
UNVEILING NARRATIVES: INDIAN AND PAKISTANI MEDIA FRAMING OF ARTICLE 370 REVOCATION

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Abstract

The annulment of Article 370 on August 5, 2019, by the Government of India marked a significant shift in the political landscape of Jammu and Kashmir. This move, accompanied by restructuring the region into two union territories, was met with varied reactions both domestically and internationally. This study conducts a comparative framing analysis of Indian and Pakistani media narratives surrounding the revocation of Article 370. This research explores the media's divergent framing, rhetoric, and implications by reviewing news articles, opinion pieces, and editorials from prominent media outlets in both countries. While some Indian media outlets portrayed the revocation as a step towards integration and development, others viewed it as a threat to Kashmiri autonomy. On the other hand, Pakistani media often framed the abrogation of Article 370 as a violation of Kashmiri rights and a potential threat to Indo-Pak relations. This study aims to shed light on how the media in both countries represent this contentious issue and its implications for Indo-Pak relations.

Keywords: Article 370, Kashmir, Indo-Pak relations, framing analysis, media

Introduction

On August 5, 2019, the Indian government, under Prime Minister Narendra Modi, announced the revocation of Article 370 of the Indian Constitution, granting special autonomy to Jammu and Kashmir. The decision was announced by Home Minister Amit Shah in Parliament, accompanied by a Presidential Order and a resolution passed in Parliament. The move was supported by the ruling Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP) and garnered approval in both houses of Parliament (Zee News, 2019).

The decision was made to restructure the Jammu and Kashmir regions. The government advocated dividing the state into two distinct union territories: Jammu, Kashmir, and Ladakh. A union territory is a region directly governed by the central government of India without a separate state government. Article 370 granted Jammu and Kashmir a unique position within the Indian Union

since its accession to India in 1947. The special autonomy allowed the state to have its constitution, a separate flag, and significant decision-making powers, which other states in India did not enjoy.

Similarly, Article 35A was also revoked. It is a contentious constitutional provision intricately linked to Article 370, sparking prolonged debates and controversies in India. Article 35A, incorporated into the Indian Constitution in 1954 via a Presidential Order following the Constituent Assembly of Jammu and Kashmir's recommendations, grants the state legislature the authority to define "permanent residents" and bestow exclusive rights. These rights encompass property ownership, government job access, and social welfare benefits. Legal challenges emerged, including a 2019 Supreme Court case that reignited debates and protests. Advocates claim it preserves the state's identity, while critics see it as hindering full integration with India.

Additionally, the Indian government imposed a security lockdown, communication blackout, and restrictions on movement to maintain law and order. These measures were gradually eased over time, but certain restrictions remained in place for an extended period. The revocation of Article 370 has been a highly contentious issue in India, with political, legal, and social ramifications. It has triggered debates and discussions about the constitutional validity of the decision and its long-term implications for the region. The matter has also been challenged in the courts, and legal proceedings are ongoing to determine the legality of the revocation and its impact on the rights of the people of Jammu and Kashmir.

Following the Indian government's decision to revoke Article 370, the Pakistani government called a joint session of Parliament to discuss the situation (PTV,2019). Pakistan strongly condemned India's move, terming it as illegal and a violation of international law. The Pakistani government also announced that it would downgrade its diplomatic ties with India, suspend bilateral trade, and take the matter to the United Nations.

The decision to revoke Article 370 and reorganize Jammu and Kashmir was met with various reactions in the media. The situation prompted a range of opinions and discussions, both within the media of Pakistan and India and on the global stage.

Indian media essentially portrayed the revocation of Article 370 as a historic and bold move by the Indian government. Many media outlets hailed it as a step towards integrating Jammu and Kashmir more closely with the rest of India. They highlighted the potential benefits of the move, such as the extension of central laws to the region, the possibility of economic development, and increased security. There were also discussions about how the revocation of Article 370 would pave the way for the region's development, including increased investment, tourism, and employment opportunities (The Hindu,2019).

In response to the revocation of Article 370, Pakistani media extensively covered the event, criticizing the Indian government's decision and expressing concern over its potential impact on the region. Pakistani media outlets highlighted the move as a violation of the rights of the people of Jammu and Kashmir. Additionally, Pakistani media expressed solidarity with the people of Kashmir and called for international intervention to address the situation. Overall, Pakistani media portrayed the revocation of Article 370 as a controversial and provocative move by the Indian government, sparking tensions between the two countries(The Express Tribune, 2019).

International media coverage varied. While some outlets echoed the Indian government's justifications for the move, others raised concerns about the decision and its potential consequences. Many international media outlets highlighted the concerns raised by Pakistan and Kashmiri separatist leaders about the revocation of Article 370. (Reuters, 2019). This study conducts a comparative framing analysis of Indian and Pakistani media narratives surrounding the revocation of Article 370. This research explores the media's divergent framing, rhetoric, and implications by reviewing news articles, opinion pieces, and editorials from prominent media outlets in both countries. This study aims to shed light on how the media in both countries represent this contentious issue and its implications for Indo-Pak relations.

