

# Contesting Narratives: A Comparative Analysis of Indian, Pakistani and Kashmiri Print Media Framing of the Abrogation of Article 370

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## Abstract

The revocation of Article 370 by the Indian government in August 2019, stripping Jammu and Kashmir of its semi-autonomous status, dramatically exacerbated tensions in the long-standing Kashmir conflict. This decisive unilateral action triggered a harsh security crackdown and communications blackout in the Kashmir Valley. Given the disputed territory's centrality to Indo-Pak relations and regional stability, the framing of this pivotal event by Indian, Pakistani and Kashmiri media assumed immense geopolitical significance.

This study comparatively examined the dominant frames employed by elite English newspapers in all three stakeholder regions - The Hindu in India, Dawn in Pakistan, and Kashmir Times representing the local Kashmiri press. Underpinned by framing theory, a deductive qualitative content analysis revealed starkly divergent framings aligned with the respective nationalistic stances. The findings expose how media outlets strategically amplified certain aspects while marginalizing others to promote polarizing master narratives reflecting national interests regarding the Kashmir dispute.

The implications underscore media's power to construct contested realities serving partisan interests in protracted geopolitical conflicts. To uphold ethical journalism principles, prevent further escalation, and promote inclusive human rights framing, the study recommends transnational collaboration between Indian, Pakistani and Kashmiri outlets rooted in objectivity and impartiality.

**Keywords:** Abrogation article 370, India and Pakistan, Kashmir Conflict, Framing, Comparative analysis

## Introduction

The abrogation of Article 370 of the Indian Constitution on August 5, 2019, revoking the special autonomous status of Jammu and Kashmir, proved to be a decisive climactic event in the seven-decade Kashmir conflict. In one fell swoop, the Modi government unilaterally upended the region's semi-sovereign constitutional arrangement dating back to its accession in 1947. The controversial move divided Jammu and Kashmir into two separate union territories ruled directly by New Delhi, and abrogated Article 35A provisions prohibiting non-Kashmiris from acquiring property and residency.

This high-stakes gambit by the ruling Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) was accompanied by an unprecedented security footprint. A harsh crackdown ensued in the Kashmir Valley, with a complete communications blackout imposed on residents. Internet access was cut off, television channels and news outlets were banned, and prominent Kashmiri political leaders were detained or placed under

house arrest. Tens of thousands of additional troops were deployed to enforce restrictions on movement and public gatherings amid widespread strikes and protests (Gettleman et al., 2019).

Given the momentous geopolitical ramifications for the long-contested Kashmir region, the Indian government's actions reverberated seismically across South Asia and the international community. Pakistan, which has fought multiple wars with India over the territory, vehemently condemned the revocation of Article 370 as brazen violation of UN resolutions and vowed to internationalize the issue (Abi-Habib, 2019). The United Nations human rights bodies also expressed grave apprehensions over the communication blackout's impacts on human rights monitoring and delivery of essential services (UN News, 2019).

Against this convulsive backdrop, news media in India, Pakistan and Kashmir itself played an indispensable role in framing public discourse and defining the contours of debate around these epoch-making developments. As Entman (1993) theorized, by selectively amplifying certain considerations over others, media framing has the power to shape how issues are perceived, understood and acted upon. This framing process rests on judicious choices by media outlets regarding what information to present or omit and how to package it - purposive decisions that serve to either reinforce or undermine particular ideological master narratives.

Given their disparate nationalistic allegiances and interests surrounding the Kashmir dispute, it can be expected that Indian, Pakistani and Kashmiri media would adopt contrasting frames congruent with their respective stances. This cross-comparative investigation examines the dominant news frames regarding the revocation of Article 370 projected by the elite English newspapers - The Hindu in India, Dawn in Pakistan, and the local Kashmiri press represented by Kashmir Times.

Anchored in framing theory, the study illuminates how the respective media outlets strategically constructed polarizing media narratives around this tectonic event, either justifying it as a legal imperative to establish law and order or decrying it as an illegitimate violation of human rights and sovereignty. With communications severed inside the Kashmir Valley itself, the local press' coverage accrued paramount importance in providing a much-needed indigenous perspective articulating on-the-ground civilian concerns. Ultimately, this tri-modal framing analysis exposes media's determinative power to reinforce partisan status quos or catalyze disruptive shifts in protracted geopolitical conflicts.

## Literature Review

### *Media Framing of Kashmir Issue*

The Kashmir conflict between nuclear rivals India and Pakistan has long been a geopolitical powder keg roiling South Asia. It has provided fertile ground for scholarly examinations of media framing regarding this volatile territorial dispute. In one of the earliest studies, Sridharan (1999) compared media coverage between several Indian and Pakistani newspapers during the 1999 Kargil War. He discovered that jingoistic rhetoric and militaristic frames dominated the reporting on both sides, with limited space for peace discourse.

More recently, scholars have scrutinized the framing patterns surrounding specific events and developments in the Kashmir imbroglio. Imran (2013) found that the elite Indian English press has predominantly framed Kashmir as a domestic law and order issue, with The Times of India and Hindustan Times depicting it through conflict frames that demonized Kashmiri separatists as threats to Indian unity and national security.

In contrast, Khan's (2019) analysis of Pakistan's influential Dawn newspaper revealed a war journalism slant that internationalized the Kashmir issue by emphasizing its UN-mandated status and Pakistan's right to support Kashmiri self-determination. The coverage gave primacy to militant voices and rhetoric, with frequent citations of Pakistani military officials. Notably, local Kashmiri sources and perspectives were largely marginalized.

These framing biases found reinforcement in research assessing visual frames in the respective Indian and Pakistani press. Mukherjee (2016) documented how Indian television news valorized military operations through hyper-masculine visuals of gun-wielding soldiers contrasted against vulnerable civilians. Conversely, Shafi et al.'s (2015) examination of Pakistani newspapers revealed frames lionizing mujahideen fighters that privileged conflict over diplomatic solutions.

### ***Framing the Abrogation of Article 370***

On August 5 2019, the Modi government's revocation of Article 370 - stripping Jammu and Kashmir of its semi-autonomous constitutional status - proved to be a seismic development in the protracted conflict. Scholars have analyzed media framings of this unilateral move and its repercussions across Indian, Pakistani and international outlets.

