



RESEARCH PAPER

Veiled Ideologies: A Critical Discourse Analysis of Indian and Pakistani Newspaper Editorials

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Received: July 02, 2021 Accepted: November 11, 2021 Online: November 13, 2021 Keywords: Discourse, Editorials Geo-Political Scenario, Ideologies, Media Discourse, *Corresponding Author nadeem.akramuog@g mail.com	The present study focuses on the more than half century old issue, the Kashmir conflict to make the Indian and the Pakistani media ideologies more visible and study them in a microscopic mode. It not only brings the Indo-Pak ideologies over Kashmir in spotlight but also sheds light on how those ideologies are projected and defended through the language use. In order to analyze the role of media discourse within geo-political scenario, 6 newspapers editorials have been analyzed 3 from Pakistani newspapers and 3 from Indian newspapers. Editorials published from July, 2016 to November, 2016 have been selected purposively. The Van Dijk's (2000) model related to ideology and discourse has been chosen as the theoretical framework. The analysis shows that all the editorials are loaded with veiled ideologies. Furthermore, the study reveals that conflicting and opposite ideologies are constructed in newspaper editorials written across the border.

Introduction

Ideology is one of the basic and most studied topics in CDA. Van Dijk (1998) defines ideology as the "socially shared, general beliefs". Ideologies of different groups are most visible at the time of conflicts between them. Conflicts provoke opposing ideologies. At such occasions, the ideologies are better studied in that the concept of white colour is best understood when it is examined in contrast with the black colour.

India and Pakistan are the two opposing countries or nations. At the time of the independence of both the countries, Kashmir was one of the princely states which were allowed and suggested to join either India or Pakistan. Kashmir was ruled by a Hindu Raja and the majority of the people were Muslims. This split created a conflict

between both of India and Pakistan. So, Kashmir is a bone of contention between Pakistan and India. Now India claims Kashmir, the whole of it, and Pakistan claims it too. Both are striving to gain Kashmir as both of them think it belongs to them. They are literally fighting over Kashmir. Freedom fighter for Pakistan is the terrorist for India and the hero soldier is cruel attacker for Pakistan.

So, it can be a good idea to collect the discourses of both the parties about the conflict, put them in front of each other and see the battle of the discourses or the ideologies by comparing them. However the ideologies of both the parties would be hidden or invisible, it is hoped that they would show up at the time of the conflict.

This study aims at investigating the hidden ideologies of the newspapers under analysis. It focuses on the more than half century old conflict, the Kashmir Conflict to make the Indian and the Pakistani ideologies about it more visible and study them in a microscopic mode.

Keeping these ideas in mind, the editorials from six newspapers are selected for the analysis. Three of them are Pakistani newspapers and three are Indian, so they are supposed to be opposite discourses to each other. The topic, on which the editorials are included in the analysis, is Kashmir Conflict about which the newspapers of both the countries are supposed to oppose each other.

Literature Review

Critical Discourse Analysis- Some Basic Assumptions

Critical discourse analysis is a way of analyzing the discourse in which the analyst questions the ideas which are normally accepted without any serious reflection. It reveals the hidden thoughts behind the discourse. Fairclough (1993) says that CDA, instead of confining itself to the description of discourse practices, tries to expose the oppressive discourses by showing how discourse is shaped by relations of power and ideologies, and the constructive effects discourse has upon social identities social relations and systems of knowledge and belief.

Discourse is described by Wodak (1996) as an interactive process that constitutes on the text, and with the help of text, the writer particularly associated with media text intentionally influence on people's perceptions for a specific topic. In this context, discourse can determine what is true and what is false. So, a truth on some topic can be constructed discursively. It might be concluded that truths do have universality but most of the truths are constructed by production of a discourse. Burr (1995) comments on reflections of reality, he is of the opinion that our views and understandings of the world are generally subjective truths. Media texts fall in such type of discourses as subjectively produced. Fowler (1991) says that the world of the press is not impartial one, rather it is skewed, and it cannot be assumed as a real world.

Kashmir Conflict

The question of accession is very basic in Kashmir conflict. It is controversial in nature. Akram and Shahzad (2015) mention that according to The International Court of Justice, it is documented in Article 52 of the Vienna Convention that under current international law any agreement signed under any threat or force is void. Because India forced the accession of Kashmir to India as the condition for the provision of military assistance, so it is not valid.

Secondly, as mentioned above, it is evident that the Indian troops had been dispatched to Srinagar before Maharaja signed the accession. This creates doubt whether the accession was ever signed. The doubt becomes more serious with the fact that it could never be presented before Pakistan. Moreover it was never registered to the United Nations secretariat by India as per the demand of international law. According to Pakistani point of view, Maharaja possessed no right of signing any agreement with India because of the standstill agreement with Pakistan.

