



**REPRESENTATION OF KASHMIR CONFLICT ON
MEDIA: AN ANALYSIS OF NEWS TALK SHOWS ON
INDIAN AND PAKISTANI TELEVISION**

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Master's Thesis

Graduate School

Izmir University of Economics

Izmir

2021

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ABSTRACT

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August, 2021

This research tested the research question whether media can or cannot build a particular narrative in a given conflict situation. As a case study, the Kashmir issue has been discussed. Four powerful media houses and their TV talk shows have been identified based on the highest number of online viewership and followership of their anchor persons and analysts. Furthermore, two test events have been selected based upon the fact that both of these events created great deal of tension between the two neighboring countries, India and Pakistan, from 2016 to 2019. The results of content analysis reveal that media on both sides built a narrative and created an image that suited their governments. Indian media tried to label Kashmiris and Pakistan as terrorist and militants, trying to infiltrate their sovereignty. While Pakistani media on

the other hand was defending the Kashmiri struggle, tagging the events as act of freedom movement. It is concluded that none of the media reported the on-ground crises within Kashmir during both the events. Pakistani media was not allowed to report from Kashmir, while Indian media used the reports for their own good. This is what is being followed largely by all media houses in both the countries. The research further concludes that two approaches to reporting are utilized by mainstream media, Sensationalized and Objective. Both of these approaches, partially, are adapted by media that reports the crises or a rigid event, yet this media may not be from the region that is the origin of crises.

Keywords: Kashmir, News, Media, Pakistan, India



ÖZET

KEŞMİR ÇATIŞMASININ MEDYADA TEMSİLİ: HİNDİSTAN VE PAKİSTAN TELEVİZYON HABER PROGRAMLARI ÜZERİNE BİR İNCELEME

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Medya ve İletişim Çalışmaları Yüksek Lisans Programı

Tez Danışmanı: Prof. Dr. Y. Gökçen Karanfil

Ağustos, 2021

Bu çalışma medyanın herhangi bir çatışma ortamında belirli bir anlatı kurup kuramayacağı araştırma sorusu etrafına örülmüştür. Vaka çalışması olarak Keşmir bölgesindeki çatışma durumu ele alınmıştır. İzleyici ve takipçi sayılarının yüksekliği göz önünde bulundurularak dört farklı media kanalında yer alan tartışma programları incelenmiştir. Bu tartışma programları 2016 ve 2019 tarihlerinde meydana gelen ve kamuoyunda önemli yer edinen iki olayın ele alınışı ekseninde çalışılmıştır. Yürütülen içerik analizi medyanın genel hatları ile hükümetlerin çıkarları doğrultusunda yayın yaptığı sonucunu ortaya çıkarmıştır. Hindistan medyası Keşmir'lileri ve Pakistan'ı Hindistan'ın egemenliğini tehdit eden terrorist ve militan topluluklar olarak etiketlerken Pakistan medyası Keşmir'de yaşananları bir direniş ve özgürlük hareketi olarak tanımlamaktadır. Çalışma incelenen media mecralarının hiç birisinin Keşmir'de gerçekleşen krizi olay yerinden incelemediği sonucuna varmıştır. Pakistan medyasının Keşmir'den yayın yapmasına izin verilmezken Hindistan medyası yayınları kendi

ıkarlarına uygun olarak kurgulamıřtır. Ek olarak, arařtırma, anaakım medyanın Keřmir krizini ele alırken sansasyonel ve objektif olmak üzere iki farklı yaklařım sergilediđini savunmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Keřmir, Haber, Medya, Pakistan, Hindistan



ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I acknowledge my Prof. Dr. Y. Gökçen Karanfil for his efforts in helping me write my thesis. I did not have a clue about writing but he patiently taught me everything and without his efforts and attention to my work, this thesis would not have been successful. I am also grateful to my parents for their prayers. I am especially thankful to my brother Ali Pirzada and my friend Dr. Muhammad Shoaib Irshad Alvi for their tremendous support.



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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

Media has a direct impact on any event while reporting or covering it, especially the modern media that covers all the print media, social media and electronic media. The coverage of the event through any media may or may not aggravate the situation arising as a by-product. Many media giants have set their code of ethics, in addition to what code has been set by the governments to contain the flow of information. Apart from covering an event, this research addresses the impact of media on a crisis that has already evolved. It is important to highlight few of the reasons for such crisis and conflicts, which include dispute between two neighbouring countries over the possession of a geographic boundary, a religious affair between multiple religions or sects within a religion, dispute over scarce resources, disputes arising in response to race and ethnicity within a country, and the list continues. Media has a big role to play when it all boils down to covering a crisis or conflict situation. Media is such an important tool that it has the tendency to create a dispute or to conciliate in the dispute. This research does not focus on the biasness of the media towards any one of the stakeholders within the dispute, rather it highlights its role under any given crisis like situation.

Jonathan Bundy has argued upon the characteristics of what a crisis is:

“We also recognize that crisis have four primary characteristics: (a) crisis are sources of uncertainty, disruption, and change; (b) crisis are harmful or threatening for organizations and their stakeholders, many of whom may have conflicting needs and demands; (c) crisis are behavioral phenomena, meaning that the literature has recognized that crisis are socially constructed by the actors involved rather than a function of the depersonalized factors of an objective environment; and (d) crisis are parts of larger processes, rather than discrete events (Bundy, et al 2017, pp.1661-1692)”

The media, under any of the above provided crisis definitions, is bound by the ethical, moral and agreements to provide reliable, updated and first-hand information to the people searching for it. Without a doubt it must reach to most of the people. The modern media, be it any of its category, with its twenty-four-hour service has immense power to draw public attention to the current issues, safety messages and real-time ground situations during crisis or conflicting times. It is worth a discussion that the responsibility of the stakeholders of the crisis or conflict, is far more important. The relationship with media can be suggested in the following ways:

- Establishment of relationship with media agencies and outlets before, during and after a disaster.
- Providing clear and transparent information to media, and similar information to all media outlets.
- Establishment of a media cell to provide round the clock information to all media outlets.

In response to these steps taken by the stakeholders, it then becomes the responsibility of the media to remain fair, unbiased and define its role within the boundaries of a situation. This is what this research addresses while maintaining the fact that above mentioned points by stakeholders are well met. The content available will be analyzed with discussion and suggestions to be followed in the last chapter (Zia and Syedah, 2015, pp. 161-180).

It is worth mentioning Media and Communication Sciences as my majors. The key term 'crises' was included on the fact that the flow of information from region under focus seizes while in chaos. This brings the media agencies from surrounding regions to report the event which includes the bias factor towards any involved party within the boundaries of that particular event. This intersection of Media and Crises leads the research to few regions in crises like:

- Palestine,
- Myanmar,
- Nigeria,

- Kashmir,
- Afghanistan

The researcher selected Kashmir as the case study. It involves two nuclear states claiming ownership of common land, while distorting the factual reporting. Both neighbours having strong media Agencies to represent their point-of-view, most of the time adding biases. And most importantly, as a Pakistani Muslim, researcher has emotional attachment with the people of Kashmir.

For this purpose, the researcher selected four different media (Channel 92 News, ARY, Times of India, Times Now) houses from two different countries India and Pakistan. The research aims to find the differences in media presentations on the same event.

To address Why Social Media is NOT utilized to fulfill the requirements of the research? It is important to mention that social media is the most efficient way of transferring the information. As introduced in the preceding section, main stream media (television) has been the right choice in case of this research. The reason for not opting for social media is the restrictions on the internet during every major or minor event that occurs in the Indian Occupied Kashmir. In the absence of internet, it becomes a limitation for social media to flow information out of the crises situation.

1.2 Aim, scope, rationale of study, research questions and hypothesis

The research aims to find the importance of media and its role in crisis situation that not only have local rather global impact beyond terrestrial boundaries. Few of the objectives of the research are to define crisis situation, explore media and its role in crisis situations, discover Kashmir and its Importance (as a test case), unearth Kashmir issue (as a crisis situation), identify the role of media in Kashmir issue (human right violations, war crimes, etc.) and analyse the impact of media in Kashmir issue on Indo-Pak relationship.

1. What is the significance of media in this crisis?
2. How does media use a crisis situation to amplify a certain narrative?
3. How does the media impact the Kashmir issue?
4. Does impact of media on Kashmir issue has global effects?

To answer the above mentioned RQs, researcher has opted for content analysis. Further, the hypothesis helped to understand the results of analysis method.

Hypothesis: Media on Kashmir can rebuild the narrative that may directly impact the lives of Kashmiris struggling to gain the basic human rights.

Today, the word Kashmir has gotten inseparable from death, obliteration and strict massacre in South Asia. Albeit the Kashmir issue is established in a territorial question among India and Pakistan, it has transformed into a multi-layered issue throughout the long term. This article talks about this contention, its set of experiences, its suggestions and potential strides towards a tranquil arrangement. According to Firdoss (2017, pp. 1801-1810), the Kashmir has in effect been divided into Azad Kashmir controlled by Pakistan (also known as Pakistan occupied Kashmir in India) and Jammu & Kashmir (A part of the Indian Union, also known as India occupied Kashmir in Pakistan). The de facto border between these two regions was called the LoC (Line of Control). This division stands today and is unofficially accepted as the border between the two countries. However, both countries still lay claim to the entire Kashmir valley. This has led to a dangerous dispute between the two neighbouring nuclear powers, India and Pakistan, and has led to several wars and border skirmishes since 1948.

Madan (2015) wrote that Kashmir is vitally significant to both India and Pakistan from a strategic standpoint. The region, as well as India and Pakistan, benefit from the glaciers and the fresh water they supply. A billion people in India and Pakistan rely on the glacier waters that flow through Kashmir for water and energy. Kashmir also provides Pakistan with much-needed water for irrigating the lush Punjab plains (Madan, 2015, p. 15). In addition, the Indus, with its importance coming in from Kashmir, is Pakistan's principal source of pure water. For years, controlling the flow of water in these waterways through barriers and channels has been a critical issue.

Akbar (2011) wrote on similar line that Kashmir is the key geographical connection between Pakistan and China. This is crucial since China has a boundary issue with India and is also Pakistan's most important diplomatic and military ally. (Akbar, 2011, p.9). Madan, (2015) also asserted the idea that China can retain a confrontational

stance toward India, its greatest regional foe, thanks to the Silk Road. When Pakistan reopened the Silk Route in 1965, it demonstrated the Silk Route's strategic importance (Madan, 2015, p.15).

Another important landmark in Kashmir is the Gilgit and Baltistan route. Pakistan handed over complete control of Gilgit, a modern air force base on this route, to China. This is very important as today Gilgit is the point from which China can penetrate deepest into Indian Territory. This significantly neutralizes the natural security created by the Himalayan range over north India. Interestingly, this move was made only when border tensions erupted between India and China in the 1960s.

However, many other areas in Kashmir have major geopolitical significance. One such area is the Siachen Glacier in the Karakoram Pass. It is the only barrier preventing Pakistani and Chinese forces from linking up in Kashmir. If Pakistan and China were allowed to link up their militaries at Siachen, India's national security over the entire northern frontier would be greatly undermined. Such a link-up would create a very powerful military force, consisting of India's two biggest rivals. This force would be capable of joint and potentially decisive military action against India (Sen and Sailendra, 2010, p.295). It has been explained by Warder (2010) that Kashmir's strategic significance stretches beyond South Asia and into the global arena (Warder, 2010, p.256). Pakistan's annexation of Kashmir or the establishment of an independent state would result in a continuous block of possible Islamic fundamentalist areas stretching from Morocco to Malaysia. This would have a negative influence on the worldwide approach in the 'war on terror,' among other things. Kashmir, which is currently a haven for terrorists from throughout the world, might turn into a fundamentalist state like Iran and promote harmful actions. In Kashmir, the West also has significant military interests. Due to its landlocked position, some observers feel that an independent Kashmir, neutral between India and Pakistan, would be reliant on the West. This would enable the West to build a military presence in the valley, extending its influence beyond the Middle East to Central Asia and China's western border (Iqbal, 2019). Another analysis dismissed the concept, stating that creating a military camp in the valley would be far too costly and unfeasible due to the unsuitable terrain, according to the report (Basham, 2015, p. 512).

1.3 A Landlocked region

Kashmir is a landlocked region in South Asia, located between India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, and China. It is spread across an area of 86,000 square miles, an area bigger than 87 sovereign countries. Kashmir is home to almost thirteen million people. Though mostly Muslim, the state also has significant Hindu, Buddhist, and Sikh populations. Cradled by the mighty Himalayas and fed by rivers like the Satluj and Indus, Kashmir, has often been described as a 'Paradise on Earth'. "However, terrorism and a border dispute between India and Pakistan has taken away the beauty of this land. With a predominantly agrarian population, the per capita income of Kashmir is less than 100 U.S. Dollars. Most of the population is forced to live under immense squalor and oppression. This has made Kashmir one of the most controversial and hotly debated topics in South Asia, a region home to almost a quarter of the world's population" (Basham, 2015, p. 512).

