

A Critical Discourse Analysis of the Coverage of Human Rights Violations in Indian held Kashmir

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Abstract

The paper employs Critical Discourse Analysis to analyze the coverage of human rights violations in the Indian held Kashmir. The Critical Discourse Analysis of 12 purposively selected news stories published in The Nation, Dawn from Pakistani press and The Hindu and Times of India from the Indian press is carried out. The main objective of the study is to analyze the dominantly used frames and the choice of lexical items, themes and phrases for reporting the human rights violations in the Indian and Pakistani press. News stories published on the use of pellet guns and human rights violations during the Burhan Wani aftermath were analyzed in light of the Critical Discourse Analysis framework provided by Van Dijk and the theoretical notion of framing. The study concluded that the Indian press used more negative framing in terms of victimizing the Kashmiri demonstrators and positive actor description for the Indian government in terms of justifying the excessive and indiscriminate use of pellet guns. Pakistani press used more positive framing for the coverage of Kashmiri demonstrators and negative framing for the Indian government and Indian Security Forces. The lexical choices of the Indian press were dominated by comparison, victimization, and actor description whereas the linguistic devices of hyperbole, comparison and negative actor description were frequently employed by the Pakistani press.

Key Words: human rights violations; Indian held Kashmir; critical discourse analysis; Pakistani press; Indian press

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1. Introduction

The year 2016 brought a fresh wave of resistance in the Indian held Kashmir in the wake of the killing of 22-year old Burhan Wani. Burhan Wani actively initiated the involvement of all genres of Kashmiri population in the freedom movement through social media. In order to control the demonstrations which were followed by the killing of Burhan Wani, Indian security forces excessively employed force which caused the unlawful killings of Kashmiris (United Nations Human Rights Office of The High Commissioner, 2018).

The clashes between protesters and Indian forces caused the colossal death toll of more than 150 while injured more than 16000 and blinded more than 150 (Khurshid, 2017). The routine life of the Kashmiris was brought to the worst halt of the last two decades. The transport services, businesses and educational bodies were shut down for the most prolonged period of time. Funerals of the killed Kashmiris paved way for more clashes between Indian forces and the demonstrators. Kashmiri youth hurled stones at the security forces while the Indian forces excessively and indiscriminately used pellet guns to disperse the crowds (Pathak, 2016). Kashmiri population was severely injured and blinded as a result of the indiscriminate use of pellet guns. The photos of injured and blinded children and women stimulated an international reaction against the ruthless policies of the Indian State as more than 1000 Kashmiris sustained eye injuries (“Jammu and Kashmir: Three months, 1,000 eye injuries by pellets”, 2016). Even in the most volatile situations pellet guns are used to target legs but in Kashmir more than 90% of the victims were injured above waist while doctors also admitted that pellets severely injured the protestors (Sultan, 2016). The human rights crisis strengthened the impression that Indian forces extensively used the strategies of “extrajudicial killings, torture and mass repression” (Bukhari, 2010). The targeting of innocent children was extensively criticized as “14% of pellet gun victims in Kashmir were below the age of 15” (Ashiq, 2016). The injuries and killings were so shattering and overwhelming that Kashmiris forgot the days to count, “they just counted the deaths which came with every passing day” (“Kashmir eyewitness account: the day they pelleted us is burnt into my memory as stark as death”, 2016).

The study aimed at analyzing the coverage of human rights violations by the Pakistani and Indian press. Dawn and The Nation which are highly circulated English dailies of Pakistan and The Hindu and Times of India which are highly circulated English dailies of India were selected to analyze the coverage of human rights violations with respect to Indian held Kashmir which is also referred to as

Jammu and Kashmir (J&K). The analysis was carried through Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). CDA is not only interested in the description of talk and text but also involves the context of society in which they are constructed and how certain linguistic structures are incorporated in them (Van Dijk, 1995). Van Dijk (1998) believed that texts are not only created to inform the readers rather they represent the ideological and editorial positions of the people or organizations which are involved in their construction and production processes.

