

Ideological Representations in the Indian Newspapers' Editorials: A Case Study of Pulwama Incident in Kashmir

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Abstract: In the perpetual hostility between India and Pakistan, newspapers play an important role in constructing peace, war, ideologies and their dissemination. After the 'Pulwama Attack', the worst of its kind in the last 30 years in the Indian Administered Kashmir, the two nuclear states once again came on the verge of war. In such situations, the role of media becomes critical. This study aims at understanding how Indian press constructs 'Self' and 'Others' in conflict. To study the role of the newspaper in such situations, the editorials of the two mainstream largely circulated Indian English newspapers are analyzed using Teun van Dijk's (1989) framework of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). It is found that highly nationalistic and ideological words are used to represent 'Us' and 'Them'. The country where these newspapers originate from, is represented as powerful, with many powerful friends while its rivals as weak, isolated, hypocrite and terrorist or their facilitators.

Keywords: Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), nationalism, objectivity, ideology, editorials, Kashmir, India, Pakistan

Introduction

This paper analyses the discursive presentation of the Indian newspaper's editorials on the issue of Kashmir, which is the flashpoint between the two nuclear powers since their independence in 1947. More specifically, this research investigates the construction of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation along with the ideology of nationalism. According to van Dijk (1998:69), "The groups build an ideological image of themselves and others in such a way that (generally) 'we' are represented positively and 'they' come out negatively. Positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation seems to be a fundamental property of ideologies."

Even though the leaders of both the countries have been time and again emphasizing peace, health, education, and eradication of poverty and inflation, the two neighbour nuclear powers and densely populated countries are time and again on the verge of war. Without caring for billions of children, youth and women, both the countries spare no chance to wage war and initiate propaganda through their respective media outlets. Indian Prime Minister, Narendra Modi, while addressing a large public gathering offered the people of Pakistan 'let's wage war against poverty' (The Economic Times, 2016). In a similar row, Imran Khan, Pakistani Prime Minister, asserted that both the countries should spend on poverty alleviation instead of war (Pakistan Today, 2019).

The founder of the idea of Peace Journalism, Galtung(1996: 228) states "Since conscription is imposed by the nation-state, nationalism will be the motivating ideology used by the state for war". One of the remedies for peace among different nations would be through Galtung's (1996: 28) suggestion for

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media researchers, who holds that media researchers should be engaged with people and people will then put pressure on the elites for peace. Yet, unfortunately, among media, almost all the sections of India and Pakistan glorify war rather than peace.

Media is a powerful agent in making public opinions. Powerful elites use media to get their desired objectives by propagating through a particular narrative. The ruling class has exploited the ideology of nationalism against not only towards each other but if domestically someone is challenging the power or those in power are labeled as traitors and facilitators of the rival country in India and Pakistan. Fairclough (1989) argues that during the war, news media become more important in shaping and constructing public opinion. Media has always remained the mouthpiece of the government and the military has been considering that media coverage can be a multiplier of force. This is the reason why their priority is to focus on media as Hali (2000) quoted Abraham Lincoln says that "Public opinion is everything. With it nothing can fail, without it, nothing can succeed."

The media of Pakistan and India have always been sensitizing the issues and use bombastic words. It is a source of igniting the war than reducing or minimizing it. Whenever any untoward incidents happen, the media of both countries are ready to put the allegations on one another without reaching the facts or even quoting the source as stated by to Najam Sethi, a Pakistani journalist, "I regret to say that the media in both countries entrapped in narrow nationalism and remained part of the problem rather than solution" (Bose, 2011: 1).

Vigna (2014) argues that the cross border nationalistic media ignite a war and trigger hate. The votes for the extreme nationalist political parties are higher than the less nationalistic or secular parties. In the case of India and Pakistan, the leaders of both sides are not only aggressive against one other but also considered as the hero of their respective nation/country. The debate or issues between both countries are usually more heated up during the election period. Indian Prime Minister, Narendra Modi enhances the election campaign and exploits the Pulwama incident greatly by putting pressure on Pakistan (Gulf News, 2019).