Literature Review

News media in India and Pakistan, particularly regarding Kashmir and the revocation of Article 370, serves as a pivotal arena for shaping perceptions of war and peace. The region's media landscape bears the imprint of a complex history, wherein it has evolved from being general custodians to becoming representatives of freedom movements and advocates for national interests. Kashmir, with its contentious status and the recent revocation of Article 370 by India, has intensified the media discourse in both countries. The media's portrayal of events in Kashmir and the handling of Article 370's abrogation have further underscored its role as a catalyst in either fostering positive relations or exacerbating tensions between India and Pakistan.

To ensure peace through journalism for each other's countries, there is a need for more cross-border information, providing more reportage of economic, infrastructural, and cultural issues, reinforcing journalism's best practices, simplification of visa processes, and relieving limitations on each other's media, preparation and conducting of workshops for reporters on specific subjects like Kashmir, water resources and terrorism, monitoring T.V. talk shows and developing a modus operandi about the ethics regarding issues of common grounds or guidelines between Indian and Pakistani media practitioners and a website to allow editors and media practitioners to engage in dialogue, communicate and further de-escalate the tensions. For the last two decades, the media, like many other institutions across the border, have been involved in several activities to normalize the relationship and positively change the existing connection (Bose, 2011; Mediratta, 2014).

In the intricate tapestry of India-Pakistan relations, the media plays a pivotal role in shaping perceptions and influencing the trajectory of these bilateral ties. Regrettably, much of the cinematic and televised content produced in both nations has often served to stoke animosity rather than foster understanding. This phenomenon is particularly pronounced in the context of Kashmir and the revocation of Article 370. The media's portrayal of these issues often amplifies existing tensions, perpetuating narratives of hostility and division.

In the context of Kashmir and the revocation of Article 370, the role of the media becomes even more critical. The historical and deeply contested status of Kashmir has been a longstanding source of tension between India and Pakistan. The revocation of Article 370, which granted special autonomy to the region, further exacerbated these tensions and heightened the stakes for both nations.

Amidst this backdrop, the media has a profound responsibility to foster understanding and promote dialogue rather than aggravate divisions. While Track II diplomacy initiatives seek to engage

directly with the public to bridge the gap between the two countries, governmental efforts have often failed to yield lasting peace.

In this landscape, alternative approaches, such as peace journalism, become imperative. By reframing narratives and highlighting opportunities for dialogue and reconciliation, peace journalism can offer a constructive framework for resolving conflicts and mitigating hostilities. Through nuanced reporting and a commitment to promoting understanding, the media can play a transformative role in paving the way for a peaceful resolution of the Kashmir issue and fostering better relations between India and Pakistan. A framing analysis of peace-building initiatives, particularly in the context of Kashmir and Article 370, holds significant promise in illuminating pathways toward reconciliation and sustainable peace. The literature underscores the pivotal role of the media, particularly print media, in shaping perceptions and narratives surrounding conflict resolution initiatives between India and Pakistan, with a specific focus on the Kashmir issue and the revocation of Article 370. (Malik, 2012; Mohammad & Naqvi, 2012; Khalid, 2014; Batool, Yasin, and Khurshid, 2015; Zia and Syedah, 2015).

Anjum Zia and Hajrah Syedah's 2015 study stands out in the examination of the Kashmir issue, offering a quantitative analysis that brought scholarly attention to a topic often treated anecdotally or normatively. Their research delved into print media representations from Pakistan, India, and the United States, employing Galtung's war/peace journalism framework to assess coverage of the Kashmir conflict. Their findings revealed a prevalent negative or neutral portrayal of the Kashmir issue across these media landscapes, with war journalism overshadowing peace journalism. The study highlighted the influence of socio-political contexts in framing the Kashmir conflict within each country's media, with coverage emphasizing aspects such as violence, militancy, nationalism, and bias toward particular parties.

The research gap lies in the scarcity of empirical studies examining how media representations, particularly regarding Kashmir and the revocation of Article 370, influence public attitudes toward peace initiatives between India and Pakistan.

Methodology

The qualitative methodology employed in this study allows for a nuanced exploration of the role of media in shaping India-Pakistan relations, offering descriptive insights into journalism practices and public perceptions. Analytical and exploratory in nature, the research delves into selected newspaper articles, opinion pieces, and editorials from prominent media outlets in both countries to understand how media influences conflict escalation and de-escalation. Data collection involved careful selection of primary sources, such as newspaper articles, spanning 2019 to 2021. Purposive sampling guided the selection process, ensuring alignment with research objectives and capturing diverse perspectives. The study focused on prominent newspapers in both countries, including *The Hindu*, *The Indian Express*, *The Times of India*, *Deccan Herald*, *The News International*, *The Nation*, *The Dawn*, and *The Express Tribune*, chosen for their influence, historical significance, and diverse viewpoints.

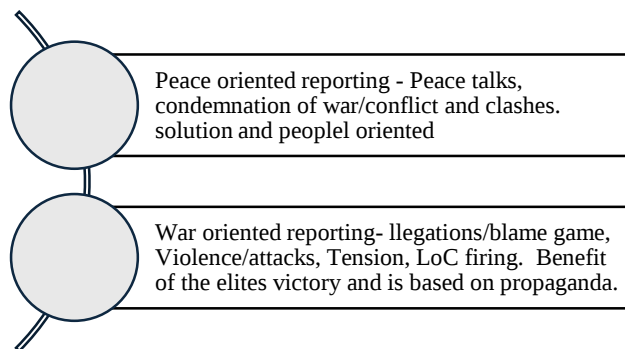
Qualitative Framing Analysis is used to analyze the data set. The framing theory in media studies posits that the media directs attention to specific issues and places them within a particular context of meaning. (Goffman, 1974).