According to Bhatt (2013) during 1947, the British Empire's South Asian part was divided between India and Pakistan. When considering which territory to accede to, Maharajah Hari Singh was advised to examine contiguous dominion, religious, and ethnic difficulties. Both India and Pakistan exerted pressure on Hari Singh to submit to their demands. Maharajah Hari Singh, on the other hand, stayed neutral and refused to accede to either dominion. As a result, Pakistan attempted to annex Kashmir and dispatched a huge number of "tribesmen" and Pakistani army regulars to remove Hari Singh and annex Kashmir. The Maharajah offered to join the Indian union in exchange for protection from Indian armies at this point. India agreed and dispatched troops to Kashmir, igniting the first conflict between the two nations (Bhatt, 2013, p. 171-177).

Furthermore, this invasion by Pakistan and the subsequent war in 1948 lead to the creation of a highly unstable and dangerous rivalry in the Indian subcontinent (Mukhtar, 2020). Basham, (2015) has asserted that in 1948, Indian forces successfully thwarted the incursion by Pakistan and were even ready to invade Mirpur and Muzaffarabad (now in Pakistan). However, Nehru, the Prime Minister of India, recalled his forces and took the issue to the UN Security Council. The UN Security Council passed a resolution saying that Pakistan must withdraw all Pakistani citizens

and tribesmen from the area and that a plebiscite is held to decide the future of the state. However, due to a lack of interest from the international community neither objective of the resolution was achieved (Basham, 2015, p. 512).

Western nations, alongside the two India and Pakistan, enjoy taking benefit of Kashmir in their international strategies. Pakistan was a critical partner in the Cold War for the West during the 1980s and assumed a vital part in the conflict against the Soviets in Afghanistan. India, then again, was generally detached with the bias against the Soviet Union. Accordingly, Western nations turned around their position on the Kashmir issue to help Pakistan after its separation from the contention and compensated Pakistan for its help. It likewise turned out to be more open minded toward Pakistan's straightforward help for cross-line viciousness.

It is also important at this point to realize that the role of media needs to be mentioned when thinking about how the crisis in Kashmir has unfolded. In this sense, Agarwal suggests that, media has a direct impact on Kashmir crisis. Kashmir issue is not new, it is prolonged since last 70 years. However, it was never brought up by international media. This is never highlighted on media that Kashmiri people want freedom. The media is never satisfying Kashmir issue. Local, global or national media has never highlighted Kashmir issue in an appropriate manner (Chapple, Christopher; Venkatesananda, 2014, pp. x-xi).

Firdoss has argued that Kashmir is a troubled region, but it is also a land of beauty, participation, and dedication. The Kashmir issue, on the other hand, should be promoted in the media. The global and local media have the power to influence and raise attention to this human rights violation. With a concerted effort, this might be resolved. The public is aware of the problem, yet it is never discussed in the media. They pushed the problem to the back. This is the major reason Kashmir remains a hotbed of strife and continues to be overlooked. Human rights violations, a lack of security, a lack of freedom, a lack of authority and support, a lack of human knowledge and awareness, and general public violations will all be examined in the study. As a result, the study will focus on the Kashmir crisis. It will focus on the critical situation in Kashmir. It will draw attention to the challenges that Kashmiris confront. The

research will look at the media's important role in settling the Kashmir conflict and related situation (Firdoss, 2017, pp. 1801-1810).

Schofield (2013) explained that in terms of India-Pakistan ties, the role of the media is critical, as it has the potential to sabotage the peace process. It is assumed that the media may play a unique and positive role in creating an emotionless climate for a superior connection between India and Pakistan if actual public or political will is present. Simultaneously, social media can provide an alternate manifestation to promote citizen journalism and public diplomacy. It can also influence traditional media and officials to play a more coordinated role in improving bilateral security between Pakistan and India. As a result, social media has recently primarily mirrored public reactions, notably increasing animosity as a result of unfavourable campaigning in the mainstream media as well as on diplomatic fronts (Schofield, 2013, pp. 5–6). Firdoss, D. (2017) has also discussed that in the Pakistan-India relationship the mean of analysis can be shown to be both a peacemaker and a peace breaker. Unfortunately, as explored by Zutshi (2014), both Pakistani and Indian media portray the other as an enemy or villain while neglecting their own flaws and inadequacies in comparison to the other. This has resulted in the establishment of a hostile environment characterized by antagonism rather than harmony (Zutshi, 2014, pp. 39–41).

As a result, traditional news media, which includes both newspapers and television stations, is primarily used to sensationalize events for financial gain and political scoring.

1.4 Strategic importance and inspection of terrorism in Kashmir

The Kashmir Valley has gotten significant for Pakistan, India and world legislative issues overall. Notwithstanding its key and political importance, both Pakistan and India guarantee Kashmir for social reasons. Kashmir is in the personalities of the two Pakistanis and Indians as the single most concerning issue confronting the Indian subcontinent. Pakistan has lost its past battles with Kashmir and India. Pakistan and India have encouraged a worldwide enmity and animosity in varying backgrounds. Subsequently, Kashmir has addressed high help for the two nations, as far as public pride (Madan, 2015, p.15).

This load of components has prompted various conflicts and inexplicable passing and annihilation for the two India and Pakistan. Notwithstanding, the greatest result of these components has been the inescapable psychological warfare and related intermediary battle among Pakistan and India since 1988. Psychological warfare has annihilated the valley and its kin. The motivation behind this psychological warfare isn't to acquire any competitive edge or region straightforwardly from India. Maybe, its point is to threaten and take out honest and moderate Kashmiris to transform Kashmir into an extreme Islamist district. Such a locale would naturally conflict with a mainstream, dormant, and Hindu-larger part country like India. Along these lines, this district will normally isolate from India and perhaps join Pakistan (Frederic, 2015, pp. 3–6). This intermediary war utilizing the procedure of illegal intimidation rather than direct military activity has totally changed the substance of the Kashmir issue. It has transformed the provincial clash into a diverse social, monetary, political, military and strict issue that Kashmir should resolve before it can at any point face harmony and security (Madan, 2015, p.15).

1.5 Governments contributions & intermediary war

Neighbourhood government and organization are likewise profoundly engaged with the intermediary battle in the valley. In the mid 1980's, the nearby organization started to be encircled by extremists, some psychological militant associations. Simultaneously, moderates in senior situations in nearby government were methodically wiped out (Stein and Burton, 2010, p. 358). Thus, associations, for example, the Jamaat figured out how to coordinate power outages and enormous exhibitions to stop the whole state. Strict fundamentalists in high government positions likewise use government assets to offer calculated and monetary help to psychological militants. These fundamentalists victimize non-Muslims in Kashmir, in any event, denying them admittance to crisis clinical consideration or essential conveniences like power and water. (Madan, 2015, p.15)

At first, just high-positioning Indian authorities, for example, the Inspector General of Police and a colonel in the military, were focused on. In the end, nonetheless, the assailants began killing guiltless Hindu Pandits and Sikhs. He began strict massacre

and drove countless Hindus and Sikhs out of the locale. A huge number of them are presently living in evacuee camps outside Delhi (Firdoss, 2017, pp. 1801-1810).

Intermediary war and illegal intimidation have unleashed ruin on the state. Today, the district faces a portion of the most exceedingly awful worldwide massacres as far as illegal intimidation and abominations. As per official figures, around 66,000 individuals have been killed in Kashmir since 1990. To eliminate such individuals from Kashmir, fear mongers have designated honest Kashmiris (Hindus, Sikhs, and moderate Muslims) with dangers, terrorizing, assault, murder and plundering. The objectives were marked political as well as strict adversaries. Some of them were killed on the grounds that they were recognized as 'sources' and 'specialists of India' (Leslie, 2013, pp. 104–107). These individuals were frequently moderate and astute, including specialists, educators, legal advisors, and artists. They were plundered and their resources were utilized to additional money the exercises of fear monger (Kumar, 2010, p. 222). By stigmatizing and dehumanizing the moderate Kashmiris, the psychological oppressors have totally disregarded all around acknowledged charter of human rights and other worldwide laws. His objectives included breaking the state from India to build up another political request dependent on religion. Anybody recognized as a rival of the mission was exposed to serious torment and oppression. Such individuals, for the most part Sikhs and Hindus, were dissipated, they were killed, choked with steel wires, consumed alive, hanged, executed, even their The retina was taken out. Such barbarities have prompted the mass removal of around 350,000 Kashmiri Pandits from the locale. There has been no indication of recuperation since 1988 (Leslie, 2013, pp. 104–107).

CHAPTER 2: THE CASE OF KASHMIR AND THE IMPACT OF MEDIA

2.1 Tragic every day in Kashmir and human rights issues

The current research aims to evaluate the role of the media of Pakistan in affecting the association between India or Pakistan. Succeeding the qualitative perspective of literature focussing on the online news or different video clips along with a campaign of social media are studied for broadcasting of major affairs and circumstances concerning Indo-Pak ties. Similarly, it refers to recent speeches of Prime Ministers that are broadcasting of Kashmir as well as Baluchistan conflict as well as the interchange of cultural or visit of teams of cricket games (Madan, 2015, p.15). The study is nourishing in the information era in which media frames reality as well as develops public thinking (Firdoss, 2017, pp. 1801-1810).

In the global world of the recent era, in reporting of every conflict intensity of nature media has a very important role. Often, the public is deserted with a minute or no possibility however it depends on its financial records that may demonstrate seriously ambiguous due to the community has restricted information related to the dispute which is unfolding by media as well as the press. Due to political as well as other impacts that fixture the rhetoric of the communication or individual may not realize compel to interrogation these constructed communications that not only create however support the logic of intensity as well as war (Madan, 2015, p. 15)

2.2 Media coverage

The potential of the coverage of media can demonstrate stronger as well as the will of individual along with government, concurrently developing the media as well as press as a performer that possibly will entangle the venture to determine the conflict. Having reported that, the world is progressively influenced through media along with operating the world aside from acquiring of goals actuality to the truth of agenda-driven. Preferably, the role of media is offering conflict coverage that possibility will attract a significant concern from the community at the international level.

Communicating the conflict with objectivity as humanly feasible may emerge stimulating in the circumstances of ongoing conflict.

The dispute of Kashmir simmers among two neighbours such as India and Pakistan; both republics consume conflict combats where the Kashmir affairs have been exploded constituent or thus, possession both the empire in a persistent state of hostility. Media of South Asia, as well as press on Kashmir dispute, depends on various type of agenda situation that is invalid of design description of the conflict, so fascinating for political description. Indians, as well as Pakistanis, directed to construction their sequence of rationale about each other by the descriptive endorsed through media as well as the press. In particular, media describe both states on Kashmir conflict remarkably formulate the discrimination of uncivilized individual in both empires through the provision of coverage along with various perspectives. Through the assistance of the local press as well as the media of Kashmir, Pakistani media dispense killings as well as an injury with the distress of citizens of Kashmir like abuses of human rights along with casualties as well as migrations inside or far away of the valley (Madan, 2015, p. 15). Essentially, the media of Pakistan incisively calls the attentiveness of various communities at the international level. Although, media of India describe as well as relate the circumstances by partial perspectives, additionally, a true situation of Kashmir is greatly unreported that generating the ideological divide among Kashmir or India. These implementations in conflict broadcasting have provided extending a sense of isolation between Kashmiris. Rather than interrogating militarization along with extremism with pro-freedom sensibility, national media of India enclose Kashmir problems entirely as reliability affairs, through succeeding security-centric line of government which Kashmir is a fundamental position of India, but the disruption is created through counterfeit Pakistani promoter militants. Overall, the biases, as well as prejudices in the media along with the press of Indians are the radicle foundation of being the largest paternoster in the Kashmir dispute. It is also appropriated to note here which Kashmir conflict, as well as other affairs, are besides dealt with by diplomatic talks, however also opposed through transmitting. The specific way to strengthen the attitude towards development of Kashmiri media. Mass media remarkably influence the public thinking and sequence of opinion along with the assists of dominant structure that enclose the ongoing dispute as well as affairs.

Philosophy of agenda settlement as well as structuring, personify these impacts of mass media.

2.3 Role of media in representing the collective province of the society

Media stick to disconnect from the horrific unfolding circumstance and hence leads to the discussion that should it commence the stance as well as connect to the principal constant that of quietness. The complication with the practice of not framing a clear picture or not reporting what ought to be reported, within media may at some point of time necessitate the proceeding aspect of the conflict. Additionally, its efforts influence the procedure of conflict creation. Hence, it is principal to develop questions on the role of media in representing the collective province of the society how that can be supported. The non-violent determination of conflict is discussed and presented in depth. A conflict inclusion that is devastating mainly directing to no impassive resolution as well as doesn't permit any question related to circumstances does media of news on conflict broadcasting directing to devastating results, is an intimation of frustration to support the operation of the management of conflict. Such asides are present in different media inclusion of conflicts in the world of contemporary which are intractable as well as extended in nature. In the middle of, it may in old decades of South Asia 'Kashmir Conflict' that initiated along with retire of British from subcontinent in 1947. (Zutshi, 2016, p.6-7).

Having analysed the past exploration in communication literature, it can be hypothesized that media may place the public agenda related to particular affairs, through effecting public thinking (Madan, 2015, p. 15). As long as media reports particular information in its structure, the interpretation of the audience is generated accordingly. In addition, the editor creates their interpretation related to Kashmir in the light of media structure. By which usually they have been reported.

