

**PRINT MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE
KASHMIR ISSUE IN INDIAN AND
PAKISTANI NEWSPAPERS AFTER
ABROGATION OF ARTICLE-370: A
CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS**

BY

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Print Media Coverage of the Kashmir Issue in Indian and Pakistani Newspapers after Abrogation of Article-370: A Critical Discourse Analysis

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ABSTRACT

Title: Print Media Coverage of the Kashmir Issue in Indian and Pakistani Newspapers after Abrogation of Article-370: A Critical Discourse Analysis

Kashmir has been an enduring territorial dispute between Pakistan and India since 1947. Both countries try to portray the same issue in a way that gets their national stance on the issue international approval and recognition. Both countries lay claim to the valley of Kashmir and blame each other for instability in the valley. Since newspapers play a crucial role in the construction of political ideologies and their dissemination; therefore, newspapers of both countries portray the same issue differently to fit their political narrative. This research conducted an analysis of news editorials published in Daily Dawn, The Express Tribune, The Indian Express, and The Hindustan Times belonging to India and Pakistan. The data was retrieved through online database of newspapers through keyword search. The analysis focused on various linguistic features employed in the text and their connection with socio-cultural context. By analysing the linguistic features, the research has highlighted the political ideologies within the text and has studied how through linguistic features like nominalization, transitivity, rhetorical devices, emotive lexical choices, modality, and intertextuality, the newspapers build narratives of national importance and ideology. To study the media discourse in Kashmir conflict and to highlight the narratives and hidden ideologies, Norman Fairclough's 3D model was employed because of its emphasis on textual features and socio-cultural context. The research concluded that through employing a range of linguistic features the Indian newspapers construct a narrative that favours India and shows India as the rightful owner of Kashmir, whereas Pakistan is shown as an occupier and a terrorist state. On the contrary, Pakistani newspapers depicted India as an occupier that is committing gross human rights violations and Kashmir belongs to Pakistan and not to India. This comparison revealed that both stakeholders in the Kashmir dispute manipulate the language to present themselves in a positive light and the other in a negative light. Moreover, it reveals how language plays a major role in construction of ideologies in issues of national importance.

Keywords: *Article-30, Terrorism, Pakistan occupied Kashmir, Indian Occupied Kashmir, Freedom fighters*

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DEDICATION

To my maternal uncle, who sadly couldn't live to see me graduate, but whose unconditional love has always been a stalwart for me throughout my entire educational journey.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

Language plays an important role in political contexts; entire political campaigns are hinged on language play through the media. It reflects power structures and impacts power structures. Language can be seen as an indicator of social and political situations. Furthermore, language plays an active role in changing politics and society (Pelinka, 2007). Television is a penetrating medium that infiltrates homes and workplaces. In today's world where majority of people spend most of their lives glued to their screens, the sense of reality is increasingly structured by narrative. The media plays a central role in building narratives and disseminating political or social ideologies. Language can demonize and humanize depending on the agenda of institutions with agency and voice. Media tends to be under the control of institutions with agency and vested interests. In a state, these can comprise government, ruling elites, or the military. Many countries allow certain political ideologies to shape their governance and policy decisions regarding issues of national security and importance. As media is under the control of the state, it becomes a mouthpiece for the state to propagate political agendas to the local and international audience. Teun Van Dijk in his book '*Discourse and Power*' claims that the groups with power and dominance monopolize means of communication to control the national narrative (Dijk, 2008).

Both countries lay claim over this region and have fought three wars to gain control of Kashmir. Kashmir is an issue of sovereignty, encompassing diverse historical, political and socio-cultural dimensions for both countries. The role of media and language is central in the tussle over Kashmir between two arch-rivals: India and Pakistan. Both nuclear-armed states have diverging views on the Kashmir issue and through media, these countries build their respective cases for the consumption of international and local audience. Both India and Pakistan have stakes in Kashmir. Therefore, both countries try to portray the other in a negative light to discredit their opponent and project the negativity on their respective public; consequently, overwhelming numbers of both Indians and Pakistanis have highly unfavourable views of each other, as indicated by a survey conducted in 2011 and 2017 by Pew Research

Centre. The media group of these countries use language to sway the narratives of their respective public to align with their political ideology and agenda. This research seeks to examine how language choices reflect underlying ideologies, agendas and narratives; and what kind of veiled ideologies are loaded in the media discourse of both Pakistani and Indian print media on the Kashmir issue.

Using language in specific ways can build ideologies and change narratives. It is a well-established fact that in the modern era, people turn to both print and electronic media for information which makes it easier for the people who are funding media to build and change the narrative of the public on issues of national importance. Media propagates ideologies by disguising them as objective information. Language plays the role of an important weapon for the media in their motive to build narratives. The Critical Discourse Analysis theory presented by Fairclough (1989) focuses on how certain institutions manipulate different features of language to influence the attitudes of people. Fairclough argues that media is controlled by institutions that are politically and economically powerful; therefore, the information that media disseminates is tailored by the ideology of the dominant group. It is crucial to analyse the language used by the media to know how the media changes and manipulates linguistic features to meet their motives and what kind of ideologies are at play. Fairclough (1993) says that CDA, instead of confining itself to the description of discourse practices, tries to expose the oppressive discourses by showing how discourse is shaped by relations of power and ideologies.

This research revolves around analysing the language used in articles published by both Pakistan and Indian media in the time after the revocation of Kashmir's special status under Article 370. The revocation of Article-370 which stripped Jammu and Kashmir of its special status was a watershed in the relations between India and Pakistan as it rekindled hostilities and drew a lot of media coverage to the long-standing dispute. Article-370 was a temporary provision that was added in the Indian constitution on 17th October, 1949 and gave special autonomy to the state of Jammu and Kashmir. This autonomy granted the state the right to have its own constitution, state flag, and control over its internal administration. However, it placed restrictions on the extent to which Indian central laws could apply to the state. The abrogation of Article-370 was debated both in India and Pakistan; both countries had different stances on this event. It altered the political, economic, and social landscape of Jammu and Kashmir.

Therefore, studying the print media coverage of the Kashmir issue by Indian and Pakistan media will provide insight into how media uses language to perpetuate certain ideologies and build certain images and narratives. Indian media uses language to portray Pakistan and Kashmiris as villains whereas Pakistani media uses language to show India as the villain. Both countries depict a positive self-image and a negative other. Indian and Pakistani media use certain lexical items to suit and propagate their national interests, this research aims to analyze such lexical items which shape the narrative of the Pakistani and Indian public and unveil the hidden ideologies. The core idea of this research is to examine neutrality and bias since that the chances of ideologically neutral news are scarce in today's world. This paper will draw on lexical items and figurative language used in news articles in Daily Dawn, The Express Tribune, The Indian Express, and the Hindustan Times. The articles will be searched for the following keywords "Pakistan Occupied Kashmir, Indian held Kashmir, revocation of article-370, human rights violations, Freedom fighters, Terrorism, and militants" and only those containing any of the keywords will be selected.

1.2 Problem Statement

Language is a powerful medium that can sway the narrative of the public in particular direction since linguistic features are used to persuade the audience and these features are employed across all persuasive texts to persuade the audience to accept certain ideologies. The revocation of Article-370 by the Indian government in August 2019 rekindled hostility in the long-standing dispute in the Kashmir region between India and Pakistan. The print media coverage of the Kashmir issue by both Indian and Pakistani media plays a significant role in shaping public opinion and policy. The portrayal of the Kashmir issue in Indian and Pakistani media presents a confusing dichotomy, wherein different narratives and ideological perspectives prevail despite claims of unbiased media coverage. The problem arises from the observable disparity in the portrayal of the same geopolitical event by the two nations' media outlets. The persistence of contrasting narratives on the Kashmir issue points to an absence of ideologically neutral media-coverage, prompting the need to dive deeper into the linguistic elements employed within media discourse to unravel the underlying ideologies shaping these divergent representations. Regardless of the significant role that media plays in shaping public opinion and guiding state policies, there is a lack of substantial critical analysis of how language is employed to perpetuate ideologies and

build narratives specifically in the Kashmir issue after the abrogation of Article-370. Therefore, this research seeks to conduct a critical discourse analysis of the print media coverage of the Kashmir issue in Indian and Pakistani newspapers after the revocation of Article-370 using Fairclough's 3D model to uncover hidden ideologies and social meanings by exploring linguistic features such as lexical choice, discourse structure, meta-discourse, modality and intertextuality.

1.3 Research Objectives

- To unveil hidden political ideologies at play by highlighting and comparing linguistic features used by Indian and Pakistani news articles.
- To analyze how Indian and Pakistani news articles use language to influence public opinion and shape political discourse.
- To find out how Pakistani and Indian media construct different narratives of national identity through various linguistic choices.

1.4 Research Questions

1. What types of hidden political ideologies are loaded in the text?
2. How do Indian and Pakistani news articles use language to influence public opinion and shape political discourse?
3. How do Pakistani and Indian media construct different narratives of national identity through various linguistic choices?

1.5 Significance of the Study

In this age, most people spend their days glued to their mobile or television screens; therefore, intake of media-tailored news is high. This provides the media a golden opportunity to infiltrate the minds of the public and build public narrative and sentiment. The current research will contribute to the existing body of literature on the role of language and discourse in constructing and maintaining power dynamics and ideologies related to the Kashmir conflict. This research intends to critically analyse the linguistic representation of Kashmir issue in Pakistani and Indian newspapers after the revocation of Article 370, and the language used by these media outlets to shape public perceptions and perpetuate political ideologies. This research will apply Fairclough's 3D model of critical discourse analysis to newspaper articles related to the Kashmir

issue to uncover and understand the linguistic features and ideological implications of the discourse used. This research further seeks to promote media literacy among viewers by assisting them with tools to scrutinize every bit of information that the media is feeding them and to develop a clear understanding of hidden ideologies in media discourses. Viewers should not be passive observers but rather be critical of what they are hearing. This study will furnish future researchers with a road map to gauge the impact of newspapers in building the narrative and ideologies of the public. This study will also contribute to understanding and analysing ideologically driven and fabricated media discourses and the geo-political culture behind such discourse practices. Also, by examining how linguistic features reflect implicit ideologies, this research seeks to elucidate the reasons behind the construction and perpetuation of contrasting narratives, thereby providing a subtle and nuanced comprehension of the complexities within media discourse surrounding the Kashmir issue. This research can also provide valuable insights to policymakers and other stakeholder to develop more unbiased and diplomatic approach towards the Kashmir issue that can ultimately guide efforts aimed at conflict resolution.

1.6 Delimitation of the Study

This study exclusively focuses on linguistic representation of Kashmir issue in print media, specifically newspaper editorial articles, that are the primary source of data. The timeframe of the newspaper articles that will be sourced has been delimited to the time between revocation of Article-370, August 2019 to December 2020. Further, only one theoretical framework, that is, Fairclough's 3D model will be applied to the data. At the first stage of analysis, only lexical choices, nominalization, transitivity, modality, passivization will be analyzed in the selected news editorials. The study will delimit the scope to only two prominent media groups each from India and Pakistan. Six articles from each selected media group will be analysed. These articles will further be delimited to the use of certain keywords: "Pakistan Occupied Kashmir, Indian Occupied Kashmir, revocation of article-370, human rights violations, Freedom fighters, Terrorism, Terrorists and Indigenous freedom struggle"

1.7 Limitations of the Study

First, the study has limited scope due to constraints such as time, word limit and resources due to which only limited number of articles were analysed which may decrease the generalizability and validity of the results. Second, due to limited time and space the study does not analyse all linguistic features such as cohesive devices, thematic structures and organization of paragraphs which may affect the accuracy of the result. Third, due to lack of prior research on application of Fairclough's 3D model within the context of Kashmir issue, there is a risk of potential oversight and misinterpretation of linguistic features and discursive practice in the analysis. Fourth, the interpretation of the possible ideologies hidden in the text is based on author's own assumption and does not truly reflect the intention of the text and the comprehension of the reader. Fifth, the analysis of the news article may have some subjectivity due to the preconceived notions and ideas of the author.

Due to the above-mentioned limitations, the results may not be valid, accurate and generalizable. To gain deeper insight into ideology, socio-cultural practices, and power structures in media representation of conflict zones like Kashmir, it is important to do triangulation of data and come up with a more comprehensive analytical framework. It will generate more reliable results and add to our understanding of the implicit ideologies, ulterior motives and power structures that mark the discourse on Kashmir issue.

1.8 Chapter Breakdown

The dissertation will (tentatively) comprise of the following five (05) chapters:

Chapter 01: Introduction: This chapter will introduce the argument developed in the study. It will include a brief introduction to the issue, the theoretical framework, research objectives, and delimitations of the study. More importantly, it will include the research questions and the stimuli of the study.

Chapter 02: Literature Review: This chapter will give a healthy detail of the literature reviewed to build up the argument of how media groups of India and Pakistan use language to build contrastive narratives on Kashmir issue.

Chapter 03: Research Methodology: This chapter will give an overview of the data collection and data analysis methods and also the Theoretical framework

Chapter 04: Data Analysis: This chapter will delve into an extensive textual and socio-cultural analysis through Fairclough's 3D model of data derived from twenty-four editorial from four newspapers.

Chapter 05: Conclusion: This chapter will conclude the findings in a comprehensive manner.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Mediatization and News as Discourse

Media, both print and electronic, has become an integral part of human life. People turn to media to stay informed on current issues. According to the mediatization theory, developed by Hjarvard (2008), media purposefully shapes the way public experiences and makes sense of the world around it. They define mediatization as a social process in which mass media becomes entangled and saturated in all sections of society. Therefore, it becomes easier for media to infiltrate minds of the masses and further state narratives. In elucidating the scope of mediatization, Stig Hjarvard expounds “media simultaneously becomes an integrated part of other institutions like politics, work, family, and religion as more and more of these institutional activities are performed through both interactive and mass media” (Hjarvard Stig, 2008). When institutional activities are performed through mass media, it helps the state build the narrative of the public on key national issues. In the context of Kashmir issue, India and Pakistan both have economical, nationalistic, and religious stakes in the valley; therefore, analysing the media coverage of the issue can shed light on significance of media in mass narrative construction.

News has become a dominant tool of mass communication and media is a medium to propagate news and infiltrate homes. News discourse is layered with ideology and meaning; it is not always neutral rather manufactured as Fowler in his book “*Language in the News: Discourse and Ideology in the Press*” contends that news is not an accurate representation of reality, but it is a product of interaction between media and different industries. (1991, p.223). News discourse has the power to build or change the narrative of the masses in favour of the state or institutions with agency. Fowler perceives news as a constructed process; this process involves impact of social, political and cultural environment on the news discourse. News discourse does not simple mirror the reality, but the reality is constructed through the interplay of various socio-political factors and power dynamics. Similarly, Ven Dijk contends “newsworthy events are chosen according to the linking of political, military, and business elites” (1995, p.248). Media in most countries is biased and censored in favour of the ruling elite; therefore, news discourse is structured around the agenda set for the media by

people with agency. Difference in political agendas and state narratives give rise to discrepancies in news reporting of an issue with two or more stakeholders. Fowler espouses that newspapers are biased in their coverage and projection of political events and other key conflicts due to different political and social perspectives (1991). Fairclough contends that two facets of power operate between people in a society: one is the ‘power in the discourse’ and the other is ‘the power behind discourse’. The power in the discourse deals with the actual practice and manifestation of power in a conversation between people from different social, ethnic, or financial backgrounds (Fairclough, 1989). One person in the discourse tries to dominate the other by manipulating the language, while the other gets dominated. The power behind the discourse deals with the power hierarchy that operates to fix different people in their given power and social roles. It dictates how a person belonging to a particular group should behave. Power is not only manifested but preserved through these dictations by the institutions. Gee and Green tout that discourse is a social and cultural practice and analyzing discourse unveils established practices, injustices, and meanings behind actions and utterances (1998).

2.2 Power of Media: Agenda-Setting

Walter Lippman (1922), in his acclaimed book “Public Opinion”, states that media functions as a ‘bridge’ connecting real world with perceptions in the minds of people about the world and events happening around them; this idea is referred to as ‘Agenda Setting’ and has been widely explored by researchers. The phenomenon of Agenda-Setting was widely studied by researchers after the water-shed study called ‘*Chapel Hill Study*’ carried out by Maxwell E. McCombs and Donald L. Shaw during the election campaign of 1968 in North Carolina. The study focused on the impact of media coverage of campaigns on what the people deemed important. The study concluded that there existed a substantial correlation between the news items emphasized in the coverage of the 1968 presidential campaign and the news items that the public considered to be of importance (McCombs & Shaw, 1972). This study gave us valuable insight into the impact of media’s agenda or priority list on the public opinion of what is important. Michael Geis commenting on the agency of media says, “the most significant power of media is that it has the liberty to decide what issue should be given more importance by reporting and whose voice on a particular issue should be accentuated” (1987, p. 10). The important question that arises from agenda-setting

theory is that who sets the agenda for the media and who is pulling the strings of major media channels. The answer to the question is pertinent to this research as it seeks to gauge the reasons behind different representation of a similar issue by media channels belonging to opposite parties. If the media is unbiased then why does difference arise in the representation of issues of national and political importance. Somewhat apt answer was given by Fairclough, who believes that media penetrates the minds of the viewers and alters their consciousness. According to him, the media is not free, and it does not portray reality rather it portrays a 'representation of reality'. He contends that media is controlled by institutions that have political and social agency, and news is tailored according to their agenda (2006). Stephen Reese posits that while consuming mass media discourse it is crucial to look at the 'sociology of news making'. Sociology of news making refers to the process of production of news in media houses under a significant impact of socio-political environment around (2001). Media discourse cannot be isolated from the socio-political culture that shapes it. Role of media is instrumental in national development, educating the masses on key policies, entertaining the public and facilitating understanding between state and citizens. Government regulates the media through certain guidelines, restrictions and editorial appointments (De Beer, 2009). Similarly, Daya thussu contends that economic and political power in most developing countries is controlled by tiny elite segment of population; media usually works in favour of the elite segment by tailoring the media content to legitimize the political establishment and its internal and foreign policies (2006).

The editors also play a key role in agenda-setting and representation of important issues; editors have different social, economic and political leaning which is reflected in what issues they feature and how they feature those issues. David Manning white refer to such people who hold strategic position within news agencies as 'gates' who control the 'flow of information' such as editors. Manning elucidates that an editor reserves the agency to mould the news according to what he, as a member of his culture, believes to be accurate (1950, p.390). Adding weight to the argument that the production of a news is not a simple, but a complex process that is heavily influenced by its surrounding, Fowler argues that media does not naturally report events with transparency because news is a product of a lengthy process which starts with systematically choosing what to report according to the predefined categories (1991, p.

12). Therefore, while reading any news, it should be kept in mind that news is never a true representation of reality and importance of an event.

2.3 Media: A Tool to Promote Nationalism

Media in autocratic regimes is highly censored and stifled, so that the political establishment is always represented favourably. Similarly, many democratic countries also tightly regulate media content to make sure that the state is being represented favourably, especially on issues of national importance like territorial disputes. Herman and Chomsky (1988) contend that the role of mainstream media is to reinforce the power structures and act as a propaganda machine for ruling class and the elite. They open their book by proclaiming that mass media is a system that imparts values, culture and behaviour that aims at integrating audience with the institutions that have agency. In a world with constant struggle, media helps in “systematic propaganda” (Chomsky & Herman, 1988, p. 1). The pattern of critique of mass media presented by Chomsky and Herman aligns with the Marxist paradigm that defines mass media as ideological propaganda tool that builds and naturalizes the ideology of the state in the public instead of educating the masses and promoting political debates especially on issues of national importance like territorial disputes, foreign policy, and trade wars.

Media is biased in its representation of issues of national importance as it takes a unidimensional approach to build stories around political events instead of taking a multidimensional approach and presenting the stories of all stakeholders involved in an event or issue. The reason behind the unidimensional and biased approach is to build a national Consensus among the public on foreign policy, conflicts and territorial disputes (Miller, 1994). Media frames the issues with a clear dichotomy between “our national interests” and “their national interests” (Dayan & Katz, 2009, p.1). The political events are projected in a way as to support “us” and question “them” (Edleman, 2013). It must be kept in mind that journalism is categorized into two types: Nationalistic journalism and Patriotic journalism. Deni Elliot while differentiating both types of journalism says, “the difference between patriotic journalism and nationalistic journalism is the same as the difference between ‘reporting’ and ‘repeating’” (2004, p. 30). The former type reports the events by presenting multiple narratives to inform the public, whereas the latter just functions as “megaphone for the powerful” (2004, p. 35). The nationalist journalism prioritizes the interest of the state over the interest of the masses; its purpose is to distort the reality to suit the narrative of the state. In case of territorial disputes that

border on issues of sovereignty of a country both patriotic and nationalistic journalism prioritizes the state narrative to discredit the opponent's claim on the territory (Ginosar, 2015). India and Pakistan have long history of wars and conflicts over the valley of Kashmir and for both countries the matter of Kashmir is an issue of honour and sovereignty; India claims that Kashmir is an integral part (Atoot-aang) and Pakistan claims that Kashmir is their (Shah Rag) jugular vein (Haq, 2020, p.112). Therefore, Kashmir plays an important role in shaping the political discourse and foreign policy decisions of both countries. Kashmir issue also presents security issues for both states, making it crucial for the state and media to align the narrative of their respective public to their static political agendas; this might lead to distortion of ground realities and overshadows the plight of humans living in Kashmir. Therefore, it is important to conduct thorough research on media's power to disguise political ideologies and agendas as objective information through language.

Ole Weaver expounds on the concept of 'securitization'; he defines securitization as a process in which government projects certain issues as extreme threats to sovereignty and national security to justify strict policy decisions and significantly limit any debate; the opposing ideas to the state's policy are often seen and labelled as anti-state and rebellious. In such cases Media is used by the elite and the state to build acceptance of key policy decisions among the public. Media is not only as a structure in a state, but also a key actor, "The idea of the media as a single, powerful agent – whether a faithful servant of the state and corporate interests... or an intruder into their realms... - is the bane of serious discussion, indicating that we have not even started a meaningful analysis. What is needed is a complex conceptualization of media as both structure and agency" (Shaw, 2000, p. 29). Media should be considered as both a structure and an actor because elites who set the policy act upon the media and in turn media acts upon the general populace, building perceptions and narratives. Media is a key player in building consensus and acceptance among the public to limit opposition to the state. One feature of this function of media is evident from the fact that media agencies of rival countries most often portray similar issue differently because they are following the state set agenda for national security reasons and can, therefore, compromise on the validity and accuracy of the content being spread.

2.4 Hidden Ideologies, Media Discourse and Language

Ideology is defined by Van Dijk (1988) as “socially shared, general beliefs”. The term ideology has been a widely contested term in the history of social sciences. Its earlier definition came in late 18th century from a French philosopher Destutt de Tracy (1756-1836), who conceptualized ideology as a ‘Science of Ideas’ which refers to scientific study of human thoughts. Eventually this neutral conception of the term ‘ideology’ acquired a negative connotation that associated it with negative notion of power and domination. Vladimir Lenin and Karl Marx projected ideology as a ‘misguided belief’ and ‘false consciousness’. This negative facet of ideology was further explored by many prominent theorists like Stuart Hall, Karl Manheim and others under the Marxist school of thought. This negative conception of ideology is viewed through a critical lens within the Marxist paradigm since they see ideology as deceptive that serves the interests of a certain social group within a society by distorting the social reality of the marginalized groups leading them to hold beliefs that are not in their interest. This traditional notion of ideology is reductionist as it sees ideologies only as ideas imposed from above, ignoring the discursive and cognitive dimensions of ideology. The modern approach to the theory of ideology is multidisciplinary in nature as it sees ideology as a mental representation that is reproduced and produced through text and talk. Ideology is seen as a shared belief among a social group that not only legitimizes the power abuse, but also act as a tool to resist power abuse and domination. The previous conception of ideology as a negative notion was discarded and replaced with an idea that ideology can have both negative and positive connotations. Ideology constructs identity for a group of people based on shared values, norms, goals, and relationship with other groups. It also divides people between positive ‘us’ (ingroups) and negative ‘them’ (outgroups) (Van Dijk, 2009, p. 193). Fowler (1991) defines ideology as “the sum of the ways in which people think, say and interact with the society” (p. 92). Fairclough (1992) defines “ideology” as” (p. 67). Wodak (1996) has also defined ideology in a similar fashion: “ideologies project and construct society in a way that generates unequal relations of power, domination and exploitation” (p.18).