Then the case of Kashmir was brought to the United Nations. With its involvement, at the temporary basis, line of control came into existence on which both India and Pakistan were to keep their armies. India and Pakistan agreed on cease fire. Pakistan administers the area of Kashmir got by the Poonch rebellion and called Azad Kashmir. India controls the rest of Kashmir which its army guarded from the Poonch rebellion.

Now based on the accession, India claims the whole Kashmir including the Pakistan administered area. Pakistan denying Kashmir's accession to India, demands the decision of Kashmir by the will of its people, considering its accession to Pakistan natural owing to its Muslim majority. Pakistan is eager to keep Kashmir because of the religious reasons on the other hand India wants to keep Kashmir referring to the Maharaja's intentions to join India through the accession (Indurthy 2005, p. 32). Both of them clearly want to get Kashmir and oppose each other.

Newspapers Editorials

Newspaper editorials are the sections in the newspapers reserved for the intimation of the editors' views with the readers. These views are considered the viewpoint of the newspaper. Media discourse contributes to the public opinion (van Dijk, 2000) and editorials are a kind of media discourse focusing on various elements like social issues, problems, or opportunities (McCombs, 1997). They reveal the stance taken by the newspaper on any issue.

Editorials are the storehouses of the ideologies possessed by the newspapers. They are "The formulation place for newspaper ideologies" (van Dijk, 1989, p. 252). Ideologies are more evident in the editorials as compared to the news-reporting.

The editorials can be divided in three categories. The editorials of the first category define a situation and give an overall summary of some news event. Second are the ones that evaluate the situation, actions and actors. The third ones pragmatically conclude the situations providing some expectations, recommendations or warnings in advance (Van Dijk, 1992). Editorials, covering some conflicts or issues, indicate what sociopolitical significance a newspaper assigns to those issues or conflicts (van Dijk, 1989).

As subjective, persuasive and official representations of the public opinion, the editorials attract the readers and the researchers by providing ideological opinions about controversial issues (Vaughan, 1994; Lee & Lin, 2006; Hornby, 2000). Reviewing related literature is of much importance. It makes a researcher ready to undertake his own research. It is like loading your guns for the combat. It intimates the researcher with the current trends in research. Moreover, research is not something done in complete isolation. It must find some context in the existing literature where it should be fitted.

Ideology is one of the most important topics studied through CDA. Reviewing the studies related to the unveiling of the ideologies would be very significant for the present study. It would help the researcher to keep the research aligned with the existing studies. Reviewing the related literature would be an attempt to offer the present research as an adding to the pre-existing literature. There are many studies on the topic of ideology. The existence of such studies shows the popularity of ideology in the research work. A quick review of such related studies is as under.

Material and Methods

The present study uses qualitative research methodology. It applies critical discourse analysis on the editorials of the 3 Indian and 3 Pakistani newspapers.

Data Collection

The data of the study is the news editorials. 6 newspapers have been purposively selected as the source of the data. Three from Pakistani print media and 3 from Indian. The editorials have been accessed through internet. The newspaper articles have been selected keeping in view that only the editorials related to the Kashmir issue have been selected. The time line is from July, 2016 to November, 2016

Sampling Population

The editorials of Indian and Pakistani English newspapers are the target population for the present study. The editorials of three Pakistani and three Indian newspapers about Kashmir Conflict are the sample for this research. The Pakistani newspapers are: *The Dawn*, *The Express Tribune*, and *The Nation*. Three Indian

newspapers are: *The Economic Times*, *The Hindu* and *The Times of India*.

Framework for the Analysis of Discourse

The work of Van Dijk (2000) has been chosen as the model for the present study as it is the most appropriate one to explore the notion of ideology in discourse; the key point of the present study, because most of the studies related to the extraction of ideology from discourse follow this model. Van Dijk (2000) analyzed a parliamentary debate through a number of strategies or categories, alphabetically arranged, where the ideology of the debaters was made known by the analyst.

After careful and regressive readings, the following discursive strategies are finalized to work as a scanning lens for the veiled ideologies in discourse. They are briefly explained as under. Where necessary, they are supported by the examples from the original work of Van Dijk. Examples are left out as the analysis itself would serve as the exemplification.

Actor Description

Actors are the people as “agents, patients, or beneficiaries of an action” (Van Dijk, 2000, p. 51). Discourses on people and their actions involve actor descriptions and the “descriptions are never neutral,” rather they suggest some ideological standpoints through “negative other-presentation and positive self-presentation” (2000, p. 62). The way the discourse describes some person, action or event, can hint us about the ideology of the author.

Authority

Various authorities are quoted to support one’s argumentation in discourse. By doing so, the author shows to be more objective and reliable and thus supports his ideological standpoint. Van Dijk exemplifies the authority with the United Nations, Amnesty, scholars, media, or courts. This is also closely related to the analytical category “evidentiality”.

