

This is an Open Access document downloaded from ORCA, Cardiff University's institutional repository: <https://orca.cardiff.ac.uk/id/eprint/129019/>

This is the author's version of a work that was submitted to / accepted for publication.

Citation for final published version:

Walters, Rosie 2016. 'Shot Pakistani girl': The limitations of girls education discourses in UK newspaper coverage of Malala Yousafzai. *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 18 (3) , pp. 650-670. 10.1177/1369148116631274

Publishers page: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1369148116631274>

Please note:

Changes made as a result of publishing processes such as copy-editing, formatting and page numbers may not be reflected in this version. For the definitive version of this publication, please refer to the published source. You are advised to consult the publisher's version if you wish to cite this paper.

This version is being made available in accordance with publisher policies. See <http://orca.cf.ac.uk/policies.html> for usage policies. Copyright and moral rights for publications made available in ORCA are retained by the copyright holders.



‘Shot Pakistani Girl’: The Limitations of Girls Education Discourses in UK Newspaper Coverage of Malala Yousafzai

Introduction

I am focusing on women’s rights and education because they are suffering the most. There was a time when women asked men to stand up for their rights, but this time we will do it for ourselves (Malala Yousafzai’s speech to the United Nations, cited in Holpuch, 2013).

Malala Yousafzai, the well-known campaigner for girls’ education from the Swat Valley in Pakistan, has blogged, given speeches and lobbied politicians since the age of eleven, in response to the Pakistani Taliban, or Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP), and their acts of violence and intimidation against girls and their teachers in the region. Although Malala Yousafzai had been blogging for some time for the BBC Urdu Service, she was relatively unknown in the UK until the considerable media interest after 9 October 2012, when two gunmen claiming to represent the TTP shot her in the head at point-blank range while she was sitting on a bus waiting to return home from school. This article analyses the way in which the shooting of Yousafzai, her medical treatment in Pakistan and the United Kingdom, her return to school and her continued activism have been treated by UK newspapers. While much of the findings echo the wealth of literature on historically gendered and orientalist discourses of the ‘East’, which see Muslim countries as ‘carried over from the times of the prophet Mohammed’ (Mohanty 1991, 61-2), and in need of ‘corrective study by the West’ (Said 2003, 40-41), they also reveal the adoption of new and emerging discourses in the context of what Mohanty sees as ‘informal and not violently visible empire building’, which relies upon ‘hypernationalism, hypermasculinity, and neo-liberal discourses of “capitalist democracy” bringing freedom to oppressed third world peoples – especially to third world women’ (2006, 9).

Spivak has argued that since decolonisation, new discourses serve to justify the continuing undoing of, and intervention in, former colonies: ‘the human rights aspect of postcoloniality has turned out

to be the breaking of the new nations, in the name of their breaking-in into the international community of nations' (2004, 525). In recent years, one particular focus of the international human rights apparatus has been that of girls' education. There has been an unprecedented level of concern for the cause of girls' education at the highest levels of international politics, with particular attention to the concept of the 'girl effect' – also the name of a campaign by the Nike Foundation and UN Foundation which champions investing in girls in developing countries – which posits girls as the untapped resource of the developing world, who, with the right investment, will ultimately lift their communities out of poverty (see for example Bent 2013, Girl Effect date unknown a, PLAN International, date unknown). Initiatives such as the Girl Effect, and Chime for Change, an organisation cofounded by Gucci, Beyoncé Knowles-Carter and Salma Hayek-Pinault, combine powerful multinational corporations with celebrity endorsement, and are seeking both to change the way that girls in developing countries are perceived, and to alter the opportunities available to them through Western investment. These powerful discourses promote girls' education as a potential boost to the global economy, and girls have come to be seen as “both the dire problem and the fantastical possibility” of personal success in an unstable global economy’ (Ringrose, cited in Bent 2013).

In Pakistan, the right to education carries a long and complex history of Western intervention, which still shapes the opportunities available to all children today. Pakistan's madrasa system in particular has been the subject of much Western preoccupation. Heavily undermined by the policies of the East India Company and by British modernisation drives, madrasas were no longer, under colonial rule, a useful route into employment (Bano 2007, 48). As a result, they began to focus increasingly on the spiritual education of their students alone. It is claimed that it was within some of the more extreme, Deobandi madrasas in Pakistan that key members of the Taliban were educated, and they have as a result become a target of recent US reform packages (ibid, 43-44; Kronstadt 2004, 1-4). In a report for the US Congress in 2004, Kronstadt writes, 'In the longer-term interest of promoting moderation and democratic values in Pakistan, and in improving the

socioeconomic status of its people, sector-wide reform of the education sector seems vital' (5).

More recently, this Western concern about the nature of education offered in Pakistan's system has combined with discourses emerging from a context in which 'Muslim girls in developing nations are constructed predominantly as the objects of Western interventions on a range of military, economic, humanitarian and educational fronts' (Marshall and Sensoy 2010, 296). Although one recent study found leaders across the religious spectrum in Pakistan to be in favour of the education of girls, there is vast disparity across the religious spectrum concerning what girls' education should consist of and prepare them for, with some advocating an equal curriculum to boys and others favouring an education that focuses on preparation for domestic duties (Bradley and Saigol 2012, 677). A very small minority have condemned any form of education of girls as 'un-Islamic and a violation of purdah' (Sudduth 2009, 572), with some claiming to act under the auspices of the TTP carrying out attacks against girls' schools and female teachers. One such violent campaign in 2007 in the Swat District, saw girls' school attendance drop from 45% to 25% through fear (Sudduth 2009, 582-3). It is in the context of this intimidation that Yousafzai began her campaign and courageously fought for her rights. However, it was not until she was shot by the TTP that she came to the attention of the West. This article analyses the UK media's representation of Malala Yousafzai's story, demonstrating how it embraces and reproduces seemingly emancipatory discourses around girls' education, yet is ultimately limited by enduring gendered and orientalist discourses that underlie these new initiatives, which are simultaneously produced by, and productive of, unequal power relations.

In the following section, I outline my research design, before structuring my analysis using three concepts from Doty's work on discursive foreign policy analysis: predication, presupposition and subject positioning (2003). Finally, I discuss the implications of the study's findings. Yousafzai's story, and its representation in the UK, is particularly pertinent because it intersects all of the many different discourses that shape how we as a society view the 'East'. While Said's analysis of the construction of the 'Oriental' man as 'irrational, depraved (Fallen), childlike, "different"' (2003, 40), and Mohanty's analysis of the portrayal of women in Muslim countries as having 'needs' and

'problems', but not 'choices', or 'freedom to act' (1991b, 64) still very much apply to aspects of the discourses emerging from these texts, there are also visible influences of the discourses that allowed Laura Bush to claim in a speech that 'the fight against terrorism is also a fight for the rights and dignity of women' (Abu-Lughod 2002, 784). Malala Yousafzai is politically aware, educated, eloquent and extremely brave, having knowingly risked her life to fight for her own rights and the rights of girls around her. In every way she challenges Western depictions of the 'average third world woman', who 'leads an essentially truncated life based on her feminine gender (read: sexually constrained) and her being 'third world' (read: ignorant, poor, uneducated, tradition-bound, domestic, family-oriented, victimised, etc.)' (Mohanty 1991b, 56). Furthermore, she fits perfectly into emerging discourses that see girls as the potential saviours of themselves, their communities and ultimately, the global economy. However, a close analysis of the text reveals that these seemingly opposing discourses are in fact strongly linked, that they tell us far more about enduring attitudes in the West than they do about Malala Yousafzai, Pakistan, or indeed girls in developing countries in general, and that the underlying assumptions that they rely on are rooted in perceived hierarchies that still see Pakistan, Islam and Pakistani gender relations as inherently inferior to the UK, secularism and gender relations in the West.

Research Design

The material analysed in this study is taken from the websites of five national newspapers between 9 October 2012 and 21 July 2013.¹ The search term 'Malala Yousafzai' was used, and articles were then selected which had Yousafzai as their main theme, or which discussed girls' education or women's struggles against the Taliban and featured content about her as an example of this.²³ The five newspapers chosen were *The Daily Mail*, *The Guardian*, *The Independent*, *The Sun* and *The Telegraph*, to gather material from newspapers with varying readerships, including readers across the political spectrum in the UK.⁴⁵ The search produced 223 articles to analyse, with a total of nearly 140,000 words of coverage about Malala Yousafzai.⁶ Using information on the newspaper websites,

along with LinkedIn and Twitter profiles, the gender and nationality of the journalist or journalists of 181 of these articles were identified. Interestingly, two thirds of these articles (122) were written by male journalists, just 26 were written by Pakistani nationals and, despite covering a story about a Pakistani woman endangering her life to fight for her rights, just nine articles were written by Pakistani women. While it would by no means be plausible or necessarily desirable to insist that every news item should be written by a journalist of the same nationality and/or gender of its protagonist, it is certainly necessary to question who produces knowledge about those in former colonies, and where they produce it from (Mohanty 1991a, 3). While individual journalists do not have the power to shape discourses by themselves, they certainly can reproduce them, and are extremely likely to do so because it is impossible for them to 'evade the power structures which shape the vocabulary and other aspects of the way the language makes sense' (Matheson 2005, 5). Richardson has argued that journalism aligns itself with the interests of the powerful because of a combination of different factors: 'corporate bureaucracy, the reliance on other corporations for funding (through advertising revenue), the institutional conservatism of white management and editorial staff, and apathetic, or self-serving and career-hungry, journalists' (2004, 47). It is the implicit power structures within the articles, and their links to the interests of those in power, that this article seeks to deconstruct.

I analysed the content from a poststructuralist, feminist and postcolonial approach, examining the portrayals within these texts of the 'East', and what those can tell us about the 'West'.⁷ Some scholars have questioned the legitimacy of employing a transhistorical colonial analysis, as this may in fact be guilty of perpetuating the portrayal of former colonial peoples as static or as not having progressed since the times of colonisation, and also risks reducing the vast array of different countries, cultures, languages and resistances to one term or phenomenon (Yeğenoğlu 1998, 30). Chow also argues against attempts to 'rescue' the 'native': 'must we represent them a second time by turning history "upside down", this time giving them the sanctified status of the "non-duped"? Defilement and sanctification belong to the same symbolic order' (2003, 344). Furthermore, some

scholars have discussed the tensions between postcolonial scholarship and feminism, the latter of which has at times been seen to reproduce 'the axioms of imperialism' (Spivak 1999, 114), and to reveal 'complicities as well as dissent in relation to the project of empire' (Mohanty 2006, 15) through attempts to 'rescue' the third world woman. However, there is space for work that intersects postcolonial and feminist scholarship, as it is only in this way that research can explore the multiple oppressions that women in developing countries experience. Furthermore, rather than attempting to identify 'errors' within the discourses analysed, or present a more 'accurate' portrayal of Malala Yousafzai, or of Pakistan, I seek to analyse what these representations can tell us about the West, which helps to problematize the power relations inherent within them: 'From the view of many postcolonial scholars uncovering oppressions, and ultimately shifting one's gaze towards the colonising practices of Europe and the United States, constitutes a form of resistance' (Chowdry and Nair 2002, 25).⁸⁹

In the assertion that all is discursive, poststructuralism does not seek to deny the material existence of objects, but rather posits that we cannot interpret those same objects independently of discourse (Hall 1997, 44-5; Torfing 2005, 18; Laclau and Mouffe 1987, 85); that 'in language, we do not simply name things but conceptualise things' (Fairclough, Mulderig and Wodak 2011, 358). My adoption of poststructuralist analysis in this article is premised on the assumption that both racism and sexism are discursive: 'simultaneously a product of and a contributing factor in the continuation of hierarchical and unjust social relations' (Richardson 2004, xiv). This is an interpretation of Foucault's knowledge/power nexus that Said described in his analysis of orientalism: 'orientalism was made possible by the imperialist expansion into the Muslim world, and, simultaneously, it made such an expansion possible' (cited in Richardson 2004, 7). Despite the historic debates around the implications of such a theoretical approach, the combination of feminist, poststructural and postcolonial analysis in this study has revealed gendered and racist discourses that are simultaneously produced by and productive of social relations within the UK and within international politics. Reversing the gaze onto those discourses is in itself a way of challenging their hegemony.

In analysing the texts, I have adopted Doty's concepts of predication, presupposition and subject positioning, which analyse the ways in which 'discourses create various kinds of subjects and simultaneously position these subjects vis-à-vis one another' (1993, 303). Predication is the attachment of verbs, adverbs and adjectives to nouns, which 'construct the thing(s) named as a particular sort of thing, with particular features and capacities' (Miliken 1999, 232).¹⁰ These differences often reveal presupposition: 'an important textual mechanism that creates background knowledge and in doing so constructs a particular kind of world in which certain things are recognised as true' (Doty 1993, 306). In order for the predicates and for the discourse as a whole to make sense, certain assumptions about the world, and relationships within it, need to be made. These relationships form the subject positioning, which often involves the hierarchisation of one term in relation to another. Intertextuality is key to this approach, which seeks to identify the logic behind the texts in question and to demonstrate that, 'if differences are constructed according to the same logic in a variety of texts, we can reasonably suggest that there is a dominant discourse' (Doty 1993, 309).¹¹ In the following three sections, I analyse the predication, presupposition and subject positioning at play in the 223 texts analysed, in order to identify dominant discourses.

Predication

Once the many thousands of predicates had been grouped according to the subject they were attached to, I then identified the most frequently recurring tropes or repertoires associated with each subject.¹² Three particular constructions emerged as particularly dominant across all of the texts: the portrayal of Malala Yousafzai as a little girl, the depiction of the Taliban as 'extremely Muslim', and the construction of difference between the medical treatment Yousafzai received in Pakistan and in the UK. These are discussed below.

'She is a Precious Jewel': Making Malala a Little Girl

One of the immediate themes to emerge from grouping the labels applied to Malala Yousafzai is an emphasis on her youth. When the news story first broke that she had been shot by the Pakistani Taliban, it erroneously emerged that she was fourteen years old. While this was corrected a few days later, all five newspapers considered in this study originally referred to her as a '14-year-old' and it is perhaps indicative of the levels of interest in her shooting, compared to her recovery and continuing activism over the following nine months, that she is called a 14-year-old more times in this coverage than a 15-year-old (83 and 77 respectively). This was perhaps merely an error, however there does seem to be a tendency to infantilise Yousafzai in the newspaper coverage (see Table 1): she is labelled a girl 143 times, a schoolgirl 185 times, a teenager 116 times, a small girl and even a little girl on five occasions, while she is called a young woman just 23 times and a woman only once. While the choice of the word schoolgirl may be intended to highlight Yousafzai's cause of girls' education, or the fact that she was attacked whilst sitting on a bus on the way home from school, the repetitive use of this term along with 'girl' serves to undermine her activism. While the term 'teenager' is perhaps more contentious, and could be understood to imply some agency, it has also been shown to conjure up negative imagery, 'while the term "young people" represents a more idyllic, future-oriented, "whole-life-ahead" picture', which would seem far more appropriate for a young woman such as Malala Yousafzai (Weller 2006, 104; see also Mazzarella 2003 and Skelton 2000). Whilst she is frequently described as brave, courageous, outspoken, strong and even powerful, these adjectives are in stark contrast with the labels that accompany them. These labels may limit the extent to which the reader believes that Yousafzai has the ability to make her voice heard or to make a change, as there is a vast difference between the image of a 'brave young woman' and a 'brave little girl'; the latter has a patronising tone that conjures images of a child who is dealing courageously with circumstances that are beyond her control. In one article in *The Sun*, columnist and TV presenter Lorraine Kelly adopts a maternalistic tone in condemning the 'monsters' who did this to 'little Malala', who is a 'vulnerable girl', and Kelly concludes that 'we', presumably the West, need to do 'everything humanly possible' to protect this 'precious jewel' (Kelly 2012).

