

REPRESENTATION OF KASHMIRI INCIDENT IN INDIAN AND PAKISTANI NEWSPAPERS: A DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF BURHAN WANI'S CASE

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ABSTRACT

The present study analyzes the projection of ideologies in Indian and Pakistani newspapers on the issue of Kashmir regarding Burhan Wani's death. The study conducts the content analysis of newspaper articles Indian newspaper Times of India and Pakistani Dawn from the 8th of July 2016 to the 15th of July 2016. Articles have the potential to shape opinions and convey ideologies. In order to investigate the issue, this study explores the ideological representation in the discourse through the schematic and thematic level of discourse analysis. Van Dijk's model (1988), "Structure of News in Press," is applied to this research article. For this purpose, qualitative methods of data collection and analysis are used. Finally, it brings the results that article writers construct and form ideologies of the in-group, and the newspaper owners influence their ideologies. Analyzing articles from both newspapers reveals that articles cannot be treated as objective opinion pieces but as representative of their respective ideologies.

Keywords: Kashmir, daily Dawn, Pakistan, Time of India, Burhan Wani

INTRODUCTION

News articles discuss current events of general or specific interest. These articles relate to current events and other events such as sports, politics, art, etc. Sometimes these articles are a narration of eyewitnesses to the occurring events. In the era of enlightenment and technology, news articles play a significant part in providing readers with rich measures about happenings around the globe. Newspapers article can never be impartial or objective but serve the ideology of the press in a particular manner. Therefore, no one can contradict the importance of newspaper articles as they shape and build the ideology of their readers. Ideology is narrated as the conceptual sub-structure, the narratives, the notions, and the method of defining a case. The focus on the difference between them and us will build upon the newspaper's political direction. Thus, ways of representing a notion and thought of the newspaper article differ, and this distinguishes one newspaper from another.

Divided from the same motherland sharing the cultural heritage yet consistently positioning against each other depicts Pakistan and India as an ordinary citizen of both sides. Although deep-seated inside their heart, ordinary citizens wish that the differences should get over for the advancement of both states. The public servants might be thinking differently. Kashmir, since independence, has remained the bone of contention between the two states. Media can play a vital role in such a scenario as they can turn out to be peacemakers or peace breakers. Both sides' reporting on the Kashmir issue serves a purpose as both claim ownership. Media is the public source of getting news that can build different narratives.

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The print media is an integral part of both Pakistan and India. People across the border actively participate in media discourse. Media is free in this age, but people of both countries are pro-Kashmir. Sentiments about the Kashmir issue are not hidden; one can easily sense them by looking at the media coverage of the issue. This tantrum on both sides is seen in the press. To investigate issues in their actual context, the press's role is interpreted in shaping ideologies as a result of the events like Burhan Wani's death. The current analysis is focused on newspaper articles. The data has been gathered from *Dawn* (2016) and *Times of India* (2016), Pakistani and Indian newspapers, respectively, reporting about Burhan Wani's killing and its portrayal through print media. Burhan Wani is seen as a hero; for some, he was a terrorist. Burhan's case is not new. It has been happening with other freedom fighters since the birth of disputes. The particular focus has been on the representation of Wani's case and the evaluation of social actors, the event itself, and the schematic structure of the newspaper articles.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is the field of socio-linguistics that has paved the way for linguists to carry out the hidden ideologies behind seemingly simple and plain words. *Language* is a tool that can present an event in a way that can be sympathized. For that reason, Taiwo (2007) said that language is no more narrating reality but creating reality. Many are manipulating realities with the help of language usage in their favor. Newspapers play a pivotal part in portraying social issues according to their ideologies. CDA marks out all the initiations of newspaper owners about any event. The current analysis also aims to investigate the hidden ideologies of newspaper writers about the Kashmir issue with particular reference to Burhan Wani's case.

