

## A Corpus-based Study of Newspaper Articles on Lockdown Issue in Indian Occupied Kashmir

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### Abstract

The current study seeks to explore and analyze the role of newspapers in constructing ideologies. The construction of ideologies is a discursive practice which has been given a specific worldwide focus in the field of discourse studies and corpus linguistics. Newspapers, tabloids and magazines are the immediate sources of information that have a wider influence on people all over the world. In this regard, headline articles from two Pakistani newspapers – *The Dawn* and *The News* – have been selected. 10 headline articles are selected from *the Dawn* and 12 headline articles are selected from *The News* with a particular focus on the current lockdown issue in Indian Occupied Kashmir (IOK). The selected data are processed through AntConc, a corpus tool to retrieve and analyze concordance lines. The Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) with a particular focus on Van Dijk's (1988) concept, which is called "*Structures of News in Press*," is used as a framework for the analysis of attained concordance hits. In addition to this, some tools, namely: naming and referencing, hyperbole, implicature, generalization and reconstruction, given by Richardson (2007), have been applied in addition to the framework proposed by Van Dijk for a refined and improved analysis to explore the discursive construction of ideologies. The findings reveal that through the naming technique, the *Dawn* editorials have portrayed a negative image of India, while a soft image of Pakistan. However, *The News* editorials have remained neutral in this regard. The overall analysis depicts that both newspapers have presented Pakistan as supporter and savior of Kashmiri people and India as a manipulator inflicting cruelty in Kashmir. It is recommended that the use of corpus tools in analyzing data from newspapers and then conducting critical discourse analysis are effective ways of unearthing hidden ideologies which can be extended to future research at a broader scope.

**Keywords:** Critical Discourse Analysis, Newspapers, Ideologies, Corpus Analysis, Concordance, Kashmir

## Introduction

CDA is an efficient tool that deconstructs and interprets the so-called reality which is constructed by written and spoken discourses (Mattheis, 2017). Mesikammen (2016) asserts that CDA is a framework that “enables one to explore both what is present in a text and what could have been there but is absent” (p. 726). The media plays a vital role in communicating to the masses whatever happens around them and, in this regard, people stay reliant upon and do believe in what the media conveys to them as they do not have access to direct knowledge or experience (Philo, 2008). As in their study, Rasool, Jan and Noreen (2021) assert that the newspaper articles play a crucial role in developing the readers’ knowledge and ideology. Analyzing the use of metaphors in Pakistani newspapers, they state, “The war metaphors that are predominant in the newspaper articles helped to increase solidarity in the nation to eliminate the deadly virus”; hence “newspaper articles have a persuasive ideology” (Rasool, Jan & Noreen, 2021, p. 107,). In addition, Gulzar et al. (2020) affirm, “Newspapers play a prominent role in changing the opinion of the masses through their persuasive markers” (p. 1).

Richardson (2007) asserts that the discursive production of media discourse and social practices have a distinctive relationship between them. Personal and social identities are much influenced by the portrayals of individuals or groups and their cultural and social norms by media (Saeed & Johnson, 2016). Such portrayals can be rambling as the chances of over-representation and under-representation are very high. For this reason, Winch (2005) has examined what role the major world newspapers played in constructing the identity of Osama bin Laden from 1999 to 2002 as an evil genius archetype. Similarly, Benwell and Stoke (2006) discuss the identity formation of public tables in a favorable light by the newspaper discourses.

In order to problematize the issues related to some practices, ideologies, identities and their complex relationship as foregrounded in the media discourse, CDA frameworks and theories have been used in different studies (Fairclough, 1995; Henry & Tator, 2002; Van Dijk, 1988, 2000, 2006). Similarly, Huckin (2002) discusses that critical discourse analysis (CDA) not only focuses on what is being said in a text overtly, but it also highlights what is being implied. While adding to this, he coined a new term “textual silence” for what is not being said, yet it is present in the text or spoken discourse and has the power of carrying the information from the producer, writer or speaker to the consumer, reader, or listener respectively.

Van Dijk (1998) argues that “the owner of the newspapers and advertisers have the power to influence the context, the political stance and the editorial perspective of the paper.” (p.13). Mezzera and Sial (2010) mention that newspaper headlines follow a tolerant and secular approach to present the burning issues of Pakistani society. This stance clearly illustrates the understanding of Van Dijk (2000) that the media is the most influential means of communication of modern societies; however, whatever is portrayed that must be examined with its ideological stances.