Categorization

Authors categorize people (for example into good and bad ones) to attribute “positive or negative characteristics” to them in order to maintain the positive self and the negative other presentation (Van Dijk, 2000, p. 64).

Comparison

Instead of using rhetorical similes or metaphors, the authors compare their people with others (in-group and out-group people) and the purpose is of course the same, the positive self and the negative other presentation.

Counterfactuals

Counterfactuals are important as they demonstrate the results of any alternative consideration. They are formed in conditional sentences where it is shown that what will happen if this action is done. The action is not done but its consequences are talked about.

Disclaimers

According to Van Dijk, “disclaimers briefly save face” through the mentioning of one’s positive characteristics, and then focus on others’ negative characteristics (Van Dijk, 2000, p. 67). For example, I know you are a good reader but that could not make you a good writer.

Distancing

As the name itself explains, distancing means using some expressions to enhance the distance or difference between us and them where we are showed to be positive and they are distant from us being negative, for example, using the expression “those people”.

Empathy

Empathy or sympathy (as Van Dijk uses both the words) of the writer or the speaker towards any of the conflicting entities can also reveal his or her ideological orientation. It shows which people he supports or not.

Euphemism

Van Dijk calls euphemism a “move of mitigation” (2000, p. 68). It mitigates the negative things about us and positive things about the ideological rivals by using the less negative connotations of the words about us and less positive connotations about others.

Evidentiality

Evidentiality means providing some evidence, support or proof in the favor of one’s opinion. This is closely related to authority (mentioned earlier under No. 2) as some authority can be referenced in order to make the statement more powerful. It also helps one to pose oneself as objective, reliable and credible.

Example/illustration

Giving examples or illustrations in the support of a favorable point is an important argumentative move in discourse. They are not only easily imaginable and memorable but also present empirical proofs. Thus, they are also closely related to

evidentiality.

Hyperbole

According to Van Dijk (2000), hyperbole is the rhetorical device which enhances or exaggerates the meaning unlike the euphemism which mitigates or lessens the meaning being a semantic move of mitigation. He asserts that the bad actions or properties of the others are expressed in hyperbolic terms (our bad actions in mitigated terms), and vice versa.

Implication

Ideologies are not only manifested in what is said but also in what remains unsaid. On pragmatic or contextual grounds, a speaker or writer needs not to say it all. Some information is kept implicit to be inferred by the recipients. This is called implication which may be ideological.

Irony

When the speaker says something and intends imply the opposite of it, this is called irony. For example if the dirty walls are called white washed.

Lexicalization

The choice of lexical items is also ideologically affected. Various words having similar meanings still vary in their shades of meanings. Their connotations may be positive or negative, so it is obvious that positive self-presentation and negative other presentations are supported by the positive and negative connotations respectively. Van Dijk exemplifies lexicalization with “terrorist” and “freedom fighter” (Van Dijk, 2006, p. 125).

Metaphors

Technically, metaphor is a rhetorical device where the speaker calls one thing another; as a fast horse can be called a bullet to show the speed of the horse. Complex and unfamiliar meanings can be made easy and familiar through metaphors. They are so powerful discursive devices that Van Dijk sees hardly any rhetorical figures “as persuasive as metaphors” (2000, p. 77).

National self-glorification

National self-glorification is an important positive self-presenting strategy in discourse. It can be attained through the positive reference to one’s country; praising it and its good principles, history and the traditions.

Negative other-presentation

This discursive strategy is self-evident; the rivals are negatively presented through discourse.

Number Game

More credibility is expected by using the moves which promise objectivity. Using numbers is such a move. The numbers are assumed to present the facts instead of the mere opinions.

Positive self-presentation

The good face of one's own country, party, nation or group is projected before the audience or the readers.

Topoi

Topoi is the plural form of the singular topos. They are "stereotypical argumentations" (Van Dijk, 2006, p. 125). They are called "a standard-argumentation" (Van Dijk, 2000, p. 71). In this analysis, topoi are the arguments which possess the ultimate or the standardized status.

Victimization

The in-group people are presented as the poor victims of the out-group people's negative actions. This arouses the sympathies of the readers in the favor of in-group people.

The data of the present study would be analyzed in accordance with these outlines.

Results and Discussion

Text of selected editorials is analyzed in the form of tabulated analysis and conclusive remarks. In one section two editorials are taken, one from Pakistan and other from India.