Problem statement

This research deals with media discourse. Since the invention of modern technology and the advent of media, many actual incidents have been manipulated into the will of media owners. The researcher has revealed print media's discourse as a tool to shape public opinion and ideology. It has also been noted how the same issue is reported differently in newspaper articles. The incident of Burhan Wani's death in Kashmir and its reporting in Pakistani newspaper *Dawn* (2016) and Indian newspaper *Times of India* (2016) have been looked at to depict the print media's discourse for purposeful means.

Significance of the study

This research guides other investigators and common masses to identify one-sided newspaper discourse. The research has proven readers to discover a particular discourse's hidden meanings. This research also warns about the tools used by media and states in this scientific age to build certain ideologies. This research can compare and contrast different media reporting about the same issue.

Objectives of the study

The study has following objectives:

- To critically investigate the news reporting of Pakistani and Indian newspapers about the Kashmiri incident.
- To find out the ways through which they are making public opinion in their favour.

Research questions

1. What is the role of newspapers articles in building public opinion and separate ideologies in the case of Kashmir issue?
2. How Burhan Wani's incident is represented in Pakistani and Indian newspapers?

Delimitation

The research is delimited to the Kashmiri incident in recent past (especially to the Burhan Wani's death and aftermath) *Times of India* (2016) and *Dawn* (2016), the most credible and time-honored newspapers of India and Pakistan. Selected articles from first week after the incident that took place in July 8TH 2016 are analyzed for the analysis.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Language is a set up of communication. It aids people in convey deliver thoughts. The absence of language shows the powerlessness of humans. It is an essential aspect of human life at the individual and collective level. Maybe, for this reason, Askeland & Payne (2006) stated that language is a vital aspect of personal and cultural distinctiveness; moreover, contains knowledge and is a tool used for the sake of personal or collective gains. Rogers and companions (2005) admitted that language is an indicator that expresses and constructs social relations among societies, even though it dares social relations simultaneously. Bakhtin (1981) accepted that there is not a tiny part of the language in the

discourse that is not influenced by a social group, class, state, or relationships; it is in such a way considered that language is the constituent of the social world as well as a constituent of other social practices. The relationship between media and language and its investigation of language choices in media is of prime importance in critical and comprehensive studies of media discourse; that is why Popp (2006) narrates that the choice of language in media is a means of constructing and building a reality. In short, it is framing social, political, economic, cultural, and ideological realities that might depend on the language use of media. The language used in electronic media is way different from print media. Choices of different media outlets are specifically according to their targeted audience.

The notion of language is sometimes discussed with the concept of ideology. It is said that language is not a vehicle for ideological development but is shaped by ideological process. In any case, there is a strong relationship between language and ideology. Ideology is elucidated as a science of notions and the study of their inception and nature. Several schools of thought have discussed the notion of ideology, defined by scholars in their respective fields, so as in discourse studies. Bloor and Bloor (2007) argue that one can explain ideology as a set of faiths or stances shared by participants of a particular social group. Therefore, it is difficult to challenge such beliefs in the social arena because these are people's unconscious beliefs that cannot be seen. The day-to-day dealings of people in their fields depend highly on those beliefs they carry without knowing. *Ideology* can be defined as a path or a way that people follow to get to their destination. It is believed that ideology has power over perception, the ability to lead one's estimation and issue direction towards action, and it must be logically coherent. Every individual may serve distinctive political and religious ideologies.

Language plays a crucial role in building an ideological stance. The use of language and its impacts on the public is viewed by different approaches in Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). There are several approaches to CDA. Among such various approaches, Van Dijk and Fairclough's approaches are at the top in CDA. Van Dijk's approach has considered textual linguistics and social cognition of prime importance, mainly in his works of discourse analysis. Fairclough has more emphasis on the Sociological approach (Resende, 2009). According to Fowler (1991), language is social practice constructing reality, and whatever is said or written about the globe is expressed from a particular ideological position; critical discourse analysis CDA examines the role of newspaper language. Fowler (1991) stated that the ideological stance of news writers is not always apparent, but it is unseen in the minute choice of linguistic forms. News writers are associated with a particular ideological group. However, in this age of mess, media outlets hire writers according to their frame of mind and work as servers of their ideologies. Thompson (1990) believed that CDA gives the means to examine how language wields in social life. It brightens the generalization of specific discourses and associates specific texts to ideologies recognized as symbolic constructions aiming towards maintaining prominent structures.