## Literature Review

As mentioned above with reference to Van Dijk (1988 & 2000), in modern societies, media plays a crucial role in communicating opinions and exerting influence over the political and editorial stances. According to Brubaker and Cooper (2000), identities are not fixed but flexible and multiple in some cases, and they are socially, politically and ideologically constructed. Castells (2004) says, “Social construction of identity always takes place in a context marked by power relationship.” (p. 07). Pichette (2011) concludes that Quebec print media constructed distorted and discriminated representations of Muslim women. Apart from that, they are shown as sedentary members of the Quebec society. The researcher has taken two newspapers *Gazette* and *La Presse* to illustrate how ‘Others’ are perceived. Narayana and Kapur (2011) have analyzed how English newspapers in India cover Muslims and how they are playing a noteworthy role in constructing the image of Muslims in India. The researchers have used the analytical technique of ‘framing’ for this research. Also, Shoeb (2008) has considered the editorial discussion regarding the state of emergency declared by the former President of Pakistan, Pervez Musharraf and used the approach of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to analyze them. Rashid et al., (2020) analyze the language used in Pakistani and Indian newspapers to depict the Kashmir issue. They are of the view that both sides have depicted a very biased and subjective picture of the Kashmir issue. Schaefer (2006) has compared the news coverage of Kenyan and Western media regarding the terrorist attacks of Mombasa and Nairobi in 1988 and 2002. He concludes that the media is a regulatory body, and its function is to hold official accountability and criticism (Schaefer, 2006). Güss (2011) has focused on the coverage of terrorism. He argues that the valence of associations (i.e. positive and negative) to the five target phrases and words i.e. “suicide bomber”, “suicide terrorist”, “Islamic martyr”, “martyr” and “volunteer”, differentiate. He also asserts that the perception of suicide terrorists is influenced by the phrases and words used in the context of the act.

The current study seeks to debate and analyze the role of newspapers in constructing ideologies. In this regard, headline articles from two Pakistani newspapers – *Dawn* and *The News* – have been selected from the year 2019. Initially, there were 54 news articles; however, the data was delimited to 10 headline articles from the *Dawn* and 12 headline articles from *The News* with a particular focus on the current lockdown issue in Indian-Occupied Kashmir (IOK). First, we uploaded the data to AntConc, a corpus tool, to obtain the concordance lines. Then for the analysis of attained concordance hits, we used Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as the framework with a particular focus on Van Dijk’s (1988) concept which is called “Structures of News in Press”. In addition to this, some tools, namely: naming and referencing, hyperbole, implicature, generalization and reconstruction, have been selected from Richardson’s book *Analysing Newspapers: An Approach from Critical Discourse Analysis* (2007). The reason for incorporating these tools within the framework proposed by Van Dijk is for a refined and structured analysis.

## Research Questions and Objectives

This study carries its analysis of two newspapers, *The Dawn* and *The News*, in light of two research questions: (1) how the selected newspapers construct the current lockdown issue of Indian Occupied Kashmir (IOK) in their discourses and (2) what particular ideology of the newspapers is reflected in their portrayal of the issue. In addition to this, the research aims to achieve two main objectives through the analysis of the mentioned newspapers: to discover the hidden meaning of the newspaper discourse and to ascertain the implied meanings in the projected ideology. In contemporary times, particularly after revoking Article 370 in the Indian-occupied Kashmir on August 5, 2019, the coverage of this incident has wider appeal and influence. It is pertinent that the projection and propagation of the leading newspapers of Pakistan may be explored so that the implied ideologies could be studied for these are going to shape the attitudes of the people as well as the governments in the coming days.

## Methodology

Scholars of CDA (Van Dijk 1988; Fairclough 2001, 2003; Fowler 1991) focus on the ideology behind the written and spoken discourses to highlight the circumstances in which that discourse is produced. They also discern the pressures and influences that play a role in the production of that discourse. Therefore, following the constructivist paradigm and qualitative research methodology, it is significantly important that a suitable research method should be adopted to explore the issue at a deeper level. According to the constructivist paradigm (Allen, 1994), reality is considered to be socially constructed and that could be interpreted in various ways. The researchers normally focus on exploring the questions of why and how to try to investigate deeper into the social issues and hence come under the paradigm of constructivism. Sometimes, constructivism is interchangeably used with interpretivism (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). The researchers have therefore used a software tool as well as CDA to analyze the news items in detail.

The current qualitative research, after uploading the data to AntConc software, obtains concordance lines for the words. The purpose of getting the concordance lines for these words is to analyze them through the CDA model given by Teun A. Van Dijk (1988), called “Structures of News in Press”. In this model, Van Dijk has presented three elements of CDA (Critical Discourse Analysis) i.e. Macrostructure, Superstructure and Microstructure. For the analysis of concordance lines, we have considered only two elements of the model that are: Macrostructure and Microstructure. The rationale behind employing these two elements as a lens for the interpretation and leaving superstructure is that the superstructure discusses the whole structure of the news story. However, this paper targets only the concordance hits, not the whole story. The macrostructure of the model emphasizes the global meaning of the discourse, which represents the gist of the whole discourse. Superstructure, on the other hand, is more about the arrangement of the parts like the introduction, substance, and conclusion. Moreover, it indicates which order should be used to place information blocks in the text. In

other words, Superstructure is the arrangement of the parts that make up the whole discourse. In Microstructure, the discourse is analyzed by observing four aspects: semantic, syntactic, stylistic and rhetoric. According to Van Dijk, the Microstructure provides the local meaning of the discourse. In addition to this, the study integrates some tools from Richardson's book *Analyzing Newspapers: An Approach from Critical Discourse Analysis* (2007). These tools have been incorporated to complement the framework proposed by Van Dijk.