The study of news has evolved with time; initially, scholars were interested in studying the practical dimensions of news like news production, gathering and Journalistic experiences. In contemporary times, the study of news is linked closely to the study of ideologies. The researchers are increasingly more interested in the structure

of news and understanding of news among the audience. News is not just seen as information rather an act of communication. According to Bell, media discourse can be a sound object for analysis because it is loaded with ideological positions and attitudes of various stake holder towards a particular socio-political event. He reinforces the idea that news misrepresents and mis-reports events (1991, p. 217). Media discourse comprises both text and the procedures and processes that went into the production of the text. Many scholars believe that media discourse is loaded with ideological interests and positions of those in power like the politicians, elites, and journalists (Fowler, 1991; Richardson, 2007; Fairclough, 1989). Within the context of media discourse, ideology is seen as a set of ideas that furnishes the 'cement' for 'social formations' and is considered 'structural' and 'epistemological' in nature (Hall, 1977; p. 333-334); ideology is also seen as an 'accurate expression' of a group's 'material interests' (Hawkes, 2003; p. 144). Ideology plays a central role in the struggle for hegemony. The elites mask ideologies within larger socio-political discourse to influence the opinions of the subordinate groups to sway their narratives in their favour (Boggs, 1976; Gramsci, 1971; Hall, 1977). Discourse is perceived as 'sphere of cultural hegemony' (Fairclough, 1995; p. 95) where ideologies struggle for dominance. In this sphere, ideology is linked with language and shares a rational relation with the context that surrounds it (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997). Ruth Wodak defines discourse as an interactive process through which the writer of the discourse deliberately influences the opinions and narratives of the masses on certain topics and issues. Discourse to a large extent determines what is true and what is false, it also determines the importance the public gives to certain topics as compared to others (Wodak, 2006). Media is an important tool for spreading contrasting ideologies and different perspectives; it helps people connect ideas and create meaning through which ideology becomes clear, real, and visible (Gitlin, 1980; p. 2). Tolson (1991) contends that the news information presented through media outlets is ideologically tailored to maintain hegemonic social relations. Therefore, it is safe to say that news in addition to being a carrier of information, disseminate ideologies. Due to various factors, there is always ideological content in the news discourse that often misleads the reader; therefore, it is the responsibility of the researchers to furnish the masses with tools to critically evaluate the news discourse and raise linguistic awareness.

Language is not merely composed of hollow words rather it has the power to peddle narratives and build ideologies. Mass media uses language to build narratives of the public to suit the government. Teun A. Van Dijk contends that seemingly simple texts produced by media are difficult to comprehend as they are layered with hidden meanings and innuendos. He presented his socio-cognitive model to help explain the interpretation of media discourse. He claims that media text is not free from personal bias as claimed by it, but media discourse showcases the ideological assumptions of the people producing the news who in turn are tainted with their own cultural, political, and social environment (Dijk, 2008). Fairclough agrees with Van Dijk that media discourse should not be interpreted as simple text as it is a complex ideological construction; therefore, it is necessary to deeply investigate the ideological meanings that media discourse carries (2006). Roger Fowler in his book “Language and Control” contends that language is central to the construction of reality and language regulates social relations and builds ideologies (Fowler, 1979). Thompson views language not only seen as a system of signs, but ‘as a medium that is employed by individuals to act and interact in the world’ (1987; p. 516-517). Since language is employed by people to interact in the world, they use it to assert dominance, create reality, and build narratives.

Print media employs various language patterns to construct news discourse and develop certain ideologies on given issues that ultimately help shape opinions and narratives of the public. Many researchers like Fornkwa (2015) and others have investigated the impact of implicit ideologies embedded within the print media discourse on the perceptions of the masses. The findings indicated that the media discourse substantially influence readers’ perceptions in favour of the propagated ideologies. The editors, journalists and authors have a wide range of linguistic choices and constructions that they can employ to accomplish the propagation of their narratives and ideologies. Therefore, linguistic choices are important object of analysis from ideological point of view.

2.5 Function of Language

Michael Halliday’s systemic functional grammar (1970) is the main underpinning behind the theory of critical discourse analysis as it provides distinct linguistic categories to CDA for analysis of correlation between language and social meaning. It provides CDA with distinct linguistic categories to analyse the relation between discourse and social meaning. Halliday contends that grammatical system is

closely linked to the social and personal requirements that the language is required to serve for the speaker or writer. Therefore, investigation of linguistic features of discourse forms the basis of CDA studies. According to most CDA practitioners, language is a semiotic system that has three important metafunctions in discourse: first, Ideational function which corresponds to language representing events, world and human experiences; secondly, interpersonal function which is a social function of language and deals with how language is employed to create social relations among interlocutors; third, textual functions that deals with how the discourse is structured and organized (Halliday, 1970). In line with this theory, when language is used to represent events, writers or speakers must choose from the available grammatical models. These choices are usually ideologically motivated, for instance, transforming the sentences through nominalization, Passivization, transitivity and emotive lexical choices. In conducting CDA of a text, it is necessary to analyse these ideologically loaded linguistic choices. Fairclough in his book *'Language and Power'* identifies certain linguistic features that need to be analysed to uncover bias and ideologies. He claims that choice of vocabulary, process, participants in the process, and grammatical features like sentence type, nominalization, modality, and passivization are sometimes ideologically motivated and should be analysed to uncover implicit ideologies that are driving the author to choose biased linguistic choices instead of neutral counterpart (1989).

2.6 Critical Discourse Analysis

CDA emerged from the tradition of Critical Linguistics, which was shaped and influenced by Halliday's SFL and theories of ideologies (Fairclough, 1993; Rogers, 2003). Therefore, CL puts great emphasis on power dynamics and ideologies within the discourse; it aims at "uncovering and understanding the social meanings expressed in discourse by carrying out an analysis of the linguistic features while keeping in consideration the interest and societal context" (Fowler et al., 1979, pp. 195-196). Fairclough claims that the word 'critical' in CDA refers to the analysis of social inequality, power structures and ideologies encoded in discourse (1995). Ideology, discourse and power are three important terms in CDA studies. The term ideology has already been explored above. Power is another important concept in CDA; Fowler (1985) defines power as "the ability of people and institutions to influence the behaviours and lives of others" (p.61). In the field of CDA, power is understood as a form of control that shapes and influences others' perceptions through language

(Fowler,1989). According to Van Dijk, if a social group has access to social resources such as wealth, knowledge, and information, it has power. Third essential in CDA is discourse. In the context of both CDA and SFG, language is increasingly referred to as discourse; Martin and Nakayama (2010) elucidate that discourse is a social phenomenon that is understood as language in use. Discourse is considered as the entire process of social interaction, which means that “language is seen as one component of the social process dialectically interlinked with others” (Fairclough & Graham, 2002; p.188). These three concepts are interrelated and essential in CDA studies. Fairclough (2003) comprehensively elucidated the interplay of ideology and power, "ideologies are representations of aspects of the world which can be shown to contribute to establishing, maintaining and changing social relations of power, domination and exploitation" (p.117). CDA analysts are involved in examining how various linguistic forms are employed to reflect manipulation of power and expression of hegemony.

Halliday claims “Language plays a pivotal role; it is influenced by the social structure, and the social structure is maintained and manifested through language”(1973, p.90). Therefore, CDA begins its investigation from analysing linguistics features of the discourse to unveil hidden ideologies and power structures within the language. CDA facilitates linguists to investigate how groups with agency employ language to sustain inequality and power. Scholars have presented different models and definitions of critical discourse analysis. Critical discourse analysis seeks to expose and understand this power abuse and imbalance by deconstructing the language used in social interactions (Dijk, 2008). The abuse of power studied under CDA creates social injustice and domination; CDA seeks to accentuate this abuse to bring about a positive change in society. Roger fowler contends that analysing language of news discourse should not be limited to identifying linguistic features that show ideological bias; rather the analysis of news language should have a pedagogical function of informing the reader about how media shapes their understanding of political events. There is a strong correlation between language and press because language is a medium of conveying messages through media. CDA is considered a suitable framework for analysing the relationship between ideology and language in media discourse; Fairclough argues that “ideology therefore continues to be a significant theme and category for CDA” (2013; p. 26). Furthermore, Fowler (1979) says, "During the process of critical discourse analysis, it is of great importance for

researchers to explore and discover the hidden ideologies from transitivity, modality, transformation, classification, lexical choices et cetera” (p. 198). The pioneer of the study of CDA, Fowler (1991) contributed greatly to the study of CDA. He believes that the tool for analysis in CDA framework are diverse and varied, depending on the task at hand, especially focusing on the structures that reflect Halliday’s ideational and interpersonal functions (Coulthard&Couthard, 1996). Norman Fairclough (1992), the most prominent figure in CDA studies, combines discourse analysis with social theory; it not only investigates shift in language, but the socio-cultural structures that are influencing the shift in language. Fairclough (1995) espouses that CDA is an interdisciplinary and problem-oriented approach to unveil complex power relations, social structures, and implicit ideologies by focused analysis of language use in context.

Scholars have presented various models of conducting CDA. The most famous are the ones presented by Van Dijk, Fairclough, and Ruth Wodak. Wodak (2001) presented the Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA) that views discourse as a social practice. It joins discourse analysis with historical context to investigate how discourse influences and is influenced by social and historical context. DHA investigates intertextual and inter-discursive relationship among texts, genres and discourses. It focuses on the diachronic analysis of text, examining how discourses change over time due to shift in socio-political dynamics and how discursive strategies develop over time. DHA also includes sociological variables into its analysis as it examines how social structures, power relations, and ideologies influence discourse. Another model for the analysis of discourse was presented by Van Dijk, known as the socio-cognitive model of analysis. Socio-cognitive model is a triangle of discourse-cognition-society and puts great emphasis on the analysis of cognition and mental images in the critical analysis of discourse and communication. Van Dijk’s model focuses on the relationship between social structures and cognitive processes in discourse production and comprehension. It investigates how social factors shape individual’s cognitive representation of issues and discourses. Another influential model 3D model for analysing discourse was presented by Fairclough (1989), who believes that spoken and written utterances amount to speech acts. According to Fairclough (1989), discourse has three dimensions that need to be analysed to unveil the hidden meaning and ideological structures within the text. The three-dimensional model has three levels of analysis: Textual, discursive practice, and socio-cultural practice. The first level focuses on analysis of linguistic

choices; the second level, also called the interpretation stage, deals with analysing the relation between text and process of its production and consumption; the third level deals with relation between discourse and larger socio-cultural context that shapes the discourse. This research paper will employ Fairclough's model to analyse elucidate embedded ideologies in the context of Kashmir issue. Fairclough's model has been extensively applied on news reports, political speech, and interviews of political figures to unveil hidden ideologies by highlighting differences in linguistic features. A study concluded after carrying out a comparative analysis of Chinese and American newspapers reporting on the same issue using Fairclough's 3D model that media of both countries reported the same issue differently by using different linguistics features like material process, modality, lexical choices, and intertextuality. This different hints at different political ideologies at play in the media discourse (Zhang, 2013). This study suggest that the media tries to portray itself as unbiased, but it is not reporting objective fact, but the facts are correspondent to the ideologies and interests of the state.

2.7 Critical Discourse Analysis and Kashmir Issue

Roger Fowler in his book "Language and Control" contends that language is central to the construction of reality and language regulates social relations and builds ideologies (Fowler, 1979). Van Dijk takes up the same approach when he proposes his square model, which talks about how language is manipulated to create a positive self-image and a negative image of the other. Linguistic features are manipulated by powerful institutions to further their agendas and malign the rival party. Media representation of Kashmir issue has been widely studied through many models of analysis withing the framework of CDA to understand implicit ideologies in the news discourse. Most of these studies have primarily emphasized on analysis of lexical choices and have applied Van Dijk's square model and few other models like Corpus Linguistics and Wodak's DHA to analyse biased representation, implicit ideologies, and power structures. In a study titled "*A Critical Discourse Analysis of Discursive Reproduction of Ideologies in Pakistani and Indian Press Media in the Aftermath of Pulwama Attack*" published by Arif Khan, the researcher sought to understand and elucidate how the media groups of India and Pakistan cashed from the opportunity to frame each other negatively while framing themselves positively. He employed Van Dijk's square model to analyse news editorials from both countries and concluded that both India and Pakistan portrayed each other negatively and themselves positively

(Khan, 2020). Another paper “*Veiled Ideologies: A Critical Discourse Analysis of Indian and Pakistani newspaper editorials*” by Nadeem Akram and Intezar Ahmed. In this paper, the researchers used Dijk’s square model to highlight the covert ideologies working behind media discourse. The researchers concluded that all the editorials were loaded with covert ideologies and the agenda behind lexical choices is to sway the opinion of both the public and international community (2021).

Media discourse plays in the hands of dominant institutions which own agency and dictates the ideology of a particular nation; this institution is usually the government or establishment of a country. Pakistan and India have been arch-rivals since the time of their birth and Kashmir is the bone of contention between the two countries. Specific lexical items employed by the media groups of both countries bespeak where their loyalties lie. Narrative and ideology building by the media is the reason that most Indians do not even consider Kashmir as an issue that needs attention. Print media uses certain language patterns to perpetuate, peddle and build certain narratives on issues of national and international importance. Media might claim to be free of any bias but through proper analysis and detailed exploration of literature, it can be concluded that media discourse is biased and tailored to meet certain targets and agendas. Media discourse is always ideologically loaded and controlled by the institutions that have agency. Fornkwa (2015); Mahfoz (2013) among others employed Critical Discourse Analysis to investigate the influence of the editor’s ideology on media discourse. Another study titled “*Depiction of Kashmir in Media: A Corpus Assisted Study of Pakistani and Indian Newspapers*” after in-depth analysis of adjectives used by Pakistani and Indian newspapers in framing the Kashmir issue, concluded that there is significant difference in representation of Kashmir in Indian and Pakistani newspapers. Also, newspapers of both countries are extremely biased and subjective in their depiction of Kashmir (Rashid & Ali, 2020). Another study “*Construction of Media Discourse About Jammu and Kashmir Conflict*” analysed war and peace frames used by Indian and Pakistani press and the lexical items used in portrayal of the Kashmir issue by using Van Dijk’s model of analysis. The study concluded that Indian press used more war framing that depicted India as an intra-state issue; whereas Pakistani press used peace framing and depicted it as an Inter-state issue that can destabilize entire region (Bilal & Siddiqua, 2021). Another study investigated representation of Kashmir issue in Indian, Pakistani, and international electronic media after of

abrogation of Article 370 to highlight difference in representation of the same issue using the Discourse-Historical Approach of Wodak. The study concluded that both Indian and Pakistani electronic media instead of being objective presented the issue in line with their self-justified stances (Mehmood&Mushtaq, 2022). A study was carried out in the aftermath of Pulwama attack using Van Dijk's model of CDA to understand how Indian media constructs 'self' and 'other' images in conflict. The study concluded that the media used highly nationalistic and ideological words to portray 'us' and 'them' (Safi&Ozad, 2020). We live in a world where unilateral actions by any state are not only frowned upon but are condemned and sanctioned. The Kashmir issue requires the attention of the international community so that a diplomatic breakthrough can take place. Both stakeholders use media discourse to sway the opinion of the international community to put pressure on each other; therefore, media discourse is highly exaggerated and fabricated to build desirable narratives. Aminah Hussain (2020) in "Language, Media, and Ideology: Critical Discourse Analysis of Pakistani news bulletin headlines and its Impact on Viewers", explains and concludes that Pakistani news bulletins are loaded with varying ideologies and power structures which significantly alter and build the mindsets of the individuals on multiple issues and promote national cohesion. This explains that not only does the media reflect socio-political culture, but also perpetuates and maintains ideologies and power structures.

2.8 Research Gap / Conclusion

News discourse is loaded with implicit ideologies and power structures which makes it a sound object of CDA. The review of literature suggests that chances of ideologically neutral news are scarce and the language in media discourse is loaded with vested interests and ideologies; therefore, it is crucial to examine the news critically and not take the purported facts at face-value. Especially, in territorial disputes like Kashmir where the state has interest in the region, media plays a vital role in narrative building of the masses and justifying the action of its government to the international community. There has been extensive research on portrayal of Kashmir issue in media discourse to highlight how Pakistani and Indian media represent a positive 'self' image and negative 'other' image and how the linguistic choices reflect their differing political ideologies. Various models have been employed to dissect and examine discourse framing Kashmir issue and they have offered valuable insight into the nuanced understanding of the Kashmir issue. However, Fairclough's 3D model has

not been applied in the analysis of media discourse surrounding Kashmir issue. This is a significant research gap and employing Fairclough's 3D model can provide a more holistic comprehension of the underlying ideologies and socio-cultural factors that generate a particular discourse. Application of Fairclough's model to the examination of media discourse on Kashmir is important for various reasons: first, its primary focus is not only examining representation of social actors and power relations, but Fairclough's model also emphasizes the role of discourse in shaping and contesting broader socio-cultural narratives and identities. Secondly, it goes beyond the textual analysis as it examines the process of news production and consumption that mediates between the text and the wider socio-cultural practice. Fairclough's model can enable the researcher to uncover institutional and broader socio-political factors that influence the production and receptions of news discourse in India and Pakistan. It can also help researchers find out how news shapes narratives and larger socio-cultural context. While this research focuses on application of Fairclough's model on print media discourse on Kashmir issue, this area is relatively uncharted within the existing literature. Through the application of Fairclough's model, researchers can develop deeper understanding of the ideologies, power structures and social structures embedded in the discourse and how these impact the narrative of the masses.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This is qualitative research that falls under the constructivist paradigm as it seeks to explain the relationship between language and political or social agendas. It seeks to explain the reason behind the difference in media discourse of the two arch-rivals India and Pakistan while reporting on the Kashmir issue.

3.1 Data Collection

In order to explore the differences between media coverage of the Kashmir issue in Indian and Pakistani newspapers to highlight and uncover ideologies, news editorials from two credible Indian and Pakistani newspapers were analysed. They have been purposely selected as the source of the data. The newspaper articles have been selected keeping in view that only the editorials related to the Kashmir issue have been selected. The time frame selected is from August 2019 to December 2020, the time period after the revocation of Article-370. This time period was selected because the revocation of Article-370 rekindled tensions between Indian and Pakistan, leading to increased media attention and more polarized narratives; this furnished a wealth of data for analysis. Daily Dawn and Express Tribune have been selected from Pakistan as they are the most widely circulated and influential newspapers in Pakistan; they are respected for their balanced and objective reporting and are the most credible newspapers for analysing discourse on the Kashmir issue with an important role in shaping public opinions (Shah, 2010). The Indian Express and the Hindustan Times have been selected because they are the most widely read English newspapers in India and on the basis of high circulation figures in Indian Readership Report, 2019; therefore, they have a significant impact on public opinion regarding the Kashmir issue (MRUC, 2020). A mix of six editorials and columns from each newspaper have been considered for analysis. The data was collected through the websites of the four newspapers.

3.2 Data Sampling

This study uses purposive sampling. The editorials from Indian and Pakistani English newspapers are the target population. Two Pakistani newspapers: Daily Dawn and The Express Tribune; and two Indian newspapers: The Indian Express and The Hindustan Times have been selected. Six articles from each newspaper have been

considered for analysis. The articles published between the time frame of revocation of Article 370, August 2019 to December 2020 have been selected. The articles were searched for the following keywords “Pakistan Occupied Kashmir, Indian Occupied Kashmir, revocation of article-370, human rights violations, Freedom fighters, Terrorism, Terrorists and Indigenous freedom struggle” and only those containing any of the desired keywords and aligning with the aims of this research were considered for analysis.

3.3 Data Analysis

The research carried out a descriptive analysis of the data using Fairclough’s 3D model for critical discourse analysis. The analysis was based on lexical and syntactical units and the connection of these units with geo-political scenario. The first dimension analysed textual features including nominalization or passivization, transitivity, rhetorical devices, modality words, and lexical choices. In analysing the transitivity the sentences were analysed and the process types like material, relational, and mental processes were identified. The second dimension analysed intertextuality in the editorials and the interpretation of the themes emerging from the text. The third dimension dealt with explanation of all the editorials of a single newspaper in context of socio-cultural events and history. At the first two stages, the linguistic choices of the texts were examined by using the analytical devices of Halliday’s systemic-functional grammar. SFG provides various tools like transitivity, nominalization, and modality to analyse discourse in order to uncover biases and hidden ideologies. These tools were used to conduct an extensive analysis of the editorials. At the third stage, the linguistic choices were explained in the light of wider social context in which the texts were produced.

3.4 Theoretical Framework

Many models of critical discourse analysis have been presented. Critical discourse analysis is employed to analyze the embedded ideologies and power structures in discourse of national and international importance. The text that seemingly is simple is loaded with ideology and power which needs to be decoded to understand the implication of that text. Critical Discourse Analysis was developed as a tool to view the use of language as a social practice and not just a mode of communication; language reflects, challenges, and perpetuates ideologies and culture. Critical discourse analysis

seeks to understand and elucidate what kind of power relations the text is projecting, whose interests it is serving, and whose interests it is negating. (Wodak, 1996).

This paper applies Fairclough's three-dimensional analysis to unveil how language is manipulated in the representation of cross-border conflicts. According to Fairclough the word "Critical" is added in the discourse analysis to bring attention to the main issue or hidden agenda in the text that has an original context. Fairclough also believes that language is a social practice encoded with power structures, ideologies, and social roles. He believes that critical analysis of the text can unveil hidden agendas (2001a). According to Fairclough (1989), media sets an agenda for the audience and constructs and tailors the news according to the set agenda by manipulating language and nonverbal signs; through this media asserts its power and influence on the narratives and ideologies of the Public. CDA provides an interdisciplinary framework for analysing media discourse.

Fairclough's model for CDA consists of a three-step process that is interrelated to three dimensions of discourse. Three dimensions of discourse are: The object analysis (analysis of lexical, syntactic, or non-verbal signs), analysis of the process by which an object is produced and received, the socio-historical conditions which fuel these processes. The three kinds of analysis for the dimensions are: Description, interpretation, and social analysis.

According to Fairclough these three stages of critical discourse analysis deal with description of text, interpretation of the relationship between text and interaction, and explanation of the relationship between interaction and social context (p. 109, 1989). This approach by Fairclough is significant as it enables the researcher to focus on the verbal and non-verbal signs that make up the text. It reads into why the speaker or author has specifically chosen certain linguistic items instead of their neutral counterparts and why he has juxtaposed certain words. The CDA model by Fairclough not only allows one to decode lexical items and syntactic order, but it allows one to understand the socio-political environment that surrounded the utterance (Fairclough, 1995). A text reflects and builds ideologies that are subtle and can only be investigated through a critical discourse analysis where the researcher questions the positioning of the texts and seeks to unveil the ulterior motives working behind the text.

The first dimension of the Fairclough model deals with the formal features of the text. At this level the researcher describes the linguistic features that a text holds. Fairclough (1989) in his book “*Language and Power*” has delineated certain linguistic features that need to be analysed to uncover hidden ideologies and biases. There are various linguistic features that Fairclough has outlined in his book, but this research will focus on analysing only Nominalization or Passivization, transitivity, lexical choices, rhetorical questions, modality, and intertextuality. Nominalization is explained as a phenomenon where nouns are formed from adjectives and verbs and Passivization is explained as a phenomenon where subject becomes the object and vice versa. Analysing nominalization and Passivization can unveil ideological biases present in the text. Fairclough claims that nominalization can “obfuscate agency and leads to deletion of responsibility” (2003, p. 144). Nominalization can also help maintain unequal power relationships. Moreover, Fairclough argues that “Nominalization turns processes and activities into states and objects” (1992, p. 182). Another linguistic feature that needs to be analysed to unveil hidden ideologies is transitivity. Simpson defines transitivity as a process that elucidates the way speakers “inscribe their mental picture of truth in language and account for their experience of the world around them; it is an element of language's ideational function” (1993, p. 88).

Language is not employed to only relay information, but it is a tool to accomplish various functions in social settings. According to Halliday (1978), there are three meta-functions that language performs: Ideational function, interpersonal function, and textual function. The ideational function is accomplished through transitivity system of language. Halliday states that “transitivity translates the world of experience into manageable set of process types” (1994, p. 107). Halliday believes that transitivity is linguistic mechanism that allows the people to encode their thoughts and experiences; he has identified six process, but this research has focused on only three types of process mental, relational, and material processes. Michael Halliday’s systemic functional grammar (1970) provides various analytical tools to dissect and analyse the linguistic features of text. These tools were used in analysing the news editorial in the first dimension of Fairclough’s 3D model to uncover the differences in the news coverage of Kashmir issue in Indian and Pakistani newspapers and highlight the ideologies that are at play behind the differences. Modality is also an important concept in Functional grammar; it expresses writer’s mood and opinions regarding

certain event or phenomenon. It can express positive or negative attitude and viewpoints of the writer or speaker.

The next dimension deals with interpretation of text. In this stage, the interaction between discourse, its production and consumption are analysed. During the interpretative stage, intertextuality is extremely important in explaining discourse process. Intertextuality is an important concept in CDA that helps to understand explicit and implicit connections between texts and how these connections contribute to the construction of meaning and exercise of power. Analysing the way texts draw on other texts can reveal hidden assumptions, values, and power dynamics within society. The third stage is explanation that deals with the explanation of text by connecting it with larger socio-cultural dimension.