Data Analysis of the Editorials of *the Dawn* and *the Economic Times*

Analysis of the editorial: *Kashmir unrest* (editorial of *The Dawn* July, 12, 2016)

Table 1
Tabulated Analysis

Analytical categories	Examples from the editorial	Ideology projected
Number game	"At least 30 people have died in the violence triggered by the killing last Friday of Burhan Wani, a young separatist militant, by the Indian army."	India represses the Kashmiris.
Counter-factual	"More bloodshed can be expected unless the security forces refrain from resorting to brute force that has included the use of live ammunition to disperse angry protesters."	India represses the Kashmiris.
Actor description	"More bloodshed can be expected unless the security forces refrain from resorting to brute force that has included the use of live ammunition to disperse angry protesters."	India represses the Kashmiris.
Counter-factual	"It is a familiar scenario, with the usual condemnations emanating from Kashmiri leaders. <u>But the latter can do little unless they come together to try and revive international interest in the Kashmir dispute</u> by persistently pointing to the injustices inflicted on the ordinary public, and highlighting the Kashmir dilemma as a historical one that needs a political solution."	Kashmir issue should be highlighted so that the world can solve it.
Actor description	"But the latter can do little unless they come together to try and revive international interest in the Kashmir dispute by persistently pointing to the injustices inflicted on the ordinary public, and highlighting <u>the Kashmir dilemma as a historical one that needs a political solution.</u> "	India unjustifiably occupied Kashmir.
Implication	"Indeed, <u>the current disaffection with New Delhi's rule is very much an indigenous Kashmiri phenomenon</u> , while India's harsh methods are helping create a new generation of militants, such as the late Burhan Wani."	Kashmiris do not want to live with India.
Topos (History as lesson)	" <u>For nearly three decades</u> , India's approach has failed to pacify Kashmir."	Kashmiris do not want to live with India.
Negative other description	"Sadly, the ruling party, instead of working on ways to calm tensions, is focusing on plans such as diluting or removing Article 370 of the Indian constitution, which recognises Kashmir's special status."	India does not want to solve Kashmir issue.
Irony	"While there has been condemnation by the Foreign Office, in Azad Kashmir, where leaders never tire of	Kashmir issue should

	pledging their allegiance to the ' <u>Kashmir cause</u> ', parties are too busy electioneering to raise a voice against injustices across the LoC."	be highlighted so that the world can solve it.
Exemplification	" <u>For example</u> , Bilawal Bhutto-Zardari's comments about the Sharif-Modi friendship harming Kashmir's cause appear to be aimed more at the PPP's rivals than at raising genuine concern about the violence in IHK."	Kashmir issue should be highlighted so that the world can solve it.
Counter-factual	"Pakistan's position on Kashmir will only be undermined if leaders here resort to such politicking."	Kashmir issue should be highlighted so that the world can solve it.

In the second sentence of the editorial the writer mentions the death of 30 people in the Kashmir chaos. The strategy of number game is used as an evidence of the fact that the situation in Kashmir is bad. Through the counterfactual, the third sentence of the editorial forecasts that the situation will be worse due to the army's use of force. The force is further described to use the live ammunition against the protesters.

The second sentence of the third paragraph, again with the help of counterfactual, stresses the need of union for the Kashmiri leaders to have the better results. Moreover, it describes the problem of Kashmir to be rooted in history. It is a hint towards the historic formation of India and Pakistan when Hindu majority states merged with India and the Muslim majority states with Pakistan. Calling the Kashmir issue a historic problem shows the ideology of the writer that having a Muslim majority Kashmir should have merged with Pakistan because the very basic formula of dividing the sub-continent into Pakistan and India was to make India out of the regions with the Hindu majority and make Pakistan out of the regions with Muslim majority. Taking control of Kashmir; a state with the Muslim majority, is not justifiable action of India. So India should leave Kashmir.

The fifth paragraph implies that the Kashmiri separatism is originated in Kashmir instead of being inflicted upon the Kashmiris by Pakistan. The writer denies the Pakistani infiltration in Kashmir. Moreover he implies that the Kashmiri people do not want to live with India. The sixth paragraph uses the strategy of history as evidence that India is unable to suppress the Kashmiris. The ninth paragraph

presents India negatively and gives an impression that India is not interested in solving the Kashmir issue.

In the thirteenth paragraph, the writer says that the leaders in Pakistan-held Kashmir always talk about their adherence to “Kashmir cause” but they are so busy in their election that find no time to give a statement in the favour of Kashmiri people suffering the violence of India. He puts commas round the words “Kashmir cause”. This shows that he has used these words ironically. This irony questions their adherence to the “Kashmir cause”. The fourteenth paragraph, through the strategy of exemplification shows the need for the Pakistani leaders to highlight the problem in Kashmir. Through the counterfactual strategy in the last sentence, the writer again urges the Pakistani leaders to morally support the Kashmiri people.

