

**RESEARCH PAPER****Critical Discourse Analysis of Pakistani and Indian News on Pulwama Attack****<sup>1</sup>Muhammad Wasim, <sup>2</sup>Dr Khalid Ahmed\* and <sup>3</sup>Dr Muhammad Asad Habib**

1. PhD Scholar, Department of English, Imperial College of Business Studies, Lahore, Pakistan
2. Associate Professor, Department of English, University of Central Punjab, Lahore, Pakistan
3. Associate Professor, Department of English Language and Literature, The University of Lahore, Lahore, Pakistan

**\*Corresponding Author**      [khalid.ahmed@ucp.edu.pk](mailto:khalid.ahmed@ucp.edu.pk)**ABSTRACT**

This research study investigates the political discourse of Pakistan and India through a comparative analysis of political ideological frames as portrayed in the news headlines regarding the Pulwama attack incident that happened in Indian administered Kashmir. The study also explores the aftermath long lasting and crucial political effects of this important incident. The sample of four e-papers from both Pakistan and India was taken for the analysis; including India Today, The Hindustan Times, Indian Express, The Hindu from India, likewise The Dawn, The Nation, The Tribune, and Pakistan Today from Pakistan. The study has a data set consisting of 10 headlines with their subsequent sub-headlines from newspapers of each country. The timeframe of the study spans from the 14th of February (when the incident occurred) to the 28th of March 2019 (when tensions de-escalated with the return of the Indian pilot Abi Nandan). The researcher employed a mixed-method approach, incorporating both qualitative and quantitative paradigms by using Van Dijk's (1993) Ideological Square and Clusivity theory proposed by Wieczorek (2013) for data interpretation and analysis. The primary objective of this study is to encourage critical thinking and foster the ability to objectively interpret news text by the common public, newspaper readership, and political analysts.

**Keywords:**      Clusivity, E-Papers, Ideological Frames, Ideological Square, Political Discourse**Introduction**

This research describes news reporting influences at the political ideologies. The primary aim is to analyze the extent and purpose of framing, whether hegemonic or ideological. It explores how media influences the formation and deconstruction of beliefs, opinions, prejudices, and ideologies. Despite claiming neutrality, media institutions often play a mediating and constructing role, as illustrated by Fairclough (1999). Framing, analogous to a picture frame, involves presenting information from a certain perspective while keeping other aspects out of the frame. The historical backdrop of over seven decades of India-Pakistan independence reveals ongoing hostilities, border skirmishes, and the core issue of Kashmir's status. The Pulwama incident is part of the Kashmiris' struggle for freedom and a reaction against the illegal occupation of Kashmir. UN Security Council Resolutions addressing the Kashmir dispute remain unresolved, either due to a lack of sincerity from the UNO or India's hegemonic policies suppressing the legitimate freedom struggle with force. The militarized Line of Control (LoC) in Kashmir is a potential nuclear "flashpoint," with both countries formally claiming the territory. A low-intensity separatist war has been ongoing since 1989, escalating in the late 1990s and early 2000s. The actions of Indian PM Narendra Modi and the heavy-handed responses to civilian unrest in Kashmir further fueled alienation among the population. Additionally, Pakistan's policy of peace in the region is often disregarded by India, leading to tensions and condemnations. The study seeks to shed light on the role of media in shaping public perceptions and opinions, with the ultimate goal of promoting critical thinking and objective interpretation of news text for readers, political analysts, and the general public.

The United Nations UN Secretary-General Antonio Guterres, with a view to reducing escalating tensions between the two nuclear states, has urged India and Pakistan to take “immediate steps to defuse tensions in the wake of the worst attack on the security forces in decades in Indian-administered Kashmir.” (Al-Jazeera, 20 Feb 2019) but PM Narendra Modi vowed a “strong response” and gave a “free hand” to the army to punish those behind the deadly attack. Indian Express on February 19, 2019, publishes a news article with the lead “Pulwama Terror Attack: Punishing Pakistan- the options India has” and tries to justify the Indian attack on Pakistan and shifting to coercive diplomacy saying, “an Indian military attack on Pakistan would have pushed back the terrorist attack on Mumbai from Pakistani soil, forcing the world to focus on the specter of war between two nuclear-armed nations...”. Commenting on news reports in the Telegraph an Indian Darshan Mondkar on his Facebook Timeline on February 17, 2019 poses very sane questions in the headline, “Pulwama Attack: How does one plan to kill hate with hate?”, he said. He adds naively answers to his questions, “How is shouting slogans against Pakistan going to solve an internal problem of India? The terrorist who banged his explosive laden vehicle in the CRPF convoy in Pulwama was not a Pakistani but an Indian”. “Why do people who have no idea of war want war? And he himself answers, “Sending in more armed Jawans (soldiers) to die in a bid to avenge the death of those who have already died does not make sense to me.” (National Views, Feb 17, 2019). Alleging JeM, India had also implicated Pakistan saying that JeM, ‘the group is designated a terror organization by India and the UN, as well as the UK and the US’. Thus India not only empowered her political narrative but also exhibited alliance with the UK and the US (BBC India 15<sup>th</sup> Feb 19); thus aligning herself India has exposed an ideological square as described by van Dijk (1993) and as discussed by Wiczorek in his concept of Clusivity (2013). India claims that ‘it (Pakistan) aims to unite Kashmir with Pakistan and has been held responsible for attacks in India and Kashmir’ whereas factually India revoked clauses related to Kashmir’s status as an Independent state. Recent news on the incident is reflective of Pulwama as a false flag operation right from inside India. Former Pakistani Spokesperson Mumtaz Zahra Baloch has referred to the latest revelations by the former Governor Satya Pal Malik of the Indian Illegally.