Analysis of textual features is a cornerstone of this research. The analysis of media discourse in conflict zones can be significant in unveiling hidden biases and ideologies. Textual features carry ideological content and hidden meanings that can be decoded through CDA. Fairclough 3D model is the most effective in analysing media discourse in the context of Kashmir issue as it bears the closest resemblance to critical linguistics because of its strong focus on analysis of textual features. Moreover, Halliday's SFL is more significant to Fairclough's 3D model than it is to Wodak's DHA and Van Dijk's socio-cognitive model because SFL provides an effective framework for analysing language functions in various social context; it outlines various linguistic features that can be analysed to uncover hidden meanings and ideologies. Another reason for Fairclough's 3D model being most suitable for this research is that it is heavily influenced by Karl Marx's ideas. Fairclough views social conflicts like Marx, but the major focus is how these conflicts are expressed through language (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p. 27).

CHAPTER 4

DATA ANALYSIS

The following part is a qualitative and detailed analysis of twenty-four news articles from Indian and Pakistani newspapers using Fairclough's 3D Model of Critical Discourse Analysis. According to the 3D Model, the analysis of a text is carried out in three phases. The analysis aims to uncover the hidden ideologies, biases and power relations loaded in the text from three stages: descriptive, interpretation, and explanation. At the first two stages, the linguistic choices will be examined and at the third stage, the linguistic choices will be explained in the light of wider social context that surrounds the text production.

Table 1

Data Used in Analysis

No. of Indian newspapers	No. of Pakistani newspapers	No. of editorials from Pakistani newspapers	No. of editorials from Indian newspapers
Two.	Two.	Six each	Six each
The Hindustan Times and The Indian Express	Daily Dawn and The Express Tribune		

4.1 Analysis of Dawn News Articles

Table 2

Editorial Information

Editorial Title	Publication Date
Playing with Fire	August 7 th , 2019

Dimension I: Text Analysis

1. Lexical Choices

The article uses negative and emotive vocabulary to decry the BJP-led Indian government and validate Pakistan's national stance on the Kashmir issue. The article presents a negative and critical opinion of India's move of revoking Article-370 by using negative adjectives like "reckless", "dangerous", 'nefarious', "destructive" and "malevolent". These words have extremely negative connotations and suggest that India's actions are both morally and legally wrong that are threatening the peace of the subcontinent. The editorial blames "hardline Hindu zealots" for convincing Prime Minister Modi to revoke the special status of Kashmir. This links the action to the broader, racist religious ideology of Hindutva. The use of the term 'Hindu zealot' in a newspaper that operates in Muslim-majority country like Pakistan further adds to the prevailing negative sentiment against Hindus due to the violent history between the two communities in the subcontinent.

The phrases like "Playing with fire" and "destructive path" frames India as a source of instability and threat in the subcontinent. The lexical choices used in the article to describe the status of Kashmir like 'Indian held Kashmir', "Indian occupied Kashmir" and "disputed region" clearly perpetuate Pakistan's political agenda that India has illegally occupied the Kashmir region that rightfully belonged to Kashmiris, and it is a disputed region that India cannot annex. The text also uses a metaphor "drunk on power and ambition" to describe India's nefarious intention behind revoking the special status of Kashmir. The text discusses Pakistan in a positive tone by using words like 'Pakistan's voice', "done well" and "Pakistan's position" to highlight Pakistan's stake in the Kashmir issue and Pakistan's struggle to raise concerns over India's actions

in Kashmir. The article is biased towards Pakistan's position on the Kashmir issue and completely disregard India's stance as it says India "dismissed international opinion" and calls Kashmir "a disputed territory", disregarding India claim of Kashmir being an internal matter. The choice of words like "subsuming Kashmir", "occupied region" emphasizes the powerful and dominating position of India as compared to "suffering" Kashmiris. The article uses word like "suffering" to portray Kashmiris to highlight human rights abuses perpetrated by BJP led Indian government.

2. Application of Modality Words

The author uses modality in the article to express expectation, obligation, urgency and necessity, for instance, "The U.S. should have moral courage": the modal verb "should" imply expectation, recommendation; the author believes that its a moral obligation of U.S to act against India's unilateral decision. 'The question that must be asked': use of modals 'must' add to the urgency of the article's argument that Kashmir is a disputed region and that America should act against India's annexation of Kashmir; it implies obligation and necessity. The use of modal verb "may" in "whatever terms India may use" and "Pakistan's voice maybe drowned out" suggest likelihood and possibility that Indian government will employ every mean to justify its move and Pakistan's voice faces the threat of not being heard because India is a bigger market as compared to Pakistan.

3. Transitivity Analysis

The choice of actor, action verbs (process) and the goal of the action is ideologically significant as it depends on the discretion of the journalists, editors and ruling elites.

1. "THE BJP's reckless and dangerous move to revoke the special status of India-held Kashmir has raised the threat of turmoil in the subcontinent to significant levels." (Playing with fire, 2019)

Since India and Pakistan share a tense relation with each other with disputes over Kashmir escalating to wars, this article portrays the BJP led Indian government as an "actor" of the material process of 'revoking' the special status of Kashmir (goal of action) in the first clause. In the second clause, the actor is "Indian government" and material process is 'raised', and the goal of action has been described as 'threat of turmoil in the subcontinent'. The choice of transitivity put emphasis on BJP's action as

the sole reason behind heightened tensions in the subcontinent. It magnifies the agency of BJP in destabilizing the situation between India and Pakistan over Kashmir.

The article has employed strong material processes like “raised”, “dismissed”, “convinced”, and “risk playing” to emphasize the urgency of the situation. The actor of the various strong verbs employed is ‘BJP led Indian government’ to emphasize the role of BJP in revoking the special status of Kashmir while disregarding international opinion and Pakistan’s stance on Kashmir issue.

4. Rhetorical Question

The article uses a rhetorical question to criticize India’s illegal action and appeal to the readers’ sense of Justice. The article also calls out the U.S. by posing a rhetorical question. The article poses the question “Where are those who, not too long ago, were willing to mediate between Pakistan and India on the Kashmir question?” to reflect Pakistan’s political ideology that considers Kashmir a disputed territory and wants a plebiscite in Kashmir. This also urges the U.S. to play its part by mediating between Pakistan and India on the Kashmir issue. The question emphasizes the responsibility of international community especially U.S towards just resolution of Kashmir issue.

Dimension II: Interpretation

This dimension deals with the production and consumption of text. This text was produced by a media outlet that is critical of India’s recent actions in Kashmir and considers that India has occupied the territory of Kashmir which is the state narrative in Pakistan. The language and the grammatical structures employed in the article reflect a critical narrative of the India’s hegemony and dominance in the region and sympathy for Kashmir’s autonomy. Textual analysis of the article reveals that the themes emerging from the text connect the text to the political ideology of Pakistan that considers Kashmir as a Jugular vein and a disputed region that deserves the right to self-determination and India cannot unilaterally decide the fate of Kashmir as Pakistan and people of Kashmir are stakeholders in the entire situation. The author is supportive of Pakistan’s position on the issue that firmly considers Kashmir as an Indian occupied region whose fate cannot be decided without a plebiscite. This text is published in Daily Dawn, a Pakistani newspaper, and is therefore likely to be read by Pakistani audience. Since it is published in a Pakistani newspaper, it perpetuates Pakistan's national stance on the Kashmir issue. This text is circulated in online and print formats. The social

context of this text is the broader Kashmir dispute between India and Pakistan and the recent Indian action of abrogating Article-370. The linguistic features reflect Pakistan's political ideology and narrative surrounding the Kashmir issue.

1. Intertextuality

The article uses intertextuality as it directly quotes a US State Department spokesperson's statement on the Kashmir issue "...the Indian government has described these actions as strictly an internal matter" to criticize and express disappointment on the reaction of the international community that promised to deliver just resolution to the Kashmir issue. The article directly quotes Mehbooba Mufti's statement "Dark Day for Indian Democracy", this lends gravity to the argument in the article that calls India's claim that Kashmir is a part of its territory "outrageous' and illegal. This also adds to the negative image portrayed of India and the U.S. The use of troupe of intertextuality connects the narrative to the larger discourse of democracy that believes in people deciding their future. By juxtaposing this comment by Mufti with India's outrageous move to revoke the special status by trampling on Kashmiris right to self-determination, the author is portraying India as a hypocritical country with no care for democratic values.

Table 3

Editorial Information

Editorial Title	Publication Date
Focus on Kashmir	16 th September 2019

Dimension I: Textual Analysis

1. Nominalization

The article employs nominalization by turning the verb "to protest" into a noun "protest", "protests regarding the dire human rights situation in the held valley refuse to die down" (Focus on Kashmir, 2019). By turning the verb into a noun, the author puts emphasis on the act of protesting itself rather than the individuals protesting. This generalization reflects the idea that protests are not limited to few people or groups rather protest is widespread and enduring. This also shifts focus from time of the

‘protest’, indicating that the protest is on-going and massive. Moreover, it highlights the significance of protest and the importance of addressing dire humanitarian crisis unfolding in the valley of Kashmir. In this context, nominalization underscores the gravity and urgency of the humanitarian crisis in the occupied valley, shedding light on its resonance beyond affected region. Another instance of nominalization occurs in the phrase “Indian repression in the held region would end up Fuelling extremism” (Focus on Kashmir, 2019). The nominalization of the verb ‘to repress’ into a noun ‘repression’ is significant both ideologically and linguistically. This troupe depersonalizes the action and suggests that repression cannot be attributed to an individual or group but rather is part of a system and institution. The juxtaposition of the adjective Indian with the nominalized verb repression, puts emphasis on the fact that repression is an inborn trait of Indian nation-state in the held valley; thereby, giving the issue a nationalistic framing. It also lends legitimacy to Pakistan’s narrative that India commits mass human rights violation in the occupied region and is the aggressor in the tussle between India and Pakistan over Kashmir. Nominalization conveys a sense of formality and objectivity. By nominalizing the verbs in the article, the author presents the information as neutral facts rather than subjective interpretation.

2. Rhetorical Question

The rhetorical question in this editorial “will India listen?” emphasizes India’s lack of will to engage in dialogue over Kashmir. This framing validates Pakistan’s narrative and ideological position that censures India’s continued repression in the held valley despite calls of justice from all around the world. This question also suggests that India has been dismissive of international concerns over Kashmir and should be held accountable for its actions in the valley of Kashmir. By posing this question, the author also suggests that India’s accountability and willingness to address the issue of Kashmir is essential to solving the Kashmir issue. The author is trying to push the Pakistani narrative that asserts India should be pressured into complying to international norms and engaging in dialogue with Pakistan in solving Kashmir conflict.

3. Lexical Choices

In the editorial, the author uses terms like “occupied” and “held valley” to refer to Kashmir. These terms reflect a strong Pakistan's political ideology that considers Kashmir as an occupied territory and Jugular vein of Pakistan. It portrays India as an

aggressor that has occupied Kashmir unjustly. The use of emotive adjective and noun like “ill-advised adventure” to refer to India’s move of revoking the special status reinforce the narrative of Indian aggression and foolhardiness in the Kashmir valley. The editorial uses the phrase ‘dire human rights’, ‘pitiful’ and ‘inhumane blockade’ to highlight the gravity of oppression being meted out to the people of Kashmir by the Indian government. The use of negative adjectives ‘dire’, ‘pitiful’, “deplorable” and ‘inhumane’ emphasize the narrative that India is only concerned about maintaining its oppressive control of the Kashmir valley even if it comes at the expense of many humans' lives. This also appeal to the international community as it suggests that the human rights situation in Kashmir requires immediate attention and resolution. This framing reflects that Indian actions are not logical or just rather they are politically and religiously motivated actions that seek to inflict harm on the people of Kashmir. The use of the word ‘blockade’ instead of its neutral counterpart ‘curfew’ carries negative semantic connotation that hints at the oppressive and illegal nature of the curfew. Moreover, it aligns with broader narrative that sees India as an aggressor and colonizer. This portrays India as an oppressor, aggressor and villain in the Kashmir conflict. The article uses the term like “right-wing” to identify Indian government; this depiction connects the discourse to larger narrative of religious fundamentalism and Hindutva.

4. Transitivity Analysis

In this editorial, the author has framed India as the actor of the material processes of “launched” and “keep” and the goal of the action is “ill-advised adventure” and “lid on brutalities”. This choice of process and participants builds a negative narrative of India as it puts emphasis on India’s role as a reckless, inhumane, and aggressive stakeholder in the Kashmir dispute. Similarly, the author portrays “India’s military enforcers” as an actor in the material process of “unleashing” a “reign of terror” (goal of action) in held Kashmir (circumstance); this framing, pushes Pakistan’s narrative of India illegally occupying and committing gross human rights violation in the Kashmir valley despite many United Nations conventions on it. This narrative appeals to both the Pakistani community and international community to garner support for the Kashmir cause. This editorial frames Pakistan as an advocate for the right to self-determination of the people of Kashmir by positioning Prime Minister Imran khan as the actor of material process of “led” with goal “charged really” and circumstance “to highlight the troubles across the LOC”. This strategic choice of participants and

process, highlights Pakistan's proactive and leadership role in highlighting the plight of Kashmiris and advocating for a just resolution of Kashmir conflict. The article juxtaposes India's oppression with Pakistan's advocacy for the basic human rights of people of Kashmir. This stark comparison of India and Pakistan brings to limelight Pakistan's political ideology that asserts the status of Kashmir as a disputed territory and the right of people of Kashmir to self-determination.

5. Application of Modality Words

The editorial employs modal words like can and may to indicate possibility, necessity and probability, for instance, in "the only way this can be achieved" the author expresses the possibility of just resolution of Kashmir issue by using the modal verb 'can' if the economic partners of India exert diplomatic pressure to push India towards a plebiscite. The author believes in the possibility of resolution of Kashmir issue if the other countries intervene. The author uses the modal verb may "the entire subcontinent may get caught in an ugly conflagration". The modal verb "may" underscores the probability of Kashmir issue escalating into an all-out war between India and Pakistan if the situation is not addressed by the international community.

Dimension II: Interpretation

The textual analysis of the editorial reveals that the text was produced by a media group that is critical of India's action of revoking the special status and implementing barbaric curfew in Kashmir. The text reflects power imbalance as India is projected as an aggressor that has the power to control the situation in Kashmir and Pakistan as a staunch advocate for peace in the conflict. The choice of emotive vocabulary and grammar structure aligns the text with the broader narrative of Kashmir's independence and India's illegal occupation of the Kashmir valley. The text censures India's human rights abuses in the held region and calls the situation in Kashmir a humanitarian crisis. The narrative of the text aligns with ideological position of Pakistan that claims India's actions in Kashmir are a threat to democracy, regional stability and human rights. The language used in the editorial seeks to evoke sympathy for the people of Kashmir and outrage over India's action. The editorial uses intertextuality and other linguistics choices to underscore the urgency of international community to intervene in the dispute to ensure a just settlement; this also positions the

text within the political ideology of Pakistan that considers Kashmir a disputed territory that is not internal matter of India.

1. Intertextuality

The editorial employs intertextuality by making references to statements by UN Secretary General Antonio Guterres, Prime Minister Imran Khan and Congresswoman. The writer of the editorial aims to raise concern over grave situation unfolding in Kashmir; therefore, he uses direct discourse slipping to quote Antonio Guterres's statement that "he is very concerned" over the situation in Kashmir. The writer quotes one congresswoman's statement that the situation in Kashmir "has grave implications for democracy, human rights and regional stability". These references lend credibility to the argument of the editorial by aligning the argument with concerns expressed by global leaders. This highlights the urgency and gravity of the humanitarian crisis and possible cross-border conflict unfolding in the valley of Kashmir. The editorial also refers to the speech of Imran Khan delivered at the pro-Kashmir rally using indirect discourse reporting mode to position the text within the context of Pakistan's advocacy for the rights of Kashmiris and tap into the broader discourse of human rights abuses in Kashmir and threat of retaliation. Referring to Khan's speech reinforces the argument that Indian repression forces Kashmiri freedom fighters to retaliate and accentuates the urgency of humanitarian intervention of the global powers in the dispute.

Table 4

Editorial Information

Editorial Title	Publication Date
India's Losing Battle	September 25 th , 2020

Dimension I: Textual Analysis

1. Nominalization

The article turns the verb "to scrap" into a noun 'scrapping' in "Indian government's scrapping of the special status". This instance of nominalization underscores the unilateral and forceful nature of India's action of revoking the special status of Kashmir and presents the action of scrapping as a tangible and significant

event. The emphasis on ‘scrapping’ frames it as a distinct change in policy rather than an isolated action taken by Indian government. The editorial also changes the verb ‘to abrogate’ into a noun ‘abrogation’ “the abrogation of Kashmir’s special status” to highlight the severity of India’s decision of revoking the special status of Kashmir and its implication for the region. Both these instances of nominalization seek to accentuate the Kashmir’s previous status as an autonomous region and India’s illegal and unilateral action of revoking the special status granted to Kashmir. This emphasis on the revocation of the special status of Kashmir aligns the text with the perspective critical of India’s hegemony over Kashmir and imposition of its will on the marginalized community of Kashmiri Muslims.

2. Transitivity Analysis

The editorial employs both material and mental processes to shed light on the intentions of India’s government behind revocation of special status of Kashmir. The author has framed ‘New Delhi’ as the senser of the mental process ‘wants’ and of the phenomenon “forcefully take control of their land by changing its demography” (India’s losing battle, 2020). This choice of process and participants underscores India’s negative intentions and ulterior motive behind its move to strip Kashmir of its autonomous status. Moreover, this aligns the text with Pakistan’s state narrative that considers India as a colonial entity trying to change the demography of Kashmir to justify its occupation of Kashmir. The editorial positions ‘United Nations’ as an actor of the material process of ‘recognizes’ and the goal of the material process is “the state of Jammu and Kashmir as disputed territory”. This linguistic framing puts emphasis on the international appeal of Kashmir cause; it pushes Pakistan’s political ideology that considers Kashmir a disputed territory and not a part of India.

3. Lexical Choices

The editorial employs ideologically loaded adjectives like “Indian-held”, ‘occupied’, and ‘disputed territory’ to position Kashmir as an area unjustly in control of a colonial entity. This framing of Kashmir aligns the text with Pakistan’s ideology of Kashmir being a part of Pakistan both geographically and culturally. The author uses the adjective ‘draconian’ to modify the word ‘curfew’; this linguistic choice frames the implementation of the curfew by Indian government as not a security measure but rather a tool of repression and abuse against the marginalized community of Kashmiri

Muslims. The use of words like ‘Muslim and Kashmiri identity’ connects the text to larger discourse of Kashmir being more identical in religion, culture, and geography to Pakistan than to India. Moreover, this positions the text within Pakistan’s ideology of ‘Two-nation theory’ that espouses distinctiveness of Muslim identity from Hindu identity.

4. Application of Modality Words

The editorial employs modality words like ‘will’ and ‘should’ to indicate possibility and obligation, for instance, in “India will face a tough time in coming days” author expresses conviction that India’s difficulties in the future will be a consequence of its policies and actions. This reinforces the argument of the editorial that India’s occupation and subjugation of Kashmir will lead to negative outcomes. “Countries that can influence India should persuade Mr Modi to return to the path of sanity” (Dawn, 2020). In this sentence the author uses the modal word ‘should’ to put emphasis on the urgency of the situation that requires international intervention. The author appeals to the countries that have economic and military ties with India to pressurize India into acting right.

Dimension II: Interpretation

The linguistic features employed in the text connect it with Pakistan’s political ideology of Kashmir being Jugular vein and the Hindus and Muslims being separate communities that cannot co-exist. The usage of words like ‘Kashmiri identity’, and ‘Muslim identity’ connects the text with Pakistan’s ideology of “Two-Nation Theory” which asserts that Muslims are different from Hindus. The text also uses intertextuality and modal verbs to express critical view regarding India and urge the international community to appease the people of Kashmir by delivering justice. The linguistic features employed in the editorial frame the Kashmir issue in favour of Pakistan political ideology that asserts ownership of Kashmir due to religious, cultural, and geographical affinity. Moreover, it builds on Pakistan’s narrative of India committing gross human rights violations in Kashmir. This editorial was featured in Dawn News, a Pakistani newspaper, and is likely to be read by Pakistani audience. It is circulated both in

1. Intertextuality

The author employs indirect discourse reporting mode to refer to the statement of alienated former Chief Minister of Kashmir, Farooq Abdullah. This reference invokes the historical context of Kashmir's autonomy as enshrined in the constitution of India and India's controversial decision to repeal Articles 370 and 35A that guarantees Kashmir a semi-autonomous status. This also connects the text to legal and political terminologies surrounding the Kashmir issue. The reference to Kashmiris feeling as 'slaves' connects the text to broader narrative of Kashmiris being colonized and terrorized by India. This also alludes to the history of civil unrest and resistance movement in the valley which is a direct consequence of India's occupation and human rights abuses.

Table 5

Editorial Information

Editorial Title	Publication Date
A World in Denial	August 15 th , 2019

1. Nominalization

The author has employed nominalization strategy to emphasize India's wrong policy on Kashmir. The author writes, "anger continues to roil Pakistan over India's revocation of the territory's special status" (A world in denial, 2019). The author has changed the verb 'to revoke' into a noun 'revocation', by doing this the author depersonalizes the action of revocation, suggesting that the stripping of Kashmir's special status cannot be attributed a single individual, but rather it is projected as a broader institutionalized process. Additionally, the nominalization 'revocation' suggests that the action of revocation is not temporary rather an enduring policy change; moreover, it reflects India's entrenched hegemonic and colonizing ideologies. This troupe aligns the text with broader narrative sympathetic towards Pakistan's position on Kashmir and critical of India's stance.

2. Lexical Choices

The editorial uses the phrase ‘Indian-held Kashmir’ and ‘Police State’ for Kashmir. These words carry strong ideological connotation, reflecting a critical view of India’s authoritarian and repressive measures on the people of Kashmir. Moreover, these lexical choices put emphasis on India’s unjust surveillance, subjugation, and control of the people of Kashmir; thereby, connecting the text with broader narrative of freedom of speech, human dignity, and basic human rights. The text expresses concern for the well-being of Kashmiris. The use of word like “indigenous” and “self-determination” for the Kashmiri freedom struggle, the author frames the resistance movement as just and rightful. These lexical choices further Pakistan’s narrative which espouses that the movement for self-determination is the struggle of Kashmiri people and Pakistan is not involved in the movement. Moreover, the editorial presents India as an occupier who has unleashed “brutality” and “injustice” over the people of Kashmir. The editorial also calls India’s action of repealing Article 370 “illegal” which aligns the text with Pakistan’s narrative that considers Kashmir a part of Pakistan and India is illegally occupying Kashmir. The editorial uses the words “just” and “anchored in international law” to frame Pakistan’s stance on Kashmir; this clearly projects Pakistan as the saviour and India as the occupier.

3. Rhetorical Question

The rhetorical question “Is the world prepared to listen?” puts emphasis on the World’s silence and ignorance over India’s continued repression of Kashmir and Pakistan’s just advocacy for the right of Kashmiri people to decide their fate. This question calls out the world powers over their neglect of India’s occupation of Kashmir and its continued human rights abuses despite Pakistan efforts to fight the Kashmir cause on international forums. In addition to criticizing the silence over Kashmir, the question also invites international community to take notice of human rights abuses in the valley after India’s undemocratic actions.

4. Transitivity Analysis

The author uses relational process to highlight the growing significance of Kashmir's movement for independence. The editorial frames “Kashmiri independence movement” as the carrier of the relational process represented by the verb “has grown” and the attributive aspect of the subject is reflected in the word choice “more desperate”.

The relational process expresses the nature, being or attribute of Kashmir's resistance movement in the face of Indian repression and brutality. The process frames the movement as growing more intense due to India's continued subjugation of the people of Kashmir and expropriation of human rights of Kashmiris. The text absolves the resistance movement of blame for violence and emphasizes the role of India in making the movement more violent and active.

5. Application of Modality Words

The article employs modality words like 'may' and 'must' to indicate possibility and necessity. The author writes "extremist forces may have been weakened to some extent". The modal verb "may" indicates uncertainty and speculation about the weakness of transnational extremist forces. This connects the text to larger narrative that believes India's unjust policies and draconian measures provide a fertile ground for terrorists and extremist outfits to exploit the situation and destabilize the subcontinent. The author writes "The world must act now to allay the injustice" (A world in denial, 2019). The modal verb "must" evokes urgency and obligation for the world to intervene and deliver justice to the occupied people of Kashmir. The text advocates for the freedom and right of self-determination for the people of Kashmiris.