1.1 Significance of the Study

The study is significant because of its analytical framework in comprehending the coverage of human rights violation in Indian held Kashmir. The study may also contribute in analyzing the media discourses which are fabricated for the purpose of molding and influencing the public sphere in times of conflict. The study can also help in sensitizing the media practitioners towards more careful and thoughtful lexical choices.

1.2 Objectives of the study

The research has the following objectives:

- (i) To analyze the dominantly employed frames by the Pakistani and Indian press for reporting the human rights violations in the Indian held Kashmir
- (ii) To analyze the lexical items, themes and phrases used by the press of the two countries through Critical Discourse Analysis
- (iii) To comprehend the coverage of human rights violations in the Indian held Kashmir by the Indian and Press Pakistani press

2. Literature Review

The media discourses are a very important tool for understanding the meanings, opinions and perceptions which readers construct in their minds. It is also a very useful instrument in terms of understanding the national, regional and international significance of the issue under observation (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989).

Two major theoretical frameworks were employed for this study which included framing and Critical Discourse Analysis. The process of framing involves highlighting and selecting the dominant aspects of an issue to influence the perception of the audience on that particular issue while the unfavorable aspects of the issue are intentionally excluded or neglected (Entman, 1993). In mediums of mass communication it generally refers to the organization of fundamental

ideas for news content which helps in explaining the context and meaning of the issue (Tankard, 1991). In linguistics framing can refer to the placement, selection, usage, application and structuring of the particular phrases, sentences or words for creating various building blocks in the text (Matthes & Kohring, 2008). Thus framing is done through selection, exclusion, emphasis and elaboration of certain text (Tankard, 1991).

The social reality is emphasized or de-emphasized within the parameters of cultural and social frameworks. The categories employed for analyzing the social reality through CDA can include comparison, description of actor, generalization, victimization and hyperbole (Van Dijk, 1997). CDA falls under a specialized analytical research which discovers how dominance, inequality and abuse are connected, produced and resisted by content, text and conversation in the political and social context (Van Dijk, 1997). CDA also covered the analysis of portrayal of in-group and out-group activities. Thus CDA is not only interested in the description of talk and text but also involves the context of society in which they are constructed and how certain linguistic structures are incorporated in them (Van Dijk, 1995).

Print media including newspapers generally use different language patterns in their discourse to develop and nurture certain ideologies on given issues which in turn can ultimately help in controlling the perceptions of the readers. Certain Critical discourses of newspaper stories substantiated the notion that journalists have the potential to influence readers' perceptions in favor of their propagated ideologies. Fornkwa (2015); Mahfoz (2013); Mahmood, Javed & Mahmood (2011) among others utilized CDA to investigate their research aims in connection to propagation of editor's ideologies through media discourses.

Critical discourses have been extensively used to reveal the hidden ideologies which oppress the victimized group while represent the group or groups with power as positive and ideologically correct. Zia & Syedah (2015) analyzed Kashmir conflict's print media coverage with respect to conflict resolution and peace building. The study concluded that print media of Pakistan, India and United States failed in highlighting peaceful resolutions of the conflict. Sreedharan's (2009) India centric study concluded that the coverage of Kashmir conflict in Pakistani and Indian press was negative and dominated by government narratives.

Vence-Cheng's (2011) study on the discourses of war and peace in Kashmir concluded that perhaps the most suitable route for peace in Kashmir lies in larger autonomy for Kashmir and also in a strong commitment of the Indian state to protect human rights and the democratic processes in Indian administered Kashmir. Talwar (2016) conducted an analysis of the discourse related to dominant ideologies and the identity of the involved actors in Kashmir conflict along with analyzing how alternative options related to policy making are marginalized. Showkat (2017) asserted that in order to counter the strongly propagated narrative of the mainstream Indian press many Kashmiris had to publish their own newspapers so that the views of the local community along with the human rights violations carried out in the valley could be dished out to a wider international audience.