The consequences for Pakistan will be similarly outrageous. Any supposition that the Pakistani army would surrender real capabilities to ordinary units can be dismissed for various reasons: whenever Kashmir is of fundamental importance, the military defeats incredibly massive decision. The day after Prime Minister Narendra Modi move, the Pakistani military commander said his officers would "act to any degree" in relation to

Kashmir's interests. Moreover, Pakistan has reliably fought over whether it should be a multi-religious country for South Asian Muslims or (surprisingly) an Islamic state. The gains from the enforcement of minority rights in Pakistan, which are truly dubious, could suffer in more infallible cases.

Table 1. Fierceness appraises in Kashmir restriction amount (Jan 01, 2000, to Aug 31, 2015) (Source: Madan, 2015)

Entire murders	93,379
Protective assassinations	6,974
Protective assassinations	118,060
Citizens detained	105,866
Females whose husbands were killed	22,734
Kids bereaved	107,366
Females gang-raped / Ill-treated	9,946

Frames are of key importance in moulding public thinking in particular regulation. Framing of Kashmir affairs formulating through media has a crucial role in modifying the thinking of people. Ray Dura has directed exploration on frames in the US print media inclusion of the Kashmir dispute. His research reveals distinct coverage of the affairs by the media of US.

The research terminates that all the prominent frames in the research that evaluate the dispute are about to war that might induce conceivably nuclear war. The research elaborates that Indians along with Pakistanis and Kashmiris are mainly designated with their religious specification such as Indians known as Hindus while Pakistanis or Kashmiris are known as Muslims that are a conceivable origin of identity politics and the proceeding crisis. Indian media poorly reported the instance of Kashmir that in other perspective is the contortion of realities to conserve their national attentiveness. Hackett believes that the empire puts a force of field above media characterization of public crisis (Madan, 2015, p. 15).

Hackett's study assists the study that suggests the media of India has supported the description of the Indian empire. This research has ventured to identify as well as study the phrase that has been utilized through the Pakistani as well as Indian media of print

to narrate the conflict as well as eventually the frames as well as slants utilized for the performer intricate in Kashmir affairs.

By investigating the usage content of the Kashmir dispute in the media of print of both the states as well as the research of frames above a long duration of two dissimilar years, this research assists in promoting an extensive perception of how the Kashmir crisis is presented in the press of English nation. The research also reveals the journalistic perspective in which media of print of Pakistan and India enclose Kashmir affairs as well as recognize their soberness related to the cause. The functional hypothesis of the research is that print media of Pakistani provides more broadcasting to Kashmir affairs in contrast to media of Indian as well as illustrates Kashmir affairs with a perception of positivity for a long-standing resolution of the affairs of “Kashmir Iqbal”.

By analysing the recent circumstances of Kashmir affairs, bilateral quietness talks along with Back-door diplomacy with the vital significance of the media in underlining Kashmir affairs as well as also developing public thinking on the said affairs, the described research is proposed to evaluate the limit to which Pakistani, as well as Indian media of print, have been formulating as well as highlighting the affairs of Kashmir. In conjugation of Diplomacy of Politics, the affairs are disputed by a dissemination of specific narrative the knowledge warfare. Within this framing, it is the necessities of the hour to recognize how to press group Indian as well as Pakistani evaluate the Kashmir’ case along with all its creativeness and intending to create a peaceful commitment Similarly, how do the original humanitarian crisis in Kashmir attain inclusion in the print media of Pakistani, as well as Indian, or what dissimilarity lie if a qualified study of the evaluated groups of the press is considered? (Mukhtar, 2020, p.3).

The tragedies in Kashmir are not limited to only bombs and killings. One may claim that the real tragedy in Kashmir is their everyday life which is the same for citizens, tourists, or reporters. A life that is full of hostilities, checkings, arrests, rude behaviours, and killings at the hands of both the state and local freedom fighters. Humra Quraishi in her book, ‘Kashmir, The Untold Story’ has a very detailed story of the daily life in Kashmir. She said, till recently, it was routine in Kashmir for male

cops and army men to frisk women...during one short walk down Maulana Azad Road in 2015, I saw a whole row of men standing hunched, waiting for their turn to be body-searched before they could proceed across the road (pg. 3). This is an entire generation that is hunched back, this is a generation whose life is so depressing, an outsider tried to commit suicide after watching how the Kashmiris live. She mentioned, The Indian Express of 16 March 2013 carried a report about a Japanese tourist, Koichiro Takata, who tried to kill himself shortly after he landed in Srinagar. He had arrived lured by the images of paradise sold in travelogues and tourist brochures about the valley, 'What he saw instead was a bunkered city with helmeted and gun-toting security personnel far outnumbering the happy people he hoped to see ...depressed, the 22-year-old ophthalmology student tried to commit suicide yesterday (Mukhtar, 2020, p.4).

Moving on from a depressing life, the next focus is living under an unlawful government. It is a life where authorities cannot be questioned for using force or taking a life. Mohmad Saleem Jahangir and Aneesa Shafi Status of human rights in democratic setup: Experiences from Kashmir said, July 1990. The Armed Force Special Powers Act, which provides the security forces with immunity from prosecution, was imposed a month later. Indian Security forces have been engaged in a major counter-insurgency operation against armed secessionist and fundamentalist groups and reports of torture and death in custody have increased dramatically (Amnesty International Report, 1993, p. 20). The war in the Kashmir Valley is almost 21-years old now and has claimed about 1,00,000 lives. Millions have been tormented and tortured, several thousand have 'disappeared', women have been raped, tens of thousands widowed. Widespread human rights violations in the state since January 1990 have been attributed to the Indian army, and the paramilitary Border Security Force and Central Reserve Police Force (Amnesty International Report 1993, p. 20). Half a million Indian troops patrol the Kashmir Valley, making it the most militarized zone in the world (Aamir, 2020, p.44).

The elections have lost their credibility as intelligence agencies have been said to temper with them and a reason as to why the militant uprising began. The article added, Elections by which any government that justifies the prevalence of democracy over a military occupation in Kashmir have had a long and fascinating past. The blatantly

rigged state election of 1987 was the immediate provocation for the armed uprising that began in 1990... Intelligence agencies have created political parties and decoy politicians, they have constructed and destroyed political careers at will. It is they more than anyone else who decide what the outcome of each election will be. After every election, the Indian establishment declares that India has won a popular mandate from the people of Kashmir.

Ending up about the killings and rapes, the paper gives a table of tragedies that have fallen upon Kashmir at the hands of both the Indian forces and the militants. It added, there seems to be no end to the reckless killings of innocent people and deliberate human rights violations by Indian forces in occupied Kashmir... The State Department (of the USA) assessment issued in early 1990 was forthright in discussing the dismal human rights situation in Kashmir. They cited many credible allegations that the Indian Human Rights group had faced abuses from the side of security forces. These included torture of detainees, the mass shooting of demonstrators, large-scale arrests, gang rapes, detention without trial, and extra-judicial killing of prisoners. While they focused on human rights violations by government security forces, the annual reports also called attention to abusive behaviour by militants such as the killing, kidnapping, and harassing of government officials and political opponents (Schaffer, 2009, p. 133). But surprisingly enough New Delhi has taken no notice of their pleadings. According to Kashmir Media Service (pg. 44), a local news agency, following is the violence update witnessed by the common people of Kashmir from January 1, 1989, to August 31, 2010.

According to the United States Department of State, there is an official description of the organization aka HM. RefWorks wrote, Hizbul Mujahideen (HM) was designated as a Foreign Terrorist Organization on August 17, 2017. The group was formed in 1989 and is one of the largest and oldest militant groups operating in the state of Jammu and Kashmir. HM is led by Mohammad Yusuf Shah, also known as Syed Salahuddin, and officially supports the liberation of Kashmir and its accession to Pakistan, although some cadres are pro-independence. The group focuses its attacks on Indian security forces and politicians in Kashmir and has conducted operations jointly with other Kashmiri militants. It reportedly operated in Afghanistan through the mid-1990s and trained alongside the Afghan Hizb-e-Islami Gulbuddin (HIG) in

Afghanistan until the Taliban takeover. The group is made up primarily of ethnic Kashmiris (Refworld) (Mukhtar, 2020, p.44).

Talking about HM's activities, the website wrote, Hizbul Mujahideen has claimed responsibility for several attacks in the state of Jammu and Kashmir. On April 17, 2014, HM launched two grenades into an area where preparations were taking place for an election rally in Beerwah of Jammu and Kashmir. The attacks injured 17 people. Later that year, HM killed two and injured 24 others after launching a grenade in a crowded market in south Kashmir. In May 2015, HM claimed an attack on Indian security forces in Kupwara that killed three Indian troops, according to the targeted forces. HM launched additional attacks against Indian security forces in 2015 and 2016. On May 1, 2017, HM killed seven people – including five policemen – when it attacked a bank van carrying cash in the state of Jammu and Kashmir (Refworld). When it comes to their strength, it came up as, exact numbers are unknown, but there may be several hundred members in Pakistan and the state of Jammu and Kashmir (Refworld). The next item is their location/area of operation and it clarified, HM conducts operations primarily in India, including the state of Jammu and Kashmir (Refworld). The box to be checked is their funding and the website added, Funding and External Aid: Unknown, but suspected to receive funding from sources in Pakistan (Refworld) Kumar, K., (2020).

This is a substantial background of the HM. It is important to add one thing here and that is, just like the number of casualties are unknown in Jammu and Kashmir, the same way, attacks by Hizbul may be undercounted. The State department mentions attacks that HM has taken responsibility for or have not been denied by the organization for one reason or the other. But there may be attacks in which HM are connected in some manner or the relation has not been made public.

Also, to understand the mindset of HM, this phone call of their leader with Al Jazeera might sound helpful. I will highlight only a few important matters in it. The following is the commander of HM, Riaz Naikoo talking to Al Jazeera:

“Al Jazeera: Do you still believe in the strategy of armed resistance?”

Naikoo: Allow me to quote the great Nelson Mandela, who wrote the following words in his autobiography, Long Walk to Freedom: A freedom fighter learns the hard way that it is the oppressor who defines the nature of the struggle, and the oppressed is often left no recourse but to use methods that mirror those of the oppressor. At a point, one can only fight fire with fire.

Al Jazeera: Would you ever engage in negotiations or back-channel talks with India?

Naikoo: We are not against negotiations with India. But negotiations can only lead to a fruitful outcome when they take place between parties that recognize each other as equals.

Al Jazeera: When civilians come out on the streets to protect the fighters from Indian forces, they end up being killed, arrested, or hurt. Do you feel this will end up fermenting bitterness and have your supporters turn their backs on you?

We are extremely thankful to all those people who in one way or another are fighting this illegal occupation. We must also understand that we as armed fighters are not different from people. We are different organs of the same body.

There is no essential binary of difference between armed fighters and common people. Occupation's bullets do not make a distinction between civilians and fighters, nor do its prisons. We are united with our people in life and death. (AlJazeera.com)''

Since this research describe the positive as well as negative attributes provided with the help of newspapers of the research to the fight of the citizen of Kashmir, hence, it is significant to functionally explain the condition of positive as well as negative frames. Present research 'positive' frame includes news stories along with other various content of media content that providing a positive reflection of the freedom fight as well as the citizen of Kashmir, those have incessantly looked and fronted the atrocities of India. Each and every news stories along with its features or columns as well as editorials printed in support of Kashmiri citizens as well as for their efforts were contemplated as a positive frame. Similarly, declarations of the Kashmir's leaders' movement such as Syed Ali Gillian, Yasin Malik, and Mir Waiz Umar Farooq,

etc. were incorporated in this categorization. While, each and every news story reflecting a negative reflection of the individuals of Indian possessed Kashmir were incorporated in negative frames, incorporating the news individual freedom soldier as militants as well as terrorists. The declaration of the official's government of India in opposition of the individual of Kashmir or their efforts for independence were incorporated in this categorization. The hypothesis for classification of these positive as well as negative frames is corroborated by various UNSC resolutions that identify the equitable of the individual of Kashmir to an impartial plebiscite. To achieve exploration of future or, hence, the legality of freedom efforts by the individuals of Kashmir.

Kashmir affairs in the Press of Indian Held Kashmir, draconian laws in IHK that prohibit press to support an original image of atrocities of India in Kashmir is present. The rules are:

- Jammu and Kashmir Communal Protection law of 1987
- Jammu and Kashmir Disseminated Zones law of 1990
- Equipped Militaries Singular Controls law of 1990
- Extremist and Unruly Actions law of 1990
- Deterrence of Radicalism Act of 2015

Rani Jayas, K. (2018) has discussed that a one-month analysis in December 2013 which is known as cursory contextual analysis of three different directing newspapers of Occupied Kashmir, called Superior Kashmir, Rising Kashmir as well as Kashmir Times disclose that press of Kashmiri all-inclusive is incapable to support actual circumstances in Kashmir. Concurrently, it disclosed that the aforesaid newspapers have printed just of those reports as well as a declaration of the official political statement of leaders. Similarly, it is also evaluated that a remarkable integer of official news stories generated from official resources in the newspapers is there, however critical investigations are merger.

The role of social media, broadcast media, radio, print media and TV to discuss Kashmir crisis is important. To solve out the Kashmir crisis it is the main concern to

highlight it in an appropriate manner. Kashmir crisis should be discussed in depth; it should be the main concern of discussion showing its original concerns and determine its actual facts and considerations. So, the media demonstration for Kashmir crisis is not appropriate. The role of media in highlighting the Kashmir crisis is discussed in the following sections.