Dimension II: Interpretation

Analysis of linguistic features of the text reveals that the editorial was produced and published in a media outlet that is critical of India's decision to revoke Kashmir's special status and its human rights violation in the valley. The author has employed various linguistic features to call the attention of the world to the humanitarian crisis unfolding in Kashmir in the wake of revocation of Article-370. Moreover, it criticises global democracies on their indifference to violation of international law by Indian government in Kashmir valley by using a rhetorical question. The ideologically loaded linguistic features connect the text with Pakistan's Kashmir policy that works to internationalize the issue. The choice of relational process and participants connect the text with Pakistan's political ideology that denounces Indian claims of Pakistan and people of Kashmir being involved in terrorism and militancy. The author puts the blame of rising militancy in Kashmir on India's repressive measures against the innocent people of Kashmir. Moreover, the analysis reveals author's biasness towards Pakistan's political ideology of Kashmir being the jugular vein of Pakistan. Through

intertextuality, the author connects the text with discourse about Muslim brotherhood and human rights. The text is published in Daily Dawn, a Pakistani newspaper, and is therefore likely to be read by Pakistani audience. The text is circulated in online and print formats. The text perpetuates a narrative that validates Pakistan's position on Kashmir and attacks India's position on Kashmir.

1. Intertextuality

The author of the editorial has alluded to the statements of Prime Minister Imran Khan and Foreign Minister Mehmood Qureshi using direct discourse reporting mode. The author has also alluded to Nazi Germany by equating it with India's Hindutva ideology. The editorial directly quotes Imran Khan's statement "this is my message to you: you take action, and every brick will be countered with a stone". This reference emphasizes Pakistan's determination to counter Indian aggression at all levels. Moreover, it positions India as an aggressor and Pakistan as the victim. The author quotes Qureshi's statement using direct discourse reporting mode "the guardians of ummah have made investments and have interests in India". This statement aims to criticize the Muslim world powers that are silent on the injustice being meted out to Kashmiri Muslims. This reference also connects the text with larger discourse about Muslim brotherhood and Muslim Ummah.

Table 6

Editorial Information

Editorial Title	Publication Title
Kashmir Repression	August 4 th , 2020

Dimension I: Textual Analysis

1. Nominalization

The author nominalizes verbs 'to annex' and 'to revoke' into nouns 'annexation' and 'revocation' to legitimize the discourse that Kashmir is a disputed territory, and the annexation is illegal under Indian constitution and international law. This framing resonates well with Pakistan's political ideology that considers Kashmir as the jugular vein. Moreover, by portraying India's actions as formalized policies, the editorial seeks

to invoke sympathy for Pakistan's stance on Kashmir issue. Through nominalization, the editorial frames revocation and annexation as established events rather than ongoing processes; furthermore, it puts emphasis on the actions itself and blurs the actor and the time to further the narrative that the actions cannot be attributed the specific individuals, but rather to the colonial and fascist nature entrenched in the roots of India.

2. Lexical Choices

The editorial uses term like 'Hindu supremacist' for the Indian government to allude to BJP's racist Hindutva ideology and connect the text to broader discourse of two-nation theory. The author uses adjectives like 'occupied' and 'Indian-held' to describe Kashmir which hints at the disputed status of Kashmir and colonizing role of India. Usage of words like "heart-wrenching" and 'horrendous' to elucidate the situation of Kashmir promotes a bleak image of Kashmir and builds a negative narrative of India. The editorial refers to India as 'occupying force'. Moreover, the author uses metaphor 'power-keg of anger and repression' for the simmering situation in Kashmir under heavy military presence. The author also personifies Kashmir by saying "Kashmir suffocates". Lexical choices like 'draconian measures', 'brutal curfew', and 'blackout' add to the narrative of Kashmir being brutalized by India. These lexical items frame the text within Pakistan narrative of India being a fascist state that is terrorizing and brutalizing Kashmiris for decades under its illegal occupation.

3. Transitivity Analysis

The editorial employs material, relational, and mental processes in the text to further the narrative that Kashmir is being occupied and terrorized by a colonial entity. The editorial frames the 'Indian government' as an active agent 'actor' of the material process signified by verb "promoted" with the goal "migration of Hindus to IHK". This material process highlights Indian government's active role in deliberately trying to change the demography of Kashmir by incentivising Hindu migration in Kashmir despite resistance from the people of Kashmir. This material process portrays India as a negative participant. Another leading process type in the editorial is the relational process. The carrier in the relational process is 'Occupied Kashmir' and the relational process is presented through stative verb 'is' and the attribute is reflected in "on the brink of a political, demographic and financial disaster". This process highlights Kashmir's precarious situation due to India's illegal occupation and laws. Additionally,

this seeks to evoke sympathy and urgency for the situation in Kashmir. In another instance, the author frames ‘Indian-Held Kashmir’ as the carrier of the relational process “remains”, and the attribute is reflected by “powder keg of anger and repression”. This relational process also emphasises the dire and volatile condition of Kashmir due to India’s subjugation of people of Kashmir and its stripping of Kashmir’s special status. The editorial also uses mental process to highlight the vile intentions of BJP government. The text frames “BJP” as the senser in the mental process “wants” and the phenomenon is framed as “to convert the Muslim Kashmiri population into a minority on its own land” (Kashmir repression,2020). This brings to limelight BJP government’s ulterior motive behind revocation of Kashmir’s special status. It raises concerns about BJPS intention to change to demography of Kashmir in India’s Favor.

4. Application of Modality Words

The editorial employs modal verbs like ‘should’ and ‘must not’ to indicate obligation and necessity of action and intervention which connects the discourse to Pakistan’s narrative of Kashmir requiring immediate international intervention. The author writes ‘Pakistan should undertake every effort...to highlight the situation’ (Kashmir repression, 2020). The author emphasizes the positive role of Pakistan in the situation and urges Pakistan’s government to do more to highlight the atrocities transpiring in Kashmir. The author uses the modal verb ‘must’ and negation ‘not’, ‘India must not be allowed to get away’ to emphasize the urgency of accounting India of its crimes. The application of modal verbs in the editorial connects the text with narrative sympathetic towards Kashmir and critical of India's actions.

Dimension II: Interpretation

Analysis of the linguistic features reveals a strong bias towards Pakistan’s official stance on the Kashmir issue. The lexical choices and other linguistic features used in the text perpetuate Pakistan’s political narrative and ideology regarding the disputed status of Kashmir. The text is published in Daily Dawn, a Pakistani newspaper, and is therefore likely to be read by Pakistani audience. The text is circulated in online and print formats. The editorial builds the case for Kashmir’s independence from India by highlighting the fascist nature of Indian government and India’s draconian measures to change the demography of Kashmir by turning Muslim majority state into Muslim minority state. Pakistan’s Kashmir policy includes internationalizing the Kashmir issue

and highlighting India's ulterior motive of altering the demography of Kashmir to change the Muslim majority into minority, so that when a plebiscite is held, India can retain the part of Kashmir that it has illegally occupied. Therefore, the author uses both material and mental processes to uncover India's evil intention behind revocation of Article-370. The editorial tries to validate Pakistan's claim of Kashmir being an occupied territory that needs urgent international attention through a range of linguistic choices. The author builds a sinister and evil narrative of India that directly plays into favour of Pakistan's stance.

Table 7

Editorial Information

Editorial Title	Publication Date
Kashmir's Children	July 3 rd , 2020

1. Lexical Choices

The editorial employs words and phrases like “blatant hypocrisy”, “savagery”, “India's violence”, and “brutalization of a minor” to reproduce a narrative that is critical of India's actions in Kashmir and seeks to garner sympathy for Pakistan narrative that pushes for a just resolution of Kashmir issue according to the wishes of the people of Kashmir. India is portrayed as a country that has usurped the basic democratic right of the Kashmiris by using “colonial era violence” and continues to use brute force to silence dissent. This connects the text to broader discourse on colonization and democratic values. Moreover, the author uses adjectives like “Indian-held” and “occupied territory” to project Kashmir as a disputed region and not a part of India. The text refers to a gun-battle between Indian paramilitary forces and “Kashmiri fighters” who fighting for ‘freedom’ and ‘justice’. The use of these positive words to describe individuals who have taken arms against the state instead of negative words, positions the text within Pakistan's narrative the considers the Kashmir's armed freedom movement justified and holy.

2. Transitivity Analysis

The editorial uses material process to project India as the symbol of brutality and colonization. The text frames ‘Indian paramilitary forces’ as active agent ‘actor’ of

the material process of ‘dragged’ and ‘shot’ with “civilian Bashir Ahmed” as the goal and ‘in front of his three-year old grandson” (Kashmir’s children, 2020). This material process denotes physical actions, and it underscores the ongoing tension and human rights abuses in the occupied region. Moreover, it implies that Indian forces are deliberately targeting innocent civilians and brutalizing minors. This aligns the text with Pakistan’s narrative that seeks to accentuate the violence that India perpetrates on innocent civilians of Kashmir. The author also employs mental process to highlight India’s criminal motives. The author frames ‘India’ as the ‘senser’ of the mental process “seeks” and phenomenon “subdue the Kashmiri struggle for freedom and dignity through colonial-era violence.”. This mental process seeks to unveil India’s true intentions behind revoking the special status of Kashmir and bring the precarious condition of Kashmir to the attention of the world. The text projects India as a colonizing and fascist entity.

3. Application of Modality Words

The editorial uses the modal verbs ‘must’ and ‘will not’ to indicate firm stance on the issue of violence against children and civilians in the Kashmir valley. The author writes, ‘violence against civilians will not be tolerated’. The modal verb indicates a strong critical opinion of India’s actions in the occupied valley; the author believes that India’s gross human rights violations will not be overlooked by the democratic world. This indicates a degree of certainty and surety in the justice system of the world. In another instance the writer expresses ‘those responsible for brutalisation of a minor must be brought to justice’ (Dawn, 2020). The modal verb ‘must’ signifies obligation and necessity. The author expresses urgency and necessity of action to stop India in its track of barbarity and fascism. The modal verbs used in the editorial frames the text within Pakistan’s narrative that accuses India of gross human rights violation in Kashmir.

4. Rhetorical Question

The editorial places a thought-provoking rhetorical question to align the text with Pakistan’s narrative, for instance, the implied answer to the posed rhetorical question “but can justice be expected from a dispensation that considers violence against civilians legitimate?” is no. This question seeks to elicit sympathy for the Kashmiris and condemnation for the actions of India in the valley. This question

discredits India's claim of peace in the valley by questioning the justice system of a country that legalizes cruelty against civilians.

Dimension II: Interpretation

In this editorial the author has used emotive lexical items and other ideologically loaded linguistic features to align the text with Pakistan's political ideology regarding Kashmir and India. The editorial is published in a Pakistani newspaper, Daily Dawn, and is likely to be read by Pakistan audience. The text reiterates Pakistan's claim over the valley of Kashmir, and it highlight India's atrocities on the people of Kashmir. The main argument that the editorial has built revolves around India's human rights violations in Kashmir and its colonial subjugation of people of Kashmir's right to self-determination. The author employs both material and mental processes to highlight India's illegal occupation of the valley. The negative framing of India validates Pakistan's stance that argues Kashmir and the people of Kashmir are more like Pakistan and people of Pakistan in religion, geography, and culture than India. The editorial furthers Pakistan's political agenda by highlighting India's atrocities on the Kashmiris and seeks to draw the attention of the global powers to the humanitarian crisis Kashmir. The author reinforces the stance that Kashmir belongs to Pakistan and India is illegally occupying it and its recent decision to revoke the special status is also repugnant to the law. This editorial is published both in online and print formats.

Dimension Iii: Sociocultural Practice (Dawn News)

This text reflects pro-Pakistani and anti-Indian stances. The text perpetuates Pakistan's political ideology that considers Kashmir as an occupied and disputed territory and its fate must be decided bilaterally by both parties, including the people of Kashmir, and not just India. It also implies that the U.S. is biased toward India as it overlooked many UN resolutions on Kashmir and supported India's stance of Kashmir being an internal issue. This text constructs a negative image of India and a soft image of Pakistan. The text reflects the broader discourse surrounding Kashmir issue that has led to two major wars and many escalations between India and Pakistan. The context of the production of this article is the decades old dispute over Kashmir between India and Pakistan; both countries lay claim to the valley of Kashmir and have been at loggerheads with each other since the partition of India. As the article was published in

a Pakistani newspaper, it supports Pakistan's narrative and furthers Pakistan's political and nationalistic ideology regarding Kashmir.

4.2 Analysis of Editorials from Hindustan Times

Table 8

Editorial Information

Editorial Title	Publication Date
Kashmir: The Diplomatic Battle	September 11 th , 2019

Dimension I: Textual Analysis

1. Nominalization

The author nominalizes the verb 'to respond' into 'Indian response' to emphasize the significance, objectivity, seriousness, and permanence of the response given by India to the accusations levelled by Pakistan at the UNHRC. Moreover, this reifying serves an ideological function by imparting abstract concept of response with permanence, inevitability, and naturalness, thereby reinforcing the powerful position of India. Additionally, nominalization in this case blurs the agency of diplomats who crafted the response, instead focuses on the response as representing the collective stance of the state of India; it also highlights the significance and impact of India's stance on the diplomatic exchange and presents India's stance as formal and structured rather than spontaneous and uncereemonious.

2. Lexical Choices

The editorial uses positive lexical choice like 'reorganize Kashmir' instead of 'annex Kashmir' to portray the action of revocation of Kashmir's special status as a legitimate administrative decision with the goal of solving the governance issues of Kashmir. The article calls the revocation of Article 370 as 'internal matter' which challenges Pakistan's stance that considers Kashmir as a disputed territory. The editorial builds a negative narrative around Pakistan's stance by referring to Pakistan's as "maximalist" that resonates with the audience that believes Pakistan presents an exaggerated image of India's inhumane activities in Kashmir. Moreover, the editorial calls Pakistan's efforts to highlight the human rights abuses in Kashmir as "mischievous

propaganda”. These ideologically motivated lexical choices evoke criticism for Pakistan’s stance and seeks to legitimize India’s actions in the valley. India is framed as fighting violence and terrorism sponsored by Pakistan.

3. Transitivity Analysis

The author uses material process to highlight Pakistan’s role in religious extremism and militancy in the Kashmir valley, for example, “Pakistan’s top leadership is using the issue to call for jihad and to encourage violence in Kashmir”. In this example, the author frames the “Pakistan’s leadership” as an actor in the material process signified by “is using” and the goal of the material process is signified by “call for Jihad and violence”. The material process and the choice of participants reinforce India’s state narrative that blames Pakistan for fuelling insurgency and Islamic extremism in Kashmir. Moreover, it seeks to justify India’s actions against the indigenous people of Kashmir.

4. Application of Modality Words

The author stresses the significance of countering Pakistan’s narrative on the international stage by using modality, for instance, “India must continue to challenge Pakistan’s mischievous propaganda”. The modal verb “must” suggests a strong recommendation and necessity to counter Pakistan’s accusation. The author stresses that it is imperative for India to debunk Pakistan's claims to maintain a good image of India on the international stage.

Dimension II: Interpretation

Analysis of the linguistic features reveal a strong bias towards India’s political ideology that considers Kashmir an unbreakable part of India and dismisses any claim on Kashmir by Pakistan or China. The editorial is published in Hindustan Times, an Indian newspaper, and is likely to be read by Indian audience. The editorial is circulated in both print and online formats. The editorial criticizes Pakistan’s efforts to internationalize the Kashmir dispute by using emotive lexical choices and other linguistic features like nominalization and material process. The editorial maintains that Pakistan is to be blamed for fuelling religious fundamentalism and insurgency in the valley; therefore, India reserves the right to retaliate in any way it deems necessary. The author frames India as the victim in the Kashmir dispute. Moreover, the author perpetuates India’s political ideology and Kashmir policy that maintains Kashmir is an

internal matter and India can decide its fate unilaterally. This framing opposes Pakistan's state narrative and justifies India's stance.

Table 9

Editorial Information

Editorial Title	Publication Title
A Reset in Kashmir Policy	July 1 st 2020

Dimension I: Textual Analysis

1. Nominalization

The editorial uses three nominalized nouns 'nullification', 'dilution', and 're-organization' by transforming the verbs 'nullify', 'dilute', and 're-organize'. All three of nominalized noun forms connect the text with larger discourse on Kashmir's special status. In this case, nominalization shifts focus from actions of nullification, re-organization, and dilution to abstract concepts, thereby hinting at the permanence, seriousness and distinct policy change. Moreover, this emphasizes the outcome of the action rather than the action itself. It also signifies the importance, success and conclusiveness of the steps taken by Indian government. Additionally, these nominalized nouns frame the events as facts rather than on going processes. The linguistic strategy employed solidifies the argument of the editorial by presenting these actions as conclusive and unchangeable.

2. Lexical Choices

The editorial refers to Kashmir in Pakistan as "Pakistan occupied Kashmir"; this clearly aligns the text with discourse that validates India as the rightful owner of entire region of Kashmir. The author refers to the political organization working for Kashmir's right to self-determination as "separatist organizations" who advocate 'violence'. These lexical choices have negative connotation, projecting India as the rightful owner of Kashmir that wants peace in the region and Pakistan as the terror sponsoring occupier. Therefore, the linguistic choices are ideologically motivated.

3. Application of Modality Words

The author uses modal verb “can” in the sentence, “there can be no dialogue with those who advocate secession and violence” to push the narrative that believes in showing no mercy to the people who harbour separatist sentiments. The modal verb “must” underscores the impossibility of engaging in a dialogue with groups that promote secessionism, thereby reinforcing India’s narrative of zero tolerance for separatism, insurgency, and terrorism. Moreover, it reflects the strong stance of the editor who is building the narrative of the masses in support of zero tolerance for secessionist elements. Any human causality is dubbed as a win over terrorist elements; this narrative of zero tolerance serves to justify military action against political dissidents and freedom fighters.

Dimension II: Interpretation

The textual analysis reveals that the author is supportive of India’s decision to revoke the special status of Kashmir and integrate the Kashmir valley in India. The author projects Pakistan as a mischief maker and an occupier. The editorial maintains that Kashmir belongs to India and anyone who harbours any feelings of secessionism should not be tolerated. The editorial employs various linguistic strategies to build the narrative against Pakistan and in support of India. This editorial is published in Hindustan Times, an Indian newspaper, and is likely to be read by Pakistani audience. It is published in both online and print formats.

Table 10

Editorial Information

Editorial Title	Publication Date
Kashmir, a month on: Well managed globally, now look inwards	September 6 th 2019

Dimension I: Textual Analysis

1. Passivaization

The editorial uses passive construction multiple times to obscure the agency of Indian government in acts of violence and human rights abuses, positing a favourable narrative about India to the international community, for instance, “communication

links were snapped, and political leaders were arrested”. In this case, the agents of the actions have been deleted to obfuscate the agency or to avoid putting direct blame on the government. This way author depersonalizes the questionable actions of Indian government and projects actions as a necessary outcome of the conflict transpiring in Kashmir.

2. Lexical Choices

The author uses words like “constitutional change” to refer to India’s decision to revoke the special status of Kashmir. These words have a positive and legal connotation that projects the move as legitimate and India’s prerogative. Additionally, the editorial uses a positive word ‘virtual lockdown’ instead of its neutral counterpart ‘lockdown’ to suggest flexibility and downplay the severity of the curfew or lockdown. This seeks to mitigate concerns raised by the international community on the curfew. Moreover, the text juxtaposes Pakistan with words like ‘terror’ and ‘violence’; whereas India is juxtaposed with words like ‘justice’, ‘balance’, and ‘order’. These emotive lexical choices align the text with narrative sympathetic of India decision of revocation and critical of Pakistan’s stance on Kashmir.

3. Transitivity Analysis

The author uses material process to highlight Pakistan’s active involvement in militancy and insurgency in Kashmir, for instance, “Pakistan uses terrorism and violence to achieve liberation of Kashmir”. In this sentence, the author frames “Pakistan” as an active agent in carrying out the material process represented by “uses terrorism and violence” and goal of the process is identified as “liberation of Kashmir”. In this instance, the author frames Pakistan as an entity that is sponsoring terrorism and destabilizing India. The choice of material process and the participants emphasize Pakistan’s negative role in the Kashmir dispute (Kashmir....inwards, 2020).

Dimension II: Interpretation

Analysis of the linguistic features reveals that the author believes the sole cause of all the troubles of Kashmir is Pakistan’s incessant mingling in India’s internal affairs by sponsoring terrorism and insurgency in the Kashmir valley. The editorial is published in Hindustan Times, an Indian newspaper and is likely to be read by Indian audience or international audience. The editorial is available both in print and online formats. By employing various linguistic tools, the author reinforces India’s claim that

Kashmir is an internal matter and revocation of Article-370 is India's prerogative; no one has the right to question India on its internal matter. The author has deliberately used words that carry negative connotation for Pakistan to blame Pakistan for the unrest and absolve India of its human rights violation. This can be seen in stark contrast with Pakistani newspaper that draws on history, culture and India's track of human rights violations in Kashmir to highlight India's agency in the conflict brewing in Kashmir since decades

Table 11

Editorial Information

Editorial Title	Publication Date
Kashmir: The Centre must choose options carefully	February 15 th , 2019

1. Lexical Choices

The article refers to the freedom movement of indigenous Kashmiris as 'terrorism' and 'insurgency'. The author uses words like 'terrorists', 'suicide attack', and 'local militant' for local population of Kashmir. Moreover, Pakistan is again equated with words like 'terror' and 'violence'. This builds around the Indian narrative that accuses Pakistan of sponsoring cross-border terrorism and insurgency in Kashmir under the garb of 'Kashmir's liberation'. The article also links the local populace with 'suicide attacks' and talks about India "right" to "avenge the killings". These lexical choices legitimize India's stern measures against the population of Kashmir by projecting India as the victim and Kashmiris as villains.

2. Transitivity Analysis

The author employs material process and mental process in the editorial. For example, in the phrase "locals being willing to turn their bodies into missiles", the author frames "locals" as the senser in the mental process of "being willing", signifying their intentions and readiness. The phenomenon in this process is the action "turn bodies into missiles". This seeks to indicate the grave situation where the local populace is willing to conduct suicide attacks on Indian forces. Moreover, it connects the text to Indian narrative that pushes the claim that Pakistan promotes religious radicalism and

insurgency in Kashmir by brainwashing Kashmiri youth. Another dominant process in the editorial is the material process. For instance, in the clause “the Jaish, headquartered in Pakistan, has for long targeted India” (Kashmir...carefully, 2019), ‘Jaish’ has been framed as the actor in the material process of “targeted” with goal as “India” and the circumstances “headquartered in Pakistan” and “has for long” provide additional context to the participants. This puts focus on issue of terrorism that is emanating from Pakistan and is plaguing Kashmir since decades.

3. Application of Modality Words

The editorial employs the modal verb “must” in the clause “It must use a proverbial stick to go after terrorists”. The modal verb “must” in this instance indicate obligation and necessity. This also signifies author’s staunch support for actions of Indian security agencies in the valley. Moreover, application of modality word connects the text with India’s narrative of Kashmir being a breeding ground of terrorists and Indian forces fighting terrorists to protect their people and country.

Dimension II: Interpretation

The editorial is published an Indian newspaper, Hindustan Times; therefore, it is likely to be read by Indian audience. The choice of processes and politically motivated lexical choices in the editorial seems to serve the interests of political elites in India who want to discredit Pakistan’s efforts to internationalize the issue by equating Pakistan with terrorism and insurgency. India has blamed Pakistan for sponsoring terrorism in Kashmir and exploiting the provision of semi-autonomous status of Kashmir to foment trouble in the valley. The editorial builds a narrative that justifies India's actions as necessary and legal. Pakistan, on the other hand, is depicted as a troublemaker.

Table 12

Editorial Information

Editorial Title	Publication Date
The BJP’s Kashmir move is bold, but has risks	August 5 th , 2019

Dimension I: Textual Analysis

1. Lexical Choices

The article calls India's move to revoke the special status 'bold' and 'historic'. Instead of using a neutral or negative word, the author uses a positive word like "redefining the special status" and 'reorganizing the state' to discuss the recent move by India. Moreover, the editorial projects the action of annexing Kashmir to India as 'integrationist approach' which suggests that India is taking robust steps to improve the governance and development issues in Kashmir. This also emphasizes India's ownership of Kashmir. The author uses the adjective 'progressive' while describing 'Indian laws' to project India as a democracy that is concerned about the well-being of the Kashmiris and its recent move to redefine the special status was taken considering betterment of the people of Kashmir. Pakistan again is juxtaposed with words like "violence" and "terror". Kashmir is juxtaposed with lexical items like 'religious radicalism' and 'political violence'. This aligns the text with Indian narrative.

2. Transitivity Analysis

The author has employed relational process in the editorial. "Kashmir has become a playground for Pakistan's military and spy agency" (Hindustan Times, 2020). In this example, the author has framed "Kashmir" as the carrier and the relational process is represented through verb "has become" and the attribute is "playground for Pakistan's military and religious radicalism". The choice of process and participants suggest that Pakistan is to be blamed for Kashmir's woes and India's action of revocation will bring necessary peace and stability to Kashmir.

3. Application of Modality Words

The article uses modal verbs "must" and "will" to signify obligation and necessity. The author writes "Indian state must assert its authority in full" (Hindustan Times, 2020). Through the application of modality word, the author emphasizes India's ownership of Kashmir and its legal right to subvert the status of Kashmir. Moreover, it reflects newspaper's attitude towards the issue of Kashmir; the author believes that Kashmir is a part of India; therefore, India reserves the right to implement its decisions on Kashmir. At another instance, the author writes "J&K will remain an integral part of India". The modal verb 'will' signify certainty and determination regarding the

future. Additionally, modal verbs in this editorial brings to limelight India's long-standing political ideology of Kashmir being unbreakable part of India.

