

A Critical Discourse Analysis of Discursive Ideologies in Pakistani and Indian Print Media about the Abolition of Article 370 and 35A in Kashmir

Abstract: *The aim of the current study was to identify the hidden stances and discursive ideologies of Pakistani and Indian English newspapers' editorials on the special status of Kashmir through abolition of Article 370 and 35A. For the current study the Van Dijk Ideological Square Model (2005) as theoretical framework was chosen for positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation for the examining of discourse. The study analyzed linguistics traits in thirty newspapers' editorials from six newspapers. Three English newspapers were selected from Pakistan and three from Indians. The data analysis revealed that different micro strategies such as hyperbole, authority, lexicalization, illustration, comparison, euphemism, etc. were used in these editorials. Besides these micro strategies, also the macro strategies like negative other-presentation positive self-presentation were also used. The study further revealed that how the polarity and racial agenda were projected by the use of language by two countries in their editorials. The micro strategies in Pakistani editorials were used more than that in the Indian editorials, while the macro strategies used in the Indian editorials were more than in the Pakistani editorials. The positive self-presentation was mostly used in Pakistani editorials whereas India editorial mostly focused on negative other-presentation.*

Contents

- [Introduction](#)
- [Purpose of The Study](#)
- [Literature Review](#)
- [Data Analysis](#)
- [Analysis of Pakistani Editorials](#)
- [Negative other Presentation](#)
- [Findings and Discussion](#)
- [Conclusion](#)
- [References](#)

Key Words: Critical Discourse Analysis, Ideology, Editorials, Special Status of Kashmir, Discourse

Introduction

Kashmir is the bone of contention between Pakistan and India since the partition of the sub-continent. In 1947, the British India has been divided into two separate states of India and Pakistan. Kashmir was one of those states which they left free neither a part of India nor Pakistan and gave Kashmir the right of self-determination.

Since that time, it is a burning issue and a big bone of contention between the two countries (Mahdavidarad & Mukhtari, 2019). Pakistan claims that Kashmir is the jugular vein of our country, while India on the other hand claims that it is their integral part of their country. So, both the states consider Kashmir their integral part. Besides, they both have neglected the right of its independent state. As a result, Indian occupied

* MPhil Scholar, Department of English, Hazara University, Mansehra, KP, Pakistan.

† Lecturer, Department of English, University of Malakand, KP, Pakistan.

‡ Lecturer, Department of English, Hazara University Mansehra, KP, Pakistan.

Kashmir in every minute and second is in the state of civil war and fighting against the brutalities of India for their independence, prosperity and happy life (Zafar, Jan, Noshina, [2013](#)).

It was the major manifesto of Narendra Modi in election 2019 that he would make Kashmir a part of India. In the hot weather on 5th of August 2019, Indian parliament passed a bill to end the special status and decided to abolish the article 370 and 35a that allows Jammu and Kashmir to make their own laws. After the partition of India and Pakistan, both consider Kashmir their integral part as we know that Maharaja Singh had given the decision that it would be free from both the countries. He told that it was in the will of Kashmiris with whom they wanted to combine with. So, India was not in favor of that decision and added article 370 in their own constitution for Kashmir. Kashmir had been given the autonomy under this article that it could make constitution for their country. They also have special status to make their own flag. It was through this article that Kashmir became able to decide who can be the permanent citizen, and who is eligible for the job and scholarship.

Since the abolition of special status of Kashmir India has sent some ten thousand troops to the valley of Kashmir. Since that time, the curfew is imposed. The land seems like a grave yard and prison. Indian Army has made some ministers under house arrest. Bazars, Schools, colleges, universities and religious places are closed. Internet and mobile service is also suspended. People feel more hunger and thirst for freedom instead of food and water.

In the current times, the entire world has witnessed the brutalities and the blood stream which is flowing in Kashmir streets by Indian troops. Many great leaders of the world have condemned and shared on twitter the brutalities in Kashmir. Pakistan is also one of those countries which have recorded their strikes in every street of Pakistan and in the entire world. Pakistan also raised the Kashmir issue in the UN general assembly. People in the whole world are becoming aware through television, internet, radio and print media. So, print media is not considered a simple way of sharing and propagating the news about the events,

production of news, and accidents. Therefore, it is a source which changes and influences the minds of masses (Dijk, [1995](#)). So, selection and rejection of the news is in the hands of reporters whom they want to make guilty or innocent. It is in the hands of these people to show each side of the picture they want and can mold hearts of people easily.

The current research is an attempt to show the discursive use of ideology. It endeavors to compare the two languages and know about the decoded and hidden meaning in the languages. This study will help the readers know about the representation of India and Pakistan in the light of abolition of article 370 and 35A of Kashmir in the prestigious English newspapers of the two countries. This study will also let the readers know the polarity and disparity represented by the print media after the abolition of special status of Kashmir.

