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TÍTULO: Elevar la historia de la guerra a través de la voz de los medios: un análisis crítico del discurso de los artículos periodísticos pakistaníes e indios en situación de guerra de febrero de 2019.

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RESUMEN: Esta investigación analiza el uso de la agenda propuesta por grupos de presión en India y Pakistán durante los días de alta tensión del ataque posterior a Pulwama en la región de Cachemira que se encuentra en la India. El estudio se basa en un análisis comparativo de dos artículos periodísticos de dos periódicos (The Dawn de Pakistán y The Times of India de India). Este estudio utiliza el enfoque de análisis crítico propuesto por Norman Fairclough (1989). Se ha observado que los medios tienen un papel muy poderoso en el control de la situación de guerra. Puede desempeñar su papel desde ambas perspectivas, ya sea positiva o negativa. Depende de la agenda que sigan los medios si quiere difundir la guerra o la paz.

PALABRAS CLAVES: Análisis crítico del discurso, Agenda de Cachemira, Ejército de Pakistán, Papel de los medios, Guerra de Pakistán India.

TITLE: Raising War Hysteria through Media Voice: A Critical Discourse Analysis of the Pakistani and Indian newspaper articles in war situation of February 2019.

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ABSTRACT: This research analyses the use of agenda proposed by pressure groups in India and Pakistan during high tension days of post Pulwama attack in the Indian held Kashmir region. The study is based on a comparative analysis of two newspaper articles from two newspapers (The Dawn from Pakistan and The Times of India from India). This study uses the critical analysis approach as proposed by Norman Fairclough (1989). It has been observed that media has a very powerful role in controlling the situation of war. It can play its role from both perspectives either positive or negative. It depends on the agenda that is followed by the media whether it wants to spread war or peace.

KEY WORDS: critical discourse analysis, Kashmir agenda, Pakistan army, Role of Media, Pakistan India War.

INTRODUCTION.

The situation between Pakistan and India has seen many rises and falls since their independence from the British dominance in 1947. The two countries are nuclear armed states. They have fought three wars over the issue of Kashmir which is situated in the north of both these countries.

The region of Kashmir is beautiful in nature and ample in natural resources that is why both of the countries claim that this land belongs to their country. After a few months of Independence from British Empire, Pakistan and India fought their first stand-off in 1948 since then they have been in a situation of war on the issue of Kashmir. Both countries are ready to accept that it is the people of Kashmir who have the right to decide which state they wish to join. There are resolutions of UN on the issue of Kashmir that the future of Kashmir lies in the hands of Kashmiri people who will decide through a plebiscite.

Off late, Pakistan and India have seen their worst ever war situation on the issue of Kashmir after Pulwama attack on the Indian paramilitary police in February 2019. The attack was claimed by the JeM (Jaish-e-Muhammad), a freedom fight movement of Kashmiri people about which Indian government claims that it is funded and run by Pakistani government and army to make chaos in Indian held Kashmir though Pakistan has refused the India allegations on all forums. After Pulwama attack on paramilitary police, media from both countries became active and started to launch the propaganda imposed by the pressure groups.

This research is an endeavor to the comparative analysis of the role of Indian and Pakistani media after the attack on Indian paramilitary troops which caused more than 40 casualties and left about 20 injured. The researchers have used the text from two newspapers (one from both countries). Fairclough's (1995) model of CDA consists of three dimensions of discourse analysis. These three dimensions of discourse analysis are interrelated to one another and termed as i.e. textual, interpretational and social levels, each level requires a different kind of analysis: i) the object of analysis, ii) The processes iii) the socio-historical perspective.

DEVELOPMENT.

Research Questions.

The current research will attempt to answer the following questions:

- i) Did Pakistani and Indian Media play its role in the war situation of February 2019?
- ii) What was the intent of Pakistani and India media (spreading peace or war in the region)?
- iii) Which pressure groups created pressure on Pakistani and India media for fake, biased and untruthful news during the war situation of February 2019?

Literature review.

According to Dijk, CDA is not just a model or a school of thought rather it is shared perspective on conducting discourse analysis on the basis of linguistics, semiotics and syntactic analyses (1993b:131).