Dimension II: Interpretation

The text employs modal verbs, relational process, and emotive lexical choices to build a narrative that shows India as a democracy that is concerned about progression and development of Kashmir, but Pakistan is sponsoring terrorism and separatism in the valley by brainwashing Kashmiri youth into taking up arms against the state. The editorial also justifies India's decision to revoke the special status of Kashmir by framing the argument that Article-370 was being employed by Pakistan to cause mischief in Kashmir and wreak havoc; therefore, India has the right to discard the article from its constitution for its safety. The article projects Pakistan as an aggressor and India as the victim, perpetuating India's narrative of Kashmir being legally India's. Additionally, the author builds the narrative that the "reordering" of Kashmir's status is an effort by India to integrate Kashmiris to bring development and progress to the Kashmiris. The article is published in Hindustan Times, an Indian newspaper, and is likely to be read by Indian audience. It is circulated both in print and online format.

Table 13

Editorial Information

Editorial Title	Publication Date
In Kashmir, integrate Kashmiris	August 4 th , 2020

Dimension I: Textual Analysis

1. Nominalization

Sometimes while writing on controversial issues, the author uses nominalization to delete agency and obscure the actor. In this editorial, the author nominalizes the verbs 'detain' and 'curtail' into nouns 'detainment' and 'curtailment'. The purpose behind this nominalization is to obscure the actor which is the Indian government. India flaunts its democratic credentials, but the measures it took in the aftermath of revocation of article 370 drew a lot of criticism from international community. Therefore, to avoid blame, the author does not explicitly mention the Indian government as the actor of the actions of 'detainment' and 'curtailment'. This troupe frames the text within India's narrative that pushes for greater autonomy and right over Kashmir. Moreover, the

deliberate deletion of agency pushes a narrative sympathetic towards Indian government.

2. Lexical Choices

The author refers to the stripping of special status of Kashmir as ‘integration’ of Kashmir into India. This lexical choice is ideologically motivated as the word carries a positive connotation, suggesting a harmonious coming together. Meanwhile Pakistan’s Dawn news editorial used the word ‘annexation’ for the process that suggest forceful appropriation; this highlights that the text pushes a narrative sympathetic towards India’s move. While discussing the revocation, the editorial uses the words ‘constitutionally’ and ‘legally’. This builds a narrative that resonates with India’s state narrative of Kashmir being an internal matter and revocation being lawful. The editorial blames Pakistan for precarious situation of Kashmir by calling the incidents of defiance from local populace “Pakistan-sponsored terrorism”. Moreover, the struggle of Kashmiri people that Pakistan’s newspaper names ‘freedom movement’ is labelled as a movement for ‘secession’ which carries a negative connotation. The writer positions the text within the larger discourse of insurgency within the valley. The author also calls the action of revoking the special status as ‘national project’ which aligns the text with India’s political ideology that considers Kashmir as an unbreakable limb of India.

3. Transitivity Analysis

“Rejig of J&K has armed Indian security forces with greater room to tackle Pakistan-sponsored terrorism” (In...Kashmir, 2020). In this case, the author uses material process by framing an action as the actor in material process of ‘armed’ with goal “Indian security forces”. This choice of process and participants emphasizes the positive impacts of revocation of Article 370 that the revocation will help India counter violence.

“This newspaper supported integration of Kashmir with rest of India” (In...Kashmir, 2020). The author uses material process to highlight the stance the newspaper has on the issue of revocation of Article 370. The author frames Hindustan Times “Newspaper” as the actor in the material process of “supported” with the goal of “integration of Kashmir”. This material process emphasizes the biased stance of Indian newspaper that supports stripping Kashmir of its special status. At another instance “The national project is complete”, the author frames ‘national project’ as the carrier of

the relational process represented by state verb “is” and with attribute “complete”. This puts emphasis on India’s ownership of Kashmir and the collective will of Indian nation to integrate Kashmir in the national fabric.

Dimension II: Interpretation

The textual analysis of the editorial reveals that the text is sympathetic towards the Indian action of revocation of Article 370 and considers the move a “national project”; this aligns the text with India’s political ideology that considers itself the owner of Kashmir and; therefore, has the right to take unilateral decisions. The editorial employs nominalization to deliberately obscure India’s agency in human rights violations and undemocratic practices. The textual analysis also projects Pakistan as the sole reason for terrorism and violence in the region, funding insurgency and religious radicalism. The text aligns itself with Pro-Indian narrative by building on India’s ideology of Kashmir being an issue of India’s sovereignty. The text furthers a pro-Indian narrative and is critical of Pakistan’s actions. The editorial was published in an Indian newspaper, Hindustan Times, and is therefore likely to be read by Indian audience. The text of this editorial is circulated in both online and print formats. Since the article was published in an Indian newspaper, it furthers Indian narrative and ideology of nationhood and Kashmir. The linguistic features employed in the text connect the text to India’s state narrative regarding Kashmir and Pakistan.

Dimension III: Socio-Cultural Practice (Hindustan Times)

Analysis of the editorials from Hindustan Times reveal a strong bias towards India’s political stance on the Kashmir conflict that considers Kashmir as an unbreakable part of India. The use of various linguistic features like lexical choices, appropriate processes, nominalization, and modality builds a case for India’s actions in the valley. Since these editorials are a part of an Indian newspaper; therefore, it aligns its editorial policies with that of government’s stance on the issue. The text of the editorials can be connected to the broader socio-cultural history of the Kashmir conflict. Kashmir has been a bone of contention for both countries and the negative projection of Pakistan in this Indian newspaper can be attributed to the long history of conflict between two neighbours. The mention of Islamic extremism within these editorials connects the narrative with larger discourse of fundamentalism. The biased portrayal of

Pakistan in these editorials can be contextualized in blood ridden partition, wars and an unjust distribution of resources between the two neighbours.

4.3 Analysis of Editorial from The Indian Express

Table 14

Editorial Information

Editorial Title	Publication Date
Neighbour's court	September 10 th , 2019

Dimension I: Textual Analysis

1. Lexical Choices

The editorial uses a calculated term like “legal abatement” to refer to revocation of Article 370. This term carries a positive connotation that suggest a lawful cancellation or removal of semi-autonomous status of Kashmir. Moreover, it reinforces India’s political ideology of Kashmir being legally a part of India, so India can decide Kashmir’s fate unilaterally. The editorial uses harsh and negative words to depict the role of Pakistan in the Kashmir issue, for example, “sins of Pakistan”, this term indicates strong moral judgement towards Pakistan. The author also blames Pakistan for “fomenting trouble” in Kashmir by calling the fighters “Pakistani militants”. Furthermore, the author frames India as the “sole arbiter “of “Kashmir’s fate”, this implies exclusive control and authority over the valley of Kashmir, reinforcing established Indian hegemony and narrative in the region. The editorial uses terms like “firm and unchanged” and “internal issue” to highlight India unwavering national agenda of integrating Kashmir within the Indian territory and justify the revocation of Article 370.

2. Transitivity Analysis

The author has used relational process to emphasize and strongly identify India’s stance on Kashmir issue, for example, “India’s position has remained firm and unchanged: It is an internal issue” (Neighbor’s court, 2019).

In this example, the author frames India as the carrier of a relational process that is indicated by “has remained” and the attribute of the carrier is “firm and changed” whereas “an internal issue” is the circumstance. The relational process highlights

India's steadfastness on its stance regarding Kashmir issue. This also counters any suggestions of flexibility and concession made by Pakistan and the international community regarding Kashmir. This strengthens the Indian narrative of Kashmir being an internal issue and not requiring any international intervention. In another case the author employs material process to highlight Pakistan's negative role in the Kashmir valley, for example, "Pakistan was using Article 370 to foment trouble in J&K", the author frames Pakistan as active agent in the material process of "was using" and the goal as "Article-370.....in J&K". In this case, the material process and the choice of participants puts emphasis on the negative impact of giving autonomy to Kashmir. The author provides justification for the revocation of Article-370 by suggesting that it was being used by Pakistan for militancy and insurgency. This aligns the text with India's anti-Pakistani narrative in the valley that blames Pakistan for terrorism and militancy without acknowledging grievances of Kashmiris.

3. Application of Modality Words

The editorial employs modal verbs 'could' signify possibility. The author expresses possibility that revocation of Article-370 "could be seen to have robbed Pakistan of agency and leverage in the valley". The modal verb 'could' express an alternative way to look at the situation and tries to placate any dissent from within India by highlighting the possibility removal of Article-370 harming Pakistan's interests and agency in the valley.

Dimension II: Interpretation

Analysis of the linguistic features reveal that the editorial builds a narrative that justifies India's decision to revoke the special status of Kashmir by projecting Pakistan as an active agent in destabilizing the valley through terrorism and insurgency. The editorial builds on the narrative that Article-370 was being used by Pakistan to foment trouble. The editorial is published in an Indian Tribune, an Indian newspaper, and is likely to be read by Indian audience. The editorial tries to justify the revocation to soothe international community and to dampen the criticism arising from within India.

Table 15*Editorial Information*

Editorial Title	Publication Date
World and Valley	August 19 th , 2019

Dimension I: Textual Analysis**1. Lexical Choices**

The lexical choices in the text convey and reinforce India's national narrative that considers Kashmir an unbreakable part of India that is riddled with Pakistan sponsored "proxies" and separatism. The author uses politically charged term like "Pakistan Occupied Kashmir" that reflects India's official stance on Kashmir's status. The editorial also highlights China's "hostility" and Pakistan's "fury" over India's "rearrangement" of Kashmir's special status. The use of these lexical items portrays China and Pakistan as hostile over Kashmir which is discussed as an "internal matter" in the editorial.

2. Transitivity Analysis

The author employs relational process to reinforce India's narrative of Kashmir being an internal matter, for instance, "the weight of collective opinion at the UNSC was in India's favour", the relational process and the choice of participants reiterates India's claim of diplomatic edge over Pakistan; moreover, it establishes legitimacy of India's action of revoking Kashmir's special status. It discredits Pakistan's claims and suggests that India's stance aligns with global peace and stability. At another instance in the text, the author uses material process to flex India's diplomatic muscle, for example, "Delhi fended off a vigorous Chinese attempt at getting the UNSC to pronounce on the situation in Kashmir". Here, the author portrays "Delhi" as the actor in the material process "fended off" and with the goal as "Chinese attempt". In this case, author boasts India's diplomatic win and establishes India's unwavering determination to make the world acknowledge that Kashmir is an "internal" matter. This framing positions the text with India's official narrative that claims legal right over Kashmir.

3. Application of Modality Words

The author uses the modal verb “may” to suggest possibility of “Pakistan may raise military temperature at LOC”. The modal verb in this case, pushes India’s official narrative that projects Pakistan as an aggressor that seeks to destabilize India. Moreover, it serves to justify India’s own defensive or pre-emptive measures. The usage of modal verb “may” suggest a degree of uncertainty and caution without making a definitive prediction about the future.

Dimension II: Interpretation

The editorial frames Pakistan being involved in a futile endeavour to internationalize Kashmir issue and gain sympathy for its position on the Kashmir issue. The author reiterates support of international community for India’s position on the Kashmir issue. The textual analysis of the editorial reveals a strong bias for India’s stance that sees Kashmir as an internal matter and Pakistan’s claims of Kashmir being a disputed region as provocative. The editorial through various linguistic features connects the text with India’s state narrative that considers Kashmir as an unbreakable part of the country. India is positioned as a winner as a champion of diplomacy who has effectively countered Pakistan’s propaganda.

Table 16

Editorial Information

Editorial Title	Publication Date
A turning point	May 8 th , 2020

Dimension I: Textual Analysis

1. Lexical Choices

The editorial uses the word “Pakistan Occupied Kashmir” to refer to Kashmir that is part of Pakistan. This choice of lexicon builds on India’s narrative of Kashmir belonging to India. Moreover, the author blames militancy in Kashmir on Pakistan by referring to militant organization as “POK-based group”. The author uses the term “indigenous militancy” and “local militants” throughout the editorial to refer to indigenous freedom movement and Kashmiris. These words have a negative

connotation that indicates violence and extremism. The lexical choices indicate a bias towards Indian narrative. The editorial justifies Indian actions as maintaining security.

2. Nominalization

“Killing of Burhan Wani, and the subsequent killings of most of the others in that group of a new generation of militants” (A turning point, 2020). In this case, the author nominalizes the verb “to Kill” into noun “killing”. The use of nominalization dehumanizes the individuals involved in attacks by abstracting their deaths into strategic outcome and emphasizing tactical victories of security forces. Moreover, nominalization puts more focus on outcome of the action rather than the actor of the action. It signifies India’s strategic and successful counter-terrorism operations. The dehumanization of the locals involved in various attacks on the security forces serves to justify Indian army’s actions in the valley to both national and international audience.

3. Transitivity Analysis

The author employs both relational and material processes in the text. For example, In the clause “Army and Police have succeeded in eliminating the Valley’s most important militant, Riyaz Naikoo” (A turning point, 2020) the author frames “Army” and “Police” as powerful and successful actors of in the material process of “succeeded” and “eliminating” with the goal of “important militant”. The choice of material process and participants in this process highlight the power and responsibility of the Indian security forces in fighting the militants. It also reduces sympathy for the militant and emphasizes the narrative that views Indian security forces as protectors. Another process that the author has employed is the relational process, for example, “Naikoo became the face of the indigenous militancy” (A turning point, 2020). In this case, the author frames “Naikoo” as the carrier in the relational process of “became” and “face of indigenous militancy” serves as the attribute of the carrier. The choice of relational process and participants is significant as it reinforces Indian narrative and stereotypes regarding Kashmiris being involved in militant activities. Moreover, it justifies the killing of Naikoo and other militants by the Indian security forces.

Dimension II: Interpretation

The linguistic analysis of this editorial reveals a favourable narrative of India and negative projection of Kashmiri people and Pakistan. The editorial emphasizes the issue of terrorism in the valley and blames Pakistan and the Kashmiri militant for

destabilizing the valley. It projects India's claims as valid and debunks Pakistan's accusations of human rights violations. The editorial frames the Indian security forces as involved in a dedicated effort to counter terrorism and militancy in the valley. The author deliberately avoids presenting the human side of the individuals killed by the Indian forces to garner the sympathy of the international community and present India as the victim the conflict that just wants peace and progress for the people of Kashmir, but Pakistan keeps sponsoring terror groups to harm India's plans for Kashmir's progress. The editorial is part of The Indian express, an Indian newspaper; therefore, it is likely to be read by Indian audience.

Table 17

Editorial Information

Editorial Title	Publication Date
Words Meaning	August 10 th , 2019

Dimension I: Textual Analysis

1. Passivization

“Prime Minister Narendra Modi’s address to the nation, following his government’s decision to read down Article 370 was keenly awaited” (Word and Meaning, 2019). In this case, Passivization serves to highlight the importance of Mod’s address in the context of revocation of Article 370 by obscuring the agents who are waiting. This specific sentence construction emphasizes the importance of the speech and creates a sense that there is widespread or universal anticipation of the address, lending legitimacy to Modis’ address and India’s influence in the Kashmir dispute.

2. Lexical Choice

In the phrase “government’s decision to read down Article 370”, the word legal term “read down” carries positive connotation that implies a legal process of limiting the scope of the law rather than complete abolition. Moreover, by selecting a more moderate word instead of stronger terms like ‘repeal’ or ‘abolish’, the text implies a moderate action of adjusting and refining. In the phrase “Kashmir has seen violence, terrorism and popular uprising”, the use of negative words like “terrorism” and “violence” indicates the presence of extremism in Kashmir and the term “popular uprising” suggest that the unrest and secessionist ambitions have local support. These

lexical choices suggest that suppressing of political dissent in the valley allows terrorists to feed on feelings of alienation among people. It connects the text with India's narrative of bringing Kashmir and its people within the fold of Indian society, so that the conspiracies of Pakistan can be thwarted. The text also reinforces the idea of India being a democracy by using the word "world's largest democracy" to refer to India. This lexical choice reflects India's claim of being a great democracy that intends to "embrace" the Kashmiris and establish "good governance" in the valley.

3. Transitivity Analysis

In the sentence "the special status had only bred corruption, nepotism, and secessionism" (Word and Meaning, 2019), the author has framed "the special status" as the actor and "bred" as the material process with the goal as "corruption, nepotism, and secessionism". The material process and the choice of participants highlight the special status in a negative light by underscoring the vices that the special status generated. Moreover, by projecting special status as a bad provision in the law, the text justifies India's action of revoking Article 370 A. The author also employs relational process, for example, "the Article 370 is now history", the author frames "Article 370" as the carrier and the relational process is signified by state verb "is" and the attribute of the carrier is "history". This choice of process and participants, highlight India's firm stance on ownership of Kashmir and its determination to integrate Kashmir in Indian society.

Dimension II: Interpretation

The author positions India as the largest democracy that wants peace and prosperity in the Kashmir region by encouraging initiatives and democratic process. It presents Article-370 and Pakistan as the mischief maker in the region. The textual analysis reveals that the author is critical of Pakistan's involvement in the region and thinks that undoing the special status of Kashmir will weaken Pakistan's claim over the region. The author also employs relational process to perpetuate a firm stance that Article-370 will never be revived because it was bad for the national unity and progress of the country. The editorial seems to reinforce India's position on the Kashmir conflict.

1. Intertextuality

The editorial employs indirect discourse reporting mode to refer to Prime Minister Modi's address. This permits the editorial to project Modi's assertions while

using its own interpretative lens and language, for instance, “Kashmir’s destiny is intertwined with that of the rest of the country” (Word and Meaning, 2019), is a rewording that emphasizes national unity and integration of Kashmir with India. Moreover, it denounces separatism and autonomy. The editorial also refers to PM’s critique of Article 370 and his hopes of development and modernization in Kashmir. The editorial rephrases Modi’s words to highlight the significance and effectiveness of central laws and programs; the editorial states “by implementation of central laws and programmes, Kashmir would become prosperous and peaceful”. This reinforces Indian government’s narrative that claims the dissolution of special status of Kashmir will pave way for economic development.

Table 18

Editorial Information

Editorial Title	Publication Date
The Pakistan muddle	September 3 rd , 2019

Dimension I: Textual Analysis

1. Lexical Choices

The lexical choices used in the article tries to frame Pakistan as the aggressor and weaker opponent in the Kashmir disputes by reinforcing India’s dominant position on the diplomatic and economic front. The author asserts that Pakistan can only indulge in “sabre-rattling” instead of taking concrete actions. This lexical choice frames Pakistan as an aggressor that threats its opponent with war. The editorial uses words like “confused” and desperate to refer to top leadership of Pakistan and uses the word ‘hostile’ to refer to Pakistan. The author juxtaposes Pakistan with word like “Jihadi tanzeem” that carries a negative connotation and links Pakistan with religious extremism and terrorism. This lexical choice also seeks to discredit Pakistan in front of the international community. The editorial also portrays Pakistan as an impoverished country with a “tanking economy” to further discredit Pakistan’s position and diminish its stature in front of the international community.

2. Passivization

“Three generations have been nurtured on the rhetoric of Kashmir as the country’s jugular vein” (The Pakistan muddle, 2019). In this case, the author has used passive construction instead of active construction to highlight the process of indoctrination, implying that Pakistan has systematically raised its three generations on nationalistic political ideology that claims Kashmir as jugular vein. This aligns the text with India’s narrative that accuses Pakistan of inculcating anti-India sentiments among the public. Moreover, by omitting active agent, it diffuses blame to give more neutral and objective tone to the text which is crucial in sensitive political debates.

3. Transitivity Analysis

In the sentence “Pakistan’s effort has been to internationalize the Kashmir issue”, the author has used relational process to reinforce the idea that Pakistan lobbies for Kashmir to garner international support for Kashmir issue. The author frames “Pakistan’s effort” as the carrier in the relational process signified by “has been” and the attribute of the carrier is “to internationalize the Kashmir issue”. Relational process and the choice of participants highlights Pakistan’s intentions regarding the Kashmir issue. The use of relational process makes the text seem neutral, factual, and less-biased. Moreover, the editorial reinforces the idea that Pakistan is continuously strategizing to gain international recognition for its Kashmir cause. Another dominant process that the author employs is the material process, for example, “nor has any government challenged India’s position that the August 5 decisions are ‘internal’” (The Pakistan muddle, 2019) in this case, the actor is “any government” and the material process verb is “challenged” that is used in negative, indicating absence of action; the goal of the material process is “India’s position....internal”. This underscores India’s sovereignty by indicating the acceptance by international community of India’s state narrative of Kashmir being an internal matter that does not warrant international interference. Moreover, this also counters Pakistan’s narrative and repeated pleas of Kashmir needing international attention.

Dimension II: Interpretation

Intertextuality

The author uses indirect discourse reporting mode to refer to Pakistan’s Foreign Minister Shah Mehmood Qureshi’s statement over war with India. The editorial does

not directly quote the statement rather it paraphrases the statement with its own interpretation and emphasis, for example, “Foreign Minister rushed to clarify that war with India is not an option”, the word “rushed” signifies urgency and desperation that frames Pakistan’s leadership as confused and under pressure. The statement subtly critiques Pakistan’s failure to remain consistent on its Kashmir policy and its aggressive outpouring; moreover, by projecting Pakistan as confused and desperate, the editorial flexes India as economically and militarily more powerful.

Table 19

Editorial Information

Editorial Title	Publication Date
Grim Reminder	May 5 th , 2020

Dimension I: Textual Analysis

1. Lexical Choices

The editorial uses emotive lexical items to build an anti-Pakistan narrative that links the country with militancy and extremism. Instead of acknowledging the indigenous freedom struggle, the editorial links the attacks on Indian security forces with militancy. The author uses bold and politically charged lexical items like “Pakistan based terrorist groups” and ‘cross-border infiltration”, these terms push forward India’s official stance that seeks to draw attention of the international community over Pakistan’s undue involvement in the valley and aggression on the LOC. This aligns the text with India’s narrative that seeks to discredit Pakistan’s position over Kashmir by blaming Pakistan for the unrest in the valley. The editorial uses the word “lockdown” to refer to curfew imposed by the government in the valley. This term has a positive connotation that downplays the severity and cruelty of the curfew to justify India’s actions to the international community and to those raising concerns about human rights abuses within the country. The author also uses words like “terrorists” and “militants” for the attackers who are referred to as “Kashmiri youth” or “fighters” in Pakistani newspaper.

2. Transitivity Analysis

The author employs material process to put emphasis on action and agency, for example, “Security forces killed 45 militants”, in this example, the author frames

“security forces” as active agent of the material process “killed” and with the goal of the material process as “militants”. The choice of participants gives the statement an authoritative and official tone, signifying state-sanctioned operations. Moreover, the use of “militants” as the goal of the action dehumanizes the individuals involved by reducing them to mere targets in military operations rather than Individuals with motivation and grievances. The material process reinforces the existing power dynamics in the region by projecting security forces in a dominant and hegemonic position. Furthermore, it portrays the action of killing as unambiguous and straightforward.

3. Passivization

The editorial employs passive construction, for example, “the spike in shelling across the Line of Control has been attributed to attempts at cross-border infiltration”. In this case, the author has omitted the agent performing the action of attribution to give more official, objective and factual tone to the claim that is being made. Moreover, by deleting the agent, the author presents the claim as a generally accepted fact. This aligns the text with India’s narrative that blames Pakistan for infiltrating the border and violating the line of control. The passive construction in this case also suggests a cause-and-effect situation that provides justification for shelling on LOC from India’s side. The editorial projects India as a retaliator and Pakistan as an aggressor.

4.4. Analysis of Editorials from The Express Tribune

Table 20

Editorial Information

Editorial Article	Publication Date
Solidarity with Kashmiris	August 15 th , 2019

Dimension I: Textual Analysis

1. Lexical Choices

The editorial utilizes a range of emotive lexical choices to position the text along the lines of Pakistan’s official narrative on Kashmir. The author uses words like “Indian occupation forces”, “Indian subjugation”, and “Indian illegal attempt” to project India as an aggressor and colonizing entity. It reiterates and reinforces Pakistan’s state

narrative that seeks to internationalize the issue of Kashmir's freedom. The author refers to Kashmir in Pakistan as "Azad (free) Kashmir", this further Pakistan's political ideology that consider half Kashmir as liberated and the other half as occupied by India. The editorial refers to Kashmiris as "brethren" and talks about their "birth right to self-determination". This framing connects the discourse with larger political ideology of Islamic brotherhood which claims that Pakistan shares religious, and cultural affinity with Kashmiris; therefore, Kashmir is the jugular vein of Pakistan. Juxtaposing the term "birth-right" with "self-determination" connects the narrative with larger discourse on human rights and democracy, emphasising the basic human right to self-determination.