Kashmir has been disputed since the independence of two neighbors, Pakistan and India. Pakistan and India consider Kashmir as their part, but the reality seems different. People in both countries are hijacked by the media, building their narratives. Media in this modern world is essential for getting into any event or development. Newspapers have played a significant role in all fields of life since their emergence. Print media, specifically newspapers, are essential in public thoughts about an event. That is why Reah (2002) elaborated news as documentation about current or recent events that are of interest to the public or may affect the public broadly. Reporters nominate what news they feel is newsworthy. Fowler (1991) narrated that news is not worth free because it has a structure of values and socio-economic origin. Therefore, no one can deny the importance of news and media with this fact in their hands that manipulate different events at different levels.

The current study is based on the ideological representation of print media discourse. The Pakistani newspaper Dawn (2016) and Times of India (2016), an Indian newspaper, have been discussed in this research. The choice of language in both newspapers has been building public opinion. The newspapers on both sides manipulate Wani's death incident in their media reports. It strengthens Pakistan's and Indian ideological stances on the issue of Kashmir.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This research is a descriptive inquiry with a qualitative approach and is limited to one Pakistani English and one Indian English newspaper, *Dawn* and *Times of India*, respectively. The qualitative

method has the purpose of comprehensively investigating the investigator's motives. The research findings have been carried out by applying Van Dijk's theory of "Structure of News in Press."

Research design

This research is qualitative research in which articles from Pakistani *Dawn* (2016) and Indian *Times of India* (2016) newspapers have been exposed, having a target to identify language as a social practice. The data has been analyzed by using the descriptive method. The comprehensive approach of discourse analysis has been followed.

Theoretical framework

The research follows the guideline provided by Van Dijk's "Structure of News in Press" (1988). Van Dijk is one of the renowned linguists in the field of media discourse. He started applying his media discourse theory in the 1980s, focusing on minorities and ethnic groups. Dijk's inspection of news discourse is not only of the textual and structural level but also for the analysis and explanation of the social level, as the institutional practice of news making, economic and social practice. In this framework, the structure of news is viewed beyond the sentence level, such as thematic and schematic levels. Language gives meaning, and meaning can be analyzed with the help of semantics, stylistics, or sentential connections. However, this level of thematic and schematic provide the underlying meaning of discourse analysis. Dijk (1988) stated that thematic analysis is the background investigation of semantic macrostructure and schematic; on the other hand, it discusses the overall form of a discourse and its representation. Media owners convey their ideologies that can be exposed by applying different approaches to discourse analysis, and this approach is one of them.

Data analysis

The researcher emphasizes the ideological representation of the Kashmir issue in both Pakistan and Indian newspapers. Articles of *Dawn* (2016) and *Times of India* (2016) have been analyzed. As in newspaper articles, the most critical components, thematic and structural, are headlines and the main body of articles. Hence, the researcher follows the top-down approach; the headlines come first into consideration. Here are the headlines of selected newspaper articles that serve particular ideologies.