2.4 Impact of media on Kashmir conflict

In the world, South Asia is a determiner volatile domain particularly because of Kashmir affairs that is a conflict between two states Pakistan and India that is known as most dominate component of this upheaval. Hence there is no any appropriate efforts have been implemented in concerning to resolve the conflict of Kashmir although it has been discussed in various narratives by both countries (Firdoss, 2017, pp. 1801-1810).

Concurrently, media (electronic or print) addressed the Kashmir's conflict in various narratives in the whole world in following way: The Kashmir is generally represented by the media through accepted politics as well as academia in a form of bilateral conflict between India and Pakistan devoid of addressing its influence on domestic population.

The media specifically the Western evaluated the Kashmir conflict from a humanitarian lens although criticize for an entirely repression along with contravention of human rights with powerful discontentment between the majority of Kashmiris stipulating a crisis of humanitarians inside Kashmir devoid of recommending a solution to it. Kashmir reflected as a field of war for the supreme discussed latest Great Game fronting a fetch towards the noteworthy Kashmir affair in multi-polar universe that probably directs to apocalyptical circumstances due to the participation of particularly all the crucial powers normally from wall-to-wall world (Sharma and Mohan, 2019, p.66).

In old decades of South Asia 'Kashmir Conflict' that initiated along with retire of British from subcontinent in 1947. The dispute of Kashmir simmers among two neighbours such as India as well as Pakistan; both countries have conflict wars where

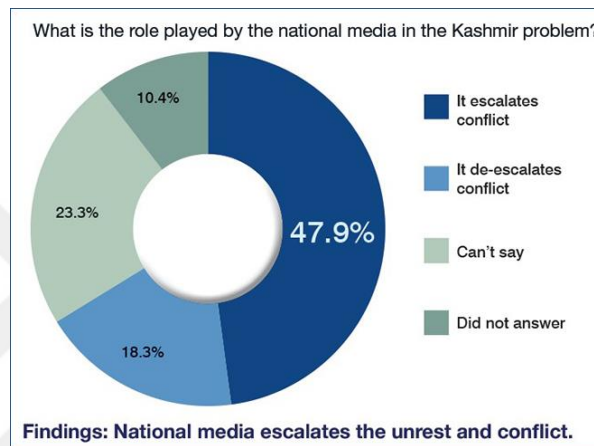
the Kashmir affairs have been exploded constituent or thus, possession both the empire in a persistent state of hostility. Media of South Asia, as well as press on Kashmir dispute, depends on various type of agenda situation that is invalid of design description of the conflict, so fascinating for political description. Indians, as well as Pakistanis, directed to construction their sequence of rationale about each other by the descriptive endorsed through media as well as the press. In particular, media describe both states on Kashmir conflict remarkably formulate the discrimination of uncivilized individual in both empires through the provision of coverage along with various perspectives. Through the assistance of the local press as well as the media of Kashmir, Pakistani media dispense killings as well as an injury with the distress of citizens of Kashmir like abuses of human rights along with casualties as well as migrations inside or far away of the valley. Essentially, the media of Pakistani incisively calls the attentiveness of various communities at the international level (Mukhtar, 2020, p.44). Although, media of India describe as well as relate the circumstances by partial perspectives, additionally, a true situation of Kashmir is greatly unreported that is generating the ideological divide among Kashmir or India. These implementations in conflict broadcasting have provided an extending a sense of isolation between Kashmiris. Rather than interrogating militarization along with extremism with pro-freedom sensibility, national media of Indians enclose Kashmir problems entirely as reliability affairs, through succeeding security-centric line of government which Kashmir is a fundamental position of India but the disruption is created through counterfeit Pakistani promoter militants (Zia et al., 2015, p.161-180).

Overall, the biases, as well as prejudices in the media along with the press of Indians are the radicle foundation of being the largest paternoster in the Kashmir dispute. It is also appropriate to note here which Kashmir conflict, as well as other affairs, are besides dealt with by diplomatic talks, however also opposed through transmitting. In a specific way to strengthen the particular attitude. Mass media remarkably influence the public thinking and sequence of opinion along with the assists of dominant structure that enclose the ongoing dispute as well as affairs (Zia et al., 2015, p.161-180).

2.5 Influence of broadcasting media

Media now and then may go before the public authority sources and become a "plan setting specialist" also subsequently media especially visual medium like television gets compelling in making of policy. Generally, broadcasting media will in general be quite possibly the most remarkable expressions for passing on thoughts as well as affecting the hearts and psyches of target crowd as it captivatingly draws in its crowd.

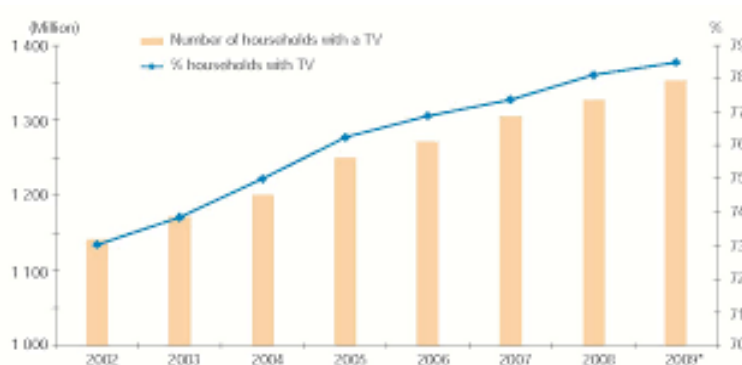
Figure 1. Role of national media in Kashmir problem



Concurrently, cinema is likewise a solid visual medium or since its beginning it has been entwined with legislative crisis. Indian Hindi entertainment world has consistently discovered different methods of portraying Kashmir through their films. In 1990s, picture of Kashmir completely changed when Bollywood began to outline it as a spot of psychological oppression, as place of terrorism and Kashmiris were being marked as feared terrorists. First film was *Roja* (1992) in which Kashmir conflict was given primary consideration in plot. As indicated by Dirks (2001), *Roja* was political in complexion. Film paints picture of Kashmir as illegal intimidation struck territory. This film is scrutinized for addressing false picture of Kashmir (Baba, 2011). Niranjana (2015) expressed further that *Roja* portrayed legislative crisis of division along with communalism. Bollywood motion pictures have likewise not had the option to appropriately show genuine culture of Kashmir. Kashmiri individuals are constantly marked as psychological militants (terrorists). Muslims who are living there are depicted as pre-modern, not reasonable to present day humanized society Propaganda outlines are utilized by Bollywood to glamorize Indian armed force while Kashmiri

individuals are shown isolated, some of them are favourable to Indian while others are adversaries' enemies of India (Masha et al., 2016, p. 12).

Figure 2. Number of households with TV 2002-09 (AI, 2014)



The broadcast media includes TV, Radio and the other broadcasting media. This is the source of media that will show about the Kashmiri crisis. Kashmir crisis is discussed in depth on TV. But the broadcast media has its own point of view. The impact broadcast media is provided in the following sub-section.

2.6 Role of broadcast media of Pakistan in highlighting Kashmir crisis

Pakistan broadcast media is important in highlighting the exact Kashmir crisis. The Kashmir crisis is highlighted and discussed in depth. There are a few TV programs that show the true situation of Kashmir. However, this is the brunt situation. The situation could not be depicted fully. The true picture of media could not be shown in full. But the performance of Pakistani TV media is active, and it has a prominent participation in highlighting the Kashmir crisis. The crisis of Kashmir is presented on TV, Radio in an appropriate manner. The frequency of broadcast media relating the Kashmir crisis is as follows:

Table 2. Role of Pakistani Broadcast Media in Highlighting Kashmir Crises

TV channel	Number of shows (on Kashmir crisis – 30 day average)	Show rating (out of 10 – on 30 days average)
Geo News	44	8.9

ARY	52	8.6
SAMAA	58	9.2

The above table show number of shows and show rating of Geo News, ARY and SAMAA on average of 30 days. There are 44 shows of Geo News with the rating of 8.9 out of 10 and 52 shows of ARY with the rating of 8.6 and 58 show of SAMAA with the rating of 9.2.

2.7 Role and impact of broadcast and print media in highlighting Kashmir crisis

The broadcast media of India has no impact and no apparent role to solve the Kashmir crisis. Rather they are always presenting their own point of view. Indian broadcast media has always shown its positive innocent picture. They always pretend to be at their best and show their impact of performance. The Indian media has presented its innocent picture by developing its laws, rules and regulations. Even the broadcasted table talks of Kashmir are not important to show the actual picture of Kashmir crisis. It is necessary to present the true point of view of Kashmiris for detail discussion of Kashmiri crisis. They have developed the laws which have already been discussed.

Print media is extremely important in upbringing the Kashmir crisis. Print media plays the most effective role. Since the print media highlights the crisis in detail. Newspaper is considered as the most effective source of information, sharing of information and the detail content. Newspaper is the most effective and efficient source to publish content and transform the minds of people (Mukhtar, 2020, p.26). It is important that individual minds are transformed, and visions are established through newspaper. Newspaper shows the in depth ideology of the nation. It is the representative of the people's thoughts Rani Jayas, K. (2018). Newspaper show what is in the mind of people. So, it is important to analyse the newspaper content. Literature even says that if the newspaper shows quality content and the articles have a vision, it is sure that the youth are safe. The youth will get the exact ideology of Islam. So, it is important that individual ideology is testified and developed through the ideology of nation. The nation's vision is depicted in newspapers. So, the literature has important content to be discussed. The role of different Kashmiri newspaper as published in Kashmiri newspaper is surveyed as follows:

Table 3. Printing Media and their Role Kashmir

Newspaper	Kashmiri official newspaper	In-depth analysis	Total
Greater Kashmir	22 (89.3%)	4 (16.7%)	14
Raising Kashmir	16 (77.8%)	8 (18.76%)	18
Kashmir Times	12 (65.43%)	8 (16.78%)	22

This table show that different newspapers have different ratings in Kashmir. The survey showed that different newspaper has its own impact. However, 3 newspapers are the most popular in Kashmir, The Greater Kashmir, Raising Kashmir and Kashmir Times. These 3 are published in Urdu and English. These newspapers show the exact point of view and ideology for Kashmiri people. Individuals of Kashmir get the focus of idea, methodology and idea for the Kashmiri people through the Kashmiri ideology. The Kashmiri youth daily gets the content, idea, detail and in-depth knowledge through the newspaper.

2.8 Kashmir crisis and Indian press held at Kashmir (IHK)

The literature shows that the Indian press has developed a few laws and contracts that depict the safety of Kashmir. These contracts are fully developed and discussed by people of Kashmir. However, these contracts have their own sections. But these sections are not followed properly. However, the Indian press and media have developed the concept of liberty at Kashmir. Following are a few laws that are important in developing the Kashmir crisis and enhancing the role of Kashmiri people in the future:

- Jammu and Kashmir Distributed Areas Act of 1990
- Terrorist and Disruptive Activities Act of 1990
- Jammu and Kashmir Public Safety Act of 1987
- Armed Forces Special Powers Act of 1990
- Prevention of Terrorism Act of 2015

These acts have developed sections. However, there are various aspects in Kashmiri laws that are ignored. Indian laws, Indian acts only focus on the Indian laws and Indian state. They believe on the strength and development of Indian community. They believe on development of Indian people. Hence, they have strong believe on Indian community and Indian ideology. These acts seem to be in favour of Kashmiri citizens, but in depth analysis shows that they strongly promote the Indian people. They believe on Indian community and defend the Indian community.

2.9 Kashmir crisis and Pakistan press held at Kashmir (PHK)

Pakistani media cannot develop any law or any section that will show the impact of law on Kashmir. It is important that Pakistani media should develop a few sections and a few laws that will show its impact on the Kashmiri people. However, Pakistani media has a lot of newspapers, magazines, pamphlets and brochures that will show the impact of Pakistani print media for Kashmiri media. A few of these considerations are as following:

Table 4. Role of Pakistani Press in Kashmir

(Per month)	Daily Dawn	Jang	Express news	Nawa-e-Waqt
Number of Kashmiri articles	30	22	19	19
Kashmiri printed material (news, crisis, settled crisis, special editions etc.)	65	60	55	53

The above table show the main newspapers, main newspapers show the articles, printed brochures, special edition newspaper, separated newspaper, brochures and separate pamphlets to raise voice for Kashmir. The overall studies show that the newspapers of Pakistan are important in publishing the printed media of Pakistan. After the development of the printing media, it got conceivable to rapidly and effectively produce banners and books. Preceding this turn of events, notwithstanding, most of promulgation was spread by listening in on others' conversations.

The media empowered the propagandist to rapidly create mass measures of banners with one planned impact, a type of publicity significantly less dangerous and troublesome in contrast to oral correspondence. In the Jammu and Kashmir district, there was no free and extraordinary printing media and no paper before 1924. The administrative emergency in the Kashmir Valley, in any case, has a lasting spot in the papers outside the Kashmir Valley. Notice of the mentality of the Dogra rulers with respect to Muslim subjects is a lot of found in the papers of the eighteenth century just as in the nineteenth century of British India. Indian Muslim papers, specifically, saw the predicament of Muslims in the Kashmir Valley as a contention that should have been considered with compassion toward Muslims past British India. These papers were not permitted to enter the area of the Dogra framework. The utilization of print media to explore the circumstance of Muslims in Kashmir has made an apparent Muslim masses bunch that has been instrumental in changing the territorial circumstance with its affiliations in the locale.