Linstrom and Marais (2012) explained how to conduct a simple qualitative news frame analysis. They uncovered a seven-step process, which is as follows:

1. Select a medium or topic to discuss.
2. Determine a timeframe.
3. Draw a sample.
4. Identify a unit of analysis.
5. Selection of a frame typology. Galtung's news framing typology is used
6. Operational Definition
7. Identifying News Frame-

The news frames identified in this research are taken from Johan Galtung's war and peace journalism framework (2003) and are divided into two types.

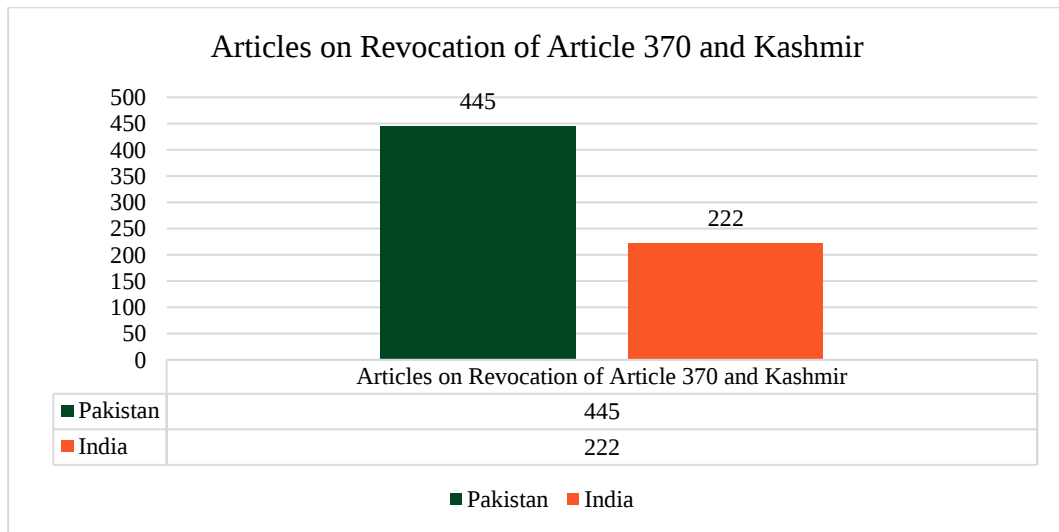
1. Peace-oriented reporting. This type of reporting includes highlighting peace talks, cooperation, and condemnation of war/conflict and clashes. It is meant to help people find better solutions. All editorials/ Op-ed articles about these topics have been categorized as peace-oriented reporting or lie under the heading of peace journalism.
2. War-oriented reporting. This type of reporting includes highlighting Violence/attacks, Accusations/playing the blame game, tension, and Line of Control firing. It is for the benefit of the elite's victory and is based on propaganda. All editorials/ Op-ed articles about these topics have been categorized as war-oriented reporting or war journalism.



Distribution of news articles found on Revocation of Article 370 and Kashmir

Four hundred forty-five newspaper articles were from Pakistan, while 222 were from India.

Figure 1 Articles on Revocation of Article 370 and Kashmir



Analyzing the Revocation of Article 370 through Qualitative Framing Analysis

This section analyzes the revocation of article 370 from the newspaper reviews. The analysis is performed within a qualitative framing analysis guided by Galtung's definition of news framing. This approach facilitated a comprehensive understanding of the framing techniques used in the news coverage, providing insights into these frames' underlying patterns and implications. The table below elucidates how Johan Galtung's frames are applied in qualitative framing analysis and demonstrates how the categories align within this framework.

War Journalism Frame by Galtung	Qualitative Framing Analysis of Print Media on Revocation of Article 370
1. <i>Violence-Oriented Reporting</i>	Focused on and highlighted acts of violence and dramatic imagery to capture attention and convey the intensity of the conflict. Robust and emotive language conveys the urgency and gravity of the situation, appealing to the audience's feelings.
2. <i>Propaganda Oriented Reporting</i>	There was no hesitation to repeat claims and narratives that support one's chosen side, even if they are unverified or come from propaganda sources.
3. <i>Elite Oriented Reporting</i>	A selective narrative was supported, and the reporting was aligned with a particular viewpoint, emphasizing the justifications and arguments supporting it.

4. Victory Oriented Reporting	Prioritized the impact and engagement of the story over strict adherence to accuracy. Drama and sensational claims of victory and verification are used to captivate the audience even if they are not fully verified.
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Johan Galtung provides two fundamental types of frames. They are.

1. Violence-War/Victory Journalism
2. Peace/Conflict Journalism

He categorized War Journalism into four themes.

- a) War/Violence-oriented
- b) Propaganda-oriented
- c) Elite-oriented
- d) Victory-oriented

He categorized Peace Journalism into four themes.