The current Pulwama incident is one of the examples of the perpetual incidents that have taken place between both countries where they left no stone unturned to initiate a verbal war which leads to

an uncertain situation on the border and many times to a war. Pakistan and India fought three wars and there is a continuous tension on the Line of Control (LoC) and border regions especially on the issue of Kashmir which is still unresolved and is a bone of contention between them. In these wars, they used their media for patriotism and propaganda against one another. According to van Dijk (1998: 37), "Social conflict is thus cognitively represented and enhanced by polarization, and discursively sustained and reproduced by derogating, demonizing by excluding 'others' from the community of 'us', the civilized".

Ciorciari & Weiss (2012) argue that the countries have used nationalist's narrative mostly for manipulating their respective masses through media for domestic legitimacy during war times, the media further ignite the nationalist narrative to achieve national cohesion. Media has always been used as a propaganda tool in times of war. This process of manipulation through media is not new. Since the birth of the radio and the newspaper, it has blindly supported their respective ideology. In this regard, India and Pakistan are taking advantage of their respective media outlets too.

Background to the Study

There have been several incidents in Kashmir and in the rest of India and Pakistan for which both blame each other. The Pulwama incident is the latest one and of greater magnitude in the last 30 years due to which both the countries were on the verge of war. The media representation of such incidents is very important as it could lead to war while the nuclear weapons with both countries add more responsibility on the shoulder of media to reduce the temperature rather ignite the sentiment of their masses to put pressure on their respective governments for war or any aggressive action that escalate tension.

The Pulwama attack took place on 14th February 2019. Pulwama is a district in Indian administered Kashmir. About 40 personnel died in the attack. The attack was a suicide one. According to BBC (2019), Adil Ahmad Dar, a local, was identified who drove the vehicle and hit the convoy of buses carrying Indian soldiers in Pulwama. The attack has triggered country-wide anger in India where the Kashmiris were threatened and Pakistan was blamed. The people of India demanded prompt action from the government against Pakistan and the media ignite those voices. As a result, BBC (2019) states on February 18, Indian forces initiated an aggressive search operation in which about 9 Kashmiris were killed. On February 19,

the Pakistani Prime Minister warned India about the consequences of the attack on Pakistan. On February 26, India launched an airstrike on Pakistani territory in Balakot (commonly known as 'surgical strike' in India) in which India claimed that hundreds of militants were killed in the attack. On February 27, 2019, Pakistan claimed that it has hit down two Indian jets and captured one pilot. On March 1, Pakistan returned the pilot as a peace gesture. This has reduced the tension a little bit but the Indian media tried to ignite the situation more.

During all this period, media have remained subjective that not only endorsed the government stance but added most of the things of their own to the public. According to Vijayanand Drennan (2019), the Indian media remains biased and contradictory. Their sources are weak and no independent investigations have been made on the Pulwama incident. An article published in The Washington Post by SuchitraVijayan and VasundharaSirnateDrennan, 2019, states that:

Our investigation into the Indian media's reporting on the Pulwama attack found that many reports were contradictory, biased, incendiary and uncorroborated. News organizations attribute their information to anonymous "government sources," "forensic experts," "police officers" and "intelligence officers." No independent investigations were conducted, and serious questions about intelligence failures were left unanswered. ('After Pulwama, the Indian media proves it is the BJP's propaganda machine', Global Opinions, March 5, 2019).

Arora (2019), while analyzing the Indian media after the Pulwama attack, stated that the media in India is notorious for sensationalizing news and their claims are based on assumptions that are not entirely accurate.

Nationalism and Objectivity

Despite the fact that the world is a global village as stated by McLuhan (1968), nationalism in a particular region has still deep and powerful roots affecting the objectivity of the news. Nationalism is among the top ingredients of wars that greatly affect the objectivity of news and present a bias opinion of the analysts. According to Oishi (2008), it has been quite visible that media has successfully cultivated national consciousness in the context of a particular country or society. He defines nationalism as "Nationalism is a set of ideas and movements in people imagine a unit of nation consisting of region, religion, language and other factors, their forces of

cohesion increase, and people try to enlarge their interests" (p. 4). Factors like religion, region and language are responsible for nationalism in the stated definition and all these factors to promote and cultivate their respective ideology of nationalism for their national cohesion through their media.

White (2006) also argues that the newspapers are claiming to be objective and impartial but these are performing the ideological function. Both countries cannot be objective by following their ideologies while reporting each other, however, both are claiming that they are reporting objectively and truly. Objectivity could be one of the serious matters in reporting the Indo-Pak conflict as according to Lee (2010), "Objectivity is a precondition to peace journalism" (p-379). Media play a key role in establishing peace and war and can build pressure. According to Galtung (2007), in the case of Yugoslavia, media promote pressure on various actors to act. Media have also been biased in the war on Iraq and portrayed a one-sided picture (pp. 75-81).