Rani Jayas, K (2018) has shown that Muslim hardliners in Kashmir Valley were quick to utilize print media inside Kashmir Valley. In the Kashmir Valley, the new fixing of accepted practices has prompted the distribution of handouts, flyers just as different pieces to spread one's thoughts. One individuals who set up the principal print machine to examine thoughts regarding Deobandis was Mirwaiz Muhammad Yusuf Shah, who supplanted Mirwaiz Rasool Shah. Fourteen days of battling, known as Islam or Rahnamana, was viewed as a non-Islamic development of Muslims from the Kashmir Valley (Jamil, 2020, p 54).

Agarwal, A (2019) asserted that Pakistani papers introduced the circumstance in Kashmir in a designated way and clarified that it was truly occurring in the valley. In all honesty, the signs or edges that energized the contention were an impression of the genuine image of the circumstance in Kashmir. Essentially, some paper articles from different papers dealing with the utilization of web-based media in the neighbourhood battle in Indian-controlled Jammu and Kashmir, as there is no understanding into the matter. Much more shocking is the way that this spot is continually in the information and, notwithstanding the changes in the force level of the debate, with the developing examples of the Uppsala Struggle Information Program 2014-2016 (Zaheer, 2017) Conducts customary reviews of battle passages.

2.10 The impact of radio telecom

Agarwal, A. (2019) claims that radio telecom is an astonishing device to secure the general population, social and key interests of nations. Discussing the significance of radio broadcasts all throughout the planet among agreement and war, this article insinuates the phenomenal Indo-Pakistani media fight over Jammu and Kashmir. At the point when radio was presented in Kashmir, the pace of schooling among Kashmiri Muslims rose to amazingly low (under 2%).

As indicated by him, it was the radio that gave a stage by which the social states of the individuals who didn't have the foggiest idea about these words could be met. Dissimilar to print media, the regular strength of radio is its verbal status and its capacity to speak with individuals who have no aptitude (Jamil, 2020, p.11).

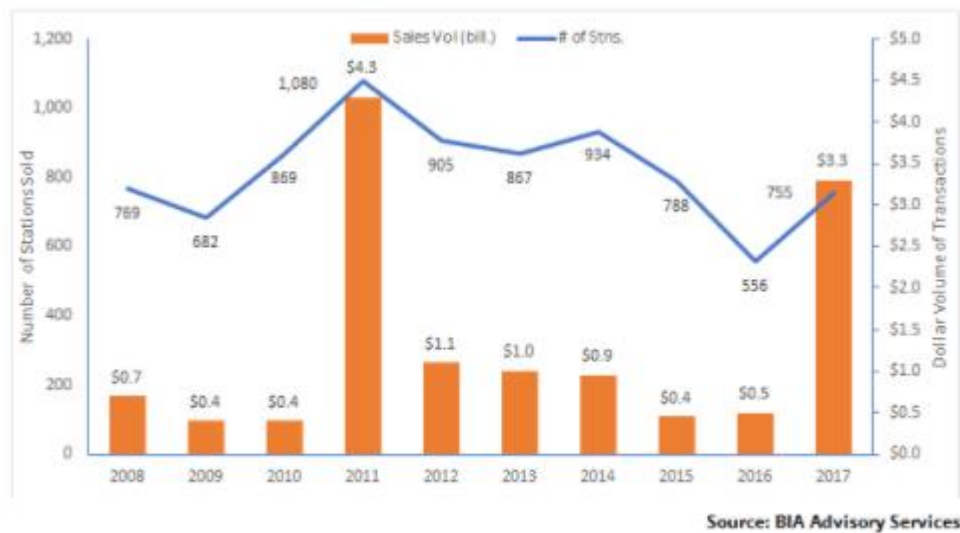
All India Radio, assumed an imperative part in invalidating Pakistani media promulgation released by them over and underground radio broadcasts. Radio has deliberately fit governments across the globe to battle mental conflicts via broadcasting promulgation into the domains of the adjoining nations which unexpectedly share a similar social heredity. Meanwhile, at the point when India was occupied with pushing back Pakistani ancestral thieves from 1947 and attempting to re-establish harmony in Jammu and Kashmir, Pakistan had increased its promulgation mission to spread bits of gossip against the Public authority of India and individuals and administration of Jammu and Kashmir. Such tales loaded down with pernicious enemies of India promulgation was brought out by Pakistan through its different over and underground radio broadcasts, some set up in Pakistan Occupied Kashmir (POK). So, it was in the setting of this reality that the then state organization, with the dynamic help of the Association of India, needed to build up its own radio broadcast, the Radio Kashmir, as an essential apparatus to counter the Pakistani publicity released from across the line (Bhat , 2017, p.44).

Radio Kashmir in 1947 essentially began working as a State Office and was subsequently controlled by the All India Radio (AIR). The station kept on filling in as

an essential device both in the hours of harmony and war. Its two strengths such as Radio Kashmir Srinagar and Radio Kashmir Jammu are by significant constituents of the Prasar Bharati Broadcasting Company of India (PBBCI) and keep on standing firm on a significant footing in guarding the essential interests of India. Since its development in December 1947, Radio Kashmir as an establishment has been attempted diverse work including countering the adversary publicity, while at the same time advancing nearby culture, ability and public combination around there. The circumstance continues so far as Radio Pakistan along with Pakistan TV have been saving acceptable lump of time on enemies of India programs. Similarly, media of Pakistan doesn't currently just objective Jammu or Kashmir, yet urban areas like New Delhi, Saharanpur, Jaipur, Bikaner, Kanpur, Meerut, Ambala, Farrukhabad, Aligarh, along with parts of Nepal. Radio Pakistan has been for the most part picking Muslim lion's share spaces of India and broadcasts programs in Urdu along with English altogether with News with talks as well as conversations with narratives and meetings as their program designs. Congruently, Pakistan radio broadcasting has 100 day by day news announcements which are stacked with news from Kashmir and India. Radio Pakistan additionally communicates news notices in dialects like Kashmiri, Balti, Shina, Pahari and Urdu (Bhat, 2017, p.44).

On observing Radio Pakistan, one tracks down that the zinger of Pakistani radio stations has frequently been that individuals of Kashmir are intellectually and genuinely with us and need our help as they are extremely dimwitted individuals and can't battle like Punjabis and Afghanis contrary to the unfamiliar foreign standard. They must be ready for the rebel against India. Radio Pakistan has additionally been harping over enemies of India publicity by attempting to censure the picture of Indian Armed force and security powers (Mukhtar, 2020, p.6).

Figure 3. Radio Station Transactions: 2008-2017



In the event that Pakistani media has been harping over misusing the strict estimations of individuals of Jammu and Kashmir, the subjects which are generally being shrouded in counter-publicity programs over Radio Kashmir are:

- Pakistan keeps on reeling under partisan viciousness.
- Pakistan is kept on being segregated in the global local area because of its help to worldwide illegal international terrorism. Majority rule government yet to first light in Pakistan Involved Kashmir.
- Pakistan proceeds with abominations on regular folks in Waziristan and Baluchistan.
- Pakistan has turned POK as its province.

2.11 Impact of social media

Social media also plays a vital role. Bloomed in the past decade, it has some influence over the mainstream media. The social media, due to its reach, has a direct impact on the community. However, the effect it creates varies in multiple situations. Betty (2018) discussed that social media has a limited effect on Kashmiri crisis. (Betty, 2018, p.4). The Kashmir crisis discussed on social media is as following:

Table 5. Social media and their role

Social Media Platform	Daily participation	Ratings (out of 5)	Daily presentation of data	Average
Facebook	85.5%	4.3	Avg. 3000 posts each day	4.5
Twitter	78.34%	4.7	Avg. 3000 posts each day	4.9
Whatsapp groups	77.65%	4.2	Avg. 3000 posts each day	4.6
Pinterest	56.76%	3.9	Avg. 3000 posts each day	4.4

This table show that societal mass media has a straight and confident influence over the media. The public broadcasting has a shortest and optimistic effect over highlighting the Kashmir crisis. The crisis of Kashmir is discussed on social media. But social media does not highlight the crisis of Kashmir in developing the Kashmir concerns. As well as the Kashmir crisis is directly discussed on social media. The social media shows the impact of Kashmir crisis and Kashmir concerns that will show the point of view of Kashmiri people in highlighting the crisis of Kashmiri (Kumar, 2020, p.44).

Social media go with us for the duration of our lives, associate, educate and engage us – these days all throughout the planet and nonstop. In any case, they not just assume a significant part in our regular day to day existences yet have likewise gotten valuable during contention and emergency as well as in conflict, like catastrophic events or common conflicts, since around 2001. In spite of the fact that occasions, for example, the Arab Spring have set off the rise of a colossal measure of writing on the utilization of web-based broadcasting through revolts and take revealed the significance of Twitter, Facebook, and so on in activating nonconformists and affecting general

assessment, not all struggles have gotten equivalent consideration (Mukhtar, 2020,p.6).

Ongoing writing on emergency corresponding crisis calls attention to that residents and volunteers progressively utilize online social media for their correspondence in crisis circumstances. All things considered, the utilization of interpersonal organizations consistently conveys the danger of wide distribution of obsolete or wrong data and the inconsistent appropriation of valuable data.

Firdous, D., (2017) talks about how different clash related performers utilized Twitter to pass on their perspectives on media inclusion, contender confirmations and its effect on rivals. When he accumulated youngsters to battle through online web-based media during his lifetime, Burhan Wani turned into a difficult figure in the contention after his passing, a holy person, a mental aggressor (fear monger) for other people. The tweets have shot the split and featured different stories, some of which have for quite some time been associated with the discussion and have been resuscitated just before Wani's demise. Since 2011, Burhan has been effectively engaged with online media like YouTube to propel the reason for Kashmir's autonomy and plan youth for cooperation (Khan and Khan, 2020). In his new video on YouTube, Burhan reminded individuals that they are against battling the Indian Armed Forces, and the exercises of the Indian Armed Forces with politically furnished people to assist with moving this general public. Sharing information about ought to be your impact. He likewise cautioned close by cops to shun their exercises on the off chance that they would not like to be chosen. Because of their association, the proportion among neighbours and new inquirers, who typically came from various pieces of Pakistan, changed definitely. From that point, more local people in the valley joined the aggressors (Stavirska et al., 2016).

The greater part of local people in the contention don't comprehend the inconsistency between the old hostility and the new time of Kashmiris' animosity. The debate depends on an interval feeling of disregard by the Indian state, which is hesitant to surrender existing counter-uprising strategies to ensure law and order locally to misuse the political courses of action. Is. As an agent of this new surge of aggressors from the local battling against the police and fierceness, Burhan Wani was seen communicating a truly amazing desires. Utilizing the delights of the new time, particularly for

electronic media, Burhan Wani had the choice to look for expansive help for his inspiration in the adjoining locale, yet Twitter posts didn't avoid a particular examination concerning the avocation, 'It can't be said with full confidence that the posts were not posted through bots and phony profiles.

Moreover, tweets are normally just open for a brief timeframe inside seven days of circulation. Generally speaking, it is additionally concurred recorded as a hard copy that people will definitely make more significant substance, while retweeting bots just as tweeting more URLs and heavier media (for example pictures). Show a large portion of the capacity to move. Instead of modernized boot posting, a definitive Twitter customer regularly follows the plan of subjective use with long associating spans (Chauchi et al., 2016 Gila Gilani et al., 2017 In Innova-Dtsi et al., 2018).

Online media, for instance, Twitter needs a steady web relationship, for instance the Indian government may have impacted internet services as an approach to remove boorishness after Burhan's passing. Endeavors can be made to keep the reclamation inside sensible cutoff points (Aashiq, 2016; Khan and Khan, 2020; Narain, 2016). Thus, numerous individuals living in the space might not have the choice to go to the web and be denied from talking in like manner.

In such manner, data the executives has been remembered for three classes which are normal for the utilization of online media: (1) examination of educated individuals; (2) the impact of the contention on the debate; and (3) tweets show the genuine discussion. Simultaneously, in all segments, the straightforward truth that individuals are tweeting about the Kashmir question shows that they care about the issue. He should contact a few group simultaneously to handle the advantages of low enrollment like Twitter, with no geological restrictions, to uncover the circumstance in Kashmir. Utilizing hashtags, tweets, or answers to tweets, individuals take part in discussion. The tweets show amazing appraisals, including composing, just as pictures, accounts, paper articles and associations with kid's shows. Specifically, the snapshot of reflection is the refrain with which Urdu-talking individuals point their view towards contention (Gabil at-Rahmatullah Alayh, 2020).

Constrained vanishings here are for the most part done by the military to pressure the individuals who compel suspects to give up, or to keep men from joining the hostility, or to drive individuals to join the assailants. To forestall help and cover, or in light of the fact that they are just men member at home during the crackdown (Amnesty International India 1999). Each of the three methodologies carefully avoids an unknown minefield: the importance of voting-based entertainment. Perhaps the most ideal approach for starting a plan in this situation is to recommend linking entertainment with the concerns of the government in four main areas: norms, cognitions, identities, and values (McChesney, 2016). There is some overlap between these different classifications, and they are introduced here simply as a convenient method for identifying large areas of political significance. At the same time, democracy has no meaning without independent media. Media learns to act on its own through features that are explained such as independent media houses and journalists that do not form teams (Mason, Krutka & Stoddard, 2018). There also has to be competition. When these aspects are in full working order, a democratic society works professionally. Firdoss, D., (2017) has shown that usually this happens when the media keeps an eye on politicians, policies being implemented or offered by the government and the media is unbiased.

