

Fall 12-1-2018

Becoming Malala: A Discourse Analysis of Western and Middle Eastern Print and Broadcast Coverage of Malala Yousafzai from 2012-2017

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BECOMING MALALA: A DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF WESTERN AND MIDDLE
EASTERN PRINT AND BROADCAST COVERAGE OF
MALALA YOUSAFZAI FROM 2012-2017

by

Tamar Meguerditchian Gregorian

A Dissertation
Submitted to the Graduate School,
the College of Arts and Sciences
and the School of Communication
at The University of Southern Mississippi
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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December 2018

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2018

Published by the Graduate School



ABSTRACT

Deutsch Wells' Kyle McKinnon called her the "most famous teenager in the world" (McKinnon, 2013). Her name is Malala Yousafzai, and at the age of 14 she stood up to the Taliban for threatening her right to an education and was shot in the head. In less than a decade, she became one of the youngest and most influential activists, known to the world simply as Malala. As a Middle Easterner, Muslim and "media darling," Malala is no doubt an interesting activist to study.

This discourse analysis examined the media coverage of Malala in Western and Pakistani media from 2012-2017; as these were the years that Malala was shot, rose to international fame, won the Nobel Peace Prize and co-founded the Malala Fund. This study is important because it examined whether the Western media's coverage of Malala and her activism reinforced or broke with the commonly held stereotypes of Muslim and Pakistani society, and whether the Pakistani media's coverage of Malala and her activism reinforced or broke with commonly held stereotypes of the West.

Using the theoretical frameworks of Orientalism and Occidentalism, the researcher examined Western discourse in *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, CNN and BBC, as well as Pakistani discourse in the *Daily Times* and *Dawn*. The researcher concluded that while the print coverage reinforced the stereotypical views of Muslim and Pakistani society, the broadcast coverage broke from the stereotypical views of Muslim and Pakistani society, positioning Malala as an international activist. Lastly, the researcher concluded that Pakistani media portrayed Malala as a victim, heroine, and agent of the West, but ultimately as the "daughter of the nation."

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

During the course of my doctoral program, I lost my hero – my father who passed away in October 2016 after a courageous battle with pancreatic cancer. But, he won at life and taught me the value of hard work, dedication and the importance of surrounding yourself with the best of the best. Though there are many to thank, here are some of the many who rallied around me.

My chair Dr. Vanessa Murphree not only spent countless hours working with me to strengthen my work, but she took the time to text, call and email words of encouragement and emotional support. She knew just what to say and when. She pushed me to continue and produce quality work.

My committee member and advisor, Dr. Cheryl Jenkins and my other committee members Dr. Dave Davies, Dr. Christopher Campbell and Dr. Loren Coleman helped guide my work and checked on me, often times about life in general. I can't even begin to thank them along with other professors like Dr. Fei Xu and Dr. Cindy Blackwell who gave me the words I needed to keep going and always let me know that it was okay to feel the way I did. Rhonda Welch and Mandy Nace in the MCJ office also offered the kindest of words and helped me in so many ways, especially when I couldn't be in Hattiesburg.

Whether I was in New Orleans or Hattiesburg, my support system was ever present. My long time mentor, friend and colleague Dr. Cathy Rogers promised me I could get through it and always reminded me of how proud my dad was of me.

My family, especially my mom, told me to keep going and not let what was going on hinder my progress – I wish I could put into the words how your love and your strength gave me the ability to press on. You're my hero and my best friend.

To my brother who always has my back and a glass of wine... I love you.

To the world's best brother in-law and sister-in-laws – thank you for always being there to make me laugh and for raising some incredible kids who love their aunt. The calls and visits from Michael, Sophia and Gacia were the best medicine.

To my friend and Katrina sister Sarah Dhane who among countless other acts of kindness flew down to New Orleans to take care of us when my dad was in the hospital, I am eternally grateful. So is dad.

To my dear friend Eve Vavrick who would also drive up with me to school to keep me focused and keep me laughing – our lives will forever be intertwined with Hattiesburg at the heart.

To my dear friend Cristina Daneze Wollenberg for her edits and her love all the way from Brazil, beijos.

To my dear friend Sarah McLaughlin Porteous thank you for all of your support, especially when I needed the encouraging words to keep moving forward.

Finally, to my dear husband and best friend Andrew – you edited, you listened, and you held my hand through it all. You're as deserving of this degree as I am. If it wasn't for you, I don't know how I would have gotten through the program.

Most of all, I'm thankful to God for giving me the most incredible group of family, friends, and professors who helped me through the hardest years of my life.

DEDICATION

To my dad who literally gave his all for me and lived every day with purpose and pure love for his family.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	iii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	iv
DEDICATION	vi
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	vii
LIST OF TABLES	xii
CHAPTER I – BECOMING MALALA.....	1
Introduction.....	1
Thesis Statement	5
Background.....	6
Malala the Activist.....	6
The Malala Fund.....	10
Public Relations Giant Edelman and the “Malala Machine”	11
Why Malala?.....	13
Research Questions.....	14
Literature Review.....	15
Portrayal of Middle Easterners and Activists	16
Cyberactivism in the Middle East.....	17
Activism and Digital Social Advocacy.....	21

Middle Easterners: Media Portrayals and Stereotypes	24
Media Storytelling: Representation and Hegemony	26
Orientalism, Post Colonialism and Occidentalism	27
Malala and the Media.....	33
Critical Discourse Analysis.....	33
Methodology.....	34
Discourse Analysis.....	34
Malala and Media Coverage	36
Print Media and Malala.....	36
<i>The New York Times</i>	37
<i>The Washington Post</i>	38
<i>Dawn</i>	38
<i>Daily Times</i>	39
Total Print Media Articles	39
Broadcast Media and Malala	39
CNN	40
BBC.....	40
Total Broadcast Media Articles	41
CHAPTER II –MALALA: INTERNATIONAL ACTIVIST.....	42

Introduction.....	42
Western Media Coverage.....	42
Malala: The Victim.....	43
Malala: The Activist	48
Malala: The Spokesperson.....	50
Malala: The Survivor	51
Malala: The Unwavering Activist.....	53
Malala: The Antagonist.....	56
Malala: Proponent of Education	57
Malala: The Advisor	57
Malala: Like Father, Like Daughter.....	60
Malala: The Famous Philanthrope	63
Conclusion	65
CHAPTER III – MALALA: AGENT OF THE WEST	69
Introduction.....	69
Western Media Coverage.....	70
Malala: Western/CIA Agent	71
Addressing the United Nations	73
Malala: Dramazai (Drama Queen).....	76

Malala: Celebrity	79
Conclusion	81
CHAPTER IV – MALALA: IRREVERANT CITIZEN	85
Introduction.....	85
Western Media Coverage.....	86
Malala: Change Agent	87
Malala: Pride of the Nation.....	91
Malala: Still an Agent of the West.....	95
Banning Malala’s Book	95
Malala’s Nobel Win.....	96
Malala: Baby Benazir	99
Malala: Still Just a Teenager.....	100
Conclusion	103
CHAPTER V – MALALA: DAUGHTER OF THE NATION	105
Introduction.....	105
Pakistani Media Coverage	106
Malala: Victim of Extremism	107
Malala: Spokesperson	110
Malala’s Fight and Fund	110

<i>I Am Malala</i>	111
Malala: Symbol of Education	114
Malala: Frustrating Pakistan	119
Conclusion	126
CHAPTER VI – CONCLUSION	130
Introduction.....	130
Research Questions and Methodology.....	132
Chapter Summaries.....	133
Response to Research Questions	135
Conclusion	136
Limitations	138
REFERENCES	140

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1 Western media outlets examined in Chapter II, III and IV	43
Table 2 Western media outlets examined in Chapter II, III and IV	71
Table 3 Western media outlets examined in Chapter II, III and IV	86
Table 4 Pakistani media outlets examined in Chapter V	107

CHAPTER I – BECOMING MALALA

Introduction

Deutsch Wells' Kyle McKinnon called her the “most famous teenager in the world” (McKinnon, 2013). Her name is Malala Yousafzai, and at the age of 14 she stood up to the Taliban for threatening her right to an education. As a result, she was shot in the head. Malala began advocating for girls' rights to an education when she was only 11 years old with a speech she gave in front of the Peshawar Press Club titled “how dare the Taliban take away my basic right to an education.”

In less than a decade, she has become one of the youngest and most influential activists, known to the world simply as Malala. She has co-authored a book, been the focus of countless documentaries, national and international media stories, addressed the United Nations on multiple occasions, cofounded the Malala Fund and, in 2014, became the youngest recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize to date.

Malala's meteoric rise to fame and her role as a “media darling” provide a unique opportunity for discussion (Mufti, 2014). Mufti (2014), a journalist and journalism professor at The University of Richmond, like many other journalists and scholars has examined Malala's relationship with the media. Journalists, he states, have “hovered around Malala – and she around them – for years” (Mufti, 2014, p. 31). Even before Malala was shot, Western media grew interested in reporting on what the Taliban was doing in Malala's hometown of Pakistan's Swat Valley. Mufti (2014) adds that as the media's interest grew, so too did Malala's efforts to be the source for those media queries (Mufti, 2014).

Malala's father, Ziauddin Yousafzai,¹ backed her decision to speak out against the Taliban and begin her advocacy work from a young age. Mufti (2014) writes that Yousafzai helped Malala develop "her skill at reading journalists" and "became a faithful believer in the power of the interviews to change the course of history" (Mufti, 2014, p. 32). Malala's "interactions with the media have shaped much of her young life," Mufti (2014) adds, "but her relationship with the media has been too often discussed in simplistic terms" (Mufti, 2014, p. 30). The nature of her relationship and role with the press has depended on the time in her life. Mufti (2014) adds that Malala has played the role of the "anonymous source, a named source, a character, and an expert in media stories" and that through each of these roles "she and her father found a platform for their admirable mission of educating girls" (Mufti, 2014, p. 31).

Even as she lay in her hospital bed recovering from her attack, Malala was a "passive object of the news" suggesting that she was intentionally fueling the media fire (Mufti, 2014). Not only were the media reporting on her role as an activist, her being shot and her subsequent recovery, the media were also writing about the relationships they developed with Malala and her family throughout the course of the years they spent interviewing and documenting her life (Mufti, 2014).

These media "confessionals" – from the likes of BBC's Jon Williams, the *Sunday Times*' Christina Lamb (the co-author of Malala's book) and *The New York Times*' Adam Ellick (the reporter who did the original documentary about Malala) – provided insights into the relationship between Malala, her father, and the press. Ellick (2013) even stated that it was the only time in his career that he recalls his source "becoming increasingly

¹ For the purposes of this paper, Malala's father Ziauddin Yousafzai will be referred to as Yousafzai.

interested in a story” as he was “becoming increasingly tentative” (Ellick, 2013, para. 11). He remembers worrying about Malala and her family’s safety, but said that Yousafzai was not deterred. Yousafzai told Ellick that he (Yousafzai) was already a public activist in Swat and if the Taliban wanted to kill him or his family they would do so regardless of their participation in the documentary (Ellick, 2012). Malala was shot two years after Ellick left Pakistan (Ellick 2013).

While there are conversations among civilians who suggest Malala was shot because of her father’s insistence on her becoming an advocate, Mufti (2014) suggests that the “seduction was mutual” and that the “problem was really not an overbearing father or an overly enthusiastic press” (Mufti, 2014, p. 34). Malala was shot, Mufti (2014) concludes, because “no one... recognized how potent a weapon the media had become in the war in Pakistan” (Mufti, 2014, p. 34).

These ongoing conversations about why Malala was shot and whether it was because her father propelled her forward are not the only negative conversations surrounding Malala. Several civilian and media narratives about Malala’s critics who “portray her as a media pawn, manipulated by a bevy of governments, militaries, and ideologically motivated news outlets to further their various agendas” exist (Mufti, 2014, p. 30-31). Malala’s critics claim that she is “Western spy,” a “CIA agent” and a “pawn of the West” whose intent it is to “demoralize the tenants of Islam” (Mufti, 2014, p. 34). However, she also has Pakistani supporters who “have cast her as Pakistan’s Mother Teresa, a saintly figure who speaks and acts only from a place of purity” (Mufti, 2014, p. 30-31).

No matter the nature, frame and tone of the conversations and editorials, journalists in both Western and Middle Eastern media have been interested in Malala since before she was shot. Their interest in Malala grew, as did the discussion of her critics and supporters. At the end of the day, Malala continues to remain a topic of conversation. She also continues her fight for educational rights and has expanded her role as an activist to advocate for more than her fellow Pakistanis, but also on behalf of girls in the Middle East and North African (MENA) region through the establishment of the Malala Fund.

Stereotypes of Middle Easterners in mainstream media have been studied for years; especially, with regard to Middle Eastern women. Whether the research conducted is in regard to the misconceptions about Islam, the fact that the terms Arab and Muslim are used interchangeably or the recent surge in activism among Middle Eastern women, scholars have been studying the stereotypes and the impact they have on media narratives and public opinion. Several scholars have begun focusing on Islamophobia post 9/11 studying anti-Islamic and anti-Muslim discourse both in the U.S. and abroad (Kamalipour, 1995; Love, 2009; Semaan, 2014).

Kamalipour (1995) writes that, “The Middle East is perhaps one of the most misunderstood, misperceived, and stereotyped regions of the world” (Kamalipour, 1995, p. xx). His text examines the implications of these negative media portrayals of the Middle East, as well as the misconceptions that the West has of Middle Easterners (Kamalipour, 1995). Gerbner (1995) adds that the “rigid media formulas of omission and commission prevent us from facing that fact” and that “big mainstream media are trapped in the same global system of finance...” (Gerbner, 1995, p. xiv). Mowlana (1995) breaks

down the explanation of these stereotypes into what he calls “images,” which he states impact the way Westerners think of the Middle East and how those “images” are socialized (Mowlana, 1995, p. 4).

As a Middle Easterner, Muslim and “media darling,” Malala is no doubt an interesting activist to study. Malala garnered a significant amount of media coverage in both Western and Middle Eastern media and while many scholars have researched the media narratives with regard to conflict and religion, it will be interesting to examine the media narratives with regard to an activist such as Malala. Malala, as a female activist, already breaks with the Western view of Middle Eastern society, but an examination into the media’s discourse of Malala, especially through a comparison of Western and Pakistani media, will allow the researcher to address the absence or presence of stereotypes.

Thesis Statement

This qualitative study will examine the media coverage of Malala in Western and Pakistani media from 2012-2015; as these were the years that Malala was shot, rose to international fame, won the Nobel Peace Prize and co-founded the Malala Fund. The researcher will use discourse analysis to examine the discourse in print and broadcast editorial coverage of Malala from 2012-2015 in leading Western newspapers *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*; two popular Pakistani English-language newspapers *Daily Times* and *Dawn*; and, leading Western broadcast network CNN and international broadcast network BBC.

The researcher will use Said’s (1978) Orientalism as a framework for the study and use the lens of discourse analysis to examine media’s narratives. This discourse

analysis will provide the researcher with the opportunity to examine the coverage in these newspapers and on these broadcast networks to determine whether the media's discourse reinforces or breaks from stereotypical views of Muslim and Pakistani society as explained in Said's (1978) seminal work on Orientalism.

This study is important because it will examine whether the Western media's coverage of Malala and her activism reinforces or breaks with the commonly held stereotypes of Muslim and Pakistani society. The study will also examine whether the Pakistani media's coverage of Malala and her activism reinforces or breaks with commonly held stereotypes of the West. This research will also shed light on the importance that the media play in elevating an activist to the level that Malala has achieved and can inform activists on the power that the media play in further an activist's cause on a global level.

Although scholarship exists with regard to Malala's activism, this research will provide an opportunity to discuss the existence or absence of any preconceived or established patterns of Orientalism and/or Occidentalism in the media discourse surrounding Malala's activism.

Background

Malala the Activist

Malala's father inspired her activism efforts from a young age. She would often sit in on discussions with her father and his colleagues as they spoke about important issues and challenges facing Pakistan. Yousafzai, an educator, poet and an advocate himself, ran a chain of private schools known as the Khushal Public Schools. As the schools' headmaster, Yousafzai was one of the last to bend to the Taliban's demand that

all schools close. Yousafzai defied the Taliban's orders to end female education and backed Malala in all of her early efforts to speak out against the Taliban, even when other parents felt it was unsafe for their children to do so (Ellick, 2012). Although he eventually caved in and shut down his schools, Yousafzai was determined to create change.

New York Times documentary filmmaker Adam Ellick (2012) wrote "...her father's personal crusade to restore female education seemed contagious. He is a poet, a school owner and an unflinching educational activist," (Ellick, 2012, para. 4). Similar to Mufti (2014), Ellick (2012) suggested that Yousafzai was the fuel behind Malala's initial attempts to speak out in defiance of the Taliban. Ellick (2012) wrote that though Yousafzai "...adores his two sons... he often referred to Malala as something entirely special," adding that Yousafzai often permitted Malala to sit and talk about life and politics with him and his colleagues, many times throughout the night in their home in Swat, even though he would send his two sons off to bed (Ellick, 2012).

As Malala's popularity grew both in Swat and internationally, so too did the media's interest. When editors from the BBC approached Yousafzai to find a schoolgirl who would be willing to blog about life under the Taliban, he approached the parents of several of his students who told him that they would not permit their daughters to blog, even if under a pen name. Yousafzai then told the editors about his own daughter, who at age 11 was younger than the other girls with whom they had initially expressed interest in working with. The editors were instantly fascinated with Malala and though they too were worried about her safety, they vowed to keep her identity a secret (Cooke, 2012).

In 2009, Malala began blogging for the BBC's Urdu language service under the pseudonym Gul Makai,² Malala blogged about her life in Swat under the Taliban's regime.³ Malala writes, "I made contributions to the BBC regularly and reflected the sentiments of my terrorised classmates and neighbours" (Malala Fund, 2017). Malala was the BBC's source and provided updates on what was happening in the region, through the eyes of a child. The BBC's audiences connected with Gul Makai [Malala] on a whole new level. "Even though I was a student of class five in 2009, I decided to convey the concerns of female students to the outer world. For this purpose, my father guided me to contribute diaries to BBC under the pen name of 'Gul Makai'," Malala wrote (Malala Fund, 2017).

In December of the same year, also at the encouragement of her father, Malala gave a speech in front of the Peshawar Press Club. After this speech, Malala's identity on the BBC's blog was revealed. That did not stop Malala. She continued to advocate for women's rights and was nominated and awarded Pakistan's National Youth Peace Prize in 2011. That same year, however, Malala learned that the Taliban's leader Mullah Fazlullah had issued a death threat against her.

On October 9, 2012, a Taliban member boarded the school bus Malala rode daily and asked, "Who is Malala?" As her classmates turned to look at her, the Taliban member shot her in the head. The bullets also grazed two of Malala's classmates Kainat and Shazia, but did a majority of the damage to Malala. Malala was rushed to a local

² Malala used the pen name Gul Makai when she blogged for the BBC Urdu because she felt it was not safe for her to blog under her real name. Gul Makai means "cornflower," and Malala preferred using the name because her real name, a variation of the name Malalai (a Pashto heroine) means "grief stricken" in Urdu.

³ The Taliban controlled Swat from 2007-2009 (Walsh, 2013).

hospital in Pakistan and then transferred to Queen Elizabeth Hospital in Birmingham, England, where she underwent multiple surgeries to repair her skull, her face and her hearing. Fortunately, doctors reported that she had suffered no major brain damage. As the media frenzy took hold, Malala recalls that her father ordered that the television set be taken out of her room because he could not bear to watch the coverage about his daughter being shot. Yousafzai sat at Malala's bedside for months as she recovered.

In March 2013, after several months in the hospital, Malala's doctors released her from the hospital and into the care of her family who had resettled in Birmingham, England. Malala went back to school, but this time in Birmingham. Her father had accepted a three-year position as education attaché at the Pakistani Consulate in Birmingham. Yousafzai's new post meant that the family would be in England longer than initially anticipated, which Yousafzai said would be enough time for he and Malala to work. He said he wanted "...to further the educational opportunities for every young person, no matter their gender" (McKinnon, 2013).

As Malala and her family settled into the new chapter of their life, her role as an activist grew. For her 16th birthday, Malala gave a speech at the United Nations. Later that same year, she released an autobiography, *I Am Malala: The Girl Who Stood Up for Education and Was Shot by the Taliban* (Malala Fund, 2017), which documents life under the Taliban's regime. Her co-author Christina Lamb, a foreign correspondent, is the "factual voice" in the text which is coupled with Malala who provides the "child's voice" (Bhutto, 2013, para. 2). *The Guardian's* Fatima Bhutto concluded, "*I Am Malala* is as much Malala's father's story as it is his daughter's and is a touching tribute to his [Malala's father] quest to be educated and to build a model school" (Bhutto, 2013).

The Malala Fund

Once again, with her father at her side, Malala and Yousafzai co-founded the Malala Fund in 2013 (Walsh, 2012). Along with CEO, activist, entrepreneur, philanthropist and Pakistani native Shiza Shahid, the Malala Fund has attracted the likes of donors and celebrities, including Angelina Jolie who contributed \$200,000 to the fund and took a stand with Malala on social media. Through her fund, Malala has been able to continue to advocate on behalf of young girls, but on a much larger scale. Her notoriety has even attracted corporate interest such as Toms Shoes who partnered with Malala to create a scarf that features her quote “One child, one teacher, one book and one pen can change the world,” as well as Islamic style artistry (Varagur, 2016).

On July 12, 2015, in honor of her 18th birthday also known as “Malala Day,” Malala opened a school for Syrian refugee girls in Lebanon, which admitted 200 girls from the ages of 14 to 18 (Malala Fund, 2017.). At an education summit in Oslo that same year, Malala said that the school would serve as a testament of her work to continue to advocate on girls’ educational rights. “My father has been doing it as a teacher and I will continue to do it as a woman. As an adult, you can be the voice of children,” she said (Bloch, 2015).

Through the Malala Fund, Malala has expanded her role from just speaking out about the educational rights for young girls in Pakistan to advocating for young girls around the world. Her initiatives include removing barriers to secondary education, providing alternative learning programs for out-of-school and married girls, technology job training for low-income girls, as well as radio-based educational programs for adolescent girls in Pakistan, Nigeria, Kenya and Sierra Leone. She encourages her

followers to advocate with her through her fund's initiatives and on social media. She encourages her followers to use hashtags such as #StrongerThan, #StandWithMalala and #BooksNotBullets to help promote her campaign through which she encourages world leaders to fund education which she says is "the real weapon for change" (Malala Fund, 2017, n.p.).

Public Relations Giant Edelman and the "Malala Machine"

Malala's rise to international fame may seem to be the result of grassroots activism, but global public relations giant Edelman Worldwide began working with Malala immediately following her shooting. As Malala lay in a hospital bed recovering from surgery, Edelman's London office began functioning as Malala's official press office. The PR giant managed the flood of media inquiries and coordinated her appearances. Many suggest that Edelman's work is what led to the creation of the "Malala Machine" (AFP, 2013).

The Express Tribune suggested that Edelman was responsible for making Malala into a "global brand" and that the "Malala machine" began to grow after Edelman began working with the family in November 2012 (AFP, 2013, para. 21). While the PR giant typically boasts about the clients they represent such as Starbucks and Microsoft, they were pretty low key about their involvement with Malala, perhaps because she is seen as more of a grassroots or homegrown activist (AFP, 2013).

One of Edelman's account executives, Charlotte Paton, said that working with Malala was "different" than any other client she's ever worked with in that it was both "an enormous privilege" and "a great learning experience" for her and the Edelman team (Paton, 2015, para. 1). According to Paton (2015), Edelman helped Malala and her family

“engage with global media and other global stakeholder audiences” on a pro-bono basis for approximately two years. Paton (2015) said the “worldwide interest in Malala and her story is enormous; and almost constant” (Paton, 2015, para. 2).

Griffiths (2013) suggests that Edelman was responsible for the creation of the “Malala brand: a brand of hope, advocacy and peace,” adding that “while her story is one to be remembered for decades, without the help of a dedicated PR team, it could easily lose its message” (Griffiths, 2013, para. 7). Griffiths (2013) concludes that although “many are unaware of Edelman’s work,” “...the agency did not boast about it or advertise it...” and that Edelman did “the greatest thing a PR team can do...” and “...allow the client to speak for herself...” (Griffiths, 2013, para. 7-8).

