

PalArch's Journal of Archaeology of Egypt / Egyptology

APPLICATION OF VAN DIJK MODEL ON THE DISCURSIVE IDENTITIES IN PAKISTANI AND INDIAN PRINT MEDIA AFTER THE ANULMENT OF ARTICLE 370

Khalil Ahmad¹, Mian Shah Bacha², Rabiah Rustam³

^{1,2}Department of English, Shaheed Benazir Bhutto University, Sheringal Dir Upper, KPK,
Pakistan.

³Department of Humanities, Comsats University Islamabad (Abbottabad Campus)
Abbottabad, Kpk, Pakistan

Email: khalil_ahmad1992@yahoo.com, bachamsb@gmail.com

rabiahrustam@cuiatd.edu.pk

Khalil Ahmad, Mian Shah Bacha, Rabiah Rustam. Application Of van Dijk Model on The Discursive Identities in Pakistani and Indian Print Media After the Anulment of Article 370 -- Palarch's Journal of Archaeology of Egypt/Egyptology 19(1), 1972-1997. ISSN 1567-214x

Key Words: Discourse, Critical Discourse, Ideology, Editorial, 370 article, Kashmir.

ABSTRACT

This study is a discourse study of thirty editorials from Pakistan and Indian media through the application of Van Dijk ideological square model (2005). The focus was that how both the countries have represented each other through their discourse. The given thirty editorials were selected for the analysis. Hidden ideologies were analyzed through the discursive structures used in the editorials. Discursive strategies like positive self-representation and negative other-representation is used by the researcher for macro analysis of the data. Actor description, euphemism and evidentially like strategies were used for micro analysis. Pakistani editorials were found to be using the micro strategies more than the Indian usage. The study concluded that Pakistan is in defensive mood and is using micro strategies more like positive self-representation, while India is found to be in aggressive mood and hence focuses on negative other-representation.

INTRODUCTION

Kashmir issue has been the main cause of dispute among the two giant nations of the world. Pakistan claims it to be their part because of the Muslim population majority living in Kashmir. While, India on the other hand, asserts that Kashmir

is their integral part and provides the stance of the bargain between Indian state and Kashmiri Maharaja. Even the international parties' interference has not convinced both the parties to have a decision on the issue of Kashmir.

The local community and international bodies' pressure compelled the Indian authorities to come up with an article 370 in 1954 which gave the Kashmiri people a ray of hope in terms of their future. It empowered the Kashmiri state to form its own constitution. Other Indian state members were not allowed to purchase land in Kashmiri state in order to keep intact the Muslim majority population into a Hindu majority population. It was also promised that the future of Kashmiri state will be decided on plebiscite, but in October 2019 the Indian government made an unexpected move by abrogating the 370 article and converted it to a Union territory of Jammu and Kashmir.

It is the norm of the day in states' affairs that they present the masses with those points which are aligned with their cause and they deliberately veil those areas which are destructive for their interests. To rule the mind set up of the masses and to make it align with states' objectives they know the importance of media. Hence, to promote this every state makes extensive propaganda and uses all forms of media for the promotion of their national stance and negate the opposition' perspective. Pakistan and India are also no exception in this regard. This research investigated the issue on linguistic grounds to find out the hidden ideologies of both the nations through the analysis of the print media.

Since 1990, CDA has emerged as a new field in applied linguistics, trying to unearth the hidden ideologies which suppress the other group in contrast to the positive image adopted about oneself. In this field, three researchers i.e, Teun Van dijk, Ruth wodak and Norman Fairclough have worked tremendously. Discourse and Society in 1990 was the first contribution from Van Dijk, which was then followed by many other works.

CDA is a multi-methodical approach as it is interested in complex social phenomena (Wodak & Meyar, 2009). Fairclough (1995) says that language use in society is a form of social practice rather than an individual activity. He says that the proposition is coined by a social group contains power and ultimately lead to a particular ideology.

Fairclough (1995) says that discourse shapes the social structure which ultimately constructs the social identities which in turn changes the system of knowledge and beliefs of masses. Discursive practice acts as a bridge between texts and social practice. As per the social contexts, texts are consumed as its production, distribution and consumption are the result of social practice (Jorgenson & Phillips 2002).

For presentation of ideological stances Van Dijk (2000) presented four principles

Promotion of positive things about self
Promotion of negative things about them
Accentuate negative things about others

De-emphasize positive things about others

The main objective is the promotion of positive self-behavior and degrading the targeted community behavior. It polarized the community in US and THEM poles. Everything positive is associated with US group and anything unattractive and defaming is associated with the targeted community (Van Dijk, 2000).

Pakistani and Indian print media know the sensitivity of Kashmir issue and also know that how much it is important for the people of their nation. In order to win the sympathies of the masses the media has been trying to divert the people's attention in their own favor. Rather than discussing the very root causes, media only present those points which prove the stance of their country legitimate and genuine. After the annulment of article 370 both countries portray the same issue in such a way that in India the annulment process seems legitimate, while, the presentation of the same issue in Pakistan is in such a way that it seems to be the greatest violation of human rights. The researcher, in this research focused on those language usages which channelize the discourse in the desired direction.

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The main objectives of this study are;

1. To highlight the hidden ideologies in the print media through the critical discourse analysis technique
2. To apply CDA theoretical frame for exploring the polarity and racial agendas in the print media on Kashmir issue by Pakistan and India
3. To decode the indirectly expressed ideologies through CDA
4. To investigate the language of exploitation and manipulation through CDA

Significance of the Study

This critical discourse analysis research study will be beneficial for the research students at BS, Master and MPhil level who look for the practical use of CDA theoretical framework upon the practical issues. The practical use of CDA theoretical framework will pave way for the future researchers and they will be able to know its application on indigenous works.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Communication is not the mere usage of words, sentences and particular style, but is actually used for influencing public opinion, attracting the masses support, strengthening one's ideology and negating the opponents' stance. In this regard, Van Dijk (2000) interprets text in three levels. At micro level, the meaning interpreted at smaller parts like words, sentences, preposition and the like things usage is analyzed. Super structure level analysis sees the text that how the different parts of the text are intact. Macro structure analyzed the text at the topic analysis or seeing the whole story of the text. Van Dijk is of the

view that all texts can be analyzed through these three lenses of analysis. Hence, the researcher aimed that how the discourse producer has used a given strategy to promote a certain theme. The research was purely of descriptive and interpretivist approach. Qualitative research design was employed for answering the developed questions. For the interpretation and analysis of data, an interpretivist and descriptive approach was used. The data was analyzed through linguistic and textual analysis of the editorials. In this regard, the researcher has analyzed thirty editorials from Pakistan and India and compared it to show that the language usage by them is biased and has shifted the discourse in their favor.