Van Dijk (1998) states that while differentiating between objectivity and subjectivity, subjectivity is our own opinion or what we see as through our perspective and the objectivity is the shared beliefs about a certain event or phenomenon, (pp. 41,110); however, the above discussion validates the subjectivity for both the countries as they have different culture and communities. So, it is not certain what is objective and what is subjective for them.

Research Methodology

For the present study, a qualitative methodology has been used. In the study, Teun van Dijk's (1989) Socio-Cognitive Approach to Critical Discourse Analysis is used.

Statement of the Problem

The image of 'Others' as a nation-state has been negatively constructed in Indian newspapers. This discursive construction is highly biased and motivated by the specific historical, political and socio-cultural backgrounds of both the countries. The present study attempts to locate the discursive identity of Pakistan as presented in the newspapers of the Indian newspapers.

Research Questions

1. How is 'Self' and 'Other' discursively constructed in the Indian newspapers after the Pulwama incident?
2. What are the underlying ideology and power relations behind these specific strategies of discursive construction?

Sampling

The Indian newspapers' editorials, spanning from February 14, 2019, to March 5, 2019, when the tension defuse a little after handing over the Indian pilot by Pakistan. The selection of the given newspapers has been made based on influence and popularity. The data for the Indo-Pak research is diverse in the Indian newspapers in the form of news stories, opinions, feature and editorials but we choose the editorials for this investigation which would also reflect the policy and opinion of the newspapers. During this period, the selected newspapers publish 16 editorials. The entire editorials are studied thoroughly along with their titles/headlines. The texts for the study from among these editorials are taken as an example for the representation of various actors, actions and sentiments.

Indian Newspapers chosen for the study are:

The Hindu

The Times of India (TOI)

The above newspapers are selected on the bases of their large circulations in India.

Analytical Framework of the Study

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is greatly helpful in understanding the hidden meanings in the text. CDA is defined by different scholars according to their approach of analyzing the text. According to van Dijk (2001), CDA is defined as the study of the abuse of social power, inequality, and dominance in the social institutions and groups and how power and ideology are used in the text. The institution or group that controls the discourse might also control the minds of people. Thus, CDA aims to find an answer to the question, who controls the public discourse and how it affects the actions of the less powerful people. Fairclough (2001) argues that CDA finds an answer to how language is used as a tool of power for inequality in society and its use in the domination and exploitation of some people by others. CDA addresses diverse issues that mainly include racism, gender, sexism and media representation. CDA is to analyse a text but it takes a start from analyzing the social issues and problems (pp. 25-26). According to Wodak (2013) "CDA sees discourse – language use in speech and writing – as a form of 'social practice'. Describing discourse as social practice implies a dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event and

the situation(s), institution(s) and social structure(s), which frame it" (p.186).

CDA allows researchers to explore the elements in the text at the micro and macro levels. At the micro-level, it tries to find the grammatical structures, words used in the text while at the macro-level, it explores the role of the text in the context (Yunus, 1997).

There are different approaches to conduct the CDA research, in which the most popular among these approaches belong to van Dijk, Fairclough, Wodak. For the current study, the socio-cognitive approach of Teun van Dijk has been employed.

The Socio-Cognitive Approach in discourse analysis investigates the relationship among discourse; society and cognition, as all other critical discourse studies only consist of the relationship between discourse and society. The interpretation of message or text requires different cognitive structures as the text or message makes no sense without the socio-culture knowledge (Van Dijk, 2002). For example, in our study, it is necessary to understand the turbulent relations between India and Pakistan and their stances towards Kashmir for the interpretation of newspaper editorials regarding the selected incident of Pulwama. According to van Dijk (2016) "A socio-cognitive approach to discourse is a particular application of a more general theory or philosophy of social constructionism, which holds that social and political 'reality' are constructions of social members" (p. 4). He further elaborates that in the socio-cognitive approach, the cognitive component deals with memory, mind and the cognitive process involved in the comprehension and production of discourse. The socio-cognitive approach finds the ideological representation and dichotomy of 'Us' and 'Them' and for this purpose, the socio-cognitive model emphasizes on the following categories:

- The political, historical, social context and the main actors in the discourse.
- The relationship of power and conflict in groups.
- The positive and negative attitude of 'Us' and 'Them' in the discourse.
- The selection of lexicons, grammar emphasizes or de-emphasize the approach of various groups (van Dijk, 2008:61).

van Dijk (2006) assumes that positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation is the

general strategy to organize the ideological discourse. In the ideological discourse, the 'self' boasts up while the 'other' derogates. Moreover, this strategy emphasizes the good things and de-emphasizes 'our' bad things and the opposite for 'Others'. The 'others' bad things are presented with more exaggeration and good things are ignored.