3. Methodology

The study is conducted through qualitative paradigm which included Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). The study focused on analyzing the dominant frames and the choice of lexical items, themes and phrases used by the press of the two countries in reporting the human rights condition in the Indian held Kashmir. The hard news stories published on the national and international pages of *The Nation* and *Dawn* from Pakistani press and *The Hindu* and *Times of India* from Indian press were purposively selected for the study. The selected news stories were related to the use of pellet guns and human rights violations in the Indian held Kashmir in the year 2016 after the killing of Burhan Wani. Data selected for this study comprised of 12 purposively selected newspaper stories. A total of three news stories from *Dawn*, three news stories from *The Nation* were selected from Pakistani press. Similarly three news stories from *Times of India* and three news stories from *The Hindu* were selected as part of the Indian press. Stories were retrieved from the online archives of the selected dailies. Details of the selected stories are attached in Appendix.

The news stories were analyzed through the technique of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) developed by van Dijk. The social reality is emphasized or de-emphasized within the parameters of cultural and social frameworks. The linguistic devices employed for the current study included comparison, description of actor, generalization, victimization, hyperbole and euphemism (Van Dijk, 1997). Comparison referred to the contrast of in-group and out-group members, actions and ideologies. Actor description is used to determine the portrayal of out-group and in-group as neutral, positive and repulsive or negative. Generalization

referred to the process where the meaning of a word or phrase becomes more broad or inclusive in comparison to its earlier original meaning. Victimization referred to the persecution and oppression of a particular person, group of people, nation or entity. Hyperbole is a rhetorical device which referred to the excessive use of exaggeration in order to create emphasis or strong impression. Euphemism is a term used to replace harsh and negative phrases and words with subtle and polite expression. It is important to note that all these categories might not fall under every news story.

4. Data Analysis

4.1 Times of India (Indian Press)

Times of India published a story regarding the ruling of Jammu & Kashmir (J&K) High Court in which the Court refused to ban the use of pellet guns. The reason cited was the violence triggered by “unruly mob” in the valley (PTI, 2016). The Court’s ruling came forward in light of a plea in which ban was sought on the use of pellet guns with respect to controlling protests in the valley. The court justified the use of force as “inevitable” under the given situation. The court also denied the appeal to prosecute the related officers who had authorized the usage of pellet guns on the Kashmiri mob. The story reported that the use of specific dimension of “force” at any point of time or in any given situation will be done at the discretion of the person or officer in-charge where attack is taking place by the “unruly mob” (PTI, 2016).

The lexical choices of the story showed that either there were no human rights violations in the India held Kashmir and if there were any it was because of the Kashmiri people who turned in to destructive mobs. It is in reaction to the attacks created by mobs that the Indian security personnel are provoked to use pellet guns. The story gave no contextual information on how the pellet guns had severely wounded unarmed Kashmiris including children and women.

4.1.1 Pellet Guns instead of Bullets

In another story *Times of India* reported about Indian Supreme Court’s ruling in which the court ordered not to use the pellet guns “indiscriminately and excessively” in J&K (Choudhary, 2016). The ruling also noted that the pellet guns should be used “only after proper application of mind by the authorities” (Choudhary, 2016). The court’s order came in light of a petition which was filed by the J&K High Court Bar Association in which they challenged the High Court’s refusal of banning pellet guns in the valley. It was asserted by the then

Indian Attorney General Mukul Rohatgi that the Indian Forces were using “pellet guns instead of bullets” but still if somebody dies it will be unfortunate (Choudhary, 2016). The Attorney General gave a sympathetic cover up to the situation by further saying that the use of pellet guns might have its “evils but we are in the process of having a better system” (Choudhary, 2016). The story also reported that in 2016 when 956 CRPF personnel were injured because of stone pelting by the Kashmiri protestors the use of pellet guns also increased tremendously (Choudhary, 2016). Although euphemism was employed to a certain extent but at the same time use of pellet guns was rationalized by negative actor description of the Kashmiri protestors. The condemnable narrative of the Indian state was also advocated as the Kashmiris were expected to be grateful that they are killed and injured through pellet guns instead of bullets.