2. Transitivity Analysis

The editorial employs material and relational processes in the text, for instance, in the sentence "the whole nation stands by Kashmiris", the author frames "the whole nation" as the actor in the material process of "stands" and the goal is "by Kashmiris". The Pakistani nation is projected as an active agent that is standing by their Kashmiri brethren, lending them political and moral support. The material process and the choice of participants highlights a unified national stance of the people of Pakistan over the Kashmir issue. The material verb "stand by" is loaded with strong emotions of brotherhood.

Another dominant process in the editorial is relational process. The editorial starts with a popular political slogan "Kashmir banega Pakistan" or "Kashmir will become Pakistan". In this case, the author frames Kashmir as the "carrier" in the relational process signified by "will become" and the attribute of the carrier has been carefully selected as "Pakistan". The choice of process and participants identifies Kashmir with Pakistan and underscores the determination and aspiration of Pakistan to liberate Kashmir. Moreover, it links the text with Pakistan's ideology that considers Kashmir as part of Pakistan. At another instance, the author uses material process to highlight Pakistan's positive role in the Kashmir issue, for instance, "we extend our moral, political and diplomatic support to Kashmiris" (Solidarity with Kashmiris, 2019). The author frames "we" as an active agent who is involved in the material process of "extend". This framing and choice of participants creates a binary opposition of "us" vs "them" that bolsters sentiments of national unity. Furthermore, it underscores Pakistan's collective political and moral stance on Kashmir that pushes for right to self-determination for Kashmiris.

3. Modality

The author strategically employs modality in the editorial to show support for the Kashmir cause, for instance, “we will not leave them alone at any step” indicate a strong commitment and certainty in the speaker’s stance. This assertive language functions to inspire confidence and portray the Pakistani state as morally resolute and unwavering in its support for the Kashmiri cause. Phrase such as “may not be much pleasing” serve to subtly convey pragmatic awareness of international power dynamics, particularly the economic and strategic interests of countries that favor India. This nuanced use of modality enables the text to present a morally charged narrative.

Dimension II: Interpretation

The text likely originates from a Pakistani editorial or opinion piece, reflecting the state-aligned media narrative. It seems to be intended for a domestic Pakistani audience to reinforce national unity and legitimize the state’s stance on Kashmir. It also functions as a soft power tool, projecting Pakistan’s position to international audiences. The text constructs a unified national identity in support of Kashmir. The reference to *Burhan Wani* symbolizes resistance and frames the Kashmiri struggle as heroic and ongoing. Moreover, India is framed as an illegal occupier, with global powers complicit through inaction.

Intertextuality

In the editorial, intertextuality plays a significant role in constructing a persuasive narrative. The text draws upon various external discourses and voices, including political, institutional, and cultural sources, to lend gravity to its stance on the Kashmir conflict. For instance, references to the Prime Minister, the President, and the opposition leader Bilawal Bhutto demonstrate an appeal to national leadership, thereby reinforcing a narrative of unified national solidarity with the Kashmiri people. This integration of diverse political voices functions to strengthen the legitimacy of the position being presented and reflects the production of discourse that aligns with state narrative. Similarly, invoking the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) and its resolutions provides international legal grounding for Pakistan’s claims. Cultural intertextuality is also present through the slogan “Kashmir Banega Pakistan,” which highlights a nationalist aspiration and connects current political events to broader historical and ideological themes.

Table 21*Editorial Information*

Editorial Title	Publication Title
India's evil designs on Kashmir	August 6 th , 2019

Dimension I: Textual Analysis**1. Lexical Choice**

The editorial employs a range of ideologically charged and emotive lexical items to censure India's move of revoking the special status of Kashmir. The author calls revocation of Article-37 "India's evil design" and "cunning". These words carry a negative connotation that signify the evil intentions of the Modi government regarding Kashmir. Moreover, the author employs term like "disputed Himalayan region" and "Indian occupied Kashmir to refer to Kashmir; this underscores Pakistan's political ideology that considers Kashmir a bilateral issue that must be solved according to the wishes of the people of Kashmir. The author uses strong negative words like "bloodbath" and "suffer" to evoke sympathy for the dire humanitarian crisis unfolding in Kashmir that requires urgent international intervention. The editorial uses ideologically motivated words like "Hindu nationalistic government" and "Hindutva" for the Indian government. These lexical items reiterate Pakistan's narrative that seeks to highlight India's racism and bigotry against Muslims especially Kashmiris. Additionally, the author refers to Prime Minister Narendra Modi's patriotism as "Jingoism" that highlights his blind nationalism and racist attitude.

2. Transitivity Analysis

The editorial starts with a politically charged and motivated rhetoric that uses relational process "Kashmir is a deep scar left unhealed by the partition of the subcontinent". In this sentence, the author has framed 'Kashmir' as the carrier in the relational process signified by state verb "is", and the attribute of the carrier is framed as "deep scar". The relational process projects Kashmir as metaphorical wound that is still unresolved. It emphasizes the urgency of the situation that needs attention from the international world. It sheds light on the dire consequences of hasty partition plan by the British. Moreover, it evokes emotional response by attributing the word 'scar' with 'Kashmir issue'. Another dominant process employed in the text is material process,

for instance, “Pakistan’s National Security Council (NSC) warned that any escalation in military activity by India would destabilise the region”, here, the author frames “NSC” as the actor of the material process of “warned” and the goal of the process is signified by “escalation in the military activity”. In this case, the author underscores Pakistan’s unwavering stance on Kashmir and its sovereignty, suggesting that Pakistan will retaliate if India tries to infringe on Pakistan’s sovereignty. Moreover, it signals that Pakistan views India as a threat to peace and stability in the region. This framing seeks to evoke a response from the international community and peace keeping organizations by informing them that any misadventure would lead to escalation and Pakistan will not bear the blame.

3. Application of Modality Words

The editorial employs “may” and “will” in the text to indicate possibility and obligation, for example, in the sentence “poor Kashmiris may continue to suffer”, the author expresses a potential outcome of ignoring India’s actions in Kashmir and delivers a subtle warning to the global powers. It also suggests that with shift in policy and focus the dark future of humans of Kashmir can be avoided. The modal verb “will” used in the sentence “Modi will hardly be willing to listen to any saner voice” frames Modi as an inflexible leader who is possessed by hatred and madness. This expresses certainty about Modi’s behaviour in context of Kashmir and Muslims.

Dimension II: Interpretation

The range of linguistic choices employed in the editorial emphasize on the maltreatment being meted out to the people of Kashmir by India. The editorial seeks to call the attention of the world towards the atrocities that India’s military machine is committing against the people of Kashmir. The textual analysis of the editorial reveal that the editorial originates from Pakistani news agency and is likely to be consumed by Pakistani and international audience.

Table 22*Editorial Information*

Editorial Title	Publication Date
Kashmir: a year of lockdown	August 4 th , 2020

Dimension I: Textual Analysis**1. Lexical Choices**

The author employs a variety of ideologically loaded lexical choices to build a case against India on Kashmir dispute especially against revocation of Article-370. The author uses adjective like “illegal” to describe the act of revocation. This suggests that Pakistan considers annexation of Kashmir an illegal act according to the international law. The editorial uses words like “Indian occupied Kashmir”, “Indian illegally occupied Kashmir”, and “Muslim- majority” to refer to Kashmir under the control of India. Moreover, the author uses negative politically motivated and emotive words like “brutalized” and “ravaged” to describe the actions of Indian forces in Kashmir. The author also uses lexical items like “challenging”, “crippling curfew”, “livelihoods destroyed”, and “violence” to give a vivid description of the volatile situation in Kashmir. Moreover, the author characterizes India’s Prime Minister by using the title “butcher of Gujrat” for him. The mention of this title in the editorial connects the discourse with the harrowing incident of Gujrat massacre of Muslim under the eyes of Modi. This seeks to highlight Modi’s hatred for Muslims and seeks to urge the international peace keeping organizations to stop Modi from returning to his “murderous roots”. These lexical choices frame the argument of the text against Indian aggression and builds on Pakistan’s narrative that pushes for a just resolution of Kashmir issue by liberating it from the occupation of India.

2. Transitivity Analysis

The author uses mental process to underscore the feelings and perspectives of people of Kashmir living under Indian rule, for example, in the sentence “Kashmiris have seen violence on the rise and their livelihood destroyed”, the author projects the situation of Kashmir from the eyes and perspective of Kashmiris to evoke sympathy for the sufferings of people of Kashmir. The mental process in the sentence is signified by

“have seen” and the sensor is “Kashmiris”. The mental process highlights the sufferings of Kashmiris and projects India as an aggressor. Another dominant process in the editorial is relational process, for example, in the sentence “Kashmir was, is, and if not for the revocation of Article 370, would have remained Muslim-majority”, the author frames “Kashmir” as a carrier in the relational process signified by verbs “was, is, and would” and the attribute of the carrier is “Muslim-majority”. This framing emphasizes the historical and durable demographic identity of Kashmir that is predominantly Muslims. The relational process frames the argument that considers the revocation of Article-370 an unnatural and deliberate reordering of Kashmir's innate demographic identity. The author pushes Pakistan's political narrative that accuses India of deliberately changing the demography of Kashmir to turn it into a Hindu-majority state, so that in case of a Plebiscite Kashmir votes in favour of India.

3. Application of Modality Words

The author uses the modal verb “should” express obligation and necessity, for instance, “It should be no surprise that militancy becomes an attractive job prospect”. In this sentence, the author expresses confidence that India's repression and subjugation will lead to terrorism and insecurity because humans cannot live under oppressive occupation. This furthers the Pakistani narrative that pushes for a free Kashmir and blames India for turning peaceful people violent by oppressing them in inhumane ways.

Dimension II: Interpretation

The linguistic choices employed in the editorial pushes for international intervention in the Kashmir dispute as Kashmir is an international issue. It also highlights India's evil actions in the Kashmir valley. In Indian newspapers, the individuals involved in attacking India's security forces are usually dehumanized by completely obliterating their perspectives in the issue, but in this editorial the author positions these Individuals in a way that they appear as humans with grief and grievances. This supports Pakistan's narrative and discredit's India's stance on the issue.

Table 24*Editorial Information*

Editorial Title	Publication Date
Kashmir Hour	August 31 st , 2019

1. Lexical Choices

The author uses the word “illegal” to align the text with Pakistan’s narrative that considers India’s revocation of Article-370 repugnant to the international law. The author also employs words like “Azad (free) Kashmir” to refer to Kashmir that is under Pakistan’s control and he juxtaposes it with term like “Indian occupied Kashmir” to refer to Kashmir under the control of India. This framing projects a pro Pakistani stance and anti-Indian stance on the Kashmir issue. Furthermore, the editorial refers to Indian military and police as “Indian occupation forces” which puts emphasis on India’s colonial nature. The Kashmiris are depicted by using words like “suffering”, “innocent”, “never-say-die Kashmiris”, and “plight of Kashmiris”. These words seek to evoke sympathy for Kashmiris from both the Pakistani audience and international audience at large. Whereas Prime Minister Modi and his cabinet is juxtaposed with figure like Hitler. This underscores Pakistan’s stance that seeks project India as a fascist on the international stage to garner support for its Kashmir “cause”. The editorial employs high modality throughout, signaling strong commitment, urgency, and a clear ideological stance.

2. Modality

Modal verbs such as “must” and phrases like “at all costs” emphasize moral obligation and necessity, leaving little room for ambivalence or negotiation. The declaration “We must stop these crimes from persisting at all costs” exemplifies this deontic modality, positioning the issue as a universal moral imperative. This is not only to convey the writer’s firm perspective but also to persuade the reader of the gravity and immediacy of the Kashmir situation. The overall tone is categorical and authoritative, aligning with the editorial’s aim of mobilizing both emotional and political support.

3. Transitivity

The editorial makes strategic use of transitivity to construct agency, victimhood, and responsibility through various process types. Material processes dominate the text, particularly those related to violence and oppression — such as “have been martyred,” “embraced martyrdom,” and “lost their lives.” These actions position the Kashmiris primarily as patients (receivers of actions) rather than agents, emphasizing their suffering and sacrifice. In contrast, India is consistently assigned active agency in material and relational processes: it is portrayed as the doer of harmful acts through verbs like “used the coronavirus pandemic,” “restricting the flow,” and “expediting their settler-colonial ambitions.” These processes highlight deliberate and ongoing aggression.

Dimension II: Interpretation

At the level of discursive practice, the editorial reflects and reproduces dominant narratives within Pakistani media and political discourse surrounding the Kashmir conflict. It is shaped by a specific ideological positioning that frames Kashmiris as heroic resisters and victims, while casting India as a repressive and violent occupying force. The production of this text is likely influenced by nationalistic sentiment and geopolitical interests, aiming to sustain public sympathy and support for the Kashmiri cause both domestically and internationally. In terms of consumption, the text presumes a readership that is already aligned with or sympathetic to this perspective, using emotionally charged language and shared cultural references (such as martyrdom and freedom) to reinforce ideological unity. Additionally, by incorporating international references like the UN and invoking global justice norms, the editorial seeks to recontextualize global discourses — such as human rights and pandemic vulnerability — into the local context of Kashmir, thereby broadening its appeal and strategic impact. Overall, the text functions not just as commentary, but as part of a larger discursive effort to shape public opinion, contest Indian narratives, and mobilize global support.

Intertextuality

The editorial employs intertextuality to reinforce its arguments by drawing on a range of external voices, references, and discourses. It explicitly cites international actors such as UN Secretary-General Antonio Guterres, whose condemnation of human

rights abuses—specifically the use of pellet guns against children—serves to validate the editorial's claims and lend global legitimacy to the Kashmiri cause. Additionally, the editorial uses scare quotes around phrases like “settler-colonial ambitions” to invoke critical academic or activist discourse, aligning the language with global anti-colonial and resistance narratives. Even in the absence of direct attribution, there is a strong implicit intertextuality through references to shared historical and ideological frameworks common in Pakistani discourse on Kashmir—such as martyrdom, resistance, and injustice. These intertextual layers not only bolster the text's rhetorical force but also position it within a broader network of political and moral solidarity.

Table 25

Editorial Information

Editorial Title	Publication Date
Don't lose sight of Kashmir	June 22 nd , 2020

Dimension I: Textual Analysis

1. Lexical Choices

The author uses ideologically loaded and politically motivated lexical items to build a case against India on the Kashmir dispute, for instance, the editorial refers to individuals involved in various attacks on Indian forces are referred to as “freedom fighters”, “Kashmiri fighters”, and “martyrs”. These words position the individuals who are militants and terrorists for India as freedom fighters thereby justifying armed resistance against the occupation by India. The editorial projects India as a brutal and evil entity through emotive lexical items, for example, the author uses terms like “fascist” to describe India’s government, connecting the discourse to larger discourse of fascism and Nazism. The editorial also describes India’s intentions as “India’s devious scheme”, “India’s malfeasance”, and “unscrupulous despotism”. These words not only objectively describe India’s ulterior motives, but also projects India as an active agent who is working with evil intentions to unleash horrors on the population of Kashmir. This constructs a negative narrative of India that aligns with Pakistan’s stance that sees India as untrustworthy, racist and cruel. The editorial also refers to India

as a colonial power that harbours ‘settler colonial ambitions’ and revocation of Article-370 is a milestone for India in its nefarious ambitions of settler colonialism.

2. Transitivity Analysis

The author employs mental process in the editorial to underscore the deep hatred that India’s Prime Minister has for Kashmiris, for instance, “Modi does not care for the UN call for banning the torture and persecution of Kashmiri minor”, in this sentence, the author frames Modi as the sensor of the mental process of “does not care “. The choice of mental process and the participants involved sheds light on Modi’s deliberate emotional, mental and moral detachment from the gross crimes his government is committing against children of Kashmir. The use of mental process instead of material process and positioning Modi as the sensor instead of Indian government, the author personalizes the issue which intensifies reader’s understanding of Modi’s accountability and moral responsibility. The author also uses relational process to reinforce Pakistan’s positive role in highlighting the Kashmir issue around the world, for instance, in the sentence “Pakistan’s international plea, however, has not gone unnoticed”, the author frames “Pakistan’s plea” as the carrier in the relational process signified by verb ‘has not’ and the attribute framed as “gone unnoticed”. In this case, the author emphasizes the significance of Pakistan’s campaign in highlighting the Kashmir cause and being successful at drawing the attention of the world towards this pressing issue. The text frames Pakistan as the champion of rights of Kashmiris.

3. Application of Modality Words

The author uses the modal verb “must” to signify obligation, necessity, and urgency. In the sentence, “we must stop these crimes from persisting at all costs” the author expresses urgency that demands immediate action and intervention from the world. The editorial also creates moral imperative that frames the action of stopping Indian crimes as something necessary. Moreover, it is a call to action and appeals to audience's sense of morality and judgement.

Dimension II: Interpretation

The textual analysis of the editorial reveals that the text is written by an entity that is sympathetic towards Kashmir’s struggle for freedom. The intention of the editorial seems to be to galvanize support for the Kashmir cause, to highlight the suffering of Kashmiris, and to further a sinister narrative about India. The text’s

contents seem to align with Pakistan’s political ideology and Kashmir policy that considers Kashmir as a territory that is disputed and whose future should be decided according to the wishes of the people of Kashmir. The editorial frames the individuals who are fighting the Indian security forces as freedom fighters who are fighting for their basic human right of self-determination against an occupying entity. This is in stark comparison with India’s framing that calls these freedom fighters terrorists and militants. The analysis of linguistic features reveal that the editorial seeks to garner support for Pakistan’s stance on the Kashmir issue by appealing to the sense of justice of international audience and governments. The editorial is published in Pakistani newspaper; therefore, it is likely to be read by Pakistani audience. The newspaper is circulated both on online and print formats.

Table 26

Editorial Information

Editorial Title	Publication Date
Modi’s play with fire	August 9 th , 2019

Dimension I: Textual Analysis

1. Lexical Choices

The author projects Pakistan as united against India’s decision to revoke the special status through employing a range of lexical items, for instance, “a joint session”, “unanimous resolution”, “unified stance”, and “joint resolution”. This underscores Pakistan’s firm and unwavering stance on the Kashmir dispute. This also suggest that Pakistani nation despite being fragmented, is unified on Kashmir issue. The author refers to Kashmir as “disputed state”, “Indian Occupied”, “Muslim majority”, and “most militarized zone”. These lexical choices frame Kashmir as a disputed region that is predominantly Muslims; therefore, it should have been a part of Pakistan. It also emphasizes Kashmir’s volatile situation due to it being the most militarized area in the world. This pushes Pakistan’s narrative that criticizes India on heavy militarization of the valley that leads to human rights abuses.

2. Transitivity Analysis

The author uses relational process in the editorial to emphasize the nature of the state of Kashmir, for instance, in the sentence “It is an international dispute so long as UN resolutions continue to hold ground” the author frames “it” referring to Kashmir, as a carrier in the relational process signified by state verb ‘is’ and the attribute of the carrier is “international dispute”. The relational process and the choice of participants reiterates Pakistan’s claim that Kashmir is not India’s internal matter, but an international issue. Moreover, it seeks to reinforce the legal basis and international support for the Kashmir issue to ground Pakistan’s narrative surrounding Kashmir in international law.

Dimension II: Interpretation

The language of the editorial ties in the text with Pakistan’s political ideology of Kashmir being a disputed region and India committing gross human rights violation to change the demography of the region. The editorial tries to draw on the legal history of Kashmir issue to lend support to the narrative that favours Pakistan on the Kashmir issue.

Intertextuality

The author uses direct discourse reporting mode to add a reference to a resolution passed by a joint session of Pakistan’s parliament. The author frames the statement as a warning, for instance, the editorial states, “a joint session of Pakistani parliament warned India to refrain from undertaking any irresponsible, unilateral actions that may lead to dangerous escalation that will have far reaching impact not only for South Asia but the entire world”. This reference ties into larger discourse about international peace and security. The reference ties in with the argument of the editorial that seeks to project India as an aggressor and irresponsible actor and Pakistan as responsible actor showing restraint and caution. Adding a reference to a unanimous resolution from the parliament, the author gives credibility and seriousness to his argument. This reaffirms support for Pakistan’s claim about India being involved in destabilizing the situation in the subcontinent and Pakistan seeking a just resolution to Kashmir issue.

Dimension III: Socio-Cultural Analysis of Editorials (The Express Tribune)

The editorial reveals a strong critique of India's actions in Kashmir. The editorials vehemently oppose India's occupation of Kashmir and pushes the narrative that Kashmir belongs to Pakistan due its culture, religion, and history being more like Pakistan than India. The critical narrative of the editorials can be contextualized in hostile history that India and Pakistan share. India and Pakistan have fought many over the control of Kashmir and for both countries it is a matter of territorial integrity and sovereignty. Therefore, this Pakistani newspaper highlights India's human rights violations and unjust occupation of the valley to discredit India's stance on the international stage. The editorials draw on historical dimension of the conflict by making references to the United Nations conventions on the disputed territory.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

The extensive analysis of the editorials from influential newspapers reveals that both Indian and Pakistani newspapers utilize linguistic features in a way to present their respective government in favourable way. The range of linguistic features employed in this editorial hint at various political ideologies and meanings embedded in the text. Pakistani editorials build on the narrative the revocation of Article-370 is an illegal step and that Kashmir is an international issue rather than a unilateral issue. Also, Kashmir is the jugular vein of Pakistan. The editorial from the Pakistani newspapers use language to internationalize the issue to garner support for its Kashmir cause, whereas India reinforces its political ideology that Kashmir is an internal matter. Indian editorials on the other hand emphasize Kashmir is an internal issue and that revocation of Kashmir's special status is legal action as Kashmir is an unbreakable part of India. Below are the ideologies that can be seen emerging from the analysis of the above editorials.

The Ideologies from the Pakistani Newspapers

- The Pakistani newspapers present Kashmir issue as an issue that is rooted in history, tracing it back to Britain's wrong and hasty decision of partition.
- The newspapers reiterate that Indian hold on Kashmir is not justified, as the people of Kashmir do not want to live under Indian rule, and they have the right to self-determination. Kashmir is the Jugular vein of Pakistan because it shares geography, religion, and culture with Pakistan.

The Ideologies from the Indian Newspapers

- India newspapers avoid mentioning the history of the conflict. They reiterate that India wants peace in Kashmir and the stripping of Kashmir's special status is an attempt at integration of Kashmir.
- Indian newspapers think of Kashmir freedom fights as Pakistani militants or Pakistani sponsored Militants.

Comparison of Discourse

The extensive analysis and comparison of discourse on the Kashmir issue reveals that Pakistani newspapers use linguistic devices like nominalization, transitivity processes, modality and lexical choices to build the narrative of the public in favour of Pakistan's stance on the Kashmir issue and Article-370; moreover, the editorials under analysis use language in a way to garner support of international community for Pakistan's stance and to discredit India's stance, for instance, editorials from Pakistani newspapers use lexical choices like "illegal", "oppressive", and "inhumane" to depict India's actions against the people of Kashmir. Moreover; lexical choices like "occupier" and "hard line Hindu zealots" paint India as the aggressor in the conflict. The editorials also use nominalization and modality to highlight the urgency of the situation and highlight the painful condition of the Kashmiris who await justice and international help. Moreover, Pakistani editorials employ intertextuality by adding references to statements given by the United States and Kashmiri politicians to lend gravity to the arguments crafted in the editorials and to connect the discourse to larger discourse on Kashmir issue. The editorials employ emotive words like "occupied", "Indian- held", and "prison" to depict the valley of Kashmir in order to evoke sympathy from the masses for Pakistan's stance on the issue and to build the narrative of the Pakistani public and international community along the lines of Pakistan's state narrative. Editorials from Pakistani newspapers uses terms like "Muslim brotherhood" to evoke sentiments of national unity and religious fervour in the Pakistani public.