During the time that Edelman worked with Malala, her portrait was commissioned to hang in the National Portrait Gallery. Jonathan Yeo, the artist who painted Malala’s portrait, said that he was “worried that she was probably a pawn in a bigger game and was being unduly influenced by the people around her” and that “those people include Edelman, the global PR firm that manages Malala...” (Usborne, 2013, para. 6). In an article for *Independent*, Yeo said he felt Malala was “getting good advice – not too intrusive, and [that] there is no other agenda” that he could see during the time he spent with Malala (Usborne, 2013, para. 7).

However, Yeo, like others, adds that although he sees Malala’s father as an “ambitious” proponent of her activism, he also felt that he was “protective” of her. Yeo credits her father’s influence as to why Malala changed her mind about becoming a doctor. He recalls Yousafzai saying, “I see great potential in my daughter that she can do

more than a doctor” and “create a society where a medical student would easily be able to get her doctorate degree” (Usborne, 2013, para. 8-9).

While Malala’s image as a “media darling” was being shepherded through Edelman’s efforts, Malala’s critics continued to discuss the “dark side to all the publicity” (Dayal, 2013). More death threats were issued against her and some of her critics, including Pakistanis, suggested that Malala was a “stooge of the United States and a CIA agent, a symbol of the West’s evils and a global conspiracy to bring down her native Pakistan” (Dayal, 2013, para. 7). Dayal (2013) and many others discussed the “debate... brewing” around whether the “Western spotlight” was “hazardous for the 16-year old” and would result in her becoming “more of a target” (Dayal, 2013, para. 8). Dayal (2013) concluded, “at what point do we draw the PR line?” (Dayal, 2013, para. 8).

Why Malala?

Malala’s not an actress, a politician or wealthy; yet, she’s managed to become a global activist who is known to the world simply as Malala. What she’s managed to accomplish in less than a decade is commendable. However, there are several young women like Malala who have stood up to the Taliban and others who have become advocates in other parts of the MENA region. What makes Malala different? Is it her meteoric rise to fame?

As a Muslim woman, has Malala changed the conversation about Muslims and Pakistani society? As many scholars and journalists alike have said, she definitely has a way with the media. Malala’s relationship with the media both print and broadcast has a narrative. Malala is a Muslim woman and the “media darling” of the West, but do

Western and Middle Eastern media feel the same way about Malala? Do the media's narratives go against prevailing views of the West and Pakistani society?

Research Questions

In the case of *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *Dawn* and *Daily Times* the editors created narratives about Malala. Similarly, in broadcast media coverage about Malala, producers for both CNN and BBC also constructed narratives about Malala. Therefore, these narratives must be analyzed to determine if the discourse was representative of Pakistani society and broke from the Western stereotypical views of Pakistani society.

A literature review of studies about Malala and the media, portrayals and stereotypes of Middle Easterners, activism, digital social advocacy, cyberactivism, media storytelling, representation, hegemony, Orientalism, Occidentalism, and discourse analysis will be used to address the three research questions.

There is a general Western view of Muslim society as being anti-intellectual, patriarchal and oppressive. Therefore, the first two research questions can be used to determine how the Western media's discourse reflects this general attitude and whether there are any attempts to break from those stereotypes. Focusing on this discourse will allow the researcher to assess whether Western media views it differently from the rest of the Muslim world. Essentially, the goal is to determine how Western media discussed Malala and her activism and the reaction of Pakistani society.

RQ1: How does Western print media's discourse reinforce or break from stereotypical views of Pakistani society?

RQ2: How does Western broadcast media's discourse reinforce or break from stereotypical views of Pakistani society?

A common narrative in the Muslim world is that the West is invading their countries and attempting to change how they live. It is important to see how Pakistani media reinforces this narrative especially as it related to Malala and her activism.

RQ3: How does Pakistani print media's discourse reinforce or break from stereotypical views that Western forces are imposing their views and way of life on Pakistani society?

The previous research questions naturally lead the researcher to look for any differences between Western and Pakistani print media because is important to develop a full picture of the discourse in both Western and Pakistani print media. Also, broadcast media provides different opportunities and challenges for presenting information to the public. Thus, reviewing the discourse contained in broadcast media will allow the researcher an opportunity to provide a broader picture of Western media and how it views Malala, her activism and the response of Pakistani society.

Literature Review

The following scholarship provides an overview of the world in which Malala, a female activist in the Middle East, grew up. In order to examine the discourse about Malala in Western and Pakistani media, an overview of the literature with regard to activism and digital social advocacy must be explained because it is important to note that activism, social media and digital social advocacy is a new phenomenon in the Middle East.

As a Muslim activist herself, it is also important that the researcher examine the scholarship about Middle Eastern portrayals and stereotypes, as well as the media's role as the creator of master narratives that in turn impact societal ideologies. Consequently, an understanding of the scholarship with regard to Orientalism, Occidentalism, as well as the resulting implications with regard to representation and hegemony is necessary to understand in relation to this discourse analysis. Finally, an overview of the research that has already been conducted about Malala and her relationship with the media will lay the foundation for the proposed study.

Portrayal of Middle Easterners and Activists

Scholars have examined the stereotypes of Middle Easterners in mainstream media for years. For years Middle Eastern women, especially, have not been able to advocate on behalf of the issues they care most about; instead, these women were often silenced and/or unable to address the misconceptions and misperceptions that Westerners had of them. In fact, Kandari and Gaither (2011) suggest that the “cultural gap between the Arab World and West has spawned innumerable misconceptions and misperceptions” (Kandari & Gaither, 2011, p. 266). Now, however, with the advent and availability of technology in the Arab world, researchers such as Radsch (2011) are seeing large shifts as many individuals, including women, in the Arab world are becoming more vocal on social media platforms. Radsch (2011) provides examples, which show that this has “fundamentally shifted the balance of power” (Radsch, 2011, p. 5).

Yet, there still remain many misperceptions about Middle Easterners and one cannot help but think about the role that the media play in these portrayals. While most of the media coverage of Middle Easterners is about conflict, Kamalipour (1995) states that

it is often negative and furthers the misperceptions and misrepresentations which in turn impact the United States' relationship with the Middle East, both politically and culturally (Kamalipour, 1995).

Both Kamalipour (1995) and Scheufele (1999) add that media frames set forth through mainstream media pre and post cyberactivism further complicate the situation (Kamalipour, 1995; Scheufele, 1999). The recent surge in cyberactivism and citizen journalism has resulted in various perspectives mixed in with mainstream media representations. Scheufele (1999) concludes that the “fragmented approaches to framing in political communication” must be classified as either frames set forth through media or audience and proposes a new model of framing that depicts the framing process as one in which frames are built, set and operationalized (Scheufele, 1999, n.p.).

Cyberactivism in the Middle East

Social media is heavily used in the Middle East and in the five years between 2007-2012, the number of users grew from 20 to 77 million users. Social media is commonly used among wealthy, college-educated Middle Eastern youth and offers them a way to connect with others. While there is diversity in ethnicity and religion among the Middle Eastern social media users, research suggests that there are disparities between male and female users with men being the primary users on social media sites and chat rooms in the Middle East (Hatfield & Rapson, 2015).

Hatfield and Rapson (2015) state that both males and females are using social media to meet a match, others are using it to commence or further their activism efforts. Social media has allowed these users to transcend the boundaries and create various like-minded groups throughout the Arab world (Radsch, 2011). Hatfield and Rapson (2015)

state that social media may even help “strengthen global democracy... encourage citizenship, genuine communication, and participation in [the] political processes” (Hatfield & Rapson, 2015, p. 4). Recently, social media has been a “vehicle for empowerment for Arab women,” they added (Hatfield & Rapson, 2015, p. 5).

Cyberactivism refers to the use of digital media and social media platforms for sociopolitical contestation. While it does not exclude the notion of traditional activism, it is mostly known for its work on the virtual public sphere. These cyberactivists are not only trying to build a following, which in turn will build support and influence policy, but they are also trying to influence the mainstream media’s agenda. Most of the authoritative sources in mainstream media, prior to these female cyberactivists, were males and belonged to those in political power. However, these women and, most importantly, these cyberactivists used technology and social media platforms to influence the mainstream media (Hatfield & Rapson, 2015: Radsch, 2011).

Social media has empowered users in the Arab regions and has helped change the perception of Arabs, particularly Arab youth. According to the Arab Social Media Report, women have led the way in helping change the perception of Arabs through the use of social media. Not only are they using social media to engage and interact with one another, but they are also using social media as civic engagement tool. They have become active in political and social change movements. There is growth among social media networks including YouTube, Facebook and Twitter in the MENA region (Hatfield & Rapson, 2015: Radsch, 2011).

Rice University’s Baker Institute for Public Policy commissioned a study titled “Unveiling the Revolutionaries: Cyberactivism and Women’s Role in the Arab

Uprisings” to examine the cyberactivism efforts of women in Egypt, Tunisia, Libya, Bahrain and Yemen following the Arab Spring. These women including the Egypt’s Esraa Abdel Fattah, Libya’s Danya Bashir, Bahrain’s Zeinab and Maryam al-Khawaja and Tunisia’s Lina Ben Mhenni became known as the “Twitterati” of the Arab Spring uprisings. As cyberactivists living through the Arab Spring these women explored topics such as political rights, elections and sexual violence against women. They not only discussed these issues online and engaged other activists; they also helped break down the gender roles and helped organize virtual protests in their countries.

The Baker Institute’s study suggests that these women also played an integral role in providing mainstream media with the information they needed, as they were able to provide information and sources for the mainstream media over a 24-hour news cycle. The roles that these women played were not only important ones, but also transformative because these were the roles that were typically male dominated in the past (Radsch, 2012).

During the Arab Spring, uprisings took place not only on the ground but also online. Cyberactivists such as the “Twitterati” used hashtags that became part of the “political protest” and provided “effective tools for influencing mainstream media coverage and organizing collective action” (Radsch, 2011). The cyberactivists used social media to support revolutions and uprisings and frame them for world. Radsch (2011) said they were “bridging the digital divide by providing information and coverage as citizen journalists to the mainstream media covering the uprising, ensuring [that] the revolution was televised on broadcast networks,” even if they were online (Radsch, 2011, p. 17).

These cyberactivists, however, knew that their activism efforts could not strictly be limited to social media efforts. They knew that they had work to do offline and in order to create awareness on the ground, they needed to establish themselves as activists in a world that was “previously invisible” (Radsch, 2011, p. 29). They organized and used their social media platforms in the virtual world to occupy the “public sphere” (Radsch, 2011, p. 29).

These cyberactivists, both male and females, continue to work to bring about political change through their social media efforts. For example, Esraa Abdel Fattah, also known as “Facebook girl,” who was the leading member of the April 6 Strike Group in Egypt in 2008 and 2011 in support of the Arab Spring protests, has been recognized for her role in helping empower other women in their activism efforts and willingness to take a stand. Fattah, who admits to using social media as a “tool” and a way of gathering others who wanted to participate in the activism, although imprisoned for her activism efforts, was not deterred (Disler, 2014).

Although both males and females in Middle Eastern countries are still not adopting social media as fast as their Western counterparts, the impact of those who have is sizeable. The Arab Spring uprisings not only increased social media use on Facebook and Twitter, but the “Twitterati’s” efforts helped them establish themselves as key influencers and experts with regard to their respective countries and causes (Muftah, 2012).

The cyberactivists shifted the media’s attention and status quo, becoming the source for mainstream media and working to expand the movement to demand political reform. According to Muftah (2012), they created awareness and influenced media

through the framing of the uprisings. They covered the uprisings even when their state-run media refused to cover them and framed them in such a way that their media would never have done (Muftah, 2012).

Perhaps most importantly, they gave a voice to the voiceless. These women, especially, empowered their fellow citizens and gave them a platform on which to advocate. That would not have been possible without their efforts and social media tools. Aside from discussions about the political regime and the need for a revolution, these women also led discussions about the role of women in their communities as well as the violence and sexual assault they faced. Before these cyberactivists led these discussions, these were topics of conversation that would not have taken place on a public level. These conversations and these women were brought to the forefront of the “public sphere” (Muftah, 2012).

According to Muftah (2012):

The emergence of women in cyberspace and in the streets challenged traditional hierarchies and carved out a new public space in which they could enact their identities, previously invisible in the public sphere, and claim a role in the political contestation underway in their countries (Muftah, 2012, para. 4).

Activism and Digital Social Advocacy

Social media has revolutionized the ability for people to advocate for or against causes and has made it easier to spread a message. There has been significant research done to determine what can motivate activism through social media and the impact social media has on other forms of activism. While this particular study does not examine the

social media efforts of Malala, future studies may examine the discourse and presence or absence of Orientalism through social media discourse. However, in order to understand the role that an activist such as Malala plays, a brief overview of digital social advocacy efforts should be reviewed.

Lim and Golan (2011) examined social media activism in response to political parody videos on YouTube. They based their research off third-person effect in order to examine the effects of the perceived impact of political parody videos. They studied the perceived intent of the video producer and the perceived level of exposure and found that participants showed greater perceived influence of the video when it was presented from a source of highly persuasive intent. They did not find the effect of the perceived level of exposure on influence, but did find that the perception of influence was associated with a participant's willingness to take action or engage in political social media activism (Lim & Golan, 2011).

Velasquez and LaRose (2015) examined social media activism in an effort to understand how political use of social media is motivated. Velasquez (2015) proposed the concept of Social Media Political Efficacy in order to resolve theories of social media activism (Velasquez & LaRose, 2015). The study's findings suggest that social media political efficacy was positively related to successful experiences using social media for activism. The study's findings also suggest that social media political efficacy and social media activism are strongly connected (Velasquez & LaRose, 2015).

Vitak et al. (2009) studied the political activism on social networking sites. They were particularly interested in the activities and political activism on social networking sites such as Facebook during the 2008 presidential election in an attempt to determine if

the activism was really activism or slacktivism (Vitak et al., 2009). Vitak et al. (2009) found that young people's use of social media and their political activism is definitely related, but that the relationship is complex (Vitak et al., 2009).

Vitak et al. (2009) also found that students tend to engage in lightweight political activism on Facebook and in other venues of expression, which predicts other forms of political participation. However, their findings also give credit to the idea that slacktivism does occur with young people and their activism. It is typically tied to their knowledge and is done to benefit them, not necessarily the cause (Vitak et al., 2009).

Though social media has definitely helped activists, there are definite problems associated with online activism as well. Breuer and Farooq (2012) reviewed the literature in support of the role of activism on social media as well as the concept of slacktivism and its impact on the cause. They examined the case of the Brazilian Ficha Limpa (Clean Record) campaign, which sought to tighten the criteria for legislative eligibility in Brazil (Breuer & Farooq, 2012). While the results suggested that the support of the Ficha Limpa campaign online had to do with the results of the electoral vote in favor of the legislative change, Breuer and Farooq (2012) believe that there is still work to be done to examine whether the change would have happened without the online support. The researchers were unable to determine whether slacktivism played a role, but did reiterate the value that online engagement brought in lieu of reform and an efficient and cost-effective approach to political activism (Breuer & Farooq, 2012).

Harlow and Guo (2014) wanted to examine whether slacktivism or clicktivism is diluting real activism. They examined the activism on social media because it is one of the most common gateways into digital activism. Their topic of interest was U.S.

immigration because the debate was timely. They looked at activists who not only depended on the mainstream media to get their messages across, but also on those who took to social media and their own sites to get their messages disseminated (Harlow & Guo, 2014).

Harlow and Guo (2014) analyzed the discourse and found that those connecting with the immigrant communities were not using social media, but were using it from an activism standpoint. They also stated that they still depend on mainstream media for support, they are using social media to further their reach and communicate with other activists (Harlow & Guo, 2014).

Middle Easterners: Media Portrayals and Stereotypes

Alsultany (2012) discusses representation in regard to Arabs and Muslims, suggesting that both groups have a conflated identity in society. She describes this conflated narrative and points to one of the contributing factors – the U.S. government’s construct and categorization of Arabs. She claims that historically speaking, and even more so after 9/11, the media and narrative about Arabs and Muslims is conflated and has resulted in the “construct of an evil Other” (Alsultany, 2012, p. 243).

As Campbell et al. (2014) state part of the problem is that those who get to tell the stories (the media often times) tell them from their own perspectives and angle. Thus, this immediately limits who gets to tell the stories and what kinds of stories are told.

Alsultany (2012) adds that even as the numbers of television shows, for example, representing minorities such as Arabs are seen on mainstream television and film, they are often using the same narrative that we as viewers “have been primed [with] for decades” (Alsultany, 2012, p. 246).

Adding to the discussion of the media's misrepresentation of Middle Easterners, Bullock and Jafri (2000) state that the media's focus is on the "veil" in the literal and figurative sense. While the media do not go into detail on the reasons behind the women's use of the hijab, they use it in a way that gives off a negative perception. Muslim women in Canadian mainstream media, for example, are seen in a negative light and these images contribute to the "negative mis(representation) of Muslim women in the popular media" (Bullock & Jafri, 2000, p. 38). Bullock and Jafri (2000) suggest that this is, in part, due to the media's "fixation on the hijab" (Bullock & Jafri, 2000, p. 38).

According to Bullock and Jafri (2000), Canadian media presented Muslim women as distant foreigners and not as Canadians. Although the media are supposed to be "neutral and democratic," they portrayed these Muslim women as immigrants and Orientals. In fact, Bullock and Jafri (2000) also found that Canadian newspapers portrayed Muslim women as "hijab-wearing" "outsiders and "supporters of fundamentalists" (Bullock & Jafri, 2000, p. 37). Westerners, they add, have a "cultural fixation on Muslim women's dress as a symbol of oppression..." (Bullock & Jafri, 2000, p. 37). "Muslim women," they conclude, "often have to focus on that aspect of their identity as well, even if they would rather talk of something else," (Bullock & Jafri, 2000, p. 37). According to Bullock and Jafri (2000), the media are "playing a crucial role in defining 'Canadianness' to the nation" (Bullock & Jafri, 2000, p. 39). They claim that "Muslim women are committed to initiating change in current media representations," but state that the media must "respond positively to these initiatives" (Bullock & Jafri, 2000, p. 39).

Media Storytelling: Representation and Hegemony

Campbell et al. (2014) write that "... our ideas are relayed through social discourse... and that through our socialization and our institutions (family, education, work, etc.), we learn to speak about and represent our thinking" (Campbell et al., p. 222). This discourse and "our thinking" is linked to the representations seen in "today's media saturated environment" and call for an analysis of "how dominant ideas and belief systems shape our understanding through social texts that have "hegemonic power" (Campbell et al., 2014, p. 222-223).

They discuss the media's use and often times the creation of "master narratives" that shape society's views and ways in which society engages with others and accepts these narratives (or dominant attitudes) (Campbell et al., 2014, p. 224). While they do state that "despite the power of the media in cultivating certain attitudes and behaviors, they cannot fully control or account for our beliefs, preferences, or behaviors..." the media does shape the way we "engage" and "interpret media texts" (Campbell et al., 2014, p. 226).

Campbell et al. (2014) discuss hegemony and storytelling together because in order "to understand the power of stories in our culture, is it crucial to first understand power in general" (Campbell et al., 2014, p. 81). They discuss the notion of common sense because they believe it is "instrumental in allowing citizens to come to agreement, even if it's not necessarily in their best interests" (Campbell et al., 2014, p. 81). But, they warn the public that commonsense is actually "social[lly] constructed" (Campbell et al., 2014, p. 82). Because "common sense is woven into our cultural fabric," Campbell et al. (2014) believe it is the "key to understanding hegemony's connection to storytelling"

(Campbell et al., 2014, p. 82). It is “common sense,” after all that will allow viewers to make connections between hegemony and the media’s influence on these narrative(s) (Campbell et al, 2014).

Lastly, they discuss representation with regard to gender, race, class and sexuality and provide examples of how through various media channels “powerful narratives about personal and collective experiences and perspectives” are formulated (Campbell et al, 2014, p. 227). They discuss how these representations play a role in the “reflective and socializing processes” and are the reasons that individuals and groups are reduced to stereotypes. While the authors suggest that these stereotypes are often used to “help develop our understanding of group dynamics” they are also “used to reassert dominant ideologies and hegemonic power” (Campbell et al., 2014, p. 228).

Orientalism, Post Colonialism and Occidentalism

Edward Said’s (1978) landmark text *Orientalism* sparked discourse about the term orientalism, which refers to the attitudes that the West has about Middle Eastern society. Said (1978) states that the West believes these societies are “static,” “undeveloped” and are far inferior to the “superior” Western society (Said, 1978).

Said (1978) argues that Orientalism is linked to “knowledge of the Other,” who produces this knowledge and the reasons behind the “dissemination” in the Western world (Said, 1978). This knowledge production, he states, is subjective and biased at best and this resulting knowledge is what impacts the Western view. When this lens (Orientalism) is applied, the Western world views those belonging and living in the Orient as inferior (Said, 1978).

According to Shohat (2013), Said's (1978) work was able to "transform the Other from the object into the subject of history" (Shohat, 2013, p. 43). Shohat (2013) further examines Said's (1997) work with regard to the use of the power-knowledge nexus, expanding Said's (1997) work to include Eurocentrism. In his follow up to *Orientalism*, Said (1997) continued to examine the media's depictions of the Muslim world in his book *Covering Islam* with argues that journalists may be "covering up" the "socioeconomic and political realities of the Middle East," which results in the "racist sentiments" of the Orientalists (Shohat, 2013). Shohat (2013) refers to the "notion of Ethnocentrism" as the "discursive residue of colonialism and its consequence – Western hegemony" (Shohat, 2013, p. 44). According to Shohat (2013), Eurocentrism exerts power "even in the absence of colonialism" (Shohat, 2013, p. 44).

Loomba's (2005) *Colonialism/Post Colonialism* expands upon the work of postcolonialists (Loomba, 2005). Loomba (2005) suggests "human beings internalize the systems of repression and reproduce them by conforming to certain ideas of what is normal and what is deviant" (Loomba, 2005, p. 41).

Kerboua (2016) adds that the "concept of Orientalism has been widely dealt with in the humanities and social sciences" and "helps explain a peculiar construction of the Arab-Muslim world" (Kerboua, 2016, p. 7). Orientalism has "metamorphosed to refer to new constructions of the Orient," Kerboua (2016) states, and that the term has gone through paradigm shifts and is now operating as "neo-Orientalism." This transformation, Kerboua (2016) believes is "less territorialized" and "holds a new ideologically-motivated agenda" (Kerboua, 2016, p. 24). Kerboua (2016) adds that Orientalism

“constructs new objects” and “feeds the social phenomenon called Islamophobia” (Kerboua, 2016, p. 24).

Kerboua (2016) defines Islamophobia as a “general term that signifies a complex phenomenon” and states that it “operates within a cultural frame that explains and links an individual’s behaviour to their cultural and religious belongings” (Kerboua, 2016, p. 25). These behaviors, he adds, lead to “essentialism, targeted stigmatization, and stereotyping” (Kerboua, 2016, p. 25).

Meer (2014) studied Islamophobia in the way it “is being informed by postcolonial scholarship” (Meer, 2014, p. 500). He labels these as “continuity,” “translation” and “Muslim consciousness,” which he claims involves the “making of Muslims” (Meer, 2014, p. 500). Meer (2014) states that it is “signaled by the emergence of the concept of Islamophobia” (Meer, 2014, p. 515). He argues that the “framing rests on the terrain that is also populated by scholarship beyond the postcolonial tradition...” and that it “expresses a story of how Muslims have contested and sought revisions to existing anti-discrimination settlements” (Meer, 2014, p. 515).

Most any discussion on Orientalism also includes a conversation about Occidentalism, which refers to the ways in which non-Westerners perceive and present the West (Buruma & Margalit, 2005). Building upon Said’s (1978) scholarship on Orientalism, Buruma and Margalit (2005) state that Occidentalists or “the people who hate the West,” do so for “various reasons” (Buruma & Margalit, 2005, p. 8). According to their study, American policies are often what lead to these anti-American sentiments or Occidentalism (Buruma & Margalit, 2005, p. 8).

Buruma and Margalit (2005) also suggest that that it “turns the Orientalist view upside down” and like its counterpart, is also leading to the destruction of humankind. After all, they remind us that the ideologies behind Orientalism and Occidentalism are not just about “prejudices” because “prejudices are part of the human condition” (Buruma & Margalit, 2005, p. 11). Instead, they write that the real danger of both Orientalism and Occidentalism falls in the fact that the respective parties “dehumanize” and consider other humans “less than,” which is what they worry will lead to the “destruction of human beings” (Buruma & Margalit, 2005, p. 11).

