

**EDITORIAL FRAMING OF KASHMIR CONFLICT IN ELITE PRESS  
OF USA, UK, INDIA AND PAKISTAN**  
**(A Case Study of Pre and Post Scenario of Imposing Article 370 on Kashmir)**

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**ABSTRACT**

The elite press in the United States, the United Kingdom, India, and Pakistan are all involved in the formulation of the pre-post scenario of repealing Article 370 on Kashmir. The story given in such representative media, notably after the abrogation of Article 370 in Kashmir in 2019, differs in that of USA Today, The Guardian, The Hindustan Times, and Dawn. In this research content Analysis is used to conduct quantitative research. Related data from the defined newspapers have been collected from July 5th until September 5th, 2019. There are three ways to code content in Content Analysis: positively, negatively, and neutrally. Theoretical frameworks make use of framing theory. Findings were expressed in percentages while conducting content analysis of the editorials published in sampled newspapers. After the scenario in which Article 370 on the status of Kashmir was repealed, there has not been observed any substantial difference in how Kashmir was framed by elite press in US, UK Pakistan as well as in India before and after the scenario.

**KEYWORDS**

Kashmir conflict, Article 370, Abrogation, Pakistan Media, Western Media, Framing.

**INTRODUCTION**

Historically, the Kashmir dispute has caused friction between two important states of South Asia i.e. India and Pakistan. Understanding this conflict would not be possible without an understanding of the area's history. In August 1947, India and Pakistan were on the brink of independence from the United Kingdom. During the British Indian Empire's separation from the British Empire in 1947, the Great Britain, then under the control of the Governor General Louis Mountbatten, split India from Pakistan (Fieldhouse, D. K. 1966). It included a number of sovereign, states that were allies of the British but headed by the monarchs as well as states directly controlled by the British. When the partition took place, the princely states were able to decide whether to give their territories to India or Pakistan. In addition to geographical circumstances and collective interests, Mountbatten asserted that these states should be considered significant. Despite being declared a secular

nation, majority of Hindu went to India while majority of Muslim went to Pakistan (Kaul, S. 2002).

Due to this, Kashmir was a peculiar case. Although the majority of the population was Muslim, Maharaja Hari Singh was a Hindu ruler (Mukhtar, S. 2021). This was not an isolated incident. In Kashmir, the situation was quite different even though it presented a different scenario. Being governed by Hindu ruler, Mountbatten recommended that Kashmir will be part of India. Hari Singh decided that Kashmir would be independent at least for a long time. This was because he feared both Hindus and Sikhs would feel uncomfortable in India while Kashmiri Muslims would not feel comfortable in Pakistan. The ambivalence in Kashmir led to outbursts during this period. With time, Pakistani forces crossed into Kashmir, looting and plundering Srinagar as they attempted to seize the region. Amidst the consequent chaos he begged India to aid him in battling the situation in Kashmir. Indian soldiers and Pakistani tribesmen engaged in the First Indo-Pak War. As the year 1948 drew to a close, the two sides in Kashmir consolidated their positions. A cease-fire became effective and the LOC was established. The Indians control two-thirds of Kashmir, while the other third is under Pakistani control. Similarly the study observed that basically Kashmir conflict is the product of the first Indo-Pak war (Ganguly, Š. 1999).

The conflict has become so prolonged that both sides could not resolve the issue despite the UN involvement. Initially a plebiscite was proposed by the United Nation to resolve the issue after seeking opinion of the Kashmiri's. However the notion was reject by Pakistan's founding father Muhammad Ali Jinnah, rather he suggested to leave the matter to Pakistan and India to resolve it after mutual talks and ceasefire. This proposed plan was opposed by Jawaharlal Nehru's government in India while stating "we are prepared when peace and law and order have been established to have a referendum in Kashmir under some such international auspices as that of the UN" (Birdwood, 1956).

Mediation was the responsibility of the UN. On April 21st, 1948, UN Security Council Resolution 47 was adopted. Initially, a commission of five members was assist both countries to restore peace to Kashmir (the commission was established by resolution 39). In addition, a plebiscite was to be held to determine Kashmir's fate. However this never happened till date. Number of breaches have be witnessed by the international community of the signed ceasefire on Line of Control. Even on July 5, 2019 the current ruling party BJP abrogated Article 370 of the Indian constitution depriving Kashmir from its special status and allowing Indian law to be implemented on the disputed territory of Indian administered Kashmir (Jaffrelot, 2018). Similarly it is also observed that by this recent action of the Indian government has deteriorated the situation to the greater extend. It has been noted, "the Indian government seems to have closed off options for a negotiated settlement" (Jacob, 2020).

