LINGUISTIC POSITIONING OF THE KASHMIR ISSUE IN PAKISTANI, INDIAN, AND AMERICAN MEDIA DISCOURSE: A CORPUS-ASSISTED CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

BY

FAISAL FAROOQ

NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF MODERN LANGUAGES

ISLAMABAD

October, 2023

LINGUISTIC POSITIONING OF THE KASHMIR ISSUE IN PAKISTANI, INDIAN, AND AMERICAN MEDIA DISCOURSE: A CORPUS-ASSISTED CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

By

FAISAL FAROOQ

BS English, University of AJ&K, Muzaffarabad, 2018

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF

THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

In **English**

To

FACULTY OF ARTS & HUMANITIES

NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF MODERN LANGUAGES, ISLAMABAD

© Faisal Farooq, 2023

NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF MODERN LANGUAGES   FACULTY OF ARTS & HUMANITIES

THESIS AND DEFENSE APPROVAL FORM

The undersigned certify that they have read the following thesis, examined the defence, are satisfied with the overall exam performance, and recommend the thesis to the Faculty of Arts & Humanities for acceptance.

Thesis Title: Linguistic Positioning of the Kashmir Issue in Pakistani, Indian, and American Media Discourse: A Corpus-Assisted Critical Discourse Analysis

Submitted by: Faisal Farooq   **Registration #:** 24-MPhil-Eng-Ling-S20

Master of Philosophy

English Linguistics

Dr. Arshad Ali   _____

Research Supervisor   Signature of Research Supervisor

Dr. Muhammad Safeer Awan   _____

Dean (FAH)   Signature of Dean (FAH)

_____

AUTHOR'S DECLARATION

I <u>Faisal Farooq</u>

Son of <u>Muhammad Farooq</u>

Registration# <u>24-MPhil-Eng-Ling-S20</u>

Discipline <u>English Linguistics</u>

Candidate of **Master of Philosophy** at the National University of Modern Languages do hereby declare that the thesis **Linguistic Positioning of the Kashmir Issue in Pakistani, Indian, and American Media Discourse: A Corpus-Assisted Critical Discourse Analysis** submitted by me in partial fulfilment of MPhil degree, is my original work, and has not been submitted or published earlier. I also solemnly declare that it shall not, in the future, be submitted by me for obtaining any other degree from this or any other university or institution.

I also understand that if evidence of plagiarism is found in my thesis/dissertation at any stage, even after the award of a degree, the work may be cancelled and the degree revoked.

_____

Signature of Candidate

<u>Faisal Farooq</u>

Name of Candidate

_____

Date

ABSTRACT

Title: Linguistic Positioning of the Kashmir Issue in Pakistani, Indian, and American Media Discourse: A Corpus-Assisted Critical Discourse Analysis

Since both India and Pakistan gained independence in 1947, the Kashmir issue has been at the centre of a territorial dispute between the two nations. This study intends to investigate how the print media has projected the Kashmir issue as it has been portrayed in editorials and articles. For this purpose, the corpus-based approach is used to analyse editorials and articles from Pakistani, Indian, and American newspapers from August 5, 2019, to December 31, 2021. The research compares how the Kashmir issue is presented in the three nations' newspapers by closely examining lexical items. Thus, three corpora totaling 169,680 words are created based on newspaper editorials and articles in three countries. The newspaper editorials and articles are from renowned Pakistani, Indian and American press outlets. The Baker (2008) model of concordance analysis of lexical items and the Critical Discourse Analysis methodology proposed by van Dijk (2004) serve as the theoretical framework for the study. A software tool like Antconc is used to analyse the data. According to the results, Pakistani data was more frequent than the American and Indian data. The findings reveal that three countries' publications presented Kashmir as their property and used various lexical items depending on national interests. The three principles of Van Dijk (2004) are described by the three corpora in different perspectives, i.e., social power abuse, domination and inequality. Pakistani media blame India for social power abuse, domination and unequal treatment of Kashmiris, while Indian media blame Pakistan for all these. America, the neutral, somehow balances the situation but fails to solve the issue according to UN security resolutions. Additionally, the results demonstrated that the keyword 'Kashmir' has the highest frequency in all corpora. In order to obtain a more thorough outcome, articles 370 and 35A should be quantitatively investigated in the valley of Kashmir to get a more accurate perception of the Kashmiris.

Keywords: Van Dijk model, CDA, 370 and 35A articles, media discourse, Kashmir issue.

Table of Contents

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1. BJP   Bharatiya Janata Party

2. CADS   Corpus-Assisted Discourse Analysis

3. CDA   Critical Discourse Analysis

4. CDS   Critical Discourse Studies

5. CL   Corpus Linguistics

6. CLCDA   Corpus Linguistic Critical Discourse Analysis

7. DA   Discourse Analysis

8. ICJ   International Court of Justice

9. IHK   Indian Held Kashmir

10. IoK   Indian Occupied Kashmir

11. J&K   Jammu and Kashmir

12. KWIC   Keyword in Context

13. PoK   Pakistam Occupied Kashmir

14. SC   Scheduled Castes

15. ST   Scheduled Tribes

16. UN   United Nations

17. UNO   United Nations Organization

18. UNSC   United Nations Security Council

19. USA   United States of America

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

DEDICATION

First, I dedicate my little understanding to Allah, the All-Wise, and the All-Knowing. In the hope that this work may somehow bring happiness and joy to their lives as they filled mine with, this thesis is wholeheartedly dedicated to my father, Muhammad Farooq, and mother for their prayers, untiring comfort, cheering up, and support at full length during my pursuit of education. This attainment will accomplish the dream my father has envisioned for me.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The research work presented in this study explores the linguistic positioning of the Kashmir issue in the media discourse of the three countries. These countries are Pakistan, India and America. The study examines the situation in Kashmir following the reversal of articles 370 and 35A of the Indian Constitution by the Indian Government on 5th August 2019. Since the first day of partition, India and Pakistan are constantly rolling up their sleeves to let each other down. Kashmir is the main issue that put these two nuclear-armed neighbours on the verge of war. Both are zealous about Kashmir and want to be bound to their respective states and use powerful words for Kashmir, such as "Sherag" by Pakistan and "Akand Baharat" by India (Rashid et al., 2020). They fought three wars on this issue, and the Kargil escalation was also linked. Moreover, Pakistan took this matter to the United Nations Security Council (UNSC).

Pakistan has usually emphasised a close connection with J&K based on the division of the country and the predominately Muslim population of the region (Tan, 2000), while India has considered Kashmir a constitutional component of its territory (Bose, 2005). India managed to control the sole Muslim-majority state of Jammu and Kashmir with a political strategy. Jammu and Kashmir had special status through semi-autonomy clauses of the constitution of India. It was given a constitution and legislative power outside of foreign policy, defence, and communications under Article 370. Article 35A provides special status to the permanent residents of Kashmir, such as employment and property rights. Through constitutional integration orders, state-applied federal laws, and ongoing political micromanagement over the years, the Indian parliament reduced this autonomy by abrogating these two articles. India faced heavy resistance from Kashmir, Pakistan and its people.

Many researchers have discussed Kashmir and other related issues. However, all of the researchers used a small quantity of data that was manually and computationally analysed (Khound, 2019; Alam et al., 2020; Ahmad et al., 2022; Rashid et al., 2020; Saddiqa &Yousafzai, 2019). Researchers need to deal with a huge amount of data to

analyse the representation of the Kashmir issue in the media discourse, particularly due to the revocation of articles 370 and 35A. The present study intends to accomplish this by analysing the language of English newspapers published in three countries: Pakistan, India, and America. Due to their accessibility for corpus development, nine different newspapers (three from each country) were selected as the raw data for the analysis.

The media is one of the most effective tools governments and authorities use to manipulate the public and mould their ideas (Van Dijk, 1996). Most individuals agree that newspapers and television are the most well-known and prominent mass media outlets for news. Since the emergence of newspapers, they have benefited society (Priya & Ravi, 2016). Respectively, following the revocation of articles in IoK, most political experts and journalists used newspapers and television screens to express their views. As a result, the goal of this research is not only to investigate the similarities and differences between newspapers but also to compare and contrast the language of newspapers published in English from three different countries: India, Pakistan, and America.

A considerable share of our behaviours is influenced and prepared by language, which significantly impacts society. Language is crucial in establishing societal power relations and is intimately linked to identity development. It is instrumental in shaping the attitudes and ideas of many people, sometimes persuading them to act one way rather than another (Bayram, 2010). When there is conflict or war, people tend to portray themselves favourably and others badly, which brings out the power of words more. Similarly, language influences demonstrators' behaviour in widespread protest situations (Filali-Ansary, 2012). Therefore, the researcher looked at how the Kashmir issue was positioned linguistically in the media discourse of three different countries. It refers to speaking or writing to describe a topic or idea while allowing others to identify the order or placement of the words used in the written or spoken composition.

This study highlights the role of the language of newspapers in representing the situation of Kashmir across countries. It is demonstrated by examining the perspectives of political experts from three countries where newspapers are published and how they have depicted the plight of the Kashmiri people. This study adds to the existing body of research in the disciplines of CDA and CL by analysing how these two approaches interact.

1.1 Statement of the Problem

The power of language appears greater during war and conflict when the various parties involved seek to promote themselves favourably while portraying others poorly. Language is one of the most essential tools for influencing the actions of the protesters in the event of a large-scale protest. There was constant protest, lockdown, crackdown on Kashmiri people and leaders and arresting them as well just after the reversal of articles 370 and 35A. The Kashmir issue, a contentious issue between two nuclear states, is causing a lack of interest and practical steps from the UNSC to resolve this burning conflict, with even the UNSC debating the matter without taking any concrete action.

The researcher has researched depicting the Kashmir issue using large corpora, focusing on the situation following the reversal of articles 370 and 35A, as there is not much work carried out on the linguistic positioning of Kashmir in media discourse after the abrogation of articles 370 and 35A. Moreover, the prior literature also indicates a dearth of research studies combining CDA and Corpus linguistics methodologies to investigate the representation of Kashmir in media discourse. This study employs corpus linguistics (CL) and critical discourse analysis (CDA) to investigate the linguistic positioning of Kashmir after the abrogation of articles 370 and 35A.

1.2 Research Objectives

To examine the comparative depiction of the Kashmir issue in the media discourse of three countries:

1. To find out the most frequently used lexical items describing the Kashmir issue.

2. To indicate the writers' perspective by collocation analysis of the lexical items.

3. To analyse the positioning of the Kashmir issue in the selected publications.

1.3 Research Questions

1. What are the most frequently used lexical items, and how do they reveal their respective positioning of the Kashmir issue in the selected publications?

2**.** What does a collocation analysis of the Kashmir issue and other related terms indicate about the writers' perspectives in the newspaper articles and editorials in question?

3**.** How is the Kashmir issue positioned in the selected publications subsequent to the revocation of Articles 370 and 35A in the Indian constitution?

1.4 Research Methodology

This research is carried out using both qualitative and quantitative methods. In this sense, the qualitative paradigm includes critical discourse analysis of the data collected from nine newspapers published in three countries. The study focuses on the lexical items used by English newspapers from three countries in reporting and portraying the Kashmir issue and the sufferings of the Kashmiri people following the revocation of Articles 370 and 35A of the Indian Constitution. The data is analysed through van Dijk's critical discourse analysis (CDA) model. According to van Dijk (2004), "Critical Discourse Analysis is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in social and political contexts" (p. 352).

Additionally, this paradigm aids academics in understanding how language, power ideologies, and society are related. When conducting in-depth qualitative studies of a single text or small group of texts, critical discourse analysis (CDA) researchers usually consider the social, historical, and political settings that are crucial to the development and understanding of the text (Wodak, 2001). This study employs critical discourse analysis since the researcher wants to work with newspapers. This framework and methodology aid in the critical analysis of the collected data.

This study, on the other hand, is quantitative because it uses corpus-assisted critical discourse analysis. The quantitative analysis of a huge amount of text, done computationally and automatically, is what Corpus Linguistics (CL) is traditionally concerned with: frequency, collocation, concordance, and keywords in the text are assessed using Corpus Linguistic tools. Corpus Linguistic tools enable researchers to obtain precise results.

The researcher collected the selected newspaper editorials and articles related to the Kashmir issue from online sources using a purposive sampling tool. The extracted newspaper editorials and articles are categorised in text files by the name of the newspaper. The extra things and titles are removed so only required data may remain in the corpus. For data analysis, the AntConc (version 4.1.0) tool is employed. Word frequency, a concordance list, and collocation are all displayed using it. Laurence Anthony is the one who created this tool. It is utilised because it has every feature necessary to do this investigation. It is free and readily accessible. It also satisfies the requirements of the project and is simple to use, established, and reliable.

Later, the data is critically analysed using van Dijk's CDA model to show how newspapers use social power abuse, dominance, and inequality to enact, reproduce, and resist oppression in both social and political contexts.

1.5 Significance of the Study

Following the repeal of sections 370 and 35A, the Kashmir dispute is the subject of this linguistic study, which uses corpus-assisted critical discourse analysis. There has never been a corpus-based study into the Kashmir issue that produced a precise result, making the investigation unique and ground-breaking. This study makes major contributions to the fields of corpus linguistics and the study of newspaper language, regardless of any particular problem or subject. The researcher is interested in corpus linguistics generally to examine large collections of texts stored electronically, the analysis based on it describe common language use better. Moreover, the focus is on lexical items or patterns of their co-occurrence. It provides specifications for creating a large corpus of newspaper language. The contribution of the present research, which has created a corpus of newspaper language from three distinct countries for the use of academics, researchers, and linguists working with newspaper language corpus, further demonstrates the value of this study.

This study examines lexical items to determine the perspectives of the newspapers on the Kashmir issue from each of the three countries using a corpus and CDA methods. The Kashmir issue is a source of contention between Pakistan and India, and America is a superpower. Pakistan and India are directly concerned with Kashmir, and America, being a superpower, has an important role in the Kashmir issue. It aids corpus-based learning for

students and researchers in corpus linguistics, particularly in media discourse, enhancing the exploration of corpus-related topics. It also helps novice researchers analyze data and raises awareness about analytic and computationally calculated studies on the issue.

The study will also highlight the severity of the Kashmir issue at the national and international level because, as we know, the Kashmir issue, involving nuclear-armed countries, has significantly impacted international relations, leading to strained relations and a negative impact on the economies of both nations, as they allocate significant budgets for defense on their borders commonly known as the Line of Control (LoC).

1.6 Delimitation of the Study

This research focuses on the traumatic experiences of the Kashmiri people following the abolition of Articles 370 and 35A of the Indian constitution. The study is restricted to coverage of only Kashmir-related events in nine English newspapers from three different countries, namely Pakistan, India, and America. The newspapers in Pakistan are The Dawn, The News, and The Nation. The newspapers based in India are India Today, The Hindu, and The Indian Express. The newspapers based in America are USA Today, Washington Today, and the New York Times.

The newspapers published between the 5th of August 2019 and the 31st of December 2021 were selected for the study. For this purpose, a corpus of newspaper language has been constructed with 169,680 words collected from online sources. I created three corpora out of the data: United States Corpus, having 34068 words; Indian Corpus, having 39670 words; and Pakistani Corpus, having 95942 words. To work within the time, I narrowed my study to the following features of AntConc toolkit version 4.1.0, those features are keyword, frequency, concordance and collocation.

1.7 Organisation of the Study

The first chapter of the thesis, the Introduction, consists of several sections. It has given some context for the current research. The first section is an introduction where the researcher introduces the topic with some insight and information. The other parts of this chapter are problem statements, research objectives, research questions, research

methodology, delimitations and significance of the study. It has discussed the procedures for conducting this study and its significance in corpus-based linguistic studies.

The next chapter, Chapter 2, comprises a literature review of significant topics related to the present research. The overview of the Kashmir problem, the repeal of Articles 370 and 35A, CDA, discourse analysis, and the function of CDA in this study are all included. Corpus linguistics is explained in this chapter. This chapter also discusses the benefits of applying CL approaches in critical discourse analysis and combining CDA and CL. Previous related studies are also discussed in this chapter.

Chapter 3 discusses the research methodology adopted in the present study. It gives a detailed explanation of the steps taken to compile a newspaper language corpus. It introduces the lexical items that have been chosen for investigation. A detailed description of the methodology for data analysis has also been provided.

Chapter 4 deals with the step-by-step discussion of data analysis. The analysis of the selected keywords and lexical items follows. In light of the data from the corpus and relevant literature, it provides an interpretation of the findings. An evaluation of the key findings of the study concludes the chapter.

Chapter 5 summarises the main points of the present study. Discussions of major findings are provided. Implications of the study are also highlighted. The chapter ends with recommendations for further study in the field.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Since Kashmir has been robbed of its freedom for seven decades, no international organisation has taken on responsibility for finding a solution. Twelve million individuals have suffered due to the provocation of articles 370 and 35A. Knowing all the pros and cons of the Kashmir issue is necessary to get insight and conduct a thorough study. With the aid of previous linguistic research, it is crucial to identify and concisely explain the fundamental terms when presenting data.

2.1 Background of the Revocation

The social, historical, and political backdrops of the Kashmir issue generally and the circumstances surrounding the incident on August 5, 2019, particularly are discussed in this chapter. The content-based objectives of the study are to explain discourses regarding how Kashmiris are portrayed and how they are suffering as a result of the repeal of Indian Constitutional Articles 370 and 35A. Since most corpus analysis results are descriptive, it might be helpful to understand the political, cultural, and social settings of the events being studied to explain and interpret the results.

2.1.1 The Genesis of the Kashmir Issue

Jammu and Kashmir became independent under the British Raj on March 6, 1846, due to the Treaty of Amritsar (Hayat, 2020). After gaining independence on August 15, 1947, all princely states in India, including the state of J&K, had the option of joining one of the two Pakistani or Indian dominions or maintaining their independence (Hasan, 1966). However, it was recommended that the demography and geography of the state be taken into consideration while deciding whether to exercise the choice to join any domain (Feeley, 2000).

When Jammu and Kashmir was divided, Muslims made up 77 percent of the total population, and most of them wanted to move to Pakistan, while Maharaja Hari Singh wanted to move to India and was looking for a suitable moment to do so (Alam, Bhatti &

Awan, 2020). Mahatma Gandhi's special visit to Srinagar and the undesirable Radcliffe Award are two examples of incidents demonstrating the Maharaja and the partiality of the Indian government. Regarding the Radcliffe Award, Birdwood (1956) asserted that the placement of Indian forces, which were committed to J&K for its occupation, would have been unsafe if the Gurdaspur district (a district with a Muslim majority) had been included in Pakistan. In addition, the previous prime minister of J&K, M. C. Mahajan (1963), stated that if the tehsils of Gurdaspur had been given to Pakistan, there would not have been a connection road connecting India and J&K. The State would have been encircled by Pakistan, making it impossible for it to reach India. Before August 15, Maharaja Hari Singh preferred to retain the State of J&K independence, but later changed his mind and supported joining India (Mahajan, 1963). All revisions to the boundary map, according to Ch. Muhammad Ali, a former Pakistani prime minister (1973), took place between August 8 and August 12, 1947.

According to Snedden (2012), despite Maharaja's Standstill Agreement with Pakistan, both governments attempted to occupy the State of J&K using a variety of tactics. On the opposite side, an operation to repress the Muslim voice was started by Maharaja's soldiers and Sikh forces (Bazaz, 1954). On August 8, 1947, the Muslims of Mirpur and Poonch launched the resistance movement in response to these crimes against the Dogra Raj (Snedden, 2012). Soon, 60,000 former soldiers joined the resistance effort to form the Poonch rebellion. State forces launched the slaughter of the Muslims fighting freedom fighters in response to the rebellion (Birdwood, 1956). Stephens (1963) claims that almost five million Muslims were expelled from the state, mostly by being driven to western Punjab or by being massacred.

Following the massacre, Mehsood and Afridi tribesmen from the North Frontier Province (now Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) of Pakistan entered Jammu & Kashmir on October 22, 1947, to aid and save their Kashmiri Muslims from annihilation. On October 24, after liberating some parts of the State of J&K, they declared Azad Jammu and Kashmir an independent state. After seeing the position of his forces, Maharaja pleaded with the Indian Government for assistance. As a result, on October 26, 1947, he signed a tendentious document (Korbel, 1966). On October 27, 1947, Mountbatten granted the letter of consent, subject to the will of the people. The Kashmiri people and the Pakistani administration

were promised reconciliation by the Indian government in order to conceal the violation of the guiding principles of the partition (Korbel, 1966). Jawaharlal Nehru, the prime minister of India, stated in a telegram to Liaqat Ali Khan, the prime minister of Pakistan that the succession of Jammu & Kashmir to the union had to conform to the preferences of the residents of the state (Hasan, 1966). According to Burke and Ziring (1990), the Pakistani government said on October 30, 1947, that Pakistan would never recognise the Instrument of Accession and that the accession of India was illogical and against the will of the Kashmiri people. Some authors believed the accession was final and permanent, while others said it was conditional and temporary (Khan, 1994).

2.1.2 Revocation of Article 370 and 35A

Following his appointment as prime minister in 2019, when the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) won the majority of seats, Modi launched the Hindutva agenda of the Hindu nationalist organisation RSS (Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh). Every sort of public gathering was prohibited in the first week of August 2019, and all Kashmiri freedom fighters and political leaders were placed under house arrest. Tourists were also ordered to leave the valley immediately, and there was a complete communication blackout. In order to strengthen the security operation, the Indian government also dispatched an additional 38,000 soldiers to the IOK, where they began making arrests of youth and freedom fighters. A presidential order called C. O. 272 was issued, surpassing all previous orders and serving two purposes. First, the revoking process was altered from what is described in section 3 of Article 370. After the Constituent Assembly of Indian Held Kashmir (IHK), which is no longer in existence since its dissolution in 1957, confirmed the article, the President was the only authority with the authority to revoke it, according to the policy outlined in section 3. On November 21, 2018, Governor Satya Pal Malik also dissolved the state assembly, making the IHK legislative assembly inoperative. On June 19, 2018, BJP, Mehbooba Mufti's alliance partner, left the government, resulting in this breakup. Governor Raj led the state after the BJP broke away from her government. Nearly everyone thought that Article 370 was unaffected by time. Even the Supreme Court of India and the J&K High Court cited it in their rulings (Alam, Bhatti& Awan, 2020).

IoK receives a special status under Article 370, including its constitution, flag, and control over state administration. Article 35A was nullified and cancelled as a result of the revocation the Article 370. This article keeps state statistics safe by forbidding non-state individuals from purchasing property in Kashmir. By repealing Article 35A, the Indian government hopes to alter the statistical ratio by resettling non-state residents there. As a result, the Rajya Sabha, the upper house of parliament in India, and the Lok Sabha, the lower house of parliament, both voted for resolutions on Presidential Order 272 the next day. Then, under presidential order C. O. 273, the full Indian Constitution was implemented in the state of IOK. It violated Article 3 of the Constitution, Clauses 5 and 7 of the Instrument of Accession, and all UNSC resolutions. Since all of these preceding activities were deemed extra-vires by the rulings of the Indian courts, other applications contesting the legitimacy of the Order have also been filed with the Supreme Court of India. The legal cases challenging these orders are still pending. However, there are conflicting views on the validity of Order 272, even in India. For example, constitutional scholar Subhash C. Kashyap thinks it is a sound and legitimate decision, whereas expert AG Noorani thinks it is "an illegal decision, similar to commenting fraud" (Pandey, 2019). The politicians and leaders from Kashmir protested the action of the BJP on its own with increased vigour. According to Omer Abdullah and Mehbhooba Mufti, this decision has betrayed the Kashmiris and has driven Kashmiris to the breaking point. Therefore, it will have disastrous outcomes (EFSAS, 2019).

Many analysts believe that except for BJP allies, the annexation of IOK through the repeal of articles 370 and 35A is not favourable to Kashmiris, despite what New Delhi and the BJP leadership have said. The long-term agenda of the BJP states that it favours the repression of Muslims and the dominance of Hindus in the state (Fair, 2019). The Indian Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA), which was implemented in December 2019, significantly discriminates against Muslims and other minority immigrants, even though secularism is a feature of the Indian Constitution (Kakkar, 2020). According to authors who supported the BJP, Article 370 was an unfair provision that mainly favoured Muslims in the IoK at the expense of Hindu, Buddhist, and Sikh people. While some experts believe that the invasion was a terrible act, P. Chidambaram, a senior member of the Congress Party, remarked in a Parliamentary session on August 6, 2019, that this act was

"catastrophic" and would have major long-term effects on the populace. Similarly, opposition leader Ghulam Nabi Azad termed the central government's actions as a "matter of shame" (Pandey, 2019). Former Indian parliamentarian Brinda Karat claims that the house of the Kashmiri people has been violently demolished, and as a result, they are now terrified and furious. Hence, they cannot be pushed into joining India by the Modi government (EFSAS, 2019).

A violent history and tense relationship exist between Pakistan and India, primarily because of the Kashmir issue since 1947. There have been border confrontations, warlike conflicts, and three wars over the Kashmir issue, which continues to be a source of contention. When India and Pakistan developed nuclear weapons, South Asia was forced to become an unsafe zone due to the unfavourable and hostile ties between the nations. This area became more unstable and dangerous after the repeal of Articles 370 and 35A. The distance of the international community from the Kashmir conflict and the inability of international institutions to address it remain as they were in this situation, where the perseverance of India in the uninvited invasion of IHK continues. Kashmiris will not wait around inactively for anyone else. As they have proved over the past 70 years, they will fight for their inalienable rights (Alam, Bhatti & Awan, 2020).

2.2 Critical Discourse Analysis

In the past 10 years of the 20th century, the field of critical discourse analysis (CDA), which originally emerged in the 1970s, has experienced substantial growth (Manjarrés, 2007). Thus, discourse is considered "a type of social practice" in language studies, a generally new perspective (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997, p. 258). CDA pays particular attention to the vital role that context plays in discourse as it examines the connections between language, power, and society (Wodak, 2001). Van Dijk (1998) defined CDA as a field that examines texts to pinpoint the discursive sources of prejudice, inequality, and power and how these sources are sustained, altered, and disseminated within certain social, political, historical, and cultural contexts. According to Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999), discourse analysis aims to make opaque power relations more obvious and understandable. It is established by society and socially constitutive. In order to prevent individuals from being influenced by how ideologies and particular issues are

addressed, CDA uses a strategy to raise attention to the various forms of dominance, inequality, and dictatorial practices that exist in society.