In their attempt to explain and understand what “drives Occidentalism,” Buruma and Margalit (2005) discuss the terrorist attack on the Twin Towers and radical Islam. They also discuss the link they see between imperial Japan and Al Qaeda. Furthermore, through a discussion of groups such as Al Qaeda and other anti-Western movements, they conclude that the “bogeyman of the West” is the same “bogeyman” that has impacted other revolutionary anti-Western movements (Buruma & Margalit, 2005).

Meer’s (2014) work incorporates the notion of Islamophobia and postcolonialism and suggests that there are three frames (continuity, translation and “Muslim consciousness”) that informed Islamophobia through postcolonial scholarship. Meer (2014) defines continuity as a “kind of discursive historical institutionalism that has established a path for relations that are continually reproduced” (Meer, 2014, p. 502). Meer (2014) provides examples of the Crusades and states that these examples “challenge those who insist on a Muslim ‘propensity towards violent conflict’ and that what really stands out is the ‘myth of confrontation’ because the examples he provides of the

Crusades suggest a “pattern of history in which future encounters are cast” (Meer, 2014, p. 502).

According to Meer (2014)

While it is certainly true that our understanding of how racialized categories have saturated cultural and political portrayals of Muslims needs to commence earlier than the conventional store of Atlantocentric racial formation, this is not the same as stating that there has been a perpetual discursive conflict between Muslims and the West from the Crusades onwards (Meer, 2014, p. 503).

Meer (2014) states that the concept and understanding of Islamophobia is contingent upon our understanding of both postcolonialism and Orientalism. He states that while various factors are involved, most notable is the “interaction between political and cultural relations forged during colonialism, and that can be observed in the aftermath of decolonization” (Meer, 2014, p. 502). He states that there is a “common thread that runs through... Orientalism” and that is the “relationship between knowledge and power” (Meer, 2014, p. 507).

Meer (2014) also states that the other two factors that influence Islamophobia have to do with “translation” as the “utility of Orientalist critique” and “Muslim consciousness” as the “making of Muslims,” which Meer (2014) says occurs through the emergence of the concept of Islamophobia and a “wider decentring of the West” (Meer, 2014, p. 500). Meer (2014) concludes that the “point is to recognize the pragmatic possibilities that emerge in the Muslim response to Islamophobia: to register how Muslim anti-Islamophobia influences the awareness that the element of choice is not a total one”

(Meer, 2014, p. 514). One may be born into a Muslim family in which case he/she becomes a Muslim, one may choose to disassociate with his/her Muslim family, and yet, Meer (2014) adds that "...when a Muslim identity is mobilized, it should not be dismissed because it is an identity of personal choice, but rather understood as a mode of classification" (Meer, 2014, p. 514). "In this respect," Meer (2014) concludes, "contesting Islamophobia has often been the conduit through which Muslim consciousness is achieved..." (Meer, 2014, p. 514).

Malala and the Media

As previously mentioned, scholars have begun studying Malala's role as an activist and a "media darling." Mufti (2014) studied Malala's relationship with the press and writes that Malala's "interactions with the media have shaped much of Malala's young life, but her relationship with the media has too often been discussed in simplistic terms" (Mufti, 2014, p. 30). Mufti (2014) says the "truth of Malala's relationship with the press is much more complex..." and includes the "delicate dance that the father-daughter team has participated in for years with the national and international media" (Mufti, 2014, p. 30). He concludes that she developed her skills of "reading journalists and responding to their questions" and "became a faithful believer in the power of the interview" from a young age (Mufti 2014, p. 30).

Ellick (2012), too, stated that Malala's father reminded him of a "parent pushing their kid to become the next tennis star or beauty pageant winner" (Ellick, 2012, para. 30). In fact, Ellick (2012) states that Malala getting shot was the result of her father pushing her forward. However, Mufti (2014) adds that he believes "Malala was shot because no one, not the Pakistani news media, not the reporters and editors in the

American and international press, and not the Yousafzais, recognized how potent a weapon the media had become in the war in Pakistan” (Mufti, 2014, p. 34).

Scholars are examining the “media darling” that Malala has become and studying how Malala is being portrayed and portraying her fellow Muslim activists. Khoja-Mooliji (2015) examined how Malala has been used to “represent the collectivity of Muslim women... and, relationally, reveal characteristics about the collectivity of Muslim men” (Khoja-Mooliji, 2015, p. 539). Olesen’s (2016) study concluded that Malala’s iconization was “political at a number of levels” and that even when she was not able to control her iconization, (while she recovered in the hospital) it was still politically charged (Olesen, 2016).

Critical Discourse Analysis

Walsh’s (2016) *Gender and Discourse: Language and Power in Politics, the Church and Organisations* provides a unique look at how women enter “communities of practice” that were typically male-dominated. She covers “masculinist discursive norms” and proposes a new analytical framework with which to examine the role of women in the public sphere. Walsh (2016) provides examples of the public sphere as political systems and church organizations that were typically male-led. The framework she uses blends the work of critical discourse and feminist scholars and provides researchers to apply it to their own critical analysis (Walsh, 2016).

Friedman (2008) studied the media’s discourse of female suicide bombers who she called “unlikely warriors” and concluded “the mass media play a part in mapping the boundaries of the war circle by the ways they cover their subjects,” (Friedman, 2008, p. 853). Friedman’s (2008) study also found that the notion of “female suicide bombers...

challenges long-held notions about gender and violence” and the four news sources she examined found that the discourse was that of “disbelief” that “women would willingly participate in such violence” (Friedman, 2008, p. 853).

Choudhary’s (2016) research examined Malala through visual mass media to understand “what happens when Western media celebrates a Muslim woman” instead of using the “narrative of Muslim women as oppressed and in need of ‘saving’” (Choudhary, 2016, p. vii). Choudhary (2016) collected visual images of Malala in the media and concluded that Malala’s narrative was the beginning of the shift in “discourse of Muslim women as portrayed in Western mass media” (Choudhary, 2016, p. vii).

Even though Malala is not the first Muslim woman to advocate on behalf of her fellow women, Choudhary (2016) claims that Malala represents a new phase for Western representations of Muslim women where a Muslim woman is not only heard but can freely express commitment to Islam without fear of backlash” (Choudhary, 2016, p. 2).

Methodology

Using discourse analysis, the researcher will be able to examine the media’s discourse that “illuminates the systems of meaning underlying representations of women in mass media” (Friedman, 2008, p. 844). This study will allow the researcher to “provide a method for deconstructing mass-mediated explanations” of representations and stereotypes that are associated with Muslim society (Friedman, 2008, p. 844).

Discourse Analysis

van Dijk (1988) defines discourse analysis as an interdisciplinary method with specific interest to mass communication scholars. van Dijk (1988) states that the interest lies in examining the relationship between news text and context (van Dijk, 1988). As a

qualitative research method, discourse analysis has been used to “illuminate the systems of meaning” in gender studies with regard to women in mass media (Friedman, 2008, p. 844). van Dijk concludes (1988) sometimes “what is not said may be even more important than what is said” (van Dijk, 1988, p. 17).

Fairclough’s (2013) *Critical Discourse Analysis* provides a comprehensive look at the development of discourse analysis with regard to language and discourse as a social and cultural process. Fairclough’s (2013) study suggests that the study of discourse can be broken down into several categories including dialects of discourse, political discourse and issues of globalization to name a few. Fairclough’s (2013) essays on the critical discourse analysis aim to address his main objective to analyze language within capitalist societies (Fairclough, 2013).

Critical discourse analysis is the lens through which scholars such as Walsh (2016), Meyers (1997), Friedman (2008) and Choudhary (2016) have used discourse analysis to highlight the “masculinist discourse” with regard to women in mass media. Since discourse analysis can be used to “illuminate meaning” and “uncover what may not be explicitly stated in the media coverage,” it is the ideal method with which to examine the media’s discourse about Malala (van Dijk, 1988, p. 17).

The deconstruction of the mediated messages will allow the researcher to piece together the media’s frames and possibly provide an explanation of Malala’s rise to fame. Through the analysis, the researcher will uncover themes and patterns that emerge from the mediated messages.

Malala and Media Coverage

The researcher began looking into the media coverage of Malala beginning with the Reader's Guide to Periodicals in the Cook Library at The University of Southern Mississippi. Reviewing the references to Malala in both Western and Middle Eastern media outlets, the researcher determined that the best way to examine the media coverage of Malala would be to have representation from both print and broadcast media. Thus, the researcher chose to examine the media coverage of Malala in both Western and Pakistani newspapers, as well as in broadcast news coverage in both Western and Middle Eastern media.

The researcher felt that limiting the study to an examination of traditional media (print and broadcast) would provide the researcher with an opportunity to conduct an in-depth analysis of media discourse. While the researcher has an interest in furthering the examination of the discourse of Malala through an examination of social media strategies, the primary study's focus is to examine traditional media's discourse of Malala. Magazines were not included because of their tendency to publish less frequently (weekly, monthly) than newspapers and the researcher also chose to exclude radio because of the absence of visuals and frequent reporting/updates.

Print Media and Malala

The researcher chose to examine editorial coverage in Western newspapers including *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*, as well as English-language Pakistani newspapers *Dawn* and *Daily Times* because all four newspapers have high circulation numbers and acclaimed reputations in the West and Pakistan. It is also

important to note that the researcher chose to examine newspapers over magazines because of the in-depth and up-to-date reporting that is characteristic of newspapers.

The researcher used LexisNexis to download all of the articles from all four newspapers (*The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *Daily Times* and *Dawn*) from November 2012 – December 2015, the years that Malala was shot, rose to international fame, won the Nobel Peace Prize and co-founded the Malala Fund. Only articles about or mentioning Malala were used in the analysis, no book or film reviews were included in the analysis. The researcher also paid close attention to whether the articles were book or film reviews as these stories typically include Film or Book Review in the title.

The New York Times

The New York Times is the second largest national newspaper in regard to circulation numbers behind *The Wall Street Journal* (which has more financial content). *The New York Times* has won more Pulitzer Prize awards for its reporting than any other newspaper. The paper focuses not only on national news, but is also known for its reporting on international news. Many media commentators suggest that *The New York Times* has a tendency to set the news agenda on a national level for smaller more regional newspapers (The New York Times Company).

In a LexisNexis search of Malala in *The New York Times* from November 1, 2012 – December 31, 2015 using the keywords Malala and Malala Yousafzai, a total of 398 articles were downloaded. However, the researcher went through the list of articles (including blog articles) to determine that all of the articles were about Malala and not about her book making *The New York Times* Best Seller or Movie Lists.

The Washington Post

The Washington Post is a daily newspaper with a large circulation in Washington, D.C. and abroad. Due to its reputation and location in the heart of the nation, the newspaper covers national news on a much broader scale than other daily newspapers. The paper has won more than 47 Pulitzer Prizes with six awarded in one year (2008), the second-highest number awarded to one newspaper in a single year (The Washington Post Company).

In a LexisNexis search of Malala in *The Washington Post* from November 1, 2012 – December 31, 2015 using the keywords Malala and Malala Yousafzai, a total of 382 articles were found. However, the researcher went through the list of articles (including blog articles) to determine that all of the articles were about Malala, and not about her book making *The Washington Posts'* Best Seller and Movie Lists.

Dawn

Dawn is Pakistan's oldest and most widely read English-language newspaper. It was founded in 1941 as a mouthpiece for the Muslim League (the organization credited for the independence of the nation) and has a circulation of over 109,000. In 2016, the *Dawn* became the first newspaper to oppose the resumption of Pakistan's death penalty (Pakistan Newspaper, 2017).

In a LexisNexis search of Malala in the *Dawn* newspaper from November 1, 2012 – December 31, 2015 using the keywords Malala and Malala Yousafzai, a total of 553 articles were found. However, the researcher went through the list to identify the articles in which Malala was mentioned. No blog articles were included in the count and only articles that mentioned Malala were analyzed.

Daily Times

The *Daily Times* is another popular, English-language Pakistani newspaper. Founded in 2002, it is published from Lahore, Islamabad and Karachi. The newspaper is government-owned and belongs to both the Governor of Punjab and Pakistan People's Party. It is recognized as a newspaper that advocates liberal and secular ideas and has gained popularity because of its editorial coverage on a national and international level (Pakistan Newspaper, 2017).

In a LexisNexis search of Malala in the *Daily Times* from November 1, 2012 – December 31, 2015 using the keywords Malala and Malala Yousafzai, a total of 270 articles were found. However, the researcher went through the downloaded articles to identify the articles in which Malala was mentioned. No blog articles were included in the count and only articles that mentioned Malala were analyzed.

Total Print Media Articles

A total of 1,603 articles from all four newspapers were downloaded from LexisNexis using the search terms Malala and Malala Yousafzai [Malala OR (Malala w/1 Yousafzai)]. There were no known problems accessing the articles from LexisNexis.

Broadcast Media and Malala

The researcher also chose to examine broadcast media coverage of Malala on both CNN and BBC. These two broadcast news networks were chosen because they are highly regarded broadcast news networks with an international reach throughout the West and MENA region. The addition of broadcast news coverage will provide the researcher with a more in-depth analysis of news coverage of Malala and allow for a comparison of both print and broadcast media. The researcher used the LexisNexis database to download the

broadcast transcripts from CNN and BBC from November 2012 – December 2017, the years that Malala was shot, rose to international fame, won the Nobel Peace Prize and co-founded the Malala Fund. It should be noted that the search parameters were expanded to include two extra years December 2015 – December 2017 for broadcast coverage due to the fact that only a few transcripts appeared when the search dates were November 1, 2012 – December 1, 2015.

CNN

Cable News Network (CNN) is a division of Turner Broadcasting System, a Time Warner and an American basic cable and satellite televisions news channel. CNN airs internationally in more than 200 countries. When it launched in June 1980, it was the first 24-hour news channel in the world, which is why it was selected as a unit of analysis in this study.

In a LexisNexis search of Malala on CNN from November 1, 2012 – December 1, 2017 using the keywords Malala and Malala Yousafzai, a total of 55 transcripts were downloaded. There were no known problems accessing the transcripts from CNN.

BBC

The British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) is the British public service broadcasting system in London. The BBC is the world's oldest national broadcasting organization. The broadcasting system operates under the royal charter and is financed through an annual television-licensing fee charged to those who either own a TV or watch live television transmissions online. There are no advertisements, sponsored programs, or opinion pieces produced on BBC.

In a LexisNexis search of Malala on BBC from November 1, 2012 – December 1, 2015 using the keywords Malala and Malala Yousafzai, a total of 456 transcripts were downloaded. There were no known problems accessing the transcripts from the BBC.

Total Broadcast Media Articles

A total of 511 transcripts from both CNN and BBC were downloaded from LexisNexis using the search terms Malala and Malala Yousafzai [Malala OR (Malala w/1 Yousafzai)]. There were no known problems accessing the transcripts from LexisNexis

CHAPTER II –MALALA: INTERNATIONAL ACTIVIST

Introduction

On the heels of the failed assassination attempt in 2012, Western media closely followed Malala: covering her shooting, recovery and her efforts to bring awareness and education to all children through the establishment of the Malala Fund. In this chapter, the researcher analyzed Western print and broadcast coverage beginning with the shooting, recovery and establishment of the Malala Fund. It is throughout these stages of Malala's life that she became known as an international activist.

Using Orientalism as a framework, the researcher analyzed Western print (*The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*) and television (CNN, BBC) coverage and concluded that the media's discourse breaks from the stereotypical views of Muslim and Pakistani society, because while Malala is initially portrayed as a victim, she ends up the heroine. This portrayal of Malala breaks from the typical portrayal of a Middle Eastern woman in the West. It adds to the discussion of Orientalism as her efforts are implicitly set against the anti-intellectual force of extremist Islam in the Western media's coverage. While several themes emerged from the review of Western print and broadcast media coverage including: victim; activist; spokesperson; survivor; unwavering activist; antagonist; proponent of education; advisor; like father, like daughter; and, famous philanthrope; these themes ultimately shaped Malala as an international activist.

Western Media Coverage

The chart below labeled Table 1 includes all of the Western articles and transcripts analyzed in this study including Chapter II, III and IV. This chapter's analysis includes more than 245 articles from the 462 total Western articles and 420 of the 511

total Western transcripts outlined in the chart below. Throughout this analysis of the media coverage, Said’s (1978) work *Orientalism* (the attitudes that the West has toward societies in the MENA region) was used as the lens through which to examine “knowledge of the Other.” In this case, “other,” as Said (1978) defines, is the media who not only produce, but also disseminate this knowledge in the Western world. According to Said (1997), this knowledge production is subjective and biased, yet the impact on the Western view is evident as seen in the aforementioned studies of Meer (2014), Said (1978, 1997) and Shohat (2013). This is why it is important to study the texts and analyze not only what is said, but also what is not said in the media.

Table 1 *Western media outlets examined in Chapter II, III and IV*

Publication	Dates	Number of Articles/Transcripts
<i>The New York Times</i>	November 1, 2012-December 31, 2015	298 articles
<i>The Washington Post</i>	November 1, 2012-December 31, 2015	164 articles
Total Print Articles	November 1, 2012-December 31, 2015	462 articles
CNN	November 1, 2012-December 31, 2017	55 transcripts
BBC	November 1, 2012-December 31, 2017	456 transcripts
Total Transcripts	November 1, 2012-December 31, 2017	511 transcripts

Malala: The Victim

Throughout the coverage of Malala’s shooting and subsequent recovery, a majority of the Western media’s coverage portrayed Malala as a victim of the Taliban and extremism. The Western media’s discourse inherently points to a Pakistani society that is backward, patriarchal and unwilling to tolerate women like Malala who are working to make a difference and change the way Pakistani society thinks about the development of women. The print coverage fits the mold of what Said (1997) claims is the problem with creating a synonymous portrayal between Islam and fundamentalism. Malala, after all, is portrayed as the victim of Islam and fundamentalism/extremism. Malala’s victimization is seen as the result of what Pakistan, the Taliban, Islam,

fundamentalism/extremism stand for. These backward representations of Islam and the superiority of the West are seen throughout the coverage of Malala's shooting and recovery.

On October 9, 2012, a member of the Taliban boarded the school bus that Malala rode home from school and shot her in the head. Although the media's interest in Malala and her activism began back in 2009, when she was the focus of Adam Ellick and Irfan Ashraf's *Times* documentary "Class Dismissed: The Death of Female Education," the media began aggressively reporting on her immediately after she was shot in 2012. Initial reports of Malala being shot appeared in both *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* from October 9 – October 31, 2012, on the newspaper's blog and social media channels; however, those dates and media were not included in this analysis. This study's analysis began on November 1, 2012, after Malala was shot. Nonetheless, there were only six articles in *The New York Times* that mentioned the shooting, her subsequent surgeries and her relocation from Queen Elizabeth Hospital in Pakistan to Birmingham, England, where she spent several months recovering and underwent four surgeries.

The *Times*' Mackey (2012) begins with coverage of the video message Malala's father released while sitting at Malala's bedside in the hospital in Birmingham. He thanked "all peace-loving well-wishers," for their support" (Mackey, 2012, para. 2). Mackey (2012) also reported on footage that showed Malala reading in her hospital bed and communicating with her family while recovering from the shooting and four subsequent surgeries. Several of Mackey's (2012) articles chronicled Malala's recovery. One of Mackey's (2012) articles also detailed the reasons why she was air lifted to Birmingham, England, after receiving initial treatment in Pakistan. Mackey (2012) writes

that she was transferred from the hospital in Pakistan for "...what medical experts said would be a long period of rehabilitation" (Mackey, 2012, para. 4). The same article also referenced the fact that Malala was taken to England for her safety (Mackey, 2012).

Through Western media's initial coverage of Malala's shooting and her recovery in Birmingham, England, the reader is introduced to Malala, the victim. While the six articles that covered her shooting and subsequent recovery outside of Pakistan set up the who, what, when, where and how, they also begin to shape Malala the victim who not only survived, but is challenging the extremists who tried to silence her. Once again, we see in the coverage the link between Islam and extremism, which Said (1997) states is the problem with Western media coverage of Islam. As the print coverage continues, we also continue to learn about Malala's recovery in the hospital and her willingness to continue to stand up against those who tried to silence her.

Times reporter Hauser (2013) provided detailed information about where the bullet entered Malala's skull, the damage it caused to her jaw/neck and hearing, as well as the surgeries (both skull and cochlear) she would have to undergo to regain partial hearing and ensure that the bullet did not have lasting effects. Hauser's (2013) article also stated that Malala had "... asked to keep a fragment of bone from her skull as a souvenir" after her surgeries (Hauser, 2013, para. 3).

When she was discharged in January 2013, doctors reported that she would be staying with her family, who had joined her in Britain, before returning to the hospital for more surgeries to rebuild her skull. Videos and photos of her release from the hospital were also included in the articles examined in *The New York Times*.

Two years following the failed assassination attempt, *Times* reporters Masood (2014) and Walsh (2015) wrote articles about the ten suspects, members of the Taliban, who were detained for questions in conjunction with Malala's shooting. Walsh (2015) followed Malala's story closely and covered the detained men, eight of whom were set free despite the fact that "...a prosecutor told reporters that all 10 had confessed to a role in the attack..." (Walsh, 2015, para. 4).

Walsh (2015) wrote about Izharullah Rehman and Israrur Rehman, the two men who were convicted, imprisoned and sentenced to life in prison. The other eight, Walsh (2015) reported, were released for "lack of evidence" (Walsh, 2015, para. 4-5). Walsh (2015) also wrote about the conditions in Swat, which he claimed were still "particularly difficult... because of continuing insecurity and because civilian authority is largely subordinate to the military" (Walsh, 2015, para. 7). Toward the end of the article, Walsh (2015) reminds the readers that Malala is safe and removed from the potential unrest in Pakistan as she settles in her new life in England.

Another interesting *Times* article from Mackey (2013) reports on the first ever spoken-message from Malala herself following the shooting. "Today you can see that I'm alive," Mackey (2013) incorporates Malala's words into his article where he explains how the "young activist" "will continue to be an outspoken advocate of the right for 'every girl, every child, to be educated'" (Mackey, 2013, para. 1).

Throughout the *Times* coverage, the reader is reminded of Malala's victimization at the hands of the Taliban who were imprisoned and sentenced. The Taliban are the extremists who tried to silence Malala and Malala becomes a victim of the oppressors who claim to be working on behalf of all Pakistanis. The reader is also told that the

reason she was moved to England is because she was not safe in Pakistan. Again, the lines seem to be blurring between Pakistanis and the extremists.

Similar to the coverage in the *Times*, *The Washington Post*'s Tim Craig also wrote about the men who tried to assassinate Malala. Craig's (2014) reporting includes a poignant quote from Yousafzai who said that the arrest was "good news" not only for his family, but also for the "people of Pakistan" and the "civilized world" (Craig, 2014, para. 6). Craig (2014) continued to discuss Yousafzai's statements about how this arrest would help the "thousands of people who have been affected by terrorism" (Craig, 2014, para. 8).

Other reporters from the *Post* such as Schorzman (2013) and Leiby and Adam (2014) wrote about Malala's return to the classroom in Birmingham, England, where her father had received an educational appointment. They wrote about how Malala would soon begin school at Edgbaston, a private girl's school far from her classmates in Swat. Schorzman (2013) quoted Malala as having said, "I miss my classmates from Pakistan very much, but I am looking forward to meeting my teachers and making new friends here in Birmingham" (Schorzman, 2013, para. 1).

Interestingly enough, there was little coverage of Malala's shooting in *The New York Times*. While her shooting and subsequent hospitalization was referenced 65 times throughout the Mackey articles, most of the coverage in the newspaper had to do with her activism. Several of the authors referenced her being shot and recovering in the hospital or settling into her new life in Birmingham. Mackey (2013) wrote, "The 15-year-old, who was shot in the head as she left school in Pakistan's Swat Valley four months ago,

promised that she would continue to be an outspoken advocate of the right for ‘every girl, every child, to be educated,’” (Mackey, 2013, para. 2).

In the same article, Mackey (2013) wrote about how the “young advocate attributed her survival to the prayers of her supporters” and introduced the Malala Fund to help support “the cause of education for girls” (Mackey, 2013, para. 3). Mackey (2013) covered Malala’s activism efforts, which she said were possible “because of these prayers” (Mackey, 2013, para. 3).

The *Post*’s Dana Priest (2012) writes that the “shooting galvanized Pakistan and many other Muslim countries. Muslim clerics in Pakistan denounced the violence and thousands protested in Pakistan” (Priest, 2012, para. 28). Priest (2012) adds that even the Taliban was “feeling the pressure from a world-wide condemnation” because they “released a seven-page justification for the shooting” (Priest, 2012, para. 29).