Studies identified dominant justificatory frames in the Indian press rationalizing the revocation as a legal correction of historical wrongs. Prominent outlets like The Times of India cited frames insisting the integration of Kashmir was imperative for regional security, development and gender equality (Santha, 2019). Furthermore, hardline Hindu nationalist voices in media like OpIndia celebrated the absence of Article 370 as closing the door on secession and strengthening control over the spoils of Kashmir's economic bounties and resources (Priyadarshini & Bhardwaj, 2019).

Another salient frame rationalized the crackdown as a necessary pre-emptive security measure to ensure stability (Chaulia, 2019). News channels like WION frequently showcased security officials appraising these operations and condemning Pakistan's cross-border infiltration of militants (Golechha, 2019).

In stark opposition, Pakistani media coverage decried the abrogation as illegal under international law, stripping Kashmiris of their autonomous rights. Dawn frequently cited statements by PM Imran Khan and other Pakistani leaders framing it as a dangerous escalation presaging regional conflict (Khan, 2019). Some outlets like The Express Tribune even drew parallels to the forced annexation of Palestine and Nazi brutality (Observer Research Foundation, 2019).

While Western media reportage spotlighted humanitarian concerns over rights violations, blackouts and casualties, it was criticized for marginalization of Indian and Kashmiri Muslim voices (Krishnan et al., 2019). Critics accused outlets like The New York Times and BBC of echoing the Indian state's "anti-terror operation" rhetoric rather than contextualizing it as the latest salvo in the freedom struggle (Malik, 2019).

With this review underscoring the existing polarization of narratives in Indian and Pakistani press coverage, this study pioneers an examination of how media narratives differ when Kashmiri journalists report for the local populace directly impacted. By comparatively analyzing framing across all three stakeholder camps, the research endeavors to elucidate contested narratives and expose whose realities are rendered invisible.

### **Theoretical Framework**

Underpinning this investigation is framing theory, which delineates how media purposively construct issue frames to mold public interpretations of events and debates (Entman, 1993). Through selective

portrayal, emphasis or exclusion of certain information and evaluative filters, journalists play a pivotal role in shaping societal understandings of political issues and attributing causality. As Gamson and Modigliani (1989) conceptualized, a media frame is a "central organizing idea...for making sense of relevant events, suggesting what is at issue".

This theoretical lens has been fruitfully applied to parsing media representations of geopolitical conflicts and nationalist discourses. In the context of Kashmir, Ashraf (2008) demonstrated how Indian media framed the conflict through antagonistic narratives that dehumanized militants while lauding military operations as restoring peace and upholding sovereignty. Similar framing biases were observed in Pakistan, with its government channeling coverage towards sympathetic portrayals of mujahedeen fighters and the disputed UN status of Kashmir (Sawant, 2016).

Scholars have highlighted media's outsized influence in framing perceptions of the Kashmir dispute and undergirding partisan populist stances that aggravate the conflict (Padder, 2019). Employing framing as an analytical tool, this study systematically deconstructs the dominant frames projected across three pivotal nodes - India, Pakistan and Kashmir itself. It exposes the master narratives constructed around Article 370 and whose voices receive oxygen versus suppression.

At its core, framing intrinsically involves the purposive selection of "some aspects of a perceived reality" over others, thereby rendering them "more salient in a communicating text" (Entman, 1993, p. 52). Specific rhetorical devices and editorial choices confer saliency, promoting particular "problem definitions, causal interpretations, moral evaluations, and/or treatment recommendations" (ibid).

Building on Semetko & Valkenburg's (2000) influential conceptual framework, this study analyzed news coverage through five generic frames:

**Conflict:** Highlighting tensions, disagreements and battles

**Human Interest:** Personalizing issues by spotlighting victims and emotional angles

**Economic Impact:** Emphasizing financial costs and reverberations

**Morality:** Appraising issues through moral/religious precepts

**Attribution of Responsibility:** Assigning blame or resolution to particular actors

Additionally, three issue-specific frames were organically derived from the bodies of coverage:

**Law and Order:** Portraying issues from a security/stability lens

**Peace/Stability:** Advocating de-escalation and diplomatic solutions

**War Rhetoric:** Amplifying bellicose statements and military machinations

By deconstructing the predominant frames in Indian, Pakistani and Kashmiri coverage of Article 370's revocation, the analysis illuminates which narratives were amplified or suppressed, whose suffering was centered, and how national interests were messaged to domestic and international audiences.

## Methodology

To systematically interrogate the respective news framings around the abrogation of Article 370, a purposive sample of 165 news articles, editorials and op-eds was compiled from three elite English dailies representing the key stakeholders:

**The Hindu (India): 45 items**

**Dawn (Pakistan): 30 items**

**Kashmir Times (Kashmir): 90 items**

All items were drawn from print and digital coverage within the focal timeframe of August 5 - October 5, 2019. This two-month window captured the initial events unfolding around Article 370's revocation,

subsequent policy pronouncements and evolving regional ramifications. Larger samples were culled from the local Kashmir media given its unique positionality in reporting from ground zero.

A deductive qualitative content analysis was conducted on this sample to discern the predominant frames employed. Relevant texts were inductively open-coded sentence-by-sentence to identify thematic frames, with iterative cycles comparing the emergent frames against Semetko & Valkenburg's (2000) codebook and categories organically constructed from the data itself.

The coding process involved two independent coders who were trained in the coding protocol and the operationalization of the frames. To establish inter coder reliability, a random subset of 20% of the total sample (33 articles) was coded independently by both coders. The inter coder reliability was calculated using Cohen's Kappa, with a coefficient of 0.82 achieved, which exceeds the generally accepted threshold of 0.70 for reliable coding (Neuendorf, 2002).

Frame saliencies were quantified by frequencies of occurrence in the dataset. Statistics regarding the appearance of certain keywords, phrases, and imagery/visuals further operationalized the frames quantitatively. Comparative analysis juxtaposed the framings across Indian, Pakistani, and Kashmiri coverage, accentuating convergences and divergences.