Batstone sees CDA as an attempt to show the formation of text so that the particular view could be expressed dexterously and stealthily (1995:198). According to Fairclough, the purpose of CDA is to reveal social and linguistic practices at macro and micro level of analysis (1989:25).

As Dijk suggests that CDA is not only the study of text itself rather investigating what the talk is all about to show how it is linked with the consciousness or opposition to the politics and societal norms (1995:33). Fairclough further elaborates CDA as it is a consistent strife to understand how language is formed on the basis of an ideology which in its turn belongs to power (1989:39).

According to Dijk, CDA is a method of studying spoken and written text so that the issues of authority, strength, prejudice, relationship and other party line may be revealed; it may also study societal and political environment which formed that particular text/speech (1998:57). According to Titscher et. al CDA interprets the connection between language and society, society and speech because language is formed by society and culture (2000:146). According to Khan, language is used in order to achieve some particular purpose or agenda by the language users who select particular word choices so that some ideology may be established and implemented in the society and politics (2003:49).

According to BBC, Pakistan came into being in 1947. Thousands of people lost their lives in the fights between the Sikh, Muslim and Hindu warriors who interrupted the migration of people from India to Pakistan (BBC, 17 August 2018). Quaid Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah was the founder of new land who also became the first governor general of it but soon after the independence of Pakistan, Jinnah became sick and he died in 1948 due to tuberculosis which made Pakistan suffer countless economic and governmental problems. It also had to face a lot of evil schemes of its opponents. It was attacked by India in 1948, 1965, 1971 and 1999 which caused massive loss of life and property to its nationals. 1947-1948 saw India and Pakistan the first war between them over the issue of Kashmir.

The second, third, and fourth wars 1965, 1971, 1999 were also based on Kashmir agenda. The purpose of the current study is to analyze the hidden agenda in the prevention and fuelling the passion of War on February 2019, either it's based on freedom of Kashmir or some other cause.

This paper explains that media can play a powerful role to control the circumstances of war. It also illustrates the role of media (positive or negative) on both sides of border.

Data collection.

Data was collected from Pakistani 'The Dawn' newspapers from the following weblinks:

<http://www.dawn.com/news/1466569>

<http://www.dawn.com/news/1467102>

Indian articles were taken from 'The Times of India' from the following web links:

<http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/elections/news/pm-pakistan-returned-abhi-or-it-wouldve-seen-gatal-ki-raat/articleshow/68982927.cms>

<http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/willing-to-return-indian-pilot-if-it-means-de-escalation-pakistan-foreign-minister/articleshow/68198230.cms>

Research methodology.

Quantitative data is analyzed in the forms of tables, graphs, percentages and numbers whereas qualitative data is analyzed in the form sentences and paragraphs. The data of the current research paper has been analysed in both forms; qualitative analysis as well as quantitative analysis. The data has been analysed quantitatively with Antconc to search for the words used to spread peace or war from the newspaper articles of both countries whereas the interpretation of Fairclough's model on these newspaper articles has also been given qualitatively.

Data analysis.

This section is based on quantitative and qualitative analysis of newspaper articles from India and Pakistan.