Broadcast networks BBC and CNN also covered Malala’s shooting, but most of the coverage was about her desire to continue her work as an activist. Nearly 70 of the 99 transcripts were feature stories about Malala and less detailed reporting about her shooting and recovery. Broadcast features highlighted Malala’s activism and her relationship with her father.

Malala: The Activist

BBC’s coverage from the *Associated Press* of Pakistan also covered Malala’s shooting and subsequent hospital recovery. They quoted Malala who “thanked people around the world for their inspiring and humbling support of her since she was shot in the head by a Taliban gunman in her hometown of Swat” (BBC, 2012, para. 1).

Much like the print coverage, CNN's reporting painted Malala as a resilient young heroine. More than 10 transcripts referenced her heroism and work to create change not only in Pakistan but abroad. In one such transcript, the coverage was about Christiane Amanpour's interview she (2014) conducted- Amanpour incorporated some of Malala's most poignant quotes, "they [can] only can shoot a body. They cannot shoot my dreams'" (Amanpour, 2014, para. 4). In the same segment, Amanpour (2013) commented on Malala's resilience and said, "She refused to die. And in doing so, became a hero" (Amanpour, 2014, para. 5). Amanpour's (2013) interview was a CNN special, which Amanpour said was an "extraordinary" opportunity. "She is a prodigy and really appears so much older than her young years" (Amanpour, 2013, para. 124).

In the same interview, Amanpour (2014) goes on to ask Malala questions about the day she was shot and the impact the shooting made on her work and message. Malala said:

The important thing – the important thing is that they shot me. Because they wanted to tell me that we want to kill you and if – stop your campaign. But they made a mistake, the biggest mistake. They ensured me and they told me that even death is supporting me. That even death does not want to kill me. And now I'm not afraid of death. First, I might have been. But now I am totally not afraid of death. And when I look at the support of people, then I'm sure that this cause is never going to die. And we will see that a day will come, every child, whether a girl or boy, whether black or white, whether Christian or Muslim, he or she will be going to school. Inch'Allah (Amanpour, 2014, para. 130-131).

Malala: The Spokesperson

Aside from Amanpour's (2014) interview with Malala and her father, another 10 transcripts from CNN included teasers with regard to Amanpour's (2014) interview, as well as the connections between Malala and other teen activists, the 132 Pakistani school children who were killed in a Taliban attack in 2014, nearly two years after she was shot. Regarding the school children killed in the Taliban attack, Baldwin et al. (2014) wrote:

But amid the evil, I want to take a minute to focus on the survivors, the ones that found hiding places, the ones that played dead, they join another survivor, Malala Yousafzai, who took bullets from the same Taliban just wanting to learn. She and the others prove they won't ever let the terror win, and some dreams refuse to die (Baldwin et al., 2015, para. 4).

Baldwin et al. (2014) referenced the Nobel win as well as Malala's statement condemning the attack on the Pakistani school children. In a 2014 news segment, Azuz and Starr (2014) reported on Malala's stance against the Boko Haram militants who captured the Nigerian schoolgirls. "Malala Yousafzai knows what it's like to be targeted for that reason" (Azuz & Starr, 2014, para 2). Through this coverage, we see Malala the international activist who is not only advocating on behalf of young girls in Pakistan, but also throughout the world.

Western media, both print and broadcast, portrayed Malala as a victim of the Taliban and a victim of extremism. It is through the television coverage that the reader gets to know Malala. The broadcast coverage was split between the actual shooting, her recovery, her surgeries as well as the arrest and conviction of her attackers. The discourse

of this segments points to a Pakistani society that is backward and not supportive of individuals like Malala, who want to make a difference and/or stand up to the forces at play. The print coverage fits the mold of what Said (1997) states is the problem with the label of “Islam,” and the link between Islam and fundamentalism as “essentially the same thing” (Said, 1997). Malala is not only seen as a victim of a violent act, but an act committed in the name of Islam, which appears to be a violent religion.

Said (1997) writes that it is the:

Tendency to reduce Islam to a handful of rules, stereotypes, and generalizations about the faith, its founder and all of its people, then the reinforcement of every negative fact associated with Islam - its violence, primitiveness, atavism, threatening qualities - is perpetuated (Said, 1997, para. vxi).

In the next few sections, the reader is introduced to this notion that Malala has not only begun to recover, but also retaliate against her aggressors not with bullets, but with books and pens. This is also where we see the link between Islam and fundamentalism through the depiction of Malala being an agent of the West as she fights to change the backward ways of her aggressors who do not believe in education for girls/women. Once again, we are met with backward representations of Islam and the superiority of the West.

Malala: The Survivor

While there was initial coverage of Malala in *The New York Times*, 25 articles were about the commemoration of the “...first anniversary of the failed assassination attempt...” and the “...global backlash against... the terrorists and extremists...” that attacked Malala. Several themes emerged throughout the coverage of the “failed

assassination attempt” including: victim; activist; spokesperson; survivor; unwavering activist; antagonist; proponent of education; advisor; like father, like daughter; and, famous philanthrope. The themes were more prevalent in print as several of the journalists such as Mackey for *The New York Times* and Craig and Mehsud for *The Washington Post* were following Malala’s every move. The themes told Malala’s story, but also played heavily into the issues that result from coverage focused on painting a picture of Islam, as a religion comprised of a group of extremists who are hell-bent on silencing those who challenge what they believe Islam is about.

Throughout the coverage, Malala is painted as a heroine of the West and persona non-grata in Pakistan. The West’s fascination with Malala become an example of what the West can use to show how backward the Middle East is, once again producing problematic representations and stereotypes.

In Said’s (1997) *Covering Islam* he wrote about the Western and specifically American responses to an Islamic world, which he said has been “immensely relevant and yet antipathetically troubled and problematic,” since the seventies (Said, 1997, p. 1). He aims to correct these inaccuracies, proposing that the media and individuals alike rely more heavily on humanistic knowledge and communal responsibility, rather than blindly trusting a society which creates uninformed and unintelligent messages (Said, 1997). More than a decade after Said’s work, we are yet again introduced to discourse that paints a picture of not only the Taliban being backward, patriarchal and oppressive, but through the coverage we are introduced to a notion of these views being passed onto Pakistan as well.

In fact, in *The New York Times* alone, Mackey (2013) wrote 22 articles about Malala attackers and their claim to the attack. Mackey (2013) also wrote about the remorse that the country feels about her attack. He covered the statements suggesting that “Malala should return to Pakistan and enroll in a religious school, known as a madrasa” (Mackey, 2013, para. 6). In fact, in the same article, Mackey (2013) references Malala’s relief in the fact that “...the militants at least took responsibility for the attack, given the raft of conspiracy theories that followed it” (Mackey, 2013, para. 6). Mackey (2013) continued to write about Malala and the fact that her attack ensured that, “Malala was [not] only heard in Pakistan, but now she's heard in every corner of the world” (Mackey, 2013, para. 5).

Malala: The Unwavering Activist

The *Times*’ Adam Ellick (2013), who filmed a series of documentaries about Malala before she was shot including her activism and life in the Swat with her father at the helm of her activism, wrote an article in which he recapped her life after the attack. In the article, he mentioned Malala’s BBC interview and quoted Malala who said, “...the best way to solve problems and to fight against war is through dialogue and through peaceful ways... the best way to fight terrorism and extremism, just a simple thing: educate the next generation” (Mackey, 2013, para. 10).

The Washington Post’s Craig and Mehsud (2013) also wrote about the “new threat against Malala... a year ago after she refused to halt her efforts to expose the plight of schoolgirls in northwestern Pakistan” (Craig & Mehsud, 2013, para. 1). Craig and Mehsud (2013) also commented on the fact that the renewed threat followed the announcement of her being on the list for the Nobel Peace Prize in 2013. They noted,

specifically, the attention that the win would bring to Pakistan and stated that Malala's activism and heroism already "brought the eyes of the world to Pakistan" (Craig & Mehsud, 2013, para. 5). Craig and Mehsud (2013) also incorporated statements from her family and friends back home in Pakistan, which commended Malala's heroism and the work she was doing to bring awareness about the suffering of Pakistanis to the forefront (Craig & Mehsud, 2013).

The Post's Justin Moyer (2015) updated the world on the events surrounding the shooting as well as the subsequent sentencing of her attackers. Most of the Moyer (2015) article had to do with the legal system in Swat and the critics who say the system is "ill-equipped to handle terrorism cases" and the lack of ability to "protect witnesses," which is why according to Pakistani political scientist Hasan-Askari Rizvi "no one speaks up" (Moyer, 2015, para. 4). Moyer (2015) goes on to quote Rizvi who said, "people don't want to speak out against these people because they agree with their ideology" (Rizvi, 2015, para. 5).

Valerie Strauss' (2014) article in the *Post* celebrates Malala as the "inspirational 17-year old Pakistani who advocates for the right of girls to get a formal education" (Strauss, 2014, para. 1). Strauss (2014) also covers what Malala would say if a Taliban gunman approached her, "I'll tell him how important education is, and that I even want education for your children as well. And I would tell him, that's what I want to tell you, now do what you want" (Strauss, 2014, para. 6).

Strauss (2014) continues to paint Malala as the "fearless" activist "ready to deal with a gunman if confronted" (Strauss, 2014, para. 7). Strauss (2014) also writes about her influence worldwide and opportunities to meet and speak with world leaders such as

Former President Barack Obama and members of the United Nations (Strauss, 2014, para. 7). Another *Post* article references Malala's meeting with World Bank President Jim Yong Kim (Constable, 2013). In this article, Constable (2013) refers to the audience that listened to Malala speak as "spellbound" and referred to her as an "international celebrity" (Constable, 2013).

Similarly, in another article that Constable (2013) wrote for the *Post*, she references the young girls that Malala has reached through her activism. She ends the article with one of Malala's most famous quotes regarding her advice for what she would tell the father of young girls, "I would tell them don't give anything extra to your daughters, but don't clip their wings... let them fly, and give them the same rights as your sons. Give them a chance to be a human being" (Constable, 2013, para. 14).

Linda Robinson (2013) also reported on Malala's role as an adviser to former President Obama, according to her article in the *Post*. Finally, in the *Post's* World Digest section, the commemoration of the failed attempt was covered from the perspective of the Taliban commander Adnan Rasheed who encouraged Malala to return home, because he was, after all, a member of the same "Yousafzai tribe" and encouraged her to come home and "use your pen for Islam" (World Digest, 2013, para 13).

In this coverage, we meet Malala the unwavering activist, who despite still being a target of the Taliban, is continuing to defy it. She keeps advocating on behalf of all girls, no matter the consequence. We meet a Malala who does not fear anything, because she's already been shot. While we see a strong woman, we also cannot help but see a victim of a violent group who is attached to Pakistan, a violent country. In the section below, we learn about Malala, the antagonist, and between both sections, I am reminded

of Said's (1997) work regarding what most people see and read in the media. He differentiates what he says Islam is with what Muslims and Arabs do. Most people, however, do not. Thus, the "one-sided" portrait gets painted and the differences become blurred and the coverage skewed. These issues lead to problematic misinterpretations and misrepresentations.

Malala: The Antagonist

Four articles in *The New York Times* reported on the fact that Malala was still a target of the Taliban and that she would be attacked upon her return to Pakistan. In Mackey's (2013) article titled "A Taliban Commander Writes to Malala Yousafzai" discusses the "blame" that the Taliban places on Malala for "provoking the attack by 'smearing' the Islamists" (Mackey, 2013, para. 3). The piece incorporates quotes from the Taliban commander's letter to Malala, which specifically addresses the fact that the Taliban did not attack Malala because she was going to school or loved education, but because they believed Malala was running a smear campaign in defiance of the teachings of Islam (Mackey, 2013, para. 3-7). It is in this article, particularly, that the reader is introduced to the notion of Malala as an "agent of the West" (Mackey, 2013).

In the coverage surrounding the failed assassination attempt, the reader/viewer is introduced to the notion of Malala as an agent of the West, a thought that furthers the divide between the ways the West sees the Middle East. This recurring theme throughout the Western media's coverage of Malala is predominant in Chapter III, and it is also relevant in this chapter. This coverage suggests that, according to the West, Malala is looking to distance herself from her native Pakistan and for what it stands for. It also insinuates that Malala cannot stand up for her beliefs in Pakistan because as a patriarchal

society the nation will not allow for a woman to stand up for her beliefs. This theme is different from another sub theme present in this chapter, Malala the victim.

While the previous coverage painted Malala as the victim, survivor, spokesperson, and activist, in this section, we see the coverage shift to regard Malala as a heroine, but only in the eyes of the West. Throughout this discourse, the reader is introduced to the idea that Pakistani society considers her to be an antagonist who poked the Taliban and got shot. We are introduced to a Pakistan that punishes those who speak out against authority. Even though the Taliban are not the Pakistani government and the Pakistani government supports Malala, the Western media's discourse creates a synonymous link between the Taliban and the Pakistani society, giving the appearance that the Taliban speaks for all of Pakistan. Once again, we are met with these misrepresentations and misperceptions about Islam, Muslims and Arabs as Said (1997) points out. This "one-sided" portrait, he writes, of a fanatic is what Westerners picture when they hear the word Islam, Muslim or Arab (Said, 1997).

Said (1997) states that these "malicious generalizations" become the exaggerated and stereotypical portrayals that Westerners have of the Arab world. This is evident in the preceding sections, as well as the next proponent of education. Malala, after all, is portrayed as a victim, a harmless young girl who is at war with the Taliban. This oppressive group somehow represents the entire country of Pakistan because little is done to differentiate the Taliban from Pakistan.

Malala: Proponent of Education

This notion of "Using Books to Defeat the Taliban" introduced readers to the idea that the Taliban was more "scared of books, not bombs" (Editorial Desk, 2012, para. 1).

Another editorial in *The New York Times*, though it appeared two years after the initial 2012 article, references the connection between the Boko Haram militants' kidnapping of school girls in Nigeria and the Taliban's attack on Malala in *The New York Times*. Kristof (2014) titled his article, "What's So Scary About Smart Girls?" and wrote, "what is even scarier to a fanatic" is "a girls' school" (Kristof, 2014, para. 1). He writes:

That's what extremists do. They target educated girls, their worst nightmare... that's why the Pakistani Taliban shot Malala Yousafzai in the head at age 15. That's why the Afghan Taliban throws acid on the faces of girls who dare to seek an education (Kristof, 2014, para. 1-3).

Kristof (2014) seems to think this is the case because the "greatest threat to extremism isn't drones firing missiles, but girls reading books" and blames the West for engaging in militancy to solve these problems instead of using the tools available in the "education toolbox" to fight the militants. He adds that while girls' education is important, it is "no silver bullet. Iran and Saudi Arabia have both educated girls but refused to empower them... but when a country educates and unleashes women, those educated women often become force multipliers for good" (Kristof, 2014, para. 15).

Malala: The Advisor

Though Kristof's (2014) piece seems more like an op-ed (it was not), it appeared to draw various connections between the looming crisis of educating girls and the backward notions of those in control of the MENA regions and their respective countries. Following this article, there were nine that referenced Malala's meeting with President Obama and First Lady Michelle Obama's outspokenness of the kidnapping of the schoolgirls in Nigeria (Shear, 2014). Shear (2014) quoted the First Lady who said that

she and her husband see their “own daughters” in this and that they commiserate with their parents and was using her address to “draw even more attention to the kidnappings.”

Through this, we read about First Lady Michelle Obama’s renewed commitment to making sure that “quality education” was a top priority in the United States. Malala also spoke to the President of Nigeria and urged him to meet with the parents of the abducted schoolgirls, an action he took only after meeting with Malala.

In an article Mackey (2013) wrote, Malala said that she felt it was the “‘job of the government’” to “decide how to resolve the crisis” (Mackey, 2013, para. 15). One reporter even referred to the “misconception” that “took hold on social networks” about the fact that “Malala... issued a call for the Pakistani military to end its military operations against the Taliban and engage only in negotiations” (Mackey, 2013, para. 15). According to the article, those same people were referring to Malala as ‘baby Benazir’ (Mackey, 2013, para. 17).

We’ve just met Malala the advisor whose status as an activist has allowed her to be in the company of world leaders. There is a slight shift in the portrayal of Malala from victim to unwavering activist. This shift is seen in the previous section as well, which discusses the Taliban’s fear of education. We see a Malala who is not afraid to take on the Taliban. We also see a Malala who is poised and ready to not only take on Pakistan’s problems, but also the worlds. Through her ability to speak to world leaders, she is spreading her message around the world. Through the West’s support, she is able to continue to speak out against the Taliban and what they stand for.

But, as Said (1997) states, there seems to be no distinction between what Islam is and what [some] Muslims do. This is, of course, where it gets even more problematic

because the coverage up to this point puts the Taliban and Pakistan in the same category. At times throughout the coverage, we even meet the “men” (the extremists) who ordered the attack on Malala.

These men, who are supposed to be patriarchal and hell-bent on keeping women oppressed; however, are very different from the most important man in Malala’s life, her father. He, after all, was her first backer. Before the West, before the world, there was Malala’s father, encouraging his daughter to step up and step out.

Malala: Like Father, Like Daughter

The *Post’s* O’Sullivan (2015) discusses the Malala who is known worldwide for her heroism, who would be the feature of Davis Guggenheim’s documentary film “He Named Me Malala.” O’Sullivan (2015) says the “moving portrait... paints her as remarkably brave, poised, funny, articulate, smart, self-aware, resilient and curious” (O’Sullivan, 2015, para. 1). While O’Sullivan (2015) picks up on the “strong theme” of the film being the “unusually close bond” and relationship between Malala and her father, he quickly points out that Malala (in the film) “does not blame him for what happened to her” (O’Sullivan, 2015, para. 5).

The *Post’s* Page-Kirby (2015) also reported on Guggenheim’s documentary about Malala, but focuses on the fact that she is just a teenage girl and writes about how Guggenheim effectively told that story while telling the world about who Malala is. The coverage depicts a teenage girl, but also an activist whose father has shaped and molded her to take on issues that concern him and his native Pakistanis.

CNN’s Christine Amanpour (2014) also interviewed Malala’s father and although the segment’s title was “The Bravest Girl in the World Wins the Nobel Peace Prize” the

focus of the interview quickly went from Malala's win of the Nobel to the relationship between Malala and her father. When asked about how Yousafzai felt when he learned of the attempt on Malala's life, he said:

You see the hardest moment for me as a father, when I heard the news about the attack on her and it was such a brutal attack that it has almost taken her life, and we had the worst trauma. And you want to think of it, it is very difficult because, in this universe, she's the most precious person for me in my life. And we are not only father and daughter, we are friends (Yousafzai, 2014, para. 16-17).

Furthermore, Amanpour (2014) dug into whether or not he felt any "remorse, any regret" for helping push Malala into the public spotlight. In response to this question, he said:

No, never. Remember, I am a Pashtun Pakistani. I can never compromise on freedom. My approach is I think that it's better to live for one day to speak for your right than to live for hundred years in such a slavery. I will never put my neck into the yoke of slavery (Yousafzai, 2014, para. 50).

In this section, the discourse provides a narrative of a Malala who refuses to remain a victim. We are also introduced to the unique relationship she has with her father, who named her Malala (which means Grief Stricken in Urdu). He was Malala's first publicist and began to shape her activism using his own agenda from an early age. Whether it was his push for her to speak to the Peshawar Press Club, blog for the BBC or be the focus of the Ellick (2009) documentary, her father was behind her, every step of the way. We also learn about her namesake fund, which is her global attempt to put her

purpose into action. The Western media's discourse paints the portrait of a girl who will continue her fight for education, no matter the support she gets from her native Pakistan.

The coverage themes up to this point (victim; activist; spokesperson; survivor; unwavering activist; antagonist; proponent of education; advisor; like father, like daughter; and, famous philanthrope) reinforces the notion of a country that is not supportive of its people who like Malala are more in line with Western ideals that are not in line with the rules and teachings of Islam.

This brings the conversation back to what Said (1997) states is the problem with blurring the lines between what Islam is and what Arabs and Muslims do. Though most readers know that Islam is a religion, the media's discourse does not distinguish between the religion and what the Taliban did in honor of Islam. The members of the Taliban are Muslim men, but are not representative of all Arab/Muslim men or Islam. However, the media do not make this distinction clear.

In fact, the media had an opportunity to make this distinction clear, particularly in the coverage of the relationship between Malala and her father. They could have used the narrative to tell a story of a man whose own wife could not read or write, a man who lived a traditional life, but whose life was interrupted with the birth of his first child, a daughter. It was the birth of his daughter that changed the way he looked at women. He gave Malala all he could, he taught her, shaped her and allowed her to be part of his agenda as an activist. We know all of this from the background information in Chapter I, but this narrative is not weaved into the media's discourse. This could have been the first time the media addressed this separation between Arab/Muslim men and Islam, but once

again, they failed. It would have been the ideal narrative, especially as we learn in the next section about the Malala Fund, which she established alongside her father.

Malala: The Famous Philanthrope

Eleven stories referenced the creation of the Malala Fund, which she and her father created to further their attempt to educate all females in the MENA region and continue to grow their activism efforts financially. Hauser (2014) and other reporters for the *Times* reported on the establishment of the Malala Fund with the help of the Vital Voices Global Partnership, “a non-government organization that works for the empowerment of girls and women, as well as other international organizations and individuals” (Hauser, 2014, para. 4).

Soon after Malala was shot, UNICEF and other organizations announced the creation of “Malala Day” on July 12, which they said was created to focus “...attention on the recovery and the mission of Malala Yousafzai...” Revkin (2012) wrote (Revkin, 2012, para. 2). Other reporters for the *Times* including Yusuf (2012) and Preston (2013) also wrote about “Malala Day” and the fact that the Pakistani government “did not acknowledge Malala Day...” partly because some of the “...young Pakistanis... have lashed out against Yousafzai on social media... calling her ‘Malala Dramazai,’ suggesting that she staged the attack to gain fame and get asylum abroad. Others say she is a C.I.A. agent” (Yusuf, 2012, para. 2). This attempt to link Malala to the CIA and agent of the West will be discussed in more detail, but first, it is important to review the numerous awards and recognition that Malala received following her attack.

An *Associated Press* article that appeared in the *Times* reported on the fact that Malala won the Anna Politkovskaya Award, named in honor of a “Russian journalist and

Kremlin critic who died working to uncover abuses in Chechnya” (Associated Press, 2013, para. 1). Walsh (2013) also reported on the Sakharov Prize for Freedom of Thought, which the European Parliament awarded Malala.

Barry (2014) and Walsh (2014) along with several other reporters wrote about Malala’s win of the Nobel Peace Prize. Barry (2014), in particular, references the fact that the co-recipient Kailash Satyarthi “is not an international celebrity like 17-year-old Malala Yousafzai of Pakistan, with whom he is sharing the prize” (Barry, 2014, para. 2). In an article for *The Washington Post*, Janet Stobart (2013) wrote about Malala’s complex cranial reconstruction and details of how she went from an 11-year-old blogger for BBC to being a target of the Taliban.

Here, the reader/viewer is introduced to the latest incarnation of Malala through her numerous accolades. It could be said the narrative has transformed from Malala the victim to Malala the victor. From her establishment of the Malala Fund through which she vowed to provide young boys and girls’ access to education to the day UNICEF dubbed as Malala Day, the Western media provided a look at how far Malala had come from her days in the hospital to the adoration that the world had for Malala. The world seemed to be behind her, even if as the reports stated, Pakistan believed she was an agent of the West. Once again, the discourse throughout the Western media’s coverage of Malala’s accolades can be seen supporting the Western beliefs prevalent in Orientalism in which the West is superior to the backwards beliefs of the Middle East, in this case Pakistan.

Said (1997) believes that the media’s negative association of the word Islam is an attack against such peoples and is responsible for fueling the hostility between Muslims

and Westerners. This discourse on Islam, he writes, is blended into the political, economic, and intellectual situation in which it arises. He concludes that the connotation is relative to those who produce it (Said, 1997). Through the Western media's discourse on Malala the international activist, this negative connotation is produced and replicated.

Though there were several opportunities for the Western media's discourse to use Malala as an example of how some Pakistanis were breaking from the traditional patriarchal society, they did not use Malala's story in this way. Instead, they made it seem as though Malala was alone in her fight in Pakistan. Her victimization, survival, activism and accolades were being celebrated in the West and a disgrace to Islam. While we will learn more about the notion of Malala being a disgrace to Pakistan and an agent of the West in the Chapter III, the media's discourse up to this point is supportive of Said's (1997) tenants of Orientalism. The media portrays Malala as a Western hero, a Pakistani girl who had to leave Pakistan to continue her activism. The narratives support the Orientalist framework in which the West is superior to the Middle East. Malala is an international activist who is only welcome in the West because her beliefs are Western. She is portrayed as an anomaly working in a silo and working against the tenants of Islam.