Findings and Discussions

Microanalysis

The microanalysis critically examines the language of the selected editorials to find the meanings and the ideological representation of 'us' and 'them'. For the analysis of language in our current study, lexicalization is an important tool as van Dijk (1995) states that the choice of words is significant to represent the ideologically controlled discourse. Thorne (1997) argues that the lexical structure is investigated due to its relevance in the socio-political discourse analysis. The selection of words is very important in the construction of a phenomenon in the discourse. Words enhance the pattern of the discourse which is used in the text or speech to appeal the targeted audience to manipulate them through the selected words.

Sun (2007) elaborates that in discourse the lexical choices are an important tool for strategic positioning and that is why in any communication the choice of the words is the key for the enforcement of a particular strategy. In a given situation, the choices of words play an essential role in the identification, shaping, and framing that gives a particular meaning to action, actor or a particular phenomenon.

Keeping in mind the relationships of rivalries between India and Pakistan, particularly over the issue of Kashmir, the production and consumption of the text in the newspapers' editorials are analysed.

Collective nouns are used more frequently for 'us' and 'them' to describe the ideological construction of Indian Newspapers as one nation and the others are either friend or foe. For example 'our military', 'our soil', 'our unfriendly neighbour' are used frequently as collective nouns and metaphors in the discursive presentation of 'self' positive image. The use of 'our' shows a nationalistic perspective of the editors and situates themselves as ones among their nation. The use 'we' provides an example of the explicit mouthpiece for the domestic presentation of narrative in the editorials.

Complex sentences are more often used for the presentation of the Pulwama attack. Active voice is used for the action against Pakistan and passive voice

is used for internal behavior and attitude of government and people towards each other domestically.

All the selected editorials of the Indian newspapers used highly negative lexicons for Pakistan to describe the issue of the Pulwama attack. Most of the editorials urge for using military power and diplomatic relations with other countries to pressurize and threaten Pakistan. Vocabulary such as 'attack', 'terrorist', 'provoke', 'isolate', 'coercive', 'shoot', 'impress upon', 'repercussions', 'terror', 'defiant', 'radicalized', 'plethora', 'masterminds', 'proscribed', 'violence', 'deadlier', 'warfare', 'cross-border terrorism', 'Pakistan-based terror outfit', 'Pakistani hypocrisy', 'retribution', 'hybrid warfare', 'retaliate', 'blacklisting', 'impose sanctions', 'terror state', 'puppet', 'tough sanctions', etc are used to represent Pakistan. The war, military and hate lexicons are used frequently showing the aggressive stance during the conflict between India and Pakistan.

The Pulwama attack is totally associated with Pakistan ignoring all other factors, i.e., internal freedom movements in Kashmir and other parts of India and particularly the struggle of Kashmiris for the right of self-determination as the resolutions passed in the United Nations are the proofs for their struggle. As there have been anti-Pakistan sentiments and the majority of people in India love to talk against them. It is evident from the use of the military lexicons for the description of conflict against Pakistan makes a clear separation between the in-group and out-groups.

Macro analysis

Macrostructure is about social practice and discursive practice in the analysis of a text. In all the selected editorials of the stated time frame, the semantic macrostructure depicts the 'Other' highly negative and the self-negative is ignored or presented positively in terms of superior, strong, vindictive and nationally integrated. There is an emphasis on 'our good actions' and less emphasis on 'our bad action' and vice versa what van Dijk (2000) has stated that while representing self and other there is an emphasis on the good of ours and the bad of others and vice versa.

In CDA, the macro-analysis includes socio-cultural practice and discourse practice. The historical relationships between both the countries are stated in detail in the introduction which clarifies the whole picture for analyzing the text with the socio-cultural practice and for the discourse practice the media of both the countries is also thoroughly highlighted.