<i>Times of India</i>	<i>Dawn</i>
<i>Violence erupts in Kashmir after death of Hizbul Mujahideen terrorist Burhan Wani, 3 killed</i>	<i>Indian troops clash with kashmiri protesters as top rebel commander killed</i>
<i>Hizbul poster boy Burhan Wani killing a bonus: Sleuths</i>	<i>Pakistan condemns India's killing of Hizbul Mujahideen militant commander</i>
<i>Kashmir violence: Protesters snatch 70 police guns, build armoury</i>	<i>Police shelling leaves kashmiri youth blind in one eye, medics claim</i>
<i>India may summon Pakistan envoy, show him proof of Burhan's terror acts</i>	<i>Cabinet meeting condemns Indian govt for calling Burhan Wani a terrorist</i>

In both sections, the structure of addressing the issue severely affects readers. Representation of the main issue is way different. Pakistan and India claim Kashmir as their integral part, and both countries have been fighting battles over Kashmir since independence. The *Times of India* (2016) cites Wani as a terrorist because of him Valley faced violence. In this case, those who have been fighting against the Indian army are Wani's supporters, making them followers of a terrorist. It depicts the Indian army as under attack but not the protesters.

On the other hand, *Dawn's* (2016) title conveys that Indian troops are in a clash with protesters. The choice of words makes things different. That is why no one can negate the power of language. *Dawn* (2016) headline as 'Indian troops clashes with Kashmiri protesters' if it has been 'Kashmiri protesters clashes with Indian troops. Here, exact words displacement makes an issue in anyone's favor. Therefore, such structural ways change the theme and build public opinion.

The *Times of India* (2016) calls Wani a poster boy and justifies his killing as a bonus. They show their strength while calling him a poster boy and justifying his killing. The newspaper feeds its readers with the element of satisfaction. On the other hand, the Pakistani newspaper *Dawn's* (2016) headline condemns the killing of Wani.

The selection of words in the third sample from the Indian newspaper '*Protesters snatch 70 police guns*' tells the story of the violent protesters. However, a Pakistani newspaper narrates as '*Police shelling leaves Kashmiri youth blind.*' Although it is not under investigation whether the authenticity of news is valid, the representation of facts is shaking the ideologies of both sides.

Sometimes parties talk against each other, and Media owners take advantage of the scenario and communicate in their way. The last sample is in an Indian newspaper as it claims Pakistan at the back of terrorist activities in Indian-held Kashmir. On the other side, Pakistan has not declared Wani a terrorist and calls Indian oppression a human right violation against innocent Kashmiri people.

Construction of public beliefs at the socio-cultural level by manipulating events with the help of efficient language pushes the readers towards a state of confusion. Readers have no choice except to believe their respective opinion leaders. Analyzing the first important part of newspaper article headlines gives an idea about the structure, choice of language, and its impacts on the targeted audience. Not surprisingly, discourse analysis takes investigators to the beliefs and intentions of the writers. So far, the researcher has discussed the first part of the newspaper article. The following part critically analyzes the main body of the article.

The extensive consideration of ideological sketching in selected article bodies has looked for further investigation. In headlines, the glimpses of information are conveyed in a precise way. The text contains the primary information and its consequences in detail. Therefore, to better understand how newspaper articles shape opinion, one has to look at the text and its implicature. Wani's death and the aftermath have been pointed out differently in Pakistani and Indian newspapers. Following are the selected text bodies from *the Times of India (2016)*:

"Meanwhile, thousands of people joined funeral prayers of Burhan who was laid to rest on Saturday afternoon in his native village of Tral. There was no deployment of security forces in Tral and adjoining areas to avoid a confrontation with the people coming to participate in the funeral".

(Times of India, July 9, 2016)

Burhan Wani's funeral day was tense and gloomy in Indian-held Kashmir. People of the Valley came out of their homes to protect the legacy of their freedom fighters like him. Violence has erupted in the Valley, and a few deaths and injuries have been reported in international and local media. They are reporting an event thematically and schematically in *the Times of India (2016)*, as in the quoted passage, the theme of normalization is conveyed. The security forces have been sketched as they have not wanted to confront the locals. It tells that violent mobs are the initiators of violence, not the security forces. In a curfew-like situation, it is reported that the escalated people should avoid the movement of their troops in nearby areas for peace. The passage mentioned above narrates the situation and intention of Indian security forces that they are avoiding violence. It serves the purpose of a particular side and builds a targeted audience's opinion about the normalization of the situation. With the help of words, this one-sided representation of events gets the audience to a place where they thought others were defaulters.