Conclusion

Western media closely followed Malala immediately following news of her shooting. They covered the investigation surrounding the shooting, her recovery, as well as her activism efforts. In this chapter, the researcher analyzed more than 245 articles of the 462 total Western articles and 420 of the 511 total Western transcripts. Several themes emerged from the review of Western print and broadcast media coverage

including victim; activist; spokesperson; survivor; unwavering activist; antagonist; proponent of education; advisor; like father, like daughter; famous philanthrope; these themes ultimately shaped Malala as an international activist.

Using Orientalism as the framework through which to analyze the media's discourse, the researcher concluded that it breaks from the stereotypical views of Muslim and Pakistani society, because while Malala is initially portrayed as a victim, she ends up the heroine. This break from the typical portrayal of a Middle Eastern woman in the West adds to the discussion of Orientalism as Malala's efforts are implicitly set against the anti-intellectual force of extremist Islam in the Western media's coverage.

Throughout both the print and broadcast coverage, similarities existed in the way Malala was regarded. Throughout the discourse, an overwhelming majority of the media's narratives supported Malala the international activist and affirmed the international recognition she has gained. The media's discourse breaks from the stereotypical views of Muslim and Pakistani society in that the readers/viewers are introduced to Malala who not only went up against the Taliban and won, but broke from her native Pakistan and Islam.

Although Malala is initially portrayed as a victim of extremism, she is not seen as a victim for very long. The discourse takes the reader from meeting Malala the victim, to Malala the survivor, and finally to Malala the activist. The discourse positions Malala as an activist and Western darling who is not welcome in Pakistan. The media had several opportunities to position Malala as one of many working in Pakistan to create change and change the direction the country was heading in, but instead, the media's discourse was on par with the way the West portrays the Middle East – an anti-intellectual nation

unwavering in its commitment to stop those who do not conform. Thus, the discourse upholds the Orientalist views.

For a moment, it seemed the Western media's discourse would break from the Orientalist viewpoint with the positioning of Malala the activist helping to push her father's agenda. The media used that narrative to paint a picture of Malala being an anomaly in the East. Throughout the discourse, there was an implicit reinforcement of Islam being anti-intellectual, evidenced through the media's focus on the Western praise of Malala and the Eastern condemnation.

While most of the coverage examined in this chapter was focused on Malala's shooting and recovery, we also learn about the Taliban and the men who were arrested in connection with the shooting. We are introduced to a Malala who is wounded and hurt, but whose fight has just begun. Whether it's the discourse in Malala's interview with Amanpour (2014) or Ellick (2013), she is presented as a Western media darling. Coverage about both the Malala Fund and Malala Day showed just how far she had come and the adoration and support that the world, not Pakistan, had for her. Even if Pakistan believed Malala was an agent of the West, the Western discourse can be seen supporting the Orientalist notions of Western superiority.

Said's (1997) fears become a reality as the words Islam, Muslim and Arab are used interchangeably. The Western media's discourse positions the extremist Islamic forces as the ones who denied Malala the right to an education and the oppressive forces that forced Malala out of her native Pakistan. This results in Malala's efforts being implicitly set against the anti-intellectual force of extremist Islam.

Though there were several opportunities for the Western media's discourse to use Malala as an example of how some Pakistanis were breaking from the traditional patriarchal society, they did not use Malala's story in this way. Instead, they made it seem as though Malala was alone in her fight in Pakistan. Her victimization, survival, activism and accolades were being celebrated in the West and were disgrace to Islam in Pakistan. While we will learn more about the notion of Malala being a disgrace to Pakistan and an agent of the West in Chapter III, the media's discourse up to this point is supportive of Said's (1997) tenants of Orientalism. The media's discourse portrays Malala as a Western hero, a Pakistani girl who had to leave Pakistan to continue her activism. The narratives support the Orientalist framework in which the West is superior to the Middle East. Malala is an international activist who is only welcome in the West because her beliefs are Western. She is portrayed as an anomaly working in a silo and working against the tenants of Islam.

CHAPTER III – MALALA: AGENT OF THE WEST

Introduction

In Chapter II, the Western media's discourse covered Malala's victimization and activism, praising Malala for standing up to the antiquated beliefs of the Taliban. While her efforts were met with adulation in the West, the Western coverage also touched on the fact that Malala was not the heroine in Pakistan, but instead an agent of the West. More than 113 articles from Western print (*The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*) media were analyzed to uncover the media's discourse and overwhelming majority of the coverage positioned Malala as an agent of the West.

While broadcast media including more than 120 transcripts from BBC and CNN were also examined, it should be noted that the broadcast coverage did not focus on Malala as an agent of the West. Instead, the broadcast coverage focused on telling the world (or in this case the West) about who Malala is and her unwavering commitment despite the extremists who tried to stop her.

Using Orientalism to guide the analysis, the researcher determined that the media's discourse in this chapter continues to support the tenants of Orientalism. While the coverage depicts a Middle Eastern female activist that breaks from the stereotypical views of Muslim and Pakistani society, Malala is portrayed throughout the coverage as an agent of the West. This discourse suggests that Pakistan is intolerant of females having a voice, especially when the coverage mentions that her work is in contrast to the teachings

of Islam. This discourse furthers Said's (1997) fears of the media propagating misrepresentations of the Middle East, and failing to differentiate between Islam as a religion and the fanatical Arabs and Muslims who claim to represent Islam (Said, 1997). Furthering the narrative that Pakistan considers Malala to be an agent of the West, the West is once again seen as superior to the Middle East. After all, this was a Middle East that had shot a young girl in an attempt to silence and condemn her activism efforts as a threat to Islam. Although themes of Malala as a Western/CIA agent, dramazai (drama queen) and celebrity emerged throughout the discourse, these themes ultimately shaped Malala: agent of the West.

Western Media Coverage

The chart below labeled Table 2 includes all of the Western articles and transcripts analyzed in this study including Chapter II, III and IV. This chapter's analysis includes 113 articles from the 462 total Western articles and none of the 511 total Western transcripts outlined in the chart below. Throughout this analysis of the media coverage, Said's (1978) Said's (1978) work *Orientalism* (the attitudes that the West has toward societies in the MENA region) was used as the lens through which to examine "knowledge of the Other." In this case, "Other," as Said (1978) defines, is the media who not only produce, but also disseminate this knowledge in the Western world.

According to Said (1997), this knowledge production is subjective and biased, yet the impact on the Western view is evident as seen in the aforementioned studies of Meer

(2014), Said (1978, 1997) and Shohat (2013). This is why it is important to study the texts and analyze not only what is said, but also what is not said in the media.

Table 2 *Western media outlets examined in Chapter II, III and IV*

Publication	Dates	Number of Articles/Transcripts
<i>The New York Times</i>	November 1, 2012 – December 31, 2015	298 articles
<i>The Washington Post</i>	November 1, 2012 – December 31, 2015	164 articles
Total Print Articles	November 1, 2012 – December 31, 2015	462 articles
CNN	November 1, 2012 – December 31, 2017	55 transcripts
BBC	November 1, 2012 – December 31, 2017	456 transcripts
Total Transcripts	November 1, 2012 – December 31, 2017	511 transcripts

Malala: Western/CIA Agent

In this section, the Western media’s discourse portrays Malala as agent of the West, whose activism is influenced and rooted in Western ideals. Here the coverage shifts from Malala as a victim of extremism to a Malala who is in conflict with her native Pakistan. This discourse portrays Malala as breaking from the teachings of Islam. While it is her fellow Pakistanis and Islamic scholars who are making these claims, this theme becomes one of the most poignant coverage themes in this study. Thus, the discourse is supportive of the tenants of Orientalism, evidenced in the coverage depicting that Malala’s conflict with Pakistan is based on opposition to the right to an education.

In more than 55 articles, Malala is referenced 52 times as an agent of the West or Western agent. The *Times’* Masood and Walsh (2013) wrote about Malala and her critics, even interviewing Farrukh Atiq, a Pakistani official, who said that, “everyone knows about Malala, but they do not want to affiliate with her... her stature as a symbol of peace and bravery has been established across the world – everywhere... except at home”

(Masood & Walsh, 2013, para. 4). They also talk about the “cynicism... across Pakistan, where conspiracy-minded citizens loudly branded Ms. Yousafzai a C.I.A. agent, part of a nebulous Western plot to humiliate their country and pressure their government”

(Masood & Walsh, 2013, para. 5).

The *Times*' Yusuf (2013) added to the conversation with regard to the nation's mistrust of Malala when he wrote about the “conspiracy theories” surrounding Malala's shooting, including one that she was “shot as part of a campaign to demonize the Pakistani Taliban and win public support for American drone strikes against them”

(Yusuf, 2013, para. 5).

In Yusuf's (2013) piece in *The New York Times*, titled “More Malala Malaise,” he explains his reasoning behind why so many Pakistanis are opposed to Malala winning the Nobel Peace Prize including notions of Malala being a “CIA agent” and “stooge of the Western powers seeking to undermine Pakistan and Islam” (Yusuf, 2013, para. 3). Yusuf (2013) does add that some of her classmates and fellow Pakistanis are hopeful for Malala to win the Nobel in an effort to bring educational reform to the forefront in Pakistan.

Although the article focuses on her critics, her supporters, Yusuf (2013) said want her to win so that Swat can be known for something other than the Taliban and extremism. Still, her critics, Yusuf (2013) concludes, are worried that her win would make her even more loyal to “Western causes than her homeland” (Yusuf, 2013, para. 5).

Addressing the United Nations

The *Times*' Preston (2013) covered Malala's address in front of the United Nations on her 16th birthday where she "called on world leaders to provide 'free, compulsory education' for every child" (Preston, 2013, para. 1-2). "Let us pick up our books and our pens," Malala said, as she addressed representatives from 100 countries at the U.N. Youth Assembly in New York. "They are our most powerful weapons. One child, one teacher, one book, and one pen can change the world. Education is the only solution" (Preston, 2013, para. 4-5).

Preston (2013) reported on Malala's pride in wearing "a shawl that had once belonged to Benazir Bhutto" as she addressed the U.N. in "her first major speech since she was shot on her way home from school in Pakistan's Swat Valley" (Preston, 2013, para. 4). He continues to quote one of Malala's most famous quotes as she continued her activism efforts "'they thought the bullets would silence us... but they failed'" (Preston, 2013, para. 5). Preston (2013) covered Malala's speech in which Malala said:

And then, out of that silence came thousands of voices. The terrorists thought that they would change our aims and stop our ambitions, but nothing changed in my life except this: Weakness, fear and hopelessness died. Strength, power and courage was born. I am the same Malala. My ambitions are the same. My hopes are the same. My dreams are the same.

The discourse suggests that Pakistan tried to silence Malala both the day the Taliban shot her, as well as when they asked her not to return to Pakistan, hoped she wouldn't win the Nobel and decided not to celebrate Malala Day. However, the coverage shows that despite Malala's victimization at the hands of the Taliban, she renewed her spirit and desire to create change. Craig and Mehsud (2013) wrote about the "angry protests" that followed the shooting and about the fact that Malala still "remains a controversial figure in Pakistan, where many voice deep suspicion of outsiders" (Craig & Mehsud, 2013, para. 10).

Once again, the media's discourse turns to the portrayal of Malala as an agent of the West and someone who is trying to "shame the country" (Craig & Mehsud, 2013). Craig and Mehsud (2013) wrote, "as her profile has grown, Islamic scholars have suggested she is trying to shame the country, and even some more mainstream politicians have questioned her connections to Western organizations" (Craig & Mehsud, 2013, para. 12). They go on to state that some of her critics including Ibrahim Khan, a leader of the Islamic Jamaat e-Islami Party, believe that "she is now being used – rather, misused – in the West by portraying a wrong image of Pakistan as a violent and anti-women society" (Craig & Mehsud, 2013, para. 13-14).

Craig and Mehsud's (2013) quote supports the Western media's discourse of portraying Malala as an agent of the West. The quote attributes the claims of Malala being an agent of the West to Pakistanis and even Islamic scholars in an effort to

legitimize the claims. The theme of Malala being an agent of the West becomes one of the most poignant coverage themes in this study, especially in comparison to the Pakistani coverage, which is analyzed in Chapter V. The Western media do not attempt to uncover the sources of these claims of Malala being an agent of the West, but it becomes a major theme in the Western print coverage nonetheless.

In *Covering Islam*, Said (1997) presents the “malicious generalizations” and the intense, oversimplified focus on Muslims and Islam in the American and Western media. Said (1997) states that American and Western media is “highly exaggerated, stereotypical and belligerently hostile” (Said, 1997, p. 11). These “exaggerated, stereotypical and belligerently hostile” representations lead to misinterpretations and misrepresentations, essentially when the discourse equates the entirety of Islam to the small group of fanatics who instigate violence in the name of Islam.

Said (1997) states that these distortions result in unacceptable generalizations and that the Western world’s depiction of Islam falls short of its traditional methods of study, involving complex theories and analyses of social structures, histories, cultural formations, and sophisticated languages (Said, 1997). The end result is that Western audiences generally fail to understand the nuances of what is happening in Islamic countries and lack any interest in understanding the issues that affect people in these countries.

This coverage adds to the discussion of Orientalism as Malala's efforts are implicitly set against the anti-intellectual force of extremist Islam in the Western media's coverage. While coverage of Malala breaks from the traditional view of Muslim women in Western media, the focus on her critics in Pakistan and Islam reinforces those notions. The conflict between Malala and Pakistan is framed using that view, specifically with significant coverage focused on the feelings that Pakistanis consider Malala an "agent of the West" and propagator of Western ideology. This coverage paints a picture of Pakistan being an antiquated, patriarchal society that does not believe women should have the same rights as men, reinforcing the Western stereotypes of Pakistani and Muslim society.

Malala: Dramazai (Drama Queen)

In the following articles, the theme of Malala as an agent of the West continues. The Western discourse furthers the narrative, adding that not only is Malala an agent of the West, but she is also a drama queen. The coverage includes Pakistani conspiracy theories linking Malala and/or the West to the actual shooting. This narrative is used to further alienate her from the East and furthers the Western discourse about Malala only being safe in the West, away from the backward, patriarchal society.

The *Times*' Yusuf (2013) writes "...while Westerners gushed over her bravery, the reaction in Pakistan was decidedly tepid, if not plain hostile" (Yusuf, 2013, para. 1). In his article titled "The Malala Backlash," Yusuf (2013) referenced the "Malala

Dramazai” and discussed conspiracies about her being a CIA agent. He adds that there are “three main complaints of Yousfzai’s critics:”

Her fame highlights Pakistan's most negative aspect (rampant militancy); her education campaign echoes Western agendas; and the West's admiration of her is hypocritical because it overlooks the plight of other innocent victims, like the casualties of U.S. drone strikes (Yusuf, 2013, para. 5).

He concludes that as she continues to get more attention and more awards, she will continue to have more critics at home (Yusuf, 2013). The *Post*'s Leiby and Adam (2014) also write about the fact that Malala is “not universally celebrated in Pakistan” (Leiby & Adam, 2014, para. 13). They also report on the fact that some Pakistanis believe her shooting to be a “‘drama’ – a common Pakistani term for a hoax - even though the Taliban immediately asserted responsibility for the shooting” (Leiby & Adam, 2014, para. 14).

Leiby and Adam (2014) also add that Malala’s life divides Pakistani public opinion. They cite Saim Saeed, a reporter for Pakistan’s *Express Tribune*, who said that some see Malala as a “‘Western stooge” and “her well-wishers see her as a powerful force to both combat religious extremism as well as an advocate for women's rights” (Leiby & Adam, 2014, para. 15). Those well-wishers, however, are not discussed nor are any reference to whether those are Eastern or Western well-wishers explained.

Up to this point in the coverage, the discourse points to the problems that Pakistanis have with Malala. The discourse in the Western media, however, makes it clear that the West is completely supportive of Malala. They are doing what, in essence, Pakistan should do – support Malala. This deepens the divide between the West and East and adds to the problematic representations of the Middle East, which continues to support the Orientalist approach. The West is supporting Malala in a stark contrast to Pakistan’s oppression and lack of support.

According to Said (1997) Western civilization uses the label “Islam” as a “scapegoat for everything [that] we do not happen to like about the world’s new political, social, and economic patterns” (Said, 1997, p. xlix). Throughout this chapter, we are reintroduced to the notion of Malala as an agent of the West at the hands of the West. The discourse suggests that Malala or the West may have either staged the shooting, though several articles referenced in Chapter II stated that the Taliban took full credit for the shooting.

While only two articles focused on this subtheme, it remains an important theme because of the Western media’s lack of follow-up on these claims. It is unclear whether the Western media did not look into these claims so they would not legitimize them, but as journalists, it would have led to a more credible attempt at explaining why her native Pakistanis disapprove of her so much. For Malala agent of the West and Malala dramazai

to be such a strong theme throughout the coverage up to this point, it is disheartening to think that the media did not give this enough consideration.

Once again, we see Said's (1997) issues with the Western media's representation of the East furthering the divide between the East and the West. The divide deepens because while analysis shows the evidence to support these claims is weak and insignificant, it is still completely compelling to the reader who is only provided a small amount of information that is being sold as the complete story.

Malala: Celebrity

In this next section, the reader is introduced to Malala, the celebrity. This coverage is somewhat different from the previous sections because we have detailed coverage of Malala interacting with Western leaders and activists. However, just as the Western media did not do their due diligence in the previous sections to source those who feared she was an agent of the West, we are not given the full story of how her celebrity is viewed in Pakistan. In the ten articles examined in this section, the Western media's discourse continues to strengthen the idea that Pakistanis believe that Malala is an agent of the West.

The New York Times' Kristof (2015) covered Barbara Warrington's, CEO of the Girl Scouts of Greater New York, thoughts on Malala in which she said that Malala was "one of our best weapons and hopes for education and economic independence for girls, but not just for the reasons outlined..." (Kristof, 2015, para. 2-3). In Kristof's (2015)

column titled, “Malala's Fight Continues” he continues to echo Warrington’s sentiments about Malala being a “powerful voice” in the fight for girl’s education and an “inspiration for girls who already have unrestricted access to schools” (Kristof, 2015, para. 1-2).

In a *Post* article titled “A Taliban Target’s Path to Global Rights Activist,” Genzlinger (2015) wrote about Malala and her continued fight on “behalf of education for girls...” (Genzlinger, 2015, para. 1). He refers to Malala as a “familiar face in the West...” and states that the West is the “real person behind the media phenomenon” (Genzlinger, 2015, para. 2). Genzlinger (2015) also covers the film “He Named Me Malala” and says the relationship between Malala and her father is the “thread that comes closest to being provocative” (Genzlinger, 2015, para. 5).

He seems to think the real story that the film does not address is the “price of Western superstardom” and whether the “demands and intrusions on her personal life... rival(s) those experienced by young rock stars” (Genzlinger, 2015, para. 6). He also questions whether “her fame is affecting things back home in the Swat...” and says that there “...remains unexplored” question(s) of “...how much heritage you have to give up to become a Western media darling” (Genzlinger, 2015, para. 6).

Here the coverage is slightly unique in that Western media is claiming Malala as a product of the West. She seems to be portrayed as an anomaly in the Middle East, but someone who would and does fit in the West because of her beliefs and actions. The media’s discourse reinforces the stereotypical views of Muslim and Pakistani society,

contrasting it with Malala's fame. The coverage paints the picture of Pakistanis being hostile towards her fame and unwilling to allow a young girl to tell them what they are doing wrong or could be doing better. The dominant ideology of Pakistan is portrayed as patriarchal in nature; one in which women are voiceless.

Through this coverage, the Western media's discourse continues to uphold the tenants of Orientalism. The media focus its efforts on discussing Malala's celebrity and the hostility and mistrust it has caused in Pakistan. There was minimal discussion of Malala's celebrity having a positive reception in Pakistan. Instead, the Western media continued to cover Pakistan and the Islamic world as a single, homogenous critic of Malala; one that is opposed to her mission and resentful of its successful reception in the West. This coverage continues to blur the lines between Pakistan and the Taliban just as Said (1997) feared in *Covering Islam*.

Conclusion

Said (1997) writes that the fair, balanced and responsible news coverage seems to have escaped the coverage of Islam; instead, "the media have therefore covered Islam: they have portrayed it, characterized it, analyzed it, given instant courses on it, and consequently they have made it 'known'" (Said, 1997, p. li). Take for example, the coverage of Malala's critics at home. The Muslim scholars that Craig and Mehsud (2013) referenced in their article are not sourced nor were there any efforts to follow up on the claims. Nonetheless, this stands out as an example of how the media's discourse furthers

the divide between Pakistan and the West with regard to Malala. The lack of distinction between Islam as a religion and the actions of Arabs as well continues provides evidence of the discourse's support of Orientalism.

The majority of the coverage in this chapter deals with the issues that Malala's critics in her native Pakistan have with her, particularly their belief that Malala is a Western spy/CIA agent whose work is intended to westernize the nation. The discourse portrays Western support of Malala and Eastern disapproval of Malala. The fear that her native Pakistanis have of Malala being an agent of the West is not only produced through the media's discourse, but also supported despite the lack of evidence.

The Western media do not spend much time focusing on what Malala is accomplishing through her activism efforts, the positive reception in Pakistan or on any reasoned criticisms. Instead the spotlight is shone on a select few of her critics at home who serve to push the narrative of Pakistanis as anti-intellectual and patriarchal. The media's lack of due diligence to show the positive reception of Malala's celebrity continue to produce misrepresentations and misinterpretations, especially as Malala is portrayed as a Western agent who is fighting against Pakistan and Islam.

Most of the print coverage dealt with the fact that although Malala was beloved throughout the world, her toughest critics were in her native Pakistan. These critics were concerned with the fact that Malala was more concerned with fame and was trying to Westernize Pakistan. They were also concerned that through her defiance of the Taliban,

she was essentially moving away from the teachings of Islam and bringing shame upon the nation and religion.

The print coverage reinforced the stereotypical views of Muslim and Pakistani society in that it paints the picture of Pakistanis being antiquated and unwilling to allow a young girl to be vocal about the abuses she endured living under the Taliban's regime. The reader gets the sense that Pakistanis are not proud of Malala for speaking out. Pakistan is a patriarchal society and one in which women do not learn to read or write, but are, instead, responsible for running the household.

While broadcast media coverage was also examined, broadcast coverage did not discuss notions of Malala being an agent of the West. A majority of the broadcast coverage was either updates about what Malala was doing or interviews with Malala regarding her work. The Western adoration of Malala shone through these interviews and questions regarding her lack of support at home were excluded. Instead, the broadcast coverage focused on telling the world (or in this case the West) about who Malala is and about her unwavering commitment to defeat anyone who tells her she can't learn.

Lastly, it should also be noted that the discussion on Pakistani print media will highlight how much Western media is reinforcing the stereotypes of Pakistani and Muslim society. In this chapter and the discussion in Chapter II, Western media are willing to mention Pakistani criticism of Malala; however, these critiques are framed solely as conspiracy theories and/or as anti-intellectual, anti-woman criticism. There

appears to be no effort to take a nuanced view at how Pakistani society would view Malala or that there would be any valid criticism of Malala's popularity. This theme, Malala: Agent of the West will be discussed further and contrasted with the themes that emerge through the Pakistani discourse in Chapter V.

CHAPTER IV – MALALA: IRREVERANT CITIZEN

Introduction

This chapter continues the Western narrative first seen in Chapter III where the reader/viewer meets a Malala who the Pakistanis claim is a product of the West. The media's discourse points to her critics at home who suggest that the West is making her into something that the West can be proud of, reinforcing the stereotypical views of an antiquated Muslim and Pakistani society. The media's discourse surrounding Malala as an agent of the West is prevalent in Chapter III and continues to be a focus in Chapter IV. However, here the narrative depicts Malala as the victim of a violent act brought about from her irreverence to Islam.

Using Orientalism as a framework, the researcher analyzed 104 of the 462 Western print (*The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*) articles and 91 of the 511 television transcripts (CNN and BBC) and concluded that elements of the media's discourse break from the stereotypical views of Muslim and Pakistani society because while Malala is initially portrayed as a victim, she ends up the heroine. However, the discourse still takes place under the backdrop of Orientalism as Malala's efforts are, once again, set against the anti-intellectual force of extremist Islam. While several themes emerged from the review of Western print and broadcast media coverage, including: change agent; pride of the nation; still an agent of the West; and, baby Benazir, these themes ultimately shaped a narrative of Malala as an irreverent citizen. The articles

contained in this chapter will show how the West pushed an image of Malala who is pushing Pakistan towards the future, in defiance of Islam and traditional Pakistani society.