RESEARCH FRAMEWORK

Van Dijk (2005) model mainly focuses on how the discourse producer coins a given word, sentence or style in propagation of a targeted theme. It points out the intended theme along with the analysis of the theme. Pakistani and Indian newspapers have used this strategy a lot in their editorials on the issue of Kashmir. Both have come up with those arguments which favors their national stance and has negated the opponent's stance. On this issue the researcher has penned down thirty editorials on the issue of annulment of 370 article. Fifteen articles were selected from Pakistani newspapers and fifteen from Indian newspapers.²

LITERATURE REVIEW

Relevant literature to the topic has been investigated in this chapter. The works which were found relevant and fruitful were thoroughly reviewed. In order to make the study more genuine the relevant work done by the past and present day scholars is intertwined and linked for getting the intertextuality of this work.

Discourse

The concept is difficult to define as many contrasting definitions are given by the scholars. Nunan (1993) says that it is the combination of sentences related in some way. Cook (1989) terms it to be a meaningful and purposive unit of language. The structural and functionalists view have made the definition of the word 'discourse' in total contrast to each other. When a particular portion of language is under consideration for interpretation, it then comes in domain of structural perspective, while it is of functional nature when particular focus of language is the target like use of language (Schiffrin, 1994) . The form of language is the main focus of structuralists i.e., grammaticality, while content and subject matter is the main arena of functionalists.

In Foucault (2002) view, discourse is the systematic practices forming spoken discourse. Hence the context of any talk and how it is eternalized and delivered by the speaker is discourse. Therefore, in his view it channelizes the discourse in a particular direction. The control of discourse is directly proportional to how the world around is perceived.

In linguistics, the extended sample of written and spoken language is termed as discourse. The interaction between speaker and addressee or between writer and reader along with situational context also comes in the domain of discourse.

Therefore, the definition of discourse has not been agreed upon by the scholars and compatibility has not been found.

Discourse Analysis

The function of language becomes broader in discourse analysis. Interpersonal actions along with how they are organized socially in an ordinary language are studied in discourse analysis (DA). Slembrouch (2005) says it to be the linguistic review of naturally occurring connected speech or written discourse. When the relationship of language is studied in its context it becomes discourse analysis (McCarthy, 1991). In discourse analysis (DA) not only the words and sentences are studied but also its natural use is taken into consideration. Hence, DA is a systematic system for providing epistemological structure of study.

Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical does not mean being negative and skeptical but to uncover the power relationship and demonstrate inequalities in a given society (Rogers, 2004). While Locke (2004), says that is the evaluation of situation according to set of rules and standards (Locke 2004).

The way social inequalities are constructed, maintained and legitimized are critically analyzed, explained and interpreted in critical discourse analysis (CDA). Whether the discursive choices are conscious or unconscious but the use of language is purpose oriented. Language is considered as social practice by CDA scholars and their main purpose is to study the hidden power relations and ideologies embedded in the discourse. Hence, the material consequences of discourse are thoroughly studied in it.

Different scholars have proposed different methodological frameworks for conducting CDAs like Norman Fairclough (1995), Ruth Wodak (2001), Teun Van Dijk (1995), and James Paul Gee (1996). They mainly focus on the textual genres of discourse.

Fairclough (1995) gave the micro, meso, and macro-scale model. In this model, text structure, vocabulary, intertextuality, and literary devices are studied at micro level. The process of discursive production, dissemination and assimilation is examined at meso level. While the relationship between discourse, ideology and sociomaterial level is studied at macro level.

The dominant and subordinate class of the given society is examined for exploring the notions of resistance and allotment among the sectors of society under study.

Foucault (2000) has postulated that whatever we produce in discourse has some sort of historical appearance, which is termed as `body of rules` by him (Foucault, 2000, p ,427). Hence, it is this `body of rule` which compels the discourse producer to come up with a particular discourse or avoid it.

DA Rogers says that in CDA not only the interpretation of a discourse in a given context along with its interpretation is studied but the reasons or factors behind its production is given key importance (DA Rogers, 2004 :3).

Results Discussion and Data Analysis

In this section, the same social event i-e Kashmir issue has been analyzed that how it is differently been presented by the two opposing actors. In this regard the editorials of the two nations` prominent and widely read newspapers are highlighted. They used different word choices to win the masses` sympathy in their stance` favor. It has been explored that how the target readership is turned in the favor of the stance given by the discourse producer. The data is first quantitatively presented and this data is used for exploring the hidden ideologies.

Micro-level of Analysis

Table. 1
Frequencies of strategies in Pakistani Newspaper`s editorials

NAME OF NEWSPAPER →	DAWN	THE EXPRESS TRIBUNE	THE NATION
Different Strategies ↓			
ACTOR DESCRIPTION	33	20	32
AUTHORITY	6	8	11
Categorization	10	6	13
Comparison	15	8	22
Counterfactuals	6	13	8
Euphemism	9	11	18
Evidentially	16	18	22
Example/Illustration	6	6	11
Generalization	4	7	14
Hyperbole	12	23	18
Lexicalization	39	65	53
National Self-glorification	14	18	34
Negative other presentation	19	19	22

	Total= 189	Total= 222	Total= 278
	Grand Total= 689		

Table. 2 Frequencies of strategies in Indian Newspaper’s editorials

		NAME OF NEWSPAPER→	TIMES OF INDIA	THE ECONOMIC TIMES	THE HINDU
S.NO	DIFFERENT STRATEGIES	TERMS’ MEANING	Frequency ↓	Frequency ↓	Frequency ↓
1	Actor Description	Presentation of self in a positive way and others in a negative manner	17	13	15
2	Authority	Citation of only those arguments which favor the given stance	10	15	08
3	Categorization	Associating or allocating people to a particular group	08	09	12
4	Comparison	Bad actions of the out-group are compared with the good actions of in-group	09	08	10
5	Counterfactuals	Backing of the future possible occurrences in such a way to show them as true	11	07	09
6	Euphemism	Apparently soft usage of words	10	11	13
7	Evidentiality	Presentation of proof in the favor	15	19	10

		of the stance given			
8	Example/Illustration	Examples are given to have an emotional effect on the reader's mind	03	03	06
9	Generalization	Desired results are generalized in the favor of the stance	09	13	07
10	Hyperbole	Humor is created in the shape of excessive exaggeration	21	25	17
11	Lexicalization	Word showing a particular concept	38	43	19
12	National Self-glorification	Exaltation of one's country's prestige	19	22	11
13	Negative Other-presentation	Highlighting the negative side of targeted group	15	21	06
			Total=185	Total=199	Total=143
			Grand total= 527		

Actor Description

This strategy user use words and sentences which proves the **US** group in a positive way and **THEM** group in a negative way. The basic purpose of using it is to either present the actor in a positive way or in negative way. It is also used to exaggerate one` own image and emphasize the negatives of **THEM** group (Rashidi & Souzandehfar, 2010)

Pakistan's Stance

This strategy is used more than twice by Pakistani newspapers in comparison to Indian newspapers. Its occurrence is about 85 times. It is used for bringing in front the negatives of **THEM** group. For proving India to be a cruel nation India has been labeled with the allegations of inhuman acts they did in Kashmir. It has been done in order to prove that India tries to make the Kashmiris surrender to Indian stance on Kashmir. While in contrast, Pakistani prime minister and foreign minister dealing of the issue is pictured positively.