It is a highly context-sensitive, democratic strategy that adopts an ethical stance on social issues intending to enhance society. Van Dijk (1993b) asserts that CDA should not be concerned with the interests or perspectives of people in power, who are in the best position to look out for their interests anyhow, because the effectiveness of CDA is judged by its successful commitment to change. According to Breeze (2011), CDA is viewed as a prospective worldview that advances our understanding of how ideology manifests itself through language or discourse by elaborating on and streamlining the connection between language and the exercise of social power. CDA also explores the different manners by which texts (spoken/written) are created, received, or understood and thinks about what is involved in the text and what is overlooked. According to Van Dijk (2009), CDA is also known as Critical Discourse Studies (CDS), and he believes that CDS is more thorough and adopts a more critical stance by embracing critical analysis, critical theory, and critical applications. He supports his choice for this task. Furthermore, CDS is an approach for proving that the critical approach is a critical perspective, position, or attitude within the discipline of multidisciplinary Discourse Studies, as opposed to merely a discourse analysis technique limited to examining writings and talks. The two designations of CDA and CDS are now in use in the field of study; nevertheless, for the sake of this study, I stuck with the CDA, which has been used in more than 95% of the papers cited.

The ability of CDA to explain and express discourse in context and how and why discourses function in a certain way sets it apart from other discourse analysis topics. It explains why CDA analysts give the social, historical, political, and cultural discourse where texts of power emerge a considerable amount of consideration. According to Luke (2002), CDA integrates linguistics with cultural and social analysis of texts. He continues by stating that CDA is not sufficient, regardless of how thorough a linguistic analysis of the texts is, and that CDA requires the background image of social theoretic discourse for describing and elaborating the contextual factors, concomitants, variables, and consequences of any given text or discourse. Fairclough and Wodak (1997) express that discourse cannot be perceived without thinking about the context, and that the text cannot

be perceived without mulling over its use in a specific circumstance and relations with other discourses.

The CDA is used in this study to analyse the language of six English newspapers produced in Pakistan, India, and the United States. It provides insight into how Kashmir-related topics are portrayed throughout approximately 17 months, from 5 August 2009 to 31 December 2020, as well as the reasons for those representations and whether or not the media is biased in its reporting. In this study, the CDA is used to analyse both the content of the newspapers and how the discourses they employ reflect the power dynamics in the three countries.

2.2.1 Multidisciplinary and Interdisciplinary Approach

Text linguistics, sociolinguistics, classical rhetoric, pragmatics, and applied linguistics were some of the origins of CDA (McKay, 2009). Highlighting the connections between language, power, ideology, and culture is a common objective of the various frameworks employed by CDA (Pasha, 2011). Due to these reasons, CDA proponents emphasise that any criticism of the CDA itself should be aimed at specific studies or researchers rather than the approach itself, and as a result, CDA should not be viewed as a closed or holistic paradigm (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). A CDA is an interdisciplinary approach, according to Wodak (2002), because most social issues are complex. As a result, one should see CDA as both a method and a theory. In addition to describing the communication event, CDA interprets it and explains how and why it happened (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999). CDA may be referred to as a program or a school, claim Fairclough and Wodak (1997).

An interdisciplinary method known as CDA examines both language characteristics, or the macro level, and social, cultural, and political circumstances (van Dijk, 1993b). Discourse is a form of communication that contains particular ideologies, politics, and points of view, claim Chilton and Schaffner (2002). As evidence of the multidisciplinary diversity of CDA, the various topics CDA analysts have studied include political discourse, ideology, racism, economic discourse, and advertisements and promotional culture. Other areas include media language and institutional discourse, such as doctor-patient communication and education (van Dijk, 1993a, 1995b, 2000; Wodak,

1997; Chouliaraki, 1998; Kress, 1997). Even though CDA is not meant to be a specific framework, ideology, or field of study with a single theoretical foundation, we might also find general theoretical and conceptual frameworks that are strongly aligned given the shared perspective and objectives of CDA (Van Dijk, 1998).

2.2.2 Critical Discourse

2.2.2.1 Critical

In CDA, the word "critical" refers to exposing covert power relations, such as racism and inequality, as well as their underlying roots (van Dijk, 1995a). Wodak (1997) asserts that CDA is essential because it examines and clarifies the connections between language and society. It is crucial because it deals with social, cultural, and political issues (Pasha, 2011). It is discourse analysis with an attitude; therefore, it is important (van Dijk, 2001a). It is realistic and provides interpretations and explanations for people who seek to challenge or at least comprehend the origins of power. It also investigates societal inequalities, including discrimination and unjust power access (Fairclough, 2001, 2009). It is essential because this text analyzes dominant social groups, their circumstances, behavior, and covert intentions in communication contexts, revealing their influence and influence (Rahimi &Riasati, 2011).

Martin (2004), on the other hand, takes a different angle when it comes to the critical component of CDA, arguing that it tends to focus on the texts' problematic aspects and urging CDA researchers to pay closer attention to the constructive or even transforming uses of discourse. Kendall (2007) explained that being critical implies "not taking anything for granted... does not imply the common sense notion of being negative rather sceptical" (p. 3).

According to this study, critical thinking is a strategy for educating people about how inequality, dominance, and pro-government practices exist in society. It urges them to be conscious of these ways and endure decline for manipulation of specific issues and ideologies presented in the media, inspiring them to change and improve the society in which they live.

The ability to demonstrate how specific occurrences are portrayed and justified in light of the preferences of the group in control of the situation is crucial to this study. According to this theory, critical analysis is a technique to evaluate and clarify how ideology affects language use. It sheds light on how language and the balance of power in society are related. Being critical in this thesis entails choosing to see things from the perspective of those who are suffering and critically evaluating the language used by those in positions of authority simply because they are the individuals who have control over the resources in society, are responsible for the existence of inequalities, and have the power to improve circumstances.

2.2.2.2 Discourse

According to Widdowson (1995a), who describes discourse as widespread but spread very thin, it is not easy to define. She describes it as being quite fashionable while also being extremely uncertain. It is difficult to pinpoint key concepts related to speech, as Van Dijk (2009) stated, because it is a complex social phenomenon. Fairclough (1992) stated that discourse is a difficult concept to define, and he divided it into two categories i.e., critical and non-critical. The difference between these two approaches is that the first analyses and explains events and circumstances rather than narrates them. This study is critical because the events related to the Kashmir issue are analysed from different perspectives. According to Maingueneau (2006), one type of discourse analysis describes the patterns of texts and conversation, and the other, more effective than the first, involves connecting discourse and social systems. Thus, the first stands for established structural linguistics, whereas the second symbolises a shift toward critical linguistics.

Harris (1952) defined discourse as the collection of formal regularities in distinct phrases. He used discourse analysis to refer to more complicated language than a single phrase. Even though Harris (1952) defined discourse as language in use, he primarily focused on the first half of the definition—language alone—while neglecting the other, context-related portion. Harris's definition of discourse is adopted by Stubbs (1983), who asserted that discourse sought to analyse larger linguistic units, such as spoken interactions or written texts, by looking at how language is constructed above the sentence or phrase level.

Discourse, which Blommaert (2005) described as "language in action," was used in this thesis because it shapes and develops unique versions of events. Since discourse sometimes creates events, behaviours, and changes, it is successful and influential in society. One can interpret reality, give it a purpose, and choose which events should occur using discourse. Burr (1995, p. 48) uses the debate surrounding foxhunting as an example to bolster this claim. According to Burr, there are two different discourses in which foxhunting may be portrayed: the "foxhunting as pests' control discourse," which could be viewed as a tactic of maintaining a manageable fox birthrate because otherwise, they will expand beyond control, and the "attack on the farmers' cattle," which causes the "poor" farmers to lose several thousand pounds every year as a result of foxes' attacks on their cattle. The opposing argument, "foxhunting as the violation of basic ethics," declares that since cattle have the same basic rights to life as people do, shooting them is an immoral activity. Language can be thought of as traces of a particular discourse since it inspires individuals to act in a certain way rather than discourse in and of itself.

2.2.3 Discourse Analysis (DA) and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

According to Fitch (2005), discourse analysis initially concentrates on the internal structure of the texts, occasionally using Halliday's Systemic-Functional Linguistics (1978). Fairclough and Wodak (1997) view discourse as a social practice and emphasise the dialectical interaction between language and society. They claim discourse is "socially conditioned and constitutive" (p. 258).

Discourse analysis (DA) and critical discourse analysis (CDA) are difficult to distinguish from one another because Discourse practises described by DA, whereas CDA illustrates how these practices can contribute to the development, maintenance, and alteration of relations of inequality, such as those between men and women, the poor and the rich, as well as how they can hide power (Fairclough, 1992). Maingueneau (2006) provides a list of three levels that can be used as a reference to separate the critical aspect of discourse study from the other non-critical features. First, choosing certain issues for inquiry can significantly impact social inequality, power relationships, social classes, and many more. The second crucial factor might involve taking the position that social sciences must help alter societies. Thirdly, suppose the discourse analysts went beyond merely

describing textual and conversational patterns to connecting these structures to social behaviours and geographic contexts. In that case, the critical perspective may still be obtained even if they did not intend to alter society.

2.3 Corpus Linguistics

There are two primary angles through which language can be examined. The initial step is to evaluate its construction. Examining the underlying expressions and units, as well as how smaller units are joined to form larger ones, are all included in this. Second, look into how language normally generates it in real-world settings (Biber et al., 1998). A common inclusion under the second use is corpus linguistics (CL). A "corpus" was described by Hunston (2002) as a collection of real-world language examples that had been gathered for linguistic study. These samples can be as short as a few lines or as long as a written or recorded text collection. As well-defined by McEnery and Wilson (2001), Corpus linguistics is the study of language based on instances of "real life" language usage. Since the 1990s saw the introduction of personal computers, this technique has gained popularity. It gives the impression that a very recent methodology uses computers to analyse language.

In contrast to the 1960s and 1970s, researchers today have access to enormous and diverse corpora and various software and tools that make it quick and relatively simple for them to evaluate their data. However, just because some state-of-the-art corpus linguistics techniques are available does not indicate that the corpus data automatically gets simpler without human association. Ball (1994) contends that text processing software can speed up human analysis and that manual and automated text analysis techniques are closely connected.

In several domains, corpus linguistics is recognised as a significant way of language analysis, including lexicography, syntax, applied linguistics, and cognitive linguistics (Gries & Stefanowitsch, 2007). McEnery and Wilson (2001) summarise the major advantages of using corpora. The findings from sampling and measuring can be summarised since corpus data are systematically collected rather than randomly sampled. Second, because many corpora are available for free or at a low cost, it is simple for researchers to create new corpora without any prior planning.

2.3.1 Corpus Linguistics: A Methodology or Theory

Critics assert that corpus linguistics is more than merely a methodology. Data collection and theorising are no longer independent processes, and corpus linguistics mixes the gathering and theorising of data in a way that could alter how people see the language (Halliday, 1993). According to Bonelli (2001), corpus linguistics has evolved into a distinct field with applications far beyond methodological concerns. It is a novel area of research and a novel strategy for thinking about the topics or using Leech's terminology, and it is a new way of approaching language. According to those who view corpus linguistics as a concept, analysis of corpus data may result in the discovery of new information about the language and the numerous fields it encompasses. Theoretically, CL "allows clarifying and defining the facts of language before employing them in a certain scenario," (Bonelli, 2000). It is consequently able to contribute to various applications uniquely.

However, McEnery and Wilson (2001) adopt a different perspective on the controversy surrounding whether to interpret CL as a language methodology or theory. According to Baker (2006) and McEnery and Wilson (2001), corpus linguistics is viewed as nothing more than a methodology formed from a collection of theoretical principles of language. Similarly, Leech (1992) views it as little more than a theoretical foundation for language research. McEnery, Xiao, and Tono (2006) assert that because they cannot view corpus linguistics as an independent discipline, it is a methodology rather than a distinct branch of linguistics in the same sense as phonetics, syntax, semantics, or pragmatics. While corpus linguistics is not constrained to any one language field and can be used to investigate any language area, these authors contend that other disciplines explain and clarify some particular elements of language use. They point out that various approaches may be used to study certain topics, like syntax, whether or not a corpus is used.

In this thesis, corpus linguistics serves as my methodology. Instead of being a theory, it is a method. It might, however, result in the developing of some theories if used to examine language data. McEnery et al. (2006) claim that corpus linguistics, which analyses language using corpora, has a theoretical status, but that status does not replace theory. According to Biber et al. (1998), one advantage of the corpus technique is that

practically any area of linguistics can be empirically investigated using it. There is a method to be employed when corpora are used to analyse a language.

2.3.2 Corpus-driven vs Corpus-based

The two types of corpus research are corpus-based and corpus-driven, according to Bonelli (2001). In the former, the corpus is implemented as a database of linguistic information. To research queries and test theories, advocates of the corpus-based approach examine some of the cases cited in the corpus. The corpus is believed to be the only data source researchers may acquire, extract, and analyse the data they need to identify some language patterns in the second technique. This method accesses corpus without prior conceptions, raising questions that conventional linguists may not have considered. The surprising nature of the results obtained from corpus evidence concludes that intuition is not reliable as a source of linguistic information (Bonelli, 2001). According to McEnery et al. (2006), a corpus-driven approach is an idealistic extreme because it is difficult for researchers to analyse corpus data from a wholly naive perspective. Before accessing or addressing the corpus, they advise scholars to adopt certain theoretical frameworks or assumptions to change or even refute.

This thesis makes use of both corpus-driven and corpus-based methodologies. As was previously said, in corpus-driven analysis, the analysis is influenced by what is frequent or noteworthy in the data, as opposed to corpus-based analysis, when users approach the corpus to test pre-existing beliefs. I used frequency and keyword lists to organise my approach to the corpus, and then I looked at the words that frequently occur in the lists. The researcher is interested in examining the viewpoints of the three nations on the Kashmir issue as they are expressed in newspaper editorials and articles, as well as how the ongoing Kashmir problem exposes the inconsistent and partial reporting of some media outlets. The researcher also looks at how the Kashmir problem and the suffering of the Kashmiris are portrayed before, during, and after the repeal of Articles 370 and 35A. As a result, the coverage of the Kashmir problem is examined using a collocation analysis that considers several articles and editorials rather than just one or two.

2.3.3 Types of Corpora

Any collection of documents can be referred to as a corpus. A typical corpus is a limited amount of machine-readable material sampled to represent the target language

variety as possible from the perspective of corpus linguistics (McEnery & Wilson, 2001). However, certain corpora permit the ongoing inclusion of new texts. In contrast to databases, corpora usually include mark-up information (meta-data), such as authors, headers, titles, and other details, in addition to syntactic, semantic, and morphological annotations.

A generic corpus, also known as a reference corpus, might be fairly large, containing millions of words from diverse settings, for instance, spoken and written language, in formal and informal styles. When addressing a particular issue, it can occasionally be decided that only relevant texts should be included. This results in more legitimate and accurate results. A specialised corpus would be developed for this. Regarding discourse analysis, specialised corpora are regarded as one of the most significant and beneficial (Baker, 2006). It is done so that they can only include relevant texts and produce more reliable and correct results.

For this analysis, a corpus was created that is specialised in that it only contains news editorials and articles about the Kashmir issue, particularly those that were revoked during a particular period, comparable in that it contains the text of three different countries' newspapers, diachronic in that it includes articles published between 2019 and 2021, and do-it-yourself (DIY) in that it was created to answer specific research questions in a chosen area.

2.4 Combining Critical Discourse Analysis and Corpus Linguistics

One of the various methods researchers can use to conduct discourse analysis is using corpus linguistic (CL) tools to investigate communicative events or texts discursively. This method is sometimes called Corpus-Assisted Discourse Studies (CADS) (Partington, Morley & Haarman, 2004). It sits in the centre of the quantitative and qualitative poles and attempts to incorporate the advantages of each. Partington (2008) contends that the primary goal of Corpus-Assisted Discourse Studies (CADS) is to elucidate obscure interpretations that are typically not amenable to direct observation. Some individuals differentiate Corpus-Assisted Discourse Analysis (CADA) from Corpus Linguistic Critical Discourse Analysis (CLCDA). Due to their use of computerised corpora in the analysis, eclectic nature, reliance on information from sources other than the corpus,

and refusal to see the corpus as a stand-alone, inactive black box, the two methodologies are regarded as corpus approaches discourse analysis. However, CADS is less overtly critical of analysis than CLCDA (McEnery & Baker, 2015). Partington et al. (2013) claim that, unlike CDA, corpus-assisted discourse analysis (CADA) is not associated with any one school of discourse analysis and lacks a broad political goal. It implies that CLCDA incorporates CADS. For instance, although drawing inspiration from Wodak's DHA, Baker et al. (2008) work is still called CADS. This research study can be categorised as both because it is comparable to that study.

As was already mentioned, there has been a sharp rise in the work combining CDA and CL components. The most effective way, according to Baker et al. (2008) and Baker (2012), is to cyclically combine quantitative and qualitative approaches of CDA and CL, allowing any assertions that arise from one analytical stance to be checked using the tools of the other. It eliminates the pointless argument over whether a qualitative or quantitative analysis is "better" and acknowledges that insights can be reached through a blended approach. The three primary topics covered in this section are the benefits of applying Corpus Linguistics in Critical Discourse Analysis studies, using corpus linguistics to aid researchers in discovering or evaluating discourses, and employing diverse corpus approaches in discourse studies.

2.5 The Advantages of using CL Techniques in CDS

Hardt-Mautner (1995) proposed combining qualitative and quantitative techniques for computer discourse recognition rather than competing against each other. Likewise, McEnery and Wilson (2001) assert that combining quantitative and qualitative techniques has two major advantages: It enhances the reliability and generalizability of the quantitative results and the accuracy of the qualitative analysis. The pairing of CDA and CL has been referred to as a "natural match" and a "useful methodological synergy" in order to show that the cumulative effect of the interaction between them is greater than the sum of their individual effects (Baker et al., 2008). According to Hardt-Mautner (2009), three things determine how effective CDA and CL are together. First, compared to the short texts or fragments that CDA researchers manually analyse, CL offers CDA a larger amount of data. Second, CL can make CDA analysts more impartial by extending the empirical basis of

CDA. Third, researchers have access to quantitative and qualitative data analysis methods with CL analytical software. Partington (2003) bases his three-levelled conclusions for CDA on corpus linguistic tools. At the most fundamental level, corpus approaches assist in locating some examples of a phenomenon that has already been noticed. On a deeper level, it reveals some previously unnoticed patterns. It can either confirm, refute, or modify its intuition between these two levels by demonstrating the reasons for and the extent to which a researcher's concerns were founded.

Importantly, the combination concept has also received support from numerous other scholars. For instance, While O'Halloran and Coffin (2004) emphasise the role that CL can play in addressing some of the criticisms of CDA, Orpin (2005) underlines some of the advantages of this combination, such as assessing longer texts and enhancing dependability. In order to fully understand the data, the use of big corpora is encouraged by Van De Mieroop (2005) in discourse studies. He also emphasises how access to keywords and lexical items that can be qualitatively analysed is made possible by corpus linguistic tools.

The quantitative approach known as CL is used to process vast collections of texts that are regarded as representative. This approach helps to create more of a barrier between the researcher and the data. Additionally, CL employs several statistical tools to generate generalised descriptions of the researched data, frequently decontextualised and may affect the results. Contrarily, a key component of the CDA qualitative research methodology is the close reading of some texts relevant to the research question to produce in-depth analysis and complete reasoning. The social and political circumstances are considered while analysing data using CDA. Including these two categories in a single study may lead to more comprehensive and reliable study outcomes. Similarly, according to Baker (2010), corpus-based discourse analysis is beneficial because it complements and supports small-scale qualitative research rather than ignoring or replacing it. It is imperative to emphasise that using the tools, processes, and assumptions available in both CL and CDA allows researchers to analyse a significant number of texts and ensures a thorough investigation at almost all levels to avoid having impressionistic and anecdotal comments. According to Hardt-Mautner (2009), "at an Oscar night of methods, my vote would be on corpus linguistics as Best Supporting Actor" (using the metaphor of the movie awards, The

Oscars) (p. 124). Hardt-Mautner (2009) uses the same metaphor to emphasise how the research can be effective if there is a clear explanation of the aim, a comprehensive appraisal of what each approach can and cannot do, and strong theoretical foundations that encapsulate the core views about language and society. According to her, even an Oscar-winning leading actor cannot save a bad film, but he can make a good film great.

2.6 Previous Studies

A study was conducted about the abrogation of Article 370 by Rinashree Khound in December 2019. In this study, he pointed out that the Indian government crucially abrogated the status of Jammu and Kashmir without amending the constitution. He also analysed the significance and rationale behind the abrogation of special status to Jammu and Kashmir (Khound, 2019).

Another study was conducted in August 2020 on the abrogation of articles and their consequences for peace in South Asia. It discussed the root cause of the conflict between Pakistan and India, the UN response, and its implications. According to this study, the state of J&K has been the primary cause of conflict between Pakistan and India since 1947. Both nations, which are now nuclear powers, have already engaged in war in 1948, 1965, and 1971, as well as the Kargil Conflict in 1999 over the Kashmir issue. India has now annexed its occupied region of Jammu and Kashmir by repealing articles 370 and 35A of the Indian Constitution in violation of the Shimla Agreement and resolutions of the UN Security Council. Without considering the sensitive nature of this crucial issue, the unilateral action of India has elevated the already tense situation in South Asia. If the Kashmir issue is not resolved quickly, it may lead to a new conflict between the nuclear-armed nations, destabilising not only the region but the entire world (Alam, Bhatti & Awan, 2020).

Mahajan (2019) conducted a study on abrogation of articles 370 and 35A, which also contributed to conducting this research. Articles 370 and 35A address the special status and exclusive rights granted to the permanent residents of Jammu and Kashmir. The state of Jammu and Kashmir was split into two union territories, Jammu and Kashmir, with legislation and Ladakh without legislation, when the parliament enacted the Jammu and Kashmir Reorganisation Act. The purpose of repealing and rearranging these articles was to incorporate Kashmir into India so they could take advantage of opportunities that were

not open to them since they had a separate constitution. The goal was to end terrorism in the country and to fulfil the wish of the people of Ladakh for it to become a union territory. This study also discusses the history of Jammu and Kashmir, the consequences of repealing Article 370 of the Indian Constitution, the impacts of the amendment, how the world responded to the amendment, and finally, the current and upcoming developments of the state. The BJP government took the incredible initiative to remove Article 370 to unite its citizens.

There is another study which is conducted on the use of adjectives to depict Kashmir in the newspapers published in Pakistan and India. It investigates the differences between the representation of the Kashmir issue in Pakistani and Indian media. A corpus was compiled consisting of newspaper editorials and articles from both Pakistani and Indian newspapers. It used AntTag to tag the data and AntConc software to see the differences between the representation of Kashmir in Pakistani and Indian newspapers. This study used two newspapers, one from each country, The Dawn from Pakistan and The Hindustan Times from India (Rashid et al., 2020).

A study compares English-language press coverage of the Kashmir conflict in Pakistan and India, focusing on differences in war or peace frames and highlighting the impact of these media outlets on the conflict. Content analysis of Pakistani news stories in The Nation and Dawn, as well as Indian press's The Hindu and Times of India, was conducted. War framing dominates coverage of the Kashmir conflict, with the Indian press dominating war frames more than the Pakistani press, highlighting significant differences in coverage between the two countries (Saddiqa &Yousafzai, 2019).

The investigation of thirty editorials from Pakistan and Indian media using the Van Dijk ideological square model is conducted to understand their representation (Ahmed et al. 2022). Researchers analyzed hidden ideologies using discursive structures in editorials, using positive self-representation and negative other representation for macroanalysis and actor description for microanalysis. Pakistani editorials use micro strategies more defensively, focusing on positive self-representation, while India uses aggressive strategies, focusing on negative other-representation.

There is no corpus-based study on the Kashmir issue, which used a huge corpus to analyse the issue in general and the situation after the revocation of Articles 370 and 35A. There are some studies discussing the abrogation of Articles 370 and 35A, but there is no comparison between Pakistani, Indian, and American media publications at all. These previous studies represent the viewpoint of only one country, and little attention is paid to comparing the perspectives of two or more countries. So, this study fills the gap by comparing the perspectives of three countries through media publications.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

In this section of the study, the nature and design of the study have been covered. The population, the method of gathering data, the research tool, the theoretical framework, the analytical framework, and the research design are all covered. As a theoretical basis for corpus-assisted critical discourse analysis, van Dijk's (2004) model of CDA is proposed. It demonstrates how social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are performed, reproduced, and disputed by newspaper language in political and social contexts. In addition, comprehensive information about the population, the data-gathering process, and the research design are discussed.

3.1 Theoretical Framework

A study can benefit from a theoretical framework in several ways. It helps create a basis for the choice of research technique by connecting a researcher to readily available information. It also helps to think that the research questions are addressed by allowing them to make intellectual leaps to characterise a phenomenon concerning different study components. It considers the how-and-why queries (Grosz, Weinstein and Joshi, 1995). The critical discourse analysis (CDA) theory provides theoretical support for this inquiry. Critical discourse analysis (CDA), a branch of linguistics, expanded far too quickly in the last decade of the 20th century. At its core, it is a development of critical linguistics, which emerged in the 1970s. As a result, it is recognised as a rapidly expanding, relatively young field of linguistic research where discourse is seen as "a type of social practice" (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997). Additionally, CDA examines the connections between ideas such as language, power, identity, and society while emphasising the significance of context in discourse (Wodak, 2001). To expose instances of subversive social power abuse, dominance, inequality, and discrimination is the core duty of CDA in speech (van Dijk, 1985). These patterns are transformed and restructured in text and talk after being noticed and challenged.

3.1.1 Analytical Framework

Analytical frameworks explain procedures and models used to assess data within a framework, guiding the conclusion and evaluation of data. The study is based on Baker's (2006) Model of Concordance and van Dijk's (2004) Model of CDA, which show how newspapers use, reproduce, and resist social power abuse, dominance, and inequality in social and political situations. Baker (2006) examined the newspaper discourse of refugees in his book. His study combined CDA and CL and used synergy to analyse the data. In order to prove how concordances can be useful in discourse analysis, he analysed a corpus of newspaper articles. Newspaper articles provide valuable data for discourse analysis, as they are easy to collect and produce discourses. Newspaper data is a valuable area for producing and reproducing discourses. This study presents an analytical framework for examining linguistic features and lexical items used in political discourse relevant to the Kashmir issue concerning repealing Articles 370 and 35A of the Indian Constitution. The researcher employs van Dijk's (2004) CDA model of corpus-assisted critical discourse analysis to analyze the information gathered from the newspapers. According to van Dijk (2004), critical discourse analysis is a subfield that focuses on how text and talk in social and political contexts act out, reproduce, and contest abuses of social power, domination, and inequality. Additionally, this approach helps students understand the connections between language, power ideologies, and society (van Dijk, 1998).