4.1.2. Justifying Pellet Guns

The resolve of the Indian government was reinstated by reporting that the Indian Forces had decided “not to discard pellet guns” but to also focus on alternatives including PAVA shells which is a non-lethal weapon based on chili powder and incapacitates the crowd for the time being (Jain & Chauhan, 2016). Use of pellet guns was justified on the grounds that “security forces cannot be put at a disadvantage while dealing with aggressive crowds” (Jain & Chauhan, 2016). In the same story the newspaper also added as background information that the use of pellet guns has “blinded several people”.

Thus Times of India used the linguistic devices of victimization in terms of persecuting the unarmed protestors of Kashmir; generalization in terms of acceptability and justification of excessive use of power in majority of the scenarios; negative actor description in terms of favoring the in-group which is the Indian state machinery and oppressing the out group which refers to the Kashmiri demonstrators; comparison in terms of justifying the policy grounds of the Indian state in comparison to the demands of self-determination of Kashmiri citizens. Overall negative framing of the Kashmiri protestors and positive framing of the Indian state policies dominated the coverage.

4.2 The Hindu (Indian Press)

The Hindu reported that young people who were severely injured because of pellet guns required “complicated surgeries under anesthesia” especially with reference to eye injuries (Ashiq, 2016). The story also included the account of an eight-year-old pellet gun victim who was shot from close range and ended up in severe chest injuries. The story also stated that “14 percent of pellet gun victims

are below the age of 15” (Ashiq, 2016). The doctor treating the pellet gun victims also acknowledged the fact that carrying out surgeries on children is more challenging. Euphemism was employed as a dominant linguistic device in the story as the misery of Kashmiri population was reported through supportive facts and first-hand information.

4.2.1. Loss of vision through pellet guns

In another human angle related story *The Hindu* reported that pellet gun victims might lose their vision permanently (Jeelani, 2016). The story stated that after every 45 minutes injured Kashmiri youth filled in ambulances reach at the Sri Mahraja Hari Singh Hospital (SMHS) and march to the hospital shouting slogans of “*Allah Hu Akbar*” (Jeelani, 2016) which reflects the victimization of out-group. The story also carried figures on the number of pellet gun victims as it stated that out of 87 victims brought to the SMHS hospital in 24 hours more than half of them suffered from injuries in their eyes (Jeelani, 2016). The story repeatedly declared pellet guns as “*non-lethal*” weapon as per the version of the Indian government. The working of pellet gun was also described in detail in a version of the J&K police officer in which he explained that 500 small pieces of metal coated with gun powder are fired haphazardly from a single cartridge of pellet gun. The police officer further said that anybody within a 10 meter range of the pellet gun can get severely injured as pellet guns have the capacity to carry a large number of pellets which are made of lead (Jeelani, 2016). Although the story compared and victimized the out-group of Kashmiri demonstrators to a certain extent but on the other hand the approach of euphemism was also employed though reporting numerical facts and first-hand personal accounts.