“Kashmiris are being silenced through the use of arms, bombs such as “cluster monition.” Frequent use of pellet-guns by the occupation forces has left many Kashmiris blind. Anti-India sentiments are running high in occupied Kashmir.” (Dawn, 2019)

“The region’s people have been suffering under a suffocating lockdown for over two months, and people of conscience around the world are expressing their disapproval of these brutish actions.” (Dawn, 2019)

Prime minster Imran khan said “When the people of the State of Jammu and Kashmir decide to accede to Pakistan, the relationship between Pakistan and that State shall be determined in accordance with the wishes of the people of that State.”(Dawn, 2019)

“The Indian misadventure of 2019 in which New Delhi’s jets (one of which was shot down) violated Pakistani airspace, is a prime example of the brinkmanship this country’s eastern neighbor.” (Dawn, 2019)

India’s Stance

This strategy is used rarely by Indian newspaper in comparison to Pakistani newspaper usage. The Indian journalists have come up with certain proofs and evidences which apparently show the negative role of Pakistan.

“India has made it clear to Pakistan that it desires normal neighborly relations with Islamabad in an environment free of terror, hostility and violence.” (Economic times, 2020)

“An EU official said the EU had taken note of recent steps like election of district development councils and the resumption of 4G internet services.” (Economic times, 2020)

In the above examples, Indian media has beautifully pictured itself in a way that it is Pakistan which is the cause of hostility between the two nations. It is shown that India takes care of her neighbor and wants peaceful solution of the issue. India has in a way blamed Pakistan for making the situation in Kashmir hostile and full of terror. Similarly, India has highlighted its soft image by mentioning the steps like reassuming 4G services in the valley and desire for normal relations with Islamabad.

Authority

In using this strategy individuals and nations refer to those authorities, groups and nations which strengthen their course of actions (Atai & Mozaheb, 2013)

Pakistan’s Stance

Every person refers to different sources for strengthening one’s stance on a given issue. This strategy has been used more by Pakistani newspapers than Indian newspapers. Hence, the editorials have reoffered to Turkish prime minister speech and other countries point of view which are considered to be from the US group. Therefore, the international stance in the UN on Kashmir along with the Turkish PM stance has been highlighted.

“The UN official made a very pertinent point when he said that the parties to the conflict must not change the status of the disputed territory till the matter is resolved.” (Dawn 2019)

“not inviting leaders of the All Parties Hurriyat Conference was ill-advised, as the Hurriyat is one of the major stakeholders in Kashmir.” (Dawn, 2019)

“but even some of New Delhi’s most staunch loyalists, who were present at the conclave, have rejected this arbitrary decision.” (Dawn, 2019)

“the UN intervened in 1949, and brokered a ceasefire line, the Line of Control (LoC), that divided the two countries resulting in a disputed territory.”(Express tribune, 2019)

India’s Stance

In order to do this, Indian newspapers have cited those arguments which are in their favor. The following examples clarify this fact.

“And it has shown the futility of the “azaadi” slogan of those who harbour ambitions of secession.” (Hindustan times, 2019)

India has mentioned here that the voices in the name of ‘azaadi’ are futile and has no sound foundations among the valley-dwellers. Kashmiris in majority are not against the recent steps taken by India, rather the so called freedom fighters try to exploit the issue in their favor. In this case, their efforts are not fruitful. That’s the way the situation is pictured by Indian media.

Categorization

It is association of people to a particular group. People favoring one’s stance are considered from the US group, while people negating or stand with the others are labeled with THEM. It is a deliberate way to show that who belongs to the US group and who are the opposers or belong to THEM group (Atai & Mozaheb, 2013).

Pakistan’s stance

This strategy is applied for disowning some people from the US group. Evidence is provided to show that the particular individual or group is not from the US group which is associated to US group by the opponents. Like Jaish e Mohammad is referred to as a banned organization in Pakistan. Particular words are used for strengthening this categorization.

“Kashmiris are being silenced through the use of arms, bombs such as “cluster munition.” Frequent use of pellet-guns by the occupation forces has left many Kashmiris blind. Anti-India sentiments are running high in occupied Kashmir.” (Express Tribune, 2019)

India's Stance

This strategy is used less by Indian editorials in comparison to usage of Pakistani editorials. Its usage is about 8 times in Indian editorials. This is done at time of crisis. National consensus on the issue has been made and is brought to the masses in the form of editorials. In the context of Kashmir issue, it is portrayed by these editorials that all political parties along with the other sections of Indian community backs the Indian move on Kashmir and always stand with the government side by side. Some of the examples in this regard are presented here;

“It is welcome that no major political outfit has rejected resumption of political engagement in the changed circumstance, waiting for restoration of the status quo to resume dialogue.” (Economic times, 2020)

“This newspaper supported the quest for integrating Kashmir with the rest of India, constitutionally and legally, with the dilution of Article 370.” (Hindustan times, 2020)

“the positives are that the long meeting was freewheeling, without rancour and all parties were united in the demand for the restoration of Statehood.” (The Hindu , 2019)

The above examples from Indian newspapers show that all Indian parties are on the same page regarding Kashmir issue. There is no disagreement among the masses upon accession of Kashmir. There is no one who is against the dilution of 370 article. All the major stakeholders in India are backs this and there seems to be non-resumption of talks in India upon Kashmir.

Comparison

By using this strategy the in-group and out-group are compared (Dijk, 2007). It is done in order to show that how negatively the actors of THEM group behaves and how positively it has been replied by the US group.

Pakistan's Stance

This strategy is used more by Pakistan than India. Like in the examples below the Pakistani PM's stance Foreign minister speeches depict Pakistan positively and India negatively. It is shown that Pakistan is always ready for a peaceful dialogue on the issue but it is India which does not will to come on dialogue table and tries to win it by force.