Media conglomerates control the market and thus mind for cognition in both countries and therefore the selected newspapers belong to big media groups.

The other important constituent in the macro-analysis is the proposition, which we have applied in our studies. van Dijk (1989, p.31) defines proposition as “the smallest independent meanings constructs of language and thought... typically expressed by single sentences or clauses”. He further elaborates by giving an example that the word ‘terrorist’ is not a proposition and the meaning to it could clarify more by adding something to it like to say that someone is terrorist or not a terrorist. Therefore, for the current study, we included sentences like the following to elaborate on the meaning of the words used in the text.

Negative Other-presentation

Pakistan is presented highly negative in all the selected analyzed editorials using words and phrases such as ‘terrorist’, ‘terror state’, ‘weak’, ‘hypocrite’, ‘isolate’, ‘as a terrorist harboring country’, which could be more clear after using of these lexicons in full text or in phrases in a much negative way. These highly ideological lexicons are used to construct the actors and actions of Pakistan in Kashmir against India. Richardson (2004) states that the producers of the discourse using different naming choices of objects and actors are the ideological tool for the presentation of the social world. Nouns, pronouns, adjectives, adverbs, and metaphors, etc. are used for the actors to present their qualities. These show the ideological function of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation. The words used are highly ideological for the construction of positive ‘self’ and negative ‘other’ in all the editorials. The choice of words and metaphors become more ideologically eminent when words like ‘our unfriendly neighbour’ and ‘hypocrite’, are used in the discourse which is depicted in the following excerpt and the subsequent macro proposition.

The suicide bombing in Pulwama, that left around 40 CRPF soldiers dead, has been claimed by Jaish-e-Mohammed — which in turn has been provided safe haven by Pakistan and consists of many Pakistanis... (“Following Pulwama attack, India must consider all options against Jaish-e-Mohammad terror”, Editorial, February 15, 2019)

The above extract is the first paragraph of the first editorial of ‘The Times of India’ after the Pulwama attack. The lexical choices such as ‘safe haven’, ‘consist of many Pakistanis’, controlled by the

army’, defiant’, are highly ideological while referring to ‘other’ (Pakistan). An emotional beginning is given, making minds for the later action, that the soldiers are dead by the suicide bombing and associating the incident with Pakistan, blaming them for providing safe haven to terrorist organizations. To believe its readers, more clarification to emphasize that the State of Pakistan is essentially controlled by the army and its spy agency ISI. Then, making the minds of its readers that Pakistan is not only going against India but also against the international community refusing international pressure to work against the terrorists. This means inviting international actors to work with India against Pakistan.

In the same way, in all selected editorials, the ‘other’ is presented as highly negative and the self negativity is ignored or positivity presented.

The following phrases depict that their government and military are for the larger national interests and persuading the readers that the actions against Pakistan should not be questioned. The whole nation should trust their military and government. It stops rationality, inviting war without mentioning the consequences. Representing Pakistan so subjectively that could be judged by the allegations like

“Pakistani state is essentially controlled by the army and ISI”

“local youth radicalised by the Pakistan-based terror outfit”

“terrorists receiving safe haven in Pakistan”

“Pakistan knows it cannot defeat India in direct conflict”.

Positive Self-presentation

The use of the collective noun like, ‘we’ ‘us’ and ‘ours’ are the indication of ideological representations in the text. According to Wodak (2009), the use of collective nouns such as ‘we’, refers to nation and ‘they’ to other nations, for example, ‘our military’, and ‘our response’, in the discourse production. In this portion, we analyse the direct address of the newspaper editorials to their respective nations/countries, however, further detail of the use of ‘we’, ‘our’, and ‘us’, is stated in the ‘self’ positive presentation’ portion. The following excerpt from The Hindu editorial depicts the use of authoritative language in which the Indian government is asked to take firm action against Pakistan:

As investigations into the Pulwama attack begin, Pakistan must act against the Jaish, As India mourns the death of 40 CRPF personnel in Thursday’s terrorist strike in Jammu and Kashmir’s Pulwama district, it is

clear that the attack was meant to provoke...("Terrible Thursday: on Pulwama terror attack", 'The Hindu', Editorial, February 16, 2019)

In the above text, words like 'mourns', and 'provoke' are highly ideological. The Indian press shows a highly aggressive stance towards Pakistan. The editorials are not objective and are highly nationalistic. Without any adequate proofs, relying on the acceptance of the responsibility of the attack of banned organization in Pakistan and just following their national narrative, the newspaper left no stone unturned to declare Pakistan responsible for everything that happened in Pulwama on February 14, 2019, and ignored all other factors like indigenous resistance of the Kashmiris, their deprivation, and their right to self-determination, etc.