Furthermore, critical discourse analysis examines how spoken and written texts are produced, received, and understood. It considers what is included and what is left out of the text. Van Dijk (2009) refers to CDA as Critical Discourse Studies (CDS), asserting that the latter is more extensive and supports a more critical attitude by embracing critical analysis, critical theory, and critical applications. In addition, CDS is an approach to show that the critical approach is a critical perspective, position, or attitude within multidisciplinary discourse studies rather than just a discourse analysis method confined to the analysis of writings and talks (van Dijk, 2009). In the field of study, the two designations CDA and CDS are now in use; however, for the sake of this study. The ability of CDA to explain and articulate discourse in context and how and why discourses function in a particular way sets it apart from other discourse analysis topics. It explains why CDA analysts give much thought to the social, historical, political, and cultural discourse where

texts of power emerge. According to Luke (2002), CDA integrates linguistics with cultural and social analysis of texts. In addition, he contends that CDA, no matter how in-depth a linguistic study of the texts is, needs the overlay of social theoretic discourse to explain and interpret the social settings, consequences, circumstances, and implications of any given text or conversation.

3.2 Research Design of the Present Study

First, I used a judgmental or purposive sampling approach to get newspaper data. Selecting a sample via purposeful sampling includes using predetermined criteria (Saldanha & O'Brien, 2014). I carefully copied editorials and articles from publications from August 5, 2019, to December 31, 2021. Second, only twenty-eight (28) months of data were obtained during a crucial period for the Kashmir conflict because major developments happened in the valley of occupied Kashmir during this period. The reason for choosing the media language was crucial. The media is essential in informing the public about whatever is happening around them because people rely on and trust what the media presents because they lack access to firsthand information or experience (Philo, 2008). Rasool, Jan, and Noreen (2021) claim that newspaper articles are essential for forming readers' knowledge and ideologies. It also has a profound effect on its supporters. Additionally, media outlets gave a timeline to the Kashmir conflict and its development after the constitutional changes.

About 169,680 words are gathered from newspapers. I created three corpora out of the data: United States Corpus (34068 words), Indian Corpus (39670 words), and Pakistani Corpus (95942 words). From each nation, three English newspapers have been chosen. The Dawn, The Nation, The News from Pakistan, The Indian Express, India Today, The Hindu from India, USA Today, Washington Post, and The New York Times from the United States of America are among these publications. These newspapers are chosen because of their widespread circulation and ease of access.

The data was collected from online sources using keywords to ensure that only related data was added to the corpus. Moreover, a reference corpus was also used to ensure that the corpus is representative and reliable. Finding the concordance and collocation of corpora was done using the Antconc software, Product version 4.1.0. The data was then

analysed using van Dijk's (2004) model of Critical Discourse Analysis and Baker's (2006) concordance model.

3.2.1 Mixed Research Approach

The researcher used qualitative and quantitative methods to adopt a mixed methodology for the current study. When used with compiled corpora, corpus tools like word frequency and collocates produce quantitative data, while concordance tools produce qualitative analysis that prepares the path for van Dijk's (2004) model of critical discourse analysis. A mixed research approach is a form of research methodology that combines, clarifies, and interprets both quantitative and qualitative approaches, according to Creswell's (2003) definition. The present study is quantitative and qualitative because, according to McEnery and Wilson (2001), the Corpus Linguistic and van Dijk (2004) model of critical discourse analysis serve to make the qualitative and quantitative results of CDA more objective, accurate, specific, and generaliseable.

3.2.2 Population of the Study

Choosing the population for a research study is carefully thought out and prepared. Kohari (2004) asserts that a researcher should select a population appropriate for answering his research questions since doing so enables me to more fully and successfully deduce the answer from the available data. To discover the answers to the questions, the researcher considers all editorials and articles published in the chosen newspapers during the period of abrogation of articles 370 and 35A from the Indian constitution regarding Indian-occupied Kashmir status from August 5, 2019, to December 31, 2021. The researcher examines editorials and articles published in newspapers during the abrogation of articles 370 and 35A from the Indian constitution regarding Indian-occupied Kashmir status from August 5, 2019, to December 31, 2021. This period was crucial for the people of Jammu and Kashmir, with conferences and meetings of UNSC and OIC on the topic. Former Prime Minister Imran Khan's famous speech further highlighted the urgency of addressing this issue.

3.2.3 Research Sampling

Judgmental sampling, also known as authoritative sampling or purposive sampling, is a non-probability sampling method that only relies on the researcher's experience and discretion in choosing sample participants. This sampling method creates a sample based on the researcher's expertise. As a result, the outcomes are probably highly accurate and leave little opportunity for error (Kumar, 2018). The researcher's judgment guides the investigation when employing non-probability sampling techniques (Suri, 2011).

In order to gather the data, a judgmental or purposive sampling tool was used. From August 5, 2019, through December 31, 2021, editorials and articles comprised most of the newspapers' content. The information from the newspapers was gathered with the help of search terms like "Kashmir issue," "article 370," "35A," "Kashmir conflict," and "Indian Kashmir status."

3.2.4 Data Collection Methods

The researcher collects editorials and articles about the Kashmir dispute from the selected newspapers to construct a specific corpus for the current study. For the current study, the researcher has chosen nine English-language newspapers from Pakistan, India, and the United States. For the corpus compilation, the researcher recommended using three English-language publications from each nation; these publications include the Dawn, The Nation and The News from Pakistan, The Indian Express, India Today and The Hindu from India, and USA Today, Washington Post and The New York Times from America. Additionally, the researcher only looked at articles and editorials. The Indian government abrogated articles 370 and 35A on August 5, 2019, which changed the status of the Kashmir dispute. The researcher has chosen the newspapers that only published editorials and articles covering the conflict in Kashmir from that date forward.

3.2.5 Data Collection Procedure

In order to obtain information using a deliberate or prejudicial approach, I first entered the terms "Kashmir issue," "Article 370 and 35A," "Kashmir dispute," and "Indian Kashmir status" into the Google search box along with the name of the newspaper. I then organised all three newspapers from the three countries into a database and placed them in

a folder, articles, and editorials about the Kashmir crisis, totalling 169,680 words, between 5th August 2019 and 31st December 2021. The United States Corpus, Indian Corpus, and Pakistani Corpus are the three divisions I made in the corpus. Then, for each component, I make a plain text file.

A mixed-methods study was completed in three steps. Baker's (2006) model of concordance and collocation, together with the AntConc (version 4.1.0) programme, was initially used to extract the data. The lexical terms in the media discourse about the Kashmir dispute in the three countries were evaluated using the van Dijk (2004) model of CDA.

Table 3.1

Details of editorials/articles and frequency in Newspapers

No	Country	Newspapers	Editorials/columns	Total Frequency
		1. The Dawn	1. 43317	
1	Pakistan	2. The Nation	2. 11319	95942
		3. The News	3. 41306	
		1. India Today	1. 9781	
2	India	2. Indian Express	2. 14074	39670
		3. The Hindu	3. 15815	
		1. USA Today		
		2. The New York Times	1. 6357	
3	USA		2. 19212	34068
		3. The Washington Post	3. 8499	

3.2.6 Analytical Tool of the Study

AntConc (version 4.1.0)

Concordancers are one of the most often used corpus analysis techniques. The concordance AntConc 4.1.0 (Anthony 2022) has been employed as the primary analytical

tool for extracting and evaluating data from corpus out of all of them. In 2002, Laurence Anthony developed the concordance tool AntConc, updated with time. It was selected as a corpus analysis toolkit because it is user-friendly and has the benefit of being free for researchers.

Figure 3.1

A Screenshot of concordance Antconc version 4.1.0
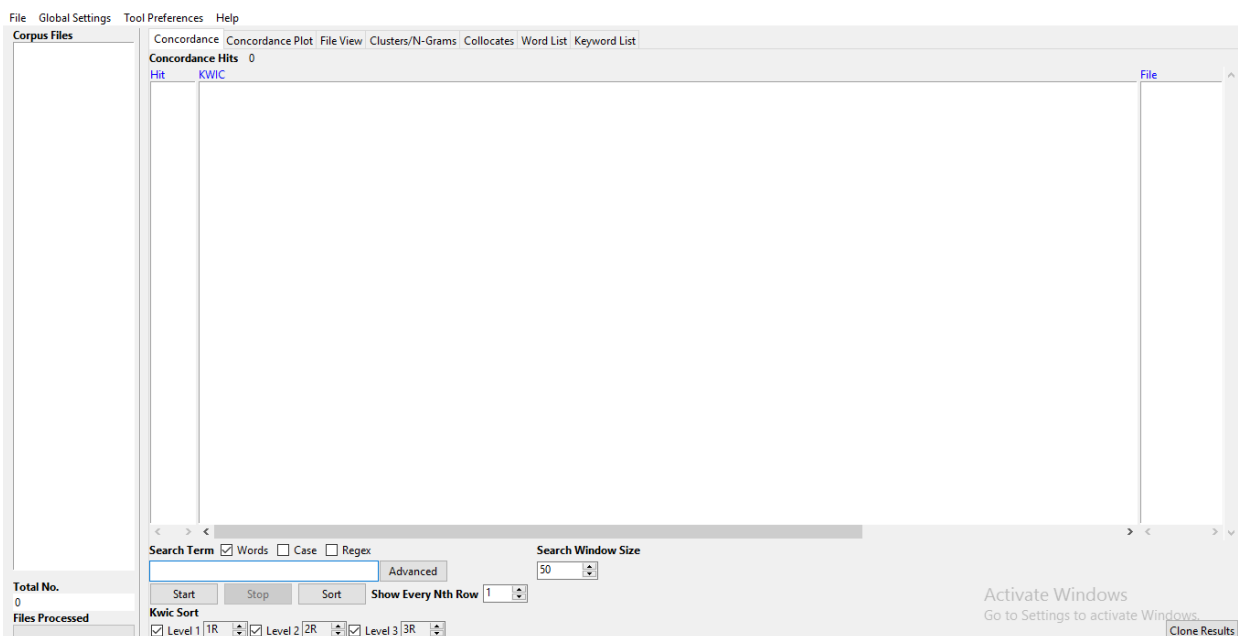
In AntConc 4.1.0, seven main tools are available, as seen from the figure. Concordance, frequency, and keywords are used most frequently in this study. The outcomes were recorded as text files to facilitate future investigation.

3.2.7 Description of Corpus Linguistic Tools

Corpus linguistics is a qualitative and empirical method examining how languages are used daily. In corpus-based investigations, the main data are obtained in a machine-readable format. Before concluding a language phenomenon, it aims to investigate, locate conclusive evidence from the specialised corpus, and analyse linguistic items, trends, collocations, co-textual patterns, and co-occurrence. Collocations and Concordance are the only corpus linguistics methods employed in the current study since they are considered the most useful and acceptable.

Collocation

This utility extracts all collocates from the object under examination. It makes us pay particular attention to the non-sequential patterns in the corpus. Words must always exist with other words to have meaning; they cannot appear alone. The statistical measurement of the proximity of a word to another word when they regularly appear together in the same text is known as collocate, and the repetition of those words together frequently is known as collocation. A word has no meaning when used alone. Hence Firth (1957) claimed that words are recognised by the company they keep. It indicates that words have meanings in spatial interaction with other words in context.

Concordance

This tool aims to show the context of the object or keyword searched for analysis. It identifies the anticipated results of the KWIC (keyword in context). The main objective of this tool is to assist users in comprehending how words or lexical items are utilised in the local context of the corpus. Every occurrence of the word in question in the corpus is listed in concordance, usually in the context provided by the terms left and right of the phrase in question. It is the tool employed to search for words in their context, which qualifies corpus linguistics as qualitative research to some extent. Because it employs quantitative and qualitative analysis techniques, corpus linguistics can be categorised as a research methodology.

Concordance is described by Baker (2008) and Sinclair (1991) as a text file containing a list of all possible occurrences of the terms under investigation in the context of that environment. Typically, the contextual meaning of a few words on both the left and right sides of the search term is evaluated. Concordance is additionally used as a KWIC (keyword in context). Any word the researcher is interested in can be used in context as a keyword.

3.2.8 Data Analysis Procedures

For this project, the corpora from the selected newspapers are gathered and described using the Corpus-Assisted Critical Discourse Analysis technique established by Baker et al. (2008). They suggest a few possible sequential processes that analysis might

follow. Developing research questions for the project under consideration is the first stage. The second part of the study involves choosing appropriate data and compiling a corpus of it for analysis. The third stage involves choosing the best corpus linguistic tools for analysis. The researcher chose two corpus tools for the analysis of this study and these are collocation and concordance. The fourth stage is locating the novel lexical patterns using Corpus Linguistic (CL) techniques like frequency, concordance, and collocation. This step is important because it identifies the developing patterns and subjects that are most common in the corpus. Collocation lends context-specific meaning to the text in corpus linguistics. Since the organisation is aware of the words it uses, collocations typically involve connections between them. Collocations are the name given to these regular word combinations. In text analysis, contextual meaning is essential, especially in media discourse. The main objective of the concordance or keyword in context (KWIC) tool is to provide information about how words and lexical items are used in the local context of the compiled corpus. Every occurrence of the word in question in the corpus is listed in concordance, usually in the context provided by the terms left and right of the phrase in question.

Concordance lines produced from corpora using AntConc software version 4.1.0 are assessed using the CDA model put forward by van Dijk (2004). In social and political situations connected to the Kashmir issue, media practise, reproduce, and protest social power abuse, domination, and inequality in light of the repeal of Articles 370 and 35A of the Indian Constitution.

CHAPTER 4

DATA ANALYSIS

A comparison of data from the corpora that depicts the Kashmir situation after August 5, 2019, is discussed in section 4.1. Adjectives, verbs, nouns, and adverbs were among the lexical categories whose frequency was discussed in section 4.2. The 4.3 section reveals the keywords extracted through AntConc software version 4.1.0 from the corpus. The van Dijk (2004) model is used to analyse the data drawn from articles on the Kashmir dispute published by Pakistani, Indian, and American newspapers.

4.1 Comparison of Data in the Three Corpora

The newspaper corpus of the three nations has distinct and markedly differing frequencies. Table 4.1 shows that Pakistani data is huge compared to the other two countries, making it the most attractive corpus. The three Pakistani newspapers have the highest 95942 words. The News almost has the same frequency as The Dawn newspaper, which is 41306 words. The Nation newspaper is one of the three Pakistani newspapers with the least frequency. It is only 11319 words long and expresses little concern for the fundamental dispute between India and Pakistan.

Table 4.1

Details of frequency in the Newspapers of three Countries

No	Country	Newspapers	Frequency	Total Frequency
1	Pakistan	1. The Dawn	1. 43317	95942
		2. The Nation	2. 11319	
		3. The News	3. 41306	
2	India	4. India Today	4. 9781	39670
		5. The Indian Express	5. 14074	
		6. The Hindu	6. 15815	

		7. The USA Today		
3	USA	8. The New York Times	7. 6357 8. 19212	34068
		9. The Washington Post	9. 8499	

The corpus analysis reveals interesting patterns in the frequency of newspapers from different countries. Indian newspapers have the second-highest frequency, with The Indian Express and The Hindu being the most prominent publications (14074 and 15815 words, respectively). India Today has the lowest word count among the Indian newspapers, with 9781 words. The USA ranks third in frequency, with a total word count of 34068. The New York Times appears most frequently in the American corpus, followed by The Washington Post and USA Today (8499 and 6357 words, respectively). The extensive coverage by Pakistani media reflects their direct involvement and deep concern regarding the Kashmir conflict. Conversely, the decreasing frequency of the USA suggests a relatively lower emphasis on the issue. It is noteworthy that the Indian narrative often downplays the significance of UN Security Council resolutions, asserting their legal occupation of Kashmir and attempting to hide the harsh realities faced by Kashmiris under their rule. It includes restricting media access, blocking internet services, and engaging in arbitrary detentions. The Indian authorities have also pressured publications to publish limited articles supporting their perspective.

Figure 4.1

Frequency and Mean of Frequency of the Three Corpora
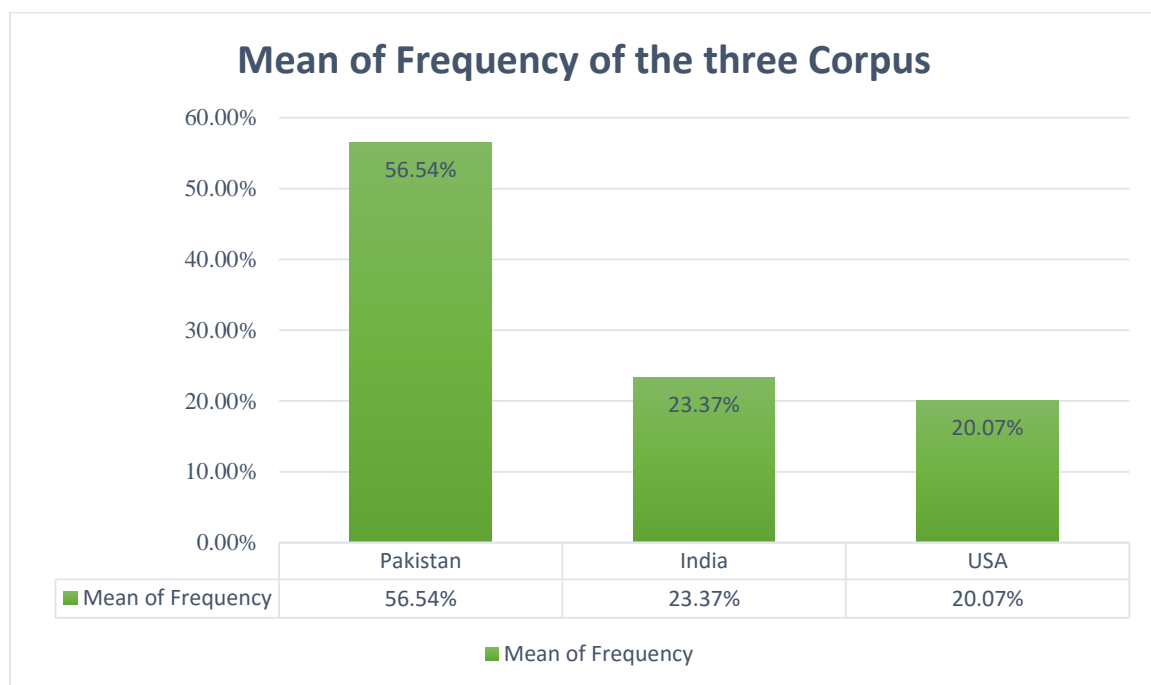
Note: Mean is the percentage of country frequency multiply by 100 and divided by total frequency.

 Figure 4.1 describes the mean percentage of the three corpora. The data shows that Pakistani Corpus is the highest, with 56.54%, compared to Indian and American corpus. Moreover, India has a 23.37% mean, and the USA has a 20.07 percent mean.

4.2 Analysis of Keywords List of the Three Corpora

 The process of extracting keywords in this study serves as a crucial step in analyzing the data, enabling the identification of significant topics within each compiled corpus file concerning the Kashmir issue. Baker (2008) highlights that this keyword extraction allows for a more comprehensive examination through concordance and collocation analysis. Moreover, comparing the keywords across the three corpus files makes it possible to identify differences, similarities, and lexical gaps, which shed light on diverse discourses surrounding the Kashmir issue based on their presence or absence.

4.2.1 Reference Corpus Explanation

The comparison of the three combined corpora files with the reference corpus AmE06, which consisted of over 1 million words added by Laurence Anthony, was conducted using AntConc version 4.1.0 (Anthony, 2022). As Baker (2008) suggested, the reference corpus is essential for keyword extraction and is a requirement of the corpus tool or keyword tool used. This comparison allowed for generating keyword lists by automatically comparing the target corpus with the reference corpus.

The inclusion of AmE06, an American corpus generated in the AntConc 4.1.0 version, was crucial in this study, as highlighted by Partington (2010), to identify the characteristics and aspects specific to a particular discourse type by comparing it with a larger corpus.

The keyword extraction process followed the five phases proposed by Scott and Tribble (2006) and was consistent with the recommended procedures outlined by Paquot and Bestgen (2009). However, it is important to acknowledge that the keyword tool used is susceptible to manipulation.

1. First, wordlists for the corpora—the corpus under inquiry and the reference corpus— will be created. I use the AntConc software since it can automatically compare the raw research corpus file with the reference corpus to create a keyword list. This method is followed when employing wordsmith tools during my study.

2. Second, the least frequency threshold for a term is selected. Therefore, a word should be considered a keyword if it appears at the chosen threshold and not less.

3. Thirdly, the word frequencies in the two corpora are compared using a statistical test. The log-likelihood test, which this study chose, is typically used to accomplish this.

4. The filtration method eliminates words that do not repeat at least as frequently as the chosen frequency threshold but are statistically more significant to the reference corpus.

5. The final step is to hierarchically arrange the keywords in the corpus under study according to their keyness value.

The keyword extraction process in this study was conducted using the software AntConc, following established procedures. Among the available options in AntConc, the

log-likelihood test was chosen as the preferred method for determining the significance of terms. This decision aligns with the recommendations of Paquot and Bestgen (2009) and Baker (2008), who suggest that the log-likelihood test is commonly used in keyword extraction. Paquot and Bestgen (2009) found that the log-likelihood test is favorable when comparing different tests to measure keywords. Moreover, other studies, such as Kinloch (2018), Haider (2016), and Kandil (2009), have also utilized the log-likelihood test for extracting keywords.

The log-likelihood test was selected in this study to extract keywords while considering keyness. Keyness refers to the importance of words in a text and their representation of its features. The statistical threshold or probability value was set at $p < 0.05$, indicating that 95% of the words were intentionally used in the text. The dice coefficient test, recommended by Anthony (2022), was utilized to determine the effect size of the keywords and rank them based on their keyness values. A reference corpus (AmE06) and target corpora were compared to generate the keywords using AntConc. A total of 788 keywords were generated, and the top 33 keywords with the highest keyness ratings were selected for further analysis. Proper nouns, lexical words, and structural words (prepositions, conjunctions, articles, pronouns, determiners, and auxiliary verbs) were included in the keyword lists. The structural words, which lack semantic value, were removed using a stoplist.

The chosen keywords represented the significant terms related to the Kashmir issue and were ranked in descending order based on their keyness values. These keywords, identified as the "real transmitters of meaning" by Biber et al. (1999), were important and relevant to the Kashmir crisis. The prominence of keywords in the keyword list indicated the overall importance and focus of the corpus on the Kashmir issue. A total of 33 keywords were deemed sufficient for this investigation, allowing for the analysis and generalization of how the Kashmir problem was covered in English media. The keyword list served as a valuable resource for further analysis and provided language patterns for addressing the research questions posed in the study. The top 33 keywords and their corresponding keyness scores were retrieved and presented for examination.

Table 4.2

Keywords from the Corpus Regarding the Kashmir Issue

Rank	Type	Freq. of Targ.	Freq. of Ref	Keyness (Likelihood)
1	Kashmir	2317	1	9363.790
2	India	1565	41	5959.600
3	Pakistan	1115	14	4360.093
4	Indian	1048	35	3936.479
5	Violence	97	74	178.673
6	Minister	509	62	1680.989
7	Occupied	420	19	1544.947
8	Government	668	359	1471.140
9	Article	492	113	1436.482
10	Kashmiris	355	0	1433.419
11	Accession	74	4	268.268
12	Kashmiri	328	0	1324.349
13	Autonomy	70	24	182.575
14	Delhi	242	1	964.298
15	Region	343	92	962.276
16	Status	294	103	761.800
17	Rights	324	153	753.182
18	Constitution	241	46	733.425
19	State	555	697	720.339
20	August	238	59	681.523
21	Imran	157	0	633.762

22	Peace	190	103	416.401
23	BJP	151	0	609.536
24	UNSC	62	0	250.243
25	People	622	1093	576.777
26	Territory	194	44	567.834
27	Special	269	169	550.014
28	Assembly	194	51	547.051
29	Occupation	73	26	188.053
30	Abrogation	76	1	296.365
31	Hindu	138	4	521.747
32	Security	295	261	496.688
33	International	271	224	476.176

Note. Fre- Frequency, Targ- Target, Ref- Reference

The table above consists of five columns. The first column displays the rankings of the keywords, followed by the original keywords/types from the corpus in the second column. The third column shows the target frequency, while the fourth column displays the reference frequency taken from the AmE06 corpus, indicating how often the term appears in the reference corpus compared to the target corpus. The fifth column presents the keyness values for each keyword. The three corpora focus on the Kashmir issue, as evident from the keywords listed. The prominence of the keywords "Kashmir," "India," and "Pakistan" at the top of the lists establishes the overall theme of the corpora. These keywords play a crucial role in understanding the "aboutness" of the corpus and would make it more challenging to comprehend the corpus without them.

The comparison of the three corpora (Pakistan, India, and the USA) further emphasizes the significance of the top three keywords. Their consecutive positions and high keyness values highlight their prominence and representation of the corpus. Almost all the keywords in the lists pertain to the Kashmir issue, reinforcing the comprehensive

coverage of the topic within the corpora. The keyword lists provide insights into different discourse categories related to the Kashmir issue. The study identifies word groups that address various aspects of the problem. The subsequent section delves into a more detailed examination of these discourse patterns about the Kashmir issue.

4.3 Keywords Categorisation

The keywords were manually selected for additional examination to divide into other thematically related groupings. This analysis method makes it easier to see themes that have evolved in the corpora above the lexical level. Because it enables the analyst to understand what discourse kinds are present in the corpora, categorising the keywords is worthwhile (Baker, 2008). Therefore, a keyword list acquired from corpora was divided into three broad groups: Baker (2008), Aluthman (2018), Gabrielatos and Baker (2008), and Kandil (2009). Based on their thematic associations, all the terms in the keyword lists were assigned to one or more of the selected categories. According to van Dijk's (2004) paradigm, the categories were social power abuse, dominance, and inequality. The following table 4.3 lists the focused themes and discourses.