- a) Peace-oriented
- b) Truth-oriented
- c) People-oriented
- d) Solution-oriented

War Journalism is characterized by oversimplification: it focuses on the conflict arena (two parties, one goal) and is fixated on visible effects of violence, such as physical injuries, deaths, and material destruction (Galtung, 2003, Lynch and McGoldrick, 2005:6). The reporting is event-based and reactive, meaning that it is focused on violent escalations without contextualization, while the causes and outcomes of the conflict remain unexplored (ibid.). Moreover, War Journalism is propaganda-oriented and dehumanizing, highlighting differences among the conflict parties. Its zero-sum approach is victory-oriented, implying peace is achieved when one party wins. Lastly, it is elite-orientated. Due to not following the principle of objectivity, the news gives privileged access to the official spokespersons, mostly "able-bodied elite males" (ibid.:6), while neglecting non-official, particularly minority voices.

Contrarily, Peace Journalism seeks and explores complexity: it portrays the conflict formation (numerous parties and goals) and focuses on invisible effects of violence, such as psychological or sociocultural harm (Galtung, 1969). The reporting is process-based and proactive, meaning that it occurs before violent escalations and contextualizes violence when it takes place. Further, the conflict's background, causes, and outcomes are explored (Galtung, 1997). All stages of the conflict are critical, including post-conflict phases. Peace Journalism aims to provide a platform for all parties and create empathy and understanding while revealing untruths and wrongdoings on all sides (Galtung, 2005). Hence, while war journalism is characterized by omission, Peace Journalism aims at transparency (ibid). It considers similarities and is people-orientated, meaning that grassroots sources are seen as equally important as official sources(ibid).

In analyzing the revocation of Article 370 according to the Galtungian perspective, violence-oriented frames are the first type. Reactive journalism can be seen as violence-oriented, focusing on two-party conflicts to win and promoting an "us vs. them" mentality. The revocation of Article

370 was used to exploit each other's internal security issues. Exploiting internal security involves creating sensationalism around domestic issues and conducting reactive journalism. It also involves the otherization and dehumanization of others.

In the propaganda-oriented frame, various narratives could be disseminated to shape public opinion regarding the abrogation of Article 370. The Indian government emphasized themes of integration, development, and national unity, framing the move as necessary for the welfare and progress of the region. Conversely, the Pakistani government highlighted the erosion of Kashmiri autonomy and the disregard for the region's unique political status, painting the decision as an infringement on Kashmiri rights and sovereignty.

The elite-oriented frame shifts focus to the decision-makers involved in the abrogation process. Proponents of the move depicted Indian leadership as decisive and visionary, taking bold steps to address the longstanding issue of separatism and instability in the region. Critics, on the other hand, highlighted the lack of consultation with Kashmiri stakeholders and portrayed the decision as a top-down imposition by a central authority, ignoring the voices and aspirations of the affected population.

Within the victory-oriented frame, narratives of triumph or defeat emerge surrounding the abrogation of Article 370. Supporters of the move viewed it as a victory for Indian unity and territorial integrity, signaling the end of a perceived impediment to the full integration of Jammu and Kashmir with the rest of the country. Conversely, detractors saw it as defeating Kashmiri's aspirations for autonomy and self-determination, lamenting the loss of a significant legal and political safeguard that protected the region's distinct identity and rights.

Relations between India and Pakistan over the years have fluctuated as there has never been any genuinely significant move towards the resolution of the Kashmir issue since independence, and it is not an inch closer to being resolved today. The reorganization of Kashmir in 2019, particularly the events surrounding it, serves as a focal point for analysis in this thesis. Abundant data about this topic was found, making it perhaps the most extensively covered category, with numerous articles, editorials, and opinion columns from various perspectives across the region. Both directly and indirectly, Kashmir has been discussed in these articles as the primary source of bone of contention between the two nations.

From the Pakistani side, 157 articles were from The News International, 116 were from The Express Tribune, 96 were from The Dawn, and 76 were from The Nation. Two hundred twenty-two newspaper articles were from India, of which 85 were from The Hindu, 68 were from The Times of India, 57 were from Indian Express, and 12 were from Deccan Herald.

Figure 2 Articles on Revocation of Article 370 and Kashmir in Pakistani Newspapers