Highly nationalistic and emotional text/phrases are used for national integration/cohesion against one another like:

"India must stand as one (against Pakistan)", (TOI, Feb 16, 2019)

"the entire political class comes together and backs the government and armed forces", (TOI, Feb 28, 2019)

"all political parties step back and think of national" (TOI, Feb 28, 2019)

The above sentences are the propositions that indicate a high nationalistic approach. The word must is having more emphasis and force on the people that this is time to forget all the differences and stand as one against Pakistan. This is how we can say that the animosity between both the countries is used as a tool for their internal solidarity.

The use of 'we' 'us' and 'our' or first-person plural pronouns and the use of 'they' and 'them' or second person plural pronouns could be used as a discourse strategy for showing the negative 'other' representation and positive 'self' representation. In Indian newspapers, self (we) is presented highly positive and its negative are ignored. In Indian newspapers 'we', 'us' and 'ours' are used to show itself as dominant, superior, and for national cohesion and national integration which is depicted from the following extracts from the selected editorials.

4) "will send a strong message to our unfriendly neighbour" (The Times of India, Feb23, 2019)

"We need to quickly modernise the armed forces and simultaneously make them leaner while giving them teeth. TOI Feb 16, 2019

In one of the editorials, The Times of India published the following picture after the surgical

strike on Balakot, Pakistan, which shows utter superiority, mightiness and aggressiveness and is highly ideological.

"More hard options: India must work to make Pakistan an international pariah unless it deals with terror, editorial, The Times of India, February 28, 2019"

Representation of Distant 'Other' Countries and Organizations, i.e. China, US, UN, Saudi Arabia, FATF

The Indian press presents the international actors both to support India against Pakistan and put pressure on Pakistan directly. After such an incident, both the countries try to reach the maximum countries and organizations for their favour by presenting their case with their own perspectives. These international actors are presented as positive and as a friend of India which could be used as a tool to punish Pakistan. These actors are used for ideological reasons in their discourse to construct them that they have good relations and that by exploiting their strong position to isolate Pakistan. The US is constructed as a 'friend' with a common interest in Afghanistan. The US considers India as a big market for trade and business and India would exploit it.

New Delhi must strongly lobby international financial agencies such as IMF or FATF to blacklist Pakistan and deny it financial bailouts, till such time as it can roll up its terror infrastructure....(Send a message: Pakistan's weakest pressure points are financial rather than military, editorial, The Times of India, February 25, 2019).

However, China is constructed highly negative and is criticized for helping Pakistan, economically and in international forums like the UN, while Saudi Arabia is constructed as neutral. The reasons for such construction could be best illustrated from the following excerpt and the subsequent macro propositions depict the discursive construction of China and Saudi Arabia from the selected editorials.

Ironically, China, a permanent member of UNSC, has been blocking Indian efforts to get Jaish chief MasoodAzhar proscribed by the UN. This is absurd.... The China-Pakistan all-weather friendship is far more important for Beijing. (The Times of India, editorials, February 22, 2019)

China is a good friend of Pakistan and helped Pakistan in many fronts at international levels, especially in the UN. Recently, China has initiated a very big project, i.e. China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) on which too, India shows its reservations. The

project is a network of regional connectivity which will not only be beneficial for China and Pakistan but for the whole region. It includes roads, rail and air transportation systems that will enhance the exchange of growth and many other things like people to people interactions, academic activities, etc. (CPEC, 2017). India has opposed this project since its inception and is trying to present its negatives points. The Economic Times (2018) reports that India is strongly against the billions of dollars project (CPEC) between China and Pakistan. This route passes through Gilgit Baltistan; an area which India considers as a disputed region and occupied by Pakistan. This entire scenario indicates that the friendship between China and Pakistan is not in the interest of India and that is why, China too, is being portrayed negatively. However, Saudi Arabia is constructed as an economic entity and is being presented as a potential player to work with India against the terrorism sponsored by Pakistan.