Purpose of The Study

The purpose of the present study is to critically analyze the presentation of India and Pakistan on Kashmir issue. The issues become more intense after the abolition of article 370 and 35a by Indian government. The study particularly focuses on the discursive techniques used for disseminating certain ideologies in newspapers. The findings of the study will broaden the space of knowledge. It will be the preservation and protection of articles regarding the abolition of special status of Kashmir. The findings of the study will update the readers about the role of media in spreading certain ideologies. The study gives information about the analysis of political discourses. The study will give the clear picture of media and the exploitation of people by media. The people will get to know to which side of the line people stand on the special status of Kashmir.

Literature Review

In order to back up the current study, those research works which have been done in this field are cited. The works in almost last ten years have been reviewed. Media can be used for various reasons and purposes. It can be used to convey messages. It can be used to propagate rumors. It can also be used to get people investigated about

a particular issue.

Ahmadian & Farahani (2014) examined two groups of newspaper i.e. Los Angeles and Tehran Times' editorial to examine the representation of Iran nuclear program. They focused on how by the power of language public opinion is expressed and influenced. They concentrated on how the power of language shapes and influences public opinion. The researcher analyzed the editorials that how the two different editorials examined the nuclear program of Iran according to their specific ideologies. They employed Van Dijk's (2004) paradigm for binary schema of positive-self presentation and negative other presentation to analyze the study. The study looked at different discursive methods such as hyperbole, authority, and lexicalization, and found that both publications presented the same issue differently depending on their ideologies.

In an article published in the Washington Post Tahir (2013) used the same analytical framework to investigate how Muslims are portrayed. The article concentrated on the strike of Muslims about the blasphemous cartoons of the Holy Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). The researcher looked at how the article revealed fundamental ideas about how in-group and out-group members are presented using the ideological framework of US and THEM. The study concluded that Muslims and their activities are depicted negatively as 'other' in the article by employing various strategies.

Namjoo (2003) conducted a research study on CDA. She tried to show how a single issue is differently showed and represented by two different people. How the issue of terrorism is represented by the two presidents that is Khatmai, the president of Iran, and Bush, the president of USA. Both presidents provided their respective definitions of terrorism as well as proposals for counter-terrorist measures.

Analytical Framework of the Study

The hidden ideologies in the text are wholly understood owing to Critical Discourse Analysis. Various scholars define CDA in their own way particularly when they analyses the text. Van Dijk (2001) defines CDA is the study of inequalities, dominance, and abuse of social

power in the social institutions and groups and how in the text ideology and power are used. Those groups and institutions which control the discourse definitely control the minds of the masses. Hence, the ultimate purpose of CDA is to provide an answer to the question, that public discourse is controlled by whom and how it impacts the actions of the people. According to Fairclough (2001) through CDA answer can be found to the question that how some people exploit other people in the societies through their use of language. CDA addresses different issues that mainly include sexism, racism, gender, and media representation. Wodak (2013) defines CDA as discourse– language use in writing and speech – as a form of *social practice*. While describing discourse as a social practice it suggests a dialectical relationship between the situation, and a particular discursive event, social structure and institution, which frame it. Through CDA researchers explore the hidden ideologies in the text by using micro and macro level strategies. According to Yunus (1997) it finds out the grammatical structures, and specific words used in the text at the micro-level; while at the macro level, the role of the text can be explored in the text. While conducting CDA research different approaches are there, among them Van Dijk, Fairclough and Wodak are dominant. For this paper the ideological square model of Socio-Cognitive Approach of Van Dijk has been adopted. In Discourse Analysis it investigates the relationship among society, discourse, and cognition, as all other critical discourse studies only consist of the relationship between society and discourse. According to Van Dijk (2002) the interpretation of the text and message requires various cognitive structures as the message or text makes no sense without the socio-culture knowledge. For instance, in our study, it is necessary to grasp the unstable relations between Pakistan and India and their statements towards Kashmir for the interpretation of newspaper editorials regarding the chosen incident that is the abolishment of its special status. According to van Dijk (2016) A socio-cognitive approach to discourse is a particular application of a more general theory or philosophy of social constructionism, which holds that political and social reality are constructions of social members.

He further elaborates that in the socio-cognitive approach, the cognitive component deals with mind, memory, and the cognitive process involved in the comprehension and production of discourse. This approach finds the ideological representation and dichotomy of *Them* and *Us* and for this purpose, the socio-cognitive model emphasizes on the following categories:

- The historical, political, and social context and the main actors in the discourse.
- In between the groups the relationship of power and conflict.
- The positive and negative attitude of 'Us' and 'Them' in the discourse.
- The selection of grammar and lexicons emphasize or de-emphasize the approach of various groups.