The editorials from Indian newspapers use various linguistic features to build narratives of the public in favour of India's stance on the Kashmir issue and Article-370; moreover, the editorials under analysis use language to discredit Pakistan's claim that India is an occupying force that is subjecting the Kashmiris to inhumane brutality. India uses lexical choices like "Pakistan sponsored terrorism", "Pakistan occupied Kashmir", "Pakistani militants", and "insurgency" to build a narrative that supports India's claim that Pakistan is behind unrest in Kashmir as it sponsors terrorism and insurgency in Kashmir. The editorials also employ intertextuality to connect the discourse to larger discourse on terrorism and unrest; this paints India as the victim of Pakistan's aggression and militancy. The Indian editorials use troupes like transitivity and nominalization to avoid putting blame of human rights abuses on the Indian

military, for instance, using “killing of Burhan Wani” instead of “Indian military killed Burhan Wani”; the deliberate removal of the agent in this process, dehumanizes the killed person and portrays the incident as a strategic outcome. The editorials stress that Kashmir is an “internal issue” and nobody has a right to interfere in India’s personal matter. The analysis of the editorials revealed that India is not ready to even consider the proposition that Pakistan is a stakeholder in the Kashmir valley. The linguistic troupes employed by the editorials build a narrative that aligns with Indian national stance over Kashmir issue. India considers Kashmir as their legal territory and Article-370 as a temporary provision that was meant to be scrapped eventually. This analysis revealed that language is not merely a tool to relay or convey information rather it is a tool to accomplish certain functions and build ideologies. The difference in the language and process employed in both Pakistani and Indian editorials while covering Kashmir issue highlights the significance of language manipulation in political context. The comparison and analysis of media coverage of long standing issue of Kashmir reveals significant differences in the linguistic choices employed by newspapers of both countries. The Indian editorials use words like “Pakistani occupied Kashmir”, “Pakistani militants”, “insurgency”, and “Pakistan sponsored terrorism” to put the entire blame of tensions in the valley of Kashmir on Pakistan. This discredits Pakistan in the international community and lends gravity to the Indian government that claims full legal right over the valley of Kashmir and justifies the scrapping of Article-370. Whereas, Pakistani news editorials uses terms like “Indian occupied Kashmir”, “Oppressor”, and “Hindu supremacist” to depict a villainous image of India. Pakistani newspapers build a narrative that supports Pakistan’s claim over Kashmir and views Indian as illegal colonizer that has usurped the rights of Kashmiris. This difference in depiction of the same issue using different linguistic choices highlight discrepancies in the ideologies behind the discourse.

There has been extensive research on portrayal of Kashmir issue in media discourse to highlight how Pakistani and Indian media represent a positive ‘self’ image and negative ‘other’ image and how the linguistic choices reflect their differing political ideologies. Various models have been employed to dissect and examine discourse framing Kashmir issue and they have offered valuable insight into the nuanced understanding of the Kashmir issue. However, Fairclough’s 3D model has not been applied in the analysis of media discourse surrounding Kashmir issue. This is a

significant research gap and employing Fairclough's 3D model can provide a more holistic comprehension of the underlying ideologies and socio-cultural factors that generate a particular discourse. Future researchers can employ Fairclough's model to unveil hidden ideologies embedded in the discourse and can focus on sentence types and syntax in addition to lexical choices to add more evidence to the existing body of literature.

The analysis of articles using Fairclough's 3D model revealed significant ideological loadings in Indian and Pakistani print media reporting of Kashmir issue. In response to the identified types of ideologies, media outlets should work towards transparency in covering geographical disputes affecting human lives, explicitly stating potential bias to foster more informed and critical public discourse and narratives. Journalists and editors must also work towards using a more neutral language. Moreover, media outlets should recognize its role in building national identities and narratives and therefore engage in self-reflection to avoid perpetuating harmful stereotypes and promote cross-border understanding. This research underscores the need for media literacy and ethical journalism. Moreover, it highlights the divisive impact of language on public and empowers readers to recognize manipulation. This research aims to promote peaceful dialogue and mitigate misinformation.

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APPENDIX A: DAILY DAWN

Editorial I: “Playing with Fire” – August 7th, 2019

<https://www.dawn.com/news/1498546/playing-with-fire>

THE BJP’s reckless and dangerous move to revoke the special status of India-held Kashmir as enshrined in the Indian constitution has raised the threat of turmoil in the subcontinent to significant levels. In effect, the hard-line Hindu zealots who surround Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi have convinced him to dismiss international opinion — which firmly considers Kashmir a disputed territory — and forge ahead on this destructive path by subsuming the occupied region into the Indian union. Drunk on power and ambition, the Indian establishment has decided to risk playing with fire for petty political gains. However, the question that must be asked is: where are those who, not too long ago, were willing to mediate between Pakistan and India on the Kashmir question? The US State Department spokesperson issued a wishy-washy statement on the matter that glaringly left out Pakistan’s position on the issue. The statement, instead, appeared to indirectly support New Delhi’s outrageous claims, observing that “... the Indian government has described these actions as strictly an internal matter. ...” Whatever terms the Indian government may use to justify its malevolent actions in Kashmir, the US should have the moral courage to call a spade a spade and take a balanced view of the matter. However, one positive development that has emerged from the events of the last few days is that the leadership in occupied Kashmir has been united against India’s dubious designs. Mehbooba Mufti, former chief minister of IHK, termed the decision to revoke Article 370 as “the darkest day in Indian democracy. Pakistan has done well to contact foreign leaders, including the Malaysian and Turkish leaders, and take them on board regarding Kashmir. It is time that the OIC took a strong stance and pursued Kashmir’s case on the world stage. Pakistan’s voice alone may be drowned out; but were the OIC to lend support to the suffering Kashmiris, the world may well listen.

Editorial II: “Focus on Kashmir”- September 16th, 2019

<https://www.dawn.com/news/1505501>

More than a month after India launched its ill-advised adventure in occupied Kashmir, protests regarding the dire human rights situation in the held valley refuse to die down. On Friday, Prime Minister Imran Khan led a charged rally in Muzaffarabad to highlight the troubles across the LoC; he rightly warned the world that Indian repression in the held region would end up fuelling extremism, as people would opt to fight New Delhi’s brutality using “all means”. Indeed, the reports trickling out of the valley indicate a pitiful situation for the residents of India-held Kashmir, as they remain under lockdown with little freedom to speak of. It is to be hoped that Pakistan’s efforts to highlight the Kashmir question internationally are having some effect. UN Secretary General António Guterres says he remains “very concerned” about the situation escalating into a confrontation between India and Pakistan, while adding that the situation needs to be addressed “with full respect of human rights”. Elsewhere, numerous American lawmakers have urged their president to mediate between Islamabad and New Delhi, and have called for India to lift the curfew in IHK. The situation in Kashmir “has grave implications for democracy, human rights and regional stability. ...” one

congresswoman has said. Indeed, in the age of social media and breaking news, it will be very hard for India to keep a lid on the brutalities it has unleashed on the Kashmiris. Despite India's mantra that 'all is well' in the held region, the realisation is slowly growing that India's military enforcers have unleashed a reign of terror in IHK ever since Article 370 was scrapped last month — although condemnation by world governments has been disappointingly muted. But India can no longer pretend that Kashmir is an 'internal' matter; it stands badly exposed in IHK and no amount of spin can convince neutral observers that the situation in the region is normal. Indeed, Pakistan's diplomats have of late proactively highlighted the deplorable situation in IHK in key world capitals. However, the key question is that despite the global cries for justice in Kashmir, and calls for a negotiated settlement to the problem, will India listen? While the Kashmiris are putting up a brave front in the face of Indian brutality, if this issue is not handled with care, there is a very high likelihood that the entire subcontinent may get caught in an ugly conflagration.

Editorial III: "India's Losing Battle" – September 25th, 2020

<https://www.dawn.com/news/1581514>

IN a major interview after his release from house arrest, former chief minister of India-held Kashmir, Farooq Abdullah, has bitterly criticised the Indian government's scrapping of the special status of the occupied territory and said that Kashmiris would rather accept Chinese rule than Indian. The pro-India Kashmiri leader who is seen by most Kashmiris as a betrayer to their cause, acknowledged that Kashmiris felt like "slaves" and would rise up in protest once the draconian curfew was lifted. He was very clear that the abrogation of Kashmir's special status as a semi-autonomous region was unacceptable to every Kashmiri and he would struggle to have the status restored. Farooq Abdullah also said that the differences between his family and that of Mehbooba Mufti — another pro-India former chief minister of occupied Kashmir currently under house arrest — had been settled and that they would work together. It is clear that India's move last August to scrap Articles 370 and 35A of its constitution and deprive IHK of its special status has had disastrous results. The step by the BJP government has confirmed beyond a shadow of doubt what the people of Kashmir had feared all along, ie New Delhi wants to forcefully take control of their land by changing its demography and diluting its Muslim and Kashmiri identity. In the year since then, the BJP government of Prime Minister Narendra Modi has legislated a new domicile law that enables Hindus to settle and buy property in IHK. The intent is unambiguous: convert IHK into a Hindu-majority area and deprive Kashmiris of the political and administrative strength that comes with being a majority in their own land. In the process, however, India has alienated every Kashmiri including its puppets like Farooq Abdullah and Mehbooba Mufti. By converting IHK into an open-air jail, India has forced Kashmiris — even those previously aligned with it — to resist this occupation by whatever means possible. The price of this occupation is getting higher for India with each passing day. This situation cannot be sustained. Now that compromised politicians such as Farooq Abdullah and Mehbooba Mufti also stand alienated and ready to offer political resistance, India will face a tough time in the coming days. Countries that can influence India should persuade Mr Modi to return to the path of sanity. The UN resolutions recognise the entire state of Jammu and Kashmir as disputed territory and the dispute's final resolution lies in the implementation of these resolutions.

Editorial IV- “A World in Denial”- August 15th, 2019

<https://www.dawn.com/news/1499615>

PAKISTAN’S Independence Day was a particularly appropriate occasion to express solidarity with the people of India-held Kashmir who have been so cruelly deprived of their freedom in a manner that exceeds even decades of seeing their homeland become a police state. Anger continues to roil Pakistan over India’s revocation of the territory’s special status. It was reflected in Prime Minister Imran Khan’s speech yesterday to the Azad Jammu & Kashmir Legislative Assembly in which he warned India to desist from any military adventure against Pakistan. “This is my message to you: you take action and every brick will be countered with a stone” — meaning, any action will meet with a stronger response. He described Prime Minister Narendra Modi’s unilateral decision as a “strategic blunder” that had ended up internationalising the Kashmir issue. And in remarks that echoed those he had made a day before, he compared the situation in IHK with the rise of Nazi Germany whose extremist ideology was the inspiration behind the Hindutva creed. The world, he said, must be made aware of the dangers inherent in Hindu extremism. The question is: is the world prepared to listen? No doubt Pakistan’s stance on Kashmir is just, principled and anchored in international law. Foreign Minister Shah Mehmood Qureshi, in an unusually forthright press conference in Muzaffarabad on Tuesday, pointed out as much when he said: “Though we happen to talk about the ummah and Islam, the guardians of ummah have made investments and have interests in India which is a market of a billion people.” The world, he correctly observed, had shown little inclination to address Kashmir’s travails through the years and was unlikely to do so now. Mr Qureshi’s words clearly spring from a sense of disillusionment over the largely apathetic response across the globe — but especially from powerful Muslim countries — to India’s illegal actions. The indigenous Kashmiri movement for self-determination has grown more desperate in the face of increasing brutality by the state. Transnational extremist forces may have to some extent been weakened, but they retain a shadowy presence, waiting for an opportunity to establish their relevance again. The world must act now to allay the injustice against the Kashmiri people.

Editorial V- “Kashmir Repression”- August 4th, 2020

<https://www.dawn.com/news/1572520>

ONE year after India’s revocation of Articles 370 and 35A, the situation in India-held Kashmir remains a powder keg of anger and repression. Ravaged by a brutal curfew that included complete shutting down of internet services, Kashmir today continues to suffocate under unprecedented military presence. The Hindu supremacist government of BJP led by Prime Minister Narendra Modi had boasted on Aug 5 last year that the annexation of Kashmir would bring peace and prosperity to the people of the region. There is hardly any doubt that Mr Modi’s real objective in revoking IHK’s special status as a semi-autonomous region under Article 370 was to bring about a demographic change there. Since last year, the government has aggressively promoted migration of Hindus to IHK through various incentives. In the long run, the BJP wants to convert the Muslim Kashmiri population into a minority on its own land. A large number of Kashmiri leaders —including the pro-Indian ones — remain incarcerated, freedom of movement is severely curtailed and independent media cannot get access to the region. Draconian measures like a communication blackout are routinely used to clamp down

on resistance. Horrendous incidents of beatings and custodial killings of Kashmiris, including young boys, by the occupying force are commonplace. The heart-wrenching image of the infant sitting on the dead body of his grandfather slain by Indian soldiers is only one illustration of the gross human rights violations being perpetrated by the Indian occupying force. The annexation of occupied Kashmir has also had a devastating impact on the livelihoods of people. The influx of outsiders into the region has put a strain on employment opportunities for locals who have already suffered the loss of earnings under the blanket curfew that was imposed prior to the annexation last year. Occupied Kashmir is on the brink of a political, demographic and financial disaster. Pakistan should undertake every effort feasible to highlight the situation and mount pressure on India to reverse the disastrous decision of revoking the special status of Kashmir. India must not be allowed to get away with this travesty.

Editorial VI- “Kashmir’s Children”- July 3rd, 2020

<https://www.dawn.com/news/1566700>

THE list of atrocities carried out by Indian forces in India-held Kashmir seems to be getting longer, while it appears that New Delhi’s military machine has thrown all ethics to the wind. In a recent gun battle between Indian paramilitary forces and Kashmiri fighters in Sopore, security men reportedly dragged a civilian, Bashir Ahmed Khan, out of his vehicle and shot him in front of his three-year-old grandson. Extremely disturbing images of the toddler sitting on his murdered grandfather’s chest have been widely shared and illustrate the savagery India is willing to resort to, to keep its grip on the occupied region. Unfortunately, it seems that Kashmiri children are now used to seeing the bodies of their fathers, brothers and other relatives as India seeks to subdue the Kashmiri struggle for freedom and dignity through colonial-era violence. Hundreds took to the streets for Bashir Ahmed’s funeral, demanding justice and freedom. If such a reprehensible act had taken place in any other location, there would be a firestorm in the international media — and rightly so — over exposing a child to brutal violence perpetrated by representatives of the state. But when it comes to IHK, as well as Palestine, it seems the world plays by different rules. This blatant hypocrisy must end. Those responsible for this murder, and the brutalisation of a minor, must be brought to justice. But can justice be expected from a dispensation that considers violence against civilians in occupied Kashmir legitimate? The UN secretary general has taken notice of India’s violence against children in the region. In a report released last month, António Guterres asked India to do more to protect children from violence in the disputed region, while adding that minors had been detained by Indian security forces in IHK. Much more needs to be done by the international community to let India know that violence against civilians — specifically violence against children — will not be tolerated. Indeed, it is more than ironic that a country that proudly flaunts its ‘democratic’ credentials does not flinch when exposing Kashmir’s children to violence.

APPENDIX B: HINDUSTAN TIMES

Editorial I- “Kashmir: The diplomatic battle”- Sep 11th, 2019.

<https://www.hindustantimes.com/editorials/kashmir-the-diplomatic-battle/story-WCI3LaIdHkzmK0SYWtqJ3J.html>

India and Pakistan faced off at the United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHRC) over New Delhi's decision to reorganise Jammu and Kashmir (J&K) and revoke its special status. Pakistan, which fielded its foreign minister Shah Mahmood Qureshi, adopted a maximalist position and raised the possibility of a war. The Indian response, provided by two diplomats, noted that Pakistan's top leadership is using the issue to call for jihad and to encourage violence in J&K. Pakistan also presented a joint statement, which its diplomats claimed had the support of 60 unnamed countries, and listed steps India should take to address the Kashmir situation. On the face of it, there appears to be little global appetite for Pakistan's efforts to internationalise the Kashmir issue. In fact, most countries, including those which are among the 47 members of the UNHRC, have not opposed India's contention that these changes are an internal matter. China is among the few countries that has spoken out against India's actions, though its opposition has been more in the context of Ladakh. China's opposition also has to be seen through the prism of its relationship with Pakistan, with Beijing being the only world capital that consistently backed Islamabad's latest campaign on Kashmir. For the harried Pakistani leadership, Kashmir is a handy diversion at a time when it is grappling with a tanking economy, global pressure to counter terrorism, and public anger over poor governance. However, the battle of perception over Kashmir is not over. Having been stymied at several forums, Pakistan will raise it at the UN General Assembly in New York later this month, at a time when there is mounting international concern about the clampdown and communications blackout in J&K. Many countries, especially those with a deeper interest in human rights, are not reassured by India's announcements about the partial easing of these restrictions. The fact that this coincides with concerns about hundreds of thousands in Assam being possibly rendered stateless has added to the diplomatic challenge. India must continue to challenge Pakistan's mischievous propaganda. But, at the same time, Delhi should do more to improve the situation in Kashmir, and open up the Valley.

Editorial II- “A Reset in Kashmir Policy”- July 1st, 2020.

<https://www.hindustantimes.com/editorials/a-reset-in-kashmir-policy/story-ihe1A9VoeMiXoYSxHmmyzJ.html>

Earlier this week, the hardline Kashmiri secessionist leader, Syed Ali Shah Geelani, quit the All Party Hurriyat Conference, the umbrella formation of separatist organisations in Jammu and Kashmir (J&K). His resignation is being widely seen as a function of both his old age (he is 91) and internal factional differences — he also attacked the Hurriyat leaders based on the other side of the border in Pakistan and Pakistan-occupied Kashmir. Many in New Delhi have viewed it as a setback for separatist politics in the Valley. It is true that Mr Geelani has been a staunch pro-Pakistan and Islamist figure; he has justified the violence and terror that has been wreaked on Kashmir for decades; and if he is forced to retreat from the political sphere — for whatever reason — this is good news. But it is important to recognise that Mr Geelani is not just an individual — but a thought. He represents a mindset that sees India as an “occupation force” and there are many other emerging figures, belonging to the same strand, such as Masarat Alam Bhat, who will seek to lead this school of

thought. Delhi has to adopt a two-pronged approach. There can be no dialogue with those who advocate secession and violence. The might of the intelligence-security machinery must be used to deal with all such elements and a clear message that there can be no compromise on India's territorial integrity and constitutional values must be sent out. At the same time, this is also a ripe moment to re-examine the Kashmir policy. The constitutional changes of August 5, 2019 — effective nullification of Article 370, re-organisation of the state, and its dilution into a Union Territory — and measures such as a crackdown on political activity and detention of leaders has alienated a large segment of moderates and pro-India people. Given the external situation — the stand-off at the India-China border, and the fragile situation on the Line of Control — it is crucial for India to get its house in order. For this, New Delhi must release democratic leaders still under detention (including Mehbooba Mufti); begin a process of political engagement with mainstream leaders, and, while making it clear that Article 370 is history, offer eventual restoration of statehood to J&K as a mechanism for bringing all pro-India forces on board; and pave the way for elections. To take on external adversaries, India must cover its domestic bases. And given its strategic Location, Kashmir must rank at the top of this domestic reset.

Editorial III- “Kashmir, month on: managed globally, now look inwards”- Sep 6th, 2019

<https://www.hindustantimes.com/editorials/kashmir-a-month-later-ht-editorial/story-wiiMLP8tCk6B44CMpN6J5O.html>

It has been exactly a month since the government piloted major constitutional changes in Jammu and Kashmir (J&K). The Parliament ended, in effect, Article 370, and, with it, the special status of the state. It also divided J&K into two Union Territories, with Ladakh being the second. The move was greeted with palpable enthusiasm and cheer in large parts of India. But it was also greeted with sullen anger in the Valley, which has remained under a virtual lockdown for this period. It also had immediate international implications. A month later, it is time to review the state of play. First, the international dimension. Pakistan, which made the “liberation” of Kashmir a fundamental pillar of its domestic political consensus and foreign policy, and consistently sponsored terrorism and violence to achieve that goal, reacted with predictable fury. Its “all-weather friend”, China, concerned about the implications of the move in Ladakh, provided a higher degree of support to Islamabad than Delhi had probably anticipated. This was the challenge. But the rest of the international community — notwithstanding United States President Donald Trump's occasional forays into offering mediation — has broadly fallen in line with the Indian position. China and Pakistan's efforts failed in the United Nations Security Council. Other major powers — as well as India's smaller neighbours — have more or less understood that the change is irreversible, that this is India's internal affair, and have gone back to reiterating the need for bilateral dialogue with Pakistan. This is a position that suits New Delhi because the talks remain contingent on Islamabad ending its support to terror. But even as India has done well to manage the diplomatic fallout, the situation in J&K is a matter of concern. Communication links were snapped. There was massive deployment of security forces. Political leaders, including former chief ministers, were detained and remain so. To be sure, some restrictions have eased. The State's desire to avoid casualties is understandable. And to its credit, it has managed to avert violence and killings. There is often a trade-off between order and justice. Delhi has to maintain

a better balance. The restrictions also give room to critics to question India's moral authority and democratic credentials. It is now time to open up the Valley, release mainstream politicians, start a process of dialogue, and create a new understanding with the people of Kashmir. Only then will Prime Minister Narendra Modi's vision of a "Naya Kashmir" be fulfilled.

Editorial IV- "Kashmir: The Centre must choose options carefully"- Feb 15th, 2019.

<https://www.hindustantimes.com/editorials/kashmir-the-centre-must-choose-options-carefully/story-edmCuUSKfwe97M6CuvjLzM.html>

In a major terror attack in South Kashmir's Awantipora area, a suicide bomber targeted a Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF) convoy, killing at least 42 CRPF personnel and wounding others. Jaish-e-Mohammad has claimed responsibility for the attack and identified the bomber as a local militant. The attack is worse than the one in Uri, where terrorists killed 19 army men. The Narendra Modi government responded to the Uri attack by carrying out surgical strikes across the Line of Control and hitting multiple targets. In a departure from the past, the government even took credit for the strikes. The government's temptation — especially in an election year — will be to go for a muscular response to avenge the killings, but it must weigh its options and choose with care. The prime minister and his colleagues are already speaking in terms of an "unforgettable response". The government — any government, for that matter — has the right to choose its response. New Delhi must, however, remember that the surgical strikes of 2016, to avenge the Uri deaths, had little impact on the ground reality in the Valley, particularly in South Kashmir, which was the epicentre of yesterday's attack. The Jaish, headquartered in Pakistan, has for long targeted India. It was also responsible for the terror attack in Pathankot in 2016. On Thursday, the terror organisation used a local Kashmiri recruit for its suicide attack. Restraint is not easy when security personnel are killed in such large numbers, but it is important that the Centre draws a fine line. It must definitely use the proverbial stick to go after terrorists. At the same time, it must not forget that politics lies at the heart of the insurgency. Soldiers will be the boots on the ground, but they don't deserve to die. While the government prepares its response, it must also pay heed to the rather ominous reality of locals being willing to turn their bodies into missiles.

Editorial V- "The BJP's Kashmir move is bold, but has risks"- August 5th, 2019.

<https://www.hindustantimes.com/editorials/the-bjp-s-kashmir-move-is-bold-but-has-risks/story-T1CNyv8V7saOYJpFGnfgaI.html>

In a historic and bold move, the Union government has redefined the status of Jammu and Kashmir (J&K). Home minister announced, in Parliament, on Monday that Article 370 and Article 35A have been rendered ineffective. He also introduced a bill to reorganise the state. Three distinct strands have dominated the debate on Kashmir. One is the "separatist" strand, which gained currency through the use of terrorism. The second view, which can be called the "autonomy" approach, sought distinctive treatment. But this did not really address the increasing alienation in the Valley, or the problem of cross-border terrorism emanating from Pakistan. The third view, represented by the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), was the "integrationist" approach. This

strand held that giving autonomy to J&K was the original mistake. Not only should special constitutional provisions be removed, the Indian State must assert its authority in full. The BJP weaved this into its manifesto, and won the elections. On Monday, the integrationist approach won. This opens up possibilities. Kashmir, for too long, has been behind the development curve. It has been engulfed by political violence, become a playground for Pakistan's military and spy agency, and, religious radicalism. At the same time, the Centre's moves merit criticism on two counts. The process has been pushed through without consultations with Kashmir's political leaders, who have been under detention. Further, the reorganisation of states requires the consent of the state assembly concerned. In this case, J&K has been bifurcated, and statehood diluted to UT status, without any deliberations in the assembly. The second concern is the mood on the ground in Kashmir. Like all Indian citizens, Kashmiris seek greater democracy. The government can mitigate these risks by launching a comprehensive outreach programme to all Kashmiris. While it must remain on guard to ensure Pakistan, and radical militants, do not take advantage of the situation, it should simultaneously engage in dialogue with Kashmiri political actors, civil society, media, citizens and allay their apprehensions.

Editorial VI- “In Kashmir, integrate Kashmiris”- August 4th, 2020.

<https://www.hindustantimes.com/editorials/in-kashmir-integrate-kashmiris/story-IcsK4qhdHOW4d4YSi8tQ8H.html>

It has been a year since Parliament changed the constitutional status of Jammu and Kashmir (J&K), effectively nullifying Article 370, and reorganising the state into two Union territories of J&K and Ladakh. This newspaper supported the quest for integrating Kashmir with the rest of India, constitutionally and legally, with the dilution of Article 370 — while raising questions about the process followed to achieve it, and emphasised the need for outreach to the Kashmiri people. A year later, there is little doubt that the entire constitutional, legal and administrative rejig of J&K has cemented the control of the State over the territory. It has armed Indian security forces with greater room to tackle Pakistan-sponsored terrorism and crack down on violence. And it has shown the futility of the “azaadi” slogan of those who harbour ambitions of secession. At the same time, the challenge of integrating Kashmiris with the Union persists. The detention of mainstream leaders, the curtailment of civil liberties, including mobility and connectivity, and the restrictions on political activity (all of which this newspaper has consistently opposed) has left the Kashmiri street alienated. The dilution of statehood has been met with hostility. There has been tremendous disruption to the everyday lives of people. The government must note these sentiments and not brush aside the democratic dissent of citizens, even as it battles the violence. Restoring democracy fully — by removing restrictions on connectivity, releasing detained leaders, initiating a political dialogue, making security forces more accountable for excesses — and restoring statehood to J&K (while keeping Ladakh as a separate unit) is the best way to restart the political process. Kashmir has been won over, now win over the Kashmiris

APPENDIX C: THE INDIAN EXPRESS

Editorial I- “Neighbour’s Court”, September 10th, 2019.