Additionally when such conflicts are addressed the role media becomes more significant in this regard. Media has the power to create perceptions and make opinions about an issue it handles (Hoskins and O'Loughlin, 2010). Therefore Kashmir as a "mediated conflict" provides a significant scope for study. This study explores the framing of the Kashmir conflict within the mediated messages of elite press of India, Pakistan, UK and USA while keeping in view the controversy surrounding Article 370 of the Indian constitution.

## BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

### **The Significance of Kashmir**

It's no secret that Kashmir is very important for national security, geography and resources. The Indus River, a major river, traverses Kashmir. It is crucial to Pakistan's agriculture. In lower Indus valley rainfall is so rare, so it's crucial there. The Indus river is an important source of irrigation for India. The Indus River and its tributaries are therefore highly sought after. Water can be cut off to another nation if one nation controls the region effectively. This fear was addressed by the Indus Water Treaty signed on September 19, 1960 to ensure an equitable distribution of water from this river. This treaty gives control of the Beas, Ravi, and Sutlej, the eastern tributaries are given to India, whereas Pakistan is given control over the western rivers of Indus, Chenab, and Jhelum. About one-fifth of the river's total flow is carried by India. The rest is carried by Pakistan. There is still a fear for Pakistan that in case of conflict, India could cut off the supply since it controls the region through which the Indus flows. The most important thing to remember is that India did not cut off the water supply during the previous wars. For Pakistan, Kashmir remains a possibility, making it a precious resource. Aside from supplying freshwater, glaciers are also important resources (Ali, S., & Saeed, A. 2019).

There is a significant potential to generate hydropower from Kashmir's rivers and water bodies. Jammu and Kashmir relies heavily on hydropower for its electricity needs. Currently, Kashmir's electricity production reaches only 3000 megawatts. Despite this, the region can produce up to 16,000 megawatts of energy. It is because of this that Kashmir is of strategic importance to the Indian government. Additionally, the region is rich in natural resources, including uranium, gold, oil, and natural gas (Azam, T., Nelofer, S., & Malik, S. Y. 2020).

Kashmir is also important from a geopolitical perspective. From the perspective of South Asia, Kashmir connects to Central Asia. Indians have the only direct route to Central Asia or Europe through Central Asia. As a result, the Belt and Road initiative will be impacted (Tsereteli, M. 2019).

CPEC is important for China-Pakistan Economic Corridor as well. CPEC is a massive bilateral undertaking that involves the development of infrastructure in Pakistan, the establishment of transportation networks between Pakistan and China, and numerous energy projects. This project crosses the Pakistan-controlled Kashmir region. Kashmir aims to connect Pakistan directly with Central Asia and China. All three countries have nuclear weapons. The region is central to them all. India controls approximately 55% of the original territory of Kashmir, Pakistan controls 30%, and China controls 15% (Wikipedia).

### **The Indian viewpoint on Kashmir**

*The Indian authorities claim that Kashmir is entirely theirs and that Pakistan and China are making false claims to it. Due to Maharaja Hari Singh's instrument of accession, India now holds Kashmir on a fair and legal basis. Kashmir is the only avenue for India to reach Central Asia. This route is essential for India to have direct access to Central Asian and European countries. This route is also important for ensuring its national security. There is barely a mountain between Pakistan and China. Conflict without Kashmir may*

result in China and Pakistan cooperating, threatening India. Due to China and Pakistan's strained relations, India is wary of both (Afzal, A. 2003).

In 1963, Pakistan also gave control of Shaksgam valley and Gilgit to China. Before the war, both of these areas were governed by Pakistan. Some believe this was the reason to undermine India and allow Chinese military presence in Kashmir. Despite this, India feels threatened. China and Pakistan are strengthening their ties, increasing the number of troops in this region.

Recently, Indian nationalism has gained steam, especially since the Bhartiya Janata Party took power in 2014 with Prime Minister Narendra Modi at its helm. Since the state of Jammu and Kashmir was established, there have been numerous terrorist attacks, both on Indian territory and by foreign terrorist groups. Terrorists from outside and insurgents from this region attacked the Indian Parliament and killed several people. Attacks of this type are common. Many civilians and Indian soldiers lost their lives as a result. It caused Indian resentment. They are angry at Pakistan because they have camps there. Indian citizens have been concerned about these deaths for a long time, and they have hoped that the government would act decisively in response to these acts of terror. Likewise, the Indians are angry and resentful towards mainly Pakistan, but also towards China, for taking over their territory. India should take severe action if Kashmir does not belong to it.