## **Research Constructs**

### **I. Naming and Referencing**

The way people are named in newspapers exerts an impact because they are viewed in that way. Richardson (2007) further asserts that journalists always have the choice of providing the names of the people who are part of the events they report. They can manipulate the language by foregrounding or highlighting some aspects of their personality and ignoring the other one. This is how they portray the image of a person the way they want to. Another analyst Wodak (2011) calls these naming options as "referential strategies" and is of the opinion that choosing to describe an individual in one way or another can serve many purposes including psychological, social, and political. For example, using the technique of naming, a person can be addressed by his or her relationship like 'father', 'mother of three', 'schoolgirl' and 'bride', or s/he can also be addressed by their physical shape or appearance like 'busty', 'shapely' or 'blonde' (Richardson, 2007). According to Van Dijk, as quoted by Richardson (2007), referential strategies can also be described in terms of *Positive Self Representation* and *Negative Other Representation* because these are the ways of perceiving and representing the world. For example, a newspaper can 'decide' to address somebody as a 'terrorist' or a 'freedom fighter'. Both words have different connotations they represent.

### **II. Hyperbole**

When extreme exaggeration is done to make a point, it is called hyperbole. According to the online dictionary, it is originated from the word 'excess' and the word has two root words: 'hyper' which means 'over' and 'bole' which means 'throw'. In that way, it roughly makes sense of the word "to overthrow". It is the opposite of what is called an 'understatement'. The notion of the speaker is greatly exaggerated by using it. Radford (2009) has described hyperbole in news headline and named it as 'Hollywood hyperbole' i.e., "Michael Jackson's death brought the entire world to a stunned halt."

### **III. Implicature**

The implicature is the assumed understanding of an utterance although it is not necessary to be true. The scalar or quantity implicature is the use of a weaker term from the implicational scale of the terms. It normally implies that the speaker cannot use a stronger form of a word. The conversational maxim of quantity implies that the speaker should use a stronger and more informative term to prove something valid. Scalar implicatures negate the other possibilities.

#### **IV. Generalization**

It is a macro rule which generalizes different situations related to any story into a single macrostructure. It means that a macrostructure carries a lot of short pieces of information in it. It is because of the organization of these short pieces that a bigger narrative is formed that has its specific influence on the readers and audience. Therefore, it is necessary that these short pieces be dissected and studied first at the individual level and then at the collective level.

#### **V. Reconstruction**

Reconstruction is the sequence of different events into a single proposition. This means that information related to any incident or event which is in succession is reconstructed into a macrostructure and this also depends wholly on the choice of the journalist, which is the reason for its importance to be analyzed. The act of reconstruction is in fact the process of giving a specific perspective to the different events that have been quoted and used in the discourse.

### **Analysis and Discussion**

As critical discourse analysis (CDA) focuses on text and talks in its practice and theory, we have looked at the structures of discourse to systematically interpret the underlying meanings with the help of concordance lines. In this part, we have analyzed the sample on discourse's structures that are: Macrostructure and Microstructure, with reference to the tools proposed by Richardson (2007). In the following Table 1, the target word is Kashmir, and its corresponding words are also given which suggest how different actions are related to the target word. For example, in concordance line three in Table 1, the target word Kashmir has a corresponding idea that gives out the context of the discourse which states that Pakistan is positing her opinion and fears that due to revoking the article there could be the use of violent means in the occupied territory which may violate basic human rights. Thus, the evaluation of the target word with its context in which it occurs, the making of Pakistan's ideology towards the people of Kashmir and towards India is enumerated. India is projected to be hostile towards the Kashmiris and that is a matter of concern for Pakistan. As in some concordance lines, the context of the word 'Kashmir' suggests that Pakistan is going to support the Kashmir cause through all legal means possible.