Similarly, in spite of the apparent celebration of her bravery and her willingness to speak out, the newspaper coverage of her campaigning and of her feminism is underwhelming. In total, 122 words or phrases are used to describe her as an activist, campaigner or advocate, yet only 17 of them refer to girls' or women's rights. The vast majority call her an education campaigner, a child's rights campaigner or even a peace activist, but very few mention her focus on women and girls, which she herself emphasised in her speech to the UN (quoted at the beginning of this article). The resulting depiction of Yousafzai is one that sees her as a young, idealistic campaigner for children's rights and peace, rather than an extremely courageous feminist who has the capacity to be an agent for change. However, even this depiction, which allows some level of agency, is frequently undermined by a portrayal of her as a passive victim, in particular in the references to the shooting, as she is labelled a 'victim' (as in 'Taliban shooting victim', 'Taliban gun victim', or even 'victim girl') 35 times, and 28 times the participle 'shot' precedes her name or label to reduce her to 'shot girl/shot schoolgirl/shot Malala/shot Pakistani girl'. By contrast, despite recovering from being shot in the head, she is linked with survival just five times and called a 'Taliban shooting survivor' only once.

The Portrayal of Muslim Masculinities

As demonstrated in Table 2, the predication of the Pakistani Taliban resonates with historical, orientalist discourses that portrayed Muslim societies as in some way 'stagnant', or suffering a 'temporal lag' by which they were perceived to be much further behind the 'natural process to development already completed by the West' (Yeğenoğlu 1998, 98). In particular, they are referred to as being motivated by 'ancient prejudice', as hailing from the 'Dark Ages', as the 'forces of backwardness', as 'Medieval' and as 'regressive'. Furthermore, while many of the predicates used to describe the Taliban, such as assassins, gunman/men and attackers, to some extent simply reflect the nature of the act committed against Malala Yousafzai, the qualities attributed to the attacks and to the gunmen imply an inferior masculinity, such as 'abuses', 'atrocities', 'barbaric', 'brutal', 'callous' and 'evil'. While the shooting of Yousafzai for standing up for girls' education is undoubtedly an atrocity and an abuse, the implicit opposite here is Western masculinity, which

conducts clean and humane killings through the use of drones and not 'barbaric' assassination attempts. These discourses also undermine the Taliban's masculinity through portraying its members as childlike and naive, repeatedly calling them cowardly or alluding to a fear of change or progress, with two articles even attributing their actions to being 'emotionally infantile' or even 'sexually frustrated'. They are also overwhelmingly associated with religion (in total 69 times) and their beliefs or actions are labelled as Islamic 34 times, or named a hard-line, fundamentalist or strict interpretation of Islam. In spite of a fatwa being issued against the gunmen by prominent Sunni clerics in Pakistan, which labelled their actions 'un-Islamic' and detailed the many principles of Islamic Hudood that the shooting contravened, the Taliban are labelled 'un-Islamic' just six times, with a further five references to their actions being contrary to the teachings of Islam. Similarly, they are identified as having an ideology just six times. The discourses on Muslim masculinity within these texts are of violence, yet cowardice, and of fanaticism without political aims.

The Construction of Difference in Malala Yousafzai's Medical Treatment

Perhaps the most startlingly obvious example of the assumption of difference between the UK and Pakistan is in the media's reporting of Yousafzai's medical treatment. In the aftermath of the shooting, she was rushed to hospital in the Swat Valley, before being moved to a military hospital in Peshawar and eventually transferred to the UK where her treatment continued. In Pakistan, the bullet which entered her skull and travelled alongside her brain, before becoming lodged in her neck, was removed in an operation that required great skill and saved her life. However, according to the discourses revealed in UK media coverage, and demonstrated in Table 3, it was in fact doctors in the UK who saved her life with their superior expertise. While the hospitals involved in treating Yousafzai in Pakistan are named just ten times in all,¹³ the hospital in Birmingham where she was later treated is named some 179 times.¹⁴

Similarly, the staff, facilities and treatment in Pakistan and the UK are given very different focuses, always implying that the UK is better placed to treat and care for Malala Yousafzai. Pakistan's staff

are labelled 'army doctors' (five times), 'doctors' (32 times), 'hospital/medical staff' (eight times), 'surgeons' (30 times) and 'neurosurgeons' (nine times). The facilities are an 'army/military hospital' (24 times), a 'hospital' (31 times) and a 'specialist hospital/medical centre' (four times). The treatment Yousafzai received is 'specialist' (once), 'critical/intensive care' (eight times), 'medical treatment/treatment' (five times) or 'surgery' (five times). When contrasted with the presentation of medical facilities in the UK, a striking difference begins to emerge. The UK staff are also 'doctors' (73 times), 'surgeons' (20 times), 'neurosurgeons' (four times) and 'medical staff' (seven times), however they are also 'experts/medical experts/international experts' (11 times), 'experienced surgeons' (twice), 'clinicians' (once), 'consultants' (once), a 'medical team' (14 times), a 'full multidisciplinary team' (twice) and 'multi-specialist doctors' (once). Yousafzai is treated in a hospital, but there are also mentions of its 'special gunshot unit' (once), 'critical care unit' (once) and its 'trauma centre/ward' (nine times). The treatment that she receives is referred to as simply 'treatment' or 'medical treatment' 17 times, while it is labelled 'specialist/specialised treatment/care' on 63 occasions, 'advanced' on five occasions, the 'best treatment possible' four times and 'exemplary' once; alongside a long list of medical terms to give more gravitas to the treatment offered, including 'cranial/reconstructive surgery', 'integrated care' and even 'intensive neuro-rehabilitation'. Furthermore, the only reference to 'experts' in relation to the medical personnel in Pakistan is when the word is used to describe two British surgeons working in Pakistan who assisted with Yousafzai's treatment.

Presupposition

There are various assumptions that must be made in order for the predication demonstrated above to make sense. In the following sections, those assumptions are outlined, and supported by examples of such assumptions from individual articles.

Feminism is on the Side of the West

The depiction of Yousafzai as a young victim assumes that only a passive role is available to girls in Pakistan, even for those who attempt to make their voices heard. In a blog entry featured on *The Telegraph* website entitled 'Girls in Pakistan: Victim, figurehead, martyr', Rob Crilly writes about how women's rights causes in Pakistan are largely ignored by politicians unless something extreme attracts the attention of the world's media, such as the shooting of Malala Yousafzai (Crilly 2012r). He argues that no matter how much attention is paid to campaigners like Yousafzai, a lack of political will means that discriminatory laws will not be overhauled: 'Just as girls and women remain at the mercy of religious extremists, so too they remain largely voiceless in a society that can only see them as victims. They are powerless' (Crilly 2012r). He concludes, regretfully, that even 'girls' as brave and outspoken as Yousafzai are 'stuck in someone else's narrative: first as victim, then as figurehead, and possibly, finally, as martyr'. What Crilly fails to see is the contradiction in this argument, as his blog piece, its wording and particularly its headline, contribute directly to the very narrative he wishes to challenge. The dominant discourse he seeks to critique, which finds it easier to see Yousafzai as a young girl and a victim than as a young woman and agent of change, is in fact limiting the vocabulary and concepts available to Crilly in reporting this story, leading him to conclude that Pakistani women's activism will inevitably lead them on a path to victimhood and martyrdom.

Astonishingly, in nearly 140,000 words of coverage about Malala Yousafzai, a campaigner for girls' and women's rights, the word feminist is used just twice (once in *The Telegraph* and once in *The Independent*); both times it is when an article is linking the issue back to the UK and in neither case is it used to describe Yousafzai (McCartney 2013; Guest 2013). This would suggest not only an assumption that places 'feminism on the side of the West' (Abu-Lughod 2002, 788), but also a deep reluctance in UK journalism to discuss feminism or to attribute the term feminist to a campaigner for girls' rights. This contradiction epitomises Angela McRobbie's description of postfeminist discourses, in which feminism is seen to have been entirely successful in societies such as the UK and US, and is therefore dismissed as no longer relevant (2009, 12); women in developing countries cannot have feminism, while women in the West no longer need it.

In the most extraordinarily contradictory article of the entire coverage, entitled 'Malala Yousafzai's new challenge: Navigating the politics of a British girls' school', Jennifer O'Mahony writes in *The Telegraph* comparing Yousafzai's first day at Edgbaston High School for Girls to her own return to an independent girls' school in the UK after spending most of her childhood as an expatriate in Dubai (O'Mahoney 2013). She quotes the president of the Girls' Schools Association, Hilary French, proudly proclaiming that: 'whatever Malala's academic or extra-curricular interests, at Edgbaston High she will be able to pursue them without any pressure to look, be or act a certain way'. However, the advice provided by O'Mahoney for Yousafzai paints a very different picture of UK girlhood. O'Mahoney recommends various tactics to survive the 'mind games of teenage girls'. The first is perfecting the 'cool geek persona', as she will find herself in an environment where it is far 'cooler' and more socially acceptable to pretend to be spending all of one's time with boys rather than studying, and will need to 'cultivate a look of studied detachment while *somehow* aceing [sic] all those tests' (emphasis in original). The second piece of advice is that there are two possible looks Yousafzai can adopt; the first being 'incredibly thin' and spending 'hundreds of pounds at wherever is the new Abercrombie/Hollister/Miss Sixty', and the second 'going emo', for which she will need 'a few piercings, a cheeky tattoo and a giant black hoodie with a red anarchist symbol on the back'. Going emo, O'Mahoney writes, will also have the added bonus of making people think she is bisexual and so consult her for advice when questioning their own sexuality. It is astonishing that in an article aimed at showing that Malala Yousafzai will be safe to achieve in the UK, a girl who has come within centimetres of losing her life to fight for her right to an education is advised to tone down her ambition lest it make her seem unattractive or 'uncool' to her fellow students, and is given advice on how best to regulate her appearance in order to succeed, on pretending to only be interested in boys, and on how different choices of looks will lead to assumptions about her sexuality. The society reflected in this article is not one where girls have equality with boys, but rather one where 'being sexually attractive, smart, and savvy – and declaring this through consumption and display – is the new package of young female success' (Harris 2004, 22). O'Mahoney's patronising advice not only

assumes that fashion, boys and peer pressure will all be totally alien to Yousafzai, but it also assumes that she is in need of advice from her Western 'sisters' to be able to succeed. Given the image-obsessed, postfeminist society that O'Mahoney presents, it is perhaps Yousafzai who will be able to offer insights and inspiration for the girls at Edgbaston on fighting to be judged for one's actions and intellect, rather than one's appearance and fashion choices. However, this article follows the logic of the dominant discourse, as demonstrated by the predicates, which infantilises and patronises Malala Yousafzai, and assumes that the West, having achieved gender equality, can advise, protect and nurture her.

The Pakistani Taliban as 'Extremely Muslim'

While the history of Pakistan and its search for national identity is both long and complex, marked by centuries of invading conquerors (Jaffrelot 2004, 7; Hodson 1997, 9), to label current divisions as ancient hatreds is to ignore the way that, particularly over the past century, these divisions have been exploited or even fuelled by Western intervention. The Taliban Movement itself emerged during the 1980s and 1990s, with US backing, in response to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan (Dorronsoro 2004, 161).¹⁵ Since then, the Pakistani Taliban has received a mixture of support and condemnation from the Pakistani government, whose successive military and civilian regimes have at times engaged militants in the fight with India over Kashmir, at times courted their support before crucial elections, and rarely denounced them outright (Behuria 2008, 534-537). Some argue that the Taliban would have been largely ignored or even tolerated by the West had it not been for the attacks on the World Trade Centre in 2001 and the subsequent focus on their links to Al Qaeda (Behuria 2008, 530; Usher 2007, 10). With this association came the US-led War on Terror and, particularly devastating for areas of Pakistan, constant US drone attacks against suspected Taliban or Al Qaeda targets, with large civilian casualties as a result, helping not only to fill the ranks of the Pakistani Taliban, but also to stifle any moderate voices that did exist within it previously (Metcalf 2002, 15). As discussed earlier, changes to the Pakistani education system imposed by British rule

significantly altered the nature of education provided at Deobandi madrasas, from which the first leaders of the Taliban are believed to have emerged. However, this interpretation of the Pakistani Taliban as reacting to, or resulting from, Western intervention, is for the most part entirely absent from the UK media. Instead, the predicates feed directly into orientalist discourses that date back to colonial times, and which have been adapted and renewed in the context of the War on Terror, which portray extremism as simply meaning 'extremely Muslim' (Richardson 2004; Biswas 2002; Tohidi 1999). In order for the temporal references to the Taliban to make sense, we must assume that they represent a continuation of, or reversion to, the past of Muslim countries, rather than a reaction to the present. Similarly, in order for the constant linking of the Taliban with 'extreme', 'fundamental' or 'hard-line' Islam to make sense, we must assume that anyone following a strict reading of the Qur'an would interpret it as they do.

There is one article that strives to pin down the specific context and aims of the Pakistani Taliban, written in *The Telegraph* by Imran Khan, the former cricketer and Pakistani politician who has faced criticism at home and in the West for being a Taliban apologist. In his article, he calls for a 'peaceful solution to Pakistan's brutal reality', which means 'not another military one', arguing that drone attacks cannot defeat an organisation like the Taliban (Khan 2012). Khan identifies six different types of militants who fall under the label of the Pakistani Taliban, and explains their motivations and aims, ranging from the imposition of Sharia law, to Pashtun nationalism, and a belief that the US-led war on terror is a war on Islam. Just over ten days previously, Khan was criticised in *The Guardian* for using verses from the Qur'an to justify labelling the Taliban's war in Afghanistan, which he labels 'fighting for freedom', a holy war (Boone 2012f). Khan's comments, made whilst visiting the hospital where Malala Yousafzai was lying unconscious, are incredibly insensitive and disrespectful, and could certainly be seen to be justifying the extreme violence of the Taliban. However, his article is the only one of all 223 to attempt to explain the specificity of the various groups labelled the Taliban, and one of very few to identify Western intervention as influential in their formation and expansion.