### **Views on Kashmir from Pakistan**

According to Pakistan, The control of Kashmir was given to India by a ruler who was not an honest ruler. The people should be represented. The majority of Muslim countries have gone to Pakistan. So In their view, Kashmir belongs to them.

Pakistan claims an unelected ruler unlawfully ceded Kashmir to India. Since most Muslim-majority countries have moved to Pakistan, they think Pakistan is also theirs.

Kashmir is Pakistan's sole direct route to China. This is vital for both military and economic reasons. The CPEC includes Kashmir. It will be severed if Kashmir is lost. This direct contact with China has aided economic growth.

Worse even for Pakistan, India may put huge numbers of troops close to the border if it gains complete control of Kashmir.

Loss of Kashmir would cut connections with China and bring Indian soldiers within striking distance of Pakistan's major cities. This might be devastating in a crisis. As a result, Pakistan fears that if Kashmir is lost, India will be merciless.

On this subject, the public appears to be against India. Others identify with Kashmiris and feel that joining Pakistan will benefit the area. However, some individuals have grown tired of the conflict in Kashmir and have criticized the government for spending so much money on it.

Pakistan cannot lose control of Kashmir, says Islamabad. India has no legal or moral jurisdiction over Kashmir. They've requested the UN to mediate (Asoori, P. 2020, October 7).

### **Kashmir from the Kashmir Viewpoint**

It has been mostly overlooked. Maharaja Hari Singh's decision to cede over Kashmir to India triggered this argument. Kashmir had a population of around 4 million before division. They were mostly Muslim, with few Hindu, Buddhist, and Sikh.

It was already getting worse before the divorce. The Muslim Conference, led by Sheikh Abdullah, slammed the Maharaja as an Islamophobe. As the Conference's popularity waned, Abdullah was compelled to secularize. Abdullah remained in charge.

Later in life, Mohammed Ali Jinnah and Abdullah were bitter enemies. Because of his connection with Jinnah, he gained government trust.

Kashmir signed a cease-fire deal with both India and Pakistan after the partition of India and Pakistan. As a result of Abdullah's request for assistance from the Maharaja, Kashmir was lost to India when Pakistani tribesmen invaded India.

Kashmir was in a state of flux before to the invasion. Many wished for Kashmir's independence. However, many people desired to visit India or Pakistan. Abdullah was arrested later that year for secretly meeting with foreign troops. Kashmir's Constituent Assembly approved India's admission into Kashmir in 1954. But there was no peace.

There was a rift among Kashmiris. Also, many Kashmiris believe the administration is corrupt. During a military coup in 1965, Pakistan invaded Kashmir. Anti-Pakistani sentiments have risen across the area. Now, Kashmiri leaders seemed to have changed their tune, voicing diverse views on India's Kashmir admission.

Kashmir began to rapidly Islamize in 1980. Cities' names were changed, and propaganda was distributed. Other religions were labelled as "spies" or "outsiders". According to current data, Saudi Arabian governments may have influenced or aided spread this disease. This started the fight in the area.

Expulsion of Kashmiri Hindus was the first major act of violence. Muslim rioters slaughtered thousands of Hindus in Kashmir, then exiled them and vandalized their temples. Before the migration, the region had 600,000 Hindus. Towards the end, 2000-3000 people remained. Extremist Islam has gained appeal, inciting violence against non-Muslims. Insurgents recruited and violently trained children. The selling of personal items enabled the purchase of weaponry. Rebel groups have been violent and propagandistic for decades.

The carnage has only increased since then. Terrorists and militants, as well as Pakistani and Indian soldiers, have all perpetrated atrocities. As a result, the area's military has risen. Terrorism within the US has also increased.

Opposing military units, rebels, and terrorists have also violated human rights. The regime is accused of mass killings, kidnappings, and torture. The Pakistani and Indian militaries have been charged with genocide. Following the revision of Article 370, the Indian government shut down communication and imprisoned politicians to maintain public order (explained in more detail in the following section). The Indian government maintains it was done for the sake of peace. 213 days later, internet access returned. Amnesty International and other international and local groups have condemned human rights violations in Kashmir.