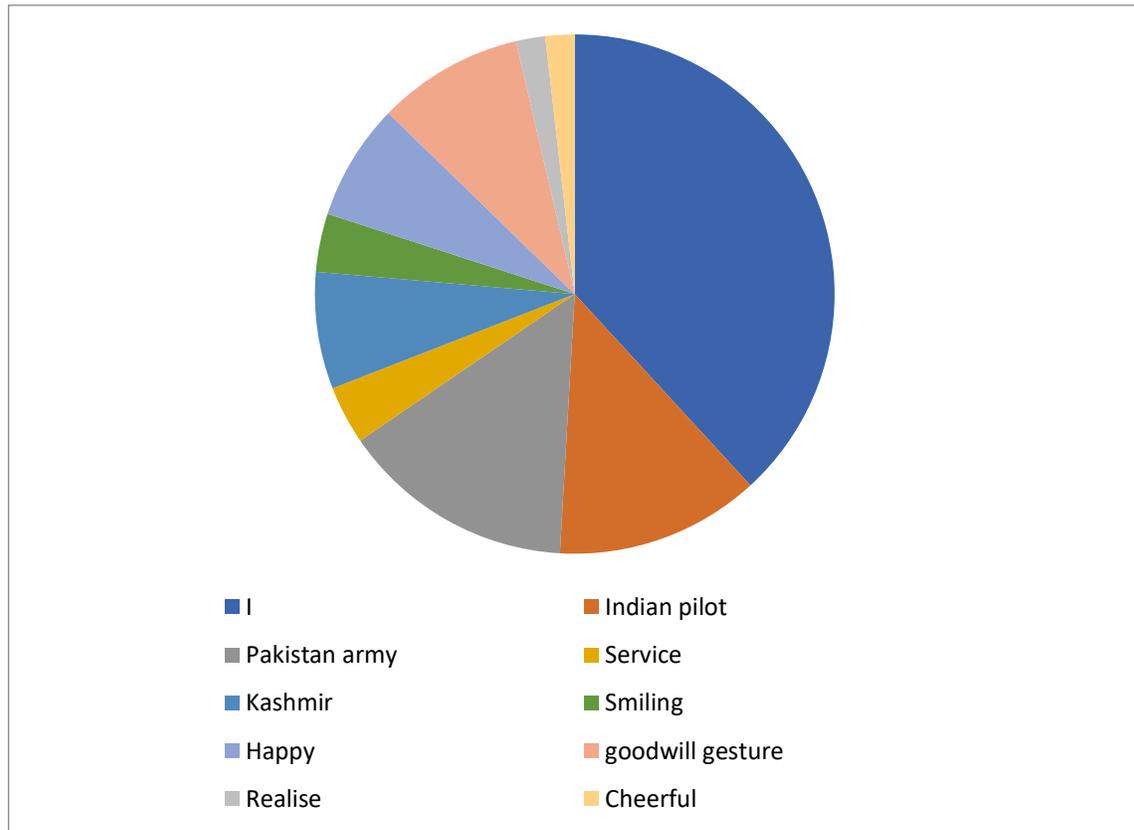
Quantitative Analysis of Newspaper Articles.

Quantitative analysis of Pakistani and Indian newspaper articles has been illustrated in the lines below:

Quantitative Analysis of Pakistani Newspaper Articles.

I	21
Indian pilot	7
Pakistan army	8
Service	2
Kashmir	4
Smiling	2
Happy	4
goodwill gesture	5
Realise	1
Cheerful	1

Graph 1: Graphical representation of quantitative analysis of Indian newspaper articles.