Finally, the predicates reveal extremely patronising assumptions about 'Eastern', and particularly Muslim, masculinities. This is also demonstrated in an article for *The Telegraph* entitled 'The fate of Malala Yousafzai and the new oppression that makes slaves of women', in which Judith Woods laments the 'hardline religious zealots' who are taking control of 'Muslim states' (Woods 2012). She starts off by recounting an incident on a recent trip to Egypt on holiday when she was spat at by a passing man on the street, before championing the cause of Malala Yousafzai; thus in one article reducing all Muslim states and societies to 'sexual harassment', 'mob-style attacks', the 'niqab', 'vigilante mobs', 'zealots' and a 'contagion of chauvinism'. The implication is that the problems of post-Mubarak Egypt are identical to those of the Swat valley: Muslim men. Similarly, in an article in *The Sun*, Robin Galloway laments the 'economy of emotions' and 'pecking order of outpouring' of the population of Pakistan, who in his eyes have failed to show 'the sort of wrath that certain portions of the Islamic faith are all too quick to demonstrate the minute anybody dares to lampoon their religion' (Galloway 2012). These discourses reduce the population of Pakistan, and to some extent all Muslim countries, to religious fanatics who can be driven to 'protests, rioting – even killings' in defence of Islam (Galloway 2012), yet are unable to protect their own women. The implicit binary opposition is Western masculinity, and the West more generally, whose reason and compassion mean that they can only look on and 'disapprove'; 'We throw our hands up in horror at the grievous sins committed in the skewed name of religion' (Woods 2012).

A Caring Britain

Narayan argues that a sort of 'paternalistic caring' could frequently be found in colonial discourses, in which colonisers cared about the wellbeing of their subjects and this caring 'can also be wielded as a form of domination by the powerful and privileged' (1995, 135). In the UK media's response to Yousafzai's shooting, it is assumed that the UK is a safe, fair and caring place for her to be. This is especially true in the discourses on her medical treatment, which, although not specifically denigrating the treatment she received in Pakistan, assumes a much higher standard of care in the

UK or by British doctors in Pakistan. One of the recurring factors listed as giving the UK this ability to provide exceptional medical treatment is its self-perceived role as paternalistic protector in international relations. The hospital is seen to be capable of treating Malala Yousafzai's injuries because it is a centre for treating British soldiers who have been, as *The Telegraph* puts it, 'wounded abroad' (*The Telegraph*, 15 October 2012). *The Telegraph* and *The Guardian* each devote an entire article to describing the 'extraordinary medical advances' in treating amputees, made at the '£545 million hospital' with its '£20 million national trauma research centre' (Meikle 2012; *The Telegraph*, 15 October 2012). *The Sun* claims that surgeons at the hospital have 'honed their skills treating soldiers flown back from Afghanistan' (Larcombe 2012), while in an interesting error that hints at interventionism, *The Guardian* writes that the hospital in the UK can offer 'more advanced medical attention from staff who specialise in treating UK soldiers returning from *Pakistan*' (Jackson 2012, emphasis added), presumably meaning to say 'UK soldiers returning from Afghanistan'. The emphasis on the UK's experience in treating gunshot wounds not only arrogantly assumes superiority over Pakistani counterparts, but also entirely ignores the fact that, given Pakistan's long-running struggle against militancy, doctors in the Pakistani facilities where Yousafzai was treated will unfortunately be all too experienced in treating people with similar injuries; probably far more so than their British colleagues.

The assumption of a caring Britain however, requires the near total omission of one aspect of protection: that of asylum. Studies have found that the representation of asylum seekers in UK media is overwhelmingly negative and even sometimes deliberately misleading in what Greenslade terms 'negative misinformation' (cited in Baker & Gabrielatos 2008, 6). There is a contradiction in the reporting of Malala Yousafzai's family's migration to the UK as although the press, including the right-wing news and tabloids, are quick to feel pride that Yousafzai is 'set to make Britain permanent home' (*The Daily Mail*, 24 November 2012), there is 'New hope for Pakistani girl shot by Taliban as father is offered UK job' (Dutta 2013), and *The Sun* rejoices that 'Malala's safe now' (Larcombe 2012), they are all reluctant to label a young woman who has fled persecution an asylum seeker or

refugee. The word asylum is used just six times in all; once jokingly in an article about all girls' private schools in the UK, and five times speculatively when considering the options for her family while they remain in Pakistan. The word refugee is used just once in an article about camps for displaced people. Once the Yousafzai family reach the UK, the media are limited by the very same 'negative misinformation' that they themselves perpetuate around asylum, in that they cannot use the appropriate term to describe their pride at the UK providing safety to someone they see as the 'right' type of migrant, when there is an overwhelming association between the term and the 'wrong' type of migrant. In a similar contradiction, whilst singing the praises of the NHS for treating Malala Yousafzai, for example in an article in *The Sun* entitled 'Malavellous', which argues that 'the NHS should be proud of its success in treating the brave schoolgirl', every newspaper emphasises that the Pakistani government 'would meet all of the expenses of Malala's treatment and the needs of the family while they were in the UK' (Dutta 2013). This is because at the time a debate was, and still is, raging about the rights of migrants to access free healthcare, and just two weeks after its 'Malavellous' article, *The Sun* featured a headline 'NHS "too good to migrants"', with an article in which it claimed that 'more than half of GPs think that the NHS is "too generous" to immigrants' and 'many are refusing to treat people who can't prove they are Brits' (Ashton 2013). In many ways, the desire to present the UK as a paternalistic benefactor to Malala Yousafzai has created problems for journalists who have had to negotiate the xenophobic, anti-migration discourses the media at times deliberately perpetuate in order to express pride at providing safety and medical treatment to someone facing persecution in their own country. While the outpouring of public support for Yousafzai could perhaps have represented an opportunity to influence and even change some of the discourses on asylum, the media instead remained largely silent on the issue.

Subject positioning

These discourses serve to position Malala Yousafzai as a passive object in need of Western rescue. This passivity is particularly evident from a simple analysis of constructions in the

headlines of these articles. When analysed to see whether they presented Yousafzai in an active (doing and deciding things) or passive (having things done or decided for or against her) role,¹⁶ just 69 of 211 constructions were indeed active, with the tabloids in particular preferring headlines such as ‘Double op success for shot girl Malala’ (Parker 2013a).

Furthermore, despite writing a blog, signing a book deal, giving numerous statements and even delivering a speech at the United Nations to mark her sixteenth birthday, in over 424 quotations from sources and experts in these articles, Yousafzai herself was only the ‘expert’ cited 47 times. Despite these journalists’ wholehearted embracing of discourses around girls’ voices and education, nearly nine times out of ten they still rely on someone else to explain how this is significant. Similarly, writing in *The Daily Mail*, Pakistani journalist and editor-in-chief of *The Friday Times* Najan Sethi writes about various Pakistani politicians’ responses to the attack on Malala Yousafzai (2012). Yet, following the dominant discourse, his manner of expressing his outrage at the actions of the Tehrik-e-Taliban and the reluctance of Pakistan’s politicians to denounce them actually serves to undermine Yousafzai’s achievements. The attack, rather than proving that a young woman’s words can pose a serious threat to an armed group, only proves to Sethi the stupidity of the Taliban: ‘Imagine the paranoid, illiterate mind set – a child of 14 [sic] spreading discord!’. He finishes his article by repeating the question he asks in its title; Malala Yousafzai has survived, but ‘who will take her back to school?’. The paternalistic idea of being taken to school conjures up an image of a girl much younger than Yousafzai’s 15 years, who needs escorting, or perhaps even her hand holding, in order to safely make the journey to school, rather than a young woman who chose to make that journey alone, day after day, despite being all too aware of the threat against her life. Written by a Pakistani journalist, the question of ‘who will take Malala back to school’ is typical of what Spivak identifies as ‘human rights culture’, which ‘runs on unremitting Northern-ideological pressure, even when it is from the South’ (2004, 527). These discourses undermine Yousafzai’s agency,

falsely claim gender equality for the West, and place her in 'an imagined geography of West versus East, us versus Muslims, cultures in which First Ladies give speeches versus others where women shuffle around silently in burqas' (Abu-Lughod 2002, 784).

Crucially, these discourses also construct a world in which the UK, as paternalistic, caring, benefactor, and as champion of gender equality, must reach out to help others. By obscuring the role of the West in creating existing issues in former colonies, by assuming equality for Western women, and by undermining Muslim or Eastern masculinity as barbaric and irrational, these discourses position Pakistan as ultimately in need of intervention. While they do not always express it so explicitly, the predication and presupposition of these texts follows the logic of Lorraine Kelly's article in *The Sun*, in which she writes that supporting girls and women like Malala Yousafzai 'to be able to live in freedom and peace' is 'one of the reasons why our troops are in Afghanistan' (Kelly 2012).

Conclusions

This analysis tells us a great deal about the recently emerging discourses that promote investment in the education of girls and young women in developing countries. Recent campaigns to invest in girls' education have received backing from prominent celebrities, NGOs and transnational corporations alike, and have resonated at the highest levels of international politics. An International Day of the Girl Child has even begun to be observed around the world on 11 October, with Ban Ki Moon marking that day in 2013 with a speech that stated:

Empowering girls, ensuring their human rights and addressing the discrimination and violence they face are essential to progress for the whole human family. One of the best ways to achieve all of these goals is to provide girls with the education they deserve (United Nations, 2013).

It is difficult to imagine Malala Yousafzai's story capturing the attention of the West to quite the same extent if it did not resonate so clearly with an increasing interest in the fortunes of girls in developing countries. However, the analysis in this article demonstrates that while many of the individual articles, if taken on their own, may seem to speak of nothing but admiration for Yousafzai, and wholeheartedly embrace seemingly emancipatory discourses about girlhood, an analysis of the patterns emerging across such a large sample of articles reveals a dominant discourse founded on dangerous assumptions that belittle Yousafzai and demean Pakistani society, that reinforce British perceptions of superiority, and that ultimately serve to legitimise an interventionist approach to the human rights agenda. There is no doubt that the journalists producing knowledge about Malala Yousafzai care about her story and are horrified by the attack on her, however there is every reason to doubt whether they would be producing this knowledge and telling her story at all if it did not fit so perfectly into already existing discourses of how the West perceives its own position in the world and in relation to a Muslim 'other'. While it cannot tell us how these articles are read or interpreted by the British public, an analysis of their reporting paints a vivid picture of how the UK depicts itself through journalism. This depiction reveals far more about a perceived superiority in relation to others than it does about Pakistan, because, as Narayan argues, 'social relationships of domination often operate so as to make many who have power unable to *genuinely* care about the marginalised and powerless' (1995, 138). The analysis in this article, by deconstructing this depiction of the UK, serves to challenge and problematize the assumptions within it and the unequal power relations that allow those assumptions to appear to make sense. Describing her aims for her teaching, Spivak writes that she wants to achieve in her students 'a suspension of the conviction that I am necessarily better, I am necessarily indispensable, I am necessarily the one to right wrongs, I am necessarily the end product for which history happened' (2004, 532). In deconstructing the discourses emerging from a story about a young woman risking her life for an education, this article has demonstrated that despite increasing interest in the cause of girls' education, there is still much work to do in order

to suspend the conviction that the West is necessarily better, that Western women are necessarily empowered and that the West is necessarily the one to right the wrongs of gender discrimination.

The day after her speech to the United Nations, Yousafzai is reported to have spoken at a reception event about how she wishes to be thought of: 'to be true, I want to say that I don't want to be the girl who was shot by the Taliban, I want to be the girl who struggled for her rights' (*The Hindu*, 15 July 2013). If that is her wish then this article has shown that the UK media is far from granting it. Perhaps as the morbid fascination with the attack on her fades, and as she continues her campaigning work, this emphasis may shift, however, it seems that for those journalists writing in UK newspapers about the shooting, recovery and ongoing activism of this incredible young woman, it still seems far easier to label her the 'shot Pakistani girl' than it is to call her powerful, a survivor or indeed a feminist.

Age	Activism	Shooting	Qualities		
11-year-old (1)	Activist (40)	Supporter of girls' education (1)	Critical condition (1)	Aware (3)	Inspiration (12)
14-year-old (83)	Advocate (7)	Voice(4)	Critically injured (1)	Bold (2)	Inspirational (5)
15-year-old (77)	Advocate of education (1)	Voice of protest (1)	Defenceless (1)	Brave (67)	Inspiring (3)
16-year-old (6)	Advocate of women's rights (2)	Voice of quiet protest (1)	Frail-looking (2)	Bravery (20)	Keen (2)
Child (9)	Author (7)	Voice of the people (1)	Gravely wounded (2)	Charismatic (2)	Normal (2)
Daughter (65)	Blogger (2)	Women's rights activist (5)	Gun victim (1)	Cool (3)	Outspoken (10)
Girl (143)	Campaigner (19)	Women's rights campaigner (4)	Heavily bandaged (1)	Courage (50)	Overwhelmed (2)
Girl of 14 (4)	Campaigner for girls' education (1)	Youth resistance (2)	Heavily protected (2)	Courageous (9)	Pakistani (150)
Kid (2)	Campaigner for girls' rights (1)		Injured (17)	Credit to Pakistan (2)	Pashtun (2)
Little girl (5)	Celebrity (2)		Left for dead (3)	Defiance (5)	Passionate (3)
Minor (1)	Children's rights activist (8)		Martyr (3)	Defiant (7)	Positive (2)
Schoolgirl (185)	Critic (2)		Passive victim (2)	Determination (5)	Power (4)
Sister (3)	Education activist (6)		Seriously injured (1)	Determined (7)	Powerful (5)
Small girl (2)	Education advocate (1)		Shattered (1)	Dignified (2)	Progress (5)
Teen (5)	Education campaigner (5)		Shooting victim (6)	Dignity (2)	Provocative (4)
Teen girl (2)	Equality activist (2)		Shot (28)	Eloquent (2)	Relaxed (2)
Teenage (34)	Equal rights campaigner (2)		Singled out (6)	Empowerment (2)	Remarkable (13)
Teenage girl (13)	Female education activist (1)		Survival (5)	Fierce (3)	Resilience (3)
Teenager (116)	Girls' education campaigner (1)		Taliban gun victim (3)	Friend (6)	Respect (2)
Very young (1)	Girls' rights campaigner (1)		Taliban shooting survivor (1)	Friendly (2)	Sense of humour (3)
Woman (1)	Peace activist (9)		Taliban shooting victim (11)	Grateful (8)	Shy (3)
Young (34)	Peace and education activist (1)		Taliban victim (5)	Hero (5)	Strength (6)
Young girl (18)	Peace campaigner (1)		Target (11)	Heroic (4)	Strong (11)
Young person (1)	Peace-campaigning (1)		Targeted (35)	Heroine (10)	Swati (1)
Young woman (23)	Politician (2)		Victim (6)	Honoured (2)	Vision (1)
Youngster (14)	Public campaigner (1)		Victim girl (1)	Hope (16)	Vocal (3)
Youth (3)	Resistance (7)		Wounded (6)	Hopelessness (2)	Weakness (4)
	Rights activist (2)			Important (2)	
	Suffragette (1)			Innocent (4)	