Decades of conflict and bloodshed have worn down Kashmiris. Terrorists and militants constantly assault one side. The military is a different story. Members of this military claim human rights breaches. Kashmiris demand an end to the bloodshed. The call for a referendum amid Kashmir's separation is growing. More people want Kashmir to be an independent state (Asoori, P. 2020, October 7).

### **Recent Events**

In Pulwama on 14 February 2019, a suicide bomber detonated himself, killing 40 men of the CRPF (Central Reserve Police Force). Pakistan was blamed for the attack by the Indian government. Pakistan, on the other hand, has opted out.

Between the two countries existed a schism. Indian fighter jets attacked Balakot in retaliation for Pakistan's strikes on Indian land. Pakistan's retaliation to India's strike resulted in no casualties. While in combat, an Indian fighter plane was attacked and forced to land in Pakistan. The world, as well as the two nations, were on the verge of war. After a series of deliberations, the pilot was returned to India (Asoori, P. 2020, October 7).

### **What is the meaning of Article 370?**

It was formally cancelled by the Narendra Modi-led Indian government on August 5, 2019. Article 370 was intended to provide Jammu and Kashmir a temporary legal status. As a result, Jammu and Kashmir gained some autonomy. Jammu and Kashmir was granted self-government so it could write its own constitution, adopt its own laws, and fly its own flag. The Indian government would be in control of defense and foreign affairs. As a result, other states' Native Americans couldn't acquire property or settle here. A woman who marries a man from another state loses her property rights. Prime Minister Narendra Modi's BJP has long opposed Article 370 and has included removing it in its 2019 election program. They believed Kashmir should be part of India and treated equally.

They stated it was a temporary remedy in place for 70 years. They said it impeded progress and was biased. So Modi changed it when he ran for re-election. Jammu & Kashmir's special rights have been revoked. Union territories are areas under federal administration that include the Indian states of Jammu and Kashmir and Ladakh.

This decision sparked debate. In anticipation of large-scale protests, the Indian government moved thousands of armed soldiers into the region to maintain order. The internet and other networks were down. The governor and several high-ranking officials were arrested early. It was surrounded and the press was censored. Human rights organizations slammed these actions. Pakistan has responded fiercely to the decision, vowing to block it with all means. The removal of Pakistan's ambassador from India ended both countries' trade relations (Rather, T. 2020).

### **Future Outlook and Conflict Resolution**

In their respective countries, India and Pakistan are adamant that Kashmir is theirs by right. It is not easy to find fault with either side's arguments. Apart from that, Kashmir holds tremendous significance for both countries. It's difficult to imagine that either country would be willing to give up Kashmir on their own terms. It is undeniable that thousands of Kashmiris and soldiers have been subjected to atrocities and continue to be

subjected to such treatment. In addition, there have been reports of human rights violations in the area. In both Pakistan and India, there is growing sympathy for the Kashmiris as the conflict progresses. However, at the present time, there appears to be little hope for change in this part of the world (Asoori, P. 2020, October 7).

### **OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY**

This research aims to discuss following main objectives;

1. To investigate the framing of Kashmir conflict before and after the abrogation of Article 370, portrayed in USA Today, The Guardian, The Hindu and Dawn.
2. To compare the portrayal of Kashmir issue before and after the abrogation of Article 370 in the defined newspapers.
3. To compare the editorial content of given newspapers in this regard.

### **RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

For the purposed study, following is the list of research questions.

1. Do defined media outlets equally cover Kashmir conflict before and after the abrogation of Article 370?
2. What were the differences while framing Kashmir conflict before and after the annulment of Article 370 in the given newspapers?

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

Kashmir conflict is among the most prolonged unresolved conflicts in history. Both India and Pakistan has claim on the territory.

Lamb (1991) notes that following the internal uprising Maharaja Hari Singh feared to lose the control of the territory and signed the “Instrument of Accession” with Indian government allowing Indian troops to enter into the Kashmir (Lamb, 1991).

However as the part of the “Instrument of Accession” he also mentioned his wish that in near future people of Jammu and Kashmir should be allowed to decide their fate (Birdwood, 2005).

Media has pivotal role while covering conflict especially when the issue is stretched across the decades. Most recently a new term is used for this purpose called “mediated conflict”. This new concept refers to the way media outlets handle such conflict in terms of particular media handling techniques. “Specifically, some media activities work to define, frame, narrate, evaluate, contest, promote and perform conflict” (Cottle, 2006).