Western Media Coverage

The chart below labeled Table 3 includes all of the Western articles and transcripts analyzed in this study including Chapter II, III and IV. This chapter's analysis includes more than 104 articles from the 462 total Western articles and 91 of the 511 total Western transcripts outlined in the chart below. Throughout this analysis of the media coverage, Said's (1978) work *Orientalism* (the attitudes that the West has toward societies in the MENA region) was used as the lens through which to examine "knowledge of the Other." In this case, "other," as Said (1987) defines, is the media who not only produce, but also disseminate this knowledge in the Western world. According to Said (1997), this knowledge production is subjective and biased, yet the impact on the Western view is evident as seen in the aforementioned studies of Meer (2014), Said (1978, 1997) and Shohat (2013). This is why it is important to study the texts and analyze not only what is said, but also what is not said in the media.

Table 3 *Western media outlets examined in Chapter II, III and IV*

Publication	Dates	Number of Articles/Transcripts
<i>The New York Times</i>	November 1, 2012-December 31, 2015	298 articles
<i>The Washington Post</i>	November 1, 2012-December 31, 2015	164 articles
Total Print Articles	November 1, 2012-December 31, 2015	462 articles
CNN	November 1, 2012-December 31, 2017	55 transcripts
BBC	November 1, 2012-December 31, 2017	456 transcripts
Total Broadcast Transcripts	November 1, 2012-December 31, 2017	511 transcripts

Malala: Change Agent

In this first section, the researcher analyzed more than 20 articles in which the reader is introduced to the notion of Malala being an agent of change for Pakistan. Malala is depicted as having a positive impact for Pakistan and is seen as force to move Pakistan closer to the Western world. The coverage includes Malala’s critics and supporters.

While the coverage on her critics is essentially the same as it is in Chapter III, with accusations that Malala is an agent of the West, here, we are introduced for the first time to her Pakistani supporters who believe that her efforts are producing positive results for Pakistan’s image. They believe her efforts are shifting the focus of Pakistan being an antiquated and backward society to one that believes in education and progress. The coverage of Malala as an agent of change is where the Western media’s discourse becomes positive in its discussion of Pakistan and the changes Malala brings.

In Craig’s (2015) *Post* article titled “Pakistan’s Swat Valley begins to exhale,” he refers to the Swat Valley as the place “known for gorgeous sunsets and the calming sound of river rapids” where “there has been plenty of misery over the past decade” (Craig, 2015, para. 1). He goes on to discuss Malala’s shooting, but adds that the residents of Swat are now breathing easier and beginning to enjoy life. He incorporates

quotes from residents who say they want to “live normally” and “have fun” (Craig, 2015, para. 4, 10). The article also references the progress that is being made in Swat, despite critics who say that the Swat Valley is progressing and modernizing against the Islamic code.

Craig and Mehsud (2013) write about Malala’s family and friends who say that her win of the Nobel would “represent a milestone for efforts to draw attention to the problems women and children face in Pakistan’s male-dominated culture” while others are still concerned with the “societal split over the country’s ideological future” (Craig & Mehsud, 2013, para. 4).

They quote former Pakistani National Assembly member Kashmala Tariq who said, “Malala has been able to tell the world what is happening to Pakistan and how we are suffering... it has brought the eyes of the world to Pakistan” (Craig & Mehsud, 2013, para. 5). Another supporter, Shahid Khan (Malala’s cousin) applauds Malala’s ability to be the “voice for peace, love and education” for Pakistan (Craig & Mehsud, 2013, para. 8).

Yet, despite the quotes from supportive Pakistanis, Craig (2015) brings the narrative back to the fact that “some analysts are less certain, noting the area still lags in expanding rights for women, tempering the influence of Islamic schools, known as madrassas, and reinvigorating tourism” (Craig, 2015, para. 14). Craig (2015) states that Malala’s shooting “showed the dangers that remained despite the [Pakistani] military

presence (Craig, 2015, para. 22). Though life seems to be getting better, the issues that come along with the trauma they suffered are still present, Craig reminds readers (Craig, 2015).

Craig and Mehsud (2013) go on to quote a Taliban commander who “regretted” shooting Malala and asked her to return to Pakistan, but with stipulations. Taliban commander Shahidullah Shahid stated:

If Malala stops the spread of negative propaganda against the Taliban and also stops following secular ideology, the Taliban will not harm her. And if Malala keeps following secular ideology and continues her propaganda against Taliban and Islam, then [Taliban] fighters will wait for a suitable opportunity to target Malala (Craig & Mehsud, 2013, para. 11).

As shown in the articles above, there are discussions about pride and relief from citizens and mixed reviews about progress in the Swat Valley. In the *Post's* (2013) news round-up, the author writes about the banning of Malala's book in Pakistan “claiming that it doesn't show enough respect for Islam and calling her book a tool of the West” (N.A., 2013, para 5). The news update reinforces the notion that Malala is a “hero for the West to embrace” (N.A., 2013, para. 6).

Craig and Mehsud (2013) also cover the “angry protests” and the fact that Malala still “remains a controversial figure in Pakistan, where many voice deep suspicion of outsiders” (Craig & Mehsud, 2013, para. 12). They state that Islamic scholars such as

Ibrahim Khan, a senator and leader of the Islamic Jamaat-e-Islami party predict a “muted national response” should Malala win the Nobel Prize. He and other “mainstream politicians,” Craig and Mehsud (2013) write, “have questioned her connections to Western organizations” (Craig & Mehsud, 2013, para. 12-14). Much like all of the West’s anti-Malala coverage, Craig and Mehsud (2013) bring the conversation back to the fact that “Yousafzai shows no sign of fading from the spotlight” (Craig & Mehsud, 2013, para. 15).

The *Post*’s Khan and Craig (2013) continued the conversation about the anti-Malala sentiment in Pakistan. Khan and Craig (2013) covered the Pakistani ban of Malala’s book, including information about how Pakistanis feel the book and her activism are disrespectful of Islam and are being used as a tool of the West to Westernize Pakistanis. Khan and Craig (2013) go on to state that many of Malala’s critics believe she “staged” her own shooting (referencing the Malala Dramazai we read about in Chapter III) to fulfill her desire to become “a champion for the West” (Khan & Craig, 2013, para. 3). The authors included a quote from Adeeb Javedani, president of the All Pakistan Private Schools Management Association, “Everything about Yousafzai is now becoming clear... to me, she is representing the West, not us” (Khan & Craig, 2013, para 5).

This is the first time that the Western media’s discourse to date has been positive with regard to what Malala means to Pakistan. It is the first effort at a balanced look on both Malala’s critics and supporters. While the theme about Malala being an agent of the

West (as discussed in Chapter III) is still relevant, the discourse begins to shift to a supportive Pakistan. The Western discourse finally strikes a balance.

For the first time, the Western discourse becomes positive about the change that Malala's activism efforts can bring to Pakistan. Said (1997) writes that responsible news coverage seems to have escaped the coverage of Islam; however, for the first time, through the discourse we hear from both sides. It is the first time the reader is introduced to both sides of the story. While this is definite progress, there are still some issues with the way Malala's critics are portrayed. Instead of focusing the discourse on the positives, the conversation turned back to the potential of Malala as an agent of the West.

Malala: Pride of the Nation

In this section, we finally see balanced discourse about how Malala is perceived in her native Pakistan. The researcher analyzed more than 30 transcripts and articles depicting this positive discourse. The previous coverage portrayed Malala as only having supporters in the West with Pakistan appearing uniformly against Malala and her activism. Pakistanis were convinced she was an agent of the West and trying to bring Western ideals into Pakistan in defiance of the teachings of Islam. While that coverage still exists; we now have a contrasting narrative from Malala's supporters, who are sourced in the articles we cover in this chapter.

In the next five transcripts, the BBC reported on Malala's win of the Nobel Peace Prize. The network also covered the Pakistani Parliament's adoption of a "resolution

asking the government to declare Malala Yousafzai as ‘Daughter of Pakistan’” (APP, 2012, para. 1). The report stated, “the resolution was moved by Pakistan People’s Party [ruling party] Robina Saadat Qaimkhani for the sake of education. This house, therefore, recommends that Malala Yousafzai may be declared as Daughter of Pakistan” (APP, 2012, para. 2).

The BBC’s reporting continues to discuss how Malala is “the pride of the nation,” and includes quotes from Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif who said that Malala is a “role model for the young generation” and “made the nation proud at every forum” (BBC, 2013, para. 1-2).

In another segment on BBC, the reporter stated that “Malala [was a] symbol of progressive Pakistan” (BBC, 2013, para. 3). They included an update on the establishment of the Malala Fund and stated that Malala was the “symbol of progressive Pakistan” that had been “attacked by the forces of darkness” (BBC, 2013, para. 3). The BBC also covered Prime Minister Raja Pervez Ashraf’s tribute to Malala “the daughter of Pakistan, for her bravery, courage and unflinching determination and her passion for education” days before the anniversary of the failed assassination attempt on Malala (AP, 2012, para. 1). In that same report, the reporter quoted Prime Minister Ashraf who said:

Those who attacked Malala represent a bigoted, radicalized mindset, adding, it is essentially a clash of ideas. It is a clash of inclusion versus

isolation, progression versus retrogression, the modern versus the medieval, tolerance versus bigotry, moderation versus fundamentalism, and democracy versus extremism (AP, 2012, para. 3).

Prime Minister Ashraf continued, “On this day, I urge the people of Pakistan to resolve that they will stand in the way of those who want to destroy our values and the way of our life” (AP, 2012, para. 7).

The *Posts*’ Craig and Mehsud (2013) interviewed Zahid Khan, a friend of Malala’s family, who said, “he hopes that she doesn’t return anytime soon” (referring to Malala’s recovery in England). “There is pride for her, not only in Swat, but the whole country... but the threat is real,” Khan said. This interview with Khan is an example of how Craig and Mehsud (2013) portray Malala’s critics and supporters at home.

Throughout the coverage, we are introduced to Malala’s supporters who put stipulations on their support of Malala.

In fact, a BBC report from the Associated Press of Pakistan (APP) suggests that the Pakistani government’s decision to “remain indifferent” on Malala Day was because they were “‘afraid’ of the militants” (APP, 2013, para. 2-3). The same report described the struggles that Malala faced and the fact that the “provincial government did not hold a single function to pay tribute to the young girl who was targeted for speaking up for girls’ education and opposing the Taliban in the Taliban-ravaged Swat valley” (APP, 2013, para. 4).

The positive reporting continued in a BBC transcript that referred to Malala as the “pride of the country” (BBC, 2013, para. 1-2). The discourse depicted the people of Pakistan who were praising Malala and “proud” of the “composure, poise and maturity” she displayed (BBC, 2013, para. 1-2). However, the report goes onto to discuss the reasons why Malala has not reached iconic status inside Pakistan. The report stated, “Malala has the kind of clarity and sense of purpose that a divided Pakistani society simply does not. And therein lies the central challenge to putting Pakistan on the road to a stable and secure future” (BBC, 2013, para. 1-2).

Another APP report in the BBC includes coverage of United Nations Special Envoy for Global Education Gordon Brown’s statement that Malala’s courage was “a breakthrough moment for Pakistan’s five million out-of-school children” (APP, 2012, para 2-3). Brown said that they “believed that the silent majority is speaking and that there is now national consensus that the country can delay no longer in ensuring girls and boys have schools to go and teachers to teach them” (APP, 2012, para 2-3).

As in the previous section (change agent), in this section the Western discourse incorporates Malala’s Pakistani supporters. The coverage becomes responsible, as Said (1997) hoped. The discourse covers both her critics and her supporters and provides credible sources that represent both sides. As in the previous section, though the coverage of her critics depicts an antiquated society, it also depicts a society who wants change and a society who wants to showcase those producing that change.

Here is where the coverage becomes truly balanced as we are given contradictory portrayals of Malala that are not provided within most of the other themes. Western media still provides considerable coverage of the narrative that native Pakistanis consider Malala to be an agent of the West; the difference being that there is a contrast provided through the portrayal of Malala as a “daughter” and the “pride of the nation” of Pakistan.

While the West seems to be enamored with Malala, it is really one of the first instances of Pakistani pride in Western media. While the contrast provides some legitimately interesting coverage, especially when compared to the one-sided coverage seen throughout most of the other coverage, there is a shift back to the narrative of Malala as a Western agent.

Malala: Still an Agent of the West

Despite the numerous awards Malala earned in the years following her shooting or the fact that she was the youngest recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize, the discourse suggested that she was still considered an “agent of the West” in her native Pakistan. After the coverage depicting Malala’s support in Pakistan, the narrative returned to Malala’s critics. The difference in this section is that her work is now portrayed as being in direct conflict with Islam. The coverage in this section provides a narrative that Malala is a Western agent who intends to fight Islam.

Banning Malala’s Book

In an article titled “Nobel Peace Laureate Is Assailed by Pakistani Schools Group,” Masood (2014) covered the private schools that “...unleashed a scathing public attack on Malala... in the most concerted assault yet on her reputation in her home country” (Masood, 2014, para. 1). Khan (2013) continues to cover Pakistan’s ban of Malala’s book, which he states is for its irreverence for Islam (Khan, 2013). Continuing the conversation with regard to Malala’s critics, Khan adds that Malala was “criticizing the group’s [Taliban] interpretation of Islam,” which is why she was shot. He writes, “conspiracy theorists in Pakistan say her shooting was staged to create a champion for the West to embrace” (Khan, 2013, para. 3).

“Her profile has risen steadily” and she has “become a hero to many across the world for opposing the Taliban and standing up for girls’ education,” (Khan, 2013, para. 2-3). Khan (2013) concludes that the “conspiracy theories about Yousafzai reflect the level of influence wielded by right-wing Islamists sympathetic to the Taliban in Pakistan” and the “poor state of education in Pakistan” (Khan, 2013, para. 12).

Malala’s Nobel Win

Masood (2014) also wrote about the fact that on the Monday following the Nobel announcement, her critics announced that it was “I am not Malala Day” in Pakistan. Her critics, Masood (2014) wrote “urged the government to ban her memoir, *I Am Malala*, because it offended Islam and the ‘ideology of Pakistan’” (Masood, 2014, para. 1-2).

Masood (2014) continued to report on the fact that her native Pakistanis felt that the West “created” her to be a “persona who is against the Constitution and Islamic ideology of Pakistan” (Masood, 2014, para. 4). Though the article does address the fact that the country seems divided on their love or hatred of Malala, the tone of Masood’s (2014) article definitely leaves readers worried about Malala’s reputation in Pakistan.

The *Post*’s Leiby and Adam (2014) continued the discussion of Malala’s return to the classroom, which is where she learned that she won the Nobel Peace Prize. Leiby and Adam (2014) reported on the teenage activist’s win and said, “the attack raised a groundswell of admiration for her sacrifice... as her celebrity grew, her name was put forward for the Nobel Peace Prize” (Leiby & Adam, 2014, para 1, 9). Coverage on BBC also included her win of the Nobel and the fact that she would be using her share of the \$1.1 million prize money on projects for education in Pakistan through the establishment of the Malala Fund.

The *Posts*’ Tharoor (2014) wrote about how some “Islamists and some hard-line Pakistani nationalists denounced the young education advocate as a stooge of foreign interests” (Tharoor, 2014, para. 10). Moyer (2015) added that Malala’s “life continues to divide Pakistani public opinion” and quoted the *Express Tribune*’s Saim Saeed. He adds, “some see her position as Western stooge... her well-wishers see her as a powerful force to both combat religious extremism as well as an advocate for women’s rights” (Moyer, 2015, para. 15).

Leiby and Adam (2014) added that Malala's win and "new life" "continues to divide Pakistani public opinion" and that she is seen as a "Western stooge" (Leiby & Adam, 2014, para. 10). They reference her critics who suggest that the shooting was a "drama" – a common Pakistani term for a hoax – even though the Taliban immediately asserted responsibility for the shooting" (Leiby & Adam, 2014, para. 16).

Leiby (2014) continued the conversation with regard to Malala going from a "school girl" to a Nobel Laureate winner, her addresses to the United Nations and the World Bank. Leiby's (2014) interest lies in the fact that Malala was young, but wise beyond her years. She cites the Taliban spokesperson who said that "Malala is the symbol of the infidels and obscenity" to which she says, "they could not have picked a better symbol to undermine their own cause" and that in response to the question the gunman asked when he boarded her bus ("Who is Malala?") now "everyone knows" (Leiby, 2014, para. 8-10).

While the reader/viewer is introduced to the various awards and honors bestowed upon Malala, the portrayals always come back to a Malala who has no respect for tradition or religion, and is not welcome in her native Pakistan. She's almost always a symbol of someone who went against the grain. Instead of focusing on the change her ideas and activism could bring about and the support she has in Pakistan, the Western media's discourse focuses on Malala agent of the West. While Western media briefly cover her support in Pakistan, this is seen as an exception to the rule; the main story is

that her home country thinks Malala turned her back on Pakistan and Islam for glory in the West.

This focus on a Malala who is the furthest thing from the “daughter of the nation” is reminiscent of what Said (1997) writes *In Covering Islam*. He provides examples of how coverage is often stereotypical and “one-sided” and cites scholar Zachary Karabell who writes that the portrait of Islam is almost always one of the “gun-toting, bearded, fanatic terrorists hellbent on destroying the great enemy, the United States” (Said, 1997, p. xxvi). Said (1997) writes that the fair, balanced and responsible news coverage has escaped the coverage of Islam. Could this be the case with Malala? After all, the coverage overwhelming introduces the reader/viewer to a Malala who is beloved in the United States and abroad. Malala is beloved everywhere, but at home. As Said (1997) argues, this notion of Malala is not challenged in the Western coverage. While brief mentions of her being the pride of the nation are seen, she is characterized throughout the coverage as a symbol of the West to her native Pakistanis.

Malala: Baby Benazir

In this last section, Malala is compared to Benazir Bhutto, the first woman to serve as Prime Minister in Pakistan. She was actually the first female to hold political office in a Muslim nation and was assassinated in 2007 (Bio.com, 2018). Through the discourse, the comparison between Malala and Benazir Bhutto is poignant as it shapes the discourse of the West. Once again we see Malala portrayed as an anomaly in the Middle

East. In more than two-dozen articles, Malala's comparison to Benazir Bhutto provides a strong example of how the West continues to see the East as a backward society that is not supportive of women.

Prior to her win of the Nobel Peace Prize, Malala addressed the United Nations on her 16th birthday. According to Preston's (2013) article titled, "Girl Shot by Taliban Makes Appeal at U.N.," Malala was "...proud to be wearing a shawl that had once belonged to Benazir Bhutto" (Preston, 2013, para. 4). Some of her famous quotes about "books" and "bullets" not being able to silence her were reported on in this article. In the same article, the reader learns of the powerful educational and political leaders like U.K. Prime Minister Gordon Brown's support of Malala's efforts.

Malala: Still Just a Teenager

Five of the articles referenced her address to the U.N., but in one notable article Kantor (2014) addressed the fact that while Malala was addressing the U.N. and meeting with world leaders, she still was still just a teenager facing issues that teenagers face when confronted with change (her move out of Pakistan and resettlement into England) (Kantor, 2014).

Ellick (2013) as well as other reporters wrote about the series of documentaries that he produced for the *Times* about Malala. Ellick (2013) refers to Malala's "improbable transformation from a quiet, deferential 11-year-old living near Pakistan's tribal areas to a teenage spokeswoman for girls' education" to youngest recipient of the

Nobel Peace Prize (Ellick, 2013, para. 3). Ellick (2013) also discusses the concerns he had for Malala's safety.

He said Malala's father said that since he too had been an activist in Swat for a number of years, he was not concerned with her safety. Ellick (2013) also introduces the readers to the "traditional" family that Malala was brought up in and to the relationship Malala had with her father, the "progressive educator" (Ellick, 2013, para. 15). He writes that Malala's family is similar to most families in the region in that "...her father works and her mother is a homemaker..." and "is illiterate" and "does not interact with men outside the family" (Ellick, 2013, para. 15).

Cieply (2013) as well as other reporters wrote about the Davis Guggenheim documentary "He Named Me Malala." Cieply (2013) quotes the film's producer Parkes as having said, "It didn't seem right; no one is ever going to be able to portray this extraordinary young girl" (Cieply, 2013, para. 4).

Pakistani journalist Kamran Khan hosted a BBC segment regarding Malala's address to the United Nations. Khan and Craig (2013) presented excerpts from Malala's speech and played footage of Malala receiving congratulations on her 16th birthday, which she spent at the United Nations. The piece also touches on Malala's critics in her native Pakistan as they discuss the fact that there is "no official ceremony in Swat to praise her courage" (Khan & Craig, 2013, para 15). Khan and Craig (2013) also interview Geo News correspondent Mahboob Ali who says that for girls enrolled in the Khushal

School and College in Mingora Malala is a “role model” and that “all girls of the area want to become Malala Yousafzai after the attack” (Khan & Craig, 2013, para. 16).

Not only did the coverage reference Malala’s resemblance to Benazir Bhutto, but other journalists such as the *Post’s* Butler (2014) spoke about Malala’s respect for Benazir Bhutto and other inspirational leaders such as Martin Luther King, Jr. Boustany (2013) added that Malala’s desire to become prime minister of Pakistan one day is also a result of the adoration she had for slain Pakistani Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto.

Once again, throughout this chapter the reader/viewer Malala is portrayed not only as a victim of a violent act committed in the name of Islam, but also as an agent of the West who is fighting her aggressors, many of whom are antiquated leaders and representatives of a religion and society that will not stand for anyone going against the grain. Throughout this chapter, I am reminded of what Said (1997) writes in *Covering Islam* about how Western perception of the Islamic word is often “troubled and problematic” and often focused on a “one-sided activity” (Said, 1997).

This focus on a Malala who is the furthest thing from the “daughter of the nation” is an example of coverage that is often stereotypical and “one-sided.” In his work, Said (1997) writes that the fair, balanced and responsible news coverage seems to have escaped the coverage of Islam. Could this be the case with Malala? After all, the coverage overwhelming introduces the reader/viewer to a Malala who is beloved in the United States and abroad. Malala is beloved everywhere, but at home. This notion of

Malala is not challenged in the Western coverage. While brief mentions of her being the pride of the nation are seen, she is characterized throughout the coverage as a symbol of the West to her native Pakistanis.

Conclusion

In this chapter, in the case of *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* as well as CNN and BBC, the editors/producers covered Malala's critics at home. Several of the articles in this chapter continued to discuss the issues that Malala's critics at home have with her. While many of them consider her persona non grata, there is other coverage of Malala as the "pride of the nation" in Pakistan.

Much like the analysis of articles in the Chapter III, the reader/viewer is introduced to a Malala who has both supporters and critics at home. Only in this chapter's coverage, the writers and producers seem to be concentrating on the fact that because of Malala, Pakistan was now going to be known for more than just the Taliban. Malala's winning the Nobel and advocating on behalf of children all over the world, would create a new image for Pakistan, one that Pakistanis could be proud of and share with the world.

Though these positive points of how Malala was helping Pakistan are mentioned, a majority of the coverage comes back to a Malala who is a symbol of Western imperialism. Much like the coverage in Chapter III, the coverage in this chapter reinforces the stereotypical views of Muslim and Pakistani society because it shines a light on the fact that Pakistanis are more concerned with how the world will view them

than with the work Malala was doing. The coverage paints the picture of a young girl who the Pakistani government claims to be the “daughter of the nation,” but presented with the frame of a nation that is more concerned with the way they look to outsiders.

While, the discussion of Pakistani print media will be discussed in Chapter V, it should be mentioned here that there are differing criticisms contained in those sources. Coupled with admiration and respect for what Malala has accomplished it is a stark contrast to what is seen in Western media. The West portrays an unadulterated praise for Malala and disdain for her critics. This black and white view reinforces the view of Pakistan as being a backward, anti-intellectual and misogynistic society.

Now that the analysis of Western media coverage has been examined, it will be interesting to examine the Pakistani media’s coverage to determine whether the Western media coverage was warranted in its focus on Malala’s reputation in her native Pakistan. Throughout all of the Western coverage in Chapter II, III and IV, the reader/viewer is told that Malala is a symbol of the West who is sent to demoralize the tenants of Islam. Instead of focusing the coverage on her shooting and her subsequent work as an activist, the coverage is dominated with this notion of Malala as an agent of the West.