Table 1 – Predicates about Malala Yousafzai

Pakistani Taliban	
Abuses (5)	Fundamentalism/fundamentalist (6)
Afraid (5)	Godliness (1)
Afraid of change (1)	Gunman/men (137)
Afraid of progress (1)	Hard-line (6)
Al-Qaeda (-linked) (3)	Hitman (5)
Ancient prejudice (1)	Ideological (4)
Assassins (13)	Illiterate (1)
Assassination attempt (11)	Insurgency/insurgents (20)
Atrocities (5)	Islamic (34)
Attack/attacker/attackers (20)	Jihad/jihadi (7)
Backward (1)	Masked men/gunmen (14)
Barbarian/barbarianism/barbaric (23)	Medieval (3)
Brutal (5)	Militant/militancy (157)
Brutal atrocities (3)	Miscreants (1)
Brutal campaign (1)	Mujahedeen (3)
Brutality (8)	Political ideology (1)
Callous (2)	Regressive interpretation of Islam (1)
Cannot be Muslims (1)	Religious extremism (2)
Cleric (4)	Religious fanatics (1)
Cowardly/cowards/cowardice (13)	Religious fundamentalist (1)
Dark Ages (2)	Repugnant to the teachings of Islam (2)
Denounced by Muslim leaders (1)	Sexually frustrated (1)
Emotionally infantile (1)	Strict interpretation of Islam (2)
Evil in human form (1)	Terror/terrorism/terrorist (52)
Extremist/extremism (79)	Twisted version of Islam (1)
Fanatic/fanatical (4)	Un-Islamic (6)
Fighting for their freedom (1)	
Forces of backwardness (3)	

Table 2 – Predicates about the Pakistani Taliban

Pakistan		United Kingdom		
Armed Forces Institute of Cardiology (4)	Panel of doctors (1)	24 hour care (1)	Integrated care (5)	One-to-one nursing care (4)
Army doctors (5)	Provincial hospital (1)	Advanced practice/medicine/treatment (5)	Intensive care (2)	Ongoing medical care (1)
Army hospital (1)	Safe place/space (2)	Battle(field) casualties (5)	Intensive neuro-rehabilitation (6)	Onward care (3)
Army intensive care assistant (1)	Saving her life (8)	Best specialist medical care (1)	Intensive surgery (1)	Operation (9)
Army intensive care specialist (1)	Senior doctor (1)	Best treatment possible (4)	International experts (2)	Orthopaedics (1)
British doctors/experts (3)	Saidu Sharif Teaching Hospital (5)	Brain injury experts (2)	Life-saving treatment/surgery (5)	Permanent home/residence (8)
Combine Military Hospital in Peshawar (1)	Specialist hospital (3)	Brilliant hospital (1)	Long-term care/recovery/rehabilitation (5)	Pioneering surgery (2)
Critical care unit (1)	Specialist medical centre (1)	Civilian surgeons (1)	Major operation/surgery (3)	Prolonged care (7)
CT scan (2)	Surgeons (26)	Clinicians (1)	Medical director (26)	Queen Elizabeth hospital (179)
Doctors (32)	Surgery (5)	Consultants (1)	Medical experts (1)	Reconstructive operations/surgery (6)
Home country (7)	Team of doctors (1)	Cranial reconstructive surgery (2)	Medical research (1)	Refuge (1)
Homeland (4)	Treatment (3)	Critical care unit (1)	Medical staff (7)	Safe (11)
Hospital (31)		Decade's experience (5)	Medical team (14)	Special gunshot unit (1)
Hospital staff (7)		Doctors (73)	Medical treatment (2)	Specialised/specialist care/treatment (63)
Intensive care unit/ward (6)		Emergency surgery/treatment (3)	Medics (4)	State-of-the-art facilities (1)
Life-saving operation (3)		Exemplary care (1)	Military casualties (9)	Surgeons (19)
Local surgeons (2)		Experienced surgeons (2)	Months of life-saving surgery (2)	Surgeons battled/fought to save her life (4)
Medical staff (1)		Expert care/experts (6)	MRI and CT scans (1)	Surgery/surgical care/surgical procedures (17)
Medical treatment (2)		Extraordinary medical advances (1)	Multi-specialist doctors (1)	Temporary home (13)
Military doctors (4)		Full multidisciplinary team (2)	Neurosurgeons (4)	Trauma centre/ward (9)
Military hospital (23)		Further care/treatment (4)	New home (1)	Treatment (15)
Military surgeons (2)		Hospital (117)	NHS (33)	Wounded soldiers/troops (7)
Native country (1)			Nurses (7)	
Neurosurgeons (9)				

Table 3 – Predicates about Malala Yousafzai's medical treatment in Pakistan and the UK

References

- "ABCs: National Daily Newspaper Circulation February 2013", *The Guardian*, 8 March 2013, available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/media/table/2013/mar/08/abcs-national-newspapers>.
- Abu-Lughod, L. (2002) "Do Muslim Women Really Need Saving? Anthropological reflections on cultural relativism and its others", *American Anthropologist*, 104:3, 783-790.
- Allen, C. (2005) "The Hidden Roots of Wahhabism in British India", *World Policy Journal*, 22:2, 87-93.
- Baker, P. and Gabrielatos, C. (2008) "Fleeing, Sneaking, Flooding: A corpus analysis of discursive constructions of refugees and asylum seekers in the UK press, 1996-2005", *Journal of English Linguistics*, 36:5, 5-38.
- Bano, M. (2007) "Beyond Politics: The reality of a Deobandi madrasa in Pakistan", *Journal of Islamic Studies*, 18:1, 43-68.
- Behuria, A. K. (2008) "Fighting the Taliban: Pakistan at war with itself", *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 61:4, 529-543.
- Bent, E. (2013) "A Different Girl Effect: Producing political girlhoods in the 'Invest in Girls' climate", in Nenga, S. K. and Taft, J. K. (eds), *Youth Engagement: The Civil-Political Lives of Children and Youth*, (Bingley: Emerald Group) 3-20.
- Biswas, S. (2002) "The 'New Cold War': Secularism, orientalism, and postcoloniality", in Chowdry, G. and Nair, S. (eds) *Power, Postcolonialism and International Relations: Reading Race, Gender and Class*, (London and New York: Routledge) 184-208.
- Bradley, T. and Saigol, R. (2012) "Religious Values and Beliefs and Education for Women in Pakistan", *Development in Practice*, 22:5-6, 675-688.
- Chime for Change (date unknown) "Chime for Change", available at: <http://www.chimeforchange.org/>.
- Chow, R. (2003) "Where Have all the Natives Gone?" in Lewis, R. (ed.) *Feminist Postcolonial Theory: A Reader* (London and New York: Routledge) 324-351.
- Chowdry, G. and Nair, S. (2002) "Introduction: Power in a Postcolonial World: Race, gender, and class in international relations" in Chowdry, G. and Nair, S. (eds) *Power, Postcolonialism and International Relations: Reading Race, Gender and Class*, (London and New York: Routledge) 1-32.
- Dorransoro, G. (2004) "Pakistan and the Taliban: State policy, religious networks and political connections", in Jaffrelot, C. (ed) *Pakistan: Nationalism without a Nation?* (London and New York: Zed Books) 161-178.
- Doty, R. L. (2003) "Foreign Policy as Social Construction: A post-positivist analysis of U.S. counterinsurgency policy in the Philippines", *International Studies Quarterly*, 37:3, 297-320.

- Fairclough, N., Mulderig, J. and Wodak, R. (2011) "Critical Discourse Analysis", in Van Dijk, T. A. (ed.) *Discourse Studies: A Multidisciplinary Introduction*, 2nd edition (London: Sage) 357-378.
- Gill, R. (2008) "Culture and Subjectivity in Neoliberal and Postfeminist Times", *Subjectivity*, 25, 432-445.
- Girl Effect (date unknown a) "About Girl Effect", available at: <http://www.girleffect.org/about-us/?gclid=CJy7wLaJrsgCFeOD2wodR0AJ9w>.
- Girl Effect (date unknown b) "Education", available at: <http://www.girleffect.org/what-girls-need/education/>.
- Gonick, M. (2006) "Between 'Girl Power' and 'Reviving Ophelia': Constituting the neoliberal girl subject", *NWSA Journal*, 18:2, 1-23.
- Hall, S. (ed.) (1997) *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices* (Milton Keynes: The Open University).
- Harris, A. (2004) *Future Girl: Young Women in the Twenty-First Century* (London and New York: Routledge).
- Hodson, H. V. (1997) *The Great Divide: Britain, India, Pakistan* (Oxford: Oxford University Press) 3rd edition.
- Hussain, Z. (2007) *Frontline Pakistan: The Struggle with Militant Islam* (London and New York: I. B. Tauris and Co Ltd).
- Jaffrelot, C. (2004) "Nationalism without a Nation: Pakistan searching for its identity", in Jaffrelot, C. (ed.) *Pakistan: Nationalism without a Nation?* (London and New York: Zed Books) 7-50.
- Jawaid, A. (2012) "Game changer", *World Policy Journal*, 29, 106-115.
- Laclau, E. and Mouffe, C. (1987) "Post-Marxism without Apologies", *New Left Review*, 166: 11-12, 79-106.
- Lloyd, C. B., Mete, C. and Sathar, Z. A. (2005) "The Effect of Gender Differences in Primary School Access, Type, and Quality on the Decision to Enrol in Rural Pakistan", *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, 53:3, 685-710.
- "Malala Does Not Want to be Remembered as the Taliban Girl", *The Hindu*, 15 July 2013, available at: <http://www.thehindu.com/todays-paper/tp-in-school/malala-does-not-want-to-be-remembered-as-the-taliban-girl/article4915526.ece>.
- Marshall, E. and Sensoy, Ö. (2010) "Missionary Girl Power: saving the 'Third World' one girl at a time", *Gender and Education*, 22:3, 295-311.
- Matheson, D. (2005) *Media Discourses: Analysing Media Texts* (Maidenhead and New York: Open University Press).

- Mazzarella, S. R. (2003) "Constructing Youth: Media, youth and the politics of representation", in Valdivia, A. N. (ed.) *A Companion to Media Studies* (Maldon and Oxford: Wiley) 227-246.
- McRobbie, A. (2009) *The Aftermath of Feminism: Gender, Culture and Social Change* (London: Sage).
- Metcalf, B. D. (2002) "Traditionalist Islamic Activism: Deoband, Tablighis, and Talibs", *ISIM paper*, pp. 1-24, available at openaccess.leidenuniv.nl/handle/1887/10068.
- Miliken, J. (1999) "The Study of Discourse in International Relations: A critique of research methods", *European Journal of International Relations*, 5:2, 225-254.
- Mohanty, C. T. (2013) "Transnational Feminist Crossings: On neoliberalism and radical critique", *Signs*, 38:4, 967-991.
- Mohanty, C. T. (2006) "US Empire and the Project of Women's Studies: Stories of citizenship, complicity and dissent", *Gender, Place and Culture*, 13:1, 7-20.
- Mohanty, C. T. (2003) "'Under Western Eyes' Revisited: Feminist solidarity through anticapitalist struggles", *Signs*, 28:2, 499-535.
- Mohanty, C. T. (1991a) "Cartographies of Struggle: Third world women and the politics of feminism", in Mohanty, C. T., Russo, A. and Torres, L. (eds) *Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism*, Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1-50.
- Mohanty, C. T. (1991b) "Under Western Eyes: Feminist scholarship and colonial discourses", in Mohanty, C. T., Russo, A. and Torres, L. (eds) *Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press) 51-80.
- Narayan, U. (1995) "Colonialism and its Others: Considerations on rights and care discourses", *Hypatia*, 10:2, 133-140.
- PLAN International (date unknown) "Because I am a Girl", available at: <https://plan-international.org/what-we-do/because-i-am-girl>.
- Richardson, J. E. (2004) *(Mis)Representing Islam: The Racism and Rhetoric of British Broadsheet Newspapers* (Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company).
- Said, E. (2003) *Orientalism* (London and New York: Penguin) 5th edition.
- Saunders, K. (2002) *Feminist Post-Development Thought: Rethinking Modernity, Post-Colonialism and Representation* (London and New York: Zed Books).
- Shaheed, F. (2011) "The Other Side of the Discourse: Women's experiences of identity, religion, and activism in Pakistan", in Basu, A. and Jeffery, P. (eds) *Appropriating Gender: Women's Activism and Politicised Religion in South Asia* (London and New York: Routledge) 143-164.
- Skelton, T. (2000) "'Nothing to Do, Nowhere to Go?': Teenage girls and 'public' space in the Rhondda Valleys, South Wales", in Holloway, S. L. and Valentine, G. (eds) *Children's Geographies: Playing, Living, Learning* (Abingdon and New York: Routledge) 69-85.

- Spivak, G.C. (2004) "Righting Wrongs", *South Atlantic Quarterly*, 103: 2/3, 523-581.
- Spivak, S. G. (1999) *A Critique of Postcolonial Reason: Toward a History of the Vanishing Present* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press).
- Stern, J. (2000) "Pakistan's Jihad Culture", *Foreign Affairs*, 79:6, 115-126.
- Stoddard, K. (2010) "Newspaper Support in UK General Elections", *The Guardian*, 4 May. Available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/news/datablog/2010/may/04/general-election-newspaper-support>.
- Sudduth, J. T. (2009) "CEDAW's flaws: A critical analysis of why CEDAW is failing to protect a woman's right to education in Pakistan", *Journal of Law & Education*, 38:4, 563-592.
- Tohidi, N. (1991) "Gender and Islamic fundamentalism: Feminist politics in Iran", in Mohanty, C. T., Russo, A. and Torres, L. (eds) *Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press) 251-267.
- Torring, J. (2005) "Discourse Theory: Achievements, arguments and challenges", in Howard, D. and Torring, J. (eds) *Discourse Theory in European Politics: Identity, Policy and Governance* (Hampshire and New York: Palgrave Macmillan) 1-32.
- United Nations (2013) "Secretary General, in Message for International Day, Stresses Importance of Providing Education Girls Deserve", available at: <http://www.un.org/press/en/2013/sgsm15372.doc.htm>.
- Weldes, J. (1996) "Constructing National Interests", *European Journal of International Relations*, 2:3, 275-318.
- Weller, S. (2006) "Situating (Young) Teenagers in Geographies of Children and Youth", *Children's Geographies*, 4:1, 97-108.
- Yeğenoğlu, M. (1998) *Colonial Fantasies: Towards a Feminist Reading of Orientalism* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press).

Media Articles Analysed

“Al-Qaeda’s fury as the teenage girl Taliban tried to murder in show of power becomes a worldwide heroine from British hospital bed”, *Daily Mail*, 23 October 2012, available at:

<http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2221729/Malala-Yousafzai-Al-Qaeda-baffled-shot-Pakistani-girl-15-heroine.html>.

Alexander, H. and Yusufzai, A. (2013) “Malala Yousafzai to address the UN as friends in Swat Valley listen with pride”, *The Telegraph*, 12 July. Available at:

<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/pakistan/10174882/Malala-Yousafzai-to-address-the-UN-as-friends-in-Swat-Valley-listen-with-pride.html>.

Allen, F. (2012) “Malala doctors hopeful shot schoolgirl will make good recovery”, *The Sun*, 16 October 2012. Available at: <http://www.thesun.co.uk/sol/homepage/news/4592645/Malala-doctors-hopeful-shot-schoolgirl-will-make-good-recovery.html>.