In humanitarian crises the role of media and journalism becomes more concerned. Media definitely follows a particular agenda in its coverage of every issue but when it comes to the matter of national security and national interest even the most neutral media tends to protect its national interest. A related study, explored the human rights and challenges faced by media, revealed that it is a commonplace property of the journalist to modify and manipulate pieces of information to pursue better interest of the nation or to meet the goals of military and security, principally during war. For example the political feedback of the military invasion of Afghanistan shows, that even top representatives of the international media like BBC and CNN are invincible to political annoyance to serve

national interest defined by their government. The bests of journalists do not care about such political pressures ( International Council on Human Rights Policy , 2002).

It is also noted that the manifestation of verity of frames may be observed while covering a particular conflict in the media content of the countries not directly involved in the conflict. However those directly involved may have their stance expressed in their particular media. For instance while taking Kashmir issue it is generally perceived that Indian and Pakistani media would cover the issue in accordance with specific policy countries have towards the conflict. Coverage of Kashmir highlight the Pakistan's stance on the issue that Kashmir needs solution in the light of the UN resolutions and without solution of this conflict there will not be any long lasting improvement in the relations of India and Pakistan. Contrary to it Indian media projects the Indian government's point of view on the issue i.e. India has legal right on Kashmir territory and therefore there is no conflict to set regarding Kashmir. As for as the military deposition, it is to maintain the law and order situation in the valley (Mohyidin, 2020).

Similarly another study noted that conflicting frames were found within the media discourse of media of the two countries. When the media content of Pakistan's *Dawn* and India's *The Tribune* were analyzed it was found that both media outlets promoted the stance of the respective governments on Kashmir (Ali & Kitchlew, 2019).

However the media of the other countries can have variety of the frames while covering Kashmir for example a related study conducted on TRT World, Turkish media representative, observed that "Article 370 is the only legal link between India and the disputed state," Moreover it also noted that; "For it to be revoked, it has to be approved concurrently by the Jammu and Kashmir constituent assembly, which was dissolved in 1956..The issue brings to mind many parallels with the illegal Israeli occupation of Palestine" (Mohyidin, 2020).

Similarly in related study it is also related that severity of the Kashmir conflict is often related with Palestine therefore it is often called as "South Asian Palestine" or "Middle Eastern Kashmir" for Palestine (Ali & Kitchlew, 2019).

Additionally some of the media outlets also related "states of India and Israel as part of a contemporary geo-colonial formation". And they reported news like "The president of Pakistani administered Kashmir went on to say that Palestinians and Kashmiris are being persecuted because they are Muslims (Khalid, 2019).

After review the related literature it has been observed that there exist a wide gap in terms of handling Kashmir issue in research. Apart from India and Pakistan UK and USA are also important key players in the political situation in South Asian. For this purpose it is significant to look into the UK and USA media outlets while covering Kashmir issue in general and the situation related to the abrogation of Article 370 in the Indian constitution. This study helps to fill this gap while focusing on the defined media of India, Pakistan, UK and USA.

## METHODOLOGY

This study focuses on the editorial framing of Kashmir conflict in mainstream newspapers of UK, US, India and Pakistan from July 5 to September 5, 2019 (one month

before and after the abrogation of Article 370). The selected newspapers include USA Today, The Guardian, The Hindustan Times and Dawn belonging to US, UK, India and Pakistan respectively.

Action research can be defined as “an approach in which the action researcher and a client collaborate in the diagnosis of the problem and in the development of a solution based on the diagnosis”. Quantitative content analysis methods have been used to conduct this study. As a significant method of research content analysis examines data in an objective, systematic and quantitative way in order to measure variables. In other words it is a research method that is formulated to study the content of gathered information for a particular research (Giroux, 2009).

It is also elaborated that quantitative research designed are preferred for those situations in which the use of standardized measures is required therefore the diverse viewpoints and experiences of the audience can be noted into a restricted predetermined categorized form of response that has been given numbers (p.14). "The fundamental benefits of quantitative research techniques are that they allow researchers to record the response of a big number of audience members or a large number of study components to a restricted set of questions, thereby allowing for the statistical aggregation and comparison of the data" (p.14) (Giroux, 2009).