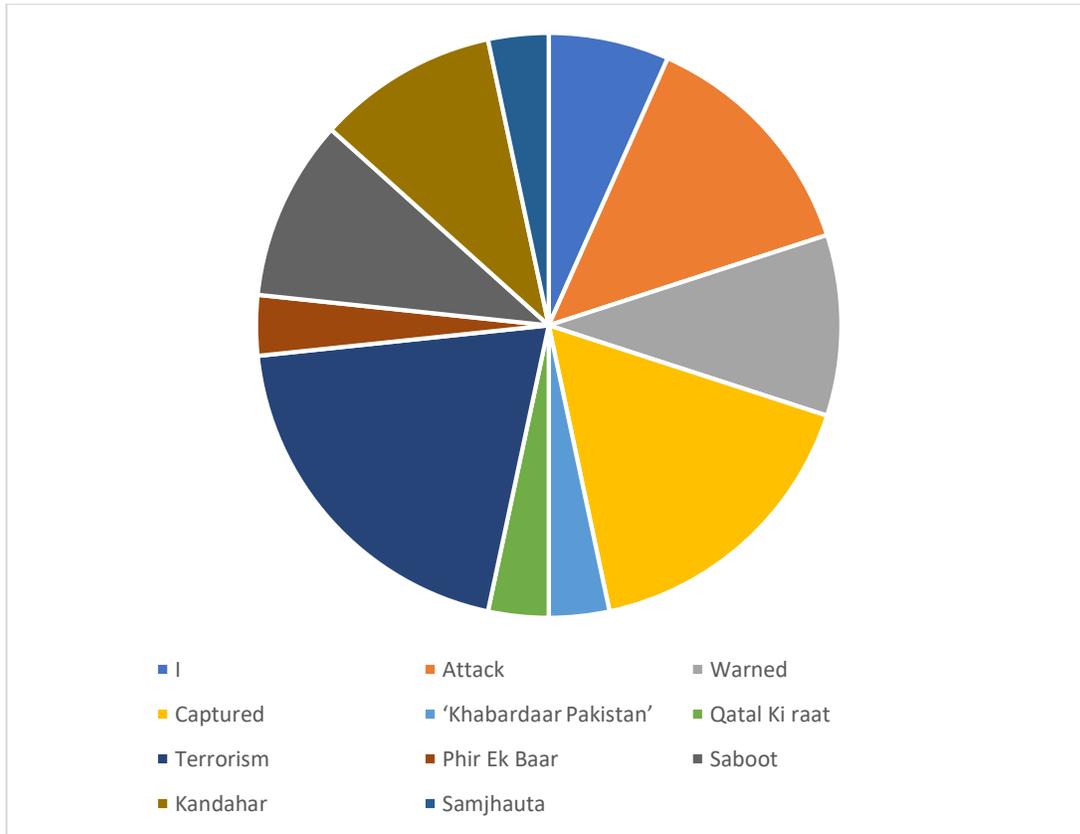


Quantitative Analysis of Indian Newspaper Articles.

I	2
Attack	4
Warned	3
Captured	5
'Khabardaar Pakistan'	1
Qatal Ki raat	1
Terrorism	6
Phir Ek Baar	1
Saboot	3

Kandahar	3
Samjhauta	1

Graph 2: Graphical representation of quantitative analysis of Indian newspaper articles.



Qualitative Analysis of Newspaper Articles.

Textual Analysis.

According to the three-dimensional model of Fairclough (1995), critical discourse analysis should include textual analysis which would analyze the language as regards to syntactic analysis, semantic analysis, morphological analysis, phonetic and cohesive analysis.

The two newspaper articles from India and Pakistan are written in estimated one thousand words.

This long text can be studied under the following sub-parts: “Pakistan and Indian war, Kashmir

agenda, Indian pilot, Pakistani army”. Declarative and argumentative style of sentences has been used to assert the point of view of the authors of these articles. Similar findings have also been reported in the editorials of Pakistani English newspapers in other studies (see Ahmad, Mahmood & Mahmood, 2019a; Ahmad, Mahmood, Mahmood & Siddique, 2019b; Ahmad, Mahmood, Farukh & Siddique, 2019c). First person narrative ‘I’ has been used more than 21 times, Mr. Razzaq 5 times and Indian pilot 7 times, Pakistani army 8 times, attack, which show that he wishes to form an opinion in the general public.

“I was surrounded by the people and ran so that I could save myself from them. The people were angry, and they charged at me but two captains from Pakistan Army saved my life and I am very impressed by Pakistan Army” (Dawn, 2019).

The author of the Pakistani newspaper articles has conspicuously appreciated Pakistan army, Long Live Pakistan Air Force, Long Live Pakistan and Pakistan army Long Live Kashmir. These words very powerful and have a strong effect in controlling people’s mind.

Discourse markers as “First of all” have been used skillfully so that the coherence may be maintained, and the audience may be kept in touch. The author of Pakistani newspaper articles has used Subject-object-verb structure and compound clause. The ideologies of both prime ministers Modi and Imran Khan have also been compared and contrasted. He said that India has asked Pakistan to treat the pilot in a "humane manner". “Pakistan has not provided circumstantial intelligence sharing on Mumbai and Pathankot incidents while Pakistani FM said that we are ready return the captured soldier which means de-escalation of ties between the two countries, news agency ANI reported quoting Geo News” (Dawn, 2019).

Punctuations i.e. commas, inverted commas, apostrophe and dashes have been used extensively like Horra’n, Kashmir’s, the 58-year-old, “A pilot and Pakistan emerged out of the parachute safe and sound,” Qilla’n. “Thanks God,” immediately”, “humane manner”, JeM's, "war hysteria", de-

escalation, "actionable intelligence" and acronym (LOC), (ANI), (KM), (CRPF), (IAF), (PAF), (PM), abbreviation (A.M).