**Figure 1***Concordance Hits: The Dawn*

occasion to discuss the situation in held Kashmir. After annexing the disputed territory, India has warned the people of Azad Jammu and Kashmir (AJK) against crossing the Line of Control (India may carry out violent attacks inside Kashmir and blame Pakistan. On Wednesday, Mr Khan at the deteriorating situation in India-held Kashmir and called on the parties to the attention from its illegal annexation of held Kashmir and genocide of Kashmiri Muslims. They would with the besieged people of India-held Kashmir and over a week after Pakistan had curfew? Does he think the people of Kashmir are quietly going to accept the status Imran Khan would present the case of Kashmir at the annual meeting of United Nations case of the people of India-held Kashmir at the UN General Assembly over a abolished the constitutional autonomy for occupied Kashmir. Authorities also have since placed India's India have not been allowed to enter Kashmir, because Modi wanted to cover up the had never objected to holding talks on Kashmir but with curfew in India-held Kashmir, , India also stepped up repression in held Kashmir by deploying more troops in the area \x91false flag\x92 operation in occupied Kashmir by India to implicate Pakistan and altering diplomatic domains for enhancing support of the Kashmir cause. The committee is headed by Foreign the diplomatic push in support of the Kashmir cause. The decision was taken at the the diplomatic effort in support of the Kashmir cause was a continuing process and will Fund package for the country. A special Kashmir Cell is being set up at the had been issued for the creation of Kashmir Cell. Kashmir desks would also be created was accompanied by chairman of the Parliamentary Kashmir Committee Fakhar Imam, Special Assistant to the . No amount of oppression in India-held Kashmir could suppress the voice of Kashmiris who issued for the creation of Kashmir Cell. Kashmir desks would also be created in Pakistani . Dr Larijani said Iran wanted solution of Kashmir dispute according to the UN resolutions and recalled the Security Council resolutions on the Kashmir dispute, and the commitment under Simla Agreement Trump's recent comments on the Kashmir dispute have triggered speculations about an Indian secretary general for his earlier statement on Kashmir dispute. Mr Guterres had in his statement , and a peaceful solution found for the Kashmir dispute. The prime minister joins a galaxy all Indian flights if atrocities in held Kashmir do not stop, says aviation minister Mr him about the developments in India-held Kashmir. Dr Larijani said Iran wanted solution of towards aggravating human rights situation in held Kashmir, emerging humanitarian crisis due to prolonged curfew that has been imposed in occupied Kashmir for nearly four weeks, restores the rights . Curfew has been imposed in India-held Kashmir for the past 26 days, with no access , the UN General Assembly. This is mission Kashmir for the prime minister and for Pakistan, were waiting to infiltrate into Kashmir from the Pakistani side of the disputed

For analyzing the discourse at the level of macrostructure, the study has analyzed the theme of the text which is related to the topic. Examining a topic can result in identifying the problem and what texts tell us about it. The topic of Figure 1 is about India's activities in occupied Kashmir and the subtopic is about the efforts that are being carried out from Pakistan's side for condemning those activities. The topic and subtopic have helped in understanding the theme of the whole text. The topic exhibits the Indian activities in Kashmir that are warning of closing the Line of Control, doing violent attacks, imposing curfew and deploying more troops; whereas the subtopic explains the reaction of the former actions in Pakistan i.e. Prime minister reached out to all parties for Kashmir issue, and now the issue will be presented at UN. It also talks about the other leaders of the world who have shown their concerns regarding this issue primarily Iran and America. So, analysis at the level of macrostructure discloses that the highlight or gist of the text is Indians' atrocities and Pakistan's efforts for showing solidarity with Kashmir.

At the microstructure of the discourse, text is usually analyzed at semantic, syntactic, stylistic and rhetorical levels; each one of them is further categorized. At the semantic level, the researcher looks at nominalization, meaning that is insisted and presupposition. At this level,

we also look at the referential strategies as they help us constitute the meaning of the text. Journalists carefully make use of positive self-representation and negative other representation. In Figure 1, the journalist has made positive self-representation explicitly clear because as Pakistani himself, he exalts all the efforts being made by his country to show solidarity. On the other hand, he explicitly represented the opponent, India, negatively by highlighting its atrocities. Discourse experts believe that commonly journalists when they talk about the ‘goodness’ of their opponent or ‘other’, use it very vaguely and keep it short but, in this sample, the opponent is totally negatively represented.

Moreover, nominalization or naming in Figure 1 corresponds with constructed representations e.g. Pakistan’s leader is addressed as ‘Mr. Khan’ and ‘Prime Minister’ while the Indian counterpart is only addressed as ‘Modi’ which is also a way of othering the opponents. The presupposition is yet another strategy for understanding the discourse semantically. Journalists use this to establish the credibility of their presupposition. For instance, in Figure 1, the journalist has used the word ‘may’ and presupposed that India will carry out ‘violent’ attacks in Kashmir and will blame Pakistan for it.

At the stylistic level, we analyze the lexicons, or the linguistic choices being made by the author to establish constructed meaning. Lexicons too, assist in forming representations; for example, the significant lexicons used while talking about India’s activity in occupied Kashmir are ‘warned’, ‘violent attacks’, ‘genocide’, ‘repression’, ‘oppression’, ‘suppress’, ‘atrocities’, ‘aggravating human rights’ and ‘humanitarian crises’. The usage of these linguistic choices constructs the image of the opponent as aggressive and violent in the reader’s mind.