Analysis of the editorial: *Don't let religious radicals hijack protest; political engagement the key in Kashmir* (editorial of Economic Times July 13, 2016)

Table 2
Tabulated Analysis

Analytical categories	Examples from the editorial	Ideology projected
Actor description	“Kashmir is on the boil, following the protests after the killing of militant Burhan Wani and violent police action to disperse <u>protesters who also attacked security forces.</u> ”	Justifies the use of force against the protesters.
Implication	“But the anger in Kashmir <u>is not just a law and order problem. Treating it as one only deepens the damage.</u> ”	Kashmiris do not want to live with India.
Implication	“Given the proven keenness of Pakistan’s security establishment to foster terror based on Islamic radicalism and <u>the new tendency for self-radicalisation of aggrieved young people into fighters for the Islamic State</u> , policy cannot afford to help political protest merge with and feed religious fundamentalism.”	Equals the Kashmiris’ hostility against India to the terrorist organization “Islamic State”
Categorization	“If democracy becomes the cornerstone of dealing with widespread alienation in Kashmir, <u>it should be possible to both engage the legitimate political aspirations that drive protesters onto the streets while also delegitimising the religious fundamentalists who also champion the Kashmiris’ political aspirations.</u> ”	Militants do not represent the Kashmiris.

In the first sentence the Kashmiri protesters are described as attacking at the security forces. This, apparently, only presents the situation in Kashmir but, at the deep level, also wants the reader to think that strict actions of police taken against the

protesters are somehow unavoidable. The third and the fourth sentences of the first paragraph are very important. Here the writer uses the strategy of implication because he does not want to say it directly that the Kashmir people do not want to live with India. So he hints his government towards this fact. He wants his government not to use the force because this will increase the hostility in Kashmiris against India. Instead the government should kindly pacify them and try to persuade them so that they accept the Indian rule and continue to live with India. The last sentence of the paragraph tries to equal the hostility of the Kashmiris against India to the international terrorist organization Islamic State (full name Islamic State in Iraq and Syria). This implies, though not directly says, that the Kashmiris fighting against India are terrorists.

The third sentence of the second paragraph categorizes the Kashmiris' separatists into legitimate political leadership and illegitimate Islamic fundamentalist militants. This implies that the militant groups do not represent the Kashmiris people. So only the political aspirations should be included in the dialogue process. Precisely, if India is to talk with someone, they are not the fundamentalist militant ideologists.

Conclusive Remarks: The analyses show that the editorials of both the newspapers: *The Dawn* and *The Economic Times* are ideologically loaded. The embedded ideology of *The Dawn* is that the Indian occupation of Kashmir is unjustifiable and is rejected by the Kashmiri people themselves. India suppresses them so that they accept to live with India. This is wrong and should be highlighted by Pakistan so that the international pressure may be built on India to quit Kashmir. On the other hand *The Economic Times* somehow slightly guides the reader to infer that the police are not solely to be blamed for the unrest in Kashmir but the protesters; the Kashmiris, are also responsible for this unrest. It does not want to admit the rejection of Indian rule by the Kashmiris yet helps India to understand and overcome the challenge in Kashmir. The militant separatist movement is projected as terrorists who do not represent the Kashmiris. *The Dawn* embeds its editorial discourse through the strategy of number game, counter-factual, actor description, implication, topoi, negative other-presentation and irony. The *Economic Times* uses actor description, implication and categorization.

Both the newspapers editorials have contrasting ideologies. There have been 11 examples detected in the editorial of *The Dawn* and 4 in *The Economic Times*. So, the editorial of *The Dawn* is more ideologically loaded than that of *The Economic Times*.

Analysis of the editorials of *The Express Tribune* and The editorial of *The Hindu*

Analysis of the editorial: *Ongoing effects of Kashmir issue* (The editorial of *The Express Tribune*, November 5, 2016)

Table 3
Tabulated Analysis

Analytical categories	Examples from the editorial	Ideology projected
Lexi-calization	"After the dead have been buried and bullet holes plastered over, those left behind in a region ravaged by <u>war</u> are left to start their lives anew."	Heightens the hardness of the army.
Actor description	"The after effects of wars are seen not just in razed buildings and graveyards but also in <u>adults whose livelihoods were taken from them</u> and the children who never went to school."	Heightens the hardness of the army.
Actor description	"The after effects of wars are seen not just in razed buildings and graveyards but also in adults whose livelihoods were taken from them and <u>the children who never went to school.</u> "	Heightens the hardness of the army.
Topos (History as evidence)	"For the Kashmiri people, where conflict rears its ugly head every <u>few years</u> , this is a never ending cycle in which <u>successive generations</u> have all seen turbulent times punctuated by mortar fire which leaves them scurrying for cover."	India is doing wrong in Kashmir.
Number game	"The current iteration of this conflict has on November 2 nd , resulted in the closure of hundreds of schools in Indian Occupied Kashmir due to shelling allegedly by Indian and Pakistani troops that has resulted in <u>14</u> deaths in two days."	Kashmiris are suffering.
Number game	"On the Pakistani side, <u>25</u> schools have had to be closed due to cross <u>LoC firing.</u> "	Pakistan-held Kashmir also suffers from shelling.
Actor description	"In Indian Occupied Kashmir human rights abuses have been carried out by the military <u>which has targeted protesting civilians by firing metallic pellets</u> that have caused debilitating injuries."	Heightens the hardness of the army.
Lexi-calization	"In Indian Occupied Kashmir human rights abuses have been carried out by the military which has targeted protesting civilians by firing <u>metallic pellets</u> that have caused debilitating injuries."	Heightens the hardness of the army.
Lexi-calization	"In Indian Occupied Kashmir human rights abuses have been carried out by the military which has targeted protesting civilians by firing metallic pellets that have caused <u>debilitating injuries.</u> "	Heightens the hardness of the army.
Actor description	"In an already affected <u>region where normalcy can quickly devolve</u> , the withdrawal of educational facilities leaves the Kashmiri children not only with a difficult present but a bleak future as well."	Kashmiris are suffering.