Dijk (2005) assumes that negative other-presentation and positive self-presentation is the general strategy to organize the ideological discourse. In the ideological discourse, the 'self' is portrayed positively while the 'other' is degraded. Furthermore, this strategy emphasizes the good things and de-emphasizes the bad things in *US* group while emphasizing the bad things and de-emphasizing the good things in *THEM* group.

Data Analysis

In this part of research study, the newspapers editorials are analyzed to explain different ideologies and representations regarding the abolition of article 370 and 35A of Kashmir. By the use of language, how the same event and issue is represented by the two countries and how they divert the minds of readers is also unearthed in this section. In this part of study, first quantitative analysis is done and then attention is given to enlighten the hidden ideologies. The way through which the hidden meanings and ideologies are explained in newspapers editorials are given below.

Analysis of Pakistani Editorials

Positive Self-Presentation Of Us-Group (Pakistan)

In macro analysis, positive self-presentation is achieved by the use of these macro strategies i.e. to 'Emphasize our good things' and to 'De-emphasize our bad things'. For the positive self-

presentation i.e. to give emphasis on own group good deeds and mitigate our bad deeds. For macro analysis, the researcher struggled to get micro strategies. Therefore, the researcher also tried to present examples from editorials and analyzed them.

In coming statement 'us-group' i.e. Pakistan has been shown in a positive way in a hyperbolic (hyperbole) way to draw the readers' attention. In addition, at the same time a number (number game) is given in a vague (vagueness) manner and boosted simultaneously. So, the macro strategies that are hyperbole, vagueness and number game are described as an emphasis on us-group positively.

"As a mature, sensible, peace-loving nation Pakistan took measures that could truly be listed as a case study for crisis management as well as international relations students" (Dawn: Special status of Kashmir).

"Where Kashmiris have been denied the right to be heard, Pakistan collectively lent their voices resonant with the support and sympathy they have for Kashmiris and their struggle for self-determination" (Dawn: Solidarity with Kashmir).

De-Emphasizing/ Mitigating Our Bad Actions

Sometimes we mitigate our bad actions for positive self-presentation. In the below mentioned example, it is stated through the use of euphemism that it is moral, political and diplomatic support of Kashmir. We have heard many times in Pakistani leaders' speeches that Kashmir is our integral part and we will defeat Indian army to make it our own land back. "To Pakistan's credit, although it has vowed political, moral and diplomatic support for the Kashmiris..." (Dawn: conflict between Pakistan and India).

Negative other Presentation

The examples which are given below represent that the Indian government has been portrayed negatively by actor description strategy on the basis that the Indian government does not allow journalists to Kashmir valley of Kashmir to freely talk with people in Srinagar. "The Indian government has done by refusing access to

journalists into Kashmir with even the New York based committee to protect journalists prevented from freely talking to people on the streets in Srinagar” (Dawn: Unresolved misery).

In the given example hyperbole is used to exaggerate the bad action of India that is this recent episode of mindless barbarism in Kashmir. “For too long, India’s violations have gone unquestioned but this recent episode of mindless barbarism in Kashmir which...” (Dawn: India’s ulterior motives).

Analysis of Indian Editorials

Positive Self-Presentation of Us-Group (Indian)

The strategy hyperbole has been used to show us-group positive.

“If it genuinely wants to help Kashmiris it should stop the terrorism emanating from Pakistan, which would enable New Dheli to demilitarize J&K and restore normalcy” (Times of India: Instead of nuclear sabre rattling, Pakistan should accept reality on Kashmir and move on).

De-Emphasized Our Bad Actions (India)

The bad deeds of us-group are alleviated by the use of Euphemism by not taking India openly a dictator empire and a tyrannical country but instead mentioning that Kashmir requires a democratic state. Meanwhile, the demise of a well-known Muslim leader Mufti Saeed is neglected by including it on the object side. “There is a dire need of a democratic government in Jammu and Kashmir without further delay so that to address the anger which has been increasing since the fall of the People’s Democratic Party patriarch, Mufti Mohammad Saeed.” (The Hindu: J&K needs a government)

Negative other Presentation

In the statement from the Times of India, by using the strategy actor description, Pakistan has been represented in negative way that Pakistan is trying to enter terrorists across Line of Control. “There are also inputs that Pakistan is trying to increase infiltration of terrorists across the Line of Control” (Times of India: Jammu and Kashmir needs a government).

Findings and Discussion

Through the use of micro and macro analysis, the researcher tried to know about the hidden meanings in Pakistani and Indian editorials. The eventful highlights of the study’s findings are:

The findings reveal regarding articles that they are not simply expressions of the writers' opinions, but also intellectual expressions of the position. Van Dijk's CDA paradigm (Van Dijk, 2005) used regarding the analysis of political discourse, the examiners have observed fifteen editorials from Pakistani English newspapers, including Dawn, The News International, and The Nation, as well as fifteen editorials from Pakistani Urdu newspapers from Indian English newspapers i.e. The Hindustan Times, The Hindu, and The Times of India were used to research how both countries portrayed one other. To answer the research questions, the researcher examined the editorials on two levels. One is micro level which focuses on different discursive strategies like actor description, authority, categorization etc. The other one is macro level. It focuses on the utilization of an ideological contradiction, such as positive self-presentation versus negative other presentation.