4.2.2. Pellet guns at work

The Hindu filed another story pertaining to the frequently asked questions about the use of pellet guns and the violence it created in the valley. The story attempted to answer the notion that to what extent the use of pellet guns had proved effective in deterring people from holding protests? The narrative of State Ministers got more coverage as a Union Home Minister claimed that the “government would look in to the use of these guns” after a boy as young as 12-year was shot by the “*non-lethal*” pellet gun (Singh, 2016). The use of pellet guns has been extensively witnessed in hunting other than controlling crowds. The basic purpose of pellet guns is to “cause pain” and injuries to people especially if shot at close range as it has the capacity to severely damage soft issues. In Standard Operating Procedures the pellet guns were fired below the waist but in J&K the crowds were hit straight in the eyes or upper part of the waist from close

quarters (Singh, 2016). According to an X-ray photograph taken at an ICU in a hospital in Srinagar a 14 year old girl who was a pellet gun survivor was left blinded in both eyes. *The Hindu* also reported that the pellet guns were earlier utilized in the Indian areas falling under the Left Wing Extremism (LWE) but now they are also used in the Jammu and Kashmir valley (Singh, 2016). The story also gave background information on the use of pellet guns by referring to the 2010 protests in which initially “4/5 pellet type “was used but after the killing of 110 people it was decided that the type should be changed to 8/9 which according to *The Hindu* was actually “non-lethal” (Singh, 2016).

The *Hindu* used the linguistic devices of euphemism more dominantly in terms of factually stating the excessive use of pellet guns and the severe injuries it caused to the Kashmiris. Negative actor description was also used to a certain extent by favoring the in-group which is the Indian state machinery and victimizing the out-group which refers to the Kashmiri protestors and demonstrators. Overall the Indian press used more negative framing in terms of victimizing the Kashmiri demonstrators and positive actor description for the Indian state machinery in terms of justifying the excessive and indiscriminately use of pellet guns.

4.3 Dawn Newspaper (Pakistani Newspapers)

Dawn reported that Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif on September 21, 2016 presented a dossier to the UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon regarding the human rights violations by the Indian forces in J&K (Abbas, 2016). The Pakistani Premier briefed the UN Secretary General on the deteriorating human rights conditions of the Kashmiri population who had been brutally victimized by the Indian forces especially since the killing of Hizbul Mujahideen Commander Burhan Wani. The killing paved way for the violent demonstrations and clashes with Indian Security Forces in the valley. The Pakistani Premier said that “more than 100 people had died in a span of 74 days” (Abbas, 2016). The dossier also carried photographs of the victims of pellet gun survivors. Ban Ki-Moon expressed deep shock over the photographs.

Nawaz Sharif stressed that the Indian government should abide by the UN resolutions. He also asserted that an independent UN fact finding mission must be dispatched to Indian held Kashmir in order to investigate the human rights situation. Pakistan further demanded demilitarization of Kashmir and claimed that the “indigenous uprising of the Kashmiris” (Abbas, 2016) has been dealt through brutal oppression of half a million Indian security forces. Ban Ki-Moon also commended Pakistan for its active participation in the United Nations and its role

in peace related initiatives. The linguistic devices of comparison and actor description were extensively employed by Dawn. Kashmiri demonstrators were portrayed as favorable in-group whereas the Indian government and the Indian security forces were labeled as the negative out-group in terms of actor description.

4.3.1. Indiscriminate Use of Pellet Guns

In another news story *Dawn* newspaper repeatedly used the words of “Indiscriminate Use of pellet guns” by the Indian security forces on all segments of the Kashmiri population including women and children (“Police Shelling leaves Kashmiri youth blind in one eye, medics claim” 2016). The story also reported that the use of pellet guns had blinded hundreds of people which depict the “barbaric mindset” of Indian government and security forces.

Dawn further reported that “hundreds of patients” were wounded in only four days and doctors warned that many people “could lose their eye sight” as a result of shotgun wounds. Patients were constantly shifted to Sri Mahraja Hari Singh Hospital where they were “forced to share beds” which clearly reflect the crisis like situation. Doctors and medics worked in operation theatres round the clock. The story also incorporated the version of a J&K doctor in which he said that many people left the hospital as “one-eyed boys” (“Police Shelling leaves Kashmiri youth blind in one eye, medics claim” 2016). The story also reported that “staff had been ordered not to speak to the press”. The first-hand account of an injured boy stated that the paramilitary forces opened fire on him and his friends when they were walking out of a mosque in Srinagar. He further said that “I can’t see anything right now” as tears dripped “out of the sides of his bandaged eyes” (“Police Shelling leaves Kashmiri youth blind in one eye, medics claim”, 2016). The story employed the linguistic devices of hyperbole, comparison and victimization. Human rights violations were covered through first-hand information provided by the victims and medics which helped in portraying the ground realities in a more relatable manner.