Occupied Jammu and Kashmir have vindicated Pakistan’s stance on the Pulwama Attack once again. “Former governor Satya pal Malik had made sensational revelations in an interview (Radio Pakistan, April 16, 2023). ‘India is making every effort to suppress the issues raised in the interview’, and ‘These are very serious and important questions that are related to national security,’ said Ramesh secretary general of Congress. Dr. A.Z. Hilali an IR expert from Pakistan expressing his assessment reflected that it is not the first time that any Indian official has exposed Narendra Modi's controversial policies. It is now a routine that India is levelling baseless allegations against Pakistan to defame Islamabad at the international level. Indian National Security Adviser Ajit Doval also told the former IIOJK&K Governor to keep quiet and not talk about the fake Pulwama drama.

### **Significance of the Pulwama Incident**

The incident of Pulwama occurred on the 14<sup>th</sup> of February 2019. It was the deadliest attack since 2002 according to the Police sources. It is significant because it brought the two nuclear armed neighboring countries on the brink of a full scale war. India in its effort to wage a Surgical Strike crossed LoC with a fleet of 10 Jet Fighter planes with the intention to destroy the JeM stronghold in Balakot. However, Islamabad denied any such attack and exposed failed-attempt of the Indian planes. In response, Pakistan locked Indian high valued targets of India in daylight and shared videos of the activity (ISPR Press Conference). Later Pakistan Air Force trapped Indian planes in a dogfight and destroyed two of her planes, capturing one of their pilot Abi Nandan alive. Later, active efforts by America reduced the escalated tensions and the pilot was released by Pakistan as a gesture of peace. The External Office of India and the Foreign Office of Pakistan engaged in an exchange of Dossiers

containing information for investigations. Soon the efforts resulted in the withdrawal of the name of Masood Azhar the Chief of JeM from the list of the accused.

### Literature Review

Michael Halliday's (1978) work on social semiotics and pragmatics, Foucault's notion of discourse, and argumentation theories, as well as Van Dijk's (2008, 2009) sociocognitive approach, have all significantly impacted the development of discourse analysis in various fields. Fowler (1991) explores how systematic grammatical devices function in the establishment, manipulation, and naturalization of social hierarchies. He applies functional linguistics tools (such as transitivity, use of passives, nominalizations, modality, etc.) to the analysis of language in news media. M.A.K. Halliday's *Functional Systemic Linguistics* (1994) is considered a precursor to many subsequent methods and approaches. Prominent figures in specific spheres of discourse analysis include Fowler (1991), van Dijk (1997), Fairclough (1995, 1998), Gramsci (1979), James Paul Gee (2005), P. Grice (1975), P. Chilton (2004), and Wieczorek (2013). This implies that media analysis is oriented toward addressing specific problems and is not strictly tied to any single linguistic theory or methodology.

The purpose of these approaches is to analyze discursive strategies, argumentation schemes, and modes of realization presented by the discourse-historical approach, rather than unveiling 'hidden meanings'. Post-war Yugoslavia saw two international text analysis projects, funded by NGOs, investigating hate speech in war rhetoric and media reporting. The September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks amplified anti-Islamic sentiments, with media representations generalizing fear to those who appear different (Author's Last Name, Year). Wodak (1989) notes that Critical Linguistics (CL) and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) focus on analyzing opaque and transparent dominance, discrimination, power, and control structures in language. Paul Gee emphasizes the absence of a singularly correct framework among critical discourse analysts (Gee, 2005). Researchers must navigate various approaches to construct a strategy for results. Van Dijk's Socio-cognitive theory (2008b), Gramsci's socialist Marxist theory of Hegemony (1979), P. Gee's Trust theory, and Fairclough's 3-D model prove viable. CDA aims to critically investigate social inequality expressed and legitimized through language use. This analysis legitimizes organized ruling power over dominated populations.

The literature on media discourse and CDA indicates some studies about media discourse ranging from ethnicity and racism in the media (Dijk, 1998) to power relations and hegemony in the media (e.g., Fowler, 1991; Fairclough 1995; Van Dijk, 1998). Another paradigm of studies that address the relationship between the political media discourse and different patterns of hegemony are addressed in a number of research works on discourse analysis including e.g. (Laclau & Mouffe, 1985 and Fairclough, 1995) etc. Research publications related to the topic reflect trends in discourse analysis: on projecting a nationalistic narrative during war periods Zubair (2018) conclude that; "The Pakistani governments have realized over the years that Kashmir cannot be won through force by sending and financing 'freedom fighters'. Religion was the main source of motivation for the Kashmiri Jihad 'holy war' and since the late 1990s this policy shift has influenced the media coverage." (p.154). Ali (2018) used editorials to analyse framing by media and concluded that the elite press reproduced and reinforced the dominant narratives and closely followed the foreign policy discourse of their respective countries. A conflict resolution expert agreed that if voices of peace-makers were prioritized. 'Framing of the Incidents of International and National Importance in Print Media of Pakistan: Evidence from Pulwama Attack leading to 27<sup>th</sup> Feb Pak-India Escalation and US withdrawal from Afghanistan Aug. 2022 Nazmuz (2022) is a study that makes content analysis through SPSS of only Pakistani print media. Research on the reconstruction of ideologies in print media as in "A Critical Discourse Analysis of Discursive Reproduction of Ideologies in Pakistan and Indian Press Media in the Aftermath of Pulwama Attack" (Sept.2020), under the title "Ideological Representation in

Indian Newspapers' Editorials: A case study of Pulwama Incident in Kashmir" by Safi (2020) presents an ideological representation of the two states in newspaper editorials. Butt (2022). investigated the syntactic complexity in Pakistani English e-paper's editorials (The Dawn, The Nation, Daily Times, The Express Tribune and Daily Pakistan). The study shows that the editorials in the newspapers are aimed to impact the opinions of the readers on various controversial issues.