Table 4.3

Thematic Categories of the Target Corpus

	Thematic Categories		
	Social Power Abuse	**Domination**	**Inequality**
Target Corpora	Violence, occupied, Indian, government, accession, autonomy, Status, BJP, occupation, abrogation, security, monopoly, subjugating, paradise, controlling	India, Minister, article, Delhi, constitution, August, assembly, Hindu, illegitimate, diminishing, valley, political, conflict, economic	Pakistan, Kashmir, Kashmiris, Kashmiri region, rights, state, Imran, peace, UNSC, people, territory, special, international, discrimination, provision,

Theme one: Social Power Abuse

The thematic category in question focuses on the abuse of social power within the context of the ongoing Kashmir issue. The selection of lexical terms within this category was not arbitrary; it involved a deliberate and systematic approach, considering factors such as concordances and collocates of each term. These terms, extracted from the keyword lists of the three corpora, shed light on the dynamics of social power abuse related to the conflict between Pakistan and India. Examples of the selected lexical terms in this category include occupation, violence, the Indian government, accession, autonomy, status, control, monopoly, security, subjugation, paradise, and abrogation. These keywords collectively emphasise portraying the Kashmir conflict as a situation characterized by the misuse of social power. For comprehensive references and further detailed analysis on this topic, it is advisable to consult relevant academic sources and scholarly research papers that delve into the nuances of the Kashmir issue and its connection to social power abuse.

Frequency of Five Lexical Items of Social Power Abuse in the Three Newspapers

The frequencies of the chosen lexical items from the keywords are shown in Table 4.4. Later, concordance was used to explain these lexical items. It is fascinating to see how the word "violence" is used in the three corpora. It was referenced 32 times in Pakistani, 27 times in India, and 38 times in American newspapers. This word appeared 97 times overall throughout the three corpora.

Table 4.4

Frequency of Five Lexical Items Related to Social Power Abuse Theme

Theme Social Power Abuse	Pakistani Newspapers	Indian Newspapers	American Newspapers	Total
Violence	32	27	38	97
Occupied	412	8	0	420
Accession	51	21	2	74
Autonomy	31	6	33	70
Abrogation	44	28	4	76

The lexical item "occupied" has a frequency of 420, the highest of the five lexical elements. The most usage of all three corpora was by Pakistani media (412), followed by Indian media (8 times), and American media (0 times). In addition to being occupied, "Accession" was used 74 times overall, including 51 times in Pakistani media, 21 times in Indian media, and 2 times in American media. Compared to "accession," "autonomy" has an about equal frequency, or 70. Additionally, "abrogation" shares the same frequency (76%) as the previous two lexical elements. Pakistani media accounts for 44 of the 74-total frequency, while Indian newspapers account for 28 and American media only for 4.

Theme Two: Domination

The Kashmir issue has been considered and examined by the majority of scholars as being important and central to South Asia, not just between Pakistan and India. As a result, while linguistically examining the Kashmir issue in nine English newspaper corpora from three different countries, I discovered lexical items that shared semantic associations, formed a category, and collectively developed a discourse that I labelled as being about India, the Minister, articles, Delhi, constitution, August, assemblies, Hindus, illegitimacy, diminishing, valley, political, conflict, and economics. The lexical items that shared a common thematic relationship throughout the corpora, according to the van Dijk (2004) second principal model, served as the foundation for this category.

Frequency of Five Lexical Items of Domination in the Three Newspapers

The five lexical items chosen for the theme of dominance, each with a varied frequency, tell the story of dominance. This van Dijk (2004) principle accurately captured how India, the dominant nation, violated all international standards and human rights values. "articles" 370 and 35A have received greater press coverage in recent years. It explains why this lexical item, with a frequency of 492, has the second-highest frequency in the media discourse. American data cited it 47 times in the corpus, as is normal, and more frequently used in Pakistani publications than any other media outlet. Additionally, "constitution" appears 245 times in the three corpora. This lexical item appears 144 times in Pakistani media, 81 times in Indian media, and only 20 times in American media.

Table 4.5

Frequency of Five Lexical Items Related to Domination Theme

Theme Domination	Pakistani Newspapers	Indian Newspapers	American Newspapers	Total
Articles (370 and 35A)	271	174	47	492
Constitution	144	81	20	245
August	144	81	13	238
Assembly	131	56	7	194
India	1052	232	281	1565

The third lexical term, "August," is crucial to our study because India completed all of its criminal acts in this month in 2019. The frequency of the word "August" is 238; in the corpus of the newspapers from each nation, it appears 144 times in Pakistani, 81 times in India, and 13 times in American publications. The next word in the dictionary is "assembly," the name of the national assembly that approved this contentious amendment bill. This crucial lexical item occurred 194 times overall, 131 times in Pakistani media, 56 times in Indian media, and seven times in American media. India appears with the most astounding frequency in theme dominance. The frequency of this lexical item is the greatest of all, at 1565. The largest frequency was supplied by Pakistani publications (1052), followed by Indian media (232 times) and American newspapers (281 times).

Theme Three: Inequality

The conflict over Kashmir between India and Pakistan is a fact, but because both countries are armed with nuclear weapons, any escalation might endanger the entire region. Additionally, India has treated Kashmiris inhumanely and violated the UNSC resolution for the resolution of Kashmir. The way they are treated violates the UN human rights charter. The imbalance between the Indian government and the rest of the world causes human tragedy in the Kashmir valley. Pakistan, Kashmir, Kashmiris, Kashmiri region, rights, state, Imran, peace, UNSC, people, territory, special, international, discrimination,

and provision are the lexical terms connected to this issue. These lexical items demonstrate how the Indian government handles the rights of the Kashmiri people.

Frequency of Five Lexical Items of Inequality in the Three Newspapers

The frequency of five lexical elements related to the third van Dijk's (2004) principle of inequality is shown in Table 4.6. The three corpora show the genuine image of the frequency of the newspapers. Pakistan is the first lexical item and has a total frequency of 1115, 737 times in Pakistani newspapers, 221 times in Indian media, and 157 times in American media. The central lexical item for this study, "Kashmir," has the greatest frequency of all five lexical items at 2317. Pakistani newspapers use them 1516 times, Indian newspapers 470 times, and American newspapers 331 times.

Table 4.6

Frequency of Five Lexical Items Related to Inequality Theme

Theme Inequality	Pakistani Newspapers	Indian Newspapers	American Newspapers	Total
Pakistan,	737	221	157	1115
Kashmir,	1516	470	331	2317
Rights	264	43	17	324
UNSC	59	3	0	62
International	232	23	16	271

The "right" lexical item has a total frequency of 324, with 264 contributions from Pakistani media, 43 from Indian media, and 17 from American media. It is the most significant aspect of the inequality theme, yet the frequency indicates that it is disregarded due to a conflict of interest. Although it has importance in the conflict, the UN Security Council is employed the least in the corpora; nearly all three corpora refrain from giving it weight. The total frequency of this lexical item is 62, with 59 instances in Pakistani media, three instances in Indian media, and zero in American media. The word "international," which has a total frequency of 271, is the last but not the least lexical item.

4.4 Concordance Analysis of Five keywords

Some keywords are considered to be important in terms of answering the research questions, keyness, and frequency in the explanation of the Kashmir issue.

Table 4.7

Selected Keywords from the corpora for Concordance Analysis

	Social Power Abuse	Domination	Inequality
Selected Keywords	1. Violence	1. Article	1. Pakistan
	2. Occupied	2. Constitution	2. Kashmir
	3. Accession	3. August	3. Rights
	4. Autonomy	10. Diminishing	4. UNSC
	5. Abrogation	11. India	5. International

The above-selected keywords in Table 4.7 stand out in the three corpora of the Kashmir dispute. Next, these keywords were chosen. They can more effectively address the study topics and, more crucially, be used to explain the core of the Kashmir issue in the corpora of English-language newspapers from the three nations. The following sections of this chapter considered the next steps of analysis after extracting keywords and were therefore written based on the analysis of these keywords. The selected keywords are thoroughly analysed in their concordance environment in the next sections to learn what patterns the lexical terms adhere to, what meaning they produce, and how concordances aid in identifying the nuclear flash of the Kashmir crisis. As a result, van Dijk's (2004) model of critical discourse analysis is used to analyse lexical words and concordance lines of keywords.

4.4.1 Keywords Analysis in the Three Corpora

Corpora of the three countries are analysed by concordance applying the van Dijk's (2004) discourse analysis model. The three principles are applied, i.e., social power abuse, domination, and inequality, to get the deep and true meaning in the context of the keywords.

4.4.1.1 Keywords of Theme Social Power Abuse in the Pakistani Corpus

The following concordance of keywords is related to van Dijk's (2004) model of social power abuse. Here, the pattern and context have been investigated to answer the questions. There are five keywords selected for the analysis of the concordance. These five keywords are crucial for comprehending the position of the respected nation on the Kashmir issue. Moreover, these five keywords have the highest keyness in the keyword list (see Table 4.3).

1. Concordance of the Keyword 'Violence' in the Pakistani Corpus

The Pakistani newspapers 32 times have used the keyword 'violence.' The software AntConc gives 16 lines in concordance for analysing patterns of linguistic features and context. This keyword is used with a negative connotation because almost all sentences show how the Indian government and forces are committing violence against the innocent Kashmiris. The very first sentence in line 1 is about the Indian forces' violence against the Kashmiris. The contexts of violence are very interesting, revealing the true policy of the newspapers and the state. There are six types of co-text patterns in the concordance of violence: *against, and, but, forced, going, and in*, which explains the theme of social power abuse.

Figure 4.2

A Screenshot of the Keyword 'Violence' in the Pakistani Corpus

| Concordance | Concordance Plot | File View | Clusters/N-Grams | Collocates | Word List | Keyword List |

Concordance Hits 32

Hit	KWIC
1	unitions across LoC and Indian occupation forces violence against Kashmiris. Fakhar says no unilateral step
2	. Again and again, they would arbitrarily use violence against locals. The UN and several human
3	had condemned India's continued aggression and violence against the people of occupied Kashmir even
4	mouth for ever greater covert and overt violence against the powerless. This is why the
5	nnocent Kashmiris have been martyred during the violence and aggression perpetrated by India in the
6	report sheds light on India's abuses, violence, and atrocities under various regimes SRINAGAR: M
7	need a break from the cycle of violence and focus on domestic issues.\x94 For
8	Section published a report on the abuses, violence, and the atrocities committed by New Delhi
9	Indian measures will increase the levels of violence and turn this area into a flashpoint
10	Indian measures will increase the levels of violence and turn this area into a flashpoint
11	have been chaotic in Kashmir. No major violence but a lot of deliberate rumours by
12	. It is clear that there will be violence, but I hope and pray people remain
13	ial killings, illegal detentions, torture, sexual violence, forced disappearances and mass graves across the
14	a warning on the present conditions and violence going on in the territory by the
15	ion away from worsening humanitarian crisis and violence in Indian occupied Kashmir to LoC by
16	in peace to Kashmir. Most indicators of violence in Kashmir have been on the rise

Lines 6, 7,8,9,10, and 12 to 16 are all about the abuse of power by the Indian government and the forces. Only line 11 says that no *major violence but a lot of deliberate rumours,* while the rest of almost all sentences show the abuse of social power by the Indian government. Line 13 goes further one step and reveals the *killings, illegal detentions, torture, sexual violence, forced disappearances, and mass graves,* the most heinous crime committed by the Indian forces. These instances are glaring signs of the social power abuse of the Indian government against the innocent Kashmiris. Truly, this keyword is the best example of social power abuse by the Indian forces and grossly violated the norms and international human rights.

2. Concordance of the Keyword 'occupied' in the Pakistani Corpus

The highest frequency among the keywords is 'occupied' in the Pakistani Corpus, i.e., 412. This keyword reveals the sad story of the Indian forces who occupied the territory by force and violated all the international and UN laws. The concordance list has five co-texts with the keyword 'occupied.' Co-text 'Jammu' with occupied is used 11 times, reflecting the illegal occupation of India. It indicates that India captures this part of

Kashmir and forcefully retains it. The powerful first captured the area and then forced the people to obey the laws of the occupied state. This very notion is traceable in these lines.

Figure 4.3

A Screenshot of the Keyword 'occupied' in the Pakistani Corpus

In lines 5 and 9, two great leaders of the Muslim ummah condemn the change of the status of Kashmir on 5th August 2019. The words of Turkish President Tayyip Erdogan said that the Indian government invaded and occupied the territory illegally. Imran Khan, the ex-Prime Minister of Pakistan (Prime Minister at that time), said that the Indian action of ending the autonomous status of occupied Jammu and Kashmir was not acceptable to Pakistan.

3. Concordance of the Keyword 'Accession' in the Pakistani Corpus

Pakistani newspapers use the 'Accession' keyword 51 times in the corpus. This keyword is part of the social power abuse theme of van Dijk's (2004) model of critical discourse analysis. The corpus uses 'Accession' with 13 co-text words. Each co-text word changes the context of the keyword.

Figure 4.4

A Screenshot of the Keyword 'Accession' in the Pakistani Corpus

| Concordance | Concordance Plot | File View | Clusters/N-Grams | Collocates | Word List | Keyword List |

Concordance Hits 51

Hit	KWIC
1	of the terms of the Instrument of Accession and under the UN template on Kashmir
2	stwhile princely state. Following a controversial accession by Hari Singh to India, a claim
3	to commemorate the signing of the Instrument accession by its ruler Hari Singh in 1947. "Hindu
4	broad heads specified in the Instrument of Accession. 2. Concurrence was required when the provi:
5	reply of Lord Mountbatten has made the accession conditional that it was made subject to
6	The Indian government has declared October 26 as Accession Day to commemorate the signing of the
7	living in the state could decide the accession either to the newly state of Pakistan
8	-ruler of IoK, signed a Treaty of Accession for the state to join the rest
9	of any state where the issue of accession has been the subject of dispute, the
10	of any State where the issue of accession has been the subject of dispute, the
11	the commitments made in the Instrument of Accession India had signed with Maharaja of Kashmir.
12	Kashmir which are outside the scope of accession instrument. Therefore for issuing any proclam
13	ith reference to article 370. Basically, when the accession instrument was formed, it was believed by
14	70 years have passed and the instrument of accession is still workable. At present, there is
15	ieve. Because Pakistan disputes the instrument of accession, its criticism of how India arranges the
16	of Article 370 hasn\x92t just made accession null and void but also reduces India

4. Concordance of the Keyword 'Autonomy' in the Pakistani Corpus

The 'Autonomy' keyword is used by Pakistani newspapers only 31 times. This keyword comes with 11 co-text patterns. This 11-co-text pattern reveals that the Indian authority abused the social power in the occupied Jammu and Kashmir by abrogation of the special autonomy.

Figure 4.5

A Screenshot of the Keyword 'Autonomy' in the Pakistani Corpus

These lines describe that very narrative by Pakistan through newspapers. The first line says that after taking away articles 370 and 35A, Indian forces detained thousands, and a magistrate speaks to AFP, a famous French news agency.

5. **Concordance of the Keyword 'Abrogation' in the Pakistani Corpus**

This keyword is the crux of this study because the whole study is based on the abrogation of articles 370 and 35A from the Indian constitution on 5th August 2019, which changed the Indian-occupied Kashmir autonomous status. This keyword is used by the Pakistani media 44 times in the corpus. The co-texts with this keyword are only 4. It is all about the pattern made by this keyword with these co-texts.

Figure 4.6

A Screenshot of the Keyword 'Abrogation' in the Pakistani Corpus

Lines 9, 10, and 11 show the power abuse of the Indian government. Line 9 says that the Indian government has broken Nehru's promise. Line 10 declared this act unconstitutional, undemocratic, and would affect the people of Kashmir.

4.4.1.2 Keywords of Theme Social Power Abuse in the Indian Corpus

1. Concordance of the Keyword 'Violence' in the Indian Corpus

The 'Violence' keyword in the Indian corpus has a different context from the Pakistani Corpus. They have used the 'violence' keyword 27 times against Pakistan 32 times. The co-text of violence is 9 in different semantics. The Indian newspapers use this keyword to boost their narrative, e.g., *encouraging sectarian violence against minorities, terrorist violence, as violence escalated in J&K, a surge in violence in Kashmir*, etc. They blame Pakistan-based outfits for violence in occupied Kashmir and Muslim violence against the Hindu minorities.

Figure 4.7

A Screenshot of the Keyword 'Violence' in the Indian Corpus

| Concordance | Concordance Plot | File View | Clusters/N-Grams | Collocates | Word List | Keyword List |

Concordance Hits 27

Hit	KWIC
1	irged the Taliban to not commit violence against Afghan people. "The world is now
2	he said. Badhe said incidents of violence against minority communities, including attacks o
3	on that is encouraging sectarian violence against Muslims and suppresses the rights of
4	ions, targeted killings, sectarian violence and faith-based discrimination against its ethnic
5	whom was intent on instigating violence and providing a suitable \x91rear\x92
6	. We want to assure people that violence and subversion attempts will be dealt with
7	ir suffers twin lockdowns, rising violence and unilateral government actions, all at the
8	s, reduction in levels of terrorist violence, closer integration with the rest of India,
9	ies, are still to happen. Levels of violence continue to remain high, broadly approximating to
10	s of organised and unorganised violence. During the final decades of the 20th
11	decision-making of any kind. As violence escalated in J&K, it became commonplace
12	record turnout and were free of violence, even though there were calls for boycott
13	ie changes effected. Incidents of violence have, however, continued. Notwithstanding this, g
14	be ignored. The sudden surge in violence in Kashmir needs a more careful evaluation

Here, the context of social power abuse is from almost a different point of view. In the Indian newspapers, the Indian government is innocent, and the 700,000 military personnel are there to protect themselves from the violence. The majority Muslim population terrorises the minority Hindus in the valley of Jammu and Kashmir and has the right to confine the people of the valley in an open prison. Both newspapers are at extreme points. The Pakistani Corpus blames India for all atrocities in the valley, while the Indian Corpus blames Pakistan, Muslims in the valley, and the Pakistani-sponsored terrorist outfits. Social power abuse is there, but to whom it will be assigned, there is a need for third-party investigation, i.e., UNO. However, this international body does not perform its duty properly, which may lead to the nuclear flash point of the region.

2. Concordance of the Keyword 'Occupied' in Indian Corpus

The Indian newspapers are horizontal to the vertical Pakistani point of view. This keyword is used 8 times by Indian newspapers. It has 4 co-texts in concordance. The Indian narrative is reflected in the first line, which says that China and Pakistan occupy half of

Kashmir. They considered themselves the saviour of the valley and its people. The Indian narrative is that Pakistan is an aggressor and occupied state that illegally captured parts of Kashmir in the war of 1948.

Figure 4.8

A Screenshot of the Keyword 'Occupied' in the Indian Corpus

Concordance	Concordance Plot	File View	Clusters/N-Grams	Collocates	Word List	Keyword List

Concordance Hits 8

Hit	KWIC	F
1	territory. But more than 50% of it is occupied by China and Pakistan. China has nc	I
2	by its government, including in the territories occupied by it,\x94 Badhe said. \x93India,	I
3	his visits to the stations and posts occupied by the defence forces. The Central g	I
4	alter the demographic structure of the Indian-occupied Jammu and Kashmir," Lodhi told UN	I
5	reiterating India\x92s claim on Pakistan-occupied Kashmir (PoK) and Gilgit-Baltistan. I	I
6	remain vacant as they fall under Pakistan-occupied Kashmir (PoK). The current effective	I
7	India\x92s commitment to take back occupied territories of Jammu and Kashmir a	I
8	narriages and conversions in Pakistan and its occupied territories,\x94 Badhe said in his sta	I

Lines 5, 6, 7, and 8 deal with that very expression, built by the Indian authority and spread by the Indian newspapers. *Pakistan occupied Kashmir (PoK), commitment to take back occupied territories of Jammu and Kashmir, Indian claim on Pakistan occupied Jammu and Kashmir*, etc. are glaring instances from the corpus which spread their version of social power abuse in Kashmir valley.

3. Concordance of the Keyword 'Accession' in the Indian Corpus

The keyword 'accession' is used 21 times by Indian newspapers. In concordance, co-texts of the accession are: *after, and, article, but, in, instrument, is, it, meanwhile,* and *of*. The collocation of this lexical item is different from the Indian perspective. The fourteen lines of concordance reveal that the accession of Kashmir in 1947

and now 2019 into the Indian constitution is right and according to the international norms and wishes of Kashmiris.

Figure 4.9

A Screenshot of the Keyword 'Accession' in the Indian Corpus

| Concordance | Concordance Plot | File View | Clusters/N-Grams | Collocates | Word List | Keyword List |

Concordance Hits 21

Hit	KWIC
1	of matters mentioned in the Instrument of Accession after consulting the state; on matte
2	the state decide the future of the accession. And then what did we do? [We
3	nal relationship with India. The Instrument of Accession, Article 370, Delhi Agreement, Supr
4	Muslim Pakistan not simply by virtue of accession, but because of the promises of bui
5	Indian state cannot reopen the terms of accession. But I\x92ll come back to
6	Kashmi ruler had signed the document of accession in 1947 on the assurance that the ic
7	eded to India on October 26, 1947. With that accession, in terms of the law which created
8	-Baltistan, PoK, Jammu, Ladakh, Kashmir. The Accession Instrument was identical, the templ
9	\x92t get rid of the Article! Accession is an act of state, it binds
10	of Kashmir codified in the Instrument of Accession. It is contended that Clause (3) of A
11	nents have some malicious intentions." 1947 accession Meanwhile, Mehbooba Mufti furthe
12	were the key questions involved in the accession of the princely state to India? These
13	India said we want to limit the accession of the state to the terms of
14	matters not mentioned in the Instrument of Accession, or not subsequently given away by

Lines 6, 7, and 11 say that 26 October 1947, with that law of accession, paved the way to lead the present status of Kashmir. Line no 9, *'Accession is an act of state, it binds everybody,'* discloses that this act of the Indian Parliament is now binding on everyone and signifies that the special status of Jammu and Kashmir has been revoked. Now, the Kashmiris cannot go to the international organisation of the world for justice.

10. Concordance of the Keyword 'Abrogation' in the Indian Corpus

Another keyword used in high frequency is 'abrogation' by the Indian newspapers, i.e., 28 times. This keyword has only three co-texts in concordance. Line 1 says that this amendment can bring harmony and peace to the region. Moreover, it will benefit the marginalised minorities in the valley. According to the line, those who advocated the abrogation referred to it as vital because it would advance gender equality and put a stop to prejudice against marginalised groups like the Scheduled Castes (SC) and Scheduled

Tribes (ST) in J&K. Line 2 is somehow in favour the Kashmir issue and speaks against the amendments. Line 3 praises the abrogation of Article 370, and says that there is a significant drop in terror attacks in the region.

Figure 4.10

A Screenshot of the keyword 'Abrogation' in the Indian Corpus

Mehbooba Mufti, the ex-chief Minister of Jammu and Kashmir, was against the change of special status and said there was no other option but to resist to remain when savage injustice was heaped upon uncontrolled persecution. Almost all lines shed light in favour or against this abrogation of articles 370 and 35A. The statements in these lines mostly backed the Indian stance and numbered many good things about this abrogation.

11. Concordance of the Keyword 'Autonomy' in the Indian Corpus

Apart from abrogation, the keyword 'autonomy' is used by the Indian newspapers 6 times only, with 5 co-texts in concordance. Line 1 justifies the nullification of 35A and 370 articles from the constitution.

Figure 4.11

A Screenshot of the Keyword 'Autonomy' in the Indian Corpus

Further, line 2 says, *'This started a process of eroding the state's autonomy, and executive action was considered good enough to do that,'* backed by the Indian narrative that ending the autonomy of the state of Kashmir is good enough to do that, which is very pathetic for the people of Kashmir and the international community, especially UNO. The rest of the lines also praise the action of the Indian government to abrogate the special autonomy of Jammu and Kashmir.

4.4.1.3 Keywords of Theme Social Power Abuse in the American Corpus

1. Concordance of the Keyword 'Violence' in the American Corpus

The least frequency in almost all lexical items is in American data. The social power abuse theme has the first lexical item, i.e., violence. It has 38 frequencies, the lowest in all three corpora (see Table 4.5). The sixteen lines of concordance of 'violence' have different but somehow neutral perspectives regarding the conflict of Kashmir after the revocation of articles 370 and 35A. The co-texts of violence are *after, and, as, at, credit, decline, erupted has,* and *in.*

Figure 4.12

A Screenshot of the Keyword 'Violence' in the American Corpus

| Concordance | Concordance Plot | File View | Clusters/N-Grams | Collocates | Word List | Keyword List |

Concordance Hits 38

Hit	KWIC
1	92s unity. Why Kashmir may see increased violence after the revocation of Article 370 Here are
2	, Kashmir has witnessed an uptick in insurgent violence and a rise in stone-pelting \x97
3	ation and separatist aspirations among Kashmiris. Violence and quasi-violence plummeted in the immedia
4	to two wars and frequent eruptions of violence and terrorism over the past seven decades,
5	cent considered the continuation of militancy and violence as useful for bringing about long-lasting
6	osesses tremendous capacity to contain political violence. At the same time, assurances of stability,
7	autonomy could provoke an outburst of serious violence.Credit...Rakesh Bakshi/Agence France-Presse \x
8	jobs in the valley. In due time, violence declined: In 2001, more than 1,000 civilians ha
9	world\x92s largest cricket stadium. But violence erupted in New Delhi over a restrictive
10	1990s. Kashmir\x92s descent into communal violence has been concurrent with geopolitical upheava
11	clash with native populations. This type of violence in India has been tied to ethnic
12	ence research suggests two pathways through which violence in Kashmir could escalate following the revoca
13	g preference in securing local jobs. 2. Insurgent violence in Kashmir did not arise overnight After
14	Article 370 mean for the future of insurgent violence in Kashmir? Internal conflict in J&K
15	the border in the past 10 days \x95 Violence in Kashmir is at its highest in
16	the report \x93quasi-violence.\x94 Quasi-violence in Kashmir is similar to what scholars

In line 1, American newspapers asked a very valid question: that why Kashmir see more violence after the abrogation of the vicious articles? They reported that Modi's 40-minute address to the nation reflected that these articles prevented the development of Jammu and Kashmir. Almost all lines except line 8 say that the revocation of articles 370 and 35A has paved the way for violence. Line 8 only says that violence has declined. The actual wording: *In due time, violence declined……* here in this lexical item, the Americans were presenting their stance towards the Kashmir issue as a balanced one, which is good for the solution of this long-lasting conflict between two nuclear nations, i.e., Pakistan and India.

2. Concordance of the Keyword 'Occupied' in the American Corpus

The important lexical item 'occupied' has no place in American newspapers, which shows how they ignore the multiple resolutions of the United Nations Security Council. Moreover, they try to secure good relations with the billion population of the nation for economic purposes.