CHAPTER V – MALALA: DAUGHTER OF THE NATION

Introduction

In the previous three chapters, the researcher analyzed the Western media's discourse regarding Malala's shooting, recovery and activism-efforts concluding that the discourse positioned Malala as a heroine of the West and as an agent of the West in Pakistan. These findings upheld the tenants of Orientalism as the Western discourse portrayed Pakistan as an antiquated nation with a distrust of Malala, who they believed was defying the teachings of Islam.

In this chapter, the researcher analyzed Pakistani print media's coverage of Malala. While the Western discourse positioned Malala as a victim of extremism and focused on her nation's disapproval, the Pakistani discourse was split between her critics and supporters. However, the portrayal of Malala as an agent of the West was less significant, as neither paper focused on presenting that narrative.

Since this chapter's coverage analyzes Middle Eastern coverage, the researcher will use Occidentalism (how non-Westerners perceive and present the West) as a framework through which to analyze Pakistani print media. The media in question consists of 832 articles from two English-language Pakistani newspapers including 270 articles from the *Daily Times* (government-owned newspaper) and 553 articles from the *Dawn* (affiliated with Muslim League).

Coverage in the *Daily Times* was overwhelmingly pro-Malala, while coverage in the *Dawn* was balanced. *Dawn* portrayed Malala as a victim, activist, as the daughter of the nation and, on occasion, a fame-seeking agent of the West. The researcher concluded

that the Pakistani media's discourse breaks from the Occidental framework because Malala is portrayed as a victim, a heroine, and occasionally a tool of Western media.

In an Occidental narrative, the focus would have been on Malala as a tool of the West, and there would be little to no discussion of what Malala overcame and what she has accomplished. While several themes emerged from the review of Pakistani print media coverage including: victim of extremism, spokesperson, symbol of education and frustrating Pakistan; these themes ultimately shaped the discourse about Malala: daughter of the nation.

Pakistani Media Coverage

The chart below labeled Table 4 includes all of the Pakistani print media's articles analyzed in this chapter, which includes 270 articles in the *Daily Times* (government-owned newspaper) and 553 articles from the *Dawn* (affiliated with Muslim League) for a total of 823 articles. While Orientalism was used as the framework through which to examine Western media discourse, Occidentalism was better suited to analyze the Pakistani discourse.

Buruma and Margalit (2005) define Occidentalism as the ways in which non-Westerners perceive and present the West (Buruma and Margalit, 2005). Occidentalism, however, was built upon Said's (1978) scholarship on Orientalism (the attitudes that the West has toward societies in the MENA region). Said's (1997) work with regard to the media who not only produce, but also disseminate the "knowledge of the Other" can be applied as well in the examination of the Pakistani print coverage because Said's (1997) work encourages scholars to study the texts and analyze not only what is said, but also what is not said in the media (Said, 1997; Friedman, 2008).

Table 4 *Pakistani media outlets examined in Chapter V*

Publication	Dates	Number of Articles/Transcripts
<i>Daily Times</i> (government-owned)	November 1, 2012-December 31, 2015	270 articles
<i>Dawn</i> (affiliated with Muslim League)	November 1, 2012-December 31, 2015	553 articles
Total Print Articles	November 1, 2012-December 31, 2015	823 articles

Malala: Victim of Extremism

In this section, the researcher analyzed more than 200 articles in both the *Dawn* and *Daily Times*. More than 45 articles covered Malala’s shooting, recovery and new life in England. However, the remaining 155 articles covered the pride that Pakistanis have for Malala and activists who are helping create change and progress in Pakistan. While the coverage does acknowledge that Malala was a victim of extremism, the majority of the coverage focuses on Malala as the pride of the nation. Perhaps most notably, there is no discussion of her being an agent of the West or of her critics accusing her of wanting to Westernize the nation.

In a *Daily Times* article titled “View: Class resumed,” Malala’s presence in her classroom “is not vacant, a school bag represents Malala’s presence” (View, 2012, para. 1). In another article in the *Daily Times*, a goodwill message from Punjab Chief Minister Muhammad Shahbaz read:

Malala Yousafzai is the daughter of the nation, who has made the nation proud in her courage and determination. Malala Yousafzai raised her voice in favour of education of girls in difficult conditions, due to which this daughter of Pakistan has now become symbol of courage, determination and struggle, throughout the world... daughters like Malala

Yousafzai who are courageous and determined, are the asset of the nation
(Punjab CM, 2013, para. 1).

The *Dawn's* Yusufzai (2013) wrote that students in Swat “appreciated the speech delivered by her [Malala] at the UN General Assembly... saying that it has emboldened them and strengthen their resolve to get an education (Yusufzai, 2013, para. 1). In an article titled “Political parties, civil society shower praise on Malala” for *Dawn*, the author wrote that “political parties and civil society organisations have paid rich tribute to girls’ education activist Malala Yousafzai on being honoured with the Nobel Peace Prize” (Political parties, 2014, para. 1).

Similarly, the *Dawn's* Yousaf (2013) wrote about the fact that even her critics thought she was “basking in an unstoppable wave of human feelings” regardless of how “annoyed” her native Pakistanis were about “her phenomenal rise to fame” (Yousaf, 2013, para. 1). Yousaf (2013) added that some of her critics were calling her “Cinderella and Snow White; the subject of folklore made up of envy, jealousy and no less of unequalled prominence (Yousaf, 2013, para. 1).

In another article in the *Daily Times* discussed the “good news” with regard to the sentencing of the 10 men who were responsible for the assassination attempt on Malala. The article referenced the shooting, but also talked about how the attempt on Malala’s life was a “warm up act” and covered the 130 school children who were attacked in 2014. “That is why it is so important to round up and bring to justice the perpetrators of these heinous crimes against Pakistan’s children” (Some justice, 2015, para. 1-2). The article continues to talk about Malala’s heroism and how she “did not just survive the attack on

her life, she got back up and became a symbol of resistance, an icon lauded throughout the world” (Some justice, 2015, para. 3).

With regard to Malala’s activism, one author of an article in the *Daily Times* titled “Pride of Pakistan: Malala Yousafzai” wrote that her “name is synonymous with a firm stand on education rights and also for being fearless (Pride of, 2014, para. 1, 4). The article continues to outline Malala’s accolades and accomplishments and states that her “strong stance on equality, justice and education[al] rights have made her an epitome of courage and tranquility” (Pride of, 2014, para. 9).

A writer for the *Daily Times* who wrote “In Solidarity with Malala” also lauded Malala’s accomplishments and made a statement to allude to the fact that Pakistan was commemorating Malala Day even if in silence (because of the Taliban’s stronghold) so that the world will “know that Malala’s efforts have not been in vain, and that her spirit and cause should be championed by the world at large” (In solidarity, 2012, para. 1).

Lastly, in “Malala and Nirbhaya: what Pakistan can learn from India” Usman Javaid writes, “Pakistan is lucky in that its ambassador for girls’ education survived. Not only is she not deterred, rather she is ready to fight even harder, but rather rally together to remove them” (Malala, 2013, para. 10). Throughout this article, the *Daily Times* coverage is pro-Malala. While they are also careful not to blame the Taliban, the coverage does not blame Malala for standing up against them.

The discourse presented up to this point, in both *Dawn* and *Daily Times*, is generally positive with regard to Malala the activist who is fighting for education. While there is specific mention of criticism about Malala being a Western agent, it is quickly dismissed and generally provided little coverage. Malala’s victimization at the hands of

extremists is condemned and the coverage gives every indication that those who attacked Malala were in the wrong even if not always expressly stated. The discourse was pro-Malala and focused on what Malala was doing right for Pakistan.

In the Pakistani coverage, there is minimal focus on Malala the Western agent. Instead, the discourse is supportive of Malala's activism efforts and the focus is on the importance of education in Pakistan. Thus, this discourse breaks from the Occidentalist narrative in that it does not portray Malala as a Western agent whose work is shaming Islam, but as a force for positive change for Pakistan.

Malala: Spokesperson

The analysis in this section included more than 200 articles from the *Dawn* and *Daily Times*. It included a mix between those who support and criticize Malala for her awards and accolades. While Malala was the recipient of awards in her native Pakistan before she was shot, the coverage examined in this section referenced the awards and accolades Malala garnered for her activism efforts following her shooting. This almost immediately suggests that the Pakistani discourse attributes Malala's shooting to her instant celebrity.

Malala's Fight and Fund

In fact, three articles in both *Dawn* and *Daily Times* focused on Malala's return to school in England, while vowing to continue her fight to make sure all children are given the right to an education through the establishment of the Malala Fund. Malala initially funded her namesake fund with the money she won from numerous humanitarian awards. Articles in both papers also covered Malala's response to the Boko Haram kidnapping of the Nigerian school children. Here the reader is introduced to Malala's portrayal as a

spokesperson for girls worldwide. In five articles, including one in the *Daily Times*, the article discusses Malala's meeting with former President Barack Obama who said that Malala "inspired people around the world with her determined efforts for girls' right to education" (Obama greets, 2014, para. 1).

The *Daily Times* also covered Pakistani actress Veena Malik's meeting with Malala during the "He Named Me Malala" film premiere (Celebrity News, 2015, para. 1). In addition to Malala's meetings with world leaders, the *Daily Times* also wrote about her winning the 2014 Liberty Medal from the National Constitution Center in Philadelphia (Malala Yousafzai wins, 2014, para. 1).

In two other articles in the *Daily Times*, the writers discuss Malala's making the list in *Time* magazine's 100 most influential people, her win of the Nobel Peace, and her "struggle for education of girls despite being just 17 years old" (Politicians hail, 2014, para. 1). The articles go on to discuss how proud Pakistan is of her win and stated that Malala "had become [an] example of courage, hard work and steadfastness" who "improved [the] image of Pakistan throughout the world" (Politicians hail, 2014, para. 1: Malala among, 2014, para. 1)

I Am Malala

Malala's book *I Am Malala* was referenced in three articles in the *Daily Times* including news about the book making summer reading lists worldwide, as well as the release of the documentary about her shooting and activism. Throughout the updates about the book and movie are mentions of the continued attacks on school children across Pakistan (I Am Malala, 2014, para. 1; Malala Yousafzai condemned, 2015, para. 1; Trailer of, 2015, para. 1).

The *Dawn* also covered Bollywood film director Amjad Khad's documentary film titled "Gul Makai" (corn flower in Urdu) which documents Malala's life and activism, as well as the premiere of the film at Jio MAMI Mumbai Film Festival (Bollywood film, 2015, para. 1; He Named, 2015, para. 1). The coverage also includes the adoration celebrities such as Reese Witherspoon, Viola Davis, Angelina Jolie and Jennifer Lopez have for Malala. These celebrities consider Malala to be a role model for all (Reese celebrates, 2014, para. 1).

In "Making sense of Malala," the author in the *Daily Times* wrote about the issues that her native Pakistanis have about celebrating Malala Day. For some it "reminds us of honouring a peaceful solo effort that turned into a crusade" and about the "patriarchal norms" at play (N.A., 2014, para. 3). He adds that the "politicisation of the Malala episode" is what the critics are spouting, but that "Malala stands for a passionate nonviolent resistance to the conservatism-dominated social space" and ends with the fact that "Malala's breach of the status quo cuts across several lines (N.A., 2014, para. 3).

Lastly, in an article for the *Daily Times*' "Politicians hail Malala's Nobel win," the author wrote about the fact that the top "political dignities are quite happy with Malala" and her win not only of the Nobel but of her work" (Politicians hail, 2014, para. 1). The author added that many felt that Malala "had improved [the] image of Pakistan throughout the world" (Politicians hail, 2014, para. 1).

Once again the discourse is overwhelmingly supportive of Malala. We see a shift from her being a victim of extremism to an activist who has accomplished so much in her short life. She has won the attention of the world, including celebrities and world leaders, and has been portrayed as a credible spokesperson. The discourse's portrayal of Malala is

as a spokesperson that legitimizes Pakistan, a country who up until Malala's shooting was known for the Taliban and extremism.

Some of the most poignant coverage is in the *Daily Times* where the author addresses "the polemics against Malala," which the author writes, "are grounded in patriarchal norms... with the xenophobia of a world out there to harm Islam and Pakistan" (N.A., 2014, para. 3). This statement is representative of the media coverage of Malala's successes. The quote provides the strongest criticism of those who accuse Malala of being a Western agent or someone trying to bring down Islam.

This quote and sentiment mimics the general narrative present in the Western media's discourse and adds a level of nuisance that is missing from Western coverage. Here we see an acknowledgment of what the Western media was criticizing for, but here we see that it is not Pakistani society as a whole and instead a subset of Pakistani society. This subset has fallen behind the rest and refuses to acknowledge the future of Pakistan.

In the discourse above, we see overwhelming support for Malala as a spokesperson with powerful rebuttals of Occidental narratives within Pakistan. With regard to Malala the spokesperson, we don't see a lack of Occidentalism as much as an attempt to discredit Occidentalism. While Pakistani discourse acknowledges the existence of the Occidental narrative, it is strongly attempting to refute the narrative through its coverage. There is a contrast between Pakistani and Western media. The contrast, however, is not a result of competing Oriental and Occidental narratives. The contrast exists because Western media have focused so much on this Oriental narrative, while Pakistani media have made a serious attempt to provide nuanced and well-rounded coverage.

As we saw in Chapters III and IV, Western media depicted Pakistanis as a homogenous group who were opposed to Malala and equality for women. In contrast, while Pakistani media acknowledged those who held such views, it provided coverage of her numerous supporters as well who held more reasonable criticisms of Malala and her reception in the world.

Malala: Symbol of Education

After the reader meets Malala the spokesperson, the discourse progresses to portray Malala as a symbol of education. Throughout the analysis of 150 articles in both the *Dawn* and *Daily Times*, Malala is portrayed as the hope for education in Pakistan. The coverage in both papers is about the need to spend on education and the desire of Pakistanis to be known for something other than extremism. Though Malala's supporters also share their beliefs about the need to laud other activists, they are still proud of Malala's efforts.

In a *Daily Times* article titled "Malala urges Pakistan, India to spend on education" the author discusses Malala's urging of the Pakistani and Indian presidents to "spend on education of children while putting aside their bilateral differences" (Malala urges, 2014, para. 1). "Malala Yousafzai is no longer a cult, rather she has become the canon, the bandwagon, the epoch making actor and the symbol," wrote the author of "This bell cannot be unrung" in an article for the *Daily Times* (This bell, 2014, para.1).

In another *Daily Times* article "Malala, Salam and Zafrullah, author Yasser Latif Hamdani (2013) writes about the "disgusting manner in which Malala Yousafzai has been targeted by a section" of Pakistani society. Hamdani (2013) adds that it is "a bit of a

local tradition... to abuse those who do something for the hapless people in this country. The narrow-minded fanatics had a lot to be scared about” (Hamdani, 2013, para. 1).

Hamdani (2013) continues to cover Malala’s UN address as well as the fact that her message was “unifying” and that at only 16 years old, she had managed to deliver it as a message, it seems, about what Pakistanis stand for (Hamdani, 2013, para. 1).

In a 2014 article written in the *Dawn*, Zaidi (2014) interviewed Abdul Hai Kakar, a journalist who worked closely with Malala in the past. Kakar spoke of Malala’s “wit and her acute awareness of political realities” as being what struck him most about Malala. Kakar states that Malala wasn’t shy and that considering how timid Pashtun women are supposed to be “Malala was always fearless and vocal” (Zaidi, 2014, para. 3).

Kalhoru (2013) referred to Malala as “an icon” who “fought for the cause of education, and for many other girls living in the same valley” and should be commended for raising “her voice against extremism (Kalhoru, 2013, para. 1-3). However, Kalhoru (2013) suggests that there are “hundreds of Malalas who seek justice and their right to education for the betterment of their life and security” (Kalhoru, 2013, para. 4). Thus, Kalhoru (2013) suggests that Pakistani’s should “not pay homage to Malala only” and “must emulate her example and seek out others who are expecting our help” because he believes that there are “many more defiant Malalas.” He writes, “this is a good chance to prove internationally that we are united in supporting the hundreds of Malalas living in our society” (Kalhoru, 2013, para. 6-7).

The *Dawn*’s Hussain (2013) states “the discourse on Malala as a symbol of education and civilisation was obscured by raising questions about her integrity, humanity and intentions” (Hussain, 2013, para. 1). He writes that the “simple fact” is that

Malala was shot for her belief that she and other young boys and girls should be able to go to school and the “other fact is that well-meaning people in Pakistan and abroad stood by her and condemned the attackers for the sake of education and civilization” (Hussain, 2013, para. 2). Hussain (2013) added that the “Malala discourse... does not only represent modern civilisation; it also symbolises the historical continuity of the land” (Hussain, 2013, para. 3). He writes:

Malala today symbolises the struggle of all those... who stood for indigenous wisdom and identity, freedom and equality, irrespective of creed, caste, gender, race and religion. She represents those who triggered human creativity and innovation” (Hussain, 2013, para. 3-4).

Hussain (2013) concludes that the conservative discourse was what had people believing she was an agent of the West (Hussain, 2013, para. 5).

The *Dawn's* Islam (2013) continues the discussion of Malala's critics. He writes that Malala has “so many enemies and detractors in Pakistan” because her celebrity makes many jealous, but most importantly “she is a potent and visible reminder of a 'would-be, could-be Pakistan' of lost dreams and aspirations, the way the country used to live and think before extremism and intolerance took over” (Islam, 2013, para. 1-3).

Islam (2013) adds that Malala “stands for a 'could-be' Pakistan of educated children, empowered women and decent, active citizens which could still emerge if real efforts are made to defeat terrorism and bring extremists to heel” and that her “real power... can strike fear into the hearts of those who would rather keep the 'masses' in the darkness of ignorance” and that education is not only “a fundamental human right, it's

also because educated people are a threat to the forces of evil which roam so freely across Pakistan” (Islam, 2012, para. 5-7).

Another article in *Dawn* calls Malala “Pakistan’s braveheart” and that her courage “coupled with a clarity of thought and an eloquence that can make cynics catch their breath and the world sit up and take notice” (Pakistan’s braveheart, 2013, para. 1). “Malala’s story is inspirational on so many levels,” writes the author (Pakistan’s braveheart, 2013, para. 4).

Adding to Malala’s supporters, another article in the *Dawn* covers Chief Minister Shahbaz Sharif’s call to action to the West. Sharif, the author writes, urges the West “revisit its views about Pakistan” especially with regard to the West’s “perception about Pakistan regarding terrorism” because the “western views are the outcome of short sightedness and lack of knowledge” (West urged, 2013, para. 1-2). In the same article, the author writes about Sharif’s reference to Malala as the “brave girl” whose attack is condemned by every Pakistani” (West urged, 2013, para. 3). Sharif said that an “attack on Malala does not mean that the people of Pakistan are against education. No Pakistani wants to keep his children deprived of education” (West urged, 2013, para. 4).

The *Dawn*’s Yusuf (2014) writes that because of the work of Malala and other females, “we are reminded that Pakistan is a nation of Benazirs and Malalas” (Yusuf, 2014, para. 1). Three other *Dawn* articles include Malala’s shooting, recovery and the sentiments of those at home that “vow to carry forward Malala’s mission” and continue to pray for her recovery (Bacha, 2013; Yusufzai, 2013; Malala’s first, 2013).

The *Dawn*’s Cyril Almeida (2014) is complimentary of Malala as well. Almeida (2014) states, “you can’t help but smile when you watch her and listen to her. She doesn’t just get

it; she is it. The embodiment of an idea. And what an excellent idea it is” (Almeida, 2013, para. 1). Almeida (2013) also addresses her critics which he says “know what she is saying... understand it and... know how dangerous it is. That's why they put a bullet in her head. If Malala is an idea, so are the Taliban” (Almeida, 2013, para. 2). He writes that both Malala and the Taliban are battling over ideas, but concludes that Malala is “winning” and that she can help “God save us [Pakistan] (Almeida, 2015, para 3).

Lastly, in one *Dawn* article Haider (2014) focuses on Malala’s mother who at the encouragement of her daughter had just “enrolled herself in a school and is now able to speak and read and write a bit of English language...” (Haider, 2014, para. 1). This last article is a great example of Malala the symbol of education. Malala’s positioning as a symbol of education is not only being seen worldwide throughout her activism efforts, but is impacting her own family life as well.

In this section, the discourse continues to be positive with regard to Malala’s efforts to spread the message of education. The positivity toward Malala in the Pakistani media to a large extent mimics what was seen in the Western media coverage – support for Malala and condemnation for the Taliban and their supporters. The Western media fails to differentiate between Pakistan and the Taliban. In contrast, in the Pakistani coverage, we see the groups divided out into the Taliban and their supporters, Malala and her supporters, and legitimate critics of Malala.

The Pakistani discourse also uses the portrayal of Malala as a symbol of education in an attempt to show Pakistan in a more positive light. Once the Taliban took over Pakistan, it was known for extremism. The world had not seen the internal fight to move Pakistan forward. In the Pakistani coverage, Malala’s efforts are celebrated. However, the

Pakistani media also do their best to acknowledge the “hundreds of Malala’s” fighting to bring Pakistan forward (Kalhor, 2013, para. 6-7).

Once again, in the discourse above, we see overwhelming support for Malala as a symbol of education. While the content and theme of Malala the spokesperson is different, the discourse remains the same. There is the generally positive and supportive coverage of Malala found in Western media, along with a more honest discussion of Occidental narratives, which are immediately attributed to the small section of Pakistani society who are either supporters of the Taliban or conspiracy theorists. Unlike the Western coverage which groups Pakistanis together, the coverage in this section also makes it clear that not all Pakistanis are alike in their beliefs.

Malala: Frustrating Pakistan

In this section, the researcher analyzed 280 articles from both the *Daily Times* and the *Dawn*. For the first time, in the Pakistani coverage, there is mention of Malala as an agent of the West, but most of the coverage is with regard to Pakistanis who are frustrated with her celebrity. The coverage points to the fact that Malala is not alone in her efforts and, yet, is the only one that has the attention of the West.

In an article in the *Daily Times* the author writes, “Her critics have dubbed her as anti-Pakistan. They accuse her father, who runs a chain of schools in Swat, of misusing his daughter for money and fame. Her critics are no longer confined to Swat Valley alone, but are growing and can be found in every village, town and city of Pakistan” (Malala earns, 2014, para. 1). The same article states that “new conspiracy theories are emerging” and the “ongoing propaganda has deeply shocked her family and friends”

(Malala earns, 2014, para. 2, 4). The author concludes, “her admirers, unfortunately, find it difficult to defend her cause” (Malala earns, 2014, para. 9).

As many as 173 references were about Malala’s book in the *Dawn* with most of the coverage having to do with the book being controversial in Pakistan. Some of the coverage about the book also had to do with the government’s fear of the Taliban retaliating against the government if Pakistan were to allow the sale of the book (Yusuf, 2014). And yet, while there seemed to be a lot of conversation about the conspiracy theories surrounding Malala, the *Dawn’s* Yousufzai (2014) writes:

There is no dearth of Malala's haters in Mingora too who believe in the conspiracy theories concerning the Nobel laureate, but it was heartening to see a large number of people taking pride in her and attaching great deal of hopes in terms of improving the educational conditions in the town (Yousufzai, 2014, para. 1).

Yousufzai (2014) continues to discuss the “well wishers” who want Malala to continue doing the good work she is doing elsewhere” and states that children in Swat “take pride in having known Malala and consider her their friend, but most of them wish to see her amongst them again, instead of working for other children in faraway places” (Yousufzai, 2014, para. 3).

Thus, while some believe Malala is doing good work for the country and for children, others believe she should be doing her good work at home. In an article for *Dawn*, Husain (2013) writes about Malala’s “escaping the cauldron” in which he compares Malala to a Pakistani prophecy that states that both “left and right have joined hands to destroy her credibility” even after her “eloquent and deeply moving speech at the UN” (Husain, 2013, para. 3). Husain (2013) continues, “a flurry of hostile, mean-

spirited emails, the trolls on the internet have savaged the heroine from Swat, accusing her of being either Satan's pawn, or an American agent" (Husain, 2013, para. 4).

Still, another article titled "Malala's ordeal – Lal Khan" cites the numerous awards that Malala has been awarded from "front organizations" and "western imperialist institutions and governments" (Malala, 2013, para. 8-9). In "Celebrating Malala" the author writes "Pakistanis should shed their blinkers and celebrate the brave daughter of the country who stands firmly for the best in our society, all too often hidden or blighted by the obscurantist forces that afflict us" (Celebrating Malala, 2014, para. 3).