4.3.2. Oppressive Measures

Another story by *Dawn* covered the funeral of an 11-year-old boy (AFP, 2016). His body was found pierced through pellets as the pellet guns were used to disperse the crowds. The government forces tried to disperse the protestors by firing “tear gas shells” as a result of which many people were injured from both protestors and security personal. The story employed euphemism by reporting the version of a J&K police officer in which he said that “Forces responded when

large crowds defied restrictions” (AFP, 2016). The use of oppressive measures by the Indian security forces in the form of curfews, restriction on free movement and denial of medical facilities to the injured along with imprisonment of the Kashmiri leaders was strongly discouraged by the *Dawn* newspaper. The worst wave of violence was witnessed in Srinagar as security personal used pellet guns and live fire to disperse the crowd. *Dawn* reported that protestors were deterred as they attempted to “storm a military airbase” near Srinagar when they were deterred (AFP, 2016).

Overall *Dawn* newspaper used the linguistic choices of comparison in terms of comparing the Indian brutal policies with the demands of self-determination of the Kashmiris population; description of actor by portraying Indian government as negative and Kashmiris demonstrators as positive; hyperbole in terms of using expressions like “indiscriminate”, “hundreds of patients” and “one-eyed boys”. The use of oppressive measures by the Indian security forces in the form of curfews, restriction on free movement and denial of medical facilities to the injured along with imprisonment of the Kashmiri leaders was strongly discouraged by the *Dawn* newspaper. *Dawn* positively framed the Kashmiri demonstrators and negatively framed the Indian government and Indian security forces.

4.4 The Nation (Pakistani press)

The Nation reported a story about a 12-year-old child who was killed by Indian security forces in Srinagar and the killing provoked protests across Jammu and Kashmir (“12-year-old killed by Indian forces in Kashmir” 2016). It was reported that the child was only looking at the protest while “standing outside his home” when he was hit by pellet gun. The incident reflected the grave law and order situation in which even a child was extremely vulnerable while standing outside his house. The funeral was carried out in the form of a procession towards the burial area but the even the funeral procession was not spared from the shelling of the tear gas which injured a number of Kashmiris (“12-year-old killed by Indian forces in Kashmir” 2016). The story used the linguistic devices of comparison, victimization and negative actor description in terms of portraying the Indian security forces and their excessive use of force.

4.4.1. Pakistan’s version

In another story *The Nation* reported that Pakistan had held India responsible for “spreading chaos” in the Indian held Kashmir as the Indian forces have created “bloodshed and chaos” in J&K (“India spreading chaos: Aziz”, 2016). Sartaj Aziz

who was the advisor to the Pakistani Prime Minister at the time of filing the story accused India of using “brutal force” in the valley so that the demand for the right of self-determination of the Kashmiris can be denied. The story also praised Burhan Muzaffar Wani for becoming an “iconic face” of the Kashmiri resistance. The story highlighted Pakistan’s resolve to support Kashmiris in their right to freedom and raising voice against the Indian brutalities at all forums. The crisis in the valley was termed as the “worst civilian unrest” in the Indian held Kashmir since 2010 (“India spreading chaos: Aziz”, 2016). Along with comparison the linguistic devices of hyperbole and generalization were also by *The Nation*. The use of adjectives like “brutal”, “iconic”, “worst” also substantiated the hyperbolic approach of *The Nation*.