Anderson, S. (2013) “Malala Yousafzai goes back to school in Birmingham after brutal attack in Pakistan”, *The Independent*, 20 March. Available at:

<http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/malala-yousafzai-goes-back-to-school-in-birmingham-after-brutal-attack-in-pakistan-8541856.html>.

“Angelina Jolie pays tribute to Malala Yousafzai as she announces first charity project”, *The Telegraph*, 5 April 2013, available at:

<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/pakistan/9973383/Angelina-Jolie-pays-tribute-to-Malala-Yousafzai-as-she-announces-first-charity-project.html>.

Ashton, E. (2013) “NHS ‘too good to migrants’”, *The Sun*, 18 January. Available at:

<http://www.thesun.co.uk/sol/homepage/news/politics/4750598/NHS-too-good-to-migrants.html>.

Baig, A. (2012) “My view”, *The Sun*, 11 October. Available at:

<http://www.thesun.co.uk/sol/homepage/news/4583269/Shot-girl-critical.html>.

Baig, A. (2013) “My view”, *The Sun*, 5 January. Available at:

<http://www.thesun.co.uk/sol/homepage/news/4726166/malala-yousafzai-released-from-hospital-after-brain-surgery.html>.

Bamford, E. (2012) “Police stop two ‘visitors’ for Malala”, *The Independent*, 17 October. Available at:

<http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/crime/police-stop-two-visitors-for-malala-8214066.html>.

Battersby, M. (2013) “Madonna raises \$7m from sale of Fernand Léger painting to ‘make girls like Malala smile’ around the world”, *The Independent*, 8 May. Available at:

<http://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/music/news/madonna-raises-7m-from-sale-of-fernand-lger-painting-to-make-girls-like-malala-smile-around-the-world-8607743.html>.

Blake, M. (2013) “The girl that beat the Taliban: Malala, the 15-year-old Pakistani girl shot in the

head for being educated, walks out of Birmingham hospital”, *The Daily Mail*, 4 January. Available at:

<http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2257045/Malala-Yousafzai-shooting-Pakistani-girl-shot-Taliban-inspiring-girls-education-discharged-Birmingham-hospital-life-saving-surgery.html>.

Bogustawski, L. (2012) "Taliban victim Malala making 'steady progress'", *The Independent*, 22 October. Available at: <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/taliban-victim-malala-making-steady-progress-8220793.html?origin=internalSearch>.

Bogustawski, L. (2013) "Malala beams in reunion with friend", *The Independent*, 1 July. Available at: <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/malala-beams-in-reunion-with-friend-8682497.html?origin=internalSearch>.

Bond, A. (2012a) "'Which one of you is Malala? She must be punished': The horrific moment a teenage female education activist was critically injured by Taliban gunman on school bus", *The Daily Mail*, 12 October. Available at: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2216836/Malala-Yousafzai-Which-Malala-She-punished-The-horrific-moment-teenage-female-education-activist-critically-injured-Taliban-gunman-school-bus.html>.

Bond, A. (2012b) "'Her attackers were sent by Satan but Malala had angels on her side': Father of Pakistan schoolgirl shot by Taliban praises British doctors", *The Daily Mail*, 26 October. Available at: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2223512/Malala-Yousafzai-Father-Pakistan-schoolgirl-shot-Taliban-praises-British-doctors.html>.

Boone, J. (2012a) "Pakistan girl shot over activism in Swat valley, claims Taliban", *The Guardian*, 9 October. Available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/oct/09/pakistan-girl-shot-activism-swat-taliban>.

Boone, J. (2012b) "Malala Yousafzai: Pakistan Taliban causes revulsion by shooting girl who spoke out", *The Guardian*, 10 October. Available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/oct/09/taliban-pakistan-shoot-girl-malala-yousafzai>.

Boone, J. (2012c) "Malala Yousafzai has bullet removed from head after Taliban shooting", *The Guardian*, 10 October. Available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/oct/10/malala-yousafzai-bullet-removed-taliban>.

Boone, J. (2012d) "Malala Yousafzai is an 'icon of courage and hope', says Pakistan army chief", *The Guardian*, 10 October. Available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/oct/10/malala-yousafzai-pakistan-army-chief>.

Boone, J. (2012e) "Malala Yousafzai: 'Fatwa' issued against gunmen", *The Guardian*, 12 October. Available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/oct/12/malala-yousafzai-fatwa-gunmen-pakistan>.

Boone, J. (2012f) "Imran Khan says Taliban's 'holy war' in Afghanistan is justified by Islamic law", *The Guardian*, 14 October. Available at: <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2012/oct/14/imran-khan-taliban-afghanistan-islam>.

Boone, J. (2012g) "Taliban threaten journalists over Malala Yousafzai coverage", *The Guardian*, 15 October. Available at: <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2012/oct/15/taliban-threaten-journalists-malala-yousafzai>.

Boone, J. (2012h) "Pakistan Taliban threaten another child activist after Malala shooting", *The Guardian*, 24 October. Available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/oct/24/pakistan-taliban-threaten-child-activist>.

Boone, J. (2013) "'Malala survived – that is a big defeat. Now they want to kill many Malalas'", *The Guardian*, 5 January. Available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/jan/05/malala-pakistan-taliban>.

Boone, J. and Siddique, H. (2012) "Malala Yousafzai arrives at special gunshot unit in British hospital", *The Guardian*, 15 October. Available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/oct/15/malala-yousafzai-pakistan>.

Brand, K. (2013a) "Chime for Change: Sarah Brown unites with Beyonce and other stars to fight the battle for universal education", *The Telegraph*, 31 May. Available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/women/womens-life/10091637/Chime-for-Change-Sarah-Brown-unites-with-Beyonce-and-other-stars-to-fight-the-battle-for-universal-education.html>.

Brand, K. (2013b) "At least Malala Yousafzai knows how to tell the Taliban where to stick it", *The Telegraph*, 19 July. Available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/women/womens-life/10190834/At-least-Malala-Yousafzai-knows-how-to-tell-the-Taliban-where-to-stick-it.html>.

Brooke, C. (2013) "'I want every girl, every child to be educated': Schoolgirl shot in the head by Taliban speaks defiantly about women's rights for first time", *The Daily Mail*, 4 February. Available at: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2273293/Malala-Yousafzi-Schoolgirl-shot-head-Taliban-protesting-speaks-time-attacked.html>.

Brown, G. (2012) "Malala Yousafzai's courage can start new movement for global education", *The Guardian*, 25 October. Available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/global-development/poverty-matters/2012/oct/25/malala-yousafzai-courage-global-education>.

Brown, J. (2013) "Malala Yousafzai: Pakistani girl shot by Taliban is discharged from hospital", *The Independent*, 4 January. Available at: <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/malala-yousafzai-pakistani-girl-shot-by-taliban-is-discharged-from-hospital-8438206.html>.

Brown, L. and Macfarlane, J. (2012) "Taliban shooting victim Malala, 15, is 'responding well' to treatment but still needs a significant period of rest, say doctors", *The Daily Mail*, 21 October. Available at: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2220862/Malala-Yousafzai-First-picture-Taliban-shooting-victim-hospital-bed-doctors-say-able-stand.html>.

Brown, L. (2012) "'Thanks for all your support': Taliban shooting victim Malala, 15, pictured for first time in hospital bed clutching a teddy – as doctors say she can stand and write again", *The Daily Mail*, 18 October. Available at: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2219509/Malala-Yousafzai-First-picture-Taliban-shooting-victim-hospital-bed-doctors-say-able-stand.html>.

Buncombe, A. (2012a) "Diaries of the girl who took on the Taliban", *The Independent*, 11 October. Available at: <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/asia/diaries-of-the-girl-who-took-on-the-taliban-8206053.html>.

Buncombe, A. (2012b) "Pakistani girl Malala Yousafzai who was wounded in an assassination attempt by the Taliban arrives in Britain for NHS treatment", *The Independent*, 15 October. Available at: <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/asia/pakistani-girl-malala-yousufzai-who-was-wounded-in-an-assassination-attempt-by-the-taliban-arrives-in-britain-for-nhs-treatment-8211160.html>.

Buncombe, A. (2012c) "Suspect's sister 'sorry' for shooting of Malala", *The Independent*, 7 November. Available at: <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/asia/suspects-sister-sorry-for-shooting-of-malala-8290137.html>.

Buncombe, A. (2012d) "Daughters of Pakistan take to the streets for an education", *The Independent*, 9 November. Available at: <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/asia/daughters-of-pakistan-take-to-the-streets-for-an-education-8298528.html>.

Buncombe, A. (2013) "Girls' teacher killed in Taliban shooting victim 'Malala-style' attack", *The Independent*, 27 March. Available at: <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/middle-east/girls-teacher-killed-in-taliban-shooting-victim-malalastyle-attack-8552264.html>.

"Calls to grant Malala Yousafzai the Nobel Peace Prize", *The Telegraph*, 9 November 2012, available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/pakistan/9666302/Calls-to-grant-Malala-Yousafzai-the-Nobel-Peace-Prize.html>.

"Candlelit vigil held for Malala Yousufzai as schoolgirl shot by Taliban is airlifted to new hospital", *The Telegraph*, 11 October 2012. Available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/9602848/Candlelit-vigil-held-for-Malala-Yousufzai-as-schoolgirl-shot-by-Taliban-is-airlifted-to-new-hospital.html>.

Child, B. (2013) "Malala Yousafzai's story to be made into a documentary", *The Guardian*, 16 July. Available at: <http://www.guardian.co.uk/film/2013/jul/16/malala-yousefzai-documentary-davis-guggenheim>.

Clark, N. (2013) "Taliban shooting survivor Malala strikes publishing deals 'to tell story of 61m children who can't get education'", *The Independent*, 27 March. Available at: <http://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/books/news/taliban-shooting-survivor-malala-strikes-publishing-deals-to-tell-story-of-61m-children-who-cant-get-education-8552232.html>.

"Clerics in Pakistan issue fatwa against Taliban for hit on Malala", *Daily Mail*, 12 October 2012, available at: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/indiahome/indianews/article-2216952/Malala-Yousufzai-Clerics-Pakistan-issue-fatwa-Taliban-hit.html>.

Conlon, O. (2013) "We shot you for smearing us, Taliban tell teenage girl", *The Sun*, 17 July. Available at: <http://www.thesun.co.uk/sol/homepage/5019119/Taliban-sends-letter-to-Pakistani-girl-it-shot.html>.

Cooper, M. (2012a) "William Hague meets Taliban victim Malala Yousafzai's father", *The Independent*, 29 October. Available at: <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/william-hague-meets-taliban-victim-malala-yousafzais-father-8230954.html>.

Cooper, M. (2012b) "Shot 15-year-old girl Malala Yousafzai thanks well-wishers", *The Independent*, 9 November. Available at: <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/shot-15yearold-girl-malala-yousafzai-thanks-wellwishers-8299975.html>.

Crilly, R. (2012a) "Pakistan Taliban claim responsibility for shooting of 14-year-old girl", *The Telegraph*, 9 October. Available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/pakistan/9596487/Pakistan-Taliban-claim-responsibility-for-shooting-of-14-year-old-girl.html>.

Crilly, R. (2012b) "Shot Pakistan girl successfully operated on", *The Telegraph*, 10 October. Available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/pakistan/9597961/Shot-Pakistan-girl-successfully-operated-on.html>.

Crilly, R. (2012c) "Malala Yousafzai, the 14-year-old who stood up to Taliban thugs, is a rare beacon of hope in Pakistan", *The Telegraph*, 10 October. Available at: <http://blogs.telegraph.co.uk/news/robcrilly/100184438/malala-yousafzai-is-a-rare-beacon-of-hope-in-pakistan/>.

Crilly, R. (2012d) "Pray for my daughter, says father of schoolgirl shot by Taliban", *The Telegraph*, 11 October. Available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/pakistan/9601934/Pray-for-my-daughter-says-father-of-schoolgirl-shot-by-Taliban.html>.

Crilly, R. (2012e) "Pakistan arrests suspects in Malala shooting case as she battles for life", *The Telegraph*, 12 October. Available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/pakistan/9604919/Pakistan-arrests-suspects-in-Malala-shooting-case-as-she-battles-for-life.html>.

Crilly, R. (2012f) "Friends of Pakistani girl shot by Taliban vow 'never to be subdued by militants'", *The Telegraph*, 13 October. Available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/pakistan/9606952/Friends-of-Pakistani-girl-shot-by-Taliban-vow-never-to-be-subdued-by-militants.html>.

Crilly, R. (2012g) "Girl shot by Taliban making 'steady progress'", *The Telegraph*, 14 October. Available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/pakistan/9607635/Girl-shot-by-Taliban-making-steady-progress.html>.

Crilly, R. (2012h) "Malala Yousafzai: Pakistani girl shot by Taliban being flown to UK for treatment", *The Telegraph*, 15 October. Available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/pakistan/9608470/Malala-Yousafzai-Pakistani-girl-shot-by-Taliban-being-flown-to-UK-for-treatment.html>.

Crilly, R. (2012i) "Malala Yousafzai video interview from 2009", *The Telegraph*, 16 October. Available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/pakistan/9611395/Malala-Yousafzai-video-interview-from-2009.html>.

Crilly, R. (2012j) "Second Pakistani girl fears for her life after being threatened by extremists", *The Telegraph*, 23 October. Available at:

<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/pakistan/9628136/Second-Pakistani-girl-fears-for-her-life-after-being-threatened-by-extremists.html>.

Crilly, R. (2012k) "Malala Yousafzai's father speaks about daughter's miraculous recovery", *The Telegraph*, 25 October. Available at:

<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/pakistan/9633404/Malala-Yousafzais-father-speaks-about-daughters-miraculous-recovery.html>.

Crilly, R. (2012l) "Malala Yousafzai's father describes joy at 'miraculous' recovery before flying to her bedside", *The Telegraph*, 25 October. Available at:

<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/pakistan/9632810/Malala-Yousafzais-father-described-joy-at-miraculous-recovery-before-flying-to-her-bedside.html>.

Crilly, R. (2012m) "Pakistani politicians told they cannot visit Malala", *The Telegraph*, 30 October. Available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/pakistan/9642745/Pakistani-politicians-told-they-cannot-visit-Malala.html>.

Crilly, R. (2012n) "Pakistani Islamist politician claims Malala was not injured", *The Telegraph*, 5 November. Available at:

<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/pakistan/9655417/Pakistani-Islamist-politician-claims-Malala-was-not-injured.html>.

Crilly, R. (2012o) "Islamic hardliners announce fatwa on Malala Yousafzai", *The Telegraph*, 19 November. Available at:

<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/pakistan/9687466/Islamic-hardliners-announce-fatwa-on-Malala-Yousafzai.html>.

Crilly, R. (2012p) "Schoolgirls injured with Malala Yousafzai fear becoming symbol for women", *The Telegraph*, 7 December. Available at:

<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/pakistan/9729586/Schoolgirls-injured-with-Malala-Yousafzai-fear-becoming-symbol-for-women.html>.