This mixed-methods design triangulated qualitative close readings with statistical quantification, enabling nuanced interrogation of the subjective intent and ideological motivations informing coverage across national/regional media ecosystems. Such a framing analysis provides crucial insights into how various stakeholders conceptualized and rhetorically packaged the revocation of Article 370 in congruence with partisan interests and master narratives.

### **Data Collection Method**

This research used the deductive qualitative research design for the research study. The research conducted a quantitative content analysis backed by qualitative description of 'DAWN newspaper', an elite English language newspaper based in Pakistan, The Hindu, an elite English language newspaper based in India, and Kashmir Times, an influential local Kashmiri newspaper.

The research carried out an in-depth analysis of online news articles and commentary while employing a quantitative approach to make a comparison of the coverage and framing of the abrogation of Article 370 in The Hindu (Indian newspaper), Dawn (Pakistani newspaper), and Kashmir Times (local Kashmiri newspaper) using numerical findings.

During the selected research period, the research analyzed the content of all the stories using both qualitative and quantitative methods to investigate the coverage of the Abrogation of Article 370 in Kashmir from the perspective of framing theory. Pakistan and India had different stances towards the abrogation of Article 370, and the local Kashmiri media also had its stance. Through the framing of news articles in the respective newspapers, the research examined their stances, subjectivity, and objectivity towards the issue of Kashmir and the recent development, which affected the lives of millions of people in the Kashmir Valley.

### **Data Analysis**

For the data analysis, this study employed a deductive content analysis approach. As Elo and Kyngas (2008) assert, "deductive content analysis is utilized when the research framework is operationalized based on prior knowledge" (p. 109). While the use of this deductive approach may be perceived as lacking in imagination on the part of the research, it enhances the objectivity of the analysis compared to

an inductive approach, which may be susceptible to invalidity and research bias. The units of analysis in this research encompassed complete news articles, headlines, and subheadings as a whole.

The selection of news articles was facilitated by online databases that archive articles from the selected newspapers. The research meticulously analyzed the complete articles and their headlines to identify the predominant frames. The data analysis was grounded in the predefined frames operationalized by Semetko and Valkenburg, as elaborated in the subsequent "Operationalization of Variables" section, which outlines the framework guiding the coding process.

### **Sampling Procedure**

The research selected three newspapers: one from India (The Hindu), one from Pakistan (DAWN), and one local Kashmiri newspaper (Kashmir Times). This selection aimed to examine the subjectivity or objectivity of media framing across these stakeholder regions.

The time frame of August 2019 was chosen for the study as the Indian government abrogated Article 370 of the Indian Constitution during this period, revoking the special status previously granted to the people of Kashmir. This specific time period allowed the research to comprehensively analyze the situation and examine the respective stances reflected in the media framing of the selected newspapers.

A sample of 165 editorials was selected, comprising 30 news articles from Dawn, 45 from The Hindu, and 90 from Kashmir Times, all published in the year 2019. The study included news articles from the selected newspapers.

This research employed systematic random sampling. The research time period spanned from August 5, 2019, to October 5, 2019. Every third news article was chosen from the total population within each month.

For the content analysis, the research utilized the e-paper versions of all three newspapers, facilitating a comprehensive examination of the content

### **Frames selected for this study.**

#### ***Internal law and order frame***

The presence or absence of this frame was determined if the news article mentioned.

Deployment of army to impose constitutional changes

#### ***Regional peace and stability frame***

The presence or absence of this frame was determined if the news article mentioned.

News article suggested cause and suggestions about regional peace and stability.

#### ***War frame***

The presence or absence of this frame was determined if the news article mentioned.

News articles have military statements, threats and firing incidents from both countries

#### ***Human rights frame***

The presence or absence of this frame was determined if the news article mentioned.

News articles have violation of human rights like curfew, communication clump down and freedom of expression

### **Framing Analysis**

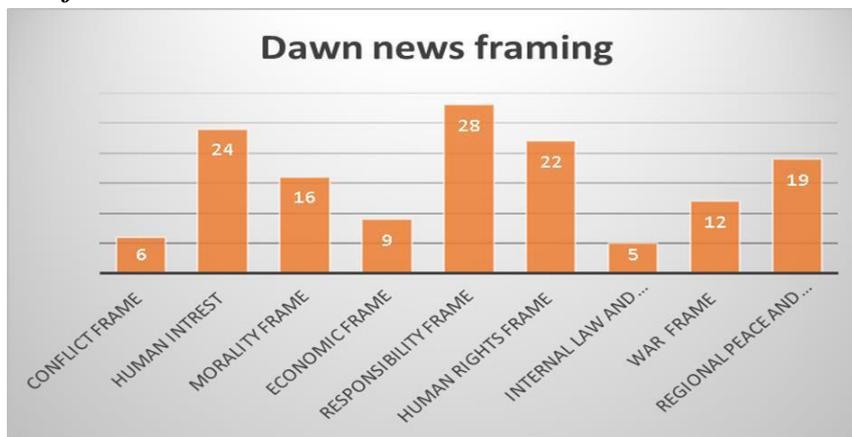
The study answers the research questions to make the frame-by-frame comparison and provides examples and details of the analysis. The graphs and tables are used to depict the key findings and

differences between the framing of issue of abrogation of article370 in the respective newspapers.

**RQ1. -What are the dominant frames used during coverage of article 370 of Kashmir issue in Pakistani and Indian newspapers?**

The research analyzed 30 news articles from *Dawn*, 45 news articles from *The Hindu* and 90 news articles from local Kashmiri newspaper *Kashmir times*. The research found almost all generic frames were found in the articles. Some of the frames were more dominantly used and others were almost absent or used very often. The following figures present the description of the frames found in the three newspapers under study. The research read the news articles and their headlines multiple times to explore the framing.