CDA studies that have recently addressed the representation of the Pulwama crisis are numerous. Shah Saeed & Danish (2021) have searched for controversies in political ideologies in the speeches of the Premiers of India and Pakistan on the Incident of Pulwama. CISS special issue has published a report on Pulwama Balakot Crisis & operation Swift Retart. (Sial, 2020) study entitled as "Pulwama and Post-Pulwama crises", framed the content in such a way that it suggested that the past governments were unable to stop Pakistan's sponsored terrorism and this government would punish it as it did in a surgical strike after the Uri attacks in 2016. Sial comments in post Balakot strike period, "India's revenge" was the dominant theme on the Indian news channels without questioning the wisdom behind the destabilizing strike. (Sial 2020, p.55). Research studies in CDA will continue to expose new shifts and trends in the discipline and add to the knowledge of the readers and researchers.

### **Material and Methods**

The researcher aims to examine on a comparative basis avenue of news headlines on the Pulwama Attack 2019. News headlines of 4 e-papers of both India and Pakistan on the issue in question have been collected randomly. In the first stage, the researcher grouped news headlines under thematic similarity to gauge the frequency of concordance of news and connoted presentation of identities. At the second level concurrent Lexicon, phraseology and connoted identities have been analyzed to explore ideological factors. At the third level comparative analysis has been accomplished. The first two levels are quantitative as well as qualitative in nature and gauge framing through frequencies and concordance. The frequency count of concurrence of the lexical choices was done manually. Comparative analysis is made on both Indian and Pakistani media ideologies of the two countries for framing political discourse.

### **Data Set**

The researcher analyzed news data consisting of 20 news headlines. Ten news headlines with headlines on the Pulwama incident have been selected from e-papers of each country India and Pakistan pertaining to the specified period. Four e-papers from each country have been selected to develop representative data based on the availability of news on the topic.

### **Theoretical Framework**

The research framework includes van Dijk's ideological square (1993) and Wiczonek's (2013) Clusivity. With regard to media discourse, news reporting on foreign affairs draws special attention. Simpson points out that "as no use of language is considered truly neutral, objective and value-free, then theoretically critical linguistic analysis may be performed on any form of discourse" (Simpson,1993). Analytical research should be conducted at the level which is appropriate 'for the appreciation and comprehension of the specific text and according to the aim of the research' (Fairclough, 1998).

The ideological square of Dijk (1993) has been traditionally applied particularly in the political genre. It is based on ideological differences, alliances and similarities of interests, views and concepts of groups, communities or states to the limits of promoting self-actions as good and de-emphasizing good things of others. The square draws a clear

dichotomy of 'in-groups positive presentation' and 'out-groups negative presentation'. As the news is related to two opposing countries on an issue of common conflict angling for framing is necessitated on nationalistic needs.

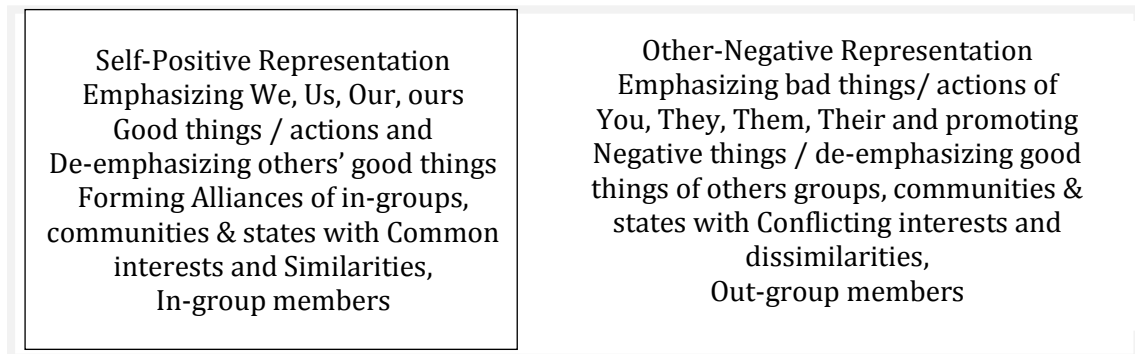


Figure 1. van Dijk's ideological square (1993)

The ideological Square of van Dijk (1993) is based on the concept of dichotomy of similarities and differences. Self-Representation as 'Positive' and Representation of 'Others' as 'Negative'. All those who ally with 'Self' are included as In-Group members having common interests and alliances and thus supportive and favoring. Outside the group are members of conflicting interests and dissimilarities in approach so are branded as bad.

The concept of Clusivity in Wiczeorek (2013) presents a gap in the ideology of the two people, communities, states etc. According to the theory of Clusivity, inclusion and exclusion. 'Inclusive' are those who are associates and disassociates are 'exclusive'. In the third subsection "Clusivity vs. Metaphors" Wiczeorek (p.64-80), draws the metaphors of proximity/distance for inclusion and exclusion. She further discusses (p. 80-99) the relationship between clusivity and referentiality, articulating person, spatial and time deixis to clarify her theory. She asserts, "it might be slightly imprecise to assert that "people" are "entities with the inclusionary status, located within Deictic Centre" (p. 133).

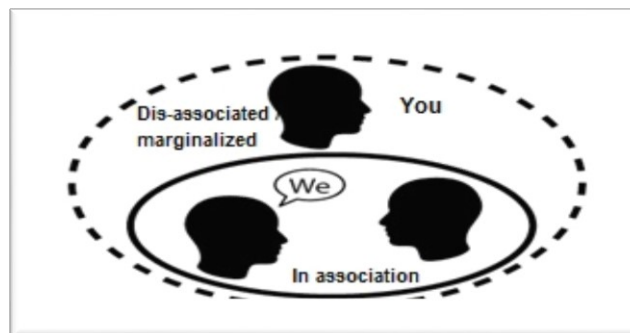


Figure 2. Concept of Clusivity by Wiczeorek's (2013)

Similar concept appears in the Ideological Square model of van Dijk (1993) and Wiczeorek's Clusivity (2013). "Clusivity" is "a newly-coined term used to describe different aspects of inclusion and exclusion encoded in language" Wiczeorek (2013, p24). Clusivity enables one to interpret events, and actors to legitimize ideologies or policies of an 'Inclusive' group, where members in the association are represented as Inclusive and others as Exclusive, has also been applied as a discourse analytical tool. "Clusivity markers are treated as units that encode the relationship between the speaker and other discourse participants in relation to the context in which the speaker's utterances are delivered" (Wiczeorek 2013, p. 212).