Using Van Dijk's model's 22 discursive techniques, the researcher studied fifteen editorials from each country. So, discursive methods were shown to be more common in different groups. Discursive tactics are used more frequently in Pakistani editorials than they are in Indian editorials. However, a close resemblance was found in the employment of the majority of discursive tactics. Pakistani editorials used all strategies while Indian used 21 strategies and left one strategy that is irony.

Pakistan has emphasized more on its positives than the negatives of others. To let the readers, know, all the micro strategies were analyzed where Pakistani editorials’ emphasis centered about whether to present a positive image of oneself or a bad image of another. The study concluded that Pakistan's focus was on positive self-presentation through the employment of micro tactics. During analysis, the researcher noted that Pakistan was in a defensive mood and against the abolition of special status of Kashmir so it told all the good stories about us-

group and neglected all the blames and allegations. As a result, Pakistan focused primarily on promoting a positive image of itself. Some methods, such as exaggeration, ambiguity, and polarization, have been used to depict us-group, Pakistan, in a positive light, while others have been used to downplay the group's bad aspects.

India, on the other hand, was more concerned with the negative aspects of others than with the positive aspects of us-group. The researcher examined the editing approach through micro techniques to determine whether the major focus is on positive self-presentation or negative other presentations. In light of the aforesaid analysis, the researcher came to a conclusion that India's main focus was to present Pakistan in a negative manner. From the analysis a reason which comes in the mind of researcher is that India is in defensive mood to provide clear evidences and strengthen the case that is the abolition of special status of Kashmir. Because of the pressure from Pakistan and its defensive mood it tried to present the group negatively and forgot to focus on positive self-presentation.

Conclusion

The study analyzed the 'us- them' feelings in newspapers of Pakistan and India in selected editorials over the abolition of article 370 and 35A in Kashmir. The lexical choices were analyzed by

using ideological square model. The topic was dealt with within the socio-political and theological contexts of both countries, according to editorials from both countries. The study also indicated that when it came to dealing with the Kashmir problem, Pakistani publications' editorials were fair and sensible. Worrying about the problems and hurdles everywhere in Kashmir faced by the people, are presented by the US sentiment while India is strongly criticized and consider it THEM or out group. However, the THEM sentiment has been used more in Indian editorials.

In Indian editorials, there were many negatively connotated words. Pakistan is alleged and blamed that Pakistan is sending trained jihadist groups to Kashmir. The quintessential aim was to modify the perception of the country in international affairs and communities, as well as the flaws exploited for their own use. It is also clear from the findings of the research study that for manipulating audience and readers, 'US' sentiment is dealt with great care. To invoke the feelings of people over the said issue and also to take support of their masses they glorified and praised government, culture and each and everything. The opposition parties were reprimanding them at the time were forced to look for compromise at that hour. The goal of achieving a cohesive strength is reflected in the language used in their editorials.

References

- Ahmadian, M., & Farahani, E. (2014). A critical discourse analysis of The Los Angeles Times and Tehran Times on the representation of Iran's nuclear program. *Theory and Practice in Language Studies*, 4(10), 143-156. <https://doi.org/10.4304/tpls.4.10.2114-2122>
- Dijk, T. V. (2009). *Society and discourse: How social contexts influence text and talk*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Fairclough. (1993). Critical discourse analysis and the marketisation of public discourse. *The Universities Discourse & Society*, 4, 133-135. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/42888773>
- Mahdavi, K., & Mukhtari, S. (2019). Mainstream Iranian media coverage of the Syrian conflict: A content analysis. *Syria Research and Evaluation Organisation*, 3, 23-34. <http://sreo.org/portfolio/mainstream-iranian-media-coverage-of-the-syrian-confli...>
- Tahir, M. (2013). A critical discourse analysis of religious othering of Muslims in the Washington Post. *Middle-East Journal of Scientific Research*, 14(6), 744-753. <https://doi.org/10.5829/idosi.mejsr.2013.14.6.2087>
- Wodak, R., & Meyer, M. (2013). *Critical discourse analysis: History, agenda, theory and methodology*. London: Sage.
- Zafar, A., Jan, M., & Noshina, S. (2013). Portrayal of Pakistan by U.S leading magazines. *Science International*, 25(4), 21-37. [https://doi.org/10.35484/pssr.2020\(4-IV\)16](https://doi.org/10.35484/pssr.2020(4-IV)16)