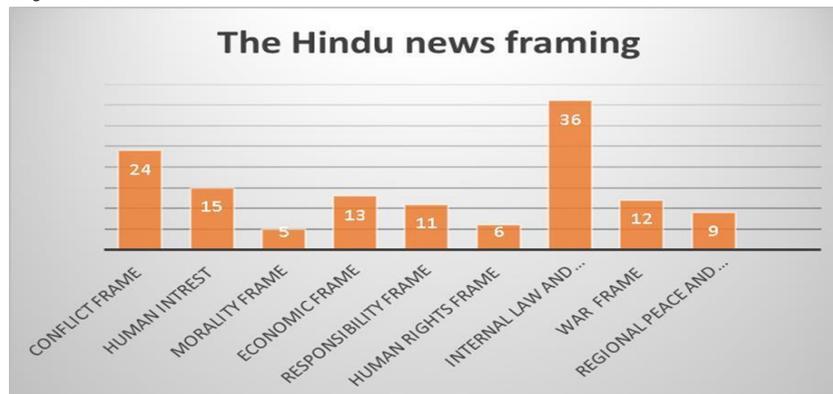
***Dawn News Dominant frames***



**Table 4-1 Dawn NEWS Framing**

After carefully examining the articles, the research identified that some frames were dominantly used by the newspaper. Three frames were dominant in the framing of the Abrogation of Article 370 in the *Dawn* newspaper. The Responsibility frame was the dominant frame, with 28 out of 30 news articles employing this frame to represent the issue of the abrogation of Article 370. The second most commonly used frame was the Human Rights frame, found in 22 out of 30 news articles. The third dominant frame was the Peace and Stability frame, present in 19 out of 30 news articles. Morality frames were found in 16 out of 30 articles, and Economic frames were identified in 9 out of 30 articles. None of the news articles under study framed the abrogation of Article 370 using the Law and Order frame.

***The Hindu dominant frames***



**Table 4-2 The Hindu NEWS Framing**

The Hindu also had dominant frames in the framing of the abrogation of Article 370. The research analyzed all 45 news articles and found that some generic frames, as well as frames selected by the research after a close analysis of the news articles, were dominant in the framing of Article 370. The most dominant frame was the Internal Law and Order frame, present in 36 out of 45 news articles. The second dominant frame was the Conflict frame, found in 24 out of 45 news stories. The Responsibility frame was also dominant, appearing in 23 out of 45 news articles.

**Kashmir Times Dominant frames**

Kashmir Times had dominant frames regarding the framing of the abrogation of Article 370. The most dominant frame was Human Rights, present in 69 out of 90 news articles. The Responsibility frame was also dominant, appearing in 42 out of 90 news articles. The third dominant frames were Economic frames, found in 48 out of 90 news articles, followed by Human Interest frames in 34 out of 90 news articles, and Morality frames in 29 out of 90 articles.

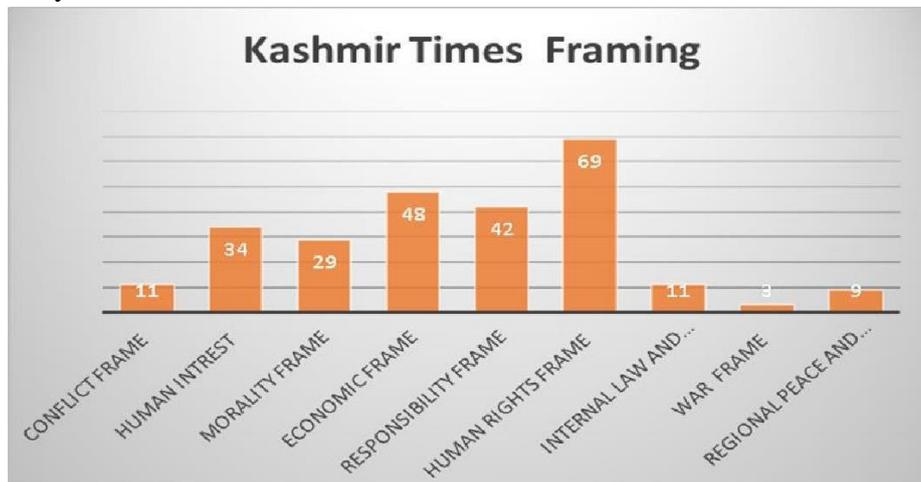


Table 4-3 Kashmir Times Framing

**Dominant framing comparison**

The research analyzed framing of selected newspapers and found difference in framing of all three newspapers. Dawn news dominant frames were on conflict, human interest

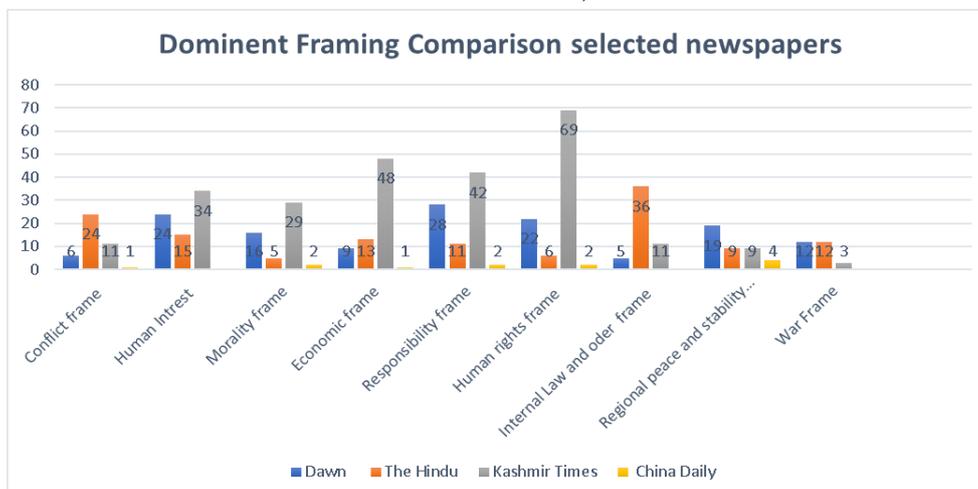


Table 4-4 Dominant Framing Comparison

And human rights according to the framing of *Dawn* newspaper Government of India and Hindu religious parties are responsible for the abrogation. *Dawn* news also have frames which portrayed official stance of Pakistan towards Kashmir issue like war frame like if India will try to attack on Azad Kashmir like Pulwama attack then Pakistan will reply brick with the stone.