“.....Modi locked down the disputed Jammu and Kashmir territory, increased occupying security forces' strength to more than a million, imposed Section 144, thus preventing assembly of the people, and placed political leaders....” (The Nation, 2019)

“Despite the numerous economic and social challenges Pakistan is facing at home, it has and will continue to raise its voice in support of the Kashmiris at all international forums, calling for the peaceful negotiated settlement of the Kashmir dispute and demanding implementation of the UN Security Council resolutions for holding the promised plebiscite under UN auspices.” (The Nation, 2019)

India’s Stance

Bad actions and gestures of the out-group are highlighted and in-group is pictured in a civilized and democratic manner. The examples bellow show that Pakistan’s policy on India is not based on reality and is against the international human rights, while Indian way of action is justified in terms of human rights and is termed as a democratic way.

“It has armed Indian security forces with greater room to tackle Pakistan-sponsored terrorism and crack down on violence.” (Hindustan times, 2019).

“It is welcome that no major political outfit has rejected resumption of political engagement in the changed circumstance, waiting for restoration of the status quo to resume dialogue.” (Economic times, 2020).

“This newspaper supported the quest for integrating Kashmir with the rest of India, constitutionally and legally, with the dilution of Article 370.” (Hindustan times, 2019).

“the positives are that the long meeting was freewheeling, without rancour and all parties were united in the demand for the restoration of Statehood.” (The Hindu, 2020).

In these examples Indian newspaper conveys the message that Pakistan’s role is negative on Kashmir as it sponsors terrorism (Pakistan call it freedom fighting) in the valley. The newspapers claim that although Pakistan promotes terrorism in Kashmir, but still India has great armed forced to tackle this.

The main aim of the writers here is to convince the readers that Kashmir issue has been unresolved just because of Pakistan and India want a peaceful solution of this issue.

Counterfactuals

This strategy is used in order to bring in front the extreme worst-case scenario. Rather it is the presentation of the other side of the coin which is not apparently observed.

Pakistan’s Stance

Pakistani newspapers have used this strategy more than Indian newspapers. Empathy raising among the masses is the main objective of this strategy (Islam,

2016). Some of the examples of counterfactuals which are used by Pakistani newspapers are the following;

“There can be no normalisation of relations and trade between the two neighbouring nuclear powers in any manner till the Kashmir dispute is resolved in accordance with UN Security Council resolutions and the aspirations of the Kashmiris.” (The Nation, 2019)

“In addition, the passing of the discriminatory Citizenship (Amendment) Act 2019 was the first time that religion had been overtly used as a condition for citizenship in Indian law.” (Express tribune, 2019)

“He said regional peace and security was under threat due to India’s step of revoking the special status of Occupied Kashmir, adding Kashmiris were under military lockdown by the Indian government from past 172 days.” (The Nation, 2019)

“Trump can tell them this would be a dangerous step. If they (India) go for it, we will have to respond. We had responded last February too.” (The Nation, 2019)

“Touching upon different aspects of the lingering unresolved Kashmir issue, the Pakistani leader quite rightly told the international body in plain words that there will be no durable peace and stability in South Asia until the Jammu and Kashmir dispute is resolved on the basis of international legitimacy and that Kashmir has been rightly described as a nuclear flashpoint.” (The Nation, 2019) The above examples present Pakistani stance that peace is impossible without first settling the Kashmir issue. It is termed as a problem not only for both of the contending nations, but also for the whole world. Pakistani newspapers have brought attention to the incident of February where Pakistani forces knocked down Indian jets. It is claimed the world may witness the same in the future if the Kashmir issue has not been treated properly by India and international bodies. In this regard, the dangers of the issue have been highlighted by the editorials. It has also been associated with durable peace of the region. The main objective here is to make international community aware that it is not a regional issue, but an international one which may result in disastrous ending, if not dealt properly.

India’s Stance

In this strategy, the statements are presented in such a way which may be true in the future, but are not proved yet (Hodge & Kress, 1993). It is done in order to win the sympathies of the public. This strategy is used 11 times by Pakistan and 27 times by India.

“Home Minister Amit Shah insisted the restoration of Statehood will follow delimitation and elections.” (The Hindu, 2019).

“J&K has, and will, remain an integral part of the country.” (Hindustan times, 2020).

The newspapers describes the recent act of Kashmir as a bold act and tries to win the sympathies of the public that in the near future the Kashmiris will be given their constitutional right in the shape of elections. It has also backed the decision by saying that Kashmir is and will be India`s integral part. The main objective is to convince the reader about any doubt that may come in their mind.

Euphemism

It is a deliberate choice of words which apparently softens the effects of the used words. In contrast, harsh words and sentences of THEM group are highlighted. This is done due to societal pressure in the forms of certain taboos and norms (Atai & Mozahed, 2013).

Pakistan`s stance

The researcher has found this usage more often in Pakistani editorials than in comparison to Indian usage. Some of the examples are presented below:

“The political leadership and military of Pakistan and the people have been supporting Kashmiris` indigenous, just and unarmed struggle for the fundamental right of self-determination all along, extending all political, diplomatic and moral support to Kashmiris, reiterating the same on all occasions.” (The Nation, 2019)

“Pakistan continues to pursue a foreign policy of peaceful coexistence with all countries particularly its neighbors and resolving all disputes through a meaningful, purposeful and objective cordial atmosphere.” (The Nation, 2019)
 “injecting Hindutva into the blood of his blindly arrogant and violent followers, who now want ‘white brides’ from Kashmir.” (Dawn, 2019)

The above examples show that Pakistani newspapers tries to convey the message that Pakistan is a peace loving nation and is always try to show themselves in solidarity with Kashmiri people. Indian aggression has been shown as mere violation of human rights and the Indian masses support the Hindutva ideology without recognizing the worst side of it, as shown in the above example. In the above examples, the words like ‘peace loving nation’, ‘supporting Kashmiris’ and describing Indian as ‘blind supporters of Hindutva’ clarifies the usage of euphemism in their own favor by Pakistani newspapers.

India`s stance

The harshness of language is mitigated through the use of this strategy. Taboo is also the reason that this strategy is used. In order to show Pakistan as a hurdle in the solution of Kashmir problem Indian attitude is not emphasized, rather it is labeled on Pakistan that the issue has been unresolved only because of Pakistan. Some of the examples in this regard are presented below.