## Results and Discussion

### Data Analysis

The data is characterized by the following features. As the headlines and news stories of newspapers are the 'text' for analysis genre of the text is 'journalistic discourse'. The collocation given-identities of participants involve Pakistani, Indian, and Kashmiris on the basis of territorial relationships, however, other connoted identities of characters include Terrorist/s, attacker/s, bomber, suicide bomber or contrarily freedom fighter, Mujahedeen or Fedayeen etc. Pakistan and India are opposing countries, while UK and U.S. representing the West are participants as associates, allies in-group members etc. In the backgrounding/ foregrounding exist the hostile relations of Pakistan and India on the issue of illegal occupation of India over the UN approved disputed territory of Jammu and Kashmir between India and Pakistan. Some events like Uri Attack 2016 and border skirmishes including Indian threats to Pakistan for surgical strikes inside Pakistan and 'will' to assert right over Pakistan-administered Jammu and Kashmir area. All these instances reflect the 'hegemonic designs' of India clearly a standing threat to the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Pakistan. Social Relationships of the participants include Pakistan as an enemy state contesting for Kashmir while India is looking for supremacy in the region pursuing "Hindutwa" to crush minorities and entertaining the dreams of "Maha-Baharat". Foregrounding includes threats of punishing/waging war under one pretext or the other. Indian political propaganda and warfare with Pakistan are purposely done for belligerent usurpation of the UN given rights of Kashmiris guaranteed through various UN resolutions, the right to self-determination and free and fair plebiscite in the territory.

### Analysis of Pakistani News Headlines

The selected Pakistani newspapers are The Dawn, Pakistan Today, Tribune Pakistan and The Nation.

### Thematic representation of Pakistani News

The themes from Pakistani media sorted out on the bases of similarities and then categorized accordingly.

**Table 1**  
**Thematic representation of Pulwama Attack in selected 10 Pakistani news Headlines**

Theme	News Headlines	Freq.
Terror Attack	Pakistan Today: IED blast kills 44 Indian soldiers in occupied Kashmir: police	1
Indian Aggression	Pakistan Today: 'Key conspirator' of Pulwama attack shot dead, claim Indian Police.	1
Indian Reactions	Pakistan Today: Thackeray calls for grilling NSA Doval over Pulwama attack	1
Pakistan's Reaction	Pakistan Today: Negligence of forces to blame for Pulwama attack: Congress leader Pakistan Today: NA passes resolution denouncing Indian allegations over Pulwama attack. Tribune Express: India's 'fictitious' air strike imperils regional peace <i>DG ISPR takes nation into confidence following airspace violation by India</i> Tribune Express: Pakistan slams India over Pulwama attack propaganda	7

Tribune Express: New Delhi continuously violating UN resolutions on Kashmir: Mazari	
The Nation: Pulwama explosive obtained locally.	
The Nation: Pulwama result of atrocious policies of India	
Total	10

Thematic and lexical frequency of the headlines of Pakistani news is given above in Table 1. The news from Pakistani media have been categorized based on thematic similarities for analysis. The first theme includes reports of news regarding the incident reflected only in one paper. It includes mention of IED improvised explosive device, number of casualties, identity of casualties as Indian soldiers and location of Occupied Kashmir. The very first news headline reflects Pakistani ideological discourse frame-Occupied Kashmir. Herein mention of Pulwama is replaced by another phrase 'Occupied Kashmir' reflective of Pakistani media frames Kashmir and Kashmiris being associate and 'inclusive' members as per media frame and foreign policy. 'Clusivity' is "used to describe different aspects of inclusion and exclusion encoded in language" Wiczorek (2013). The second news category is about Indian aggression and has one news item. The news reports about the presumed 'Key conspirator' who was killed somewhere in Kashmir. The comment of an Indian Police officer is reported here which in fact exonerates Pakistan from alleged involvement in the incident. If the key conspirator was in Indian-held Kashmir Pakistan has nothing to do with it. This news item conforms Pakistani media frame that the attack was hatched in Kashmir.

The third theme has also one news item and is related to the Indian reaction from within against the government questioning the authenticity of the incident and whether the attack was really a false flag operation. Indian bold political voice Thackeray criticizes the Indian government for its failure in security. This news also supports the Pakistani stand so it is de-emphasized by the least coverage reflective of the ideological square of van Dijk (1993).

Theme 4 'Pakistan's Reaction' includes 7 news entries. All the news is linked to the Pakistani ideological frame that Indian forces need to be blamed for negligence, not Pakistan. The resolution was passed by Pakistan National Assembly in favour of Pakistan's policy with reference to Kashmir and against Indian allegations. The next news is about failed Indian pre-emptive air strike in Balakot which breaks Indian pride and Pakistan gets the edge over India. Next news by Tribune reports Pakistan's rejection of Indian propaganda maligning Pakistan. The seventh news item reflects Pakistan's Kashmir policy and that India was violating UN Resolutions. The second last news report's rebuttal to India is that according to Indian reports, the explosive was obtained locally. It also supported the Pakistani version that India was placing baseless allegations. The last news in the category talks justification of attacks on the Indian army in the occupied valley. All the given news in this category are examples of Positive-Self-Representation as per the ideological square of van Dijk's (1993) thus de-emphasized in Indian media by avoiding most of these topics.