**New Delhi sheds fig leaf, robs held Kashmir of special status Amending**

**Article 370, a fatal legal error, says P. Chidambaram**

6<sup>th</sup> August, [www.dwan.com](http://www.dwan.com)

*The Hindu* framing showed that abrogation of Kashmir is internal law and order issue of India being an independent state it's their right to take decision to maintain law and order in the country. and other countries have no right to interfere their internal matters as India warned Chinathat Ladakh and Kashmir are part of India and China should not interfere. *The Hindu* reporting also framed that action taken by Government was as a security measure to avoid statewide demonstrations and protests, and to stop the cross-border terrorist activities.

**Aug6th; J&K loses its special status divides into two union territories**

[www.thehindu.com](http://www.thehindu.com)

*Kashmir times* framed the revoke of article 370 as violation of human rights and as identity frame because of abrogation of article 370 Kashmiri people lost their identity. Article 370 gave them right of separate constitution, separate flag. *Kashmir times* gave more importance human rights issue while framing the abrogation of article 370, communication shut down, shops and schools were closed. Most of newspapers are banned and Kashmiri leaders were house arrested.

**Uncertainty prevails, Normal life remains suspended**

**RQ.2- What role did Kashmiri local media played to counter the narrative presented by the print media of both countries?**

**Indian troops, meanwhile, detained a Kashmiri reporter working for a local newspaper in an overnight raid at his house in the Tral area of Southern Pulwama district.**

*Kashmir Times* is local Kashmiri newspaper which was available after the abrogation of article 370 and clampdown of communication because most of the important newspaper were restricted and not allowed to publish their print version and upload e paper. *Kashmir times* framed the abrogation of article 370 as human tragedy and framed it with the ground realities of Kashmir valley. *Kashmir Times* framed all the changes that revoke of article 370 brought for the people of Kashmir. It also framed the upcoming

possible changes that government of India want to do after the revoke of article 370.

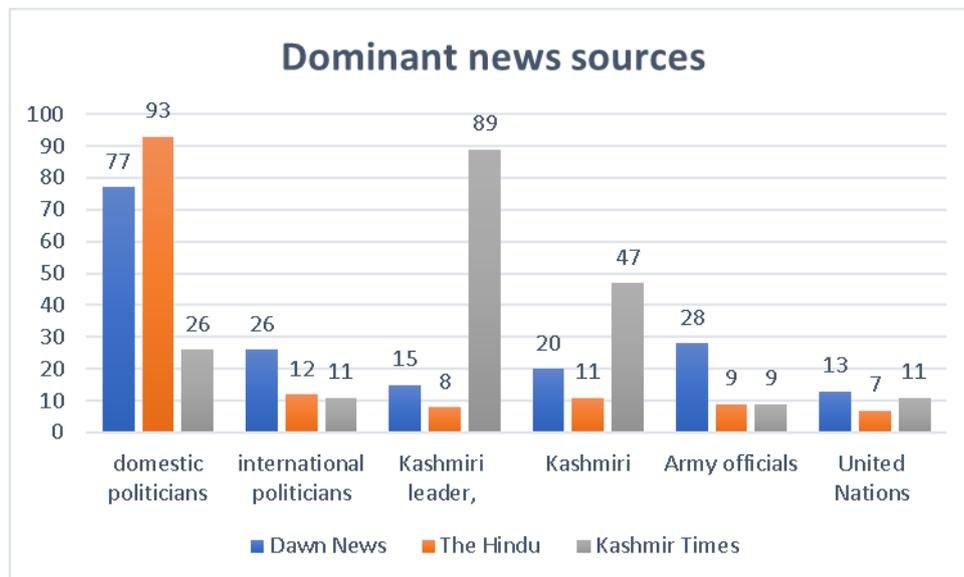
On 5<sup>th</sup> Aug when government of India scrapped article 370 and it goes with article 35(A) taking away special status of Jammu and Kashmir. Local media was banned by the government of India and created the situation of lock down. *Kashmir times* is Jammu based local newspaper portrayed the abrogation of 370 with framing of human rights issues like telecommunication and internet, mobile shut down. *Kashmir times* portrayed that Indian government change the valley of Kashmir in to world largest jail, govt did this act of communication lock to hide the ground situation of valley from the rest of the world. People were facing countless troubles because of communication lockdown, people were unable to connect with their family members, to complete business tasks people have to go to govt organized internet center to complete their tasks. People were facing problems in hospitals because of shortage of medicines and lack of doctors, markets and shops were closed after the revoke of article people were facing difficulties in buying basic necessities and commodities.

*Kashmir times* counter the Indian and Pakistani media narrative by portraying the real picture of Kashmir valley although Pakistani *Dawn* news framing of abrogation of article 370 bit near to Kashmiri narrative but still they portrayed the stance of their respective government in the framing of article 370.

**RQ.3 What were dominant sources that newspapers relied on in their coverage of abrogation of the article 370?**

Data analysis showed that selected newspapers used different dominant news sources while framing news about the abrogation of article 370 of Kashmir issue. Research has divided the news source six different categories domestic politicians, international politicians, Kashmiri leaders, Kashmiri, Army officials and United Nations.

**Table 4 5 Dominant news sources**



*Dawn news* used 179 sources for the framing of news about the abrogation of Article 370. Dominant sources of Dawn news were international politicians Army officials, and the United Nations. This selection of dominant source s showed that *Dawn news* promote the official stance of the government on the abrogation of Article 370. According to the Pakistan government stance, Kashmir is not India’s internal issue it’s a bilateral issue and it should be resolved according to the resolutions of United Nations so the framing of dawn news stories has sources who are domestic politicians like members of the ruling

party. The most dominant source in domestic politician was the Prime minister of Pakistan Mr. Imran Khan and the second dominant source was Army officials because from the independence both countries have fought three wars because of Kashmir so Army also have same stance like Government regarding abrogation of Article 370. The most dominant source from the Army officials source was Army chief of Pakistan.

Third dominant source was international politicians with whom Prime ministers and his ministers discussed the situation of Kashmir after the abrogation of Article 370 and their statements in return. Last dominant source was United Nation which was based on different statements of general secretary of UN and Human rights officials' statements about the condition of people of Kashmir after the abrogation of Article 370.