The first sentence uses the word “war” for the clash between the Kashmiri protesters and the Indian army. This is a deliberate usage to heighten the hardness of the Indian army against the Kashmiri people. The second sentence describes the adults and children of Kashmir to be deprived of livelihood and education. This description does the same thing, highlights the bad actions of Indian army. In the third sentence, the noun phrase “successive generations” imply that the chaos in Kashmir has been there for a long time. This hints towards the use of the strategy “history as evidence” by the writer to convince the reader that the present situation in Kashmir has been so before. The fourth and the fifth sentences use the number game strategy. In the fourth sentence the number of deaths in Indian-held Kashmir allegedly caused by the Indo-Pak shelling on the line of control has been mentioned. This shows the suffering of the Kashmiris. The writer further mentions the number of the schools being closed in Pakistan-held Kashmir because of the same shelling. This not only shows that Kashmiris on both sides of the line of control suffer this shelling but also reveals that India also shares the responsibility for the suffering of the Kashmiris.

The third sentence of the second paragraph gives the description of the Indian military. The writer says that Indian army targets the civilians protesting against India. This description brings the hardness of the army into focus and presents it negatively. In the same sentence the adjective “metallic” with the “pellets” fired by the Indian army on the protesters and “debilitating” with the “injuries” do the same job of highlighting the harshness of the Indian army. The fifth sentence describes Kashmir to be a region which can lose the normalcy at any time. This shows the critical condition of Kashmir.

Analysis of the editorial: *School's out in Kashmir* (The editorial of *The Hindu*, November 02, 2016)

Table 4
Tabulated Analysis

Analytical categories	Examples from the editorial	Ideology projected
Number game	“It is almost <u>four</u> months since the <u>> unrest in Kashmir began</u> following the killing of Hizbul Mujahideen ‘commander’ Burhan Wani.”	Heightens the loss of Kashmiris.
Irony	It is almost four months since the <u>> unrest in Kashmir began</u> following the killing of Hizbul Mujahideen ‘commander’ Burhan Wani. ”	Negative presentation of the militant
Number game	“By one count, <u>27 > schools, most of them government-run</u> , have been set afire so far in the Valley over this period.”	Confirms the statement that schools are attacked.
Evi-	“Their equivocation must be called out, even as	Reopening of

dentiality	the Jammu and Kashmir High Court has directed the government to reopen all the schools despite the separatists' shutdown call."	schools is needed.
Topos (history as lesson)	"The situation is reminiscent of the early 1990s. Hundreds of schools had been targeted then. Disrupting the school calendar is one of the oldest tricks in the insurgents' playbook."	Separatists have damaged the schools in the past.

In the first sentence of the editorial the number (4) of the months shows that Kashmir has been suffering for a long unrest. The word commander is used ironically in the second sentence to mean that Burhan Wani did not deserve to be called a commander. This shows the disliking of the writer for the separatist militant leader. The number game in the fifth sentence confirms the statement that schools are being attacked because the writer thinks these attacks to be caused by the separatist militants. So the reader sees the separatist negatively. The last sentence presents the order of the court as authority to prove that the schools must be reopened.

The third, fourth and the fifth sentences jointly present the topos history as lesson. The writer says that this has happened earlier by the separatists so again they are destroying the schools. This is an effort to prove that the separatist do so deliberately.

Conclusive Remarks: The analyses show that the editorials of both the newspapers: *The Express Tribune* and *The Hindu* are ideologically loaded. The embedded ideology of *The Express Tribune* is that India suppresses Kashmir and because of the Kashmir conflict the border areas of Pakistani Kashmir also suffer from the exchange of firing and shelling between India and Pakistan. On the other hand the editorial of *The Hindu* sympathizes with the Kashmiri people to show that the Kashmiris and Indians are in one group and the separatists are in the other one. The separatists damage the Kashmiris. *The Express Tribune* embeds its editorial discourse through the strategy of lexicalization, actor description, topoi and number game. The Hindu uses number game, irony, evidentiality and topoi.