### **Population of the Study**

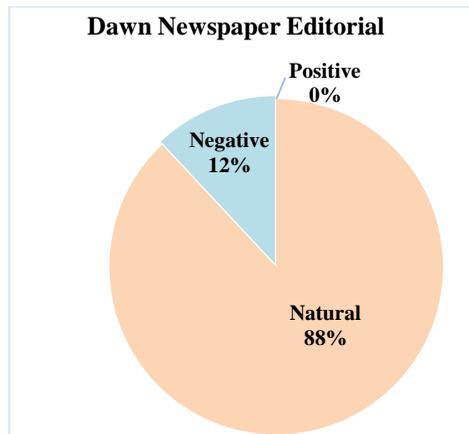
In research population refers to the large group of people or objects from which a sample is drawn. Similarly it is also a group for which the results of the research are generalized (Anderson, 2007). In this research four newspapers i.e. USA Today (USA), The Guardian (UK), The Hindu (India) and Dawn (Pakistan) are serving as the population of the study.

### **Sample of the Study**

“A sample is the subset of population that is representative of the entire population”. (Anderson, 2007). Since population comprises of a large amount of data and in practical research it is very hard to reach out for it. Therefore it is important to draw a sample out of it which is a true representative of the population however more convenient to access. For this purpose there are certain techniques in research to draw a sample from the given population. For the current study convenience sampling method have been used by the researcher. The selected sampling can be defined as; “a non-probability sampling technique where subjects are selected because of their convenient accessibility and proximity”. In simple words, in this method, a sample is selected from the given population as an accidental or haphazard way of selection, and the process of including into the sample whoever happens to be available at the time (Giroux, 2009).

## **FINDINGS**

The collected data was analyzed using SPSS and findings were shown in the form of graphs and tables.

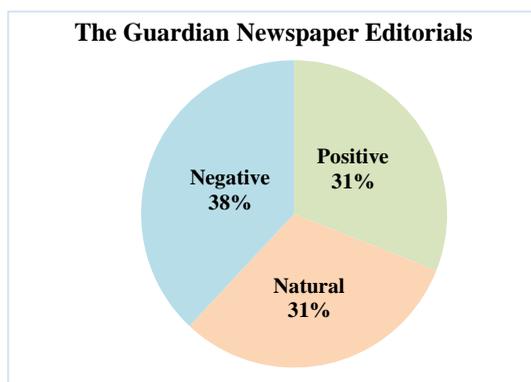


**Figure 1: Editorials Published in Dawn from July 5, 2019 to September 2019**

**Table 1**  
**Editorials Published in Dawn from July 5, 2019 to September 2019**

Newspaper	Categories	% of Editorials
<b>Dawn</b>	Positive	0
	Negative	88
	Neutral	12
	<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>

Results shown in Figure 1 and Table 1 reveal that 88% of the editorial content published in Dawn regarding Kashmir conflict during defined period of time was negative, while 0% of the content was positive and 12 % of the editorial content was neutral.

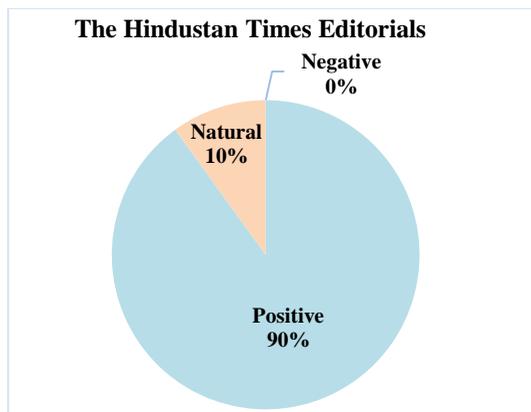


**Figure 2: Editorials Published in The Guardian from July 5, 2019 to September 2019**

**Table 2**  
**Editorials published in The Guardian from July 5, 2019 to September 2019**

<b>Newspaper</b>	<b>Categories</b>	<b>% of Editorials</b>
<b>The Guardian</b>	Positive	31
	Negative	38
	Neutral	31
	<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>

Results shown in Figure 2, table 2 reveal that 38% of the editorial content published in The Guardian, regarding Kashmir conflict during defined period of time, was negative, while 31% of the content was positive and 31 % of the editorial content was neutral.