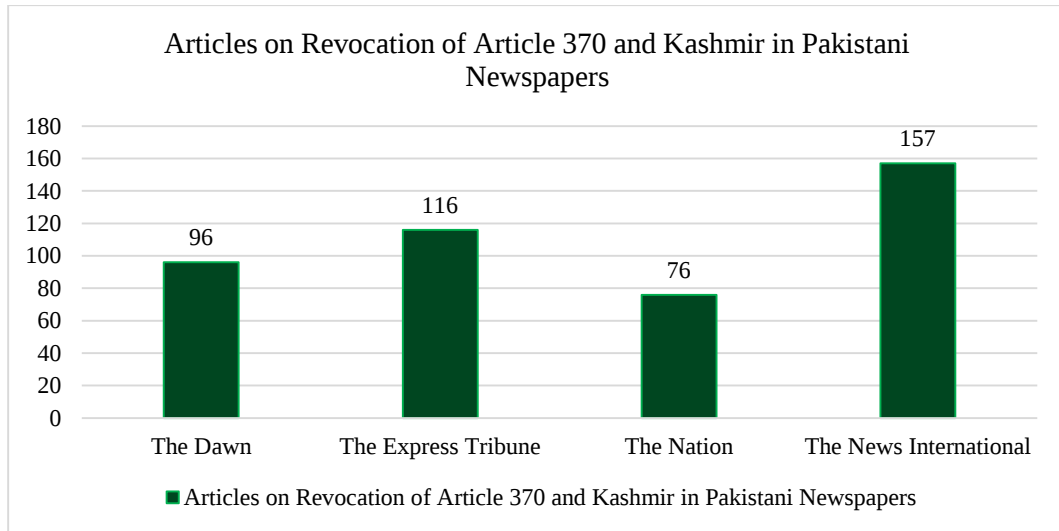
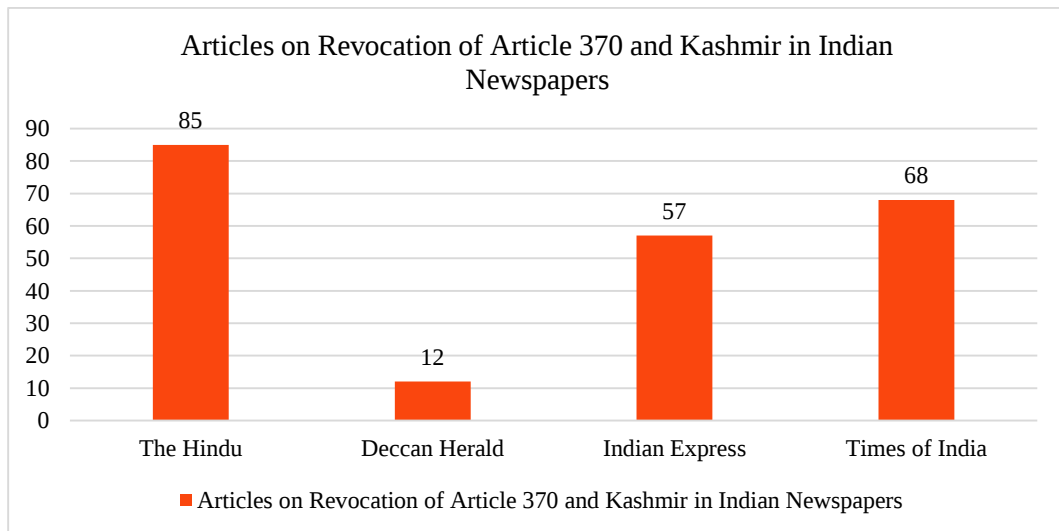


Figure 3 Articles on Revocation of Article 370 and Kashmir in Indian Newspapers



The total number of articles from both newspapers was 667, of which 512 were based on war journalism and 155 were based on peace journalism.

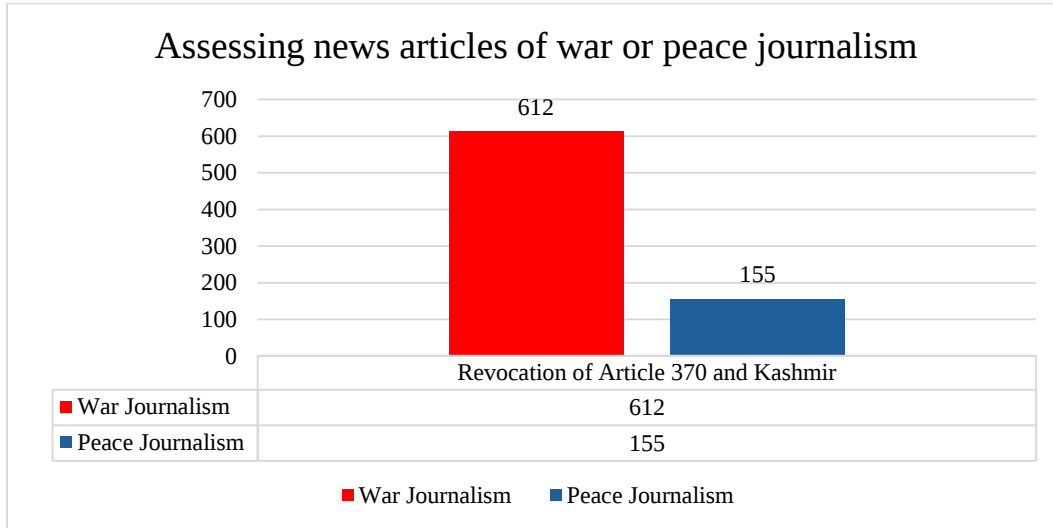


Figure 4 Assessing news articles of war or peace journalism on revocation of Article 370 and Kashmir

As Galtung puts it, Kashmir is seen as a prize in a zero-sum game for India and Pakistan, making the conflict deeply entrenched and tied to their national identities and survival. The newspapers from both sides reflect this contestation, with Indian media emphasizing Kashmir's legal accession to India, security concerns, and development initiatives while blaming Pakistan for terrorism and insurgency. The result is a continuous blame game that exacerbates tensions.