Both the newspapers editorials have contrasting ideologies. There have been 10 places detected in the editorial of *The Express Tribune* and 5 in *The Hindu* where the ideological load was found. So, the editorial of *The Express Tribune* is more ideologically loaded than that of *The Hindu*.

Analysis of the editorial of *The Nation* and *The Times of India*

Analysis of the editorial: *The (Wrong) Path To Peace* (The editorial of *The Nation*, September 06, 2016)

Table 5
Tabulated Analysis

Analytical categories	Examples from the editorial	Ideology projected
Lexi-calization	"Almost two months have passed since the flare-up of violence in Indian-Occupied Kashmir (IOK) following the killing of <u>freedom fighter Burhan Wani.</u> "	Kashmiri are right in their struggle.
Actor description	"Its solution of ignoring the necessity behind the inclusion of Pakistan in any dialogue and switching from <u>metal pellets responsible for blinding countless Kashmiris</u> to a more non-lethal, Pelargonic Acid Vanillylamide (PAVA) shell does not address root problems."	India suppressed the people of Kashmir.
Counter-factual	"That is not acceptable for the Kashmiri leaders or Pakistan, considering <u>India comes from a position of strength if the demands of the Kashmiri people are not backed by a sovereign nation (Pakistan).</u> "	Kashmiris want to live with Pakistan.
Counter-factual	"However, <u>this eyewash might just work on the international community too, unless Pakistani diplomats keep dispelling the false perception being created by India of looking to negotiate to find peace.</u> "	India is not serious in dialogue to solve the problem in Kashmir.

The famous positive connotation used here for the one whom India calls terrorist is "freedom fighter". This shows that the writer fully supports the Kashmiris' fight or struggle against India.

The second sentence of the second paragraph describes the pellets used by Indian army to be responsible for the blindness of numerous Kashmiris. This shows that India's actions in Kashmir are being condemned by the writer as in his views; India is suppressing the people of Kashmir. In the fourth sentence, the writer considers the alternative solution to the problem in Kashmir, the dialogue between India and Kashmiri leaders without the inclusion of Pakistan. He says that Kashmiris reject this offer because they know that such a dialogue having no support of Pakistan will strengthen the position of India at the table of talk and this will eventually damage the interests of Kashmir. This implies that the Kashmiris want to live with Pakistan, not with India. The last sentence has another counterfactual. Here it says that India will try to point the score and pretend that it is willing to have dialogue to bring the peace in Kashmir but the Kashmiris avoid it. If Pakistan does not dispel this fake perception created by the Indian government, world would be trapped in by the India and favour it on the conflict of Kashmir.

Analysis of the editorial: *Spare the schools: Kashmir school burnings meant to cripple local youths' and state's future* (editorial of *The Times of India*, November 2, 2016)

Table 6
Tabulated Analysis

Analytical categories	Examples from the editorial	Ideology projected
Number game	"The school-burning spree in Kashmir over the past three months that has seen <u>27 schools</u> being torched has sent alarm bells ringing."	Militant damage the Kashmiris.
Authority	"This has forced <u>the Jammu & Kashmir high court</u> to direct the police and civil administration to ensure protection of schools and bring the perpetrators to justice."	Militant separatists are criminals.
Victimization	"With Kashmir being in shutdown mode since the killing of militant Burhan Wani in July, <u>the academic cycle of schools has suffered.</u> "	Separatists are insincere to the Kashmiris.
Negative other-presentation	But the school burnings escalate things further and represent a direct assault on the future of Kashmiri youth."	Separatists are insincere to the Kashmiris.
Comparison	"In that sense, <u>the cases of arson</u> are reminiscent of <u>the Taliban's barbaric assault on girls' schools in Pakistan's Swat Valley in the 2007-09 period or attacks on Afghan schools since.</u> "	The separatist militants are terrorists.
Authority	" <u>Teenaged activist Malala Yousafzai</u> had documented the Taliban's ban on girls' education."	people should oppose school burning by the militant separatists.
Actor description	"Similarly, all sections of Kashmir must stand up to <u>criminal elements who are targeting schools.</u> "	Separatists are insincere to the Kashmiris.
Negative other-presentation	"The latter is part of a nefarious design to keep children on the streets, prevent normalcy from returning to the Valley and destroy the economic prospects of the state."	Separatist leaders are insincere to the Kashmiris.
Imp-lication	"Besides, it's a well-known fact that children and family members of separatist leaders are often sent abroad or to other parts of India to obtain quality education."	Separatist leaders are insincere to the Kashmiris.
Negative other-	"The J&K administration must act to protect schools, and the double standard of	The separatist leaders do not

presentation	separatists claiming to represent the interests of the Kashmiri people must be thoroughly exposed.”	represent Kashmiris.
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The first sentence uses the number game to show that the militant separatists damage the Kashmir's schools. The third sentence, with the help of the authority of the court implies that the separatist militants are criminals. The fourth sentence presents the schools of Kashmir to be the victim of the separatist militants. This shows that they are not sincere to the future of the Kashmiris. The same idea is supported in the fifth sentence through the negative presentation of the militants. The first sentence of the second paragraph proves the separatist militants the terrorists by comparing them with the terrorist Taliban of Afghanistan. In the second sentence, by presenting a teenage activist; Malala Yousfzai as authority, the writer urges the Kashmiri society to stand against the separatist militants. The fourth sentence proves the militants insincere to the Kashmiris by presenting the strategy of actor description. In the fifth sentence the negative other-description also supports the same idea.