Lowy Institute talked about the current deteriorating conditions for the press in India. It further added, numerous journalists killed in recent years...Six journalists were killed across the country in 2018, marking India as fifth on the list of countries that are unsafe for journalists (lowyinstitute.org).

A very important problem that the website points towards is that since there is a huge economy and the size of the media industry has increased, many neutral journalists have now started picking sides. Since they have picked sides, police raids of press facilities have started breaking the back of its independence. The Lowy Institute reported, The tension on columnists comes when the country's media industry has been blasting lately. There are over 1,000,000 enrolled papers and magazines, the biggest of which is around 45 million to 45 million duplicates transported day by day; many have whenever been picked by unprejudiced bulletins and writers; one of them is Arnab Goswami. Goswami, earlier working in the Times Now 24-hour news channel and presently the Republican, progressively the country's most famous English-

language channel, is an early evening TV anchor known for his forceful, speedy style. He is quite possibly the most impassioned allies of PM Narendra Modi, and the channel's inclusion, for the most part, is centered around BJP.

At the opposite finish of the range is NDTV, an additional 24-hour news channel that is grasped by truth based revealing - yet confronted difficulties in 2017, for example, the police attacks on the Australian Broadcasting Corporation. Like ongoing impressions. It's easy to perceive how dread of capture, or more regrettable, broad self-control, has spread, or writers have promised to stop their positions and report freely. While a couple of cases have stood out as truly newsworthy, numerous others have happened discreetly or uninvolved.

The believability of the political decision has been discoloured on the grounds that insight offices are supposed to be irate with them and the motivation behind why the assailant uprising began. The article proceeds to say, Races through which the tactical control of Kashmir has supported the spread of majority rule government has a long and interesting past. The manipulated 1987 state decisions in 1990 The outfitted uprising that started was a quick incitement; knowledge offices host made political gatherings and Saturn lawmakers, they have constructed and obliterated political professions willingly, they are more than any other person who concludes that each political decision after every political decision, the Indian Establishment declared that India had won a mainstream order from the Kashmiri public. (Kumar, 2020, p.44).

An expected 200,000 individuals went to Burhan's burial service supplications in Takhm on Saturday morning, as per media reports. Burhan Wani's memorial service was gone to by a large number of Kashmiris who recited enemies of India trademarks. Pakistani banners were flown at the last ceremonies. Political dissidents were additionally introduced at Burhan Wani's last ceremonies, who saluted him with 21 weapons. His body was enveloped by the Pakistani banner and he was covered in Tral alongside his sibling Khalid Wani.

Presently, consideration is being attracted to the outcomes in the Kashmir Valley, which have brought about undeniable degrees of passings and wounds. Not just that, the nations, the United Nations, each required a serene answer for the Kashmir issue, and now and then offered intervention. The information on Burhan's affliction spread

like quickly all through the IHK. The news was met with inescapable fights across the valley. On July 9, brutal exhibitions occurred in a few pieces of Kashmir, the exploration article said. Something like 15 regular citizens were killed and in excess of 200 harmed on the primary day of the revolt since Burhan Wani's suffering, thus far, in excess of 60 individuals have been killed and around 5,500 harmed. The brutality is the most noticeably terrible in the valley since 2010, when 112 dissidents were killed in conflicts with Indian powers. To subdue the fights, Indian specialists forced curfews, suspended versatile organizations and the Internet in huge pieces of the valley. Papers seized. In excess of 600 individuals were harmed by the utilization of pellet weapons. 20 individuals supported eye wounds while keeping up with eye harm in the two eyes. (Betty, 2018, p.4)

The conflict of words among India and Pakistan occurred when the Prime Minister of Pakistan talked sincere for Kashmir. The article peruses, On July 10, Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif communicated profound shock at Wani's suffering and censured the utilization of exorbitant power against regular folks in the most recent flood of viciousness in the Valley. He said that inordinate and illicit utilization of power couldn't discourage the valiant individuals of Jammu and Kashmir from practicing their right to self-assurance after the UN goals. (Aamir, 2020) has discussed that in supporting in the Data period wherein media outlines reality just as creates public reasoning. The momentum research expects to assess the part of the media of Pakistan in influencing the relationship between India or Pakistan. Succeeding the subjective viewpoint just as different procedures of survey of writing just as online news or distinctive video cuts alongside a mission of web-based media are chosen just as read for broadcasting of significant crisis just as conditions concerning Indo-Pak ties.

Essentially, it alludes to ongoing addresses of Executives that are communicating of Kashmir just as Baluchistan conflict just as the trade of social or visit of groups of cricket match-ups. Simultaneously, it is assumed that web-based media can play out a novel just as a positive job in creating a detached climate for a prevalent relationship among India just as Pakistan if establishing genuine public or political will. Thus, regular news media that fusing the two papers, just as stations are for the most part to sensationalize undertakings for business gain just as political scoring. Simultaneously, web-based media can work with an option showing to publicize resident reporting just

as tact of the general population. Besides, it can direct to ordinary media just as impact policymakers to play out a homogenized job in enhancing two-sided security among Pakistan and India. Thus, as of late, online media basically reflect responses of public essentially increment hostility continuing negative support on established press just as at strategic fronts.



CHAPTER 3: CASE STUDY ANALYSIS

3.1 Data collection methods

As mentioned in chapter 1, this research focuses on content analysis as the choice of methodology. Content analysis is a tool that falls under the umbrella of qualitative research approach. It determines the words and concepts appearing in the data which is text from any certain source of information like newspapers or televised shows or radio bulletin. Based on collected data, which is concepts, words and theme, the researcher then tries to build relationships and can give meaning to the chosen text, hence analysing the content (Aamir, 2020, p.46). The collected data again might be news articles, or the statements used in TV programs or radio bulletins, researcher has to look for any sort of partial or bias behaviour within the boundaries of the text or the content at large.

Research shall be utilizing a summative content analysis that involves counting and comparisons, more often of keywords or content that is followed by the interpretation of the core context of discussion.

3.2 Important factors in research

For the purpose of this research, few very important factors need to be chosen very carefully yet they must be rational. The flow of the research hence is based upon these factors and their sequence which includes:

- Theme: It is the focus area of the research.
- Event: the choice of particular events that may fall under any particular theme.
- Important Dates: the dates of the events.
- Selected Platform: Collection of data through any particular source that may include Books, Articles, Newspapers, TV Shows or Radio Bulletins.
- Methodology: Research methodology necessary for the research.

Table 6. Flow of Research

Theme	Conflict of Kashmir	
Events	Killing of Burhan Muzaffar Wani	Pulwama Incident
Dates	July 2016	Feb 2019
Platform	A TV show each from India & Pakistan	A TV show each from India & Pakistan
Methodology	Content Analysis	

As mentioned in the table above and to reach the content analysis, researcher has used TV programs (talking heads), newspapers and analysis by famous journalists. The two events selected have less than 3 years of span between them. These are the events that have taken place in Kashmir in the recent years and were in spotlight for all the reasons of research. The events are analysed from perspectives of India and Pakistan. Both these countries have had a huge impact on Kashmir and their involvement in Kashmir has adversely affected the life of Kashmiris. We will investigate using content analysis how news analysts from both these countries highlight and promote these events.

3.3 Research focus

As already mentioned, research focuses on two key events that took place in Kashmir and their impact on both India and Pakistan due to the content that the media of these nations have adopted in order to cover these events. The first event is the death of a local Kashmiri, Burhan Muzaffar Wani and the second is the Pulwama incident which involves the killing of 44 Indian soldiers. Their time frame is less than 3 years apart, but their impact has immensely affected the lives of people from Kashmir.

To fulfil this aim, researcher looks at talking heads, TV shows from India and Pakistan that have been conducted by famous anchors with high ratings to their shows and high watch time online. Research also mildly touches news articles for an independent opinion on how the analysis has been conducted.

3.4 Death of Burhan Muzaffar Wani (July 2016)

To begin with, research brings under the lens the event that took place in 2016. This was the killing of a local Kashmiri by the hands of the Indian army, Burhan Muzaffar Wani. A local Kashmiri, who quickly became the poster boy for the jihadists but was labelled as a terrorist by India. Although, in Pakistan and Kashmir, he is still renowned as a freedom fighter and the young face of Kashmiri youth fighting for their freedom. Burhan Muzaffar Wani was a commander in the Hizbul Mujahideen, an organization that is active in Indian occupied Kashmir. He soon became a popular figure amongst the local Kashmiris, particularly youngsters, due to his strong social media presence. Due to his effective anti-India campaigns, he is considered to be responsible for shifting of the insurgencies into a youth-oriented movement. It was only due to his personal efforts and aura that he was successful in recruiting a large number of soldiers to stand by him. Wani and his family wanted him to be a doctor before he left to join the camp at an age of 15. There are few stories on what spiked him to join the groups. As a young and energetic boy, Wani used social media to float information that attracted young adults to fight for the cause, romanticizing the movement. He was very clear in his thoughts that India is not only an enemy of Kashmir, rather is working against Islam. And that the destruction of India is the only solution to settle this oppression. Burhan was also once erroneously described as killed in 2013 all across social media. Burhan lost his brother at the hand of Indian Army which gave him no choice except to avenge his brother's death. He stood up to his mission whole heartedly with his exceptional communication skills. Burhan was remarkable in his anti-India speeches. His words, phrases and statements used to ignite every Kashmiri.

3.5 What made Wani a 'Hero'

Burhan Wani changed the entire face of guerrilla warfare. His appearance with his real name and in combat uniform sitting in forests warning Indian Army sent shock waves all across to Indian high officials in army and politics. His political wisdom on the issue of separate colonies for Kashmiri pundits was well praised in all circles when he termed Kashmiri pundits as part and parcel of their culture.

Burhan was also a tech expert as he knew that he cannot use the same laptop and phone twice if he had to continue the movement with the same vigour. His presence in all parts of Indian Occupied Kashmir was felt by Indian army as Burhan used to move swiftly in the nights while maintaining cover during the day light. It was not only the local Kashmiri youngsters who were following him, rather his word floated across boundaries in India and Pakistan that made him a hero from a local freedom fighter. He was followed vastly and so was making to the headlines. This made India put a bounty of one million Indian rupees for his head. This step made him even more famous. He was killed in an encounter with Indian army on 8th July, 2016. His death led to the longest lockdown of the Indian occupied Kashmir, plugged the valley into crises and nearly 100 Kashmiris died with over 15000 injured during this period, use of pallet guns by Indian army was common by Indian army. His funeral was offered at 40 different places, while around one million gathered for his funeral at Eidgah Tral. (Burhan Wani – an icon of Kashmir’s freedom fight | The Express Tribune, 2021)

Table 7. Selected Shows on Burhan Wani's Death

Event	Death of Burhan Wani (July 2016)	
Media	Times Now	Channel 92 News
Anchor	Arnab Goswami	Orya Maqbool Jaan
Viewership (Variables of choice)	Top #1 show with over 144k views online	Top #1 show with approx. 6k views online
Show Aired	July, 2016	August, 2016

This table show the events of death of Burhan Wani who killed on 8th of July 2016. The show is hosted by the famous Indian TV anchor, Arnab Goswami. The reason for choosing this show include the impact of Arnab on the masses and his show’s TV rating in India.

According to starsunfolded.com, Arnab Ranjan Goswami is an Indian journalist, news anchor from Assam, India. He is a graduate from Oxford University, England and enjoyed the top rating for many years. This show by Arnab has over 1.3 million views at YouTube. Arnab is considered to be an anchor who promotes the anti-Kashmir and anti-Pakistan agenda promisingly to the audience. This show went on-air on 11th of July 2021.

For his show on Times Now, he talked about Burhan Wani right after 72 hours of his death. In his monologue he addressed all the liberals who had spoken softly and to an extent, in favour of Wani. His argument leaned totally towards the Indian army stamping Wani as a terrorist and called his killing a win for the Indian armed personnel. For the purpose of analysis, content from his monologue is analysed. Arnab Ranjan Goswami initiated the show with:

Successful and much wanted killing, a section of misguided pseudo liberals have gone on and on about how the Indian state must be more responsible, about how the Indian state must be more sensitive.

The starting of his show with the punch lines that were hitting the liberals and catchy for the masses. Here Arnab is backing the state act of killing Wani. Arnab further continued:

Some of these people highly confused elements who are in journalism say that they are in a dilemma today about how to report a terrorist death.

Arnab right after backing the state action, criticizes the journalists and anchors who are not backing the state. Further he defends the Indian Army in high tone. Arnab Goswami spoke in a high-pitched voice throughout and said,

I feel sorry for these people because they don't realize that when it comes to right and wrong, black and white, nationalist and anti-national, for the Indian army which protects us and against the Indian army, for the tri-colour and against the tri-colour, for the sovereignty of the Indian state and against the sovereignty of Indian state there can be no prevarication, no grey area, no confusion and certainly no dilemma.

This terrorist Burhan Wani had declared the Indian army as his biggest enemy, Burhan Wani was an identified and armed threat to the sovereignty of the Indian state.