Thematic categories of Pakistani news headlines are 4 in number which include while the maximum response is seen in the last theme successful rebuttal to the Indian allegations which eventually turned the tables on India. The two main sources of cognitive support and encouragement against the 7 times heavy adversary of Pakistani media included failed Indian pre-emptive strike providing PAF with the opportunity to show its capabilities, the successful PAF strike across the border in response and the Indian reaction questioning the truthfulness of Pulwama attack or incident. It is also de-emphasized in Indian media reflective of the ideological square of van Dijk (1993).

### Lexical Choices in Pakistani News

The following table shows the frequencies of word choices from the data. The data of lexical choices was small so the frequency count was done manually.

**Table 2**  
**Representation of Lexical Choices in selected 10 Pakistani news Headlines**

Newspaper EJG Name	Freq. of 'UNSC resolution/ resolution'	Freq. of 'Pulwama'	Freq. of 'security forces/ soldiers	Freq. of 'Attack'	Freq. of India /New Delhi	Freq. of occupied Jammu/ 'Kashmir	Freq. of JeM
Dawn	-	1	2	1	2	2	-
Pakistan Today	1	4	1	4	3	-	2
Express Tribune	1	1	-	1	2	1	1
The Nation	-	1	-	1	1	-	-
Total	2	9	10	12	8	3	3

The table 2 shows that word 'attack' is used 12 times which is the highest in number as compared to all the other lexical items. Among other prominent lexicons 'security forces / soldiers appear 10 times, Pulwama 9 times and India/ New Delhi 8 times. Occupied Jammu and Kashmir / Kashmir a special feature of the ideological Pakistani media frame, is used 3 times and UNSC resolutions/resolutions 2 times. Indian media omits mention of UNSC resolutions on Kashmir. Besides, lexicons like 'Allegation/s', 'Conspirator', 'propaganda', 'air-strike', and 'peace' occur in the corpora just once but significantly these words are there. The words peace and propaganda appear only in Pakistani discourse. Despite limited data, discourse is built up by Pakistani media successfully. The lexical choices are reflective of Pakistani ideological media frames in Pakistani headlines which report Pulwama a district located in Occupied Kashmir, the militant reaction of Kashmiris against illegal Indian Occupation of Kashmir and mention of UN Resolutions to claim that Kashmir is still an unresolved issue on the UN agenda.

### Analysis of Indian News Headlines

The selected headlines are taken from 4 Indian newspapers; including India Today, The Hindustan Times, Indian Express, and The Hindu.

### Thematic representation of Indian News

The themes from Indian media sorted out on the bases of similarities and then categorized

**Table 3**  
**Thematic representation of the Pulwama Attack in selected 10 Indian news Headlines**

Theme	News Headlines	Freq.
Terror Attack	Hindustan Times: Kashmir's bloodiest day. <i>Kashmir's bloodiest day intelligence alerts warned of a possible terror attack</i>	3
	Hindustan Times: 30 vehicles torched in Jammu rampage, curfew imposed	



	India Today: Pulwama Attack 2019, everything about J&K terror attack on CRPF by terrorist Adil Ahmed Dar, Jaish-e-Mohammad	
Intl. media on Pulwama	India Today: 58 nations condemn Pulwama terror attack, US names Pakistan. <i>India continues with its diplomatic offensive on day-two of its engagement with the envoys of several nations and regional blocs to garner support against Pakistan.</i>	1
Blaming Pakistan	Hindustan Times: Pulwama attack: Evidence shows Pakistan's mentoring of Jaish continues. <i>A suicide bombing attack on a CRPF convoy in Pulwama region of Jammu and Kashmir killed 40 CRPF paramilitary troopers on February 14, 2019. Jaish-e-Mohammad had claimed responsibility for the attack.</i> India Today: Janhvi Kapoor slams Pakistan daily for calling Pulwama terror attack a fight for freedom	2
Aggressive stance of India	Indian Express: Pulwama terror attack: Punishing Pakistan — the options India has. <i>Pulwama terror attack: As New Delhi considers coercive diplomacy after the terror attack in Kashmir, a look at the various measures it has tried in the past, and what their impact has been</i>	1
Rebuttal	India Today: Pakistan shares info on Pulwama attack, calls it 'incident' not terror attack. <i>Pakistan's Foreign Ministry said it has shared preliminary findings on the Pulwama attack with India. However, the press statement calls the Pulwama terror attack "an incident" and not a terror attack.</i> Indian Express: Pakistan shares preliminary findings on Pulwama attack, seeks more evidence. <i>Pakistan also sought "more information" from India on the involvement of the JeM in Pulwama terror attack and the presence of camps of the UN-proscribed terror outfit in the country.</i> The Hindu: Pulwama attack: Pakistan says no terror camps exist in 22 locations shared by India	3
	Hindustan Times: Kashmir's bloodiest day. <i>Kashmir's bloodiest day intelligence alerts warned of a possible terror attack</i> Hindustan Times: 30 vehicles torched in Jammu rampage, curfew imposed India Today: Pulwama Attack 2019, everything about J&K terror attack on CRPF by terrorist Adil Ahmed Dar, Jaish-e-Mohammad	
Total		10

The Table 3 shows that the first theme is about the news reporting of Pulwama incident as a terror attack by Hindustan Times (HT). It is reported emotively as the bloodiest day, repeated as Kashmir's bloodiest day and claimed as a terrorist attack which reflects of Indian ideological media frame declaring Kashmiri militant reactionaries as terrorists. The incident is reported in a way to evokes sympathies for the Indian occupational forces. The second news item also by HT is reporting the number of vehicles burnt and the imposition of a curfew in another locality of Indian-held Kashmir and no mention of Kashmir or Kashmiris in the headline. The third news in the category is by India Today (IT). It mentions Pulwama, attack, 2019, terror attack, CRPF, J&K, Terrorist Adil Ahmed, Jaish-e-Mohammad, ideologically reported this news headlines had employed Indian frames by adding the word 'attack with Pulwama, the phrase 'Terror Attack' for the incident, the word 'Terrorist' with Adil Ahmed. Jammu and Kashmir only as 'J&K' and alleged JeM as Jaish-e-Mohammad.