"While ruling out a major surge in terrorism in the Valley in the coming days and months, a top security official said the 'Burhan Wani' phase would soon pass. "Many terror icons have come and gone... no signal individual can have permanent appeal or impact," he said. In the long term, the security establishment feels, the centre and J&K government will have to step up engagement with local youth to keep them away from militancy". (*Times of India, July 11, 2016*)

The semantic macrostructure of the passage above conveys Wani's death as a phase that would soon end. The representations of freedom fighters like Wani as a terrorist and an icon whose killing seems to be a victory of security forces. The newspaper cites an official statement in such a context that negatively impacts readers. Security official statement has narrated that they confront such situations often in Valley. Narratives are building as those demanding freedom are trouble-makers, and the peace-making try of security forces is shown. Security forces are justifying their ways of oppression. It is narrated that locals are going into militancy. Suppose it is the case, then why Indian force is responding to bullets with bullets? Newspaper addresses an issue in its range while keeping its audience in mind. The representation of the issue from one side is logically correct, as security forces are the symbol of peace. The other side is filled with biasness, where protestors are called terror icons and peace breakers. Little tricks of newspaper discourse seem tiny, but these are shaping the public's opinion on a large scale.

“Looting of weapons from the police and armed forces, which common a decade ago, had waned. It escalated recently after Wani’s emergence, with poster boy of Hizbul Mujahideen calling upon J&K youth to attack forces and snatch away their weapons. Security experts said most of the snatched weapons ended up in the hands of local militants and were used against the forces, compounding the threat they faced from heavily-armed Pakistani terrorists belonging to Lashkar-e-Taiba and Jaish-e-Mohammad sent by ISI to the Valley”. (Times of India, July 13, 2016)

The *Time of India* (2016) has reported interlinked protestors' activities with separatists who have been holding the same ideology for decades. The discourse of the newspaper seems illogical in the way that it compares recent events with previous ones. It is known that such waves have been aroused in the past, but the nature of incidents is always different if one considers historical facts. Wani has been accused as the provoker of terrorism. As reported, the youth of J&K also has indulged in illegal activities, and Indian authorities mention a serious interest in altering their minds from freedom-seeking incitements. The broader phenomenon is also discussed as Pakistani militant outfits are considered a grave threat backed by ISI (Inter-services intelligence). Lashkar-e-Taiba welfare, run by Hafiz Saeed, and Jaish-e-Mohammad, run by Mulana Masood Azhar, have been considered terrorist outfits. Although Pakistan has banned Lashkar-e-Taiba and Jaish-e-Mohammad, and their leaders have also been detained yet, India has not been able to present sufficient evidence against them. Pakistan has always denied allegations and has gone to international organizations several times for a solution. However, the Pakistani side is neglected. People rely on newspapers that are biased and serve different groups and gain political and personal benefits. Language can be used either ethically or unethically, considering the socio-political situation.

“The review meeting was informed that social media and even public address systems of local mosques were used to raise pro-freedom slogans and incite youth to indulge in stone pelting/protests”. (Times of India, July 14, 2016).

Security officials and other governmental-level meetings are held after the zealous incident of Wani's death. Social media is specifically called the forum where separatists attain the attention of others and make them raise their voices against Indian rule. It is reported that internet service was suspended due to threats about mobs' further stimulation in online forums. It is a fact that we are living in a technologically advanced world, but most of the inhabitants of this world are digitally illiterate. Fox (2017) stated that blaming social media is politically convenient but intellectually not vague, and it is childish to think social media radicalizes people. Mosques and other public address systems might be inciting people to stand up against authorities. A peaceful public gathering is a fundamental right of the people in any society. Thus, the newspaper builds a specific type of ideology where protesters are violence seekers, and armed forces face severe blows at the hand of protestors.