4.4.2. Call to international community

The Nation sent a strong call to the international community for helping the Kashmiris in light of the “humanitarian crisis” in the valley as many pellet gun victims will never be able to see the “light again” (“Let Pakistan help IHK’s pellet victims: PM”, 2016). The then Pakistani Prime Minister also asked its office to gather “support of international political leadership” along with humanitarian and civil organizations (“Let Pakistan help IHK’s pellet victims: PM”, 2016). Pakistani Prime Minister stressed the need for the eye treatment of pellet gun victims and assured that Pakistan will help in availing the top most medical facilities available anywhere in the world. *The Nation* reported that the Indian forces had not even spared the hospitals and ambulances which were providing treatment to the “peaceful and innocent protestors” (“Let Pakistan help IHK’s pellet victims: PM”, 2016). The human rights violations by the Indian Security forces in the valley of Jammu and Kashmir were termed as “gruesome” by *The Nation*.

The analysis of the lexical items published in *The Nation* showed the use of comparison, hyperbole, victimization and generalization in the coverage of Indian held Kashmir. *The Nation* also focused on the narrative of Pakistani government and its efforts in engaging the international community to resolve the Kashmir conflict. Thus overall Pakistani press used more positive framing for the coverage of Kashmiris and negative framing for the Indian government and Indian Security Forces. The dominant linguistic devices engaged by the Pakistani press included actor description, comparison, victimization, generalization and hyperbole.

5. Discussion and Conclusion

The paper attempted to analyze the dominantly employed frames and the choice of lexical items, themes and phrases for reporting the human rights violations in the Indian held Kashmir. Critical Discourse Analysis of the news stories published in Dawn, The Nation from Pakistani press and Times of India and The Hindu and Times of India from Indian press was carried out. Overall the Indian press used more negative framing in terms of victimizing the Kashmiri demonstrators and positive actor description for the Indian state machinery in terms of justifying the excessive and indiscriminate use of pellet guns. On the other hand Pakistani press used more positive framing for the coverage of Kashmiris and negative framing for the Indian government and Indian Security Forces. The process of framing involves highlighting and selecting the dominant aspects of an issue to influence the perception of the audience on that particular issue while the unfavorable aspects of the issue are intentionally excluded or neglected (Entman, 1993).

It is majorly through the process of framing that the press of the two countries had tried to influence the perception of their citizens in the favor of respective in-groups. Framing is done through selection, exclusion, emphasis and elaboration of certain text (Tankard, 1991). The Indian press sympathized with the security forces by declaring the Kashmiri demonstrators as “unruly mob” which provoked the Indian security forces to respond (PTI, 2016). Pakistani press on the contrary reported that the “brutal” use of force by the Indian forces has created “blood shed” and “chaos” in J&K (India spreading chaos: Aziz”, 2016)

In linguistics framing can refer to the placement, selection, usage, application and structuring of the particular phrases, sentences or words for creating various building blocks in the text (Matthes & Kohring, 2008). Dijk (1998) believed that texts are not only created to inform the readers rather they represent the ideological and editorial positions of the people or organizations which are involved in their construction and production processes. CDA also covered the analysis of portrayal of in-group and out-group activities. It is not only interested in the description of talk and text but also involves the context of society in which they are constructed and how certain linguistic structures are incorporated in them (Dijk, 1995).

The CDA of the news stories published in Times of India showed that either there were no human rights’ violations in the Indian held Kashmir and if there were any it was because of the Kashmiri people who turned in to “destructive mobs” (PTI,