Pakistani newspapers emphasized India's claim that Kashmir belongs solely to it, citing a "Plan B" aimed at Indianizing Kashmir post-revocation of its special status (Express Tribune, 2020). This plan involves attracting businesses through land offers, tax breaks, and insurance coverage. Despite challenges, the Modi government is determined to alter Kashmir's demographic composition by settling non-Muslims. Editorials noted India's failure to win local support and highlighted factors such as the Citizenship Amendment Act protests, muted international pressure, and Pakistan's lack of effective opposition. They suggested that if successful in Kashmir, India might target Pakistan-administered Gilgit-Baltistan next.

The revocation of Article 370 elicited a mixed reaction both domestically and internationally. In India, the decision was largely met with approval from the government and its supporters, who argued that it was necessary to integrate Jammu and Kashmir fully into India and to promote development and security in the region. They contended that the special status had hindered economic growth and had fostered a sense of separatism. Many Indian newspapers and political figures praised the move as a bold step towards national unity and territorial integrity.

Indian articles discussed the new domicile rules in Jammu and Kashmir (J&K), highlighting their impact on the region's residents. The Ministry of Home Affairs issued an order on March 31, 2020, amending 109 and repealing 29 state laws. A fundamental change was replacing "permanent residents" with "domiciles of the Union Territory of J&K" in the 2010 Civil Services Act. Previously, only permanent residents could apply for government jobs; now, anyone residing in J&K for 15 years, studying there for seven years, or having taken exams there qualifies. The

National Conference (N.C.) and People's Democratic Party (PDP) opposed the policy, arguing it aimed to alter J&K's demographics and disempower the region following the dilution of Article 370. This sparked debates in op-eds about integrity versus integration, with Rajgopal Saikumar suggesting that integrity involves moral honesty, while integration may imply force homogenization.

In his article, "Why Narendra Modi govt could scrap Article 370," Kumar Shakti Shekhar (Times of India, 2019) shed light on the reasons behind the Indian government's decision to revoke Article 370. It highlighted various factors that contributed to the move despite the relative prosperity in Jammu and Kashmir compared to many other states. These factors include the absence of genuine democracy due to the dominance of a few political families, corruption, discriminatory practices against women, Dalits, and Other Backward Castes, a decline in tourism due to terrorism, and the government's failure to contain violence. The author suggested that these issues overshadowed the state's accomplishments in health, development, and poverty reduction, ultimately providing a pretext for the Modi government to repeal Article 370 and reorganize the state into a Union territory.

In many articles in Indian Express (2021) in India, there is a growing collective self-centeredness that views Pakistan as an "offender" and sees Kashmiris as aligned with Pakistan. Such articles suggested that this attitude is not conducive to resolving the issues and may hinder progress in diplomatic efforts. Overall, these articles called for a shift in approach, moving away from warfare discourse and embracing strategic realism to address the complexities of militancy and terrorism in the region.

On the other hand, in a news report in The Hindu(2020), the Indian Ministry of Home Affairs (MHA) held that Kashmir's new situation has positively influenced the development and betterment of the region. The Ministry of Home Affairs (MHA) reported that more than 22,000 government jobs have been identified in J&K, but the recruitment process is yet to occur. The vacant positions include 533 gazetted posts and 21,846 Class IV posts. The MHA also noted that agricultural land in J&K is being protected, and a land bank of 6,000 acres is contemplated for industrial development. The panel was informed that 456 Memoranda of Understanding (MoUs) had been signed, amounting to ₹23,152.17 crore, for investment in the Union Territory. Regarding Kashmiri migrants, around 3,800 candidates have returned to Kashmir in recent years to take up jobs under the Prime Minister's rehabilitation package.

Kashmir has been a prime important topic in Indian print media; however, there are very few newspapers that highlight the plight of minorities in Kashmir during this timeframe. The situation in Kashmir turned into a burden on Indian Muslims. Terrorism and separatist movements in the region complicated the efforts of Indian Muslims to establish trust and dignity within the larger society. Indian newspapers believe that Pakistan supports secessionist activities in Kashmir, reviving memories of the Partition and raising questions about the loyalty of all Indian Muslims.

Many editorials, news reports, and articles assessed the current status of Kashmir by letting the readers know about the present discrepancies. Editorials in 2020 asserted the situation after one year of India's revocation of Articles 370 and 35A in India-held Kashmir. These articles used words like "troubling picture has emerged," "Gruesome position in Kashmir," and "Horrible Horrors". The region remained mired in anger and repression, with a heavy military presence and curbs on

civil liberties. The government's promise of peace and prosperity has not materialized, as thousands of Kashmiris have been detained, tortured, and disappeared. The editorials suggested that the true intent behind revoking Kashmir's special status was a demographic change, with efforts to encourage Hindu migration into the region. Despite government claims of normalcy, Kashmir is far from it, with incarcerated leaders, restricted movement, and limited media access. Draconian measures are used to quell resistance, and human rights violations are rampant. The livelihoods of the people have suffered due to an influx of outsiders and a lack of promised investment, worsened by the impact of COVID-19. The editorials urged Pakistan to highlight the situation and pressure India to reconsider its decision while calling for international awareness and accountability for India's actions in Kashmir. There have been calls for humanitarian measures and a policy that prioritizes people's lives and health in Kashmir. It has been emphasized by many writers that there is a need for India to adopt a conciliatory policy towards IHK, aiming to peacefully settle the longstanding dispute following the wishes of the Kashmiri people rather than pursuing bureaucratic tactics that add to their suffering.