At the rhetorical level, we analyze some linguistic features used in the text like hyperbole, metaphor, repetition etc. if they are present. The researcher found this sentence hyperbolic: “no amount of oppression in India-held Kashmir could suppress the voice of Kashmiris” considering the people of Kashmir besieged without any internet or telecommunication service being active as Kashmir is under curfew.



**Figure 2***Concordance Hits: The Dawn*

. About eight million Muslims in India-held Kashmir had been under siege for almost six story of oppression in the Indian Occupied Kashmir, he added. Tensions have escalated between India Ms Bachelet's visit to Azad Kashmir, he added. The FM had a day was very concerned about ongoing developments in Kashmir. He emphasised the need for peaceful resolution immediate end to the curfew in occupied Kashmir, he said. About the possibility of taking invited them to visit Azad Jammu and Kashmir. He said Pakistan had been protecting the Article 370 of its constitution and annexed held Kashmir illegally against the UNSC resolutions. They not being committed by Indian forces inside occupied Kashmir. In a major escalation in the ceasefire perpetrated by Indian occupation forces in held Kashmir. In a separate statement, the Pakistani military imposed by the Indian authorities in occupied Kashmir. In response to India's moves Growing tensions between Pakistan and India over Kashmir in the aftermath of annexation of the Kashmiri people. He supported the people of Kashmir in their just struggle for securing right concerns about the developments in India-held Kashmir in view of its annexation by India. state-terrorism in Indian Occupied Jammu and Kashmir is part of our international obligations and Antonio Guterres said he would raise the Kashmir issue during his discussions with various leaders hts activists and British parliamentarians on the Kashmir issue, he said, adding that he would already announced that he will highlight the Kashmir issue in his address, exposing the ethical New York on Saturday to highlight the Kashmir issue in the world's parliament, If the international community failed to resolve Kashmir issue, it would have impact upon the request for having a discussion on the Kashmir issue on Sept 2. The following day people environment that is seemingly more favourable to Kashmir issue than ever before. It should be sort out all differences, including the core Kashmir issue, through a political settlement, but it to Pakistan's call for the Kashmir issue to be taken up. The OIC on the call of pro-independence Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF) to show solidarity with could affect the status of Jammu and Kashmir. Meanwhile, the Foreign Office in a statement 's Aug 5 decision to annex occupied Kashmir, Ms Wells said: We call on all Narendra Modi on the situation in held Kashmir on the sidelines of the G-7 Summit if India did not stop oppression in Kashmir, Pakistan could once again close its airspace response to India's moves in Kashmir, Pakistan exercised restraint but New munitions on civilian populated areas of Azad Kashmir, Pakistan on Saturday called for world attention ntinued oppression against the people of occupied Kashmir, Pakistan on Saturday denied India's Kashmir but with curfew in India-held Kashmir, people struggling for their lives, rampant incid to crack down on the people of Kashmir. President Trump's recent comments on restrictions on the residents of Jammu and Kashmir. Reminding the Indian government to remove those

The theme of the text in Figure 2 revolves around Pakistan's efforts to reach out to the international community to assist Kashmiris and stop Indian atrocities in Kashmir. The purpose is bringing the world's attention towards the cause of Kashmir. The subtopic of it is the actions taken from the Pakistan side in reaction if India does not put end to the curfew. The theme of the text is highlighted as secretary United Nations, Antonio Gutters was contacted to raise this issue and he assured that he will talk about this issue with different leaders, activists, and British parliamentarians. He further asserts that he will highlight the issue at the world parliament. Moreover, the Federal minister of Pakistan insisted that Ms. Bachelet who is the UN ambassador for Human rights should visit the region of occupied Kashmir herself and do something to end the inhumane activities of India there. Also, the text discusses about Ms. Wells, secretary of the US, who said that the US wants all parties to maintain peace at both sides of Line of Control. The subtopic tells us that apart from appeal of assistance from the international community, Pakistan will close its airspace once again if India would not end the curfew. So, primarily the macrostructure is giving us the idea of news production as the journalist is repeatedly discussing whatever efforts are being made by Pakistan from reaching out to international community to closing airspace as a threat to cause disruptions in flights.

The meaning formed by the text clearly establishes positive self-representation of Pakistan as the tensions between both countries are escalating after the curfew is imposed on Kashmir and Pakistan has now started reaching out to the international community to address the issue after first discussing it at the national level by calling all parties. By highlighting the actions of India in the region of Kashmir, the journalist has automatically represented it negatively. The lexicons used further clarify these representations like for India the linguistic choices of ‘oppression’ and ‘crackdown’ further establish the representation of India as a heartless warmonger.