Riyadh should know that it can't indulge enemies of this country and expect to do business with New Delhi. True, there is great potential for growth in the India-Saudi relationship.... But Riyadh has to be on the same page as New Delhi on Pakistan-sponsored terrorism. Otherwise, growth in India-Saudi relations will remain limited (The Times of India, editorials, February 18, 2019)

Saudi Arabia is constructed as neutral but demanded to side with India against Pakistan if it wants economic activities with India. The relationship between India and Saudi Arabia is growing which is evident from the frequent visits of their leaders. Ningthoujam (2019) reports that the trade between both countries is extending from the traditional oil energy trade to many other sectors like science and technology, defense, counter-terrorism, and tourism, etc. India feels that due to Pakistan, one way or the other, the relationships between India and Saudi Arabia could not improve well. Due to the efforts of Pakistan to internationalize the issue of Kashmir, Saudi Arabia took a neutral stance which is welcoming for India.

Even though the above excerpt from TOI depicts that if Saudi Arabia is not helping India against Pakistan then the relationships will be at risk. Saudi Arabia is constructed like it is the need of Saudi Arabia to build a good economic and strategic relationship with India. An authoritative and directive language is used such as 'Riyadh should know', 'Riyadh has to be on the same page as New Delhi', to

work with India otherwise threatening that 'growth in India-Saudi relations will remain limited'.

Indian Untrustworthiness towards Pakistan

Calling Pakistan as 'Pakistan hypocrisy', 'a dysfunctional state', 'Pakistan supported terror groups', 'Khan's words are meaningless, like his PM's chair', 'The puppet speaks: Pakistani PM Imran Khan's', are the indications that there is no trust of India towards Pakistan. Criticizing and ridiculing the Pakistani Prime Minister Mr. Imran Khan, he is shown as helpless, weak and controlled by the military and their ideology. The above statements clearly depict the kind of narrative is being set for the public.

It has been founded in most of the editorials that India lacks trust in Pakistan. Whenever an incident like Pulwama happens, both countries demand the concrete evidence after declaring each other responsible for the attack or plotting for the attack. Before the Pulwama incident, for example, the Mumbai terrorist attack in 2008 for which Pakistan was blamed and then Pakistan arrested an Indian spy, KulbhusanJadhav, in Baluchistan, both have been demanding for concrete evidence and are not accepting the allegations from each other. On the border, there is a continual firing but both claim that the other one has first initiated the firing. There is a long list of such incidents and the subsequent allegations and denials.

Moreover, India considers Pakistan that it never takes action against the proscribe organizations that got involved in the attack on the Indian territory, rather blames Pakistan for their support. In this particular incident, the following excerpt shows the lack of trust of India upon Pakistan.

"Blanket denials by Pakistan, or even offers to 'probe' the existence of terror camps and activities of groups such as JeM, won't do any longer. The world is aware of Pakistan's sponsorship of terror groups; "plausible" deniability is implausible now. Khan has offered talks, but they can only succeed if preceded by a clear acknowledgement of Pakistan offering safe haven to terror groups..."('For real peace..', Editorial, March 1, 2019).

In the end, if we look at the headings of the editorials from the selected newspapers, we find that all the headings are with negative connotations against Pakistan and are highly ideologically loaded.

Table 1 includes the headlines from the selected editorials. Headlines grab the readers to a particular mindset and frame a way that creates a particular sentiment before reading the whole body of the

editorials. Headlines play an important role in attracting and directing the readers to a particular frame of mind. van Dijk (2011) states that headlines include the most important ingredients of the whole news story. The connotative and denotative meanings in the headlines of all the selected editorials present Pakistan terrorist, weak and hypocrite country. Furthermore, van Dijk (2006) suggests that the headlines are used to take the attention of the

readers by increasing the importance of an event through it. Effectively, the words used in the headlines are read by the readers to meet the terms of the ideological function of the editor. Fowler (1991) argues that the uses of such ideological lexicon in the titles or headlines are very important for the construction of a particular meaning about a social phenomenon and social world; that is why according to van Dijk (2006), it is noteworthy for the positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation

Table 1. Heading of the Editorials

Sr. no	Heading of the editorials	Newspaper	Date of Publication
1	Following Pulwama attack, India must consider all options against Jaish-e-Mohammad terror	The Times of India	15 February 2019
2	Terrible Thursday: on Pulwama terror attack. Subtitle As investigations into the Pulwama attack begin, Pakistan must act against the Jaish	The Hindu	16 February 2019
3	After Pulwama: The need of the hour is to enhance defence, isolate Pakistan and stop politicking on security	The Times of India	16 February 2019
4	Missed target: on India refusing visa to Pakistani competitors In sending a strong message to Pakistan, India should not shoot itself in the foot	The Hindu	23 February 2019
5	Strategic challenge: Respond in kind to Pakistan's hybrid warfare, protect Kashmiri students at home	The Time of India	18 February 2019
6	Terror timeline: on FATF advisory to Pakistan The FATF must impress upon Pakistan the need to take meaningful action	The Hindu	25 February 2019
7	MBS's Asia Tour: New Delhi should impress upon the Saudi Crown Prince the problem of Pakistan-sponsored terrorism	The Times of India	18 February 2019
8	Coming home: on the release of Indian pilot Wg. Cdr. Abhinandan The release of the IAF pilot gives India and Pakistan the chance to de-escalate tensions	The Hindu	01 March 2019
9	The puppet speaks: Pakistani PM Imran Khan's take on Pulwama attack is not even remotely plausible	The Time of India	20 February 2019
10	UNSC condemns Pulwama; but China must crack down on Pakistan for aiding terror	The Times of India	22 February 2019
11	Protect Kashmiris: Terrorists win if innocents from Kashmir are harassed	The Times of India	23 February 2019
12	Send a message: Pakistan's weakest pressure points are financial rather than military	The Times of India	25 February 2019
13	More hard options: India must work to make Pakistan an international pariah unless it deals with terror	The Times of India	28 February 2019
14	Political parties should avoid politicising actions of armed forces at this juncture	The Times of India	28 February 2019
15	For real peace: Let release of Varthaman trigger a process to take down terror safe havens	The Times of India	1 March 2019
16	Abhinandan returns: It's India's heroes who keep it ticking	The Times of India	2 March 2019

Conclusion

It is important to study the relationship between 'Us' and 'Them' in the rival countries to determine the ways how each other is constructed in different events in their discourses. The study is also helpful in critically studying the cross-culture communication of the rival nations and the role of media. The people suffered due to the ideology of nationalism and this is being forced to inculcate into the minds of their respective masses. In language, CDA helps in finding who control the masses. It is believed that the media of both countries are the mouthpiece of their respective governments and advances their agenda against one another with full zeal. Their nationalism and patriotism are scaled by the quantum of the news and opinion against one another.

The challenges for journalism in these countries are almost the same, i.e. their internal and external threats to the integrity and involvement of neighbors since their independence. This internal rebellious movements and external rivalries have a great impact on the objectivity and truthfulness on the journalists and media contents. These factors are exploited by the states, governments and other non-state actors of both countries who are setting an agenda for the media, explicitly and implicitly

Another interesting point that Times of India (TOI), despite the initiative for peace of (AmankiAsha) along with a Pakistani newspaper 'Jang' came up with high frequency (TOI 12 editorials and The Hindu 4) on negativity against Pakistan. The editorial comparison of both the newspapers for the study shows that in the construction of Pakistan, TOI remained more nationalistic, aggressive and biased. Overall, the Indian editorials construct Pakistan as a terrorist sponsored and terror harboring country controlled by the army and with no big friends in the world, which used proxies for their vested interests in the regions. A highly ideological language is used in the editorial to articulate the stance of its country on the issue of Kashmir, particularly on the issue of Pulwama Incident. There is a common trend in the text of the selected editorials to illustrate Pakistan as an enemy, cunning and terrorist state and depict India as peace-loving, secular, diverse and with many strong friends in the world.

It is suggested that in war situations, a great responsibility lies on the shoulder of the media to construct the rivals objectively and make the government answerable. Positive image building is the need of the hour for the media in the sub-

continent in general and India, being a large state, in particular, that should come up first to be positive towards its neighbour. It is indicated that the Indian media following their respective state narrative and becomes the mouthpiece of their government and praising their military without asking any question rather raise voice against who is questioning its performance. As the Indian government was aggressive; their media too were the same as the Indian press is ignoring all other factors i.e. their struggle for self-determination, which is responsible for the unrest in Kashmir but putting all the responsibility on Pakistan while Pakistan having its own interests in Kashmir declaring India.

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