“The dilution of statehood has been met with hostility.” (Hindustan times, 2019)
 “One is the “separatist” strand, which gained currency through the use of terrorism.” (Hindustan times, 2020)

All the freedom fighting struggles are labeled as separatist agents who act on the basis of economic sponsorships from the opposing forces. Here the writers try to convince the reader the point that there is no real danger in the shape of true voices but rather they are paid agencies to promote terrorism in the valley. All the freedom struggles are nullified by calling them as sponsored terrorism.

Evidentiality

In using this strategy, the discourse producers come up with certain evidences, proofs and citations which help his/her cause. Hence this strategy is most widely used in both the countries` editorials.

Pakistan's Stance

Its frequency of occurrence is quite higher in Pakistani editorials than Indian`s editorials. The evidence provided by Pakistani editorials is mentioned below;
 “The Hindu extremist BJP, backed by RSS, has exuded emphatically in the past and present its anti-Muslim stance – be it the demolition of the historic Babri Masjid, massacre of Muslims in the 2002 Gujarat riots, or the more recent anti-Muslim violence in Delhi.” (Express tribune,2019)

“British MP Debbie Abrahams also wrote a letter to UK Premier Boris Johnson to take a note of the grave human rights abuses in IOK.” (Express tribune, 2019)
 “India has asked the UN to remove the Kashmir issue so that it is not discussed during the upcoming General Assembly session, claiming it is an “outdated agenda item” and needs to be removed “permanently.” (Dawn, 2019)

“The leaders — many of whom were jailed after the August 2019 lockdown — all claim that they spent much of the meeting demanding the restoration of special status for Kashmir and other pro-people actions.” (Express tribune, 2019)

“British MP Debbie Abrahams also wrote a letter to UK Premier Boris Johnson to take a note of the grave human rights abuses in IOK.” (Express tribune, 2019)

The above examples provide evidence from the past history of India that human rights violations has been there in Indian history as the massacre of Muslims in 2002 in Gujrat, demolition of Babri-masjid, august 2019 lockdown and the request of not discussing Kashmir at upcoming general session by India supports the claim. Pakistani newspapers have been successful in this regard as they have provided the readers with enough of proofs and evidences to support the given stance.

India's Stance

This strategy is used 15 times by India. In this regard, evidence in the form of proof is presented to the masses. It makes the discourse more plausible (Islam, 2016).

“But the political challenge to its decision to hollow out Article 370 is all but fading” (The Hindu, 2019).

The voices raised initially for the rights of Kashmiris in the shape of restoration of article 370 have lost its vigor. The newspaper claims that there is no political hurdle in true sense in the way of this decision.

Example/Illustration

Examples have a more a more powerful impact on reader`s mind. Hence, they have used it quite a lot. As per one`s ideology, examples are given to enhance the persuasive impact (Rashidi & Souzandehfar, 2010).

Pakistan`s Stance

Pakistani editorials have used it more because they know that it has a great emotional impact on one`s mind. It is quite good in terms of persuasion. Hence, every person illustrate or give examples which suits or favors one`s ideology (Rashidi & Souzandehfar, 2010). The examples below show that India is not violating the human rights and international norms for the first time, rather it has become India`s continuous act.

“...but we must remember that India under Modi had not only cut off top-level talks and interactions with Pakistan but had even refused to admit that Kashmir is internationally recognized as a disputed territory.” (Express tribune, 2019)

“The Hindu extremist BJP, backed by RSS, has exuded emphatically in the past and present its anti-Muslim stance – be it the demolition of the historic Babri Masjid, massacre of Muslims in the 2002 Gujarat riots, or the more recent anti-Muslim violence in Delhi.”(Express Tribune, 2019)

“according to one estimate, 430,000 new domicile certificates have been issued to outsiders. (Dawn, 2019)

In these editorials, Pakistan has presented those examples which shows that Indian past history in the shape of Babri masjid incident, 2002 Gujrat riots and anti-muslim violence in Delhi cannot be expected to have a positive role in the Kashmir issue. These examples also clarify the fact that these negative sentiments are there in the Indian parliament because they are influenced by BJP which is a Hindu extremist party. The writers have come up with examples as it has a lasting effect in readers` mind.

India's Stance

In this regard, examples from the past and present are given and it is shown that whole nation backs the stance on Kashmir.

“The second is the reassurance given by both Prime Minister Narendra Modi, and home minister Amit Shah, to representatives of the newly-formed J&K Apni Party that there are no plans to change the demography of the Union Territory (UT).” (Hindustan times, 2020)

“Kashmir has been won over, now win over the Kashmiris.” (Hindustan times, 2019)

The Prime minister of India along with home minister has assured the current government of Kashmir that the demographics of Kashmir will remain unchanged. The writers try to convince the readers that there is no real danger in the way of the present decision as the Premium along with home minister is in its favor completely.

Generalization

On the basis of certain facts and previous experiences, a desired result has been generalized for supporting their stance.

Pakistan's Stance

Things are sometimes generalized by the discourse producers instead of providing evidences.

The previous negative acts of THEM group is highlighted that they have behaved in a rude way or uncivilized way in the past and are doing the same in the present. Pakistani editorials focused that India has in the past blamed Pakistan for certain acts for which they had not provided any proof.

“After all, he jailed most of them, while his attack dogs, including Home Minister Amit Shah, compared them to gangs and called them “anti-national elements” and politically irrelevant in the light of the 2019 changes.” (Express Tribune, 2019)

“No amount of legal trickery internally or internationally by India will change this reality.” (Dawn, 2019)

The above lines generalize the fact that Hindu government is not ready to accept any sane voice from the masses in terms of Kashmir issue as the above example of calling every voice raised for Kashmir as ‘anti-national elements’ and ‘legal trickery’ show this. Such examples` main aim is to generalize the concept that the present record shows that such attitude is expected from India in the future also.

India's Stance

India has generalized it that as per Pakistan's past stance, a peaceful solution of the issue is far from near. Some of the examples are given below.

"And while they cannot give up their demand for the restoration of Article 370, a more realistic goal is asking for statehood." (Hindustan times, 2019).

Hyperbole

This strategy is used to exploit the readers' mind in the shape of excessive exaggeration and humor is thus created on the basis of the evidence provided (Hodge & Kress, 1993).

Pakistan's Stance

For creating a rhetoric effect, this strategy is used. It has been used less by Indian's editorials than Pakistani editorials. Sensational effect has been the desired outcome of discourse producer by using this strategy (Hodge & Kress, 1993). Here the negatives of other are highlighted for getting the desired outcomes. Some of the examples from Pakistani Editorials are presented here.