Shifting focus to Burhan now, Arnab tags him with the word Terrorist and this is the word that is continuously used in the show, to be precise 17 times. It is worth

mentioning that Govt. of Kashmir or Pakistan both have not issued any official statement on the issue till this show.

Arnab at 01:33 said, just because he was Kashmiri does not make it ok for the pseudo liberals to build a case against his killing, he was a terrorist.” And further, “Today these self-proclaimed pseudo liberals the same who speak of the injustice to Afzal Guru and Yaqoob Memon, have most unfortunately and shamelessly come together to shy away from calling a known Hizbul Mujahideen terrorist, a terrorist.

To attract ratings, Arnab is constantly hitting on the liberals and tagging Wani as a terrorist. This word terrorist is fed to a larger audience time and time again building a successful narrative against Kashmiris based on the character assassination of Burhan Wani. This is where summative content analysis comes into action, comparison and count of particular words in the content. “Terrorist” is that word.

This statement further by Arnab at 02:25 is an incitement against local Kashmiri freedom fighters, especially Burhan Wani:

Viewers lets come together tonight and let us junk this group and call their bluff, a terrorist has been killed on Indian soil, let’s back our forces, let’s deal with and crush them, let us not romanticize or confuse terror.

His taglines throughout his speech were ‘terrorist, not an icon’ and ‘don’t romanticize terror’. Arnab ended by saying:

This rubbish has been going on for 3 days now then join me as we together take on the pseudo liberals and the Pakistanis (www.youtube.com, n.d.).

Looking into how Arnab talked, we can easily find few keywords and statement such as terrorist, pseudo liberal and a victory for the Indian forces have been used on many occasions. He clearly identifies the killing of Burhan Wani as an act of success by the Indian army against a terrorist successfully labels Wani as a terrorist. Research further compares the point of view from the other side of the border, Pakistan, and also summarizes on the image that is projected by these shows.

3.6 Subha Sawyeray Pakistan

Shifting focus to the counter arguments from a TV show selected from Pakistan. A famous Pakistani TV channel, 92 news showed a report on Wani's death and invited a famous journalist and writer Orya Maqbool Jaan for his views on the killing of Wani. Orya Maqbool is an analyst who is a former bureaucrat and respected for his neutral analysis. This show that represented Orya has a high viewership online.

A biography was presented on Burhan Wani which involved the Kashmiri uprising and their struggle movement. Such promos for a vastly viewed and followed program and anchors are used to create an image before audience on what is to follow in the show. This seemed to build a positive narrative of the struggle of Kashmiris and in particular Burhan Wani.

This promo presented presence of India in Kashmir in the role of a state terrorist, but the entire world is silent about the terrorist acts by the hands of the biggest democracy in the world. It further went on to depict that there are many freedom fighters in Kashmir who have given their lives for the cause of their land, but Burhan Wani is an example for all of the Kashmiri youth. Wani is mentioned as 'martyr' who started his struggle from the freedom of Kashmir only at the tender age of 15.

The channel talks about the background of Wani which is highly missing in any of the Indian reports. It tells us how Wani's brother was killed by the Indian forces and Burhan's reaction was using the social media platform to become the voice of the modern world spreading the message worldwide against Indian atrocities. It is also to be noticed here that the Indian anchor, Goswami mentioned Wani as a 'terrorist' throughout his discussion but on the other end, Pakistani TV channel, 92 News labelled Wani as a 'martyr' and 'freedom fighter'. This, once again is a 180 degree turn from the views of the tri-coloured nation.

The report goes on to explain how Burhan's use of the social media not only made him a poster boy for Kashmiri freedom from the oppression of the Indian state but also gave a new soul and meaning to the Kashmiri freedom movement involving more and more Kashmiris into the act, especially the local youth. The news report calls him a

hero who unrested the Indian army for about six years and got martyred at the young age of only 22 years but became a role model for all the Kashmiri freedom fighters who till date pay tribute to him for his services to Kashmir. If we x-ray this report, we can easily identify how the people of Kashmir not only identify with Wani but also consider him their leader in the struggle for freedom. All of this is found missing in the Indian reports. Their anchor's monologue which is popularly watched across India completely blocks out Burhan's effect on the people of Kashmir and how his death impacted their lives and gave a whole new meaning to their purpose.

Right after this report, channel 92 invited senior analyst Orya Maqbool Jaan to the show for his insight to the story. According to www.peoplepill.com, Orya Jaan is a conservative Pakistani columnist and a former bureaucrat who hosts a right-wing talk show on Neo News. Orya is known as a prominent conservative commenter and a vocal critic of liberal activists. Orya has faced extensive criticism from activists over his campaign against liberal academics and encouraging his supporters to spy, and publicly humiliate, progressive academics (peoplepill.com, n.d.).

Orya Maqbool Jaan said: The struggle movement of Kashmir that had started in the era of the 1980's had been given a new life by Burhan Wani by using the internet and social media as a poster boy.

Orya has opened up with a very brief background of the movement which was missing in the introduction of his counter-part in India which is discussed above. And evidently not labelling Wani with any negative tags.

He further elaborated the concept of struggle which Wani took forward: His concept was not in the heart of the Kashmiris before the uprising of the struggle movement by Burhan, he gave a new meaning to the freedom movement by advancing the idea that not only do the Kashmiris need freedom from India but also prefer to live under the rule of law given to them by Islam.

Orya, having himself labelled as Right-Wing journalist, justifies Wani in connection to the Kashmiri struggle. It is important here to mention that Arnab, at any point during his show, mentioned Kashmir or the conflict. And this was one of the main reasons

which Orya linked to Wani, who has become leader of youth in the freedom struggle as mentioned in his statement ahead: This is why the youth started to follow his ideas and lived far from any fear of death.

While he was answering the question related to how many more Burhans will be needed to free Kashmir from the Indian rule, he puts forward his point of view: After the death of Wani, the wheel has start to move backward, India, in her history of 5000 years has only been a national combined state for merely 300 years, for the rest of the gigantic part, it has been divided into small states.

And further: After the death of Burhan and with over 28 other freedom movements currently going on within India, Kashmir will not only see its freedom very soon but also India will be divided into pieces and become a scattered nation as it had been for a massive 4700 years.

The above statements by Orya clearly mentions few very important keywords like Freedom, Struggle and Movement. These words are used frequently and with much emphasis on them to create a sense of bonding with Kashmiris and the crises in the region. He went on to predict the future of India's oppression on Kashmir and especially the martyr of Wani in his ending statement which seems to be true today, to some extent if not completely: There will be a snowball effect after the incident of Burhan Wani and other states in India will also come up and fight for their freedom. (www.youtube.com, 2019).

3.7 Comparison (Narrative built on Burhan Wani)

It is analysed from the Indian report by Goswami that he tends to mention pseudo liberals and tag Pakistan right next to it, while argues with both the pseudo liberals and Pakistanis who consider the killing of Wani as an insensitive act by the Indian army. 'Terrorist' is the word that he labels with Burhan Wani without introducing his background or biography. The emphasis of such negative keyword in relation to Wani and further labelling him as a state terrorist portrays the culture which the Indian media flourishes and that is what is being swallowed by their people at large.

On the other hand, Orya Maqbool argues that India's sovereignty is questionable now and might be broken due to Burhan's death. Media on both sides, India and Pakistan, seems to be against each other in this whole argument. Indian media calling him a terrorist, Pakistani media defining Burhan as a freedom fighter who gave an entirely new soul to the movement of Kashmir. Orya has frequently used Freedom fighter and Movement keywords to draw an image of Wani. No common words are available in the content that defines the killing of Wani.

3.8 Pulwama incident

The research will now investigate the second event that is linked to the selected theme of this research, the Pulwama Incident. The importance of this event can be analysed through the tension it created between India and Pakistan which almost escalated to a nuclear war. (Luhmann, 2010)

This involves the death of 44 Indian soldiers in Pulwama, Kashmir. According to the Guardian newspaper published on February 14, 2020, A lone militant is believed to have driven a vehicle laden with explosives close to a central reserve police force (CRPF) convoy and detonated it just after 3pm on Thursday on a busy highway outside the state capital of Srinagar. (the guardian, 2019)

The researcher will observe and analyse the event from the perspective of both Indian and Pakistani media and will identify the image built by the media in their countries based on summative content analysis. The choice of anchors and their shows is based upon practical reasons which are available in the table below.

Table 8. Selected Shows on Pulwama Incident

Event	Pulwama Incident (14th February 2019)	
Media	Times of India	ARY News
Anchor	Arnab Goswami	Kashif Abbasi
Viewership (Variables of choice)	Top #1 show with over 164k views online	Top #1 show with over 88k views online
Show Aired	15th February, 2020	19th February, 2020

3.9 Pulwama attack: Why it made the headlines?

A young suicide bomber rammed an explosive vehicle into a bus carrying Indian soldiers claiming 40 dead and many injured at 03:15 pm on 14th February, 2019. The bus was part of the 78 vehicles convoy with more than 2500 personals travelling to Srinagar. This caused an explosive outbreak as the number of dead and injured soldiers was too high to digest, particularly for India. The convoy on the move, which was targeted had its own significance, as it was a fresh deployment in Srinagar, Kashmir by the Indian army.

India linked the Pulwama attack with the surgical strikes it carried into Pakistani territory back in 2017. Pakistan has been denying the Indian claim of surgical strikes that no such activity has taken place and it was just the propaganda by Indian government and media. This attack pushed the region into a tense situation that almost led to nuclear war between the two countries.

Seven of the vehicle born explosive attacks have been improvised in Kashmir before Pulwama, claiming 88 casualties, however Pulwama remained the biggest attack since 2000. India nominated Jaish e Mohammad (JeM) as the master mind behind the attack and insisted Pakistan to hand over the person leading JeM. Pakistan, on the other hand, continuously had been asking for the evidence to be provided. (Jamal, 2021)

3.10 The Debate with Arnab Goswami

The reasons for the choice of this show have been listed in the above table, while a brief of the anchor is also available in the previous section. Just after one day of the attacks, on 15th of February, Goswami began his show by saying, 44 soldiers have been killed and there are 3 groups that are responsible and each of these groups were paid, first the Pakistanis who have sponsored the attack, Pakistan will be made to pay. Arnab Goswami's headline stated: #IndiaWantsRevenge

He added, Across India the call for revenge, real revenge, a bloody revenge is loud and clear. Arnab further went on and said, When Prime Minister Narendra Modi takes action, and I'm not even saying when, I'm not even saying if, I said when he takes

action, the whole country will stand behind him like a rock, Prime Minister Modi take the action.

‘Revenge’ and ‘No Mercy’ are the keywords that Arnab used in his show much frequently with the beeper ‘#IndiaWantsRevenge’ constantly flashed in the header. The count of these words used by Arnab in this show were as high as 22. These words and their usage, emphasized in high pitch, creates an environment of panic among large population following the show and Arnab. Death of 44 soldiers, and usage of such language, can be termed as an incitement against Pakistan and Kashmir freedom Fighters.

The anchor continued to build a narrative against Pakistan by using the statement 6 times in his show: No talk, no mercy, it is time for blood. (www.youtube.com, 2019)

Analysing the statements and words used by anchor, the research can evidently state that the anchor incited his government and people watching the show for a bigger strike on Pakistan. He went on to link Pakistan with the Kashmiri Mujahedeen and claimed the attack by a Kashmiri group called the Jaish-e-Mohammad, which he referred as a terrorist group from Pakistan.

3.11 Off The Record

Kashif Abbasi is a renowned Journalist and Anchor of a famous talk show aired at ARY News. He is a right-wing anchor promoting the stance of the state. However, his views on events have been balanced and that is why he is vastly followed and viewed online. His talk show, ‘Off The Record’ has over 88 thousand views on February 19th, 2019.

The stance of Pakistani foreign office was published in The Tribune paper in Pakistan: we have always condemned acts of violence anywhere in the world. We strongly reject any insinuation by elements in the Indian media and government that seek to link the attack to Pakistan without investigations. (The Express Tribune, 2019)

Kashif Abbasi in his intro said:

A war rhetoric has been started in India by the Indian media and their Prime Minister, India wants to teach Pakistan a lesson and this is a war trumpet that India plays after every such incident.

And further,

India is blaming Pakistan whereas the Prime Minister of Pakistan, Imran Khan said that without any evidence Pakistan is being blamed but if India provides any evidence, Pakistan will investigate on it.

Seeing the facts, Pakistan has no short or long-term gains from these attacks and this is a crucial time for Pakistan because the Saudi Royal prince is touring Pakistan and signing deals in joint ventures with the nation.

Pakistan is playing the role of a mediator between America and the Afghan Talibans because of which Pakistan is getting a good reputation in the American Trump administration. All of this culminates into the fact that the Pulwama incident would only weaken Pakistan's world standing that's why Pakistan has nothing to do with the attacks.

Pakistan had recently opened a corridor with India to discuss terms and come to agreements in terms of peace and end hatred towards each other and are on the same page, it was done unilaterally by Pakistan, so it is an open question whether the Pulwama incident would benefit or hurt Pakistan's cause. Kashif also pointed towards a very important factor of the general Indian elections:

Kashif also reminded his audience how in the past India had also blamed Pakistan for incidents inside India but after investigations it was found that the inside job was performed by elements inside India, one of which he talked about:

It was at the time of the crucial visit of the American President Bill Clinton, he was supposed to visit Pakistan after touring India and at that time 17 Sikhs were killed for which India pointed fingers at Pakistan as well.