On the other hand, Pakistani newspapers view Kashmir as a disputed territory, advocating for its right to self-determination. They often highlight human rights abuses allegedly committed by Indian security forces, emphasizing the plight and aspirations of the Kashmiri people. The narrative in Pakistani media portrays India as an occupying force and frames the conflict in terms of resistance and freedom struggle. There is significant coverage of international responses and calls for mediation, portraying Pakistan's stance as seeking a peaceful resolution in line with U.N. resolutions.

Both sides use media to reinforce their national narratives. Indian newspapers deceived or rationalized reports of human rights violations, concentrating instead on security and governance. Conversely, Pakistani newspapers might emphasize such violations to garner international sympathy and support for their position. This media contestation extended to how each side reports on international diplomatic developments, with Indian media often framing Pakistan as isolated and Pakistani media presenting India as increasingly under scrutiny for its actions in Kashmir.

The divergent media portrayals contribute to the broader political and public perception of the Kashmir issue in each country, reinforcing entrenched positions and complicating efforts towards a peaceful resolution. For India, control over Kashmir is crucial to its national identity for several reasons. First, the accession of Jammu and Kashmir to India in 1947 was a significant moment in the country's post-colonial history. Losing Kashmir would not only mean a territorial loss but would also challenge India's secular framework. India's commitment to secularism is reflected in its constitutional promise to accommodate diverse religious and ethnic groups within a single national entity. The significant Muslim population in Kashmir is a testament to this secular identity, and any change in its status is perceived as a threat to this foundational principle.

Furthermore, India fears that any concession on Kashmir could embolden other separatist movements within its borders. India's multi-ethnic and multi-religious composition makes it particularly sensitive to issues of territorial integrity. A precedent of secession could destabilize other regions, leading to further demands for autonomy or independence.

On the other side, Pakistan views Kashmir as integral to its national ideology, which is rooted in the two-nation theory that led to its creation. This theory posits that Muslims and Hindus were

distinct nations that required separate states. Therefore, Kashmir, with its Muslim majority, is seen as a natural part of Pakistan. The idea of supporting Kashmiri Muslims in their right to self-determination is not only a political goal but also a moral and ideological imperative for Pakistan. Additionally, Pakistan's claim to Kashmir is tied to its sense of justice for the Muslim population in the region. Pakistan argues that the people of Kashmir should have the right to decide their own future, ideally through a plebiscite, as was envisaged by U.N. resolutions. For Pakistan, this is a matter of completing the process of Partition and correcting what it sees as a historical wrong. Given these deeply held views, any potential resolution that appears to favour one side is seen as an existential threat by the other. For India, losing control of Kashmir would mean compromising its secular and territorial integrity. For Pakistan, failing to gain control over Kashmir would be seen as abandoning the Kashmiri Muslims and undermining its foundational ideology.

This zero-sum perception makes compromise extremely difficult. Traditional conflict resolution methods that involve concessions and mutual gains are challenging to implement because both nations believe that any concession would directly undermine their core interests and identity. Thus, the Kashmir conflict remains deeply intractable, with both sides locked in a situation where neither is willing to cede ground, making pursuing peace a formidable challenge.

Some Pakistani authors tried to explain the situation of Kashmir as a conflict-prone area. Munir Akram's article "Kashmir: India's Afghanistan" (2019) drew parallels between India's prolonged war in occupied Jammu and Kashmir and Afghanistan's historical reputation as the "graveyard of empires." He emphasized the magnitude of India's military presence in Kashmir, with 700,000 troops, far exceeding any foreign force deployed in Afghanistan. Like many authors who contribute to *The Dawn*, Akram asserted that there is increasing recognition within the international community regarding the illegitimacy of India's occupation. The U.N. has reiterated the necessity for a referendum. It is criticized by several authors in columns and opinion editorial articles that India's shift towards a military solution could pose a severe threat to Kashmiri Muslims. Flexibility and a willingness to engage in discussions without rigid preconditions have been observed as essential for moving the peace process forward and resolving the Kashmir issue.

Furthermore, the authors warned of potential human rights violations and even the risk of genocide due to India's efforts to alter the region's demographic composition. In response to India's actions, Pakistan has become a staunch ally of the Kashmiri freedom struggle, and Kashmir is now considered a core issue for Pakistan. Many authors have also highlighted the growing risk of a conflict between Pakistan and India, which could have a nuclear dimension, and expect the international community to intervene to prevent such a scenario.

Many editorials and columns called IHK the giant open-air prison. India's incentives for investors, such as tax breaks and insurance, seem unlikely to attract entrepreneurs to a region likened to a "giant open-air prison." In the initial days of the curfew imposed by the Indian government, the muted response of the international community to India's actions in Kashmir has been criticized, with the editorials highlighting the need for condemnation and intervention to address the threat to global peace posed by India's behavior in IHK.