*The Hindu* used 140 sources for the framing of news about the abrogation of Article 370. *The Hindu* used two dominant sources while framing the news about the abrogation of Article 370. Domestic politicians and Kashmiri leaders' source. According to the stance of India, Kashmir is its internal issue therefore while framing news about the abrogation of article 370 *The Hindu* used domestic politicians as their source which were mostly politicians of ruling party BJP (Bhartiya Janata Party). The most dominant source in domestic politician was PM Modi and foreign minister of India. *The Hindu* second dominant source was Kashmiri leaders but they used them negatively and mostly news was about their house arrest which the Indian Government gave them because they didn't accept the abrogation of Article 370. *The Hindu* chose the sources for the framing of abrogation of Article 370 which make the framing authentic and goes with their stance.

*Kashmir Times* used 193 sources for the framing of news about the abrogation of Article 370. The most dominant sources that *Kashmir times* used while framing was Kashmiri leaders and local people of Kashmir. *Kashmir times* used these sources to portray the real situation of Kashmir and people of Kashmir after the abrogation of Article 370 in the news articles. They used the statements of Kashmiri leaders against the constitutional decision that the Indian government takes without taking into consideration the wish of the people of Kashmir. They also Kashmiri people as their sources because they are under curfew, heavy deployment of Indian forces, facing medical problems, communication problems. *Kashmir times* used statements of Kashmiri people about the difficulties they are facing after the abrogation of article 370. *Kashmir times* used local source to present the narrative of Kashmiri leadership and people of Kashmir regarding abrogation of Article 370.

#### **RS.4 How the Abrogation of Article 370 is portrayed in the selected newspapers?**

Research question has two parts first deals with the portrayal of abrogation of Article 370 in the *Dawn*, *The Hindu* and *Kashmir times*, research data showed that selected newspapers gave importance to the portrayal but their framing of news showed their different stance towards the abrogation of article 370 which took back the autonomous region status. *Dawn* portrayed abrogation of Article 370 as violation of UN resolutions and illegal act of Government of India. According to the portrayal of Article 370 news articles in *Dawn* newspaper India should follow the United Nation security resolutions and give right of plebiscite to the people of Kashmir so that they can decide their future according to their will. It's the official stance of Pakistan towards the issue of Kashmir. *Dawn news* frame news of article 370 with the framing of official stance of government.

**Jammu and Kashmir loses special status state to be Union territory****History, in one stroke****India will not tolerate interference in its internal affairs. Vice President. (India)**

Analysis of news about the abrogation of article 370 of Kashmir issue shows that, *The Hindu* portrayed the abrogation of Article 370 as inter Affair of India. India will not tolerate interference in its internal affairs. *The Hindu* portray or frame news article about the abrogation of article 370 as their internal issue. *The Hindu* frame justification the constitutional change of article 370 that Kashmir valley is part of India so it should be under control of central Government like other parts of the country, people of Kashmir should be treated equally like other Indians, Kashmir valley should not have special status.

Times news articles about the abrogation of article 370 showed that *Kashmir times* which is local newspaper of Kashmir valley portrayed this historical constitutional change on the bases of human interest. Indian government's decision of abrogation of article 370 effecting the lives of people of Kashmir valley. *Kashmir Times* also portrayed that bifurcation of Kashmir valley as violation of human rights.

**➤ Kashmir under undeclared curfew strict restrictions**

Schools, collages closed, mobile communication snapped

**➤ Mehbooba, Omer among several politicians arrested**

The research analyzed leading newspapers of both countries presented the official stance of their respective countries regarding Kashmir issue and abrogation of article 370 but *Kashmir times* portrayed the problems that abrogation of article 370 of Kashmir issue brought with it.

**Article 370 Portrayal comparison**

The research analyzed that selected newspapers differently portrayed abrogation of article 370. *The Hindu* portrayed it as internal issue, legal success of government of India and victory of Modi government's election manifesto. *The Hindu* to some extent portrayed opposition party's rejection of abrogation of article 370 of Kashmir issue, on the other hand *Dawn* newspaper portrayed abrogation of article 370 as against the United Nation's resolution and also portrayed that abrogation of article will bring problems for the people of Kashmir valley and uncertainty in the region. Pakistan will support and fight for the rights of Kashmiri people.

*Kashmir times* portrayed abrogation of article 370 as Human Tragedy. People of Kashmir valley lost their identity because demographic changes by Indian government with abrogation of article 370. Newspapers which always portrayed real picture of Kashmir issue were banned because of communication clampdown.

**RQ.5 What extent media coverage of abrogation of article 370 is subjective /objective in selected newspapers?**

**Subjectivity**

Subjectivity in media if news article or information is based on personal opinion, personal point of view and judgments. Subjective reporting usually has basis in reality but it has media persons own perspective towards specific issue and topic. Subjective news cannot be verified by using concrete facts and figures. Subjective news cannot be verified by using concrete facts and figures.

News articles subjectivity and objectivity can be analyzed on the basis of packaging and framing of the news article. Frames, selection of language and source plays vital role in subjectivity and objectivity of news.