Abbasi explained the background of the Pulwama issue:

Adil Dar was a member of the Jaish e Mohammad, who had come out with a video claiming for the attacks, Dar was just a second-year school student, aged 19 and was returning home after school, the Indian forces stopped him and made him make a circle around their army jeep with his nose to the ground.

According to the parents of Adil Dar, this was a reaction by the boy, Dar's video was also leaked in which he claimed responsibility and said that he would be in heaven by the time this video comes out.

This is the content from the talk show of Kashif Abbasi, receiving most views on the internet and his news channel is watched across Pakistan. (www.youtube.com, 2019)

Kashif Abbasi did not mention any of the words to tag India or Indian army with the event. Rather frequently and constantly had highlighted the facts that Pakistan is being blamed yet again without evidence. Abbasi highlighted the previous practices made by the neighbour and pointed towards a tragic train incident, Samjhota Express. It was an event where India blamed Pakistan and later on it was proven to be an insider job. Abbasi pointed no fingers, however he insisted the Indian media to refrain from labelling Pakistan or Kashmiri freedom fighters as terrorists, and that too without any proof.

3.12 Significance of the events

Media war is always more penetrable to masses. In the context of this research, both of these events serve the purpose of the role that media played after the events had occurred. Yet the events are part of a larger crises situation that prevails for over 70 years in Kashmir.

The killing of Burhan Wani was not only significant after it happened, rather Burhan himself had caused a great deal of stir between 2011 and 2016. His social media presence had already brought media into action. Media, especially Indian media, had been highlighting and nominating Burhan as a terrorist and militant for couple of years before his death. While, Burhan used this anti campaign to rise as a 'Hero'. He made his presence felt on ground and on social media for 5 years that left Indian army with

no choice except to execute him. No freedom fighter, in the history of Kashmir, has used such media campaigns to rage a war over India. This is the major reason of the choice of this event where media itself was involved by both parties. After the death of Burhan, the Indian media presented the event as one of their key victories against Kashmiri Militants and terrorist. (Rettberg, 2014)

The Pulwama attack, as discussed earlier, had many similarities to the previously accountable attacks. Yet this is the vehicle born explosive attack that claimed the highest number of casualties with many injured. In addition to this, the media war between the two neighbour nuclear states was already on the run for the past two years following the surgical strikes claims by India in 2017. Right after the attack, the Indian media started to develop links of Pakistan with this attack and dragged Kashmir into the spotlight again labelling it to be terrorist producing region. Pakistan and its media insisted on evidence based actions from the rivals. The reason of the choice for Pulwama is the attack, followed by the tension created by media, lead to an almost nuclear war. Had the Indian media showed some calmness and sanity, things would have not escalated to such an extent (Baker, 2006)

3.13 Choice of channel and talk shows

As discussed in the previous sections, the Indian media has shown a much aggressive approach towards both the events. Hence to fulfil the requirement of the thesis, a right wing program and its anchor person was identified for analysis in both the events, Arnab Goswami. His program represents the overall aggression of the Indian media. One of the other reason to select the show by Arnab is his links with the right wing politicians, army personals and social media outlets. It were these biased relations that led to his downfall in 2021 when he was caught in a sting operation and all the Pulwama attack was exposed to be stage set by India itself to malign Kashmir, its freedom fighters and Pakistan. (Krempf, 2004)

On the counter arguments from Pakistan were the talk shows from ARY News and Channel 92 News. The show by Kashif Abbasi also considered to promote right wing ideology, while Orya Maqbool Jan at 92 News had previously links with right wing.

Today, Orya is considered to present a much neutral analysis. Both of them had enough arguments to prevail sanity and expose India by claiming evidence in both events.

3.14 Approach by analysts

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This diversity can also be analyzed by the approach of media anchor persons towards the particular event. The Indian media person, Arnab, better known for his high pitch, aggression and loose temperament towards the panelists has tried to sensationalize the events. This approach to create sensation is much appreciated in particular media groups with targeted aims to achieve and to prove loyalty with certain political or ethnic groups. If not the broadcast media, sensationalism is also adopted as an editorial tactic. This style or approach boosts biased or emotionally weighed impression to events. This approach further delivers the fact that the news or event being discussed is insignificant while trying to create a controversy to influence the society. This sensationalism used by Indian media has provided enough ground to apply content analysis as a research methodology for this research, where shorter words, familiar idioms, phrases, ideas and assumptions are monitored and analysed. (Hindman, 2008)

Contrary to the approach adopted by Indian media, Pakistani media provided a relatively more objective approach. This approach makes the mind of the audience towards any story by providing facts and then let the audience decide to agree or not to agree with those facts. It depicts neutral and unbiased reporting of issues and events irrespective of audience's opinion. This leads to the fact that Indian media creating sensation is largely followed nationally and internationally as compared to Pakistani media reporting with objectivity. This is reflected in the quote by Brent Cunningham in 2003:

“Reporters are biased toward conflict because it is more interesting than stories without conflict; we are biased toward sticking with the pack because it is safe; we are biased toward event-driven coverage because it is easier; we are biased toward existing narratives because they are safe and easy. Mostly, though, we are biased in favor of getting the story, regardless of whose ox is being gored.”

3.15 Comparison of Indian perspective with the Pakistani perspective

The Indian shows have more views because India has a bigger population and thus a bigger audience than Pakistan. Pakistan is a much smaller country than India in terms of size and internet accessibility. Now to compare the Indian perspective with the Pakistani perspective when it comes to Pulwama. The most watched show in India by Arnab Goswami was filled with the narrative that Pakistan was the culprit in the Pulwama attacks. He said that the attacks were not only organized and funded by Pakistan but also that Pakistan needs to be taught a lesson. He went on to say that the Jaish e Mohammad was a Pakistani agency and the biggest attacks on the Indian army in history deserved nothing but blood. He said that no talks, no mercy, no condemnation but only revenge. All of this was said only after 24 hours of the attacks without any evidence. Whereas if one notices the response of the Pakistani foreign office, it said that the attacks are condemned, and no Pakistani should not be held responsible without any evidence. Even the Pakistani Prime Minister said that if India provided evidence, Pakistan would investigate.

On the other hand, the premier Pakistani news TV anchor, Kashif Abbasi said that Pakistan had no role in the attacks. He said that history speaks for itself and it is only a traditional Indian habit of blaming Pakistan for any attacks in India. In response he said that Pakistan is at a place in time where it would gain nothing from administrating and planning such attacks but would rather lose a lot. He further went on to say that Pakistan was signing agreements with Saudi Arabia and was mediating between the Americans and the Afghan Talibans. He also said that it was only logical that because Indian elections were coming up in India, an attack on the Indian army and blaming it on the Pakistanis would start an anti-Pakistan sentiment within India and would stabilize the position of their ruling party helping them in winning the general elections. Abbasi also said that the Kashmiri boy who took responsibility of the attacks and was the main culprit talked of no Pakistani connection but had a history with the Indian army which is why he bombed the Indian army convoy. (Cooper, 2010)

So, to sum up and trying to analyse, there is a certain difference in the way news is reported in India and Pakistan. Their stance is different and the way they connect to their audience is different. There is also a difference when it comes to how they want their viewers to connect with them. If one notices the premier anchor of India, Arnab Goswami and his show, he has a very aggressive stance. He wants his viewers to be on the top and in an attacking mode. His statements are one sided, meaning they leave no room for a difference of opinion. He says that the death of Burhan Wani was a great victory for the Indian army. His sweeping statements included how Burhan was against the state of India and his killing was not wrong in any way. He said that there was no room for any sensitivity that could be shown on the part of the Indians. If you challenge the state of India, this is what you get, and this is what you deserve. He also doesn't discuss any background of the story. (Reynolds, 2007)

This is what the Pakistani media does. The Pakistani side of the media discuss how Burhan was made to circle the Indian army jeep with his nose to the ground which is something that is missing from the Indian story. Media in times of crisis, the Indian side, gives reporting that suits their cause. They talk about Burhan being a terrorist and a perfect response to his fate was his killing. Nothing else, nothing before the event and nothing after the event was discussed. It is not discussed how his killing has affected the people of Kashmir and their freedom movement. The researcher when

comes to the Pakistani side sees how his death anniversary is celebrated. The Pakistani media when giving response to the Indian side and while discussing Burhan Wani's life also discuss how a new soul was instated in the Kashmiri youth by the death of Burhan.

It is to be understood how media is reporting in times of crisis. India is only reporting the event whereas the Pakistani side is not only discussing the event but the pros and cons of the event, the background and the after effects of the event. This is a difference that is visible in the media of both the countries and their way of influencing their audience. It is also visible that India likes to keep an upper hand. India is a bigger country than Pakistan in every way whether it is the armed forces or their economic stability. Thus, their stance is also more defining, and they very well know how to talk about how there should be no mercy shown and terrorists coming from Pakistan or sponsored by Pakistan should be killed at the hands of their army. If one analyses the Pakistani side, one can see how they talk in a tone that gives an idea that they are trying to clarify their position which is something a weaker side does. It is x-rayed when they talk about the Pulwama issue.

CHAPTER 4: CONCLUSION

4.1. *Conclusion*

The aim of this research was to find the importance of media and its role in crisis situation that not only have local rather global impact beyond terrestrial boundaries. Based on this aim, the hypothesis was “Media on Kashmir can rebuild the narrative that may directly impact the lives of Kashmiris struggling to gain the basic human rights.”

To study and highlight the importance of media, the researcher settled for region of Kashmir was as a test case. Kashmir now has a long history of dispute between the two neighboring countries, Pakistan and India. It has turned into a crises situation with over 70 thousand Kashmiris killed by the Indian forces as claimed by Pakistani foreign office. The research utilized content analysis as a research method to prove the hypothesis that media can rebuilt the narrative of Kashmiris that may help them regain their human rights.

While analyzing the TV Talk Shows in Pakistan, it is observed that Orya Maqbool and Kashif Abbasi both being right-wing journalists and anchors, have not pointed fingers towards the involvement of India or any third party in both the events. Rather both of them have been raising the concerns on providing the evidence of the involvement of Pakistan in both events. They have labelled Kashmiris as freedom fighters and have used the word and statements emphasizing ‘Peace’. These talk shows have a large coverage while their anchors are equally praised in foreign countries.

The content aired on TV channels as mentioned in chapter 3 shows clear intentions of the two neighboring countries. The researcher observed that media has a huge significance in a crisis situation. They cover the event and present it to the world. In the case of Kashmir, the main media coverage is provided by India because only their media has on ground access since the controversial portion of Kashmir is within the Indian control. It also amplifies the issue because the Indian media has a huge

international audience. The Pakistani media also plays an important role and delivers information to its audience. Staying biased or unbiased is a different subject.

The death of Burhan Wani was dealt differently in both India and Pakistan. India considered it a brave act on the part of the Indian army and his death was celebrated in India because according to their media, it was the killing of a terrorist. While in Pakistan, his death was not only condemned by the media but also his death anniversary is widely celebrated by the masses every year. Yet, the Indian perspective is accepted widely in the world because of its reach. The Indian media has a bigger reach in the world than Pakistani media. It is watched more and can reach in more parts of the world than the Pakistani media. Also, the stance and the tone of their TV anchors attracts more listeners and thus their power of delivery is more authentic to a naive viewer.

The hypothesis is hence true that media can actually help rebuild the Kashmiri narrative to gain basic human rights that they are deprived of. However, it is the governments on both sides of the border that are using their mainstream media and social media to shape ideology of both nations. The international lobby takes less notice as India has more influence, hence human rights violations are seldom highlighted. The unbiased media can position itself and the crises in Kashmir in a better and efficient way to highlight all the violations to the international community.

This brings the research down to the four research questions that it was intended to solve. Firstly, the significance of media is justified with the test case of Kashmir crises. In the absence of media or a biased media, proper and clear evidence of crises is not inevitable.

Secondly, research has pinpointed that both neighbors use national and international media to amplify their narratives, especially the Kashmiri crises for their own good rather than Kashmir itself. It would have been more helpful for Kashmir if the media had been allowed to cover the ground situation and report in any form.

Thirdly, it has been proven that media is impacting the Kashmir crises. An example to answer such question is the attitude of Indian media towards Kashmir crises. Less reporting and usage of negative keywords like militants and terrorists rather than

freedom fighters and freedom movement does impact the crises situation. This forces the ordinary people to ignore the violations in this region.

Lastly, the above three points help build a global narrative. Currently, it is a media war between Pakistan and India over Kashmir. Both countries are presenting their point of view to the international community. Pakistan is eyeing the international community to help them end the Kashmir crises while India claiming Kashmir to be its internal concern. In both cases, it is the media that is acting as a tool.

The results from case study reveal media building a narrative for its own good using the events.

- Sensationalised reporting (India) [terrorist, militant, enemy, revenge, etc.]
- Objective reporting (Pakistan) [peace talks, evidence, freedom fighter, martyrs, etc.]

Sensationalized news float much more rapidly and attains higher reach.

- Inevitable with an addition of third party or more media agencies reporting.

Reporting from ground zero (factual reports) spread with missing links causing damage to rectify the negative image being built, as a result “human rights” remain a word in dictionary only.

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