Crilly, R. (2012q) "Zardari pledges \$10 million in Malala's name", *The Telegraph*, 10 December.

Available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/pakistan/9733981/Zardari-pledges-10million-in-Malalas-name.html>.

Crilly, R. (2012r) "Girls in Pakistan: Victim, figurehead, martyr", *The Telegraph*, 14 December.

Available at: <http://blogs.telegraph.co.uk/news/robcrilly/100194203/girls-in-pakistan-victim-figurehead-martyr/>.

Crilly, R. (2013a) "Senior Pakistan Taliban figure explains why they shot Malala Yousafzai", *The Telegraph*, 17 July. Available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/women/womens-life/10190834/At-least-Malala-Yousafzai-knows-how-to-tell-the-Taliban-where-to-stick-it.html>.

Crilly, R. (2013b) "The Taliban's letter to Malala is a sign of their failure", *The Telegraph*, 17 July.

Available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/women/womens-life/10190834/At-least-Malala-Yousafzai-knows-how-to-tell-the-Taliban-where-to-stick-it.html>.

Crilly, R. and Kinder, L. (2012) "Malala Yousafzai: Still defiant, girl shot by Taliban is walking, talking – and studying", *The Telegraph*, 26 October. Available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/pakistan/9635714/Malala-Yousafzai-Still-defiant-girl-shot-by-Taliban-is-walking-talking-and-studying.html>.

Crilly, R. and Yusufzai, A. (2012) "Pakistani schoolgirl campaigner, 14, shot in Swat Valley", *The Telegraph*, 9 October. Available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/pakistan/9595927/Pakistani-schoolgirl-campaigner-14-shot-in-Swat-Valley.html>.

Crilly, R. and Yusufzai, A. (2013) "Malala Yousafzai's friends condemn Taliban letter as PR stunt", *The Telegraph*, 18 July. Available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/pakistan/10188156/Malala-Yousafzais-friends-condemn-Taliban-letter-as-PR-stunt.html>.

Davies, C. (2012) "Malala Yousafzai can make smooth recovery, doctors say", *The Guardian*, 19 October. Available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/oct/19/malala-yousafzai-recovery-doctors>.

Davies, C. (2013) "Malala Yousafzai to have surgery to repair skull", *The Guardian*, 30 January. Available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/jan/30/malala-yousafzai-surgery-repair-skull>.

Dolan, A., Ellicott, C. and Robinson, M. (2012) "Birmingham hospital tightens security around shot Pakistani girl after Taliban threaten to 'finish her off' for promoting 'Western values'", *The Daily Mail*, 15 October. Available at: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2217786/Malala-Yousafzai-stable-condition-nights-treatment-UK-hospital.html>.

Dutta, K. (2013) "New hope for Pakistani girl shot by Taliban as father is offered UK job", *The Independent*, 2 January. Available at: <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/new-hope-for-pakistani-girl-shot-by-taliban-as-father-is-offered-uk-job-8436225.html>.

Edgar, J. (2012) "Reconstructive operations planned for shot Pakistani schoolgirl Malala Yousafzai", *The Independent*, 16 October. Available at: <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/crime/reconstructive-operations-planned-for-shot-pakistani-schoolgirl-malala-yousafzai-8213213.html>.

Edwards, A. (2012a) "The most inappropriate show of support: Madonna, 54, dedicates onstage striptease to Pakistani girl shot by Taliban", *The Daily Mail*, 13 October. Available at: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2217227/Malala-Yousafzai-Madonna-dedicates-onstage-striptease-Pakistani-girl-shot-Taliban.html>.

Edwards, A. (2012b) "Reading from her hospital bedside, Taliban-shooting victim Malala, 15, defies the extremists who oppose female education", *The Daily Mail*, 9 November. Available at: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2230168/Malala-Yousafzai.html>.

Edwards, A. (2013) "Surgeons reveal plan to repair Taliban gun victim Malala's skull with titanium plate, as she vows to fight on for Pakistani women" *The Daily Mail*, 30 January. Available at:

<http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2270648/Malala-Yousafzai-Taliban-shooting-victim-undergo-final-brain-operation.html>.

Edwards, T. (2012) "Nobel Peace Prize petition for schoolgirl shot in the head by Taliban", *The Sun*, 9 November. Available at: <http://www.thesun.co.uk/sol/homepage/news/4634779/Nobel-Peace-prize-petition-for-schoolgirl-shot-by-Taliban.html>.

Farmer, B. and Yusufzai, A. (2012a) "Pakistan schoolgirls protest against teenage Malala Yousafzai", *The Telegraph*, 13 December. Available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/pakistan/9741792/Pakistan-schoolgirls-protest-against-teenager-Malala-Yousafzai.html>.

Farmer, B. and Yusufzai, A. (2012b) "Malala Yousafzai asks Pakistan government not to name school after her", *The Telegraph*, 21 December. Available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/pakistan/9760514/Malala-Yousafzai-asks-Pakistan-government-not-to-name-school-after-her.html>.

"First pic of Malala resting in hospital", *The Sun*, 18 October 2012, available at: <http://www.thesun.co.uk/sol/homepage/news/4598585/First-picture-of-Malala-resting-in-hospital.html>.

Ford Rojas, J-P. (2012) "Well-wishers posing as family stopped from seeing shot schoolgirl Malala Yousafzai as she is treated at UK hospital", *The Telegraph*, 16 October. Available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/pakistan/9611740/Well-wishers-posing-as-family-stopped-from-seeing-shot-schoolgirl-Malala-Yousafzai-as-she-is-treated-at-UK-hospital.html>.

Fryer, J. (2012) "Humbling courage of teenage girl who took on the Taliban: The inspirational story of 14-year-old who has shown breathtaking defiance in the face of death", *The Daily Mail*, 11 October. Available at: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2215958/Malala-Yousafzai-Humbling-courage-Pakistani-girl-took-Taliban.html>.

Galloway, R. (2012) "Shooting is lesson on evil of Taliban", *The Sun*, 12 October. Available at: <http://www.thescottishsun.co.uk/scotsol/homepage/news/papercolumnists/robingalloway/4585007/Shooting-is-lesson-on-evil-of-Taliban.html>.

Gardham, D. (2012) "Schoolgirl Malala Yousafzai could be victim of anti-Taliban plot, Labour peer claimed", *The Telegraph*, 1 November. Available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/9648783/Schoolgirl-Malala-Yousafzai-could-be-victim-of-anti-Taliban-plot-Labour-peer-claimed.html>.

"Girl shot in head by Taliban to come to Britain for treatment", *The Sun*, 15 October 2012, available at: <http://www.thesun.co.uk/sol/homepage/news/4590289/malala-yousafzai-taliban-shooting-victim-treated-in-UK.html>.

Greenslade, R. (2012) "Taliban target media critical of Malala's shooting", *The Guardian*, 18 October. Available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/media/greenslade/2012/oct/18/malala-yousafzai-taliban>.

Guest, K. (2013) "Malala leads the way, and retail nearly keeps up", *The Independent*, 24 March. Available at: <http://www.independent.co.uk/voices/commentators/malala-leads-the-way-and-retail-nearly-keeps-up-8547000.html>.

Gye, H. (2013) "'This is the happiest day of my life': Malala's joy as she teams up with Angelina Jolie to announce £30,000 donation to her charity for Pakistani schoolgirls", *The Daily Mail*, 5 April. Available at: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2304354/Malala-Yousafzais-joy-Angelina-Jolie-announce-30k-donation-charity-Pakistan-schoolgirls.html>.

Hanif, M. (2012) "The Taliban's main fear is not drones but educated girls", *The Guardian*, 4 November. Available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2012/nov/04/pakistan-extremists-girls-education>.

Hanif, M. (2013) "Dear Taliban leader, thank you for your letter to Malala Yousafzai", *The Guardian*, 18 July. Available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/jul/18/letter-taliban-leader-malala-yousafzai-girls>.

Hawkins, H. (2013a) "Schoolgirl shot by Taliban: I'm getting better day by day", *The Sun*, 5 February. Available at: <http://www.thesun.co.uk/sol/homepage/news/4778456/malala-yousufzai-im-getting-better-day-by-day.html>.

Hawkins, H. (2013b) "Back to school – girl shot by Taliban returns to class", *The Sun*, 19 March. Available at: <http://www.thesun.co.uk/sol/homepage/news/article4849308.ece>.

Hendry, S. (2012) "We are defying the Taliban to attend school... just like our heroine Malala", *The Sun*, 4 December. Available at: <http://www.thesun.co.uk/sol/homepage/woman/4679377/Pakistani-girls-defy-Taliban-to-get-education.html>.

Hendry, S. (2013) "Give Malala Nobel Prize", *The Sun*, 17 January. Available at: <http://www.thesun.co.uk/sol/homepage/woman/4748153/Give-Malala-Nobel-Prize.html>.

Hills, S. (2013) "Woman teacher, 41, is killed in drive by shooting outside girls' school in ultra-conservative part of Pakistan", *The Daily Mail*, 27 March. Available at: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2300029/Drive-shooting-teacher-just-200m-school-Pakistan-sparks-calls-security-protect-female-pupils.html>.

Hodgekiss, A. (2012) "Taliban shooting victim Malala is discharged from hospital just FIVE days after having a double operation to repair her skull", *The Daily Mail*, 8 February. Available at: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/health/article-2275688/Malala-Yousafzai-discharged-hospital-just-FIVE-days-having-double-operation-repair-skull.html>.

Holpuch, A. (2013) "Malala Yousafzai calls on governments to provide free education for all", *The Guardian*, 12 July. Available at: <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2013/jul/12/malala-yousafzai-calls-free-education>.

Hough, A. (2013) "Malala Yousafzai: Girl shot in head by Taliban takes big step on road to recovery", *The Telegraph*, 4 January. Available at:

<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/pakistan/9781324/Malala-Yousafzai-Girl-shot-in-head-by-Taliban-takes-big-step-on-road-to-recovery.html>.

Hughes, S. (2013) "Dear Malala, why we shot you... by the Taliban", *The Sun*, 19 July. Available at: <http://www.thesun.co.uk/sol/homepage/news/5020145/Taliban-commander-writes-to-shot-schoolgirl-Malala-Yousafzai.html>.

Husain, M. F. (2013) "Meet the other Malalas: Pakistan's women are demanding freedom and respect", *The Daily Mail*, 18 July. Available at: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/indiahome/indianews/article-2369182/Meet-Malalas-Pakistans-women-demanding-freedom-respect.html>.

"'I miss her': Malala's best friend continues her heroine's fight for girls' education", *Daily Mail*, 1 November (2012), available at: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2226380/Malala-Yousafzais-best-friend-continues-heroiness-fight-girls-education.html>.

Imtiaz, S. (2013b) "Malala Yousafzai's diary inspires other Pashtun girls yearning for education", *The Guardian*, 12 July. Available at: <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2013/jul/12/malala-yousafzai-inspires-pakistani-schoolgirls1>.

Imtiaz, S. (2013a) "Taliban's letter to Malala Yousafzai: this is why we tried to kill you", *The Guardian*, 17 July. Available at: <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2013/jul/17/taliban-letter-malala-yousafzai>.

"'I've achieved my dream': Joy of Taliban shooting victim Malala as she starts first day of British school after operation to repair her skull", *Daily Mail*, 19 March 2013, available at: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2295867/Malala-Yousafzai-Joy-Taliban-shooting-victim-15-starts-day-British-school-operation-repair-skull.htm>.

Jackson, A. (2012) "William Hague hails Malala Yousafzai after hospital visit", *The Guardian*, 29 October. Available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/oct/29/hague-visit-yousafzai-hospita>.

Jones, J. (2013) "Malala Yousafzai has the look of a leader in the making", *The Guardian*, 4 January. Available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/jan/04/malala-yousafzai-leader-in-making>.

Kelly, L. (2012) "We must help Malala, terror of the Taliban", *The Sun*, 13 October. Available at: <http://www.thescottishsun.co.uk/scotsol/homepage/news/papercolumnists/lorrainekelly/4587287/We-must-help-Malala-terror-of-the-Taliban.html>.

Khan, I. (2012) "Malala Yousafzai: Amid the anger, we must find a peaceful solution to Pakistan's brutal reality", *The Telegraph*, 26 October. Available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/pakistan/9635996/Malala-Yousafzai-Amid-the-anger-we-must-find-a-peaceful-solution-to-Pakistans-brutal-reality.html>.

Khurram Nawaz, M. and Parry, S. (2012) "We WILL defy the Taliban and go back to school, says friend shot with brave Malala", *The Daily Mail*, 14 October. Available at: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2217445/Malala-Yousafzai-We-WILL-defy-Taliban-school-says-Shazia-Ramzan.html>.

Kinder, L. (2012) "Malala Yousafzai reunited with her family", *The Telegraph*, 26 October. Available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/9635585/Malala-Yousafzai-reunited-with-her-family.html>.

Kumar, N. and Waraich, O. (2013) "Taliban shooting victim Malala Yousufzai is the most courageous girl in world, says Gordon Brown", *The Independent*, 12 July. Available at: <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/taliban-shooting-victim-malala-yousufzai-is-the-most-courageous-girl-in-world-says-gordon-brown-8705714.html?origin=internalSearch>.

Lakhani, N. (2012) "'When she fell, Pakistan stood': Taliban victim Malala Yousafzai's family arrive in UK", *The Independent*, 26 October. Available at: <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/when-she-fell-pakistan-stood-taliban-victim-malala-yousufzais-family-arrive-in-uk-8227466.html>.

Langevine Leiby, M. (2012) "Public support of Malala Yousafzai fuels a new set of conspiracy theories", *The Independent*, 20 October. Available at: <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/asia/public-support-of-malala-yousafzai-fuels-a-new-set-of-conspiracy-theories-8219153.html>.

Larcombe, D. (2012) "Malala's safe now", *The Sun*, 16 October. Available at: <http://www.thesun.co.uk/sol/homepage/news/4591527/Malalas-safe-now.html>.

Legge, J. (2013) "Angelina Jolie pays tribute to Malala Yousafzai at Women in the World summit", *The Independent*, 5 April. Available at: <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/asia/angelina-jolie-pays-tribute-to-malala-yousafzai-at-women-in-the-world-summit-8561902.html>.

Leiby, R. (2012a) "In Swat, a girls' school gripped by fear", *The Independent*, 17 October. Available at: <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/americas/in-swat-a-girls-school-gripped-by-fear-8214360.html>.

Leiby, R. (2012b) "In Swat, a girls' school gripped by fear", *The Guardian*, 23 October. Available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/oct/23/malala-yousafzai-swat-girls-school>.

Long, H. (2013) "Will Kate Middleton's child one day study alongside girls like Malala?", *The Guardian*, 13 July. Available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/jul/13/kate-middleton-baby-malala-day>.

"Malala asks for Pakistan college not to be named after her", *The Guardian*, 21 December 2012, available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/dec/21/malala-college-not-named-after-her>.

"Malala discharged from hospital", *The Telegraph*, 8 February 2013, available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/pakistan/9857807/Malala-discharged-from-hospital.html>.