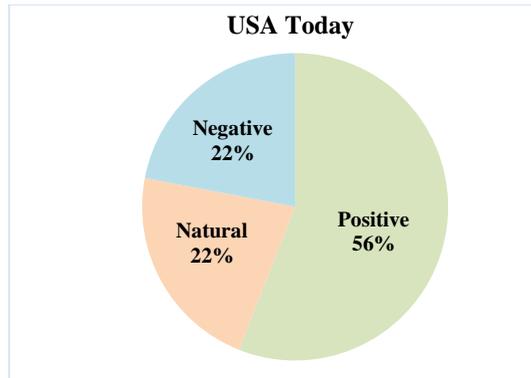


**Figure 3: Editorials Published in the Hindustan Times from July 5, 2019 to September 2019**

**Table 3**  
**Editorials published in The Hindustan Times from July 5, 2019 to September 2019**

<b>Newspaper</b>	<b>Categories</b>	<b>% of Editorials</b>
<b>The Hindustan Times</b>	Positive	90
	Negative	0
	Neutral	10
	<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>

Results shown in Figure 3, table 3 reveal that 0 % of the editorial content published in The Hindustan Times, regarding Kashmir conflict during defined period of time, was negative, while 90 % of the content was positive and 10 % of the editorial content was neutral.



**Figure 4: Editorials published in USA Today from July 5, 2019 to September 2019**

**Table 4**  
**Editorials published in USA Today from July 5, 2019 to September 2019**

Newspaper	Categories	% of Editorials
USA Today	Positive	56
	Negative	22
	Neutral	22
	<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>

Results shown in Figure 4, table 4 reveal that 22 % of the editorial content published in USA Today, regarding Kashmir conflict during defined period of time, was negative, while 56 % of the content was positive and 22 % of the editorial content was neutral.

**Table 5**  
**Overview of the Editorial Framing of the Kashmir Conflict in the Defined Newspapers during given Period of Time**

Newspapers	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Total
USA Today	56	22	22	<b>100</b>
The Guardian	31	38	31	<b>100</b>
The Hindustan Times	90	0	10	<b>100</b>
Dawn	0	88	12	<b>100</b>

Results shown in table 5 reveal the overview of the editorial framing of the Kashmir conflict during July 5, 2019 to July 5, 2019.

## DISCUSSION

This investigation focuses on the editorial framing of the Kashmir dispute in newspapers published in the United States, the United Kingdom, India, and Pakistan. There are four newspapers that have been selected for this purpose: USA Today, The Guardian, The Hindustan Times, and Dawn, among others. The abrogation of Article 370 of the Indian constitution has been designated as the time range for this study. As a result,

information has been gathered from July 5, 2019 to September 5, 2019. According to the findings of the content analysis, 88 percent of the editorial content published in Dawn regarding the Kashmir conflict during a defined period of time was negative, whereas 0 percent of the content was positive and 12 percent of the editorial content was neutral during the same period. On the other hand, 22 percent of the editorial content published in USA Today about the Kashmir dispute over a certain period of time was unfavorable, while 56 percent of the content was positive and 22 percent of the editorial content was neutral. On the other hand, no negative editorial content was published in The Hindustan Times addressing the Kashmir conflict during a certain period of time, whereas 90 percent of the content was positive and 10 percent of the editorial content was neutral during that same era. More importantly, during a certain period of time, 38 percent of the editorial content published in The Guardian on the Kashmir conflict was unfavorable, while 31 percent of the content was positive, and 31 percent of the editorial content was neutral.

### CONCLUSION

The framing of the Kashmir issue in the elite press of the US, UK, India, and Pakistan did not change significantly before or after the Indian Government repealed Article 370. The elite press of designated nations presents the Kashmir issue clearly. The analysis found that all of the representative nations' elite media outlets regularly covered the Kashmir issue. During the same era, the Indian press was more supportive of the repeal of Article 370, with no unfavorable editorials on Kashmir. Dawn remained largely negative in this aspect. 88 % of the information was found to be negative when all three categories were considered: positive, negative, and neutral. During a defined period, Dawn has not published a positive editorial on the Kashmir conflict. Similarly, USA Today's editorial coverage has been mostly positive (56%). The journal has given equal coverage to the neutral and negative categories. However "The Guardian" covered both sides of the story equally, with 31% coverage for each, but when it came to the Kashmir problem, 38% of the editorial content was unfavorable. Thus, the US and Indian press backed the repeal of Article 370 and voiced no significant concern on the topic, whereas Dawn and The Guardian highlighted the Kashmir dispute as an escalated issue.

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