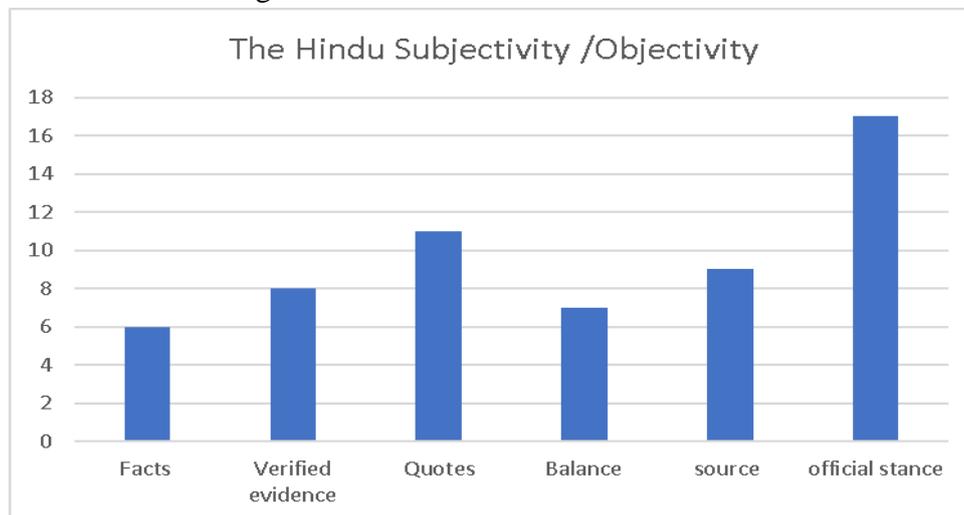
**Objectivity**

Objectivity in media if news article and information is based on proved and measurable facts and figures. Objective news is a statement that is completely unbiased and reporter and writer didn't add his own point of view. To make news article objective media persons keep themselves unbiased and mention source of the news, documents and data which support their news article and prove it objective. In this research if newspapers mention number of injured people, troops, prisoners, source and casualties because of abrogation of article 370 then news article framing is objective.

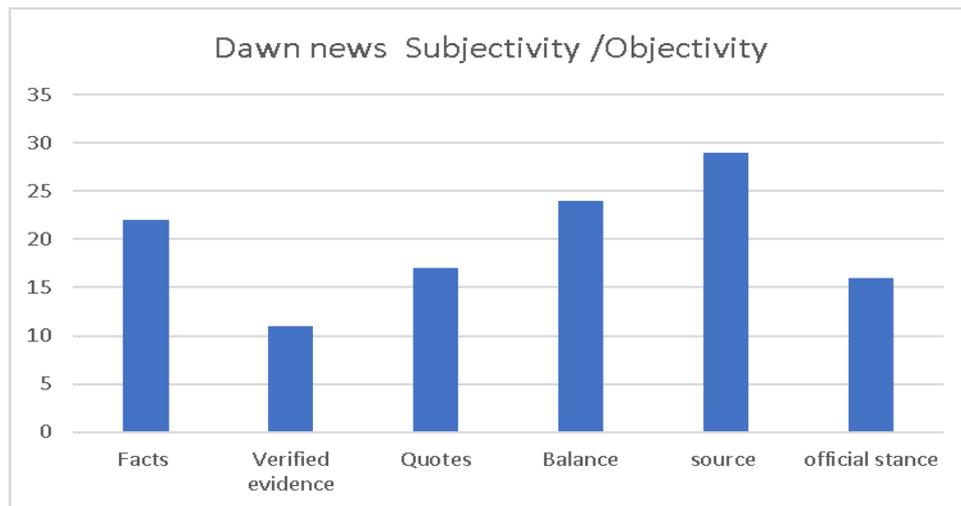
**Subjectivity /Objectivity Analysis**

Research selected indicators to analyze the objectivity and objectivity of news article like source of the news, balance, facts, verified evidence, quotes and official stance.

Indian government lockdown communication in Kashmir valley, newspapers were restricted for publish and upload e- papers. People from all over the world has access to the newspapers publish from rest of the India and follow the stance of government.



*The Hindu* portrayed the abrogation of article 370 with the stance that Kashmir is internal issue of India. India deployed armed forces and impose curfew in the Jammu and Kashmir to maintain the law and order situation. Overall portrayal of revoke of article 370 in the Hindu was subjective because it didn't portray the real stance of people of Kashmir, are the in favor of this Constitutional change or they are against it and protesting. *The Hindu* didn't portray real figures how many people died and injured in the result of firing by Indian army, how many were wounded because they become victim of pallet guns because of lockdown the don't have health facilities. So, portrayal of abrogation of article 370 in *The Hindu* was mostly subjective and represent the stance of Indian government.



**The Indian government claims the situation in the disputed region is normal and that the curbs are being eased gradually. But since Aug 5, at least 500 protests and incidents of stone throwing have occurred and some 4,000 people have been detained**

*Dawn news* portrayed abrogation of article 370 as violation of United Nation resolution and human rights. *Dawn news* use negative tone in specific news article which were about that Indian government is responsible for the whole humanitarian crisis in Jammu and Kashmir. *Dawnnews* also portrayed the real situation of Kashmiri people after the revoke of article370. They haveno link with the rest of the world. They are living lives under the loch down and curfew. Kashmir’s economy is mostly dependent on tourism and because of curfew economy is collapsing and suspension of trade relation with Pakistan also affecting economy of Kashmir. *Dawn news* also portrayed the violation of human rights in coverage of article 370 and tried to tell figures about peoplewhom killed and wounded by Indian army. *Dawn news* portrayal of abrogation of article 370 was based on objectivity then *The Hindu* because they portrayed the issue that what’s going on and peopleare suffering because of decision of Indian government. *Dawn news* mention more facts and evidenceabout the problems of people of Kashmir and use reports of United Nations to make framing more objective than *The Hindu* framing of abrogation of article 370.

## Discussion

The aim of the research was to investigate how Indian, Pakistani and local Kashmiri media portrayed abrogation of article 370 using framing techniques of media. Findings show that the press of both countries used framing differently to portray abrogation of article 370 of Kashmir. Both newspapers used very different framing to report the same issue or event. Both newspapers used the economic, conflict and responsibility frames differently. *Dawn’s* stance was mostly to portray abrogation of article 370 of Kashmir issue as responsibility and *The Hindu* framed it as internal law and order frame. After the analysis, the research found answers to the research questions.

The analysis revealed the framing used by the newspapers and their stance towards abrogation of article 370 of Kashmir the comparison between the selected newspapers not only helped the research to understand media framing but also the factors that can play a vital role in framing an issue. The study revealed that press is a tool that is used by government and elites etc.

Research findings of first research question showed that dawn news framed the news articles with

responsibility and human rights frames, portrayed problems of Kashmiri people which also portrayed by Kashmir times as well but it gave more information in the news article about official stance of Pakistan towards Kashmir issue, Kashmir is bilateral issue and according to the UN resolutions. *The Hindu* portrayed abrogation of article 370 as internal law and order issue. The Hindu news article analysis showed that most dominant frames of portrayal of article 370 was internal law and order issue and human interest. Both countries framed more official stance of the country then original stance of Kashmiri people.