Editorials published during the time selected highlighted the worsening situation in India-held Kashmir (IHK) and criticized India's stubborn approach to subduing the aspirations of Kashmiris through military measures. They noted that several civilians were killed in IHK, and many were

injured. The National Assembly of Pakistan called upon India to reverse its "illegal action" in Kashmir and allowed foreign governments and global rights bodies to assess the human rights situation in the region. The Pakistani government and civil society have been active in raising awareness about the dire situation in India-held Kashmir (IHK), lobbying international capitals, and highlighting the human rights abuses by the Indian government. Similarly, a tweet from Alice Wells, the State Department's top diplomat for South and Central Asia, was made before her official visit to New Delhi. She expressed concern about the detention of political leaders and residents and internet restrictions in IHK while also hoping for a return to normalcy in the region.

Amid the turmoil, to prove itself, the Indian government made efforts to present a facade of normalcy in IHK, including organizing a guided tour for foreign diplomats. However, the visit was boycotted by European Union envoys because they were not allowed to meet detained Kashmiri politicians, raising questions about what India might be hiding. The International Community tried to raise criticism on the issue of Kashmir on several occasions. U.N. Secretary-General Antonio Guterres commented on the situation in India-held Kashmir (IHK) in February 2020. Guterres called upon India to ensure that the people of IHK are granted their fundamental rights, offering his "good offices" and highlighting the need to implement relevant Security Council resolutions. However, the Indian response to Guterres' offer has been rigid and arrogant, indicating a lack of interest in a peaceful resolution to the Kashmir question and a desire to escalate the geopolitical tensions in South Asia. India rejected the offer, asserting there is "no role or scope for third-party mediation" in the Kashmir issue.

Furthermore, Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad's continued criticism of India's actions has led to trade tensions. Turkish President Recep Erdogan's mention of the Kashmir issue at the U.N. General Assembly has reportedly caused Narendra Modi to postpone his visit to Ankara. India's size and influence have previously pressured smaller states, but it now faces international discomfort as stronger states challenge its actions and human rights violations in IHK. Elizabeth Warren and Canadian politician Jagmeet Singh criticized India's actions in Kashmir. The editorials emphasized that the Kashmir issue is fundamentally a matter of human rights, challenging India's claims of being the world's largest democracy. Pakistan's advocacy for Kashmir at international forums, including the prime minister's speech at the U.N. General Assembly, has amplified global awareness of the issue. The core issue lies in India's alteration of the Kashmiri rights through changes in its constitution. In pursuit of enduring peace, the editorials emphasized the imperative of respecting the Kashmiri people's right to self-determination through a democratic political process. This necessitates collaboration among all pertinent parties, including Kashmiris, Pakistan, and India, to implement the people's decision and ensure lasting peace in South Asia.

Several authors have analyzed Pakistan's policy regarding Kashmir in several opinion articles. Ashraf Jehangir Qazi's article (2020) presented a six-track Kashmir policy for Pakistan to address the ongoing crisis.

1. Restoring dialogue with India while engaging with the Kashmiri resistance leadership to seek a moral Kashmir settlement.
2. Deterring India from its current policies in Indian-administered Kashmir to prevent human rights violations and potential genocide.
3. Ensuring the survival of legitimate Kashmiri resistance against Indian annexation and atrocities, with a prohibition on acts of terror against unarmed civilians.

4. Addressing any division of Kashmiri opinion by reconciling the Pakistan and independence options based on Article 257 of the Pakistan Constitution.
5. Intensifying Pakistan's diplomacy to seek a moral and negotiated Kashmir settlement, protect Kashmiri political and human rights, and garner international support to restrain India.
6. Integrating the five tracks into a comprehensive national transformation policy to transform Pakistan's image, enhance its policy options, and gain global support for its stance on Kashmir.

Conclusion

The abrogation of Article 370 serves as a prominent example of how nations frame their political actions to align with broader strategic narratives. This decision by the Indian government to revoke Jammu and Kashmir's special status has been reported with marked differences in Indian and Pakistani media, each emphasizing their perspectives and justifications. The Galtungian war journalism frames that are violence-oriented reporting, propaganda-oriented reporting, elite-oriented reporting, and truth-oriented reporting are very much present in the explored news pieces.

Indian media highlighted the abrogation as a demonstration of national sovereignty and strategic foresight, portraying it as necessary for fully integrating Jammu and Kashmir into India. The narrative emphasized national unity, development, and the government's determination, reinforcing these themes through emotional language and repeated claims of strategic competence and commitment to national security.

Conversely, Pakistani media framed the revocation as illegitimate and provocative, emphasizing regional instability and human rights violations. Reports focused on perceived aggression by India, calling for international intervention against these security and humanitarian threats. This narrative was similarly reinforced through emotive language and consistent repetition.

Peace journalism as suggested by Galtung must be employed to address the situation effectively, the following actions can be recommended.

1. Normalize the security situation in Kashmir, with the media playing a supportive role by providing accurate and balanced reporting to avoid sensationalism and panic.
2. Recognize the disaffection in the Valley and the sense of insult felt by some Kashmiris due to legislative changes like the nullification of Article 370 and the scrapping of statehood. Positive media can help by highlighting the legitimate concerns and voices of the local population, fostering empathy, and understanding.
3. Open up political space in Kashmir to address contentious issues and work towards a resolution while making it clear that violence and terrorism are unacceptable. Media can contribute by promoting narratives of peace and reconciliation, showcasing successful dialogue initiatives, and emphasizing stories that underline common ground and potential for cooperation.

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