرام کرنیلے والی ثابت ہونگی .انشاء
اللہ

ہر مرنے اور مارنے والے کا تعلق تحریک طالبان پاکستان سے نہیں ہرنا حکومت بے گناہ عوام کا قتل
عام کرکے دنیا کو کیا پیغام دینا چاہتی ہے۔

ہمارے ساتھی جب بھی شہید ہوئے ہیں تو ہم اکثر اوقات انکی تصدیق کرتے ہیں کیونک شہادت ہمزری
آخری خواہش اور منزل ہے .جس کو تعذا رسول اللہ ﷺ نے کی ۔

پاکستانی کرائے کے قتل فوجی جب بھی کسی بے گناہ مظلوم مسلمان کو گذار کر خرشی کے نشے
تنہ کرنا ہے توسب کے سامنے پوری میڈیا پر اسکو خودکش .تحریک طالبان کا کمانڈرائم بیت گر
وغیرہ مختلف حطرنک الفذات سے نوازکر پیش کرتا ہے ،لیکن حقیقت کذا ہے یہ سب جانتے ہیں یہ
جو روزانہ کے حساب سے کئی کمفشر قتل ہورہے ہیں یہ صرف جھوٹ ہے .حکومت پاکستان کو
شرم آنی چاہیے ۔

ہم جہاں حملہ کرتے ہیں ہلاگ دیل اسکی نمہ داری قبول کرتے ہیں کیونکہ اسکا شرعی جواز ہمارے
پاس موجود ہرنا ہے .ہم پاکستان میں شرعی نظام کے نفاذ کیلاے لڑ رہے ہیں اور ہمارے اہداف واضح
ہیں ۔

جبکہ حکومت پاکستان اور سیکیورٹی ادارے ڈالر کے بدلے یا ڈالر کے لئے کچھ بھی کرسکتے ہیں
ہم اسلام کے دشمن اور صہونیت کے بجاری نہ تو پاکستان سے مخلص ہیں اور نہ ہی عوام سے .وہ
صرف ڈالر سے مخلص ہیں ۔
محمد خراسانی
مرکزی ترجمان تحریک طالبان پاکستان

Figure.6

Figure. 7

We congratulate the Ummat-e-Muslima in common and especially the Muahideens of Pakistan for the coalition of strong Jihadi groups, Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan Jamaat ul Ahrar, Tehreek-e-Lashkar-e-Islam and Tehreek-e-Taliban on one name Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan against the Taghooti, Infidel, Democratic, unIslamic system and the Na-Pak Murtad Army This blessed decision was taken by the leaders of all the three jihadi groups, Respected Maulana Fazlullah Khorasani, Omar Khalid Khorasani and Haji Mangal Bagh in a joint consultative meeting. An organizing committee was formed which will form a central supreme Shura (Rehbari Shura) and an organizing body in few days. We warn the followers and defenders of the Infidel democratic system of Pakistan that in any situation we will not let the conspiracies of the Murtad Na-Pak Army being succeed It should be clear that to disagree and divide this blessed organization the notorious agency ISI martyred four of our members but InShaaAllah our enemy will not be succeeded in his plans and the organizing committee will investigate this incident. Whoever found guilty in this incident will be given punishment according to Shariah. On the other side, Maulana Shakeel Ahmed Haqqani Shaheed and Doctor Tariq Ali also known as Abu Obaidah Al Islamabadi Shaheed martyring is carried out by the agents of the notorious ISI. Therefore, the revenge of these martyrs will be taken by Tehreek-e-Taliban jointly
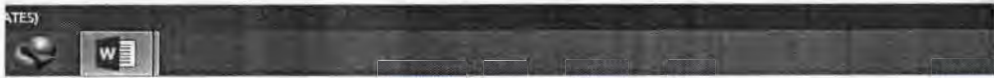Ihsanullah Ihsan

Figure. 8