Figure 4.13

A Screenshot of the Keyword 'Occupied' in the American Corpus
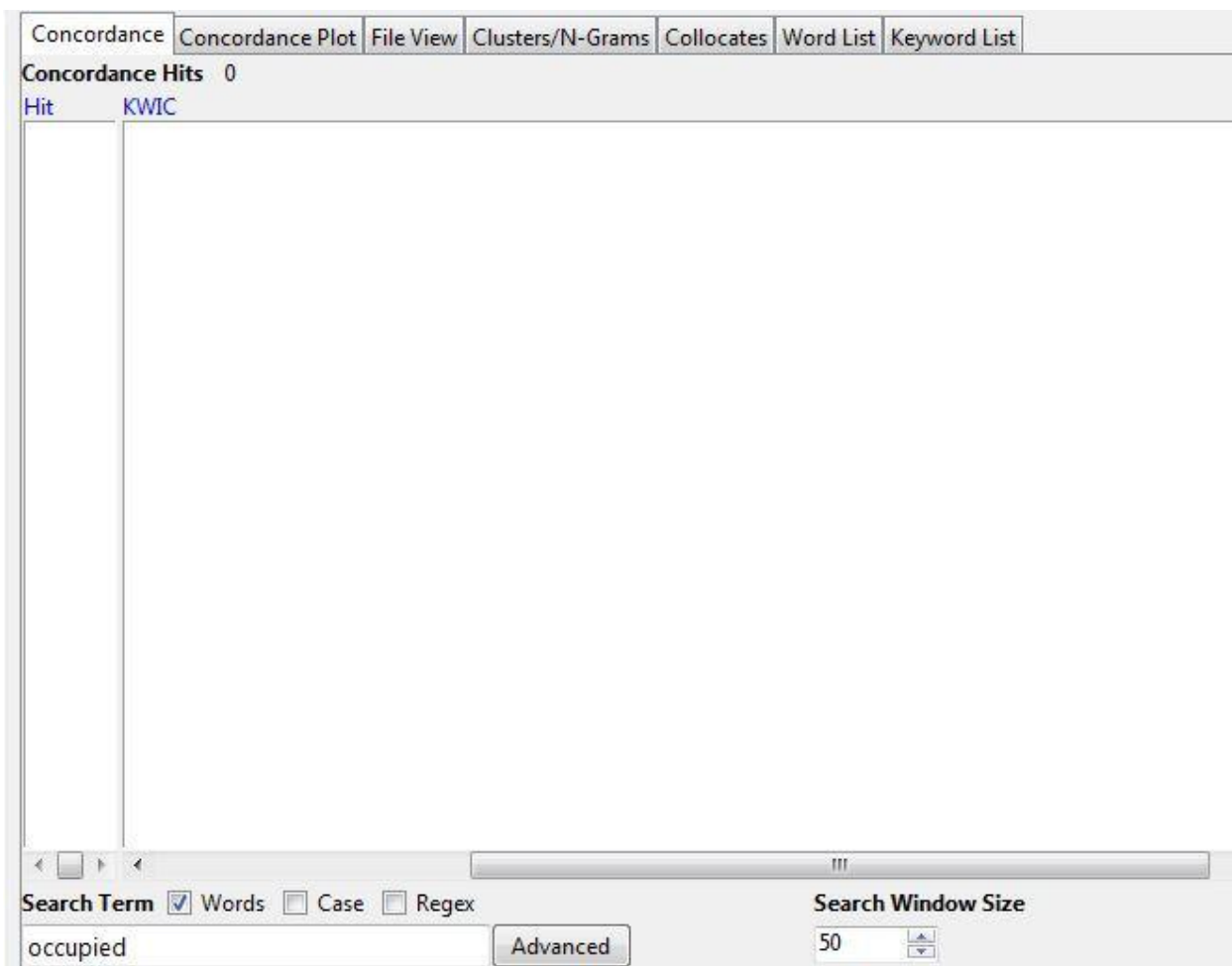
The ignorance of the American news media is very pathetic for the Kashmiris and the region. They must demonstrate their tenacity for J&K in the face of the illegitimate occupation of India and the repeal of Articles 370 and 35A.

3. Concordance of the *Keyword 'Accession' in the American Corpus*

The American media has shown restraint to muddy the water regarding the Kashmir issue. They tried their best to keep good relations with India per government policy. That is how they are very conscious of reporting the Kashmir issue. The lexical item 'accession' is used twice in the American corpora.

Figure 4.14

A Screenshot of the Keyword 'Accession' in the American Corpus

In line 1, the American media shows neutrality and reports balanced information. The reported statement, *'J&K accession to India in 1947 was hurried and controversial Before the 1947 partition…'.* They knew the history but self-blinded eyes cannot see the fact. Sometimes, it is revealed accidentally, as this statement explains the issue of Kashmir. In the second line, they mention Sheikh Abdullah, the former chief minister of Jammu and Kashmir, who favoured the accession of Kashmir in 1951. The original text is, *'Sheikh Abdullah, the wildly popular socialist who championed Kashmir's accession to India, laid out the choices before Kashmiris.'* The son of Sheikh Abdullah, Farooq Abdullah, is against the current status of Jammu and Kashmir, e.g., abrogation of articles 370 and 35A.

4. Concordance of the Keyword 'Autonomy' in the American Corpus

The lexical item 'autonomy' is used 33 times by the American media. The sixteen-line concordance shows the contextual meaning of this lexical item. Line 1 asks what has happened since India revoked articles 370 and 35A. The balanced report is in line two, which revealed that after the revocation of autonomy, 7 million Kashmiris have been cut off from the outside world.

Figure 4.15

A Screenshot of the Keyword 'Autonomy' in the American Corpus

Concordance	Concordance Plot | File View | Clusters/N-Grams | Collocates | Word List | Keyword List

Concordance Hits 33

Hit	KWIC
1	painful story. India revoked Kashmir\x92s autonomy a year ago. What has happened since
2	. The move to end Kashmir\x92s autonomy also effectively cut 7 million people in Kashm
3	degree to which Kashmir is to gain autonomy and become demilitarized. The four-point pla
4	. The four-point plan calls for maximum autonomy and demilitarization, while the self-rule prop
5	sidential decree abolished the state, revoked its autonomy and partitioned it into two federally administ
6	he predominantly Muslim population some degree of autonomy and prevented outsiders from buying land in
7	any steps that reduce Kashmir\x92s autonomy could provoke an outburst of serious violenc
8	part of India, but only under the autonomy enshrined in Article 370. That article was like
9	-controlled region of Kashmir some degree of autonomy has raised concerns about fanning the flame:
10	. India pulled Jammu and Kashmir\x92s autonomy. Here\x92s why that is a
11	just pulled Jammu and Kashmir\x92s autonomy. Here\x92s why that is a
12	ernment scrapped the constitutional provisions of autonomy in Article 370 and 35A, dissolved Kashmir\x9
13	side was granted a relative degree of autonomy in exchange for accepting Indian rule. The
14	ian constitution, which had given Kashmir special autonomy in governance and prevented migrants from
15	decision to strip Kashmir of its limited autonomy isn\x92t the first time this
16	92s only Muslim-majority state, of the autonomy it had held since the 1940s. The

The overall concordance expresses the stance of the American media regarding the Kashmir issue that this issue is long-lasting and needs to be solved through dialogues between India and Pakistan. They ignore the mediation and the role of the United Nations Security Council. Moreover, the newspapers do not take a strict stance in reporting to condemn the Indian unilateral action of revoking articles 370 and 35A and violating UNSC resolutions.

5. Concordance of the Keyword 'Abrogation' in the American Corpus

The last lexical item in the theme of social power abuse is 'abrogation.' It is used only 4 times in the American media. The co-text of the 'abrogation; is 'of article.' Line 1 disclosed the secret design of the revocation of Articles 370 and 35A articles; *with the abrogation of Article 35A, non-Kashmiris now have the right to move into the region and acquire property.* Moreover, by this, they want to imbalance the population of Kashmir. Once the Muslims become a minority in the valley, the Indian government will plebiscite according to the UNSC resolution, and all the non-Muslims will vote in favour of India.

Figure 4.16

A Screenshot of the Keyword 'Abrogation' in the American Corpus

| Concordance | Concordance Plot | File View | Clusters/N-Grams | Collocates | Word List | Keyword List |

Concordance Hits 4

Hit	KWIC
1	to ethnic riots and insurgencies. With the abrogation of Article 35A, non-Kashmiris now have
2	to India's Supreme Court, challenging the abrogation of Article 370 and the government's commu
3	Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) had announced the abrogation of Article 370, which had accorded the north
4	ndia. Amnesty International India added that the abrogation of Article 370 will \x93inflame prevailing ter

Line 2 sheds light on the decision of Muslims who filed dozens of petitions in the Indian Supreme Court against revoking articles 370 and 35A. In line 3, the BJP announced the abrogation of article 370, while line 4 mentioned the stance of Amnesty International India which shows the concern of abrogation of articles and the increase of violence in the valley. The line 4 original text, '*Amnesty International India added that the abrogation of Article 370 will inflame prevailing tensions, alienate the people in the state and increase the risk of further human rights violations in Kashmir and its surrounding areas*.'

4.4.2.1 Keywords of Theme Domination in the Pakistani Corpus

Theme 'Domination,' the second principle of van Dijk (2004), has five lexical items (article, assembly, India, constitution, conflict, and August) selected for the concordance analysis. Five lexical items were placed under this theme, showing dominance in the media discourse. The newspapers published in the three countries report domination differently in the articles regarding the Kashmir issue.

1. **Concordance of the Keyword 'Article' in the Pakistani Corpus**

Pakistani media has used the lexical item 'article' 271 times in the reports of newspapers. Pakistani newspapers use 'article' with co-text 35A in maximum numbers. It shows that 35A is a gross violation of the special status of Kashmir and the UNSC resolution. Line 1 charges the Indian state to malign and discredit the Kashmir freedom

movement, self-determination, and change of demography through the revocation of Article 35A.

Figure 4.17

A Screenshot of the Keyword 'Article' in the Pakistani Corpus

Line 4 has a very important revelation about the 35A article in the Pakistani media. Article 35A prohibits Indians outside the state from residing there permanently, purchasing land, holding local government positions, or receiving educational scholarships, according to the line. This article stops Indians from buying land permanently. Now, the revocation of this article allows Indians outside of Kashmir to buy land. In the rest of the lines, the newspapers mentioned the history of Article 35A and its inclusion in the Indian constitution in 1954. Further, they tried to highlight the drawbacks of the article in the life of Kashmiris. Because of this, they are living in an open jail with no contact with the outside world. Human rights organisations warn the Indian government about the hardships of Kashmiris after this revocation.

2. Concordance of the Keyword 'Constitution' in the Pakistani Corpus

Lexical item 'Constitution' is a hot topic in the newspapers regarding the Kashmir issue and how the Indian constitution abrogated its articles and put the whole region on fire. This word is used 140 times in Pakistani media with the co-text of *along, also, and, application, and article.*

Figure 4.18

A Screenshot of the Keyword 'Constitution' in the Pakistani Corpus

The crux of the context of this lexical item under the theme of domination is that the Indian constitution awarded these special rights to Kashmiris in 1954 but was abrogated on 5 August 2019. The constitutional 270 articles have taken away the right to have a separate flag, a separate constitution, and the freedom to make laws. At the same time, the 35A article of the Indian constitution revocation allows non-Kashmiris to buy and live permanently in the valley, which may lead to an imbalance in the Muslim population. Moreover, that is the main reason behind these actions by the BJP government under the premiership of Narendra Modi.

3. Concordance of the Keyword 'August' in the Pakistani Corpus

The most important lexical item in the study is 'August,' which brings all this fuss to the South region. Because on August 5, 2019, India unilaterally abrogated articles 370 and

35A. 'August' word has 144 frequency in Pakistani newspapers with a co-text of, '5'. So August 5 has a unique history in the lives of Kashmiris because date 5 increased the miseries and hardships more before that. Line 1 reveals the draconian act of the Indian government …*New Delhi had on August 5, 2019, abrogated the Himalayan region's special status under Article 370.*

Figure 4.19

A Screenshot of the Keyword 'August' in the Pakistani Corpus

Further, line 12 mentioned the same story but with the revocation results. According to the text, the meeting took place after Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi removed the special status of the valley in August 2019. He also imposed a military curfew and a communications blackout in the region and dispatched hundreds of thousands of Indian troops to put an end to protests. This line presents a true picture of the aftermath of the abrogation of articles 35A and 370: a military curfew was imposed, a blackout of all communication, by deploying hundreds of thousands of troops to the valley. The overall context of this concordance is that the black day of August 5, 2019, brings a new kind of suffocated environment to Kashmiris, which may lead to more violence and agitations.

4. Concordance of the Keyword 'Assembly' in the Pakistani Corpus

Concordance 4 is about the lexical item 'assembly' in the second principle (Domination) of van Dijk's (2004) model. Pakistani media has used 131 times with a co-text of, *a, and, article, because, but, by, calling, and constituencies.*

Figure 4.20

A Screenshot of the Keyword 'Assembly' in the Pakistani Corpus

Line 1 is a balanced idea, totally in line with the UNSC resolutions. It says that Kashmiris have the right to join Pakistan and India or live independently. However, unfortunately, the Indian assembly passed an act to revoke the 370 and 35A articles. It shattered the wishes of Kashmiris who, to some extent, favour the Indian occupation, e.g., Farooq Abdullah, Mehbooba Mufti, and many more pro-Indian Kashmiri politicians. Line 4 stated that Article 370 was a guarantor to have their constituent assembly make laws except for three subjects, i.e., defence, foreign policy, and communication. The 'assembly' lexical item is used in multiple contexts in this concordance; in some lines, it refers to the National Assembly of Pakistan, the UN general assembly, and in the majority, the Kashmir constituent assembly, whose powers are diminished by the abrogation of these two articles 370 and 35A.

5. Concordance of the Keyword 'India' in the Pakistani Corpus

The Keyword' India' in the corpus of Pakistan has the highest frequency, i.e., 1052. Because all the mess created in the region is India, which forcefully occupied Jammu and Kashmir and went against the UNSC resolutions. The co-texts of the lexical item 'India' are *a claim, a senior Pakistani, abolishes, accession, according, accountable, acknowledges, actively, adding,* and *after.*

Figure 4.21

A Screenshot of the Keyword 'India' in the Pakistani Corpus

Concordance	Concordance Plot	File View	Clusters/N-Grams	Collocates	Word List	Keyword List

Concordance Hits 1052

Hit	KWIC	
1	a controversial accession by Hari Singh to	India, a claim Pakistan regards as fictitious, Pandit
2	this backchannel process in both Pakistan and	India. A senior Pakistani official had confirmed two
3	Imran calls the takeover by RSS in	India a 'tragedy for the region'. Prime Minister
4	remedies for those whose rights were violated".	India abolishes special status of occupied Kashmir Las
5	incely states enjoyed three options: accession to	India, accession to Pakistan, or independence. But the
6	enactment of an anti-Muslim law in	India, according to a media report on Saturday.
7	month on, the message from Pakistan to	India, according to Red Zone insiders, is clear:
8	nsistently aggravating situation in IOJK and hold	India accountable for egregious human rights violatic
9	of Pakistan on 12 September 2021 and to hold	India accountable for the heinous crimes being comn
10	at the situation in Kashmir and hold	India accountable. "Indian authorities have displayed
11	at the situation in Kashmir and hold	India accountable. LONDON: An online conference at
12	always be able to produce purposeful results.	India acknowledges that the only alternative to bilate
13	on completion of its term. Qureshi said	India actively conspired putting Pakistan on FATF blac
14	92s full integration into the Union of	India, adding that it was in the interest
15	for a fresh round of engagement with	India after a dangerous round of hostilities. According
16	region has been virtually cut off from	India after authorities took down phone and internet
17	94. The valley is virtually cut off from	India after govt took down phone and internet

Line 1 reveals the first accession to India by Hari Singh, and the actual words are '*following a controversial accession by Hari Singh to India, a claim Pakistan regards as fictitious…*' Line 9 describes the action taken by Pakistan, which on September 12, 2021, sent a dossier to the international community requesting that it take action against India in retaliation for the horrible crimes the Indian occupation forces are doing in the IoK. Further, the concordance context shows that Pakistani newspapers fully used the 'India' lexical item negatively. The 'India' reflected domination and oppression, which aligns more with van Dijk's (2004) second principle, i.e., domination. Moreover, the keyword 'India' is

used for illegal occupation and total blackout by shutting down internet and mobile services, as in lines 16 and 17.

4.4.2.2 Keywords of Theme Domination in the Indian Corpus

1. Concordance of the Keyword 'Article' in the Indian Corpus

Indian media has used the lexical item 'article.' The co-texts of this term are *35A, accession,* and *370.* From lines 1 to 11, article 35A is used, which shows the significance of the term in respect of the Indian government. Because mostly the media reflects government policy, especially when national interest is involved. The Indian media now praises Article 35A. In many respects, it was discriminatory, an academic issue, unfair to women, and deprived thousands of refugees, etc., the exact statements; *…discriminatory nature of Article 35A and stated it to be an academic issue. Article 35A was unfair not just to women. It deprived benefits to thousands of … Pakistan refugees….*

Figure 4.22

A Screenshot of the Keyword 'Article' in the Indian Corpus

| Concordance | Concordance Plot | File View | Clusters/N-Grams | Collocates | Word List | Keyword List |

Concordance Hits 174

Hit	KWIC
1	not wade into the discriminatory nature of Article 35A and stated it to be an \
2	Most people in Jammu and Kashmir saw Article 35A and the State subject law as
3	until 1979 that the full discriminatory nature of Article 35A came to light. A single-judge
4	a special status granted under Article 370 and Article 35A (created through a Presidential Order) o
5	Indian Penal Code will supersede the RPC. Article 35A, making a distinction between the perma
6	and Kashmir State subjects law, recognised under Article 35A of the Indian Constitution, which entitled
7	State\x92s powers, but none touched Article 35A or the State subject law. Gradually
8	Kashmir were not allowed to buy land. Article 35A restricted such a purchase to \x93
9	special status in the Indian Union or Article 35a that protects the region\x92s
10	constitution of Jammu and Kashmir and dismissed Article 35A, turned the bogey into an immediate
11	to be an \x93academic issue\x94. Article 35A was unfair not just to women.
12	don\x92t get rid of the Article! Accession is an act of state, it
13	utonomous state power. Apart from the autonomy, Article 370 also lends other powers such as the
14	error attacks immediately after the abrogation of Article 370. Although the number of attacks increase
15	fooling the youth of Kashmir by supporting Article 370," Amit Shah said. And what has this
16	been used to add a provision in Article 367, an interpretation clause, to replace the s
17	Kashmir had a special status granted under Article 370 and Article 35A (created through a Presi

Apart from the Pakistani media narrative built in favour of Kashmiris, Indian newspaper articles are totally against it. They projected articles 35A and 370 blessings for

the region, especially for the Kashmiris. Further, they present the narrative that these articles were discriminatory, unfair, unlawful, human rights violations and against humanity. Therefore, revoking these articles brings a new life to the people of Kashmiris and, more generally, to the region. As part of a protest against the provision, Syama Prasad Mookerjee, the leader of the Jan Sangh, died in detention in Jammu and Kashmir. They also claimed that the abrogation of the provision was a fantasy of the BJP leader.

2. Concordance of the Keyword 'Constitution' in the Indian Corpus

Next, concordance is about the 'constitution,' a second lexical item in the domination theme. This lexical item has 81 frequencies with the co-texts: *a core, allowed, amendments, and, article, as, bench, but,* and *by.* The Indian constitution amendments in 1954 gave special status to Kashmir with the power of having a Flag, constituent assembly, power to make rules, and a separate Supreme Court. The centre had only jurisdiction over three subjects, foreign policy, defence, and communication. Nevertheless, on 5 August 2019, all of a sudden, the Indian assembly passed an act of parliament that abrogated all the articles related to the special status of Kashmir.

Figure 4.23

A screenshot of the Keyword 'Constitution' in the Indian Corpus

According to line 8, those promises were included in both the J&K Constitution and Article 370 of the Indian Constitution. The narrative built by the Indian newspapers related to the abrogation of articles 35A and 370 is that now Kashmiris are equal members of India, have Indian Supreme Court jurisdiction, equal rights to other parts of Indian citizens, and many more. However, the reality is adversarial to the Indian media narrative, human rights organisations, and the UNSC resolutions.

3. Concordance of the Keyword 'August' in the Indian Corpus

The lexical item 'August' has a unique description in Indian media because it represents the month of August, a reunion of Kashmir to its territory, a long and awaited dream of the BJP. It is also one of the plans to complete the 'Akand Baharat' Greater India. This lexical item has 81 frequencies, with co-texts: *2019, 20, and 5*. These dates are very important in the lives of Indians, Kashmiris, and Pakistani, but each party has its narrative and perception. It is a type of triangle that is attached but in different directions.

Figure 4.24

A Screenshot of the Keyword 'August' in the Indian Corpus

Indian media considered 'August' a blessing for the whole of India because it was an act of unity, prosperity, and equality, but Kashmiris considered it a curse in terms of the abolishment of independence, identity, and liberty. The first line reveals the narrative of the Indian government built by the Indian media; *notwithstanding this, given the hullabaloo in the immediate aftermath of the changes effected in August 2019, a degree of surface calm seemed to prevail, not very different from that which existed previously.* A degree of surface claim prevailed after the revocation of 35A and 370 articles, but the independent media had different opinions regarding the abrogation of the articles. Line 4 describes the stance of Pakistan that foreign minister Qureshi will raise this to all international forums including the UN Security Council. Almost all concordance lines reveal the stance of the Indian government in the Indian media, and there is no independent or neutral viewpoint in the corpus of India.

4. Concordance of the Keyword 'Assembly' in the Indian Corpus

The lexical item 'Assembly' is used 56 times by the Indian media in the corpus. The co-texts of this lexical item are *and, but, constituencies, election, from, has, is, it, let,* and *not.* The Indian assembly passed the amendments in articles 35A and 370 and split the Kashmir valet into Jammu, Kashmir, and Ladakh. Kashmir Valley had been given the status of a Province with an assembly, while Ladakh came under the union with no assembly.

Figure 4.25

A Screenshot of the Keyword 'Assembly' in the Indian Corpus

Line 4 says that *Ladakh will not have an Assembly and will be directly governed by the Union Home Ministry through the Lieutenant-Governor.* Moreover, the Kashmir assembly now has no power to make laws for the Kashmiri people, has no separate flag, and outsiders can now buy and sell the land of Kashmiris. All these actions under the constitutional backup are gross violations of UNSC resolutions. The state assembly had 87 members, of which four were from Ladakh. The newspapers argue that *the current effective strength of the Jammu and Kashmir assembly is 87, including four seats falling in the Ladakh region, which will now be a separate UT without a legislature.* All these legislatures created a mess in the valley of Jammu and Kashmir and brought hardships in the life of Kashmiris, whose sole solution is with UNO.

5. Concordance of the Keyword 'India' in the Indian Corpus

The keyword 'India' is one of the main partners in the issue of Jammu and Kashmir. This lexical item has 232 frequencies in the Indian corpus. The co-texts are: *a, about, act, activities, added, agreeing, Amit, an,* and, *and.* Indian media has built a very positive description of the revocation of articles 35A and 370, opposite the Pakistani description.

… mixed reactions in Jammu and Ladakh, and are welcomed by some in the rest of India, described in line 1 in the concordance.

Figure 4.26

A Screenshot of the Keyword 'India' in the Indian Corpus

Lines 15, 16, and 17 prove that Pakistan is the main partner and is concerned with the issue. There are many resolutions and agreements between India and Pakistan that this issue should be resolved bilaterally. The pace and scope of the talks on Kashmir are up to the two countries to decide, as stated in the text starting at line 15; Kashmir is a bilateral matter between India and Pakistan. With all this, it is never trying to resolve peacefully, even with the back of the multiple resolutions of the UN Security Council.

4.4.2.3 Keywords of Theme Domination in the American Corpus

1. Concordance of the Keyword 'Article' in the American Corpus

American media is considered unbiased because she has no stack in the conflict of Kashmir. The current concordance of 'Article' under the domination theme has 47 frequencies. The co-texts of this concordance are *35A, 370,* and *continues*.

Figure 4.27

A Screenshot of the Keyword 'Article' in the American Corpus

Concordance	Concordance Plot	File View	Clusters/N-Grams	Collocates	Word List	Keyword List

Concordance Hits 47

Hit	KWIC
1	riots and insurgencies. With the abrogation of Article 35A, non-Kashmiris now have the right
2	rnal administrative matters. India also abolished Article 35A, part of Article 370, which stipulated that
3	pped the constitutional provisions of autonomy in Article 370 and 35A, dissolved Kashmir\x92s state
4	's Supreme Court, challenging the abrogation of Article 370 and the government's communications l
5	the past few years.\x94 What is Article 370, and what could happen to it? Article 37(
6	What Is Article 370, and Why Does It Matter in Kashmir?
7	left more than 160 people dead. What is Article 370? Article 370 was added to the Indian con
8	government announced last week would overturn Article 370, as well as another provision that preven
9	stitutional clause dealing with Kashmir, known as Article 370. ASIA India Vows 'Befitting Reply' After /
10	Hindu nationalist positions and has long opposed Article 370, BBC News reported. The BJP included th
11	force, it was not an easy drive. Article continues after sponsor message "As soon as
12	, India\x92s Supreme Court ruled that Article 370 could not be abrogated because the stat
13	ashmir could escalate following the revocation of Article 370. First, studies indicate that when a nation
14	. But for Kashmiris, especially Kashmiri Muslims, Article 370 has long held symbolic value as a
15	told USA TODAY. The attempt to repeal Article 370 has received criticism from Kashmiris, P:
16	see increased violence after the revocation of Article 370 Here are the longstanding tensions -- an
17	life to go online. When Modi abrogated Article 370, his government had promised that the c

Line 1 describes the drawbacks of Article 35A by the American media. It says that the abrogation of Article 35A allows non-Kashmiris to live permanently in Kashmir, which could generate conflict between the newcomers and the local population. Line 2 tells the same narrative, while lines 3 and 4 say that politicians and media representatives filed dozens of petitions in the Supreme Court of India against the abrogation of articles 35A and 370. Further, the media says that the government of India totally blackouts the communication system in the valley. Lines 5, 6, and 7 ask questions about the articles. Moreover, the Supreme Court of India ruled that Article 370 could not be abrogated because the state level-body had not approved the changes. Apart from the Supreme Court rule, article 370 has a symbolic attachment with the Kashmiris, see the original text from the American media; *Article 370 has long held symbolic value as a guardian of their unique identity within India. It also has provided them with real benefits, including a preference for securing local jobs.* The overall narrative of the American media is neutral and established justice-based reports regarding the revocation of articles 35A and 370 on August 5, 2019.