2016). It is in reaction to the attacks created by mobs that the Indian security personnel are provoked to use pellet guns. Comparison between the Kashmiri protestors and Indian Security Forces was repeatedly used as a linguistic device to rationalize the use of pellet guns. Times of India also used the linguistic devices of victimization in terms of persecuting the unarmed protestors of Kashmir; generalization in terms of acceptability and justification of excessive use of power in most of the scenarios; negative actor description in terms of favoring the in-group which is the Indian state machinery and oppressing the out-group which refers to the Kashmiri demonstrators. Overall negative framing of the Kashmiri protestors and positive framing of the Indian state policies dominated the coverage. Although the coverage of The Hindu also compared and victimized the out-group of Kashmiri demonstrators to a certain extent but euphemism was employed as a dominant linguistic device in the story as the misery of Kashmiri population was reported through supportive facts and first-hand information. Positive actor description was also used by favoring the in-group which is the Indian state machinery. Overall the Indian press used more negative framing in terms of victimizing the Kashmiri demonstrators and positive actor description for the Indian government in terms of justifying the excessive and indiscriminate use of pellet guns.

Dawn newspaper used comparison in terms of comparing the Indian brutal policies with respect to the demands of self-determination of the Kashmiri population. Description of actor was also used by portraying Indian government as negative and Kashmiri demonstrators as positive. The use of oppressive measures by the Indian security forces in the form of curfews, restriction on free movement and denial of medical facilities to the injured along with imprisonment of the Kashmiri leaders was strongly discouraged by the Dawn newspaper. Dawn employed the linguistic devices of hyperbole, comparison and victimization. Human rights violations were covered through first-hand information provided by the victims and medics which helped in portraying the ground realities in a more relatable manner. Dawn positively framed the Kashmiri demonstrators and negatively framed the Indian government and Indian security forces. The analysis of the lexical items published in The Nation showed the use of comparison, hyperbole, victimization and generalization in the coverage of human rights' violations. The use of adjectives like "brutal", "iconic", "worst" also substantiated the hyperbolic approach of The Nation. The Nation also focused on the advocated narrative of Pakistani government and its efforts in engaging the international community to resolve the Kashmir conflict. Thus overall Pakistani press used

more positive framing for the coverage of Kashmiri demonstrators and negative framing for the Indian government and Indian Security Forces.

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Appendix-A

Newspaper	Retrieved Story Headline	URL
Times of India	J&K high court refuses to ban pellet guns, cites mob violence in Valley	https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/JK-high-court-refuses-to-ban-pellet-guns-cites-mob-violence-in-Valley/articleshow/54462708.cms
Times of India	Pellet guns not to be used indiscriminately in J&K: Supreme Court	https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/pellet-guns-not-to-be-used-indiscriminately-in-jk-supreme-court/articleshow/55984805.cms
Times of India	Pellet guns to stay, use will be rare: Govt	https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/Pellet-guns-to-stay-use-will-be-rare-Govt/articleshow/53918709.cms
The Hindu	14% of pellet gun victims in Kashmir are below 15	https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/other-states/14-of-pellet-gun-victims-in-Kashmir-are-below-15/article14583549.ece
The Hindu	What are pellet guns and why are they lethal?	https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/other-states/What-are-pellet-guns-and-why-are-they-lethal/article14501024.ece
The Hindu	19 men injured by pellets may lose vision	https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/19-men-injured-by-pellets-may-lose-vision/article14483312.ece
Dawn	<u>Nawaz gives UN chief dossier on Indian human rights violations in held Kashmir</u>	https://www.dawn.com/news/1285390
Dawn	<u>Police shelling leaves Kashmiri youth blind in one eye, medics claim</u>	https://www.dawn.com/news/1270347
Dawn	<u>Thousands defy curfew for schoolboy's funeral in Indian Kashmir</u>	https://www.dawn.com/news/1284456
The Nation	12-year-old killed by Indian forces in Kashmir	https://nation.com.pk/08-Oct-2016/12-year-old-child-killed-by-indian-forces-in-ihk
The Nation	India spreading chaos: Aziz	https://nation.com.pk/12-Jul-2016/india-spreading-chaos-aziz
The Nation	Let Pakistan help IHK's pellet victims: PM	https://nation.com.pk/07-Aug-2016/let-pakistan-help-ihk-s-pellet-victims-pm