Processing analysis.

Formal links in the text are used by the authors of these articles in order to create cohesion in the text. Transitional signals as "first of all" and "secondly" finally' 'meanwhile', etc., have also been used by the authors. The frequent use of this discourse markers have been used to grab the attention of the reader. He has used technical vocabulary like war, slogans, pistol, terrorist attack, etc.

Social analysis.

The dogfights on Wednesday morning were the first between the two air forces to be publicly acknowledged and activated the closure of every commercial airport in Pakistan and at least eight in India. Pakistan also closed its airspace, forcing international flights to be switched. Video of the arrested pilot being beaten by a group of Pakistani people raised anger and aggression in India. In another video the Indian pilot was showing taking tea where he says that he was treated in a humane manner by Pakistan Army is sufficient to call these passions of anger and aggression in India. On Wednesday afternoon, a red cross was painted on the roof of its largest hospital, marking out the building as a medical facility. In supermarkets of Pakistani cities of Lahore and Islamabad, people were stockpiling groceries, while in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province the leaves of all police and health workers were cancelled.

The status of Kashmir was publicly admitted by both countries as Pakistan held Kashmir from Indian side and similarly the Indian held Kashmir from the Pakistani side. Pakistan newspaper articles presented the part of Kashmir held by itself as Azad Kashmir whereas the same was expressed by Indian newspapers as Azad Kashmir for the territory occupied by India. Indian newspaper articles

termed Pakistan's violation of Indian border whereas presented their pilot as a hero for going deep into the territory of enemy which is ironic.

Critical discourse analysis according to Fairclough (1995) three-dimension model to Indian newspaper (Times of India) February 27 to 28, 2019.

Textual Analysis.

The text of these articles can contextually be divided into some parts including "address of Indian Prime Minister, Pakistan and Indian war, Indian pilot, war hysteria".

The textual analysis of the articles of "The Times of India" illustrates that the lexical choices are a clear evidence of this thinking like Pakistan returned Abhi or it would have seemed "Qatal Ki Raat".

In both articles, it observed that the harsh and straight forward verbal items are opposing to the situation. Indian media also addressing in a threatening way: "We convened a press conference and warned Khabardar Pakistan!".

Code mixing has also been used to grab the attention of the reader like, Qatal Ki Raat, Saboot Saboot Saboot, Phir Ek bar Modi Sarkar. Modal verbs (shall, will, may) have been used excessively to make the readers aware of the future situation. Argumentative, declarative, and imperative clauses have also been used to show the different functions, and in which writer reports authentic information and told about the past situation about incident. Conditional sentences have also been used for warning the future harms. SVO structure has been used mostly but sometimes uses the OSV structure for conveying the meaning persuasively.

There is a wide used of punctuation like commas, inverted commas for conveying the exact words of the speaker; "I said if our pilot sustains even a scratch; don't go around complaining to the world that Modi did this", "War hysteria" and also use of acronym (LOC), (ANI), (CRPF), (BJP).

Processing Analysis.

According to Fairclough, intertextuality is an important element to understand how a text is link with each other. Discourse markers have been used to get the attention of reader, like fortunately, finally, otherwise, etc. In processing analysis, writer may mark clearly the voice of the person whose discourse is being represented or quoted from the rest of the text by means of quotation marks and a reporting verb.

Social Analysis.

The videos of the pilot being beaten by a mob or taking sips of tea show that the text is used to represent the social elements as well. These videos have been used as a sign of expression of both kinds of feelings; positive and negative for Indian pilot by Pakistan masses and Army. Though it was a clear violation of Geneva convention to show the videos of the war prisoners, such videos were still presented in the people to achieve particular agenda that the people of the country are very aggressive if any Indian violated Pakistan border. These videos also show Pakistan Army is very disciplined and humane in dealing with a war prisoner. The presentation of these videos also aimed at presenting a positive face of Pakistan in future so that in future if any war prisoner is captured by the Indians, he should be treated the same way and returned to Pakistan safely.

The future objective by releasing such videos was to attain a positive domestic and international public opinion of the armed forces and based on various social media posts that objective seems to have been achieved.