### Figure 3

#### *Concordance Hits: The Dawn*

to attain their right to self-determination. Kashmir runs in blood of every Pakistani. Indigenous citizens against joining the fight in held Kashmir, saying that Indian authorities were waiting for Kashmiris in the AJK (Azad Jammu and Kashmir) seeing their fellow Kashmiris in IOJK (Indian-Assembly session, he would focus on the Kashmir situation. About Pakistan's economy, he their biased and incorrect statements on the Kashmir situation. However, Pakistan rejected the comment 92s comments on PM's speech, Kashmir situation Indian army chief Gen Bipin Rawat resolution called for plebiscite in India-held Kashmir so that Kashmiris could determine their own India to end rights abuses in Occupied Kashmir. The foreign minister told Mr Guterres that to about the situation in India-held Kashmir. The prime minister will also co-host waiting to infiltrate into disputed region of Kashmir. The remarks had been denounced by both to Geneva to present the case of Kashmir there. Says Hindus and other non-Muslims taking the Indian annexation of Jammu and Kashmir to the United Nations Security Council on Kashmiris in IOJK (Indian-occupied Jammu and Kashmir) under an inhumane curfew for over 2 months, the special status of disputed Jammu and Kashmir valley and split it into two territories. Television. New Delhi's barbarism in Kashmir was a serious issue that he would 92s crackdown in the disputed region of Kashmir. When a nuclear-armed country fights to struggle of the people of India-held Kashmir who have been facing an unprecedented lockdown hoped that rights of Muslim population of Kashmir would be ensured through political efforts and , he said. According to Azad Jammu and Kashmir's State Disaster Management Authority (SDMA),

The Figure 3's gist is the Prime minister of Pakistan's address to residents of Pakistan particularly people of Azad Jammu and Kashmir who want to help people of occupied Kashmir. As they are emotionally charged, the PM is advising them to not cross LOC for helping their brothers as it would further worsen the situation for the people of Kashmir. The subtopic of the theme discusses a significant point being raised by PM's address at UN as he asserted that when a nuclear armed country fights till the end, it will not only affect their own territory or enemy's territory, it will also have far more consequences for the whole world. Besides, if the situation is not controlled and the international community does not play its part, the relationship of India and Pakistan will worsen, and the war will cause damage and destruction to the whole world. The journalist's purpose of discussing the two addresses by the Prime minister is to show that Pakistan is really concerned about the issue of Kashmir and has already appealed to the international community. They are being told further that their silence would bring harm to a larger part of the world.

The microstructure brings about the central theme or idea of the text that as the people of Pakistan are becoming aggressive by looking at the inhumane actions of India; the world needs to reconsider the appeals of Pakistan to do something to cease the curfew and other destructions in occupied Kashmir. The lexical choices like ‘abuses’, ‘inhumane curfew’ and ‘barbaric’ again construct the negative representation of India.

Another leading newspaper of Pakistan which is selected for analysis is The News that adopts different editorial policy than the one discussed above. On the issue of Kashmir, however, there have been found certain similarities in projecting and propagating national ideologies and identities. In the following figure, the concordance hits of the word Kashmir are given that construct ideology of Pakistan, India, and Kashmir.

**Figure 4**

*Concordance Hits: The News*

and briefed them on the situation in Kashmir. After the UN Security Council the voice the civilian population in Azad Jammu and Kashmir (AJK) across the Line of Control (LoC) Affairs will meet tomorrow and also discuss Kashmir. AJK Prime Minister Raja Farooq Haider will play his role in removing curfew in Kashmir and apprise P4 members over the whole as they continue to lay siege on Kashmir and curtail further the rights of its invited the secretary general to visit Azad Kashmir and he would be able to travel it comes to the issue of occupied Kashmir and India's actions there, said . Pakistan cannot carry out any action [in Kashmir] and rejects the notion that militants are world that all is not well in Kashmir and that something drastic will have to , they should not worry about people visiting Kashmir and witnessing the situation with their own nications of opposition leaders and dissidents in Kashmir are deeply undemocratic, the signatories said. Wh atrocities being carried out by India in Kashmir are now out in the open for have been restored in some parts of Kashmir, but since landline tele-density in Kashmir amp curfew and other restrictions across occupied Kashmir by converting it into a military garrison and repeal of special status of occupied Kashmir by the Modi government. An officer of initiate. The situation in India and occupied Kashmir can be judged by the kind of occupied Kashmir, he stated. He said the Kashmir Cell and Kashmir desks will ensure effective had been decided to set up a Kashmir Cell at the Pakistan Foreign Office and on Firdous Ashiq Awan, Parliamentary Committee on Kashmir Chairperson Fakhar Imam and Attorney General for , and Mubin Shah, an office-bearer of Kashmir Chamber of Commerce are among those shifted victory. Meanwhile, the human rights situation in Kashmir continues to worsen. People in the valley for them. The United Nations Friday said Kashmir conundrum would be addressed in line with Cell at the Pakistan Foreign Office and Kashmir desks at Pakistan's embassies all stated. He said the Kashmir Cell and Kashmir desks will ensure effective communication on this the responsibility for helping to resolve the Kashmir dispute, he said. Qureshi stressed that the must find a solution to the lingering Kashmir dispute. The Indian army is using cluster were involved in carrying out the latest Kashmir doctrine of Prime Minister Modi. India is in Ganderbal and Ramban districts of Occupied Kashmir. During cordon and search operations, the troops to the worsening situation in Indian-held Kashmir following the abrogation of Article 370 of the notion that militants are being sent to Kashmir from here, he clarified. During the press Pakistani Twitter accounts posting in favour of Kashmir had been blocked. London-based human rights , who travelled for two days around occupied Kashmir, has painted a grim picture during her of the rights of the people of Kashmir, he added. Asked whether Pakistan was considering grave concern over the situation in Occupied Kashmir. He had also invited reference to Simla