The second sentence of the last paragraph implies the same idea of the insincerity of the militants. The third sentence negatively presents the separatist leaders to be insincere to the people of Kashmir.

Conclusive Remarks: The analyses show that the editorials of both the newspapers: *The Nation* and *The Times of India* are ideologically loaded. The embedded ideology of *The Nation* is that the Kashmiri people are right in their separatist movement against India. India wrongly suppresses their movement. The Kashmiris want to live with Pakistan instead of India. Moreover India is not willing to solve the problem of Kashmir, so India avoids the dialogue. On the other hand *The Times of India* proves the separatist militants the terrorists. They are criminals. They damage the Kashmiris. They are insincere to the Kashmiris. The Kashmiris should stand up against them. The separatist leaders are also insincere to the Kashmiris and are not the representatives of them.

The Nation embeds its editorial discourse through the strategy of Lexicalization, Actor description and Counterfactual. *The Times of India* uses number game, authority, victimization, negative other-presentation, comparison, actor description and implication.

Both the newspapers editorials have contrasting ideologies. There have been 4 places detected in the editorial of *The Nation* and 10 in *The Times of India* where the ideological load was found. So, the editorial of *The Times of India* is ideologically more loaded than that of *The Nation*.

Conclusion

The study aimed at finding whether the discourse of Indian and Pakistani newspaper editorials on the unrest in Kashmir is ideologically loaded or not. If they are loaded with ideology, what those ideologies are and how they are reflected in the discourse. For this purpose 6 editorials from both the Indian and the Pakistani newspapers have been analyzed. Out of all the 6 editorials, not a single one is found free from the ideological loading. It means that the editorials of these newspapers carry the ideologies. All the three newspapers of India have the similar ideology with some minor differences. On the other hand all the Pakistani newspapers share approximately the same ideology. These ideologies are contrasting to each other; that is to say, Indian ideologies are different from the Pakistani ideologies. The way both the Indian and the Pakistani newspapers project their ideologies does not significantly differ.

The Ideologies of the Pakistani Newspapers

The ideologies of the Pakistani newspapers are interconnected. These ideologies are as under:

- The Pakistani newspaper persons project the idea that the Kashmir issue is rooted in history. It means that the problem in Kashmir is not the problem of temporary unrest but soon after the British ruler went back from India and two new countries emerged in subcontinent, one of them, India wrongly occupied the princely state of Kashmir and this occupation still lasts.
- Indian hold on Kashmir is not justified, so it should leave it because the Kashmiri people do not want to live with India. The Kashmiri people are fighting for their freedom against India, so they are freedom fighters not the terrorists.
- India suppresses the people of Kashmir to keep them under control. Kashmiri people are right to fight India, India is wrong to suppress them. This situation should be highlighted and presented before the world so that the world powers may force India to come to the solution of the Kashmir conflict and this solution is to quit Kashmir.
- The Kashmiri people should be given the right to decide their future whether they want to live with India or with Pakistan. India avoids dialogue to solve the Kashmir conflict. Pakistan wants a peaceful solution to the problem of Kashmir.
- United Nations should play its role in solving the Kashmir issue. Pakistan plays no role on the ground of Kashmir; the Kashmiris indigenously stand up against India. The Kashmiris are the victim of the Indian atrocities.

The Ideologies of the Indian Newspapers

Following ideologies are found in the Indian newspapers during the analysis of their editorials.

- India wants peace in Kashmir. Kashmiris are the part of India. Indian newspapers, unlike Pakistani ones, avoid talking about the history of the Kashmir conflict. They focus on the present situation whether good or bad. Indian newspapers avoid openly admitting that the Kashmiris have rejected the rule of India, instead, the Indian newspapers use some softer words like alienation or disaffection of the Kashmiris.
- Indian strict policy or the use of force against the Kashmiri people furthers their alienation so India should quit the use of force. Militants are terrorists. Militants are not sincere to the Kashmiris and they damage them. Militants have no support from the ordinary Kashmiri people.
- Separatist leader are not the representatives of the ordinary Kashmiris. Situation in Kashmir should not be exposed to the world. World should not intervene in Kashmir. Indian does not deliberately suppress the Kashmiri people. If there is any suppression of the Kashmiri people, it is because of the police' habitual strictness, not because of the orders of the Indian government.

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