"Malala surgeons say operation went very well", *The Telegraph*, 4 February 2013, available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/pakistan/9847846/Malala-surgeons-say-operation-went-very-well.html>.

“Malala Yousafzai among Nobel peace prize nominees”, *The Telegraph*, 4 March 2013, available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/pakistan/9908675/Malala-Yousafzai-among-Nobel-peace-prize-nominees.html>.

“Malala Yousafzai back at school for first time since Taliban shooting”, *The Telegraph*, 19 March 2013, available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/pakistan/9941585/Malala-Yousafzai-back-at-school-for-first-time-since-Taliban-shooting.html>.

“Malala Yousafzai discharged from hospital”, *The Guardian*, 8 February 2013, available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/feb/08/malala-yousufzai-discharged-hospital>.

“Malala Yousafzai foundation makes first grant”, *The Guardian*, 5 April 2013, available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/apr/05/malala-yousafzai-girls-schooling-fund>.

“Malala Yousafzai: I’m getting better day by day”, *The Telegraph*, 4 February 2013, available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/pakistan/9847443/Malala-Yousafzai-Im-getting-better-day-by-day.html>.

“Malala Yousafzai: Pakistani girl shot by Taliban to be treated in Birmingham hospital that treats wounded soldiers”, *The Telegraph*, 15 October 2012, available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/pakistan/9608832/Malala-Yousafzai-Pakistani-girl-shot-by-Taliban-to-be-treated-in-Birmingham-hospital-that-treats-wounded-soldiers.html>.

“Malala Yousafzai says she is ‘feeling better’ after successful operation”, *The Telegraph*, 4 February 2013, available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/pakistan/9848525/Malala-Yousafzai-says-she-is-feeling-better-after-successful-operation.html>.

“Malala Yousafzai shooting suspect released after 2009 detention”, *The Guardian*, 18 October 2012, available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/oct/18/malala-yousafzai-shooting-suspect-detain>.

“Malala Yousafzai speaks publicly for first time since Taliban attack”, *The Telegraph*, 4 February 2013, available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/pakistan/9847503/Malala-Yousafzai-speaks-publicly-for-first-time-since-Taliban-attack.html>.

“Malala Yousufzai suspect ‘was held by Pakistan military in 2009’”, *The Telegraph*, 18 October 2012, available at: www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/pakistan/9618351/Malala-Yousufzai-suspect-was-held-by-Pakistan-military-in-2009.html.

“Malala Yousafzai to give speech in New York”, *The Telegraph*, 19 April 2013, available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/gordon-brown/10005050/Malala-Yousafzai-to-give-speech-in-New-York.html>.

“Malala Yousafzai to tell UN: books and pens are our most powerful weapons”, *The Guardian*, 12 July 2013, available at: <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2013/jul/12/malala-yousafzai-addresses-un-education>.

“Malala Yousafzai: UK hospital is centre for treating soldiers injured in battlefield”, *The Telegraph*, 15 October 2012, available at:

<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/pakistan/9608975/Malala-Yousafzai-UK-hospital-is-centre-for-treating-soldiers-injured-in-battlefield.html>.

“Malala Yousufzai’s classmates return to school”, *The Telegraph*, 29 November 2012. Available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/pakistan/9711072/Malala-Yousufzais-classmates-return-to-school.html>.

“Malala Yousafzai’s father appointed to role at Pakistani consulate in UK”, *The Guardian*, 2 January 2013, available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/jan/02/malala-yousafzai-father-appointed-role-pakistani-consulate-uk>.

“Malala Yousafzai’s father insists they will remain in Pakistan when his daughter recovers”, *The Telegraph*, 25 October 2012, available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/pakistan/9633490/Malala-Yousafzais-father-insists-they-will-remain-in-Pakistan-when-his-daughter-recovers.html>.

“Malala Yousafzai’s father thanks global well wishers”, *The Telegraph*, 9 November 2012, available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/pakistan/9666250/Malala-Yousafzais-father-thanks-global-well-wishers.html>.

“Malala Yousafzai’s father thanks hospital staff”, *The Telegraph*, 26 October 2012, available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/9635698/Malala-Yousafzais-father-thanks-hospital-staff.html>.

“Malala Yousafzai’s skull to be repaired with titanium plate”, *The Telegraph*, 30 January 2013, available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/pakistan/9836590/Malala-Yousafzais-skull-to-be-repaired-with-titanium-plate.html>.

“Malavellous”, *The Sun*, 5 January 2013, available at: http://www.thesun.co.uk/sol/homepage/news/sun_says/4728178/The-Sun-says-Fooled-again.html.

Malm, S. (2012) “‘An icon of courage’: Shooting of Pakistani girl, 14, who championed female education, prompts anti-Taliban protests across the country”, *The Daily Mail*, 10 October. Available at: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2215132/Taliban-attack-teenage-Pakistani-girl-Malala-Yousafzai-way-school.html>.

Malm, S. (2013) “‘Dear Malala, this is why we tried to kill you’: Taliban chief’s astonishing letter to Pakistani girl, 16, shot for demanding education for women”, *The Daily Mail*, 17 July. Available at: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2366851/Malala-Yousafzai-Taliban-commander-Adnan-Rasheeds-astonishing-letter-apologising-Pakistani-girl-shot.html>.

Mansoor, H. (2012) “Malala Yousafzai: a young Pakistani heroine”, *The Guardian*, 10 October. Available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2012/oct/10/malala-yousafzai-young-pakistani-heroine>.

Mason, R. (2012) “William Hague visits family of Pakistani schoolgirl shot by Taliban”, *The Telegraph*, 29 October. Available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/9640598/William-Hague-visits-family-of-Pakistani-schoolgirl-shot-by-Taliban.html>.

Mccann, J. (2013) "Brave Pakistani schoolgirl Malala is reunited with her lifelong friend who was also injured in attack by Taliban", *The Daily Mail*, 1 July. Available at: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2352875/Malala-Yousafzai-Brave-Pakistani-schoolgirl-reunited-lifelong-friend-injured-Taliban.html>.

McCartney, J. (2013) "Malala Yousafzai is tougher than anyone in The Apprentice", *The Telegraph*, 20 July. Available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/women/womens-life/10191979/Malala-Yousafzai-is-tougher-than-anyone-in-The-Apprentice.html>.

Meikle, J. (2012) "Queen Elizabeth hospital: New facility where Malala Yousafzai will be treated", *The Guardian*, 15 October. Available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/uk/2012/oct/15/queen-elizabeth-hospital-malala-yousafzai>.

Meikle, J. (2013a) "Malala Yousafzai's father appointed to diplomatic job at UK consulate", *The Guardian*, 3 January. Available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/jan/03/malala-yousafzai-father-given-diplomatic-role-uk>.

Meikle, J. (2013b) "Malala Yousafzai: God has given me a second life", *The Guardian*, 4 February. Available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/feb/04/malala-yousafzai-god-second-life>.

Morrison, K. (2013) "Malala Yousafzai, 16, gives awe-inspiring speech to UN officials", *The Sun*, 13 July. Available at: <http://www.thesun.co.uk/sol/homepage/news/5010261/Malala-Yousafzai-gives-awe-inspiring-speech-to-UN-officials.html>.

Mumisa, M. (2012) "It's not just Taliban bullets that hold back girls' education. Whole governments are at it", *The Independent*, 26 October. Available at: <http://www.independent.co.uk/voices/comment/its-not-just-taliban-bullets-that-hold-back-girls-education-whole-governments-are-at-it-8228602.html>.

Nelson, D. (2012) "Malala Yousafzai 'will live under heavy security for the rest of her life'", *The Telegraph*, 16 December. Available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/pakistan/9748664/Malala-Yousafzai-will-live-under-heavy-security-for-the-rest-of-her-life.html>.

"'Now I am not afraid': The incredible defiance of girl, 13, who was shot when Taliban opened fire on her friend Malala", *Daily Mail*, 22 November 2012, available at: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2236802/Incredible-defiance-girl-13-shot-Taliban-opened-friend-Malala.html>.

O'Mahoney, J. (2013) "Malala Yousafzai's new challenge: navigating the politics of a British girls' school", *The Telegraph*, 20 March. Available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/women/womens-life/9942379/Malala-Yousafzais-new-challenge-navigating-the-politics-of-a-British-girls-school.html>.

"'Only my weakness, fear and hopelessness died': Pakistani schoolgirl who survived Taliban gunman's assassination attempt condemns extremists in UN address", *Daily Mail*, 12 July 2013, available at: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2361994/Malala-Yousafzai-condemns-extremists-UN-address.html>.

“Pakistan shot girl visited in hospital by ministers after operation”, *The Telegraph*, 10 October 2012, available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/pakistan/9599753/Pakistan-shot-girl-visited-in-hospital-by-ministers-after-operation.html>.

“Pakistan teen shot by Taliban: diary extracts”, *The Telegraph*, 11 October 2012, available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/pakistan/9601233/Pakistan-teen-shot-by-Taliban-diary-extracts.html>.

“Pakistani girl shot by Taliban for promoting Western values is moved to military hospital as 10 million rupee reward is offered for her attacker’s capture”, *Daily Mail*, 11 October 2012, available at: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2216288/Pakistani-girl-Malala-Yousafzai-shot-Taliban-promoting-Western-values-moved-secure-military-hospital-authorities-offer-10million-rupee-reward-attacker.html>.

“Pakistani police make arrests over Taliban shooting of Malala Yousafzai on school bus”, *The Independent*, 12 October 2012, available at: <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/asia/pakistani-police-make-arrests-over-taliban-shooting-of-malala-yousufzai-on-school-bus-8209282.html>.

“Pakistani schoolgirl Malala joins forces with Angelina Jolie to launch fund”, *The Telegraph*, 5 April 2013, available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/9973141/Pakistan-schoolgirl-Malala-joins-forces-with-Angelina-Jolie-to-launch-fund.html>.

Parker, A. (2012a) “Suspects quizzed at Malala hospital”, *The Sun*, 17 October. Available at: <http://www.thesun.co.uk/sol/homepage/news/4593535/Suspects-quizzed-at-Malala-hospital.html>.

Parker, A. (2012b) “Where am I? Shot Malala’s first words to hospital staff”, *The Sun*, 20 October. Available at: <http://www.thesun.co.uk/sol/homepage/news/4599257/Where-am-I-Shot-Malalas-first-words-to-hospital-staff.html>.

Parker, A. (2012c) “All faiths join 200 in Malala night vigil”, *The Sun*, 21 October. Available at: <http://www.thesun.co.uk/sol/homepage/news/4601180/All-faiths-join-200-in-Malala-night-vigil.html>.

Parker, A. (2012d) “Tears as family jet in for shot Malala, 14”, *The Sun*, 27 October. Available at: <http://www.thesun.co.uk/sol/homepage/news/4612491/Tears-as-family-jet-in-for-shot-Malala-14.html>.

Parker, A. (2013a) “Shot Malala is released from hospital after brain surgery”, *The Sun*, 5 January. Available at: <http://www.thesun.co.uk/sol/homepage/news/4726166/malala-yousafzai-released-from-hospital-after-brain-surgery.html>.

Parker, A. (2013b) “Double op success for shot girl Malala”, *The Sun*, 4 February. Available at: <http://www.thesun.co.uk/sol/homepage/news/4777070/Double-op-success-for-shot-girl-Malala-Yousufzai.html>.

Peck, T. (2012) “Flight for life: As darkness falls, girl shot by the Taliban arrives in Britain for treatment”, *The Independent*, 16 October. Available at:

<http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/flight-for-life-as-darkness-falls-girl-shot-by-the-taliban-arrives-in-britain-for-treatment-8212578.html>.

Pervez, S. (2012) "Malala Yousafzai – a product of education", *The Guardian*, 12 October. Available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/uk/the-northerner/2012/oct/12/bradford-pakistan>.

Philby, C. (2013) "The new suffragettes: Taking on the Taliban", *The Independent*, 27 May. Available at: <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/asia/the-new-suffragettes-taking-on-the-taliban-8633518.html>.

Pilkington, E. (2013) "Malala delivers defiant riposte to Taliban militants as UN hails 'our hero'", *The Guardian*, 12 July. Available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/jul/12/malala-yousafzai-un-taliban-militants-speech>.

Popham, P. (2013) "There is no 'golden age' for Malala to return to in Pakistan", *The Independent*, 18 July. Available at: <http://www.independent.co.uk/voices/comment/there-is-no-golden-age-for-malala-to-return-to-in-pakistan-8717921.html?origin=internalSearch>.

Prasad, S. (2012) "WHIPLASH: A victim girl as a prop for self-promotion", *Daily Mail*, 16 October. Available at: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/indiahome/article-2218698/WHIPLASH-A-victim-girl-prop-self-promotion.html>.

Priest, D. (2012) "Taliban leader suspected in Malala Yousafzai's shooting has history of conflict with military", *The Independent*, 18 October. Available at: <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/americas/taliban-leader-suspected-in-malala-yousafzais-shooting-has-history-of-conflict-with-military-8215949.html>.

Proud, A. (2012) "'We are all Malala': Why Angelina Jolie felt compelled to tell her children about brave 14-year-old Pakistani activist's tragic shooting", *The Daily Mail*, 17 October. Available at: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/tvshowbiz/article-2218871/Angelina-Jolie-tells-children-brave-Pakistani-activist-Malala-Yousafzai.html>.

Qadri, M. (2012) "Our shock is not enough. Malala's attackers must be brought to justice", *The Independent*, 24 October. Available at: <http://www.independent.co.uk/voices/comment/our-shock-is-not-enough-malalas-attackers-must-be-brought-to-justice-8224445.html>.

Quinn, B. (2013) "Taliban victim Malala Yousafzai starts school in UK", *The Guardian*, 20 March. Available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/mar/20/taliban-victim-malala-yousafzai-school>.

Rajan, A. (2012) "Malala's shooting is about the tyranny of theocracy", *The Independent*, 16 October. Available at: <http://www.independent.co.uk/hei-fi/views/amol-rajn-malalas-shooting-is-about-the-tyranny-of-theocracy-8213736.html>.

Reilly, J. (2012) "Father of teenager shot in the head by Taliban insists he will take daughter Malala back to Pakistan once she has recovered", *The Daily Mail*, 25 October. Available at: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2223182/Father-teenager-shot-head-Taliban-insists-daughter-Pakistan-recovered.html>.

Reynolds, E. (2013) "Taliban shooting victim Malala, 15, nominated for Nobel Peace Prize for 'commitment so threatening to extremists they tried to kill her'", *The Daily Mail*, 2 February. Available at: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2272621/Malala-nominated-Nobel-Peace-Prize-Pakistani-schoolgirl-shot-head-bus-Taliban.html>.

Robinson, M. (2013) "Taliban massacre five women teachers travelling to primary school in protest at female education in Pakistan", *The Daily Mail*, 1 January. Available at: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2255649/5-female-teachers-killed-Islamic-militants-protest-educating-women-girls-Pakistan.html>.

Robson, S. (2013) "Fears of Taliban revenge forces 16-year-old actress playing Malala Yousafzai in new film into hiding", *The Daily Mail*, 31 May. Available at: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2334076/Fears-Taliban-revenge-forces-16-year-old-actress-playing-Malala-Yousafzai-new-film-hiding.html>.