<https://indianexpress.com/article/opinion/editorials/jammu-kashmir-lockdown-article-370-pakistan-nsa-doal-5980779/>

In the weeks since the revoking of special status of Jammu & Kashmir, in response to Pakistan’s repeated attempts to internationalise the matter, India’s position has remained firm and unchanged: It is an internal issue. Indeed, the government’s decision to carve the state into two Union Territories, thus centralising its governance, could also be seen to have robbed Pakistan of agency and leverage in the Valley. The world has heard since August 5 about how Pakistan was using Article 370 to foment trouble in J&K, and that that was a pressing reason to do away with it. In this context, it is a little puzzling that National Security Advisor, in remarks during a media interaction last week, has chosen to bring Pakistan back into the Kashmir discourse in a manner that appears to return to it some of that agency. By linking the restoration of communication and removal of other restrictions in the blockaded Valley to “how Pakistan behaves”, the NSA appeared to suggest that the neighbour still holds crucial influence in Kashmir. And that the rights of people in the Valley, that they are entitled to as Indian citizens, would hinge upon the next steps taken in Islamabad or Rawalpindi. Not only does this contradict another assertion by him in the same media interaction — that he was “fully convinced that a majority of the Kashmiris totally support” the legal abatement of Article 370 — it also seemed to be at cross purposes with the government’s other efforts to present India as the sole arbiter of Kashmir’s destiny. As India prepares to look the world in the eye with the right words on the continued communication shutdown in the Valley at the UN at the General Assembly and Human Rights Council, the messaging will be crucial. The NSA has said that the arrested politicians and activists would be released when “the environment conducive for the functioning of democracy is created”. It is not clear who he is addressing in that remark, but it would be fair to say that as it was the Centre that suspended all political activity in the Valley, it also has the responsibility to bring it back. It seems disingenuous to point to Pakistan at this juncture, in the aftermath of a momentous decision by New Delhi that has disrupted status quo in the Valley. According to NSA Doval’s assessment, there are 230 Pakistani militants waiting to infiltrate the Valley and create trouble. It should be the responsibility of the Army, with all the resources at its command, to ensure that they do not enter. But the sins of Pakistan cannot be a reason for punishing India’s own.

Editorial II- “World and Valley”, September 19th, 2019.

<https://indianexpress.com/article/opinion/editorials/kashmir-article-370-ladakh-pakistan-china-russia-united-nations-world-and-valley-5915532/>

Last week, Delhi fended off a vigorous Chinese attempt at getting the United Nations Security Council to pronounce, after more than five decades, on the situation in Jammu and Kashmir. But it is too early to celebrate. For, Pakistan’s campaign to draw the international community into the Kashmir question has just begun. When the government surprised the nation and the world by revoking the special status of J&K and bifurcated the state into union territories, the internationalisation of the issues was central to Pakistan’s furious response. China has been an eager accomplice. The resolute support from the US and France to the Indian position that the political rearrangement of J&K was an “internal matter” prevented a formal discussion and a

potential statement or resolution at the UNSC. Britain, apparently, tilted towards the Chinese view that the UNSC must issue a statement. Although the weight of collective opinion at the UNSC was in India's favour, Delhi knows it has a prolonged diplomatic challenge at hand. Delhi can easily dismiss Islamabad's claim that the very fact that there were consultations on the Kashmir question at the UNSC is a political triumph for Pakistan. But India can't ignore Islamabad's declared intention to keep returning to the UNSC with China's support. How the UNSC might respond the next time will depend on the ground situation in Kashmir. Any breakdown of law and order in the Kashmir Valley and Delhi's use of force against civilians will certainly weaken international support for India. Any serious escalation of military tensions with Pakistan on the LoC could be seen as a "threat to international peace and security" and provide the basis for the UNSC's political intervention. India then faces a three-fold attack from the Pakistan-China strategic axis. Pakistan is likely to unleash its proxies to trigger violence in the Valley. It may also raise the military temperature on the LoC. China has signalled its intent to bring its full weight to bear at the UNSC against India. Delhi may have no time to contemplate a fourth dimension — of Beijing's potential to open a second military front on its long and contested borders with India. After all, Beijing has accused Delhi of "challenging China's sovereign interests" by altering the internal political status quo in Kashmir. The accusation might have no basis in reality, but it underlines China's deepening political hostility towards India. If Delhi can't afford to underestimate the challenges — domestic, trans-border and international — arising from its Kashmir move, it also knows that failure on any front is not an option.

Editorial III, "A turning point"-May 8th, 2020.

<https://indianexpress.com/article/opinion/editorials/riyaz-ahmad-naikoo-hizbul-mujahideen-jammu-kashmir-6399098/>

After a nearly three-year-long manhunt, the Army and Jammu & Kashmir Police have succeeded in eliminating arguably the Valley's most important militant, Hizbul Mujahideen's Kashmir operations chief, Riyaz Ahmad Naikoo. After the 2016 killing of Burhan Wani, and the subsequent killings of most of the others in that group of a new generation of militants, the much older and more experienced militant from Awantipora kept the PoK-based group in business in the Valley — by carrying out attacks on uniformed personnel and civilians alike, and by manipulating the anger and alienation in a section of Kashmiri youth to recruit new candidates into the group. Naikoo became the face of the indigenous militancy, though he kept a lower profile than Wani. After the August 5 changes in Kashmir, Naikoo was responsible for civilian killings including that of migrant labour, a fruit trader and a truck driver. Earlier, he had kidnapped several J&K policemen after his father was taken away by the police, releasing them only after the police let his father go. For Naikoo, who chose to give up the blackboard for the gun, a violent end was foretold. For the security forces, his killing is an important turning point in the continuing battle against militancy in the Valley. It shows that despite the turbulence, the police network of informants in every village is alive and kicking — it was on a tip-off that Naikoo was traced.

Editorial IV- "Words and Meaning"- August 10th, 2019.

<https://indianexpress.com/article/opinion/editorials/jammu-kashmir-article-370-narendra-modi-5893066/>

Prime Minister Narendra Modi's address to the nation, following his government's decision to read down Article 370, demote the status of Jammu and Kashmir, and carve it up into two Union Territories, was keenly awaited. It was expected, and hoped, that the speech would provide some answers in the aftermath of a move as unilateral as it is consequential. The PM's speech made certain key assertions: That Kashmir's destiny is intertwined with that of the rest of the country; that Article 370 is now history; that there is no returning to status quo; that special status had only bred corruption and nepotism and secessionism; that under Central rule, by implementation of Central laws and programmes, Kashmir would become prosperous and peaceful. And that at an indeterminate point in the future, after Kashmiri youth have stepped up to leadership roles, Kashmir may become a state again. Prominent in the PM's speech was a list of benefits, allowances and schemes that government employees in J&K would be able to access because Kashmir is now a UT. He also told Pakistan — and the world — that he had redrawn the red lines of Kashmir diplomacy. The message was unequivocally clear. It was also important for what it didn't say. The PM made no mention of the words and sentiments that have consecrated the place of another BJP prime minister in a troubled Valley's political imagination — there was no reference to Atal Bihari Vajpayee's invocations of "Insaniyat, Jamhooriyat, Kashmiriyat", which PM Modi has himself echoed earlier. There was none of the soft play with ambiguity, which has always helped the Centre expand its space for manoeuvre in the Valley. There was no reference even to PM Modi's own assurance, delivered from the ramparts of the Red Fort on an Independence Day two years ago: "Na goli se, na gaali se, Kashmir ki samasya suljhegi gale lagaane se... (Kashmir's problem will not be solved by abuse or the bullet, but by embracing its people)". Today in Kashmir, that embrace is needed, more than ever. For, the promise of Good Governance will shape and be shaped by a political setting that has seen violence, terrorism and a popular uprising for three decades now. As he talks of a new generation of leaders in the Valley, PM Modi cannot be unaware of the grim backdrop of his government's making — the detention and arrest of mainstream leaders, including former chief ministers Omar Abdullah and Mehbooba Mufti, the snapping of lines of communication between the Valley and the rest of the country. In a state as broken as Kashmir, words do heal and yet they are never enough. Much more needs to be said — and done — to assure Kashmir and the nation that the government is mindful of the trust reposed by its enormous mandate in the world's largest democracy, that it does not intend to continue to impose its will on the Valley or be seen to rule it by diktat.

Editorial V- "The Pakistan muddle"- September 3rd, 2019.

<https://indianexpress.com/article/opinion/editorials/pakistan-on-jammu-and-kashmir-issue-5960061/>

Ever since the government took the decision to revoke the special status of Jammu and Kashmir, the plethora of responses from the Pakistani leadership has shown up the confusion at the top in Islamabad and Rawalpindi. Pakistan's effort has been to "internationalise" the Kashmir issue, and to an extent, it has succeeded. In four short weeks, Kashmir has been the subject of a "closed door" discussion at the UN Security Council and drawn renewed interest from the international press. It has caught the attention of US President Donald Trump and lawmakers in the US, UK and EU. This

month, there is every likelihood of a discussion in other UN fora such as the Human Rights Council and the General Assembly. But the problem for Pakistan and PM Imran Khan is that most foreign governments still seem to take Delhi's side when they say it is a bilateral issue — there seems to be no pressure on the Modi government from any foreign capital to talk to Pakistan, nor has any government challenged India's position that the August 5 decisions are "internal". Except for Turkey, no OIC member has rushed to support Pakistan. Even the Taliban were cut to the quick when Pakistan linked the developments in Kashmir to the Afghan talks. The spectre of a nuclear holocaust, drawn by the Pakistan PM in an oped in a venerable US newspaper, has neither shaken nor stirred world leaders. His exhortation to all Pakistanis to stand still for 30 minutes every Friday in support of Kashmiris has only provided comic relief.

In fact, Pakistan's responses appear aimed more at the domestic audience, three generations of which have been nurtured on the rhetoric of Kashmir as the country's "jugular vein". Imran Khan is desperate to show his voters that he is doing something, that his government has not abandoned the issue. Pakistan's economy is tanking and its only hope is life support from the IMF. It is only too aware of the possible consequences of unleashing the jihadi tanzeem from its side — not just the international retribution it might attract, but also, post-Balakot, the unpredictability of India's response. But it would be a mistake to read these as signs of Pakistan's acceptance of the "new normal" set by India in Kashmir. Pakistan's responses are still evolving, and much will depend on how the situation develops in Kashmir over the coming weeks.

Editorial VI- "Grim reminder"- May 5th, 2020.

<https://indianexpress.com/article/opinion/editorials/jammu-kashmir-handwara-encounter-6393906/>

The encounter in Kashmir in which five security personnel, including a colonel, a major, a J&K police officer, and two soldiers, were killed by militants, is a disturbing reminder in the midst of the coronavirus pandemic of the Valley's unresolved crisis. Last August, when the government stripped J&K of its special status and bifurcated it into two Union Territories, an impression was created that all problems of Kashmir had been resolved, and the way cleared for J&K's march towards peace and prosperity. In fact, in the nine months since August 2019, Kashmir has been under two kinds of lockdown. The first one, imposed on August 3, in the wake of the abrogation of Article 370, has segued into the second, imposed to prevent the coronavirus from spreading. But militant groups in the Valley have not vanished. Security forces killed 45 militants. In recent months, some of the spike in shelling across the Line of Control has been attributed to attempts at cross-border infiltration. As the snow melts, there are likely to be more such attempts. A new group The Resistance Front has begun taking responsibility for attacks in the Valley. The incident in Keran, in which five elite commandos of Para 4 were killed in hand to hand combat has been claimed by this new group. Security agencies believe it to be a front of the Lashkar-e-Taiba, which has gained notoriety internationally and has also been under some pressure due to the monitoring of Pakistan-based terror groups by the Financial Action Task Force.

APPENDIX D: THE EXPRESS TRIBUNE

Editorial I- “Solidarity with Kashmiris”- August 15th, 2019.

<https://tribune.com.pk/story/2033976/solidarity-with-kashmiris>

The whole nation stands by the Kashmiris — the government, the opposition, the armed forces and the general public. All of us marked Pakistan’s Independence Day (14th August) anniversary yesterday as Kashmir Solidarity Day with Kashmir Banega Pakistan as our official theme, and today we are observing Black Day on India’s Independence Day (15th August) anniversary — to register our rejection of India’s illegal attempt to annex occupied Kashmir. Our Prime Minister visited Azad Kashmir yesterday and addressed the legislative assembly there, telling the Kashmiri brethren: “On the day of Pakistan’s independence, I am with my Kashmiri brothers and sisters.” Our President, in an address in Islamabad, made it loud and clear: “We will not leave them alone at any step.” Our Foreign Minister has written to the UNSC, seeking an emergency meeting to discuss India’s “illegal actions” which also “violate UN resolutions on Kashmir”. Two days earlier, opposition leader Bilawal Bhutto celebrated Eid with people in Azad Kashmir in an expression of solidarity and support. So we continue to extend our moral, political and diplomatic support to Kashmiris for attainment of their birth right to self-determination. While we are showing our national unity on Kashmir to the whole world, unfortunately, the number of veto-power wielding UNSC members having a tilt towards India is pretty evident. The value of a one billion-plus consumer market to the economy of the Muslim Ummah heavyweights cannot be over-emphasised either.

Editorial II- “India’s evil designs on Kashmir”- August 6th, 2019.

<https://tribune.com.pk/story/2028840/indias-evil-designs-kashmir>

Kashmir is a deep scar left unhealed by the Partition of the Subcontinent. It continues to bleed even seven decades after it was inflicted on the body and soul of millions of Muslims of this Valley. However, on Monday, Hindu nationalist government of Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) succeeded in inflicting another wound by depriving the disputed Himalayan region of its special constitutional status. The President of India on Monday morning signed a law to remove Articles 35-A and 370 from the Constitution only an hour or two after Rajya Sabha, the Upper House of Parliament in India, approved the amendment amid protest by the opposition parties, especially the Congress. It seemed recent developments in Afghanistan tilting balance in favour of Pakistan and President Trump’s two successive statements about US mediation on the Kashmir dispute created a panic in the BJP camp leaving Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi in an awkward situation to clarify his position amid pressures from the Indian opposition parties. However, preparing to alter the constitutional status of Kashmir, the BJP government about 10 days back reinforced its military deployment in the Valley and on Sunday arrested almost all political leaders of Kashmir and locked down the entire Valley by suspending all communication and media services, including Internet. India also increased its attacks and activity along the Line of Control targeting civilian population with Cluster bombs. Sensing the gravity of the situation, Pakistan’s National Security Council (NSC), after its urgent meeting on Sunday, warned that any escalation in military activity by India would destabilise the region, but firmly responded. But could these messages influence the Indian nationalist government to go for rational and peaceful policies with its neighbours as well as with minorities, Muslims being the largest segment. At present, Modi, possessed by a spirit of jingoism,

will hardly be willing to listen to any saner voice. He must be finding himself in a state of ebullience and ecstasy after his BJP, crossed a major landmark in its journey to realise its long-cherished dream of Hindutva. Syed Ali Geelani, a leader of the All Parties Hurriyat Conference, in a SOS to “all Muslims living on this planet” tweeted on Saturday ‘if we all die and you kept quiet, you will be answerable to Allah the Magnificent. Indians are about to launch the biggest genocide in the history of Mankind. May Allah protect us!’ We don’t know if the international community — the United Nations and the European Union — or the Muslim Ummah and its timid representative body, the Organisation of Islamic Countries, would take any notice of Geelani’s SOS, but the poor Kashmiris may continue to suffer with the Valley likely to take another major bloodbath and probably for a long time to come.

Editorial III- “Kashmir: a year of lockdown”- August 4th, 2020.

<https://tribune.com.pk/story/2257976/kashmir-a-year-of-lockdown>

August 5 marks one year since the Narendra Modi government in India decided to stop trying to keep up appearances by respecting its international obligations and went ahead with the illegal annexation of Kashmir. In the past year, New Delhi revoked Article 370 — the Indian constitutional guarantee of the region’s autonomy — and life in the Indian-occupied parts of the former princely state has grown markedly more challenging. Kashmiris continue to be brutalised by Indian security forces, with thousands of innocent people including journalists arrested on trumped-up charges. All the while, a crippling curfew and unending internet blackout ravaged the region’s economy. Even after Covid-19 started impacting the region and experts urged India to loosen internet restrictions to improve access to telemedicine, the Modi government refused to provide any relief. In fact, as the world has seen conflict reduce as enemies united to fight the coronavirus, India has upped the brutalities it inflicts on people it claims are its own citizens. Modi knows that the global news cycle is too occupied with Covid-19 to care about Kashmir, and world leaders are too busy saving their own citizens’ lives to concern themselves when the Butcher of Gujarat returns to his murderous roots. Modi had claimed that removing Article 370 would benefit Kashmir and India. Among the allowances granted to Indian Illegally Occupied Jammu and Kashmir (IIOJK) under Article 370 were its own ‘mini-constitution’ and limiting property ownership in the state to Kashmiris. Both of these allowances also kept India partially compliant with the United Nations resolutions regarding Kashmir. One year on, Kashmiris have seen violence on the rise and their livelihoods destroyed. Thus far, the only notable beneficiaries have been Indian government employees, including bureaucrats and soldiers, who have begun buying up property in the state under the relaxed property acquisition laws. Other outsiders have been claiming residency to take advantage of higher education and job quotas. These all tie into Modi’s ultimate aim. To change the demographics of the region and make the entire point of the Kashmir conflict moot. Kashmir was, is, and if not for the revocation of Article 370, would have remained Muslim-majority — the only Muslim-majority state under Indian control. If India were to adhere to its international obligations, it would have to eventually allow a referendum in Kashmir. Even before August 5, 2019, it was clear that among the three options that should be on the table for Kashmiris — independence, join Pakistan, or join India — only independence and joining Pakistan have significant local support. Meanwhile, estimates suggest that around 400 political and civil society leaders are still in prison or under house arrests despite never seeing the inside of a courtroom. Some

of them were previously allied with Modi's government, but the actions of August 5 were a bridge too far for them. Modi is so hell-bent on achieving his demographic reworking of Kashmir that he doesn't even care about the future of actual Kashmiris of all faiths. The education system in the state has essentially been frozen since last year. For seven months after the IIOJK lockdown began last August, almost all schools were closed, affecting up to two million students. When a government cannot help create local jobs, it should be no surprise that militancy becomes an attractive job prospect.

Editorial IV- "Kashmir Hour"- August 31st, 2019.

<https://tribune.com.pk/story/2046250/kashmir-hour>

It was no small number. Tens of thousands of Pakistanis yesterday poured onto the streets in almost all big and small cities and towns of the country in a government-led demonstration of solidarity with the Kashmiris who have refused to accept New Delhi's illegal annexation of their abode on August 5, and continue to fight a nine million-strong occupation force despite heavy restrictions that have rendered them without supplies and medicines for 26 days now and cut them off from the entire world due to communications curbs. The half-hour-long demonstrations, called Kashmir Hour, were meant to pressure the world into siding with the Pakistani position on the troubled disputed region. The main Kashmir Hour event in Islamabad was held on Constitution Avenue, where Prime Minister Imran Khan addressed the country alongside several ministers and members of parliament. Leaders of the ruling Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) also gathered at D-Chowk while government employees from nearby offices came out to participate in Kashmir Hour on the streets. The demonstration was the first in what will be weekly rallies held nationwide until Prime Minister Imran leaves for New York by the end of next month to attend the United Nations General Assembly, and raise the Kashmir issue before the international community.

"We are with them in their testing times. The message that goes out of here today is that as long as Kashmiris don't get freedom, we will stand with them," the PM told thousands of demonstrators in the capital as he expressed his sheer commitment towards the cause of Kashmir. The PM also reiterated his annoyance over the slumbering world conscience, stressing that if Kashmiris were not Muslims, the world would have acted much more strongly to stop India's brutalities. It goes without saying that the prime minister and his men need to focus more on these 'friendly' countries as part of their diplomatic offensive to highlight the Kashmir issue the world over. The PM also needs to realise – and prepare a counter plan too – that as he lambasts Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi and his Bharatiya Janata Party as the second coming of Hitler and the Nazis, our beloved 'allies' continue to act as Judenrat – the Jews who supported the Nazis in keeping the ghettos and concentration camps in order. While the government has been doing all what it can to get the world to focus on the plight of the Kashmiris at the hands of the Indian occupation forces, common Pakistanis also have their task cut out: they are required to keep the Kashmir issue burning bright by whatever way possible. The Kashmir Hour the next Friday must witness a bigger, louder and more enthusiastic participation from the people. The roar must draw bigger coverage and more prominent display in the international media. The first target is to get the lockdown in the occupied state lifted – something that New Delhi is scared of doing, realising the fury and the determination with which the never-say-die Kashmiris shall react.

Editorial V- “Don’t lose sight of Kashmir”- June 22nd, 2020.

<https://tribune.com.pk/story/2247538/dont-lose-sight-kashmirm>

Perhaps the only worthy pursuit in life is to fight for freedom and strive for emancipation. As the coronavirus pandemic ravages on, we need to make sure such pursuits that are being made by our Kashmiri brothers are not undermined. As all eyes have turned towards the Covid-19 virus, many are either unaware of or have chosen to ignore the recent spike in killings in IOK. As many as 102 freedom fighters have been martyred in the valley so far this year. The trajectory of killings gives us an insight into India’s devious scheme — increase pressure as the issue around the world starts to normalise, till the Kashmiris finally succumb. Indian fascists have also used the coronavirus pandemic as an opportunity to exploit human rights by not only expediting their “settler-colonial ambitions” but also by restricting the flow of essential resources in the disputed region. We must stop these crimes from persisting at all costs. Pakistan’s international plea, however, has not gone unnoticed. Recently, UN Secretary-General Antonio Guterres has spoken up against the atrocities by expressing his disquietude over the use of pellet guns against Kashmiri children. It is evident that Modi does not care much for the UN call for banning the torture and persecution of Kashmiri minors as 68 incidents relating to the detention of children between the ages 9-17 have been reported till date. It is of paramount importance that international leaders follow in the UN’s footsteps and speak up not only against India’s malfeasance, but against all forms of oppression. The accumulated voices of people around the world in support of Kashmir, and others, will help in globally acknowledging India’s unscrupulous despotism whereby a collective and formal action can take place to ebb the suffering in the valley, and prevent such an incident from happening in the future.

Editorial VI- “Modi’s play with fire”- August 9th, 2019.

<https://tribune.com.pk/story/2031143/modis-play-fire>

After a two-day-long debate following the drastic and unprecedented Indian action regarding the status of Jammu and Kashmir, a joint session of the Pakistani Parliament, through a unanimous resolution, warned India “to refrain from undertaking any irresponsible, unilateral actions that may lead to dangerous escalation that will have far reaching impact not only for South Asia but the entire world.” The session managed to convey a unified stand while rejecting India’s “illegal, unilateral, reckless and coercive attempts to alter the disputed status of Indian occupied Kashmir as enshrined in the UNSC resolutions”. Besides condemning the “brutalization of the people of IOK through killings, torture, arbitrary arrests, enforced disappearances, mass blinding by pellet guns and use of rape as an instrument of war”, the joint resolution warned against future Indian design to alter the demography of the Muslim-majority region. A meeting of the National Security Council, meanwhile, presided over by the PM came out with some crucial decisions to express the grave concerns Pakistan has over the unprecedented India moves. These decisions included the downgrading of diplomatic ties, suspension of bilateral trade and review of bilateral arrangements. Contrary to what some hawks in and outside Parliament maintained and insisted, this is what Pakistan could do in the given circumstances. At the moment there is an iron curtain around Jammu and Kashmir, the world’s most militarised zone. With a complete suspension of communications, including Internet and mobile phone services, and in the absence of any updates on online editions of local newspapers for the last one week,

one really doesn't know what is happening inside the Valley. There are reports of some civilians having been martyred by security forces during protests that have been going on despite a day and night curfew being in place. A statement from the UN Human Rights spokesperson on Wednesday expressed 'grave concern' over information blackout from Kashmir. The spokesperson feared that latest Indian restrictions "will exacerbate the human rights situation in the region". The Modi government is, however, under fire not only from the parliamentary opposition, but some sane voices in the media are also criticising it. At a local TV talk show, the host disputed the Indian argument about Kashmir being its internal matter or integral part. It is an international dispute so long as UN resolutions continue to hold ground; it is an international dispute with the continuous presence of UN observers along the border for the last forty years; this integration is not going to help the BJP win over hearts and souls of the people of Kashmir who are giving their blood and lives to realise their dream of freedom.