"...there have been attacks on the culture of the Kashmiris as well, such as the ban of the traditional Kashmiri attire, pheran. Destroying a nation's culture is like killing a nation without a bullet because culture is the identity of a nation."(Express Tribune, 2019)

"New Delhi claims its illegal **annexation** of the disputed territory last year has 'resolved' the dispute, something millions of Kashmiris patently disagree with." (Dawn, 2019)

Situations in the mentioned examples are exaggerated by the writers for negatively highlighting the opponents. The ban on traditional Kashmiri attire and pheran is associated with attack on the culture of Kashmiri people. This is portrayed as killing them, as a nation cannot survive long without sticking to its culture and values.

India's Stance

India has widely used this strategy for exaggerating the negative side of Pakistan on Kashmir. They have done it in the shape of some of the below examples.

"the restoration of Statehood has been placed so far down the path that any discussion on special status is unthinkable in the near future." (The Hindu, 2020)

Pakistan should abandon its stance of restoration of article 370 as it is no more an agenda of India. India should not be expected to have a talk on the issue. The newspaper tries to prove the point that there is no chance of reversal of the present decision.

Lexicalization

In this strategy such words are used which portrays THEM group in a negative way, while US group is glorified

Pakistan's Stance

It is the most widely used strategy used by Pakistan. Here THEM group is pictured negatively and US group is glorified. Its occurrence is 157 times in Pakistani Editorials. This strategy is applied through the use of certain words like "crush", "freedom fighters", "counter", "military", "lockdown", "brute force" and "curfew". Some of the examples are presented below;

"As New Delhi has failed to counter the Kashmiri freedom struggle through brute force and repression." (Dawn, 2019)

"India feels that it can crush the Kashmiri desire for dignity and freedom." (Dawn, 2019)

"India annulled the occupied region's special constitutional status in August 2019, in effect to crush the Kashmiris' aspirations for freedom and dignity." (Dawn, 2019)

"...it is denying the Kashmiris their fundamental right of self-determination, is persistently resorting to brutalities and atrocities through its security forces on the residents who are living in the longest lockdown and curfew since August 5." (The Nation, 2019)

"As New Delhi has failed to counter the Kashmiri freedom struggle through brute force and repression." (Dawn, 2019)

Pakistani writers here have associated the struggle of Kashmiris as a legal right and has been termed as freedom fighting, right of self-determination, desire for dignity and freedom. Every struggle and effort by Kashmiri people has been backed up by Pakistani editorials. In contrast the actions of Indian nation have been portrayed with negative words like "brutalities", "atrocities", "longest curfew", "crush", and "brute force". Kashmir has been considered as from the US group and hence, it has been pictured positively, while India has been taken in the THEM group, therefore it is pictured negatively.

India's Stance

Its occurrence is less in Indian editorials as compared to Pakistani editorials usage. The reason is that Pakistan is in defensive mood. In this strategy such words are used which portrays THEM group in a negative way, while US group is glorified. In this regard, words like "terrorists", "Islamic state", "al-qaeda" and "hostile group" are used by India. The US group is glorified by using words like "voice of Kashmiris".

“The Apni Party will need to be the voice of Kashmiris, rather than of the Indian State, if it is to win credibility on the Srinagar street.” (Hindustan times, 2020).
“This is the only way to restore political normalcy in J&K, even as the security apparatus remains alert and battles violence and cross-border terrorism.” (Hindustan times, 2020).

Every recent activity in the name of freedom fighting in Kashmir is nullified by calling it as terrorist backed activity by Taliban, Al-qaeda and the like organizations. Pakistan promote these terrorist activities and has been described as cross border terrorism. Beside this negative projection of Pakistan, India has been glorified by its recent establishment of a party in the name of Apni party. The newspaper wants it to become the true voice of Kashmiris

National Self-Glorification

Country`s prestige is glorified through the presentation of its strong culture, values and civilized usage of language (Atai & Mozaheb, 2013)

Pakistan`s Stance

It is also one of the trick to present one`s country and people in a glorified and civilized way. Pakistanis have used this strategy quite effectively. They have used this trick about 66 times by Pakistan. The following examples clearly show that how these editorials have glorified their nation.

“Pakistan continues to pursue a foreign policy of peaceful coexistence with all countries particularly its neighbours.” (The Nation, 2019)

“It is not only Pakistan that has been having trouble along its border with India; the recent clashes on the India-Chinese frontier show that New Delhi is in an aggressive mood and keeps provoking its neighbours.” (Dawn, 2019)

“...the Pakistani leadership tried to resolve the issue, but failed due to India`s hegemonic and rigid attitude.” (Express Tribune, 2019)

The above examples depict Pakistan in such a way that it is a civilized nation and is taking care of the national and international norms. The crux of these editorials is that Pakistan wants a peaceful relation with its neighbor. This technique is evident from the above example which says that Indian hegemonic and rigid attitude is the main hurdle in the peace process. India is also in clash with China which clearly shows that it is not a peace loving nation. Hence, it is shown that Indian not only deviates from ethical values, but also does not consider the national and international norms.

India`s Stance

Through the usage of this strategy the prestige of the country is glorified. The usage is done 52 times by India. This national glorification is done in the form of saying that they have been successful in making Kashmir as their integral part in the form of revocation of the article and will arrange plebiscite in

Kashmir. They also say that actually they fight for giving the Kashmiris their basic right and are fighting Pakistan in this domain.

“The home minister went a step further and said that J&K will have a better domicile policy than other regions.” (Hindustan Times, 2019)

India has played a bold role regarding Kashmir as they have been successful in making Kashmir its integral part on political grounds. India struggles for giving Kashmiris their basic rights and are henceforth easing the policy of domicile. The main aim here is to convince the reader that India is the well-wisher of Kashmiris and is trying their level best to give them their due rights.

Negative Other-Presentation

This strategy is used for highlighting the negative side of THEM group.

Pakistan's Stance

It has been effectively used by Pakistani journalists in their editorials. The example bellows shows that India has been an irresponsible state who is denying the Kashmiris its due rights. India has been portrayed as undemocratic state who does not give the Muslim majority state its constitutional rights. Deviation from the international norms has also been associated with India as it goes against the UN agenda on Kashmir.

“New Delhi is in an aggressive mood and keeps provoking its neighbor.” (Dawn, 2019)

“...India is not only illegally occupying the Jammu and Kashmir territory for more than seven decades, it is denying the Kashmiris their fundamental right of self-determination.” (The Nation, 2019)

“Modi had not only cut off top-level talks and interactions with Pakistan but had even refused to admit that Kashmir is internationally recognised as a disputed territory.” (Express Tribune, 2019)

Here the THEM group is negatively pictured by Pakistan and India's illegal occupation of Kashmir for more than seven decades has been presented in evidence. India has even stopped recognizing Kashmir as a disputed territory. The desired effect is achieved by using the phrases like aggressive mood of India, provoking neighbors, denial of fundamental rights by India. India is every now and then provokes Pakistan through violation of international norms which is disastrous for regional and international peace.