The second theme has only one news item and it is by IT. It reports international support to India by 58 nations which are enumerated to have condemned the incident but actually only US, a strategic ally appeared as an ally and associate, the 'inclusive' and 'in-group' mate to mention Pakistan as reflective of clusivity (Wieczorek, 2013). Pakistan is not so close is distanced and disassociated rather than presented as an out-group member or 'exclusive' as per Wieczorek (2013). In the sub headline paper, IT reports on day wise Indian diplomatic offensive against Pakistan and the engagement of the Indian government with the envoys of several nations and regional blocs to 'garner' support against Pakistan. The Pulwama incident is used for exposed the Indian agenda of aggression designs against Pakistan.

The third theme has two entries. HT reports alleging Pakistan for the Pulwama attack and continued mentoring of Jaish. It also adds a sub headline reporting an incident of a suicide bombing attack on a CRPF convoy in the Pulwama region of Jammu and Kashmir killing 40 CRPF paramilitary troopers on February 14, 2019. It also reports Jaish-e-Mohammad for having claimed responsibility for the attack. The headline is self-explanatory including most of the details but through the medium of Indian media frames. Pakistan and Je M are alleged. Instead of mentioning Adil as a Kashmiri militant, he is reported as a suicide bomber and terrorist. By alleging JeM for claiming responsibility case is suggestively considered resolved. The second news item in the group is by IT, reporting Janhvi Kapoor criticizing a Pakistani newspaper for calling the Pulwama terror attack a fight for freedom. It is again suggesting the ideological outlook of the public is constructed and promoted through media frames.

Fourth theme category 'aggressive stance of India' includes only one news by Indian Express (IE). IE is aggressive enough to include 9 words headline mentioning Pulwama, Terror Attack, Punishing Pakistan adding after a dash options India has. The news has not raised questions about what options India has. IE in a way is suggesting pre-emptive action or a full scale war. It is a highly provocational and suggestive headline. It adds a sub headline mentioning the Pulwama incident as a terror attack and that India now considers coercive diplomacy after the terror attack in Kashmir and is looking at the various measures taken in the past, impact those measures had. It was perhaps time to go beyond. It is suggestive of Indian ambitions or intentions against nuclear neighbor Pakistan. Emphasizing self, reflective of the ideological square of van Dijk (1993) and legitimizing illegitimate actions as in Wieczorek's (2013) clusivity.

The fifth and last category of 'Rebuttal' contains 3 news items; one by I T, one by IE and one by The Hindu. IT reports that Pakistan has shared information on the Pulwama attack but called it an 'incident' and not a 'terror attack' the way Indian media portrays it. Indian media reported criticism of Janhvi Kapoor's statement to back their ideological frame. Positive Self-presentation and Negative Other-Presentation are reflective of the ideological square of van Dijk (1993).

It is also reported that Pakistan's Foreign Ministry had shared preliminary findings on the Pulwama attack with the Indian government. In the next news item, IE also reports Pakistan shares preliminary findings on the Pulwama attack and that Pakistan sought "more information" from India on the involvement of the JeM in the Pulwama terror attack and the presence of camps of the UN-proscribed terror outfit in the country. The last news in the selection is by The Hindu referring to the Pulwama attack. It reported that Pakistan says no terror camps exist in 22 locations shared by India. The Indian claim is thus rejected by Pakistan for not proving substantial evidence regarding the existence of terror /JeM camps in Pakistan.

### Analysis of Lexical Choices in Indian News Headlines

The frequency counts of data related to Lexical Choices was done manually. The following is the lexical frequency analysis of the Indian headlines:

**Table 4**  
**Representation of Lexical Choices in selected 10 Indian news Headlines**

Newspaper Name	Freq. of 'Freedom'	Freq. of 'Pulwama'	Freq. of 'Terror' /ist	Freq. of 'Attack'	Freq. of 'Pakistan' /is	Freq. of Jammu/ 'Kashmir'	Freq. of JeM
Hindustan Times	-	-	1	1	-	2	-
India Today	1	6	7	9	5	1	2
Indian Express	-	2	1	2	2	-	1
The Hindu	-	1	1	-	1	-	-
Total	1	9	10	12	8	3	3

Analysis of Lexical Choices made by Indian newspapers reflect redundancy of words. The word "Pulwama' appears 9 times and Attack' 12 times and appear mostly in pair. Through investigation of Total 10 Indian Headlines, it was found that phrases "Pulwama Attack" or Pulwama Terror Attack" or "Terror Attack" were coined immediately after the incident and used recurrently in discourse to ideologically frame narrative against the enmity Pakistan and link them with War on Terrorism to hide Indian State Terrorism and acts of fascism on Kashmiris. The word 'Terror' appeared 10 times and Pakistan 8 times which also reflects the framing of the narrative blaming Pakistan so frequently. The word Terror is used to correspond to the Pulwama Incident as an act of Terror committed by a Terrorist just to legitimize all state backed terrorism in Kashmir. Legitimizing is an illegitimate act by way of hegemony or association of in-groups (Wieczorek 2013). The word 'JeM, Jaish or Jaish e Mohammad' appeared in 3 papers once in Indian Express as JeM and twice in India Today as Jaish e Mohammad. The word 'Jammu' once 'Kashmir' appears 2 times Pulwama 9 times. It was a way to avoid mention of Kashmir or the freedom struggle of Kashmiris. The word 'Freedom' occurs only 01 times in 4 papers in total 10 news headlines while the word 'Pakistan' appears 8 times only less than three words 'Pulwama, terror and attack' 4th highest in frequency just to target Pakistan. Jaish e Mohammad /JeM and Kashmir also appeared 3 times each to depict 'Terrorism' yet the word 'freedom' comes only once in 10 Indian news headlines that are also negative with reference to Pakistan's narrative. In Indian news, the researcher examined that the word freedom is mentioned only once in the corpus of selected news and that was also criticized for being mentioned by Pakistani media as a reaction. On the contrary word attack' is used concurrently as the maximum and second most frequent concurrence of the word 'terror' is used 10 times in the 10 selected news items.