The discourse of Figure 4 focuses on the positive response of many international forums as Pakistan raised the issue of Kashmir. The subtopics are Prime minister and General Asif

Ghafoor's statements regarding the Indian activities in Kashmir, and some significant people's own experiences that gives us a testimony of Indian behaviour. Multiple organizations positively responded affirming the issue will be discussed at the United States Congress and also in European Parliament committee on foreign affairs where the minister of Azad Jammu and Kashmir Raja Farooq will himself go and speak to the parliamentarians there. They will discuss the curfew and Kashmir's current situation. Apart from that, the Muslim Council of Britain also raised the issue and urged the government of the UK to play its role in ceasing the activities of India in Kashmir.

The subtopic discusses Van Hollen, a US senator, who was not allowed to visit Kashmir during his visit to India, and a BBC reporter, Geeta Pandey's remarks as she had to go through lots of roadblocks to visit a place in Srinagar. Moreover, the signatories condemn the communication blackout in Kashmir by India. Another subtopic is Prime Minister, Imran Khan's address as India blamed Pakistan for sending militants to the region under discussion. The PM rejects the blame and says something should be done as the world also knows that nothing is well in Kashmir. General Asif Ghafoor also asserts that the situation is open for the world to see and highlighted that many Twitter accounts of Pakistanis were blocked because they posted in favour of Kashmir.

The macrostructure of this discourse revolves around the level where international personalities and organizations are responding to the appeal of Pakistan and sharing their views on it. This macrostructure of the discourse will help create the phenomena of solidarity from around the world as they stand with Pakistan. The views of international personas about Kashmir establish a strong discourse against the opponent, India. This macrostructure would be significant in understanding the news production too as the journalist picked up the views of people who speak in favour of Pakistan and its opinion regarding Kashmir.

The referential strategy used in this newspaper is different from The Dawn, as in that we analyzed that the Pakistanis were addressed very respectfully by putting 'Mr' with names or by using 'Prime minister' with the name of Imran Khan while nothing like that was used with Indian Prime Minister's name; he was just addressed as 'Modi' while in The News, the address to people on both sides of the territory is neutral; for example, in one place 'Prime Minister Imran Khan' is used, and also 'Indian Prime Minister' is used. The journalist has also addressed him only as 'Modi', and has also addressed Pakistan's foreign minister as 'Qureshi', which gives us information about the objectivity of the journalist in terms of using nominalization or a referential strategy. The representation is quite explicit. The whole discourse implies that India is negatively represented as organizations and international people have positively responded to Pakistan's appeal and they stand with Pakistan. However, Pakistan is positively represented as it is also strongly advocating for Kashmir.

The researchers have noted few lexicons that have been used in the discourse of Figure 4 which are carefully used by the author to highlight the activities of India in Indian Held Kashmir. These are: 'Atrocities', 'Siege', 'Restrictions' and 'Cluster Bombs'. These terms have negative semantic value and, in this microstructure, they negatively represent India by highlighting its bellicose activities.