India's Stance

The bad qualities or actions of the THEM group are highlighted in this strategy. “And it has shown the futility of the “azaadi” slogan of those who harbour ambitions of secession.” (Hindustan times, 2019)

“Mainstream Kashmiri parties stood against Pakistan-sponsored terror, but always sought, in principle, a degree of autonomy within India.” (Hindustan times, 2020)

“This is the only way to restore political normalcy in J&K, even as the security apparatus remains alert and battles violence and cross-border terrorism.” (Hindustan times, 2019)

Pakistan`s role has been pictured negatively in the above examples. It is shown that the slogan of ‘azadi’ has lost its vitality and vigor. India must be prepared from the terrorist activities from Pakistani side to bring normalcy in Kashmir. There is unanimity among the main parties of India about the negative role of Pakistan in Kashmir and all parties are claiming to tackle it on political and armed grounds.

The main reason of the aggressive nature of India is the military presence of India in in Kashmir which has put them in a state of pride and has thus labeled every freedom fighting action with Pakistan and its agencies. While Pakistan`s defensive mood is due to the Pakistani ideology

CONCLUSION, FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The main aim of CDA is to give the researcher an insight into the hidden meaning of a given discourse. It is done through decoding the form and content of the discourse. It also helps in reaching to some of the desired meanings of the discourse. Different methods are used for this purpose. Merely the bookish study is not enough to get to those intended meanings. Out of all the methods used in this regard, CDA is the most widely used method. The researcher has used the same method in this study.

Main Findings

Exploring the hidden ideologies of Pakistani and Indian media through editorials analyses was the main aim of the researcher. Some of the main findings of this research are the following;

This study comes to the point that editorials are not merely representing the writers own perspective, but they are used as agencies of propagation of ideological stances. The study reveals that the writers have been successful in making an association of the target readership with the ‘US’ group which results in strengthening of the propagated ideology.

After the analysis of the editorials, the researcher has found differences in occurrence of the usage of these discursive strategies. Mostly, both countries have used the same strategies.

Pakistani editorials were found to be focusing more on representation of Pakistan positively and have given less emphasis on bringing the negatives of the target group; India.

The researcher found Pakistan in defensive mood as it tries to prove itself innocent out of all the allegations made by India.

India, In contrast was found to be in aggressive mood and targeted the negative picture of Pakistan and did not focus on self-glorification.

CONCLUSION

Most of the readers blindly accept to whatever they are exposed to. Both of the countries` writers have taken advantage from this blind following through their writings. They have manipulated the target readers` minds in their own ideological framework. This study aimed at finding out those apparently invisible ideologies in the writers` mind. It also tried to explore the hidden targets and motives through those writings. It shows that how the same issue has been dealt differently for getting the desired goals. This research focused on unbiased and rationales that give the intellectual minds an overview of showing them the true picture and to ponder over it subjectively. This study proves that how Kashmir issue has not only affected Pakistan and India, but has also destroyed the world peace at large. Both countries made different lexical choices for getting a discriminated view. Hence, the study is very helpful for the intellectuals to study the stance of both the nations in a logical way.

It is not possible to remove biasness from one`s thinking as it is shaped by the socio-political, religious and cultural setting of a person. Same is the case with Pakistani and Indian writers. This societal shaping has been prominent in their writings. This is shown through the analyses of selected English newspapers from Pakistan and India. For this analysis the researcher has used the ideological square model.

In dealing the issue the researcher has found Pakistani newspapers more logical and rational in comparison to Indian dealing of the issue. In this regard Pakistan has mainly focused on the sufferings and casualties of Kashmiri people and Indian atrocities have been highlighted.

India, on the other hand mainly focused on negatives of Pakistan. They attribute every misshaping with Pakistan and its agencies. For getting the support of the masses, they have come up with arguments which are strengthening the stance of Indian aggression in the form of more army deployment, modern weapons usage, blocking communication means for the valley dwellers. All those voices which were against the Indian brutalities were termed as paid, terrorists, and violators of national integrity. The present study has aptly considered this aspect of the issue and has uncovered it with the analysis which was the main purpose of this study. which compels them to win the issue on legal grounds and gain the international sympathy on Kashmir issue.

REFERENCES

- Ali Hassan Bangwar (2021, June 28). Kashmir issue revisited. *Express Tribune*
- Afzal, K., Minhas, J., & Harun, W. (2015). A critical analysis of newspaper`s editorial discourse on the portrayal of uprising in Libya and Syria . *Academic Research Journal*, 6(4), 243-259.

- Ahmadian, M., & Farahani, E. (2014). A critical discourse analysis of The Los Angeles Times and Tehran Times on the representation of Iran's nuclear program. *Theory and Practice in Language Studies*, 4(10), 143-156.
- Ali, A. (2017). Kashmir conflict and South Asian elite press: A framing analysis. *Journal of Politics and International Studies*, 3(2), 47-62.
- Amir Shojaei, K. Y. (2013). A CDA approach to the biased interpretation and representation of ideologically conflicting ideas in Western printed media. *Journal of Language Teaching and Research*, 4(4), 858-868.
- Atai, M., & Mozaheb, M. (2013). The representation of Iran's nuclear program in British newspaper editorials: A critical discourse analytic perspective. *International Journal of Society, Culture and Language*, 1(2), 15-33.
- Babalola, E. T. (2002). Newspaper as instruments for building literate communities: The Nigerian experience. *Nordic journal of African studies*, 11, 403-410.
- Belmonte, W. (2008). *Newspaper editorials and comment articles: A cinderella genre?* Texas: Routledge.
- Blommaert, J. (1998). *Debating diversity: Analysing the discourse of tolerance*. New York: Routledge.
- Bonyadi, A., & Samuel, M. (2011). Linguistic nature of presupposition in American and Persian newspaper editorials. *International Journal of Linguistics*, 3(1), 1-16.
- Cameron, L. (2003). *Metaphor in educational discourse*. London: Continuum.
- Dijk, T. A. (2005). *The handbook of discourse analysis*. In D. Tannen (Ed.) United Kingdom: Blackwell.
- Dijk, T. V. (1996). *Discourse, opinions and ideologies: Current issues in language and society*. Athens.
- Dijk, T. V. (1998a). *Ideology: A multi disciplinary approach*. California : Sage
- Dijk, T. V. (1998b). *Prejudice in discourse: An analysis of ethnic prejudice in cognition and conversation* (2nd ed.). California: Cambridge Press.
- Dijk, T. V. (2005). *Racism and the press*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Dijk, T. V. (2007). Ideology and discourse analysis. *Journal of Political Ideologies*, 11, 115-140.
- Dijk, T. V. (2008). *Discourse and power*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Dijk, T. V. (2009). *Society and discourse: How social contexts influence text and talk*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Eissa, M. (2014). Polarized discourse in the news. *Procedia-Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 134, 70-91.
- Elyazale, N. (2014). Characteristics of newspaper editorials: 'Chouftchouf' in 'Almassae' Moroccan newspaper as a case study. *New Media and Mass Communication*, 3, 45-49.
- Fairclough. (1993). Critical discourse analysis and the marketisation of public discourse. *The Universities Discourse & Society*, 4, 133-135.
- Fairclough. (2003). *Analysing discourse: Textual analysis for research*. London: Routledge.
- Fairclough, N. (1986). *Language and power* (2 ed.). New York: Routledge.
- Fairclough, N. (1995). *Critical discourse analysis: The critical study of language*. New York: Longman.
- Foucault, M. (2002). *Archaeology of knowledge*. New York: Roulledge.