2. Concordance of the Keyword 'Constitution' in the American Corpus

The keyword 'constitution' has only 20 frequencies, a very low number in the American corpus. The co-texts with the keywords are: *a state, a 70-year-old, Abdullah, came, gave, granting, had, shortly, that, the, to, was,* and *which*. American media presented a balanced report regarding the abrogation of the articles. The very first two lines mentioned the harms that may be inflicted upon Kashmiris, and look at the text of one of the American newspapers: *Three days earlier, Modi Hindu-nationalist Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) had announced the abrogation of Article 370, which had accorded the northern state of Jammu and Kashmir (J&K) special status including a separate constitution, a state flag and control over internal administrative matters.*

Figure 4.28

A Screenshot of the Keyword 'Constitution' in the American Corpus

Concordance	Concordance Plot	File View	Clusters/N-Grams	Collocates	Word List	Keyword List

Concordance Hits 20

Hit	KWIC	
1	&K) special status \x97 including a separate	constitution, a state flag and control over internal
2	Narendra Modi revoked Article 370 of the Indian	constitution, a 70-year-old provision that had given
3	security in India.\x94 India\x92s	constitution, Abdullah said, \x93has amply and final
4	to enact Article 370 in 1949; when the Indian	constitution came into force in 1950, so did Article 3
5	Articles 370 and 35-A of India\x92s	constitution gave Kashmir special protections agains
6	to revoke the articles in the Indian	Constitution granting the predominantly Muslim Ka
7	Modi argued that Article 370 of the Indian	constitution had prevented economic development
8	Article 370? Article 370 was added to the Indian	constitution shortly after the partition of British Indi
9	the legislative body that drafted the state	constitution. That body dissolved itself in 1957, and
10	370 is a provision in India\x92s	constitution that has, until now, given the state
11	's autonomy was enshrined in India's	constitution. The government of Prime Minister Nar
12	370 is therefore a permanent part of the	constitution. The Modi government disagrees and sa
13	the right to their own flag and	constitution. This allowed Jammu and Kashmir to m
14	Muslim; and, ultimately, the rewriting of the	constitution to declare India a formally Hindu state.
15	e Minister Narendra Modi unilaterally amended the	constitution to remove Article 370, which had given
16	granted under Article 370 of India\x92s	Constitution, was \x93purely administrative\x94 and
17	was protected by Article 370 of the Indian	Constitution, which gave Kashmir the right to make

Almost all concordance lines of the keyword 'constitution' favoured the Kashmiris in respect of the Indian narrative, reporting the negativity of the abrogation and the consideration of the articles as a guardian to the people of Kashmir. A pro-Indian politician named Farooq Abdullah also criticised the repeal of articles, saying that the constitution of

India has finally and abundantly rejected the idea of a religious state, which dates back to medievalism.

3. Concordance of the Keyword 'August' in the American Corpus

Concordance 3 is about the keyword 'August,' a crucial month in the life of Kashmiris, which has only 13 frequencies. This keyword 'August' has co-texts, *and, crackdown, 2019, is the blackest day, that, the, they,* and *Trump,* attached to it in the American media. A New York time photographer, Atul Lok, spends weeks in Kashmir and reports that sporadic protests keep breaking out after the revocation of articles 35A and 370. Further, it is reported that the Indian-held Kashmir is the most densely militarised zone in the world, with one soldier for every 10 civilians.

Figure 4.29

A Screenshot of the Keyword 'August' in the American Corpus

The most appealing concordance line is 13, which reports Ex-President Trump's statement regarding the Kashmir conflict, especially after Articles 35A and 370 revocation. The texts reveal, '*Trump again offered to help mediate but described Kashmir as a thorn in a lot of people's sides and a big problem between India and Pakistan.'* Trump was very

keen to resolve the issue of Kashmir and offered two times his mediation, but the Indian government set it aside both times.

4. Concordance of the Keyword 'Assembly' in the American Corpus

The keyword 'assembly' in the 4 concordances has got 7 frequencies only in the American corpus. The co-texts of the keyword are *and, constitution, Feb., he told, is banned, of India,* and *of Kashmir.*

Figure 4.30

A Screenshot of the Keyword 'Assembly' in the American Corpus

The first line states that the state assembly was dissolved, and the Indian government repealed the autonomy clauses in the constitution. The area was further divided into two union territories. The media say that the Indian government tried its best to change the region into a Hindu-majority state instead of a Muslim state. Line 3 in the fourth concordance describes the education situation in the valley, how students gathered at the morning assembly after seven months due to Indian government security and communication lockdown. A UN high commissioner for civil rights, Rupert Colville, said, *"We are seeing, again, blanket telecommunications restrictions, perhaps more blanket than we have ever seen before, the reported arbitrary detention of political leaders and restrictions on peaceful assembly."* In the theme of domination, the second principle of van Dijk's (2004) model, the American media shows somehow balanced and just reporting about the Kashmir issue, especially after articles 35A and 370 were abrogated.

5. Concordance of the Keyword 'India' in the American Corpus

The last keyword in the theme of domination is 'India.' This lexical item is used 281 times in the American corpus, the highest frequency among all keywords in the domination theme. The co-texts attached to this keyword are *formally added, again, also, always, amnesty, an,* and *and*. The American media raised a very serious issue regarding India, that it is now a Hindu state, no longer a secular state because of extra-legal suppression of interfaith romance and marriages. Amnesty International India also shows concern in line 4 that repealing Article 370 will intensify tensions, alienate the population, and worsen the record of human rights abuses in the region.

Figure 4.31

A Screenshot of the Keyword 'India' in the American Corpus

Concordance	Concordance Plot	File View	Clusters/N-Grams	Collocates	Word List	Keyword List

Concordance Hits   281

Hit	KWIC
1	ng of the constitution to declare India a formally Hindu state. But can India,
2	laims the entire region (as does India). A panel of United Nations experts has
3	iri separatists who once labeled India a \x93Hindu state\x94 could be
4	al India. Amnesty International India added that the abrogation of Article 370 will \
5	her he might be willing to press India again. "We will ask USA to play
6	internal administrative matters. India also abolished Article 35A, part of Article 370,
7	orce in 1950, so did Article 370. India always intended this provision to be temporary \
8	ording to Amnesty International India. Amnesty International India added that the abro
9	ate, warned that it would render India an \x93occupational force\x94 in the
10	an colony into a Hindu-majority India and a Muslim-majority Pakistan. The status
11	\x92t want to be part of India and a small but stubborn insurgency has
12	ngerous flashpoints. To the east, India and China are building up military infrastructure
13	Jammu and Kashmir state, and India and China still do not agree on
14	grade its trade relationship with India and expel the country\x92s top
15	off and aerial dogfights between India and Pakistan. After an earlier such incident,
16	ntral source of friction between India and Pakistan and a hotbed of separatist
17	sed. Kashmir is claimed by both India and Pakistan and divided between them. Two

The US media mentioned that the Hindu nationalists wanted this revocation since the 1950s. A very true picture is portrayed in line 11 in the last concordance that Kashmiris do not want to be part of India. The original text says; *Many Kashmiris don't want to be part of India and a small but stubborn insurgency has been fighting Indian forces.* Apart from social abuse, theme domination has seen balanced reporting from the USA, which is

great and needs more to force the Indian government to abide by the UN Security Council resolutions.

4.4.3.1 Keywords of Theme Inequality in the Pakistani Corpus

Van Dijk's (2004) third principle of the model is inequality, a third theme with five keywords. This theme has *Pakistan, Kashmir, rights, UNSC* and *international.* These keywords are selected due to their frequency and keyness. Moreover, these keywords have a close connection to theme inequality. Each keyword is deeply rooted in van Dijk's (2004) model third principle.

1. Concordance of the Keyword 'Pakistan' in the Pakistani Corpus

The key country to the conflict in Kashmir is Pakistan because more than 40% of the portion of Kashmir is under Pakistan rule. Pakistani media is very concerned about the core issue in South Asia and thus writes more about the Kashmir conflict than the Indian and American media.

Figure 4.32

A Screenshot of the Keyword 'Pakistan' in the Pakistani Corpus

The keyword 'Pakistan' has the highest 737 frequency in Pakistani newspapers. The co-texts are *a, abandoned, aborted, accepted, accordingly, administered, after, again, against, agree, agreed, air,* and *all.* The concordance describes inequality in Pakistan by the Indian government and international organisations, especially UNO. Pakistan felt that India and UNO did not fulfil their commitments regarding the solution to the Kashmir conflict. Pakistan has abandoned its UN-backed solution stance because of the continuous plea of the Indian government for bilateral talks. However, it was a trap by the Indian government to localise the issue and thus, weakening the Pakistani narrative internationally. The original text of the corpus is, '*Pakistan abandoned its UN-based position before even entering into negotiations while India only reduced its illegal territorial claims to what it had already forcibly absorbed.'* Pakistan is the main partner of the core issue, and it would bring harm and instability to the region to exclude Pakistan from the scenario. It is the responsibility of the UNO to bring peace to the region by resolving the issue of Kashmir.

2. Concordance of the Keyword 'Kashmir' in the Pakistani Corpus

Concordance 2 is about the keyword 'Kashmir', the most important and has the highest frequency of all keywords, i.e., 1516. This keyword has the following co-texts: *a brief, a day, a de facto, a dead, a direct, a graveyard, a large, a movement, a part, a presidential, a region, a special, a year, about, access,* and *accession.*

Figure 4.33

A Screenshot of the Keyword 'Kashmir' in the Pakistani Corpus

Concordance	Concordance Plot	File View	Clusters/N-Grams	Collocates	Word List	Keyword List

Concordance Hits   1516

Hit	KWIC	
1	, right to vote and government jobs in Kashmir. A brief glance on the history of	
2	says it has not changed policy on Kashmir A day earlier, the US referred to	
3	cost-free policy options for Pakistan on Kashmir. A de facto surrender would entail an	
4	it wipes out the past and renders Kashmir a dead issue. The actual ground position	
5	says Modi regime's war crimes in Kashmir 'a direct challenge to world's conscience' '	
6	the situation is peaceful. You have made Kashmir a graveyard. What is the point of	
7	embassy in Brussels on Youm-e-Istehsal Kashmir A large number of Kashmiris and Pakistani	
8	and Pakistan to have independent status for Kashmir. A movement in the state led by	
9	by revoking Article 370, India had made occupied Kashmir a part of its Union Territory, wondering	
10	with the Constituent Assembly of Jammu and Kashmir, a Presidential Order was issued by India,	
11	" was to suppress the people in occupied Kashmir, a region that has been under a	
12	e Indian Constitution, which gave Indian-occupied Kashmir a special and autonomous status. Pakistan,	
13	by New Delhi in the Indian occupied Kashmir a year ago after the revocation of	
14	and more than three million in Pakistani Kashmir. About 70 percent are Muslims and the rest	
15	under severe criticism for rights violations in Kashmir. Access to the region for foreign observers,	
16	Rajya Sabha on August 6, 2010 that Jammu and Kashmir accession to India is done in unique	
17	carries a great impact and doubt upon Kashmir accession to India. In view of the	

This 75-year-old conflict has yet to be solved but brings instability in the region, which may stop the development in South Asia. Because this part of Asia has much potential to become one of the developed parts of the world, this conflict halts the development and stops the good life of the one hundred and fifty crore people from progressing.

3. **Concordance of the Keyword 'rights' in the Pakistani Corpus**

The keyword' rights' has significant importance in the theme of inequality. Because there are Kashmiris whose rights are violated, and only they are suffering. The Indians and Pakistanis do not feel the hardships that Kashmiris felt and are feeling. The international community is also sleeping about the violations of the rights of the Kashmiri people. This keyword has 264 frequency with the co-texts *abuse* and *activists*.

Figure 4.34

A Screenshot of the Keyword 'Rights' in the Pakistani Corpus

| | Concordance | Concordance Plot | File View | Clusters/N-Grams | Collocates | Word List | Keyword List |

Concordance Hits 264

Hit	KWIC
1	to save Kashmiri people from Indian human rights abuse and brutalities is not only the
2	, an expression of frustration at the human rights abuses getting global attention, the unease at
3	attention towards India\x92s persistent human rights abuses. He said Kashmir issue was discussed
4	that the growing international focus on Indian rights abuses in held Kashmir could force Delhi
5	UN Human Rights Council (UNHRC) about human rights abuses in Jammu and Kashmir, India\x92
6	) made public 14 cases of worst possible human rights abuses in Jammu and Kashmir after the
7	eanwhile, expressed "extreme concern" over human rights abuses in occupied Kashmir and asked the
8	world to intervene over killings and human rights abuses in occupied Kashmir by Indian forces.
9	92s attention from India\x92s human rights abuses in the occupied valley and attempts
10	rces immunity from prosecution for serious human rights abuses, the HRW said that an inquiry
11	and committing some of the worst human rights abuses there has not been able suppress
12	the duplicity and hypocrisy of the human rights activists across the globe, but it has
13	lso raised serious concern that minorities, civil rights activists and human rights defenders in India
14	s braving Kashmiri Muslim resentment\x94. Human rights activists and residents of the troubled state
15	later, a four-member delegation of human rights activists from Canada after meeting Mushaal
16	crisis. The international media reports and human rights activists have affirmed that Kashmir is silent
17	figures, members of the civil society, human rights activists, intellectuals, and journalists. "We wi

From lines 1 to 11, rights have a co-text abuse, which means that the Indian security forces abuse the rights of Kashmiris. The right co-text word is 'human' in almost all concordance lines. From 12 to 17, 'human rights activists' is used. The Pakistani media goes one step forward and declares that independent Kashmir is our dream, and that dream should come true only when the government and people together make efforts. Further, it says, …*revocation of Article 35-A, an expression of frustration at the human rights abuses getting global attention*…and it is expected that the global attention may pave the way to the solution of the long-awaited issue. That is how the Pakistani foreign office urges the international community to intervene in the killing and human rights abuses in occupied Kashmir by the Indian forces. In line 14, human rights activists and residents of the troubled state have long feared such a move could destabilise the region and plunge it into chaos. The occupied Kashmiris have unequal treatment in the valley, and everyone on earth who is a human rights champion must come forward and stop the Indian atrocities in the valley.

4. Concordance of the Keyword 'UNSC' in the Pakistani Corpus

The United Nations Security Council is responsible for enacting its resolution regarding the Kashmir solution. Otherwise, the worth and prestige of this organisation would be just a rubber stamp on the hands of world power. The keyword 'UNSC' has 59 frequency in Pakistani newspapers with co-texts *along, and, decision, discussed, had, held, in, India, itself, Kashmir,* and *meets*.

Figure 4.35

A Screenshot of the Keyword 'UNSC' in the Pakistani Corpus

The human rights minister of Pakistan suggested that Pakistan must approach the International Court of Justice (ICJ), UNSC, and other international forums about the illegal and inhumane activities of the Indian forces in occupied Kashmir. Kashmir is now an open human prison because there is no internet, electricity, or other means of communication to connect to the world. Furthermore, the pathetic side of the UNSC is that, after five decades, it held a meeting, the newspaper statement; *Members of the UNSC had met for the first time in over five decades in August last year to discuss the critical human rights situation in Indian occupied Kashmir*. This attitude shows the non-seriousness of the International Security Council regarding the biggest and long-standing issue, i.e., Kashmir. Line 14

reminds the UNSC that this issue is still waiting for a just solution. The newspapers reveal that in its Resolution 122 of January 24, 1957, the UNSC acknowledged that such fictitious Indian elections cannot serve as a replacement for the impartial plebiscite that its resolutions demand. The Pakistani media also mentioned that when India became a non-permanent member of the UNSC, she disregarded concerns and objections in five letters by the UN Human Rights Council (UNHCR) about human rights abuses in Jammu and Kashmir. These acts of international organisation place inequality on the people of Kashmir by van Dijk's (2004) three principles.

5. Concordance of the Keyword 'International' in the Pakistani Corpus

The keyword 'international' is the fifth concordance in Pakistani newspapers, with a frequency of 232. The co-texts of the current concordance are *actors, affairs, and, arena, attention, attitude, bodies, border, broadcasts,* and *campaigners.* The role of the international community is very big, but despite the UN resolutions, they ignore the issue and show inequality to the people of Jammu and Kashmir. They knew that Pakistan and India had fought three wars on this issue, but due to economic benefits and other interests, they always cornered the permanent solution of Kashmir. They did not even say India to conduct a plebiscite in occupied Kashmir as suggested by the United Nations Security Council.

Figure 4.36

A Screenshot of the Keyword 'International' in the Pakistani Corpus

| Concordance | Concordance Plot | File View | Clusters/N-Grams | Collocates | Word List | Keyword List |

Concordance Hits   232

Hit	KWIC	
1	plomatic offensive since August 5 to engage major	international actors in condemning India\x92s bruta
2	because it lacks the backing of powerful	international actors. The Security Council held only a
3	Kashmiri-Canadian scholar and associate professor	International Affairs at Qatar University, Sheikh Taja
4	yrannies against innocent Kashmiris. The Pakistan	International Airlines (PIA) had broadcast a special n
5	be stuck in the great game of	international and power politics for all intents and
6	andscape, including Human Rights Watch, Amnesty	International and the UN High Commissioner on Hu
7	that the Kashmir issue got in the	international arena after the Prime Minister\x92s
8	issue has once again succeeded in gaining	international attention and questions are being raise
9	. The situation in IIOJ&K requires urgent	international attention, but the world is silent, and
10	India\x92s Kashmir policy and in	international attitudes towards the fatal prospect of
11	the attention of the world leaders and	international bodies towards India\x92s \x93irrespo
12	India might accept the LoC as an	international border has given way to suggestions tl
13	Pakistan to accept the LoC as the	international border. India and Pakistan would then
14	93the conversion of the LoC into an	international border\x94. Pakistan abandoned its UI
15	Jammu and Kashmir and their redeployment along	international borders. Such a solution will greatly he
16	Kashmir, India prohibits world parliamentarians,	international broadcasts or unchaperoned internatic
17	squeak in the world". He called on	international campaigners for justice and peace to ri

A writer in Pakistani media reveals a very serious allegation on the international community that they play a great game with the Kashmiri people. In the original text, *Malik argues that the fate of Kashmir and the Kashmiris appears to be stuck in the great game of international and power politics for all intents and purposes.* Further, the media disclosed that Amnesty International and the UN High Commissioner on Human Rights were shocked and horrified by the daily atrocities against the people of Kashmir. The concordance' international' is a true picture of inequality of the van Dijk (2004) model regarding the Kashmir conflict.

4.4.3.2 Keywords of Theme Inequality in the Indian Corpus

1. Concordance of the Keyword 'Pakistan' in the Indian Corpus

The Indian media has less interest in mentioning the keyword 'Pakistan' in the corpus. This keyword is 221 times used by Indian newspapers with the co-texts: *a fact, a trade, acknowledge, administered, again, also, and, announced, apart, are,* and I as. The Indian stance is to do a trade instead of solving the Kashmir issue. They tried their best to

sideline the issue from the international scenario, which is how she always insisted on bilateral talks, which even halted. India does not allow the cricket team to play bilateral series with Pakistan. These acts of India showed the non-seriousness towards the solution to the Kashmir issue and tried to put it under the carpet. She insisted that Kashmiris are very happy after the revocation of 35A and 370 articles, but Pakistan is not happy.

Figure 4.37

A Screenshot of the Keyword 'Pakistan' in the Indian Corpus

The texts say *that although there was hardly any resistance in Jammu and Kashmir against the scrapping of Article 370, Pakistan again went on the aggressive today.* In line 7, the Indian newspapers mentioned the news that Pakistan has banned Indian movies in the country after the revocation of the controversial articles. As Pakistan has levelled allegations against India, in return, they also allegedly blame Pakistan for the unlawful treatment of minorities in its occupied territories. It says, *thousands of women and girls from minority communities have been subjected to abductions, forced marriages, and conversions in Pakistan and its occupied territories, Badhe said in his statement.* Overall, all Indian narrative is very negative and even unjust without proper reasons. They just

secured their stance and tried to present this issue as a local and internal issue, which is totally against the UNSC resolutions.

2. Concordance of the Keyword 'Kashmir' in the Indian Corpus

The second concordance in the Indian corpus is 'Kashmir,' a keyword in the study with a frequency of 470. The co-texts of 'Kashmir' are *a special, a three, according, addressing, after, against, aitihasik, allied, an,* and *and,* as the whole study is about Kashmir conflict and its solution after the revocation of articles 35A and 370.

Figure 4.38

A Screenshot of the Keyword 'Kashmir' in the Indian Corpus

The first line is about the policy of the BJP towards the constitutional provision that accorded Jammu and Kashmir a special status. The Supreme Court of India declined a petition in Kashmir about the 100% domiciliary quota. The texts state that on Wednesday, the Supreme Court turned down a case that challenged the legal rules allowing a 100% local quota for public employment in the Union Territory of Jammu and Kashmir. Farmer Chief Minister Mehbooba Mufti urged the government of India to take the lesson from the situation in Afghanistan and restore Article 370 in Jammu and Kashmir. Line 13 is very

important, which says that the government dropped the Sher-e-Kashmir award due to the non-acceptance of 370 and 35A articles. Though he was a founder of the National Conference and a sheer pro-Indian politician, a minor objection put him down to the sky. It shows that any voice against these articles cannot be tolerated and would be treated as against the state of India.

3. **Concordance of the Keyword 'rights' in the Indian Corpus**

The keyword' rights' is used 43 times in the Indian corpus, securing very minor space. The co-texts with the keyword 'rights' are *act, advocate, and, are, back, bogey, commission, concern, council, defenders, due, groups,* and *in.* The Indian media praised the decision, and the government explained in line 1 that implementing the Forest Rights Act for the scheduled Tribes was a historical step to empower.

Figure 4.39

A screenshot of the Keyword 'Rights' in the Indian Corpus

Further, An American journalist, Margaret Fuller, as mentioned in the Indian media, called for imagination, perseverance, and confidence to build a bright future. All these and many more lines in this concordance only touched on those statements that

highlight the positive aspects of the revocation. There is no single line that discusses the rights of Kashmiris that are violated, and they need a solution.

4. Concordance of the Keyword 'UNSC' in the Indian Corpus

The interesting concordance is 'UNSC' in the theme of inequality. This keyword got only 3 frequencies, the lowest in the Indian corpus but very important in terms of the Kashmir issue and Kashmiri people.

Figure 4.40

A Screenshot of the Keyword 'UNSC' in the Indian Corpus

Now, look at the first line of this concordance, which says Delhi blocked the move with the help of France, Russia, and the US by Pakistan and China to seek the United Nations Security Council. However, Pakistani representative Lodhi told UNSC president Wronecka, *"The real Indian intention to institute these changes is to alter the demographic structure of the Indian-occupied Jammu and Kashmir."* Moreover, the Indian newspapers quote Pakistani Foreign Minister Qureshi about the resolution of the Kashmir issue under the UN Security Council resolution only the third line expresses.

5. Concordance of the Keyword 'International' in the Indian Corpus

The last concordance of the theme of inequality is 'international.' Its frequency is 23 in Indian media, and the co-texts are; *affairs, border, community, experts, for a norms, peace, railway, ramifications,* and *rights.* The Indian government and media denied the role of the international community and organisations, including the UNSC.

Figure 4.41

A Screenshot of the Keyword 'International' in the Indian Corpus

The media mentioned that Pakistani PM Imran Khan tried to wake up the International community by asking, *"whether the international community have the moral courage to stop this from happening"?* In line 7, the media disclosed that the scrapping of article 370 was an internal matter, and the international community is not concerned about meddling in the Kashmir issue. That is how the government of India and the media tried to keep away from the international community because they wanted to solve this issue according to their wishes instead of the Kashmiri people. Moreover, they ignored the UNSC resolutions and wanted to be ignored by all parties, even Pakistan. Ultimately, Indian media fully backed the government's stance, by all means, even ignoring the norms and morality.

4.4.3.3 Keywords of Theme Inequality in the American Corpus

The American corpus is a balanced description of the Kashmir conflict. However, the frequencies of keywords show less interest in the issue because some keywords have zero frequency but are very important in the other two corpora.

1. **Concordance of the Keyword 'Pakistan' in the American Corpus**

Pakistan, a key country in the issue of Kashmir, got 157 frequency in the American corpus lowest among the three. The co-texts with these keywords are *a, about, accused, after,* and *and.* The first two lines of concordance show a big shift in American foreign policy from Pakistan to India under the Trump administration, and that shift regarding Kashmir has been seen in many statements of the foreign office spokespersons in the press briefing.

Figure 4.42

A Screenshot of the Keyword 'Pakistan' in the American Corpus

| Concordance | Concordance Plot | File View | Clusters/N-Grams | Collocates | Word List | Keyword List |

Concordance Hits 157

Hit	KWIC
1	, American foreign policy has shifted away from Pakistan, a longtime recipient of American aid, towa
2	United States has shifted its favors from Pakistan, a longtime recipient of American aid, to
3	-majority state and a region disputed by Pakistan, a move that analysts anticipated would rip
4	rowback to medievalism.\x94 Abdullah denounced Pakistan, a quasi-theocracy that waged a war
5	1989 to demand independence or a merger with Pakistan. About 70,000 people have been killed in th
6	warfare." The Kashmir fighting began Jan. 6 when Pakistan accused Indian troops of raiding an army
7	standoff and aerial dogfights between India and Pakistan. After an earlier such incident, former presi
8	central source of friction between India and Pakistan and a hotbed of separatist aspirations. Riva
9	cal and economic grievances, foreign support from Pakistan, and a mostly indiscriminate counterinsurg
10	\x93Kashmir is the jugular vein of Pakistan, and anyone laying a hand on our
11	currently divided between three countries: India, Pakistan and China. India controls the largest portio
12	share control over parts of Kashmir: India, Pakistan and China. Kashmir\x92s largest territory,
13	trolled Kashmir, a long-contested region abutting Pakistan and China that constituted India\x92s
14	. Kashmir is claimed by both India and Pakistan and divided between them. Two of the
15	responded to that attack by flying into Pakistan and firing airstrikes near the town of
16	\x92s decision has provoked outrage in Pakistan and global worries over a fresh armed
17	shmir? Kashmir, a mountainous valley that borders Pakistan and India, has been a center of

In line 4, the newspapers mentioned the statement of Abdullah, ex-chief minister of Jammu and Kashmir, that Pakistan was a quasi-theocracy that waged a war in 1948 to seize Kashmir… Line 11 is very interesting about the control of parts of Kashmir. They say that the largest part is with India, the second largest is with Pakistan, and a small part is with China. The entire narrative of American media towards the Kashmir issue is balanced and forces both countries to solve the issue bilaterally, which is a violation of UN Security Council resolutions.