### Comparative Analysis

Pakistani media as represented in the given news headlines include, lexical choices, Pakistani ideological frames reflective of Pakistani foreign policy and special angle of looking at Kashmir issue and added features of the country India's reaction to Pulwama presented by Pakistani media. The two main factors that encouraged Pakistani media included the successful PAF strike of 27<sup>th</sup> Feb as against the Indian failed strike of 26<sup>th</sup> Feb and Indian public reactions questioning the validity of the Pulwama incident. Ideological phraseology in the form of 'Occupied Jammu and Kashmir' is a special feature of Pakistani media that was used concurrently. Besides, the inclusion of references to UNSC resolutions/resolutions 2 times is also special with Pakistani media. The word 'peace'

appears only in Pakistani discourse. Thematic categories of Pakistani news headlines are four in number which include: Terror Attacks, Indian Aggression, Indian Reactions and Pakistan's Reaction. Out of the selected 10 news headlines there is only one news item on each of the first three thematic topics i.e Terror Attack, Indian Aggression, and Indian Reactions. The maximum response is in the successful 'rebuttal' to the Indian allegations which eventually turned the tables on India.

The Table 2 shows that word 'attack' is used 12 times which is the highest in number as compared to all the other lexical items. Among other prominent lexicons 'security forces/soldiers' appear 10 times, Pulwama 9 times and India/ New Delhi 8 times. Contrarily, Indian media omits/ deemphasizes mention of UNSC resolutions on Kashmir. Lexical choices including the use of words and phrases like 'Allegation/s' 'Conspirator', 'propaganda', 'air-strike', and 'peace' occur in the news data of Pakistani news though just once but significant for their value. Pakistani media makes use of nationalistic policy-oriented frames. At the linguistic level, Concordance, Word-Coining, phraseology, and connoted-identities have been identified while at the contextual level, nationalistic ideological frames have been identified and analysed to answer the research question.

Indian news, on the contrary, presents a different picture. The Indian news headlines fall under four categories. The first category of news headlines is related to the 'Pulwama Incident' by Pakistani ideological framing, while Indian media presents through the ideological frame of the 'Pulwama Terror Attack'. The data shows three news in this category. The second theme of news is related to 'Intl. media on Pulwama' where international media response and presentation are reported. The third theme is 'Blaming Pakistan' which has also three news items. The fourth category is related to the 'Aggressive stance of India' towards Pakistan. The second and fourth category includes one news each. The last category pertains to 'Rebuttal' in which news related to the exchange of dossiers and their outcome are reported. Power and counter power as in 'Language and Power' by Fairclough (1989). This category has also 3 news for analysis. Analysis of lexical choices of Indian news headlines as presented in Table 4. It has been analysed that the word 'attack' occurs 12 times just in 10 headlines. The word 'Terror' occurs 10 times. The word 'Pulwama' occurs 9 times whereas 'Pakistan' occurs 8 times. So terror attack and Pulwama Pakistan are the most frequently used words in the entire discourse of Indian headlines, which indicates the direction of the blame on Pakistan. The words 'Jammu or Kashmir' and Jaish-e-Mohammad or JeM' appear only 3 times each. This frequency reflects that Kashmir and JeM were insignificant while blaming Pakistan with reference to the attack was given greater weightage. Indian media also makes use of frames which suit the public and government to pursue their nationalistic dreams. Word-coining like paired words: Pulwama Attack, Pulwama Terrorist Attack, Pulwama Attack 2019, Pulwama Suicide Attack etc. appear frequently to refer to the incident whereas Kashmiri's freedom struggle is completely shadowed. The results positively prove that linguistic choices regarding lexicon, phraseology and connoted identities have been employed to manipulate the language. Journalistic discourse has also been analysed for ideological framing for positive self-presentation and others-presentation as negative reflective of ideological squaring and for in-group 'Inclusive' and out-group 'Exclusive' as reflective of Wicczorek's theory of Clusivity.

From the Pakistani perspective, Kashmiri Muslims, are severely marginalized. A huge number of troops deployed in Kashmir for decades. Every other day there is the plundering of houses of Kashmiris in the name of the search operations. There are frequent reported cases of rapes and torture of men, women and children, burning down of homes and properties. Kashmir has been turned into an open prison, at times foreign media is not allowed to report. India is still unable to ensure peace in the valley. Pulwama was executed by Indian government to find an excuse to attack Pakistan to have mass political support of the public to win elections and later to occupy even Pakistani part of Kashmir and Baltistan.

Similarly, Indian discourse has its own identity. The consistency in establishing a narrative through framing indicates that the news reporters know well the art of pursuing a narrative. Indian ideological frames include the following baseline concept as are reflected concurrently in the news headlines of both countries: that Kashmiri fighters and Organizations in Kashmir are 'TERRORISTS' ignoring that this right has been promised by India and guaranteed by the UNSC. Pulwama's attack on a convoy of CRPF men was by an indigenous Kashmiri, so it is a Terrorist Attack. Indian government presented to the public that the Pulwama attack was planned from across the border by JeM in Balakot Pakistan, so Pakistan must be PUNISHED. Pakistan provoked violence and thus must be ATTACKED. Pakistan supports terrorists and thus must be alienated politically by the world powers. Any action of the Indian government against the local population of Jammu and Kashmir, killing, torturing, raping of women or burning down homes to ashes is legitimate because they are allies of the TERRORISTS. The objectives behind the Pulwama operation were political first to arouse nationalistic sentiments to arouse support of the masses in favour and hatred against Pakistan crossing the limits of truth and decency as it occurred in the Gujrat riots (2002) in India and to gear public support in general elections and annex illegally Kashmiri to reduce Muslim population in Muslim majority areas by settling Indians, particularly Hindus in pursuance of 'Hindutwa' creed of BJP.