Rush, J. (2013) "Schoolgirl who defied the Taliban signs book deal 'worth £2m': Malala steps up global campaign for women's education", *The Daily Mail*, 28 March. Available at: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2300619/Malala-Yousafzai-book-Pakistan-schoolgirl-defied-Taliban-signs-deal-worth-2m.html>.

Sanghani, R. (2012) "Thousands call for Nobel Peace Prize for Malala Yousafzai", *The Independent*, 9 November. Available at: <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/asia/thousands-call-for-nobel-peace-prize-for-malala-yousafzai-8300006.html>.

"Schoolgirl shot by Taliban undergoes further successful surgery", *The Guardian*, 3 February 2013, available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/feb/03/schoolgirl-shot-taliban-surgery>.

"Schoolgirl shot in head by Taliban is responding to treatment in UK hospital", *The Independent*, 19 October 2012, available at: <http://www.independent.co.uk/life-style/health-and-families/health-news/schoolgirl-shot-in-head-by-taliban-is-responding-to-treatment-in-uk-hospital-8217354.html>.

Sethi, N. (2012) "Malala lives – but who will take her back to school?", *The Daily Mail*, 11 October. Available at: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/indiahome/article-2216329/Malala-lives--school.html>.

Shah, B. (2012) "Malala Yousafzai, the Taliban's reign of terror, and the brutal cost of cowardice in today's Pakistan", *The Independent*, 11 October. Available at: <http://www.independent.co.uk/voices/comment/malala-yousufzai-the-talibans-reign-of-terror-and-the-brutal-cost-of-cowardice-in-todays-pakistan-8207437.html>.

Shah, B. (2013) "Targeted by militants, Pakistan's women push back", *The Independent*, 19 March. Available at: <http://www.independent.co.uk/voices/comment/targeted-by-militants-pakistans-women-push-back-8539318.html>.

Shah, S. (2012) "Shot by the Taliban: the 14-year-old campaigner riding the school bus", *The Independent*, 10 October. Available at: <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/asia/shot-by-the-taliban-the-14-year-old-campaigner-riding-the-school-bus-8204461.html>.

Shaitly, S. (2013) "Observer Ethical Awards 2013: Malala Yousafzai – International Campaigner of the Year", *The Guardian*, 16 June. Available at:

<http://www.theguardian.com/environment/2013/jun/16/observer-ethical-awards-2013-malala-yousafzai>.

Shamsie, K. (2012) "What has Malala Yousafzai done to the Taliban?", *The Guardian*, 10 October. Available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2012/oct/10/malala-yousafzai-taliban-misogyny>.

Sherwell, P. (2013) "Malala tells UN she will not be silenced by Taliban attack", *The Telegraph*, 12 July. Available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/pakistan/10176418/Malala-tells-UN-she-will-not-be-silenced-by-Taliban-attack.html>.

"Shot girl critical", *The Sun*, 11 October 2012, available at: <http://www.thesun.co.uk/sol/homepage/news/4583269/Shot-girl-critical.html>.

"Shot schoolgirl Malala Yousafzai moved to army hospital", *The Independent*, 12 October 2012, available at: <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/asia/shot-schoolgirl-malala-yousafzai-moved-to-army-hospital-8208044.html>.

Siddique, H. (2013) "Pakistan schoolgirl Malala Yousafzai discharged from hospital", *The Guardian*, 4 January. Available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/jan/04/malala-yousafzai-discharged-birmingham-hospital>.

Siddique, H. (2012a) "Pakistani schoolgirl attacked by Taliban sent to UK for treatment", *The Guardian*, 15 October. Available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/oct/15/pakistani-schoolgirl-taliban-uk-treatment>.

Siddique, H. (2012b) "Malala Yousafzai: police question hospital 'well-wishers'", *The Guardian*, 16 October. Available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/oct/16/malala-yousafzai-hospital-pakistan-birmingham>.

Smith, G. (2012) "'You will be the next Malala': Taliban issues chilling threat against Pakistani schoolgirl, 16, who has campaigned for women's rights", *The Daily Mail*, 23 October. Available at: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2221850/You-Malala-Yousafzai-Taliban-issues-chilling-threat-Hina-Khan.html>.

Staunton, M. (2012) "UN Day of the Girl: What will it take to invest in a female future?", *The Independent*, 10 October. Available at: <http://www.independent.co.uk/voices/comment/un-day-of-the-girl-what-will-it-take-to-invest-in-a-female-future-8205865.html>.

"Supporters of Malala Yousafzai hand in petition for girls' education", *The Telegraph*, 10 November 2012, available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/pakistan/9668889/Supporters-of-Malala-Yousafzai-hand-in-petition-for-girls-education.html>.

"Taliban gun victim Malala recovering after 'successful' five-hour operations to fit skull with titanium plate and have an ear implant", *Daily Mail*, 3 February 2013, available at: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2272813/Malala-Yousafzai-Taliban-gun-victim-recovering-successful-5-hour-operations-fit-skull-titanium-plate.html>.

“Taliban shooting victim Malala, 15, is set to make Britain her permanent home after having a bullet removed from her spine”, *Daily Mail*, 24 November 2012, available at: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2237715/Malala-Yousafzai-make-permanent-home-Britain-speaking-Taliban.html>.

“Taliban shooting victim Malala Yousufzai ‘an inspiration’, says William Hague”, *The Telegraph*, 15 October 2012, available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/pakistan/9608939/Taliban-shooting-victim-Malala-Yousufzai-an-inspiration-says-William-Hague.html>.

Taylor, J. (2012) “Taliban victim Malala ‘beat the odds to live’ – and now she’s standing”, *The Independent*, 20 October. Available at: <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/taliban-victim-malala-beat-the-odds-to-live--and-now-shes-standing-8218632.html>.

“Teen activist Malala nominated for Nobel Peace Prize”, *Daily Mail*, 2 February 2013, available at: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/indiahome/indianews/article-2272259/Teen-activist-Malala-nominated-Nobel-Peace-Prize.html>.

“‘The Taliban have failed’, brave schoolgirl Malala Yousafzai tells UN”, *The Telegraph*, 12 July 2013, available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/pakistan/10175821/The-Taliban-have-failed-brave-schoolgirl-Malala-Yousafzai-tells-UN.html>.

“Thousands call for Nobel peace prize for Malala Yousafzai”, *The Guardian*, 9 November 2012, available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/nov/09/nobel-peace-prize-malala-yousafzai>.

“Thousands gather across the world to mark ‘Malala Day’ in tribute to brave schoolgirl shot by Taliban gunman”, *Daily Mail*, 10 November 2012, available at: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2231007/Malala-Yousafzai-Thousands-gather-worldwide-mark-Malala-Day-tribute-brave-schoolgirl-shot-Taliban.html>.

Topping, A. (2012) “Malala Yousafzai ‘is everybody’s daughter’, says father”, *The Guardian*, 26 October. Available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/oct/26/malala-yousafzai-everybodys-daughter-father>.

Topping, A. (2013) “‘Malala is my idol’: UN speech brings British pupils to tears”, *The Guardian*, 12 July. Available at: <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2013/jul/12/malala-idol-un-speech-pupils>.

Urquhart, C. (2013) “Malala Yousafzai sells life story for a reported £2m”, *The Guardian*, 27 March. Available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/mar/27/malala-yousafzai-life-story-2m>.

Vernalls, R. (2013a) “‘A remarkable young woman’: Shot schoolgirl Malala Yousafzai to have final operation to repair her skull with titanium plate”, *The Independent*, 30 January. Available at: <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/a-remarkable-young-woman-shot-schoolgirl-malala-yousafzai-to-have-final-operation-to-repair-her-skull-with-titanium-plate-8472604.html>.

Vernalls, R. (2013b) “Malala Yousafzai says she’s ‘getting better day by day’ in recorded message”, *The Independent*, 4 February. Available at: <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/malala-yousafzai-says-shes-getting-better-day-by-day-in-recorded-message-8480228.html>.

“Vigil held for shot schoolgirl Malala Yousafzai”, *The Independent*, 18 October 2012, available at: <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/vigil-held-for-shot-schoolgirl-malala-yousafzai-8216569.html>.

Waraich, O. (2013) “Pakistan Taliban’s letter to Malala Yousafzai: We tried to kill you because you were smearing our cause – but we regret attack”, *The Independent*, 17 July. Available at: <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/asia/pakistan-talibans-letter-to-malala-yousafzai-we-tried-to-kill-you-because-you-were-smearing-our-cause--but-we-regret-attack-8714640.html?origin=internalSearch>.

Warsi, S. (2012) “My view”, *The Sun*, 16 October. Available at: <http://www.thesun.co.uk/sol/homepage/news/4591527/Malalas-safe-now.html>.

Watkins, K. (2012) “On one side, Malala. Allied on the other – the Taliban and tax avoidance”, *The Independent*, 18 July. Available at: <http://www.independent.co.uk/voices/comment/on-one-side-malala-allied-on-the-other--the-taliban-and-tax-avoidance-8717780.html?origin=internalSearch>.

Watson, L. (2012) “Pakistani girl shot for standing up to Taliban begs country NOT to name college after her in case it leads to attacks on students”, *The Daily Mail*, 21 December. Available at: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2251572/Malala-Yousufzai-begs-Pakistan-NOT-college-case-leads-attacks-students.html>.

Webb, S. (2012) “Sister of man suspected of Malala shooting says ‘sorry’ to victim and said his actions have ‘shamed the family’”, *The Daily Mail*, 7 November. Available at: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2229075/Malala-Yousufzai-shooting-Suspects-sister-Rehana-Haleem-says-sorry.html>.

Webb, S. (2013) “Father of Pakistani girl shot by Taliban for inspiring girls to get an education is given diplomatic role in UK”, *The Daily Mail*, 3 January. Available at: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2256413/Father-Pakistani-girl-shot-Taliban-inspiring-girls-education-given-diplomatic-role-UK.html>.

Wilkinson, M. (2012) “Taliban shoot peace-campaigning schoolgirl, 14”, *The Sun*, 10 October. Available at: <http://www.thesun.co.uk/sol/homepage/news/4581489/Taliban-shoot-peace-activist-girl-14-in-the-head-on-school-bus.html>.

“William Hague praises ‘brave’ Malala Yousafzai as he meets the injured schoolgirl’s family”, *The Telegraph*, 29 October 2012. Available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/9640689/William-Hague-praises-brave-Malala-Yousafzai-as-he-meets-the-injured-schoolgirls-family.html>.

Woods, J. (2012) “The fate of Malala Yousafzai and the new oppression that makes slaves of women”, *The Telegraph*, 10 November. Available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/women/womens-life/9667059/The-fate-of-Malala-Yousafzai-and-the-new-oppression-that-makes-slaves-of-women.html>.

Notes

I am grateful to Jutta Weldes, Karen Tucker and Magnus Feldmann for their advice and feedback on an earlier draft of this article. I would also like to thank the three anonymous reviewers for their helpful comments.

¹ The start date for the study is the date of Malala Yousafzai's shooting, however it was not necessary to apply this to search criteria as not a single one of these newspapers published any material on Yousafzai before that date. The end date was chosen to include coverage of two important events in July 2013: Malala Yousafzai's speech to the United Nations on her sixteenth birthday, and an open letter written to her by a leading Taliban militant in response to the speech.

² Given that the search is reliant on the newspapers' own website search functions, there is no way of guaranteeing that every article about Yousafzai during that period was captured. However, the vast amount of content collected does allow patterns across the data to be identified.

³ For the two tabloid newspapers, the search term "Malala" was used instead as it was found that a significant number of articles did not contain her surname prominently enough to show up on search results.

⁴ While *The Telegraph* has supported the Conservative Party in every UK election since 1945, and *The Daily Mail* has done so in all but one (when it supported the Conservatives and the Liberal Democrats), *The Guardian* has supported either the Labour Party or Liberal Democrats since the 1950s and the *Independent*, which has given its support in just four elections, has supported Labour once, the Liberal Democrats once, and a combination of the two on the other two occasions. *The Sun*, which has the biggest readership of them all, is the only one to have changed allegiance between Labour and the Conservatives in recent elections, and it has supported them each an equal number of times since 1983 (Stoddard 2010).

⁵ In February 2013, these five newspapers had a combined readership of over five million people, with over four million of these people choosing to read *The Sun* or *The Daily Mail* (*The Guardian*, 8 March 2013).

⁶ Some newspapers, and in particular *The Daily Mail*, tended to repeat content several times so that each new article on Yousafzai's story featured one or several paragraphs of information taken directly from another article they had previously published. This content was included in the analysis as repetition, if anything, only serves to add to the dominant discourse.

⁷ The article adopts the terms 'East' and 'West' in order to make this analysis, in the context of ideological constructs 'that reflect historically based discursive relations of power between colonised peoples and colonising empires', rather than as geographical regions or groups of countries (Marshall and Sensoy 2013, 296).

⁸ It is important to emphasise that when critiquing the portrayal of the shooting of Malala Yousafzai, I am in no way defending the actions of the Pakistani Taliban in attacking her, nor indeed denying the necessity of criticising their actions towards girls and women in the Swat Valley. Instead, I am asking, as Richardson does about misrepresentations of Islam, 'when does warranted criticism such as this slip into prejudiced, derogatory, and anti-Muslim discourse?' (2004, 24).

⁹ While my own position in this analysis as a British scholar is not unproblematic, I see deconstructing gendered and racialized discursive practices within my own cultural setting as part of the 'cross-national feminist solidarity' that Mohanty called for and believed to be possible (2003, 59).

¹⁰ Due to the sheer volume of content to analyse in the 223 articles in this study, analysis of predication was limited to nouns and their accompanying adjectives, thus including labels (e.g. 'schoolgirl', 'activist'), adjectives ('fierce') and qualities ('bravery') associated with each subject.

¹¹ As Doty does, I have separated the three branches of the analysis into different sections within this article for the sake of clarity, however they are strongly interlinked.

¹² Whilst this is a relatively empiricist approach that has allowed me to identify recurring themes within the newspaper coverage, the choice of themes for inclusion in this study is inevitably a result of my own personal interpretation of the discourses, and it is entirely possible that another scholar may have chosen to focus on different aspects of the text.

¹³ They are the Armed Forces Institute of Cardiology, Combine Military Hospital in Peshawar and the Saidu Sharif Teaching Hospital in Swat.

¹⁴ The Queen Elizabeth Hospital in Birmingham.

¹⁵ During the Afghan war from 1986 to 1989, the United States and Saudi Arabia channelled \$3.5 billion into Afghanistan and Pakistan, leading to what Hussain calls 'the privatisation of the concept of jihad' (Stern 2000, 121; Hussain 2007, 21).

¹⁶ For example, “Malala Yousafzai calls on governments to provide free education for all” is an active construction (Holpuch 2013), “Shot girl ‘critical’” is a passive construction (*The Sun*, 11 October 2012), and “Schoolgirl shot in the head by Taliban speaks defiantly” is both passive and active (Brooke 2013).