Although there was no direct appreciation of the Pakistani militia for taking care of the pilot, based on a cursory mining of social media posts, there was minimal disappointment from across the boundary of the Pakistani armed forces with regard to how the pilot was treated. However, there were many views stating that the videos violated the Geneva Convention. The release of the captured pilot

was termed by Indian newspaper in the following words “That’s all I can tell you: Even after capture, IAF hero Abhinandan’s courage, dignity and pride” (India today, 2019). Though the captured pilot failed to execute his skills of flying during the dog fight with Pakistani pilot, he was still called as a hero by Indian media while the release of the captured pilot was named as a positive gesture by Pakistani PM Imran Khan.

Political Analysis.

It has been observed that Indian politics of painting the beaten and lost pilot as a hero has been achieved as the public opinion and sentiments were high in praise of the pilot. The political leadership, army and media termed him a hero though he lost his jet as well brought bad name to Indian Air Force. Similarly, the victory of PM Modi in the general election after creating War hysteria amongst the Indian nationals is a sign that the political goals of PM Modi have been achieved through a bad show of IAF skills. PM Modi seems to have won his goal in the general elections because he had formed his election campaign on the bravery and skills of the Indian Army and Indian pilot.

Similar is the case with PM Imran Khan, he held the Pakistan PM office not long ago, but he won the hearts of millions by his gesture of releasing the war prisoner as sign to stop war. It was suggested by many newspaper articles and social media comments that PM Khan deserves a Nobel Peace Prize for his act of releasing the captured prisoner though a few of his opponents did not like his strategy of the release of prisoner pilot. They wished a better strategy by PM Khan and wanted him to release the captured pilot once India had released Pakistani war prisoners which are in Indian custody since quite long. The comparative isolation of national audiences from contradictory narratives represented by mass media from across the border has controlled to two individual successes of general and nationalist leaders in one game of knowledge and observation.

CONCLUSIONS.

India and Pakistan have been engaged in several wars with each other. The roots of this war are Kashmir agenda. Existence of Pakistan is termed with the freedom and affiliation of Kashmir with Pakistan since the establishment of Pakistan.

Pakistan and India have seen bloody wars in 1948, 1965, 1971 and 1991 over the issue of Kashmir. Pakistan and India are nuclear states and the issue of Kashmir becomes very vital not only for south east Asia but also for the whole World.

There are clear resolutions of UN that it is the people of Kashmir who will decide the future of themselves and their region either they wish to affiliate with Pakistan or India but both India is not ready to accept this right of plebiscite for the Kashmiri people due to which many incidents of terror are going on in India. India has blamed Pakistan for every act of terrorism committed on its soil though the reasons for these acts of terrorism lie in the freedom movement of the Kashmiri people. Pakistan pledges the Muslims of Kashmir for providing ethical and moral support in their fight for freedom, but India accuses Pakistan of providing material support to the militants of Kashmir.

Indian attack on Pakistan on 26th February 2019 was in the wake of general elections because PM Modi wanted to popularize himself with this shameful act of crossing the borders of a sovereign nation and violating the international laws to achieve his evil plans.

The Indian government rejected the claim. In this war, situation print media had a pivotal role to play. It has been observed that the responsible media plays a very positive role to avoid wars, but the irresponsible media always stirs the emotions of war. From the CDA of the newspaper articles of both countries in the situation of war it is evident that, Pakistani Dawn newspaper used words like peace, harmony, smiling, cheerful for India, but the on other hand, Indian newspaper used threatening vocabulary like Khabardar Pakistan, Qatal Ki raat, kanhandar, attack warned, saboot, phir Ek Baar Modi Sarkar.

The Indian pilot Abhinandan Varthaman, who was under the custody of Pakistan army, he was provided with first aid and released very soon. Prime Minister Imran Khan announced on Thursday the return of the Indian pilot as a goodwill gesture, but on the other side, Indian Prime Minister Modi said Pakistan failed to control the terrorism and created 'war hysteria'.

It could be maintained that the India newspaper articles used such derogatory language which promoted war instead of spreading the message of peace, whereas the language used by the Pakistani newspapers was quite appropriate to the situation and handled the war in an apt way and it never intended to spread war rather its aim was to establish peace in the region.

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