Therefore, *the Times of India* (2016) talks from an Indian point of view about the issue. They have been talking about terrorism and militancy, and the roots are linked with Pakistan. The radicalization of Kashmiri youth has been portrayed in a way that anyone can believe the illogicality of the demands of the general public. Demands of the opposite group have not been discussed in articles. Historical context tells a different story than told by the Indian press. Thus, the element of doubt can never be eliminated from the minds of people. A new depiction in *Times of India* (2016) purely takes a ground of Indian ideological stance about the sizzling dispute of Kashmir. For the purpose of checking the manipulation of Wani's event, *Dawn's* (2016) pikes have been analyzed further.

“However, hundreds of protesters came out in several neighborhoods’ in southern Kashmir, chanting “Go India! Go back” and “We want freedom”. Most citizens in the mostly Muslim region have long resented the Indian presence, and support rebel demands for independence or merger with Pakistan. (Dawn July 9, 2016).

Dawn's reporting about an incident has supported the cause of Kashmir and has shown anti-Indian sentiments. It has been quoted directly that the people of Kashmir demand freedom. Pakistani point of view about the Kashmir dispute is clearly seen in this report. The *Dawn* (2016) serves the ideology of Pakistan on the issue of Kashmir. Kashmir is a Muslim-majority area; Pakistan's claims over Kashmir are logical because Pakistan is also a Muslim state. Pakistan also has a half part of Kashmir known as Azad Jammu Kashmir. As reported in the aforementioned report, Muslims of Kashmir want India to go back as they want freedom. India may well accept the idea of freedom, and it may be the only way to cope with the Kashmir issue, but a merger with Pakistan seems

unacceptable to India. Pakistani side narrative aggravates Indian more, that is why India accuses Pakistan of funding terror in Kashmir. This is the recent report about the Kashmiri dispute, but the Pakistani narrative seems consistent, which has not changed and may not be changed in the near future.

“Pakistan reiterates that the resolution of the Kashmir dispute is only possible through the realization of the right to self-determination of the people of Kashmir, as per UNSC resolutions, through a fair and impartial plebiscite under auspices, the FO spokesman said”. (Dawn July 10, 2016).

Pakistan raised the Kashmir issue on different international forums. After the occurrence of Wani's incident Pakistani side started their notions to the public again. The reports show that Pakistan supports Kashmiri people to give their input about the dispute. The passage above narrates the Foreign Office spokesperson's statement that resolution is only possible when the people of Kashmir are considered regarding their own choice. Incidents like Wani's death worsen the situation, according to Pakistan. Pakistan demands United Nations Security Council (UNSC) resolution on Kashmir is to be considered. The ideological chunks of Pakistan narrated in *Dawn's (2016)* government and the public are parallel grounds. Pakistani people sympathize with their faith brothers, and media reporting severely damages their emotions. People call India a brutal state, and the Indian side claims Pakistan is a haven for terrorism.

“An administrator said staff had been ordered not to speak to press but wards were crammed with young boys and men, many of whom had suffered serious eye injuries caused by the firing of pellets by Indian troops” (Dawn July 12, 2016).

Indian oppression and its dark side, shown by *Dawn (2016)* in the passage above that forces brutal behavior, have taken many into trouble. The hospital staff was ordered to stay quiet in front of the press. Pellets guns were used by Indian troops that left Kashmiri men blind. In the modern era, media and its freedom have been considered a unique achievement of humanity. Journalists and their sources are becoming strong that no one can hide anything from anyone. Social networking sites and advanced mobile phones brought a revolution in Journalism. India's aggression against protestors is inhuman, but restrictions against the press lead India to destruction in the Valley. *Dawn (2016)*, in this case, reported against Indian moves that hurt India's image in Pakistan. Representation of Kashmir in the newspaper discloses tales of highly oppressed people who need assistance. That is why the ideology regarding Kashmir is further strengthened by such sketching. The slogan *“Kashmir bany ga Pakistan”* and *“Kashmir Pakistan ki shyrag hai”* are fuelled. Two hundred million people in Pakistan are mostly Muslims, and when they see their Muslim brother facing a crisis like that, they back and believe narratives without even authentication. Media manipulates such a scenario and helps those stances grow.