### **Conclusion**

The present study has examined the political narrative and discourse of both countries. Pakistan Media has been employing ideological Frames which are reflective of Pakistan's stated Kashmir policy supportive of the Kashmiri freedom struggle diplomatically on all forums. Pakistan justifies support for Kashmiris on the grounds that UN Resolutions with regard to the Kashmir issue are still pending and must be resolved through plebiscite and granting them the right to self-determination as promised to them in those resolutions. The incident has dubious character and is most probably a false flag operation by the Indian government because it reacted immediately to make the incident an opportunity to allege and attack Pakistan. No judicial inquiry was ordered. The Indian hegemonic designs were exposed when on the 5<sup>th</sup> of August India took illegal and unilateral steps in the Indian Occupied Kashmir (IOJK) in a bid to change its internationally recognized disputed status and to alter the demographic structure of the Occupied Territory. India removed the special status of Kashmir by unilaterally adopting an illegal amendment in her constitution order 273 revoking Articles 370 and 35A, which conferred Kashmiris the power to have a separate constitution, a state flag and autonomy of internal administration. India could not prove the involvement of Pakistan, the presence of terror camps or JeM Chief Masood Azhar or JeM chief's presence in the country, so Pakistan's FO declared the success of Pakistan's narrative. It was also expressed in a statement by Indian External Minister Sushma Suraj. However, the story does not finish here India lost at Pulwama but it is trying to beat the track and keeps up dreaming of domination over Pakistan.

## References

- Ahmed, Z., Zhang, J., Ahmed, K., Farrukh, M., and Irshad, N. M. (2019). Manipulation of Pakistani Women through Skin Whitening Advertising Discourse. In Proceedings of the 2019 3rd International Conference on Management Engineering, Software Engineering and Service Sciences (Wuhan, China) (ICMSS 2019). Association for Computing Machinery, New York, NY, USA, 107-111. <https://doi.org/10.1145/3312662.3312705>
- Ahmed, Z., Su, L., & Ahmed, K. (2017). Pakistani youth manipulated through night-packages advertising discourse. *Human Systems Management*, 36(2), 151-162
- Ajmal, M., Anwar, B., Ahmed, K., Hussain, A., Butt, B. (2021) Representation of Body in Postcolonial and Eco-critical context in Annie John by Jamaica Kincaid. *Psychology and Education* 58(2) 3226-3230
- Ali, A. (2018). Kashmir Conflict and South Asian Elite Press: A Framing Analysis. *Journal of Politics and International Studies*. 3 (2), 47-62
- Butt, B., Ahmed, K., Ali, H. (2022). Operationalizing the Syntactic Complexity: A Corpus Based Evaluation of Online Newspaper Editorials. *Hayatian Journal of Linguistics and Literature*, 6(1) 69-86
- Chilton P. (2004) *Analyzing Political Discourse Theory and Practice*. Routledge.
- Chouliaraki, L., & Fairclough, N. (1999). *Discourse in late modernity: Rethinking critical discourse analysis*. Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh: UK
- Fairclough, N. (1989). *Language and power*. Longman: UK.
- Fairclough, N. (1995/a). *Critical discourse analysis: The critical study of language*. London: Longman.
- Fairclough, N. (1998). *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language*. United Kingdom: Longman.
- Safi, F., Ozad, E., Iqbal, L. (2020) Ideological representation in Indian Newspapers' Editorials: A case study of Pulwama Incident in Kashmir, *Revista Argentina de Clínica Psicológica*, 29 (3), 743-754
- Fowler, R. (1991). *Language in the news: Discourse and ideology in the press*. New York: Routledge.
- Gee J. P. (2005). *An introduction to discourse analysis: theory and method* N.Y. Routledge.
- Gramsci (1979). *Gramsci & Marxist Theory*. Routledge.
- Halliday, M. A. K. (1978). *Language as social semiotic*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Halliday, M.A.K. (1994). *Introduction to Functional Grammar*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Hussain, S., & Lynch, J. (2019). Identifying peace-oriented media strategies for deadly conflicts in Pakistan. *Information Development*, 35(5), 703-713.

- Imran M. Shah Saeed A. & Danish (2021) Controversies in Political Ideologies: A Critical Discourse Analysis of Speeches of Indian and Pakistani Premiers on Pulwama Incident, *Register Journal*, 14 (1), 43-64.
- Laclau, E., & Mouffe, C. (1985). *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics*. London: Verso.
- Ranjha, I. M., Ahmed, K. Gohar, S. Sarfraz, S. (2021). Challenging the Myth: A Transitivity Analysis of Manto's The Hundred-Watt Bulb. *Turkish Online Journal of Qualitative Inquiry* 12(7), 5328-5336
- Sial, S. A. (2020). *Pulwama and Post-Pulwama crisis. A report on Pulwama Balakot Crisis & operation swift*, Centre for International Strategic Studies, Special Issue February 27, Islamabad-Pakistan. (CISS).
- Simpson, P. (1993). *Language, ideology and point of view*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Van Dijk T. A. (2009) *Society and discourse: How social contexts influence text and talk*. Cambridge University Press.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (1993). Principles of Critical Discourse Analysis: *Discourse & Society*. Vol. 4 (2) 249-283.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (1997). *Discourse as social interaction*. London: Sage.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (1998) *Ideology: A multidisciplinary study*. London: Sage.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (2008). *Discourse and power*. Macmillan International Higher Education
- Wieczorek A. E (2013). *Clusivity: a new approach to association and disassociation in political discourse*. Cambridge scholars publishing. UK.
- Wodak, R. (1989). *Language, Power and Ideology*. John Benjamin Publishing Company.
- Zubair M. Iqbal and Sabir H. (2018) Projecting the Nationalistic Narrative by Pakistan. *Journal of Political Studies*, 25 (1), 139-156