2. Concordance of the Keyword 'Kashmir' in the American Corpus

The second concordance concerns the 'Kashmir' keyword in the American media with 331 frequency. The co-texts are *a, accompanied, against, agreed, already, also, among,* and *and.* Modi, Prime Minister of India, promised the full integration of Kashmir, showing the 'Akand Baharat' (Greater India) narrative, an old myth of fundamentalist Hindus.

Figure 4.43

A Screenshot of the Keyword 'Kashmir' in the American Corpus

In line 2, the media states the benefits of 370 articles in the Indian constitution, which is now abrogated. All the lines of concordance presented the true picture of the Kashmir conflict. The media somehow highlighted the issue, but they need more forcefully backed Kashmir and Kashmiris. They must discuss the UNSC resolutions because only the UN can solve this issue justly.

3. Concordance of the Keyword 'rights' in the American Corpus

Concordance 3 'rights' in the American media is used 17 times with the co-texts: *activities, and, expressed, for, groups, militarization, organisations, to, violations,*

and *watch*. The American media reports a human rights activist in the first line that the move to change the articles is a first step in a broader plan to erode the core rights of Kashmir and seed the area with non-Kashmiris, altering the demographic character.

Figure 4.44

A Screenshot of the Keyword 'Rights' in the American Corpus

Concordance	Concordance Plot	File View	Clusters/N-Grams	Collocates	Word List	Keyword List

Concordance Hits 17

Hit	KWIC
1	, despite pressure from allies to stop. Human rights activists said that the moves to change
2	, as are detentions of children. However, human rights activists who visited Kashmir from Aug. 9 to 1
3	le 370, which gave Kashmiris exclusive hereditary rights and a separate constitution. \x93After five
4	of detentions and urge respect for individual rights and discussion with those in affected commu
5	plan to erode Kashmir\x92s core rights and seed the area with non-Kashmiris,
6	the United Nations High Commissioner for Civil Rights, expressed deep concern Tuesday over the sit
7	it. These protections lead to special property rights for Kashmiris that blocked non-Kashmiris fro
8	ernment employees, who were required to. Human rights groups say it's likely that several
9	ore than 70 years ago. While international human rights groups swiftly condemned the action, Hindu r
10	of Kashmir. His research focuses on human rights, militarization and India-Pakistan relations. Ye
11	airstrikes for the first time since 1971. Human rights organizations have called Kashmir one of the
12	nomic opportunities. Kashmiris would have special rights to move and trade freely on both
13	ve Article 370, which had given Kashmiris special rights to property and government jobs in their
14	-handed and have led to gross human rights violations such as blinding, killing and trauma
15	and increase the risk of further human rights violations\x94 in Kashmir and its surroundinc
16	India's actions "a collective punishment." Human Rights Watch has called on India to restore
17	. They alleged \x93systematic violations of human rights\x94 in the region since Aug. 5, 2019. Three

Another activist mentioned in his visits to Kashmir from 9 to 13 August that he heard accounts of children being jailed like Ahmad. Moreover, a UN human rights high commissioner, Rupert Colville, a spokesman, *expressed deep concern Tuesday over the situation in Kashmir*. Further, human rights organisations, especially Amnesty International, showed deep concern over the situation in Kashmir and said Kashmir is one of the most militarised zones in the world. The American media reports the keyword' rights' very justly. They report mostly human rights organisations and mention their statements regarding human rights abuse in the occupied valley.

4. Concordance of the Keyword 'UNSC' in the American Corpus

The most important keyword in the theme of inequality is 'UNSC,' but looking at the American media, they did not mention it once. This attitude showed they did not want to solve the issue peacefully and justly.

Figure 4.45

A Screenshot of the Keyword 'UNSC' in the American Corpus

They considered this a bilateral issue between India and Pakistan, and they should solve it with talks. However, it is only possible with a third party to have a UNO or other international body, otherwise, this issue will remain for the next 75 years.

5. Concordance of the Keyword 'International' in the American Corpus

The last concordance is about the keyword' international.' This keyword is used 16 times in the American corpus with co-texts: *allies, border, events, fears, has, human, India, intervention, issue, law, Olympic, peace*, and *shooting.* The media reports that Pakistan downgraded diplomatic relations with its neighbour and urged the international community to take its side.

Figure 4.46

A screenshot of the Keyword 'International' in the American Corpus

In line 13, Krishnan said that it is illegal, against the norms, and further said that no Indian or international law will allow you to do what you are doing to Kashmiris. Moreover, the International Olympic Committee revoked the Indian qualification status for running due to the refusal of visas to Pakistani athletes. The good thing in this concordance is that they mentioned five times amnesty international India and favoured the Kashmiris' rights to freedom and expression. The head of Amnesty International India, Aakar Patel, stated in a statement that those shutdowns impacted the ability of individuals in Kashmir to seek, receive, and impart information, which was an integral aspect of the right to freedom of speech. The American media is truly neutral and gives a proper place to the issue of Kashmir and the rights of Kashmiris. Most of the reports regarding Kashmir in the American corpus are pro-Kashmir and justly raise this issue in their writings.

4.5 Interpretation and Discussion

The revocation of articles 35A and 370 in Kashmir on 5 August 2019 has had significant domestic and regional implications, as highlighted in studies conducted by Bhatia (2021), Mishra (2020), and Rather (2020). These constitutional changes have

intensified the already existing hardships faced by the Kashmiri people, plunging them into deeper distress. To better understand the impact of these changes, a comprehensive analysis was conducted, utilizing data from newspapers in India, Pakistan, and the United States, focusing on the perspectives these countries provided. Judgment sampling facilitated the collection of a substantial corpus of 169,680 words from nine newspapers across the three nations.

Of utmost significance was the substantial contribution of Pakistani media, accounting for 95,942 words, constituting a staggering 56.54% of the entire corpus. This percentage indicates the intense involvement and interest of Pakistan in the Kashmir conflict. The Indian media provided the second-largest corpus, with 39,670 words, representing 23.37% of the total. Lastly, the American data, comprising 34,068 words, constituted a mere 20.07% of the total corpus. These statistics underline the crucial role played by the media in shaping the narrative surrounding the Kashmir issue. The dominance of Pakistani media in the corpus suggests a concerted effort to highlight the grievances and hardships faced by Kashmiris following the revocation of articles 35A and 370. This amplification of the Kashmiri narrative through Pakistani media reflects the heightened sensitivity and attention given to the conflict by Pakistan.

On the other hand, the relatively smaller corpus from Indian media indicates a comparatively restrained approach to the coverage of the issue. It may reflect an attempt to downplay the negative consequences of the constitutional changes and focus on the perceived benefits. It is essential to critically analyze the role of the Indian media in shaping the narrative and examine potential biases in their reporting. The inclusion of American data, though representing a smaller portion of the corpus, highlights the interest of the international community in the Kashmir conflict. As a global superpower, the involvement of the United States in gathering data reflects its significance as a key stakeholder and mediator in the region. Analyzing the American perspective can provide valuable insights into the external perceptions and potential interventions in the Kashmir issue.

The methodology employed in the study involved using AntConc 4.1.0 to obtain lexical items from the three corpora: India, Pakistan, and the United States. The American Reference Corpus (AmE06) was integrated into the software to ensure the selection of

relevant keywords. A total of 33 keywords were chosen based on their frequency in the target and reference corpus and their keyness and relevance to van Dijk's (2004) Model of Critical Discourse Analysis. The selected keywords were then carefully analyzed and categorized according to the three principles outlined in van Dijk's (2004) model: social power abuse, domination, and inequality. This categorization allowed for a focused examination of how these principles manifested in the Kashmir issue discourse. Five keywords were chosen for each principle to provide a comprehensive understanding, resulting in 15 keywords for concordance analysis. Concordance analysis was conducted using the AntConc 4.1.0 software, running the three corpora in the software to obtain detailed concordance results. Five concordances were selected and thoroughly explained for each principle of van Dijk's (2004) model, highlighting their relevance and alignment with the respective principle.

Analyzing the first principle, social power abuse, reveals distinct perspectives and narratives within the three corpora: India, Pakistan, and the United States. In the Pakistani corpus, the frequency of keywords related to social power abuse was the highest. Pakistani media accused the Indian government of perpetrating violence in the valley and labelled them as occupiers. They emphasized the illegal accession of Kashmir and highlighted the abrogation of articles 35A and 370, which revoked the autonomy of the region. Pakistani newspapers also criticized the Indian media and the international community for disregarding the social power abuse prevalent in Kashmir. They portrayed Indian-occupied Kashmir as an open prison devoid of internet, communication, and freedom, affecting the lives of millions (Ahmed et al., 2022; Saddiqa & Yousafzai, 2019).

On the other hand, the Indian corpus exhibited lower frequencies of these keywords and promoted a contrasting narrative. Indian media argued that the abrogation of articles 35A and 370 had minimized violence in Kashmir, stating that the region is now an integral part of India with access to the Indian Supreme Court. They placed the blame on Pakistan, accusing them of sending insurgents to create violence in the valley. Indian media portrayed a positive picture of Kashmiris, asserting that they were content with the Indian occupation and enjoying the benefits offered under the Indian constitution. The BJP government repealed Article 370 to integrate Kashmir into India, allowing it to access opportunities and end terrorism. The move aimed to unite citizens and fulfill the desire of

the people of Ladakh for a union territory. The 370 removals aimed to unite the citizens (Mahajan, 2019). While the American corpus presented a more balanced perspective, it acknowledged the presence of violence and abuse in Kashmir following the constitutional changes. The American stance highlighted the heightened militarization of Indian-occupied Kashmir, the absence of internet access, and restrictions on freedom. They also raised concerns about the demographic changes, allowing non-Kashmiris to purchase land and settle in the region, which was viewed as an alteration of the area's unique identity. The American perspective criticized the Indian government for disregarding United Nations Security Council (UNSC) resolutions and attempting to portray the issue as an internal rather than an international concern.

Considering these contrasting viewpoints, an argumentative approach can be adopted to analyse the narratives presented critically. The narrative of the Pakistani media on social power abuse aligns with Salma's (2018) argument that India is using its power to oppress the people of occupied Kashmir. Meanwhile, the Indian media narrative highlights a positive outlook, suggesting that power can alter perceptions and project a different reality, as Bhatia (2021) supports.

The second principle of van Dijk's (2004) critical discourse analysis model, 'domination,' is highly applicable to the Kashmir issue and the plight of the Kashmiri people. Despite multiple United Nations Security Council (UNSC) resolutions, India has exerted its dominance over Kashmir since 1948. Five keywords were selected for analysis concordance with the AntConc 4.1.0 software: Article, Constitution, August, Diminishing, and India.

The revocation of Articles 35A and 370 on 5 August 2019 significantly impacted the valley. These articles were seen as safeguards for Kashmir's autonomy, but the Indian government, under Prime Minister Modi's leadership, nullified them and divided Kashmir into two states: Ladakh and Jammu and Kashmir. Pakistani newspapers expressed strong opposition to this change, considering it an attack on Kashmiri autonomy protected by the Indian constitution. The revocation allowed non-Kashmiris to settle in the region, revoked the separate flag, and limited the powers of the Kashmir constituent assembly in passing

laws. Previously, the assembly had significant autonomy in lawmaking, except in three subjects: foreign policy, currency, and communication.

Indian newspapers, however, portrayed these changes as beneficial for the welfare of the Kashmiri people and the region as a whole. They argued that the revocation of the articles brought peace, harmony, and increased security to Indian-occupied Kashmir. The Indian narrative presented a different perspective on van Dijk's (2004) second principle of domination, blaming Pakistan for dominating Azad Jammu and Kashmir since the 1948 war. They deemed Pakistan an illegal occupier and expressed a desire to liberate Pakistan-occupied Kashmir (see Mahajan, 2019).

In contrast, the American stance exhibited a more neutral and justice-based approach. American newspapers called for peace talks between both countries and resolution of the issue following UN Security Council resolutions. The New York Times even dispatched correspondents to Kashmir for ground reporting. Their reports highlighted the increased violence, extrajudicial killings, and communication blackout that ensued after the revocation of the articles. The American media provided a more balanced representation, allowing readers better to comprehend the core issue of Kashmir in South Asia.

Powerful states and communities often perpetuate inequality and inhumane treatment in occupied territories, and this holds for the occupation of Kashmir by India. The third principle of van Dijk's (2004) model, which focuses on inequality, resonates strongly in this context. Five keywords were selected for analysis: Pakistan, Kashmir, Rights, UNSC (United Nations Security Council), and International.

The keyword 'Pakistan' appeared with the highest frequency in Pakistani media, with 737 occurrences. Indian newspapers used it 221 times, while American media mentioned it only 157 times. Despite Pakistan being a central party to the conflict, the other media outlets, except for Pakistani media, downplayed its significance. Pakistani media portrayed Pakistan in a positive light and reported statements criticizing international organizations, particularly the UN Security Council, and India's treatment of Kashmir. They blamed Pakistan for insurgency in Kashmir, although Pakistan's narrative differed. Gultung (2000, 1998) argues that framing one narrative positively and the other negatively

is a government strategy to influence the press. Pakistan's stance is based on norms, morality, and human rights, and it believes that the Kashmir issue can only be resolved through UN Security Council resolutions.

The keyword 'Kashmir' garnered significant attention in all three media outlets, with 1516 occurrences in Pakistani media, 470 in Indian media, and 331 in American media. Kashmir remained a central issue discussed extensively in the newspapers of all three countries, each presenting it according to their policies and narrative. Pakistani media reported on the inhumane treatment of Kashmiris in the valley, with Indian soldiers allegedly killing innocent Kashmiris daily and turning the region into an open prison. This treatment exemplifies van Dijk's (2004) principle of inequality in critical discourse analysis.

The third keyword, 'rights,' is of utmost importance. Pakistani media blamed the Indian government for gross violations of human rights in the valley (Rather, 2020), arguing that Kashmiris have been deprived of basic human rights. In contrast, Indian media denied any human rights violations and portrayed a narrative of only a few insurgents backed by Pakistan, creating problems in the valley (Mishra, 2020). They claimed that Kashmiris are content and enjoying life under Indian rule, having accepted the constitutional changes regarding Kashmir's autonomous status. The American media reported on human rights violations in the Kashmir valley based on Amnesty International and Indian human rights organizations. They even sent journalists to report from ground zero, highlighting increased unrest in the valley after revoking Articles 35A and 370 (Mahajan, 2020).

The keyword 'United Nations Security Council (UNSC)' was largely ignored by Indian and American newspapers. Lalwani and Gayner (2020) argue that international organizations, including the UN, often struggle to address global issues, including the Kashmir conflict. It may explain why dominant powers rarely mentioned the 'UNSC' keyword in their corpus, as they recognized that UNSC resolutions are the true solution to the Kashmir issue. Only Pakistani newspapers gave importance to the 'UNSC' keyword, with 59 occurrences, while Indian media mentioned it three times, and American media did not use it at all.

In conclusion, the analysis of the discourse surrounding the revocation of articles 35A and 370 in Kashmir reveals contrasting narratives among Pakistani, Indian, and American media. Pakistani media emphasizes social power abuse, portraying India as an oppressor. Indian media highlights the positive impact of the constitutional changes. American media takes a more balanced stance, recognizing the increase in violence and human rights concerns in the valley. These findings align with van Dijk's principles of critical discourse analysis, highlighting the complexities and power dynamics involved in the Kashmir conflict. The study underscores the importance of critical analysis in understanding the differing perspectives on the Kashmir issue.

CHAPTER 5

Summary, Findings, Conclusions and Recommendations

This chapter evaluated the degree to which the goals and objectives of the study were achieved to draw a solid conclusion from the overall research. Information regarding the summary of the study is provided in Section 5.1. The summary includes the introduction, research questions, objectives, samplings, and study results. In the same way, results are presented in section 5.2. The goals and research questions back up the conclusions. Additionally, the findings and recommendations of the study are covered in detail in sections 5.3 and 5.4.

5.1 Summary

In order to understand the "aboutness" of the corpora, this study first identified the keywords utilised in the corpora collected from the chosen English-language newspapers in Pakistan, the United States, and India. Finding the right keywords was a "way in" to this type of analysis of the study (Baker 2008). Dawn, The Nation and The News from Pakistan, The Indian Express, India Today and The Hindu from India, USA Today, Washington Post, and New York Times from America are just a few of the newspapers from which 33 keywords were taken for this study. I discovered that almost all of the keywords used by the newspapers to convey the importance of the Kashmir issue are listed in Chapter 4 (table 4.1). The 33 keywords I identified as 1) Social power abuse, 2) Domination, and 3) Inequality in Kashmir reflected three themes or discourses regarding the Kashmir conflict in the chosen publications. Five keywords were selected from each theme group, and concordance was used to examine the keywords across the corpora. The words "violence," "occupied," "access," "autonomy," and "abrogation" from category one, "article," "constitution," "August," "assembly," and "India" from category two, and "Pakistan," "Kashmir," "rights," "UNSC," and "international" from category three were all individually examined in all assembled newspaper corpora. The reason for choosing these terms was that they represented the Kashmir issue as a whole in the corpus of English-language publications from Pakistan, the United States, and India. Moreover, while analysing the

keywords, the co-text patterns around the selected keywords were closely read in concordance with van Dijk's (2004) model of critical discourse analysis.

5.2 Findings of the Research

The researcher has investigated and summarised the findings of how social power abuse, domination, and inequality are used by the media of the nations, as mentioned earlier, to create a narrative about the Kashmir war. It is in light of the in-depth analysis of Pakistani, Indian, and American media (newspaper) discourse regarding the Kashmir issue. The findings of the research are listed below;

1. The 33 terms that comprised van Dijk's model of three critical discourse analysis principles—social abuse power, domination, and inequality—were split among the corpora. From these 33 keywords, 15 were further chosen for examination and assigned to van Dijk's three guiding principles. Even if the number of newspapers in each country included in the study was equal, the Pakistani Corpus was larger than the American and Indian corpora. The total words in the Pakistani Corpus were 95,942, whereas those in the Indian and American Corpus were 39690 and 34068, respectively. The Pakistani Corpus accounted for 56.54% of the total words in over 169,680, the Indian corpus for 23.37%, and the American corpus for 20.07% (see table 4.1, figure 4.1).

2. The five keywords that best describe the topic of social power abuse are violence, occupied, accession, autonomy, and abrogation. The collocations choose which keywords to use. The most frequent keyword among the five, with a frequency of 420, was discovered to be "occupied," but the astonishing thing was that not a single token was found in the American corpus. Additionally, the Indian writers were hesitant to employ it; as a result, they did so only eight times. There was no obvious variation in frequency across the remaining keywords (see Table 4.4).

3. Domination, a second principle of van Dijk (2004), has five keywords that are important to it and occur most frequently. Articles, constitution, August, assembly, and India were the five keywords. The word "India" appeared the most frequently across all corpora since it is that has ruled the valley of Kashmir

against the desire of the Kashmiris and has also broken all international laws and standards. The article came in second because India unleashed yet another wave of abuses and bloodshed in occupied Kashmir with the 35A and 370 articles.

4. The principal inequality, as usual, includes five terms with the highest frequency and keyness in the corpora that are pertinent to its characteristics. To van Dijk's third premise, terms like Pakistan, Kashmir, rights, UNSC, and international were added (2004). Because Kashmir is the subject of Indian occupation and the repeal of Articles 370 and 35A, it has the highest frequency of any keyword in any of the three corpora. Surprisingly, "Pakistan," or 1115, was the second most frequently occurring term, and it was due to the main aggressor in the battle. Under UNSC resolutions, Pakistan had already liberated a portion of Kashmir from India but was still holding out for the remainder.

5. In concordance, Pakistani publications accuse India of "violence" and "illegal occupation" of Kashmir. They stated in the papers that the repeal of Articles 370 and 35A had escalated violence in the valley. Unlike Pakistan, Indian media accuses Pakistan of doing violent acts and occupying Azad Kashmir without authorisation. They continued to blame Pakistan and the terrorist group that operated in the valley and was and is seen as Pakistani independence fighters. Regarding American newspapers, they demonstrated some examples of a neutral attitude, which is principle one, and that is the rise in violence in the valley after the constitutional articles were repealed. However, they have not responded to the question of occupation because the corpus does not mention this crucial phrase.

6. The final three keywords—accession, autonomy, and abrogation—in the principle of social power abuse in the Pakistani Corpus each had a distinct semantic meaning separate from the previous two. Pakistani authors continue to adhere to UN resolutions on Kashmir and deem the accession of Kashmir to India in 1947 to be unlawful. Furthermore, they lack the legal authority to suspend the articles or alter the status of Kashmir without the consent of the UNSC. Indians were more inclined to beat their drums than Pakistanis, in contrast to their story. They charged Pakistan with having no autonomy for Azad Kashmir and the right to amend its constitution

if necessary. Additionally, they developed the myth that Kashmir will experience peace following abrogation. They currently belong to India and enjoy all the same privileges as other Indian citizens. The violence had grown following the repeal of the articles, according to the American newspapers, and the Indians had lost accession as a result of the lack of autonomy in the valley.

7. According to Pakistani newspapers, India has illegally ruled Kashmir by disobeying the UN Security Council resolutions. Articles, the constitution, August, the assembly, and India were the terms included in this category. The revocation of Articles 370 and 35A sparked a response from everyone, especially Kashmiris and Pakistanis. Van Dijk's true picture of the second principle of dominance was the focus of the keywords. According to the Indian newspapers, the Kashmiris and the valley would benefit from these articles. The Indian constitution, which formerly served as a shield for Kashmiris, has been repealed and is no longer in effect. August was the subject of all this fuss, so Kashmiris regarded it as important to their way of life.

8. To lessen the sufferings experienced by Kashmiris, American media writers forced bilateral negotiations rather than trying to include the UNSC. Once, President Trump offered to be a mediator between Pakistan and India, but India rejected the offer. They were certain that Kashmir was a major bone of contention between India and Pakistan and a potential nuclear flashpoint in the region. They also acknowledged that the abrogation has made the violence in the valley worse. More than 3 million people lived in the valley, seen by many as an open prison.

9. The third principle of inequality comprises five keywords: international, rights, UNSC, Pakistan, and Kashmir. According to Pakistani publicity, Pakistan is Kashmiris' only defender and a dependable friend. They made every effort to protect Kashmiris' rights around the globe. They tried to mobilise the international community, particularly the United Nations Security Council and human rights organisations, to implement the promises of past resolutions. The UNSC resolutions, the engagement of the international community, and alleged human

rights abuses of Pakistan in the Azad Kashmir valley are topics that are rarely discussed in Indian media.

10. The American press hardly ever draws attention to the problem. It even fails to bring up the UNSC term, which is crucial to finding a solution to the problem. Additionally, they criticise the Indian position but do so in hazy terms. Even if they draw attention to the bloodshed and suffering experienced by Kashmiris, they do not compel India to resolve the conflict under their aspirations or a UN Security Council decision, as Pakistan frequently claims.

5.3 Conclusions

Language is constantly employed as a tool to develop one's own story. For seven decades, Kashmir has been a nuclear flashpoint between Pakistan and India. They hold each other accountable for crimes against humanity and terrorism committed in their respective nations and Kashmir. Even though they fought three wars, the results were just more suffering and more Kashmiri deaths. The Kashmiris are still waiting for the United Nations and other international organisations to fulfil their promise to find a peaceful solution to the problem. The American newspapers appeared impartial in some ways, but their media discourse was likely biased in favour of India, the occupying power.

Even though the study examined past works and drew insight from them, its main focus was on finding answers to the following four research questions:

1. What are the most frequently used lexical items, and how do they reveal their respective positioning of the Kashmir issue in the selected publications?

2. What does a collocation analysis of the Kashmir issue and other related terms indicate about the writers' perspectives in the newspaper articles and editorials in question?

3. How is the Kashmir issue positioned in the selected publications subsequent to the revocation of Articles 370 and 35A in the Indian constitution?

The study produced intriguing insights into the responses to the research questions. The keywords analyzed, such as "violence," "addition," "occupied," "abrogation," "UNSC," "diminishment," "August," and "rights," shed light on the genuine suffering experienced by the people of Kashmir. The disregard shown by the UN Security Council, human rights organizations, and the international community, particularly the USA and European Union, is disheartening. Their failure to address the Kashmir issue and provide a peaceful solution only exacerbates the plight of the Kashmiris. The revocation of Articles 370 and 35A on August 5, 2019, has further compounded the hardships faced by the Kashmiri population, leading to a lack of essential services such as internet, electricity, and access to information.

The newspapers' selective use of keywords and lexical categories reflected their perspectives on the Kashmir dispute. Pakistani media frequently used the word "violence" to criticize the Indian government's actions in the region. Indian media, on the other hand, attributed violence to Pakistani militants operating in Kashmir. These lexical choices shaped the narrative according to each newspaper's viewpoint.

Similarly, the term "right" was employed by Indian media to question the rights of Kashmiris in Azad Kashmir and Pakistan-controlled Kashmir, while American media expressed their opinions on the rights of the entire region. This divergence highlights the different angles from which the issue was approached. The keyword "UNSC" appeared frequently in Pakistani newspapers, sparingly in Indian media, and was absent in the American corpus. This disparity reflects the limited attention given by the United States, as a global superpower, to the resolutions passed by the UN Security Council regarding the Kashmir dispute.

The purpose of answering the second question was to learn the viewpoint of media on keyword collocations. The adjoining words or collocations of the keywords show the real story being told by the publications. Collocations of words like "chaotic," "insurgent," "hostility," "massacre," "sexual," "subversion," "disproportionate," "exaggerated," "sorry," "prosecution," "hypocrisy," "sham," "void," "excuse," "inflame," "wipe," "riots," "abetted," "trusted," and "resolutions" were included in the keywords. Because they were aware that

Kashmir is an illegally occupied area controlled by India and that the revocation of articles 370 and 35A worsened the situation, they tended to use these collocations negatively.

The third question is extremely important because the entire study revolves around the positions that the various countries occupy following the repeal of Articles 370 and 35A. In Pakistani media, the keywords "article," "August," and even "constitution" were given much space. The Indian government, however, continued to try to downplay the articles' importance in the most recent violence while also supporting the constitutional amendment of articles 370 and 35A, which kept the status quo in Kashmir. The lexical items "articles," "constitution," and "August" had received complete disregard from the American media. It demonstrated to us how the media is used to create stories that may be far aloof from fact, as was also demonstrated in this study. There are no impartial means to obtain the true and accurate story surrounding the study, as the media of every country declared themselves to be blameless and other enemy and devil.