Kaamran Hashmi (2014, 2015), a US-based freelance columnist, wrote "Malala's strategy" and "Why is Malala so controversial?" for the *Daily Times* addressing how the West "lionises" Malala. Hashmi (2014) contrasts the West's adoration for Malala with Pakistan's disapproval. Hashmi (2014) writes that Malala "does not enjoy the same celebrity" in Pakistan as she does in the West. "In fact, it will not be too wrong to say that she has become more of a divisive figure... then a uniting one... who is more loyal to the west and their values than her birthplace" (Hashmi, 2015, para. 1-2).

In his 2014 article, Hashmi (2014) writes that Pakistanis who disapprove of her "strategy" are those who say that she was "trained by western journalists to use her to promote values disregarding her local traditions" (Hashmi, 2014, para. 4). He adds that Malala has used "her mind and her intelligence" and "proved" that they are "more powerful than guns, suicide bombings and the public executions of all the jihadists combined" (Hashmi, 2014, para. 7).

Hashmi (2015) adds that "Malala is not alone in being controversial in the country of her origin" and that while Pakistanis may not agree with her "ideology" they do think

the “perpetrators of her attack should be punished for their cowardly attack” (Hashmi, 2015, para. 4). He writes that the reason Pakistanis do not approve of Malala is because she “depicts a society that throws acid on the faces of helpless women” or “shoots them in the head when they want to study and be independent” (Hashmi, 2015, para. 6).

Though Hashmi (2015) does say that he does not “agree with their assumptions” he does “also understand the feelings of the people” because “they would like to be respected and recognized as normal individuals without having the stigma of being a supporter of the Taliban ideology or a typical Muslim male chauvinist” (Hashmi, 2015, para. 7).

The Hashmi (2015) article presents an anomaly in the analysis in that the article’s author is a Western-based journalist writing for a Pakistani newspaper. The discourse is almost Orientalist in nature in that it mimics the Western discourse. However, it should also be noted that Hashmi (2015) is much more sympathetic to his native Pakistanis and makes an attempt at explaining the basis for the accusations against Malala.

In an article for the *Daily Times* titled “Demise of rationality,” the writer (n.a.) addresses the accusations against Malala, which suggest that she orchestrated the shooting herself. The author states that it is an example of the “demise of rationality that the country faces under the Taliban’s regime (Demise of, 2015, para. 3). The author writes:

Whether Malala is a foreign agent or not, it is the intent behind creating this mess that is more intriguing. It is an attempt to distract attention from the real issue – the accessibility and safety of girls in procuring education (Demise of, 2015, para. 3).

Up to this point, the coverage compares Malala to a prophet and much of the discourse praises Malala's work, but condemns the fame that comes with the work. While some of the coverage of her critics has to do with her being a Western spy, most of the issues primarily point to the issues they have with her fame.

"The Malala backlash," Shah (2013) writes is part of the "Malala Dramazai" that suggests that her "shooting was staged by 'the West' and America, who control the Taliban" (Shah, 2015, para. 4). Another article in *Dawn* covers Malala's critics suggesting that she is a "puppet of the West" (Malala says, 2013, para. 1). The article quotes Malala saying, "My father says that education is neither Eastern or Western. Education is education: it's the right of everyone" (Malala says, 2013, para. 3).

The article goes on to discuss Malala's thoughts about her supporters. "The thing is that the people of Pakistan have supported me. They don't think of me as Western. I am a daughter of Pakistan and I am proud that I am a Pakistani" (Malala says, 2013, para. 4-5). This is the first time in either Western and Pakistani coverage that we've seen Malala mention her critics and their conspiracy theories. It's interesting because reinforces the Orientalist trend in Western media, which focuses on the conspiracy theories surrounding Malala, while minimizing the voices of her Pakistani supporters and even Malala's own voice in how she is viewed in Pakistan.

The *Dawn's* Almedia (2013) also writes of those "hating Malala" and writes that those who hate her do so because she is the "world's most famous teenager" and "because Pakistan has become the kind of place where a teenage girl is shot in the face for speaking about a girl's right to education" (Almedia, 2013, para. 4). Another article in the

Dawn discusses Malala's desire to become prime minister one day because as a politician she can truly affect change (Haider, 2013, para. 1).

The *Dawn's* Malik (2014) also wrote about Malala's work with the "West" and the fact that although Pakistani's don't "favour the Taliban" they are "suspicious" possibly because this is what "happens when unpopular regimes in countries like ours are supported by international community to safeguard their own interests" (Malik, 2014, para. 1-4). Malik (2014) adds that "Malala has been depicted as more international than Pakistani to the extent that Pakistanis do not feel any bonding with her" (Malik, 2014, para. 5).

Dawn's Ahmed (2014) writes in an article titled "Young Pakistani girl" that while his "heart swells with pride at a young Pakistani girl being selected for the most prestigious of international award" his "head hangs in shame at the cruel and totally bizarre comments being made against her and also being posted on the social media by educated Pakistanis" (Ahmed, 2014, para. 1-2). He discusses Malala's work and numerous awards and concludes with "Malala, I feel is a precious gift we Pakistanis may not be worthy of (Ahmed, 2014, para. 5).

In this section, we begin to see a change in the tone of the discourse. The coverage begins to address various criticisms of Malala and her reception in the West. However, the coverage seems to be more reasonable – mainly that there are other activists working in Pakistan and that she has left Pakistan. While there is mention of Malala as a Western agent, it is still not the dominant narrative and there is a strong push to discredit the assumption. It is almost as if the media bring up the notion of Malala as a Western agent for the purpose of dismissing those criticisms. Most Pakistanis are not

unhappy with Malala's activism, but feel as though she should not be the sole focus of the world's attention.

In this final section, the narrative is the closest the coverage has gotten to an Occidental narrative. These articles contain the strongest criticisms of Malala. The criticisms, however, are less centered on what she is doing and more on the West's adoration of her. The celebrity status she has achieved worldwide is not regarded in the same manner in Pakistan. Instead of focusing the coverage on what Malala was doing right, the coverage was focused on why Malala was achieving so much success when others in Pakistan were doing the same type of work. However, the issue depicted a Pakistan whose problem was with the West more than with Malala.

This is the most serious attempt to attack the impact Malala's had on Pakistan and the work that she has done. The intent seems to be less about a fear of Westernizing Pakistan and more about the fact that the West does not understand the magnitude of what is happening in Pakistan. Instead, their trivial attempt at covering the real issues has been relegated to a snapshot of a teenage activist.

Despite the issues the coverage presents, it is still overall supportive of Malala and the coverage reflects her work in a positive light. The criticisms of Malala and of the West are more a response to what Pakistani media deems to be unfair characterizations of the East. The coverage discusses the Pakistani people's frustration with the West's infatuation with Malala, but is still supportive of her activism and hopeful about the potential impact it can have on Pakistan.

Conclusion

In this chapter, we saw a shift from Malala being portrayed as this victim of a patriarchal society to a mixed bag of emotions. Some of her native Pakistani's revered her and others condemned her for the fact that she had become famous and was only interested in fame. Still others said they were proud of the work she had accomplished, but were also wanted to point out the other Pakistanis and activists who were also working hard to bring about change. While there were mentions of her being a Western spy, it was mostly covered for the purpose of dismissing the notion. The Pakistani media gave little focus to this notion, which is a stark contrast to the hyper focus that the Western media placed on the narrative. In the Western coverage, Malala the spy seemed to be the only notion coming out of Pakistan. In the Pakistani coverage, that was a small window into who Malala was according to her native Pakistanis.

As a framework, Orientalism fit the Western media's portrayal of Malala. However, looking at in relation to the Pakistani media's portrayal of Malala, the corresponding Occidentalism was less applicable. While a discussion of Orientalism almost always also brings about notions of Occidentalism (how non-Westerners perceive and present the West), it does not appear that Pakistani media was attacking Western culture or negatively presenting it in an effort to discredit the West and their admiration for Malala, as much as it was trying to provide a response to how the West viewed Pakistan.

While coverage in the *Daily Times* (government-owned paper) was overwhelmingly pro-Malala, the coverage in *Dawn* seemed to be the most objective in regard to portraying Malala -- as a victim, as an activist, as the daughter of the Pakistani

nation and, on occasion, a fame-seeking agent of the West. This is where the discussion of Orientalism must include Occidentalism. With the *Daily Times*, the presence of an Orientalist narrative reinforces the Western image of Malala – the victim and the hero who stands up against her aggressor. Unlike the Western media, however, they do not attack Islam or point fingers at the Taliban. They appear to be playing both sides, avoiding anything that would offend those who are in support or opposed to Malala.

With regard to coverage of Malala in the *Dawn*, the reporting neither falls in line with Orientalism or Occidentalism. Instead, the narrative tries to provide the wide range of Pakistani and Western viewpoints. Throughout the coverage, a metanarrative provides alternating Orientalist and Occidentalist narratives. The story that they are reporting mentions both narratives, but does not take a stance on either side ultimately. In fact, the coverage is seen criticizing the West's Orientalist narrative. While the West's narrative is about Malala the hero, the paper alludes to the fact that she has been singled out in Western media, when there are others who have or are doing the same things in Pakistan and the MENA region.

Said (1997) writes that the word "Islam" has become associated with a "one-sided activity" fraught with violence, terrorism and fundamentalism, which the media then portrays as an attack against such peoples, ultimately fueling the hostility between Muslims and Westerners. The Western media make this point increasingly clear in the coverage of Malala. The Pakistani media, in comparison, reverse not only the notions of Orientalism, but again turn Occidentalism on its side. They do not suggest that Malala is not deserving of the praise, but they do point to a West that seems obsessed with putting her on a pedestal and pointing the finger in shame at Islam.

While both Pakistani newspapers took a different approach in creating narratives about Malala, coverage of Malala in Pakistani press was much different than one would have expected, especially after combing through Western coverage of Malala that portrayed her as a victim of Islam and an advocate that only the West appreciated.

Throughout a majority of the coverage, the Pakistani press spent a majority of its efforts (especially in *Daily Times*) combatting the negative perception that the Western world has of the Muslim world. While coverage in *Dawn* reflected the divide that exists between Malala's supporters and critics in her native Pakistan, the reasons for Malala's critics were not necessarily because they felt she was an agent of the West, but because they felt there were so many other activists doing similar work without the recognition.

Unlike the Western coverage, which praised Malala and framed her critics in Pakistan as backward, and misogynistic society, reinforcing the stereotypical views of Muslim and Pakistani society, the Pakistani media was more worried about the West's narrative and views of the Pakistani society as a whole.

Coverage in the *Daily Times*, the government-owned newspaper, was overwhelming complementary toward Malala. Coverage in the newspaper referred to Malala as the "daughter of the nation" and interviews and editorials praised Malala's efforts and condemned her attackers. While some of the coverage discussed Malala's supporters and critics, much of the coverage framed Malala as the daughter of Pakistan, someone they were proud to call their own.

Consequently, coverage in the *Dawn* reflected the divide that exists between Malala's supporters and critics in her native Pakistan. The narratives were formulated to express the issues with only celebrating Malala, when in fact other activists were working

toward achieving equality for all. While some of the commentary was about the Westernization of Pakistan, the authors seemed more concerned with the fact that idolizing Malala was not a productive past time and that in order to grow and prosper, Pakistanis needed to look beyond Malala.

The narratives that came through the coverage of Malala in the *Daily Times* and *Dawn* were different from one another. While the *Daily Times* supported their “daughter,” the *Dawn*’s narratives were more critical of her though some of the coverage commended Malala for her work and subsequent accolades. Although the Pakistani newspapers took a different approach in creating narratives about Malala, the narratives attempted to combat the negative perception that the Western world has of the Muslim world, portraying Malala as the “daughter of the nation.”

CHAPTER VI – CONCLUSION

Introduction

Journalists in both Western and Pakistani media have been interested in Malala since before she was shot. Their interest in her grew, as did the discussion of her critics and supporters. Regardless, Malala continues to remain a topic of conversation, while continuing her fight for educational rights not only for her fellow Pakistanis, but also on behalf of girls in the MENA region. The researcher examined Western and Pakistani discourse about Malala, adding to the conversation regarding misconceptions about Islam, the fact that the terms Arab and Muslim are used interchangeably, and the importance of the media's discourse on shaping an activist on an international scale.

This qualitative study examined a total of 462 Western print articles from two leading Western newspapers *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* from November 1, 2012 – December 31, 2015, and 511 Western broadcast transcripts from two leading Western broadcast networks CNN and BBC from November 1, 2012 – December 1, 2017. Finally, in an effort to compare the discourse in Western and Pakistani media, the researcher also analyzed 832 articles in two popular Pakistani English-language newspapers *Daily Times* and *Dawn* from November 1, 2012 – December 31, 2015.

Said's (1978) *Orientalism* provided the primary theoretical framework through which to examine the media's discourse about Malala. The researcher determined that the Western coverage supported the tenants of Orientalism, because while Malala is presented as an activist who breaks from the stereotypical views of Muslim women, it is presented against the backdrop of a Pakistan that is opposed to her work and one that

considers her work to be decaying the moral fabric of Pakistani society and Islam. This is opposed to the Pakistani media's discourse, which was split between her critics and supporters, with the portrayal of Malala as an agent of the West being less significant. Using both Orientalism and Occidentalism as a lens through which to analyze Pakistani print media, the researcher concluded that the Pakistani media's discourse breaks from the Occidental framework because Malala is portrayed as a victim, a heroine, and occasionally a tool of Western media.

Although scholarship exists with regard to Malala's activism, this study provided an opportunity for the researcher to examine the media's discourse with regard to Malala and the tenants of Orientalism and Occidentalism. Building upon the existing scholarship, the researcher was able to confirm the existence of preconceived or established patterns of Orientalism and Occidentalism in the media's discourse about Malala. The study's findings state that Orientalism is indeed supported in the Western discourse and Occidentalism, while supported in the Pakistani discourse, is not the overwhelming theme. These findings add to the body of knowledge with regard to Orientalism and Occidentalism in that it highlights the role that the media play in elevating an activist to the level that Malala has achieved.

Chapter's II, III and IV examined the Western media's portrayal of Malala as an international activist, agent of the west and irreverent citizen. The Western coverage was supportive of the tenants of Orientalism, portraying Malala as a heroic victim of extremism who has the adoration of the West, but not of Pakistan. Chapter V examined the Pakistani media's portrayal of Malala and while the coverage went back and forth

between Malala's critics and supporters, Malala was ultimately portrayed as the daughter of the nation.

Research Questions and Methodology

The researcher used discourse analysis to deconstruct the mediated messages in Western and Pakistani media coverage. A total of 1,285 (Western and Pakistani media) articles from all four newspapers (*The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *Dawn* and *Daily Times*) were downloaded using LexisNexis from November 2012 – December 2015. Adding to the examination of Western coverage, a total of 511 transcripts were also downloaded from BBC and CNN from November 2012 – December 2017. The time frames examined in both print and broadcast media covered the years that Malala was shot, rose to international fame, won the Nobel Peace Prize and co-founded the Malala Fund.

The researcher raised two research questions: RQ1: How does Western print media's discourse reinforce or break from stereotypical views of Pakistani society? and RQ2: How does Western broadcast media's discourse reinforce or break from stereotypical views of Pakistani society? to determine whether the Western media's discourse supports or breaks from the Oriental narrative. In order to examine the Pakistani media's discourse of Malala to determine whether it supported the Occidental narrative, the researcher presented RQ3: How does Pakistani print media's discourse reinforce or break from stereotypical views that Western forces are imposing their views and way of life on Pakistani society?

Chapter Summaries

In Chapter II, the researcher began the analysis of the Western media's coverage of Malala and uncovered several themes including victim; activist; spokesperson; survivor; unwavering activist; antagonist; fear of education; advisor; like father, like daughter; and, famous philanthrope; which ultimately shaped Malala as an international activist. Similarities existed in the way Malala was regarded in both the print and broadcast coverage. The overwhelming majority of the narratives supported Malala the international activist and affirmed the international recognition she has gained for her activism efforts. Although initially portrayed as a victim of extremism, the media focus on her activism efforts and her refusal to back down from her aggressors. While it seemed that the Western media's discourse would break from the Orientalist viewpoint with the positioning of Malala the activist, the focus kept going back to the fact that her native Pakistanis were not supportive of her efforts. Instead, the media's focus became an implicit reinforcement of Islam being anti-intellectual evidenced through the media's focus on Western praise and Eastern condemnation of Malala.

This focus on Malala's critics is dominant theme explored in Chapter III, Malala: Agent of the West. Coverage in this chapter focused on Malala's critics back home who believe her work was intended to westernize the nation. The Western media do not spend much time focusing on what Malala is accomplishing through her activism efforts, the positive reception in Pakistan or on any reasoned criticisms. Instead the spotlight is shone on a select few of her critics at home, who serve to push the Orientalist narrative that Pakistanis are anti-intellectual and patriarchal.

In both Chapter II and III, Western media cover Pakistani criticism of Malala; however, these criticisms are framed solely as conspiracy theories that are anti-intellectual. There appears to be no effort to take a nuanced view at how Pakistani society would view Malala or that there would be any valid criticism of Malala's popularity.

In Chapter IV, the last Western chapter, the coverage once again focused its efforts on Malala's critics at home. Although most of the coverage dealt with Pakistanis' criticisms of Malala, some of the coverage included Malala as the "pride of the [Pakistani] nation." The biggest difference between the findings in Chapter III and IV, however, was that Malala's supporters at home were relieved that Pakistan was now going to be known for something other than the Taliban.

Though her supporters are mentioned, a majority of the coverage focused its efforts on a narrative about Malala, a symbol of Western imperialism. Much like the coverage in Chapter III, the coverage in Chapter IV reinforces the stereotypical views of Pakistani society because it reinforced the notion that Pakistanis were more concerned with how they were viewed in the world.

Throughout the analysis of the Western coverage, the West is seen praising Malala and disparaging her critics. This black and white view reinforces the view of Pakistan as being a backwards, anti-intellectual and misogynistic society. Throughout a majority of the Western coverage, Malala is portrayed through the eyes of the East as a symbol of the West, sent to demoralize the tenants of Islam.

In Chapter V the researcher analyzed Pakistani media and for the first time in the study, the researcher noticed a shift in the way Malala was portrayed. Throughout the Pakistani media's discourse, Malala was portrayed as a victim, heroine, agent of the

West, and ultimately as the daughter of the nation. Both Pakistani newspapers discussed the Pakistanis' reverence and condemnation for Malala. The media covered criticisms about Malala's celebrity and role as an agent of the West with less intensity than the Western media. Although Orientalism fit the Western media's portrayal of Malala, it seemed less applicable in an examination of the Pakistani media's discourse. Thus, the researcher also incorporated Occidentalism as a framework.

Response to Research Questions

The analysis of both Western and Pakistani discourse guided the researcher's three questions in an effort to determine whether the Western and Pakistani media's discourse supports or breaks from the Orientalist and Occidentalist narratives. With regard to RQ1: How does Western print media's discourse reinforce or break from stereotypical views of Muslim and Pakistani society? the researcher concluded that coverage of Malala in both *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* reinforced the stereotypical views of Muslim and Pakistani society.

Both newspapers portrayed Malala as a victim of extremism, however, both newspapers continued to focus their coverage on her activism efforts and her refusal to back down from her aggressors. While this shift would typically be seen as a break from the Orientalist viewpoint, the coverage kept returning to her critics back home in Pakistan. Even though both *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* portrayed Malala as a heroic victim of extremism, it was the significance they gave to the extremists that was the focus the narrative. Thus, the Western discourse reinforced the notion of Islam being anti-intellectual, patriarchal and oppressive.

In regard to RQ2: How does Western broadcast media's discourse reinforce or break from stereotypical views of Muslim and Pakistani society? the researcher concluded that coverage on both CNN and BBC broke from the stereotypical views of Muslim and Pakistani society. While broadcast coverage was included in the analysis of Chapters II, III and IV, neither CNN nor BBC focused on Malala, agent of the West. Instead, a majority of the broadcast coverage was focused on getting to know Malala, international activist.

Finally, in regard to RQ3: How does Pakistani print media's discourse reinforce or break from stereotypical views that Western forces are imposing their views and way of life on Pakistani society? the researcher concluded that Pakistani media portrayed Malala as a victim, heroine, agent of the West, and ultimately as the daughter of the nation.

Conclusion

In *Covering Islam* Said (1997) writes that the word "Islam" has become associated with a "one-sided activity" fraught with violence, terrorism and fundamentalism, which the media then portray as an attack against such peoples, ultimately fueling the hostility between Muslims and Westerners (Said, 1997). The Western media make this point increasingly clear in the coverage of Malala. The Pakistani media, in comparison, reverse not only the notions of Orientalism, but again turn Occidentalism on its side. Pakistani media do not suggest that Malala is not deserving of the praise, but they do point to a West that seems obsessed with putting her on a pedestal and blaming Islam.

The Western media's discourse positioned Malala as a heroine in the West and as an agent of the West in Pakistan. These findings upheld the tenants of Orientalism as the Western discourse portrayed Pakistan as an antiquated nation with a distrust of Malala, who defied the teachings of Islam. While the Western discourse positioned Malala as a victim of extremism and focused on her nation's disapproval, the Pakistani discourse was split between her critics and supporters. In the end, the portrayal of Malala as an agent of the West was less significant, as neither the *Dawn* nor *Daily Times* focused on the narrative.

The Western coverage, especially the print coverage in *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*, portrayed Malala as a heroic victim of extremism. On the other hand, the Pakistani media's discourse (especially the *Daily Times*) focused its efforts on combatting the negative perception that the Western world has of the Muslim world. Unlike the Western coverage that praised Malala and framed her critics in Pakistan as backward, anti-intellectual and misogynistic, reinforcing the stereotypical views of Muslim and Pakistani society, the Pakistani media was more worried about the West's narrative and views of the Pakistani society as a whole.

In contrast to the Western media, the Pakistani media did not attack Islam or point fingers at the Taliban. Instead they appeased both sides and avoided anything that would offend those who supported or opposed Malala. While the *Daily Times'* narrative positioned Malala as the "daughter of the nation," the *Dawn's* narratives were more critical of her work (though they did not consider her agent of the West). Though both Pakistani newspapers took a different approach in their narratives about Malala, unlike the Western newspapers, the dominant theme was still Malala, daughter of the nation.

This examination of Western and Pakistani discourse about Malala adds to the body of work regarding Orientalism and Occidentalism. Said's (1997) main concern, after all, was that the West's inability to provide a nuanced view of the events and people in the Middle East. In this study, the researcher provides a glimpse of what Said (1997) and other scholars are concerned with as the Western discourse provides a voice for the extremists and ignores the voice of those attempting to counteract the views of the extremists.

Through the review of the Western media's discourse, Malala becomes an example of someone who breaks the mold of the Muslim stereotype and is presented as an anomaly, not part of a diverse group of people who make up the Muslim population. The narrative and reporting limits Malala as an exception and is not used to broaden the understanding of Muslims. The West can be seen either taking credit for creating someone like Malala or encouraging her to stand up. With regard to Occidentalism, the Pakistani media's discourse does not present an Occidental narrative in its reporting, though it is unclear whether the absence of an Occidental narrative is because the English-language media is more dedicated to balanced reporting or because a broader audience will read its papers.

Limitations

This, of course, brings up the discussion of the study's limitations. One of the study's limitations was the lack of an examination of Pakistani newspapers in Urdu (the official language of Pakistan). Analyzing the newspapers in Urdu with the help of a translator could have the researcher to conclude that an Occidental narrative was present in the Pakistani media's discourse. An analysis that included Urdu-language Pakistani

newspapers would have provided a more in-depth view of how Pakistani media viewed Malala and her activism.

Another limitation was the absence of a Middle Eastern broadcast narrative. While the researcher tried to locate transcripts from *Al Jazeera*, the newspaper's archives were not available as far back as November 1, 2012. Numerous attempts were made to contact current and former *Al Jazeera* staff, but the contacts said there was a lack of a systematic archival system, which ultimately kept the researcher from being able to incorporate Middle Eastern broadcast media into the analysis.

Of course the study limitations noted above provide an opportunity for the researcher to continue to examine the media's discourse of Malala in an effort to determine how this shaped Malala, the international activist. Future research opportunities not only involve the examination of Middle Eastern broadcast coverage and Urdu-language newspapers, but also include potential interviews with journalists who have covered Malala since before she was shot, as well as Malala herself.

Although scholarship exists with regard to Malala's activism, this research provides an opportunity to discuss the existence or absence of any preconceived or established patterns of Orientalism and/or Occidentalism in the media discourse surrounding Malala's activism. This research also begins to shed light on the importance that the media play in elevating an activist to the level that Malala has achieved. In conclusion, this study provides a contrasting picture of Western and Pakistani media's discourse of extremism within Pakistan, and Malala, who became the face of the resistance to that extremism.

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