- Fowler. (1991). *Language in the news: Discourse and ideology in the press*. New York: Routledge.
- Fowler, R., Hodge, B., Kress, G., & Trew, T. (1979). *Language and control: The role of discourse in manipulating minds*. London: Routledge.
- Galasinski, D., & Jaworski, A. (2002). The verbal construction of non-verbal behaviour: British press reports of President Clinton's grand jury testimony video. *Discourse & Society*, 13(5), 629-649.
- Gurevitch, M., Bennett, T., Curran, J., & Woollacott, J. (1982). *Culture, society and the media*. London: Methuen.
- Hall, S. (1997). *Culture, media, language*. (D. Hobson, Ed.) New York: Routledge.
- Halliday, M. (1994). *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*. Great Britain: Edward Arnold.
- Halliday, M. (2004). *An introduction to functional grammar (Vol. 2)*. London: Rourledge.
- Hawes, T., & Thomas, S. (1995). Theme choice and lateral verbs in newspaper editorials. *Hong Kong Papers in Linguistics and Language Teaching*, 18, 103-113.
- Hodge, R., & Kress, K. (1993). *Language as ideology*. London: Routledge.
- Hunston, S. (2000). *Evaluation in text: Authorial stance and the construction of discourse*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Koubali, J. (2007). *News and Editorials in the British Press: A Corpus Based Study, Morocco*. Great Britain: Edward Arnold.
- Le, T. (2009). *Critical discourse analysis: an overview*. New York: Nova Science Publishers.
- Leeuwen, T. V. (2008). *Discourse and practice*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Leeuwen, T. V. (2008). *Discourse and practice: New tools for critical discourse analysis*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Mahdavirad, K., & Mukhtari, S. (2019). Mainstream Iranian media coverage of the Syrian conflict: A content analysis. *Syria Research and Evaluation Organisation*, 3, 23-34.
- McLellan, D. (1995). *Ideology*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Muhammad Zahid Rifat (2020, Aug 07). *Resolving the Kashmir dispute; the way forward*. The Nation
- Muhammad Zahid Rifat (2021, April 06). *Kashmir issue key to regional peace*. The Nation
- Muhammad Zahid Rifat (2020, October 11). *Kashmir- a nuclear flash point*. The Nation
- Okuda, H. (2016). China's peaceful rise /peaceful development: A case study of media frames of the rise of China. *Global Media and China*, 1(2), 121-138.
- Park, R. E. (1923). The natural history of the newspaper. *The American journal of sociology*, 273-289.
- Poorebrahim, F., & Reza Zarei, G. (2013). How is Islam portrayed in western media? A critical discourse analysis perspective. *International Journal of Foreign Language Teaching and Research*, 1(2), 45-62.
- Rashidi, N., & Souzandehfar, M. (2010). A critical discourse analysis of the debates between republicans and democrats over the continuation of war in Iraq. *JoLIE*.

- Reystron, K. (1983). *The why who and how of the editorial page* (3rd ed.). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Reza, P. &. (2013). How is Islam portrayed in Western media? A critical discourse analysis perspective. *International Journal of Foreign Language Teaching & Research*, 1(2), 11-15.
- Richardson, J. (2007). *Analysing newspaper: An approach from critical discourse analysis*. London: Red globe press.
- Saad Sultan (2021, March 03). Kashmir at a tripping point. *Express Tribune*
- Schiffirin, D. (1994). *Approaches to discourse*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Seymour, U. (1991). *The British Press and Broadcasting Since 1945*. Cambridge: Blackwell.
- Sogut, S. (2018). Ideology in the news through active passive and nominalization: A study on the terrorist attack in Ankara reported in British and American newspapers. *Journal of Language and Linguistic Studies*, 14(1), 162-177.
- Stonecipher, H. (1979). *Editorial and persuasive writing: Opinion functions of the news media*. New York: Hastings House.
- Tabassum, M. S., & Bilal, M. (2013). A critical discourse analysis of the left and right wing ideologies in Pakistani English newspaper editorials. *Journal of Education and Practice*, 4(13), 72-78.
- Tahir, M. (2013). A critical discourse analysis of religious othering of Muslims in the Washington Post. *Middle-East Journal of Scientific Research*, 14(6), 744-753.
- Tahir, M. (2013). A critical discourse analysis of religious othering of Muslims in the Washington Post. *Middle-East Journal of Scientific Research*, 14(6), 744-753.
- Widdowson, G. (1995). *Discourse analysis: A critical view language and literature*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Wodak, R., & Meyer, M. (2009). *Critical discourse analysis: History, agenda, theory and methodology*. London: Sage.
- Yarmohammadi, L. (2000). Discourse and the Translator. *Iranian Journal of Translation*, 9(32), 3-14.
- YarMohammadi, L. (2001). The proportion of the use of qualitative methods to the quantitative methods in Discourse Analysis. *Nameh Farhang*, 39, 48-59.
- Youssefi, K., Kanani, A., & Shojaei, A. (2013). Ideological or international move? A critical discourse analysis toward the representation of Iran sanctions in western printed media. *Journal of Language Teaching and Research*, 4(6), 143-157.
- Zafar, A., Jan, M., & Noshina, S. (2013). Portrayal of Pakistan by U.S leading magazines. *Science International*, 25(4), 21-37.
- Riaz Ahmed Sanjrani (2019, Sep 6th) Kashmir Dispute, *The Express Tribune*. <https://tribune.com.pk/letter/2050184/kashmir-dispute-2>