Second research question showed that *Dawn news*, *The Hindu* and *Kashmir times* used different dominant frames while framing the abrogation of article 370 to support the official stance of the country and while framing both newspapers undermined the official stance of the Kashmiri people regarding abrogation of article 370. *Kashmir time* framed the abrogation of article 370 with human right and humanity frames to highlight problems that local people are facing because of legal change.

Third research questions showed that all three newspapers used their source according to their stance regarding abrogation of Article 370. *Dawn news* followed the official stance of government about the constitutional change. According to Pakistan Government stance Kashmir is bilateral issue and it should resolve according the United Nation resolution so *Dawn news* used domestic politicians, international politicians, Army officials and United Nation as its dominant source to make the framing of abrogation of Article 370 more authentic and make it internationalize, so that the whole World can know about the situation about abrogation of article. *The Hindu* also portrayed Indian Government stance that claims Kashmir is their internal issue that's way they used dominantly domestic politicians as their source and limitedly use other sources while framing news articles about abrogation of Article 370. Kashmir Times wants to portray the original narrative of Kashmiri people about the abrogation of Article 370 and difficulties which they were facing after the constitutional change so they used Kashmiri leaders and local Kashmiri people as their source for framing news about the article 370 abrogation.

Forth research question showed selected newspapers portrayed the abrogation of article 370 according to their official stance and news framing played vital role in this portrayal. *Dawn*, *The Hindu* used different frames while framing abrogation of article 370, they used some frames dominantly to highlight the information in the news article. *Dawn news* used responsibility frames dominantly in the framing to portray that Indian govt. is responsible of abrogation and unrest in the Kashmir and region. *The Hindu* used internal law and order frames and conflict frames while framing abrogation of article 370 to justify its action. *Kashmir times* framing showed portrayal of article 370 as loss of their special status and identity using human interest and human rights frames.

Last research question showed Indian and Pakistani newspapers framing has lack of objectivity, both newspapers used different sources, verified facts, quotes, evidences and official stance through the language while framing abrogation of article 370. The *Hindu* framing is more subjective than *Dawn news* because they used more quoted and statement than facts and figures and *Dawn news* used more facts and figures and proved evidence in the framing of abrogation article 370.

### **Important Findings of the Study**

After analyzing the newspapers content, the study revealed some essential findings that areas follows:

- According to the study, newspapers can frame same issue, event or nation differently to support respective country's official stance
- Dawn news framing is closer to the original narrative of the Kashmiri newspaper Kashmirtimes Dawn new framed abrogation of article 370 as illegal action and threat for the regional peaceand stability.
- The Hindu framing is more biased towards the official stance of the country The Hindu framed it as internal issue of the country.
- Kashmir times framing showed official stance of Kashmiri people regarding article 370and changes and problems because of abrogation

### Conclusion of the Study

This study was aimed to investigate the treatment of abrogation of Article 370 by the Dawn, The Hindu and Kashmir Times newspaper from the perspective of framing and portrayal prospective. The study primarily consisted of five research questions. These are the research question of this research study: How and to what extent the Abrogation of Article 370 is portrayed in the selected newspapers? What are the dominant frames used during coverage of Kashmir issue in selected newspapers? What role did Kashmiri local media played to counter the narrative presented by the print media of both countries? Which countries framing of article 370 of Kashmiris closer to the original Narrative of Kashmiri people? The study was theoretically guided by Framing theory Furthermore, the study used content analysis and quantitatively examined and analyzed the data alongside a qualitative analytical commentary. The news articles were on the five existed generic frames by Semetko and Valkenburg Conflict frame, Responsibility frame, Economic Frame, Human Interest Frame , Morality Frame and three news frame selected by research after close analysis of news articles inter law and order frame, regional peace and stability frame and war frame. , The study found that the coverage of abrogation of article 370 Kashmir conflict in DAWN newspaper was responsibility oriented , responsivity frames were dominant in the framing of news articles , like India government is responsible for the revoke of article 370 and bifurcation of Jammu and Kashmir and divided it in to two union territories which is disputed territory . United nation already declared Jammu and Kashmir as disputed territory.

Generic frames were salient in the framing of selected newspapers, some frames were more salient like responsibility, human right, regional peace and stability and war frames in Dawn news. The coverage of Kashmir abrogation in DAWN newspaper was more favorable to Pakistan and un favorable to India. Inter law and order, human interest, conflict and economic frames were salient in the framing of The Hindu, portrayal of article 370 was favorable to India and unfavorable to Pakistan. Kashmir times portrayed bifurcation of Jammu and Kashmir and abrogation of article 370 with dominant frames of human rights, morality, human interest and economic frames.

Indian and Pakistani newspapers framed the abrogation of article 370 and bifurcation of Jammu and Kashmir according to the official stance foreign policy of their respective governments. The Hindu supported the abrogation of article 370 and portrayed it as legal change in the constitution of India will change overall picture of Kashmir valley will also open doors of development for the people of Kashmir .The Hindu also portrayed revocation of Article 370 represents as strategic master stroke, one

that opens the way for India to crush Kashmiri separatism and defeat Pakistan separatism for the people of Kashmir but abrogation of article 370 brought economic problems for both countries specially for the people of Kashmir. Both countries suspended the trade relations which badly affected the economy of both countries and bring inflation. Abrogation of article 370 affected India's carefully managed reputation as a liberal democracy and a responsible nuclear power.

Dawn portrayed abrogation of article 370 according to official stance and foreign policy of Pakistan. Dawn news analysis had dominant frames of human rights and responsibility but also had war frames as well. Dawn news articles framing were they framed real problems of Kashmiri people are facing after abrogation of article 370, they don't have freedom of expression, freedom of speech, right of free movement, they are living life under the strict curfew, streets are filled with army personals but on the other hand Dawn news also framed issue of abrogation of article 370 to internationalized the issue of Kashmir. Dawn news supported the stance of Pakistani government to internationalize the Kashmir conflict.

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