The study reveals the significant role of media in distorting the truth and shaping narratives surrounding the Kashmir conflict. Pakistani media extensively covered keywords such as "article," "August," and "constitution." On the other hand, Indian media downplayed the importance of these articles while supporting their repeal and the constitutional changes. Interestingly, the American media largely disregarded these keywords, indicating divergent priorities in their coverage.

The media's manipulation of stories and narratives is evident in their portrayal of the Kashmir conflict. Each country's media presents itself as blameless while demonizing the other. It underscores the lack of impartiality in accurately understanding the situation.

The study also highlights the impact of the abrogation of articles 370 and 35A on the lives of Kashmiris. Previously, they had a voice in the Indian constitution, but their autonomy has been eroded. These constitutional changes also raise concerns about the demographic profile of Kashmir, potentially leading to a minority status for Muslims.

5.4 Recommendations
The media is extremely important for presenting perspectives on any description and may significantly affect how people perceive various phenomena worldwide. It has

been noted over the years that the media has been crucial in conveying the truth. The study at hand also concludes how the Kashmir problem has been covered in Pakistani, Indian, and American media, particularly in light of the repeal of Articles 370 and 35A and its implications for Kashmir and Kashmiris.

While creating and delivering the news, it is advised to consider the code of ethical conduct. Misleading the audience or readers with inaccurate numbers is only one example of how language can distort facts by emphasising some information while underscoring others. The media must pay close attention to handling delicate topics like the Kashmir issue, Palestine conflict and Afghan disputes while being impartial and playing to the emotions of the public.

The language used in UN Security Council resolutions should be examined to acquire a more accurate picture of the Kashmir situation. What gap they had left, allowing the UN to take whatever necessary measures about implementation. Additionally, this will make it simpler for the Kashmiris to comprehend the genuine nature of the global community.

The fate of articles 370 and 35A should be investigated by surveying the people in occupied Kashmir. It will dispel many misconceptions about the willingness of the Kashmiri people to accept change. Furthermore, this assignment ought to go to an independent group.

REFERENCES

Ahmad, K., Bacha, M. S., & Rustam, R. (2022). Application of Van Dijk Model on The Discursive Identities in Pakistani and Indian Print Media after the Anulment of Article 370. *PalArch's Journal of Archaeology of Egypt/Egyptology*, *19*(1), 1972-1997. https://archives.palarch.nl/index.php/jae/article/view/11016

Alam, S., Bhatti, M. N., & Awan, M. W. (2020). Abrogation of Articles 370 & 35A of the Indian Constitution: Implications for Peace in South Asia. *International Review in Social Sciences*, 9-20. https://www.researchgate.net/profile/MuhammadNawaz77/publication/343792502

Ali, C. M. (1973). The Emergence of Pakistan. Lahore:. *Research Society of Pakistan.* https://doi.org/10.1080/00358533.2022.2148911

Aluthman, E. S. (2018). A Corpus-Assisted Critical Discourse Analysis of the Discursive Representation of Immigration in the EU Referendum Debate. *Arab world English journal*, *9*(4), 19-38. https://dx.doi.org/10.24093/awej/vol9no4.2

Anthony, L. (2022). AntConc (Windows, Macintosh OS X, and Linux). https://doi.org/10.1016/b978-159749197-6.50006-7

Baker, P. (2005). Public discourses of gay men. *London: Routledge.* https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203643532

Baker, P. (2006). Using corpora in discourse analysis. *London: Continuum.* https://www.lancaster.ac.uk/staff/bakerjp/usingcorpora.htm

Baker, P. (2010). Sociolinguistics and corpus linguistics. *Edinburgh University Press.* https://edinburghuniversitypress.com/book-sociolinguistics-and-corpus-linguistics.html

Baker, P. (2012). Acceptable bias? Using corpus linguistics methods with critical discourse analysis. *Critical discourse studies*, *9*(3), 247-256. https://doi.org/10.1080/17405904.2012.688297

Baker, P., Gabrielatos, C., & McEnery, A. M. (2008). Using collocational profiling to investigate the construction of refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants in the UK press. In *7th*

Conference of the American Association for Corpus Linguistics (AACL 2008). https://doi.org/10.1177/0957926508088962

Ball, C. N. (1994). Automated text analysis: Cautionary tales. *Literary and Linguistic Computing*, *9*(4), 295-302. https://doi.org/10.1093/llc/9.4.295

Bayram, F. (2010). Ideology and political discourse: A critical discourse analysis of Erdogan's political speech. *Annual review of education, communication & language sciences*, *7*. https://research.ncl.ac.uk/media/sites/researchwebsites/arecls/bayram_vol7.pdf

Bazaz, P. N. (1954). The history of struggle for freedom in Kashmir: Cultural and political, from the earliest times to the present day. *Kashmir Publishing Company*, p. 35. https://doi.org/10.1177/097492845601200324

Bhatia, A. (2021). The discursive construction of legitimacy in the abrogation of Indian Constitution's Article 370. *Journal of Pragmatics*, *183*, 132-141. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2021.07.009

Biber, D., Conrad, S., & Reppen, R. (1998). Corpus linguistics: Investigating language structure and use. *Cambridge University Press*. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511804489

Biber, D., Johansson, S., Leech, G., Conrad, S., Finegan, E., & Quirk, R. (1999). *Longman grammar of spoken and written English* (Vol. 2). *London: Longman*. https://doi.org/10.1075/ijcl.6.2.09sin

Birdwood, L. (1956). Two Nations and Kashmir. *London: Robert Hale.* https://www.abebooks.com/Two-Nations-Kashmir-Lord-Birdwood-Robert/18365050584/bd

Blommaert, J. M. E. (2005). Discourse: A critical introduction. *Cambridge University Press,* p. 2. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1473-4192.2007.00141.x

Bonelli, E. T. (2000). Corpus classroom currency. *Darbai ir dienos*, *24*, 205-243.

https://doi.org/6ccca531a4141007df216c176c1d4a88179f6021

Bonelli, E. T. (2001). Corpus linguistics at work. *Corpus Linguistics at Work*, 1-583. https://doi.org/10.1162/coli.2002.28.4.583a

Bose, S. (2005). *Kashmir: Roots of conflict, paths to peace*. Harvard University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0021911805000495

Breeze, R. (2011). Critical discourse analysis and its critics. *Pragmatics*, *21*(4), 493-525. https://doi.org/10.1075/prag.21.4.01bre

Burke, S. M., & Ziring, L. (1990). Pakistan's foreign policy: An historical analysis. *Oxford University Press, USA,* p. 27. http://archive.org/details/pakistansforeign0000burk

Burr, V. (1995). Social constructionism. *Routledge*, p. 48. http://dx.doi.org/10.4324/9780203299968

Chilton, P., & Schaffner, C. (Eds.). (2002). Politics as text and talk: Analytic approaches to political discourse (Vol. 4). *John Benjamins Publishing*. https://doi.org/10.1075/dapsac.4

Chouliaraki, L. (1998). Regulation in 'progressivist' pedagogic discourse: Individualized teacher-pupil talk. *Discourse & Society*, *9*(1), 5-32. https://www.jstor.org/stable/42888154

Chouliaraki, L., & Fairclough, N. (1999). Discourse in late modernity: Rethinking critical discourse analysis. *Edinburgh University Press.* https://doi.org/10.1515/9780748610839

Creswell, J. W., & Creswell, J. (2003). Research design (pp. 155-179). Thousand Oaks, CA: *Sage publications*. http://www.ceil-conicet.gov.ar/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/Creswell-Cap-10.pdf

EFSAS. (2019). India revoking the Special Status of J & K - Betrayal of history. *European Fondation for South Asian Studies.* https://www.efsas.org/commentaries/the-betrayal-of-the-people-of-jammu-and-kashmir/

Fair, C. C. (2019). India's move in Kashmir: Unpacking the domestic and international motivations and implications. *Lawfare, August*, *12*. https://www.lawfaremedia.org/article/indias-move-kashmir-unpacking-domestic-and-international-motivations-and-implications

Fairclough, N. & Wodak, R. (1997) Critical discourse analysis. In T.A. van Dijk (ed.), Discourse studies: A multidisciplinary introduction (Vol. 2, pp. 258–84). *Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.* https://www.scirp.org/reference/ReferencesPapers?ReferenceID=2135243

Fairclough, N. (1992). Discourse and social change. *Cambridge, MA; Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.* http://www.gbv.de/dms/bowker/toc/9780745606743.pdf

Fairclough, N. (2001). Language and power (Vol. 2nd). *New York.* https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315838250

Fairclough, N. (2009). A dialectical-relational approach to critical discourse analysis in social research. *Methods of critical discourse analysis*, *2*, 162-187. https://www.taylorfrancis.com/chapters/edit/10.4324/9781315834368-16/dialectical%E2%80%93relational-approach-critical-discourse-analysis-social-research1-norman-fairclough

Filali-Ansary, A. (2012). The languages of the Arab revolutions. *Journal of Democracy*, *23*(2), 5-18. https://doi.org/10.1353/jod.2012.0035

Firth, J. R. (1957). Papers in Linguistics *1934-1951*: Repr. Oxford Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1473-4192.2007.00164.x

Fitch, K. L. (2005). Conclusion: Behind the scenes of language and scholarly interaction. In R. E. Sanders (Ed.), *Handbook of Language and Social Interaction* (pp. 461-482). New York: Psychology Press. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781410611574

Gabrielatos, C., & Baker, P. (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*(1), 5-38. https://doi.org/10.1177/0075424207311247

Gries, S. T., & Stefanowitsch, A. (Eds.). (2007). *Corpora in cognitive linguistics: corpus-based approaches to syntax and lexis* (Vol. 172). Walter de Gruyter. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110197709

Grosz, B. J., Joshi, A. K., & Weinstein, S. (1995). Centering: A framework for modelling the local coherence of discourse. https://aclanthology.org/J95-2003

Haider, A. S. (2016). A corpus-assisted critical discourse analysis of the Arab uprisings: evidence from the Libyan case. http://dx.doi.org/10.26021/4530

Halliday, M. A. (1993). Quantitative studies and probabilities in grammar. *Data, description, discourse: papers on the English language in honour of John McH Sinclair*, 1-25. https://doi.org/10.1075/fol.2.1.15tuc

Halliday, M. A. K. (1978). *Language as social semiotic: The social interpretation of language and meaning*. Hodder Education. https://edisciplinas.usp.br/mod/resource/view.php?id=4991640&lang=es#page=274

Hardt-Mautner, G. (1995). 'Only Connect'. Critical Discourse Analysis and Corpus Linguistics. *Lancaster: UCREL*. https://doi.org/9626848c9de7871213339cc93370ef702667805e

Hardt-Mautner, G. (2009). Checks and balances: How corpus linguistics can contribute to CDA. In R. Wodak & M. Meyer (Eds.), *Methods of critical discourse analysis* (pp. 122-143). London: SAGE. https://research.wu.ac.at/en/publications/checks-and-balances-how-corpus-linguistics-can-contribute-to-cda-7

Harris, Z. S. (1952). Discourse Analysis. *Language*, *28*(1), 1-30. https://doi.org/10.1075/z.184.17har

Hasan, K. S. (1966). *Documents on the Foreign Relations of Pakistan: The Kashmir Question*. Pakistan Institute of International Relations. https://www.abebooks.com/Documents-Foreign-Relations-Pakistan-Kashmir-Question/22201351213/bd

Hayat, J. (2020). Azad Jammu & Kashmir: Polity, Politics, and Power-sharing (p. 57). *Oxford University Press*. https://cir.nii.ac.jp/crid/1130573251004939536

Hunston, S. (2022). *Corpora in Applied Linguistics* (2nd ed.). Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108616218

Kakkar, J. M. (2020). India's New Citizenship Law and its Anti-Secular Implications. Washington D.C.: *Lawfare Institute in Cooperation with BROOKINGS*. https://www.lawfaremedia.org/article/indias-new-citizenship-law-and-its-anti-secular-implications

Kandil, M. A. (2009). The Israeli-Palestinian conflict in American, Arab, and British media: Corpus-based critical discourse analysis. https://doi.org/10.57709/1392287

Kendall, G. (2007). What is critical discourse analysis? In *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung/Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, *8*(2), p. 3. https://doi.org/10.17169/fqs-8.2.255

Khan, A. (1994). The Kashmir Dispute: A Plan for Regional Cooperation. *Columbia Journal of Transnational Law*, *495-550*. https://acnpsearch.unibo.it/singlejournalindex/4032921

Khound, R. (2019). Abrogation of article 370-A look back at its origin and aftermath. *International journal of scientific & technology research.* https://doi.org/10.55183/amjr.2022.vo3.lsi.01.002

Kinloch, K. (2018). A corpus-assisted study of the discourses of infertility in UK blogs, news articles and clinic websites. *Lancaster University.* https://eprints.lancs.ac.uk/id/eprint/126845/

Korbel, J. (1966). Danger in Kashmir (p. 71). *New Jersey: Princeton University Press* https://press.princeton.edu/books/hardcover/9780691650715/danger-in-kashmir

Kress, G. R. (1997). Before writing: Rethinking the paths to literacy. *New York; London: Routledge.*https://www.routledge.com/Before-Writing-Rethinking-the-Paths-to-Literacy/Kress/p/book/9780415138055

Kumar, R. (2018). Research methodology: A step-by-step guide for beginners. *Sage.* https://doi.org/10.7748/nr.19.3.45.s5

Lalwani, S., & Gayner, G. (2020). *India's Kashmir Conundrum: Before and After the Abrogation of Article 370*. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace. https://www.usip.org/publications/2020/08/indias-kashmir-conundrum-and-after-abrogation-article-370

Leech, G. (1992). Corpora and theories of linguistic performance. *Directions in corpus linguistics*, *1992*, 105-122. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110867275.105

Luke, A. (2002). 5. Beyond science and ideology critique: Developments in critical discourse analysis. *Annual review of applied linguistics*, *22*, 96, p. 101. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0267190502000053

Mahajan, K. (2019). The Abrogation of Article 370. *IJSR*.
https://doi.org/10.21275/ART20201234

Mahajan, K. (2020). The Abrogation of Article 370 and Bifurcation of Jammu and Kashmir-A
Bridge Too Far. *Indian J. Const. L.*, *9*, 106. https://ijcl.nalsar.ac.in/wp-
content/uploads/2020/08/9IndianJConstL106_Mahajan.pdf

Mahajan, M. C. (1963). *Looking Back: The Autobiography of Mehr Chand Mahajan, Former
Chief Justice of India.* Asia Publishing House, p.116-143.
http://archive.org/details/in.ernet.dli.2015.119631

Maingueneau, D. (2006). Is Discourse Analysis Critical? Critical Discourse Studies, *3*(2), 229.
https://doi.org/10.1080/17405900600908145

Manjarrés, N. B. (2007). Critical discourse analysis: A review of the critique. *Lenguaje*, *35*(1),
219-242. https://doi.org/10.25100/lenguaje.v35i1.4850

Martin, J. R. (2004). Positive Discourse Analysis: Solidarity and Change. *Estudios Ingleses*, *49*,
179-200. https://sussex.primo.exlibrisgroup.com

McEnery, A., & Baker, P. (Eds.). (2015). Corpora and discourse studies: Integrating discourse
and corpora. *Springer.* https://link.springer.com/book/10.1057/9781137431738

McEnery, T., & Wilson, A. (2001). *Corpus linguistics*. Edinburgh University Press, 1-24.
https://edinburghuniversitypress.com/book-corpus-linguistics.html

McEnery, T., Xiao, R., & Tono, Y. (2006). *Corpus-based language studies: An advanced
resource book.* London: Routledge Taylor & Francis.
https://www.routledge.com/Corpus-Based-Language-Studies-An-Advanced-Resource-
Book/McEnery-Xiao-Tono/p/book/9780415286237

McKay, P. (2009). Assessing Young Language Learners. *ELT journal*, *63*(1), 91-94.
https://doi.org/10.1093/elt/ccn063

Mishra, V. K. (2020). The Abrogation of Article 370: International Reactions. *Indian Journal of
Asian Affairs*, *33*(1/2), 120-129. https://www.jstor.org/stable/27003440

O'Halloran, K., & Coffin, C. (2004). Checking over-interpretation and under-interpretation: Help
from corpora in critical linguistics. In *Applying English Grammar*. Routledge.

https://www.routledge.com/Applying-English-Grammar-Corpus-and-Functional-Approaches/Coffin-Hewings-OHalloran/p/book/9780340885147

Orpin, D. (2005). Corpus linguistics and critical discourse analysis: Examining the ideology of sleaze. *International journal of corpus linguistics*, *10*(1), 37-61. https://doi.org/10.1075/ijcl.10.1.03orp

Pandey, G. (2019). Article 370: What happened with Kashmir and why matters. *BBC News*, *5*. https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-49234708

Paquot, M., & Bestgen, Y. (2009). Distinctive words in academic writing: A comparison of three statistical tests for keyword extraction. *In Corpora: Pragmatics and discourse*, 247-269. https://dial.uclouvain.be/pr/boreal/object/boreal:76052

Partington, A. (2003). The linguistics of political argument: The spin-doctor and the wolf-pack at the White House. *London and New York: Routledge*. https://www.routledge.com/The-Linguistics-of-Political-Argument-The-Spin-Doctor-and-the-Wolf-Pack/Partington/p/book/9780415753890

Partington, A. (2008). The armchair and the machine: Corpus-assisted discourse studies. *Corpora for university language teachers*, 95-118. https://cris.unibo.it/handle/11585/68462

Partington, A. (2010). Modern Diachronic Corpus-Assisted Discourse Studies (MD-CADS) on UK newspapers: An overview of the project. *Corpora*, *5(*2), 83-108. https://doi.org/10.3366/cor.2010.0101

Partington, A., Duguid, A., & Taylor, C. (2013). Patterns and meanings in discourse: Theory and practice in corpus-assisted discourse studies *(CADS)*. *John Benjamins Publishing, 55*. https://benjamins.com/catalog/scl.55

Partington et al. (2004). Corpora and discourse. *Bern: Peter Lang.* https://doi.org/10.1093/llc/fqi061

Pasha, T. (2011). Islamists in the headlines: Critical discourse analysis of the representation of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egyptian newspapers. *The University of Utah*. https://www.proquest.com/openview/3e31f0596d88bbd1e10c61a590e25349/1?pq-origsite=gscholar&cbl=18750

Philo, G. (2008). Active audiences and the construction of public knowledge. *Journalism Studies*, *9*(4), 535-544. https://doi.org/10.1080/14616700802114217

Rahimi, F., & Riasati, M. J. (2011). Critical discourse analysis: Scrutinizing ideologically-driven discourses. *International journal of humanities and social science*, *1*(16), 107-112. http://www.ijhssnet.com/journals/Vol_1_No_16_November_2011/13.pdf

Rashid, A., Ali, A., & Sultan, A. (2020). Depiction of Kashmir in Media: A Corpus Assisted Study of Pakistani and Indian Newspapers. *Global Social Sciences Review, V* (IV), 5059. https://www.gssrjournal.com/article/depiction-of-kashmir-in-media-a-corpus-assisted-study-of-pakistani-and-indian-newspapers

Rasool, S., Jan, A., & Noreen, R. (2021). Disease and Conceptual Metaphors: A Corpus Analysis of English Newspaper Articles Related to COVID-19. *CORPORUM: Journal of Corpus Linguistics*, *4*(2), 95-111. https://journals.au.edu.pk/ojscrc/index.php/crc/article/view/168

Rather, T. (2020). Abrogation of Article 370 of the constitution of India: socio-economic and political implications on Jammu and Kashmir. *International Journal of Research and Analytical Reviews*, *7*(3). https://doi.org/10.1729/Journal.24153

Saddiqa, A., & Yousafzai, F. U. (2019). A comparative study of the Kashmir conflict coverage in Pakistani and indian press. *Global Social Sciences Review*, *4*(III)), 1-9. http://dx.doi.org/10.31703/gssr.2019(IV-III).01

Saldanha, G., & O'Brien, S. (2014). *Research methodologies in translation studies* (p. 34). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.1558/jrds.30024

Salma, N. F. (2018). Exploring Van Dijk: Critical Discourse Analysis's Aims. https:doi.org/10.31227/osf.io/mwrnq

Scott, M., & Tribble, C. (2006). *Textual patterns: Key words and corpus analysis in language education* (Vol. 22). John Benjamins Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1075/scl.22

Sinclair, J., & Sinclair, L. (1991). *Corpus, concordance, collocation*. Oxford University Press, USA. https://doi.org/10.1177/003368829302400207

Snedden, C. (2012). *The untold story of the people of Azad Kashmir*. Columbia University Press, 12-30. https://cir.nii.ac.jp/crid/1130000794570692096

Stephens, I. (1963). Pakistan. *London: Ernest Benn,* p. 200.
https://lontar.ui.ac.id/detail?id=20271210&lokasi=lokal#

Stubbs, M. (1983). *Discourse analysis: The sociolinguistic analysis of natural language* (Vol. 4, p. 2). University of Chicago Press.
https://press.uchicago.edu/ucp/books/book/chicago/D/bo50778907.html

Suri, H. (2011). Purposeful sampling in qualitative research synthesis. *Qualitative research journal*, *11*(2), 63-75. https://doi.org/10.3316/QRJ1102063

Tan, T. Y. (2000). *Partition and Postcolonial South Asia: A Reader.* Routledge
https://www.routledge.com/Partition-and-Post-Colonial-South-Asia-A-Reader/Kudaisya-Yong/p/book/9780415359542

Van De Mieroop, D. (2005). An integrated approach of quantitative and qualitative analysis in the study of identity in speeches. *Discourse & Society*, *16*(1), 107-130.
https://doi.org/10.1177/0957926505048232

Van Dijk, T. A. (1985). Discourse and communication. *Berlin: W. de Gruter*.
https://web.asc.upenn.edu/gerbner/Asset.aspx?assetID=1624

Van Dijk, T. A. (1993a). *Elite discourse and racism.* Newbury Park: Sage Publications.
https://doi.org/10.4135/9781483326184

Van Dijk, T. A. (1993b). Principles of critical discourse analysis. *Discourse & society*, *4*(2), 249-283. https://doi.org/10.1177/0957926593004002006

Van Dijk, T. A. (1995a). Aims of critical discourse analysis. *Japanese discourse*, *1*(1), 17-28.
https://discourses.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/07/Teun-A.-van-Dijk-1995-Aims-of-critical-discourse-analysis.pdf

Van Dijk, T. A. (1995b). Ideological discourse analysis. In *In*.
https://www.academia.edu/download/85629770/Ideological_20discourse_20analysis.pdf

Van Dijk, T. A. (1996). Power and the news media. In D. Paletz & C. Vinson (Eds.), *Political communication and action* (pp. 9–36). Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.
https://www.academia.edu/download/43877219/Power_and_the_news_media_CRUCIAL.pdf

Van Dijk, T. A. (1998). *Ideology: A multidisciplinary approach.* London, UK: Sage. https://sk.sagepub.com/books/ideology

Van Dijk, T. A. (2000). *Ideology and discourse: A multidisciplinary introduction.* Barcelona: Pompeu Fabra University. https://www.torrossa.com/en/resources/an/5018239

Van Dijk, T. A. (2001a). Critical discourse analysis. In D. Schiffrin, Deborah Tannen, and Heidi E. Hamilton (Ed.), *The handbook of discourse analysis* (p. 96). Oxford: Blackwell. https://edisciplinas.usp.br/pluginfile.php/4966482/mod_resource/content/1/van%20DIJK%20Critical%20Discourse%20Analysis.pdf

Van Dijk, T. A. (2004). From text grammar to critical discourse analysis. *A brief academic autobiography, 2,* p.352. https://www.academia.edu/download/59686544/From_Text_Grammar_to...20190612-119335-qh9tfr.pdf

Van Dijk, T. A. (2009). Critical discourse studies: A sociocognitive approach. *Methods of critical discourse analysis*, *2*(1), 62-86. https://www.torrossa.com/en/resources/an/5018239

Vasundara Priya, M., & Ravi, B. (2016). The newspaper timeline: A study of the newspapers past & its present. *Academic Research International*, *7*(1), 183-93. http://www.savap.org.pk/journals/ARInt./Vol.7(1)/2016(7.1-20).pdf

Widdowson, H. G. (1995a). Discourse analysis: a critical view. *Language and literature*, *4*(3), 157-172. https://doi.org/10.1177/096394709500400301

Widdowson, H. G. (1995b). Review of Fairclough's discourse and social change. *Applied Linguistics*, *16*(4), 510-516. https://doi.org/10.1177/096394709500400301

Widdowson, H. G. (1996). Reply to Fairclough: Discourse and interpretation: conjectures and refutations. *Language and Literature*, *5*(1), 57-69. https://doi.org/10.1177/096394709600500106

Widdowson, H. G. (1998). Review article the theory and Practice of Critical discourse analysis. *Applied Linguistics, 19*(1), 136-151. https://doi.org/10.1093/applin/19.1.136

Widdowson, H. G. (2000). On the limitations of linguistics applied. *Applied linguistics*, *21*(1), 3-25. https://doi.org/10.1093/applin/21.1.3

Widdowson, H. G. (2001). Scoring points by critical analysis: A reaction to Beaugrande. *Applied linguistics*, *22*(2), 266-272. https://doi.org/10.1093/applin/22.2.266

Widdowson, H. G. (2004). *Text, Context, Pretext: Critical Issues in Discourse Analysis*. Oxford: Blackwell. https://doi.org/10.1002/9780470758427

Wodak, R. (1997). Critical discourse analysis and the study of doctor-patient interaction. *The construction of professional discourse*, *19*(1), 173-200. https://api.semanticscholar.org/CorpusID:150545553

Wodak, R. (2001). What CDA is about–a summary of its history, important concepts and its developments. *Methods of critical discourse analysis*, *1*, 1-13. https://doi.org/10.4135/9780857028020.d3

Wodak, R. (2002). Aspects of critical discourse analysis. *Zeitschrift für angewandte Linguistik*, *36*(10), 5-31. https://doi.org/10.12691/jll-4-1-1

Wodak, R., & Meyer, M. (2009). Critical discourse analysis: History, agenda, theory and methodology. In R. Wodak & M. Meyer (Eds.), *Methods of critical discourse analysis* (2nd ed). Los Angeles: Sage. https://doi.org/10.4135/9780857028020