“Wani's killing drew tens of thousands to rise up and renew demands for freedom from Indian rule. Massive protests took place despite imposition of an indefinite curfew in most parts of IJK”. (Dawn July 15, 2016).

The passage mentioned above shows the resistance and resilience of protestors. Protestors carried out Wani's legacy as they demanded freedom. Curfew is an attempt to block Wani lovers, but people go on to join the protest against Indian brutality. The structure and macro-semantics of this passage from *Dawn (2016)* support the notion of freedom demanded by the Kashmiri people. The sentiments of readers go high when they study reports like that. They idealize people who fight their battles in an intense situation. Ideologically *Dawn (2016)* supports the Kashmir cause and is hostile against Indian brutality. *Dawn (2016)* serves a particular stance about the Kashmiri dispute.

Therefore, *Dawn (2016)* shows the violence of Indian forces against innocent Kashmiris. The brutal killing of freedom seekers and ways of silencing the public from their demand is portrayed. Narratives on the Pakistani side are depicted with the incidents as the government's stance is also discussed in the reports. Pro-Kashmiri and anti-Indian reports are presented in a way that readers fit in their minds unconsciously, and their distinctive ideologies are shaped. The solution to the issue is not clearly stated. Thus, the issue is of Pakistan and India both, and no one can ignore others' stances. Representation of others' stances must also be discussed to resolve the issue, but the media serves a particular ideology, and it shapes public opinion. Media houses on both sides are reluctant to take the initiative.

CONCLUSION

In this study, Pakistani and Indian English newspaper *Dawn* (2016) and *Times of India* (2016), respectively, have been investigated in terms of representing the Kashmiri incident regarding Wani's case. Articles from both the newspapers gathered and analyzed have appeared into some differences. Conclusively, it is exposed that two newspapers approached the incident with a different strategy. Both newspapers try to represent their perspectives. *Times of India* (2016) represents the Indian perspective and considers protesters terrorists. Reporting backed security forces' action and condemned protesters' protest. Pakistan is also accused in their stories that Pakistan is at the back of terror acts in Kashmir. The negative projection of freedom fighters and their reference to Pakistan is the core of *the Times of India*' (2016) discourse. Ideologically Indian narratives are promoted, and the notion of freedom is criticized and named as a conspiracy of Pakistan against India. It is unveiled that *Times of India* (2016) articles serve a particular ideology that alters or constructs public opinion.

Similarly, *Dawn* (2016) represents the Pakistani point of view which sympathized with protestors and raised their voice against Indian oppression in Kashmir. Security forces are considered trouble maker who violently behave with peaceful protestors. It is revealed that Pakistan took the incident to the International Community. It is also reported that India, by force, occupied the area, and the people of Kashmir wanted to live with Pakistan. India is portrayed as a monstrous state which serves Pakistan's grand ideological behavior. The negative projection of India is the central theme of *Dawn*' (2016) discourse. Ideologically Pakistani narratives are promoted where the idea of liberty for Kashmir is fired and fully supported. *Dawn's* articles serve an ideology that builds a distinctive public opinion. This issue is more than the issue of the Kashmiri people. Regional politics is based on this issue. Therefore, *Times of India* (2016) and *Dawn* (2016) both newspapers represent self-positive and other negative representations based on their ideological notions.

However, this research is a way for the investigators to look into the matter and strengthen their work with the help of this work. In addition, researchers believe that the micro and macro level analysis deserve more detailed exploration for future research. At last, based on this research findings, there is a need to raise awareness in the general public about media strategies. It needs to learn that media promotes the interests of different firms. Therefore, such understanding about the issue is perceived when the culture of critical reading promotes, and with the help of this behavior, the research field is automatically enhanced.

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