**Figure 5**

*Concordance Hits: The News*

calling for returning the special status to Kashmir, he pointed out. Qureshi said three Indian the rights of the people living in Kashmir, he said. General Asif also made it a meeting of the Special Committee on Kashmir, he said the OIC had called for ly highlight the prevailing situation in occupied Kashmir, he stated. He said the Kashmir Cell to Indian stubbornness in the Indian Held Kashmir (IHK) and imposition of curfew for the abrogation of special status of Indian Held Kashmir (IHK) on Saturday. The protest demonstration was status of Muslim-majority state Jammu and Kashmir, imposition of curfew and communications blackout most mobile telephone lines in Indian Occupied Kashmir in a major easing of a two- charge or trial in the Indian Occupied Kashmir. In a report, the watchdog said it that granted special status to Jammu and Kashmir. India had revoked Article 370 on Monday. Before reports of human rights violations in occupied Kashmir. Indian opposition leaders led by former Congress of their fellow brethren in Indian Occupied Kashmir (IOK). The warning came from him in Kashmir, but since landline tele-density in Kashmir is below 1% according to the government\x92 Friday prayers. Quite obviously, the situation in Kashmir is far from normal, despite claims by that British people will not rest until Kashmir is liberated and genocide perpetrators are punish , Indian government has officially announced that Kashmir is no longer a disputed territory and \x92s call for taking up the Kashmir issue and after this huge success it said the Indian government was dragging the Kashmir issue toward a nuclear war with its as members. The foreign minister said the Kashmir issue was raised in the UNSC after to the UNSC meeting on Kashmir that Kashmir issue would be resolved as per UN action of annexation of IOK. The Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF) has already announced tha of IHK by participating in the Free Kashmir March held outside Birmingham City Council House. from its flagrant human rights violations in Kashmir. Meanwhile, a grenade attack in IOK\x92 paid connections and landline phones, reported by Kashmir Media Service. Despite the authorities\x92 effort imposed on the held territory. According to Kashmir Media Service (KMS), the protesters carried plac property worth millions of rupees, reported by Kashmir Media Service. On the other hand, normal orce against thousands of protesters in Srinagar, Kashmir Media Service reported on Saturday. Defying strin operations continued till last reports came in, Kashmir Media Service reports. On the other hand, imposed strict restrictions on media. According to Kashmir Media Service, the Indian government had snapped special status of the territory, reported by Kashmir Media Service. The signatories said while they anwhile, former chief minister of Indian Occupied Kashmir Mehbooba Mufti Saturday appreciated Prime Ministe rejected its viewpoint. The Special Committee on Kashmir met at the Foreign Office on Saturday like the RSS. Let us stand with Kashmir, Mufti said, adding, This inhuman siege imposed since August 5 when India annexed part of Kashmir occupied by it illegally and divided it

The macrostructure of this sample implies the aggressiveness of Pakistan as India continues the communication blockade, curfew, and deployment of more troops so the theme focuses the actions being made by Pakistan to show aggressiveness and the subtopic again shows how the international community is showing solidarity by raising a voice at certain forums. It states that Pakistan did not permit the president of India, Ram Bath Kovind, to fly through its airspace as he had to visit Iceland and some other countries. The foreign minister of Pakistan said that this restriction was imposed because India has not shown any flexibility and its stubbornness resulted in this reaction from Pakistan. He further named three Indian officials who are responsible for the current situation of Kashmir as they follow the doctrine of Modi.

The subtopic discusses international organizations voicing Kashmir like Amnesty International as it demanded the lift of the communication block and highlighted the usage of excessive force by Indian troops as it discussed that families in Kashmir are beaten and threatened. The linguistic choices or lexicons used in this discourse for India construct India's negative image. These word choices are important to point out. The researcher found these lexical choices particularly used for India, i.e. 'human rights violation', 'genocide perpetrators', 'grenade attack', 'strict restrictions' and 'inhuman siege'. The researchers have also noted the use of alliteration 'dual doctrine' and 'belligerent behaviour' in the sample. The alliteration emphasizes the forcefulness of Pakistan as it is spoken by Pakistan's foreign minister and accentuates the dissatisfaction of Pakistan with India's doctrine as he calls it dual. Probably, he calls it dual because India talks about peace, but recently, the Indian defence implicitly talked about nuclear policy, which made Pakistan determined and forceful, and the second alliteration 'belligerent behaviour' is also used by the Indian Defence minister on his recent remarks. The use of alliteration is used for emphasizing the escalating tensions between both countries because of India's continuous activities, Pakistan is becoming more defiant and aggressive.

### **Conclusion**

The current study has solely focused on the issue of Kashmir and has analyzed the themes and the way these themes are used in constructing a particular ideology. In light of the data analysis section, the study has concluded that the referential strategy used in The News is different from the Dawn, as in the Dawn, we have found that Pakistanis are addressed very respectfully by using the form of address 'Mr' with names, or by using 'Prime minister' with the name of Imran Khan while nothing like that was used with the Indian Prime Minister's name. He was just addressed as 'Modi', while in The News, the address to people on both sides of the territory is neutral, as for the Pakistani PM, the official title 'Prime Minister Imran Khan' is used. Likewise, it is also used for the PM of India, 'Indian Prime Minister.' If the journalist had addressed him only as 'Modi,' s/he would also have addressed Pakistan's foreign minister as 'Qureshi,' which gives us information about the objectivity of the journalist in terms of using nominalization or a referential strategy. The representation is quite explicit. However, we have discovered that the overall discourse implies that India is negatively portrayed since the mentioned organizations and international community have positively responded to Pakistan's appeal, and stand with Pakistan. Besides, Pakistan is also positively represented as it is engaged in a struggle for Kashmir. Future researchers may use the same theoretical framework and analyze some other data, or expand the data related to ideology construction. Researchers may select one Indian newspaper and one Pakistani newspaper and may compare their strategies for portraying the issue of Kashmir. In addition to these two newspapers that contain two different ideological backgrounds, the researchers may select any American or European newspaper with neutral representation of the same issue.

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