

Deconstructing Indian Media Strategy to Demonize Kashmir Movement

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Abstract: The study critically examines Indian approach to use media as a key tool to demonize mass resistance movement in Jammu and Kashmir. Referring to different phases of the movement in Kashmir – 1947, 1965, 1971, 1987, 2000 and 2010 – it argues that India has employed media as a tool to portray Kashmir movement as an instigated one and those who run and support it are mere miscreants and violence mongers. While dubbing the uprising in Kashmir as terrorism, Indian media went overboard to justify massive killings and violations of human rights by the armed forces under the guise of different laws and, to a great extent, succeeded in hoodwinking the attention of international community and human rights organizations from the real situation on the ground. The findings of this study captured six frames of self-determination movement in electrical dialecticism theoretical prism. The study sets the course of the line for investigators to study media effects.

Keywords: Media in occupation, Peace and state terrorism, Elite media, Media ethics, Dispute, Resolution, Media hype, Democracy, Plebiscite.

INTRODUCTION

In the era of media globalization [1] the media is a key actor in conflict prevention, management and resolution vis-à-vis a watchdog powered by satellite to high light the human rights violations. Media is contemporary subject beyond news having tremendous potential to shape narratives Vis-à-vis diverting attention to one dimension while avoiding others also called the agenda-setting in mass media module [2]. The induction of modern gadgets [3] in communication technology have augmented responsibilities of media manifolds particularly in the contemporary scenario of conflict.

Penisunely has rightly said: “When conflict begins truth is first causality” Truth had been concealed by Indian media which cemented status quo and misinterpreted the peace. Jirair Tutunjan [4] quotes “All the war, all the propaganda are screaming lies and the hatred comes away invariably from people who are not fighting”. Media attention was diverted towards the Kashmir dispute only when the democratic failure of 1987 assembly elections in the occupied valley had changed into the mass resistance. Use of force by India to suppress popular resistance movement stretched for decades, therefore, human rights violations by her forces appeared as routine news. The daily killing of Kashmiri people over the years also lost the charisma vis-à-vis media focus. It could be one of the reasons that most popular international media in

loK, BBC Radio, packed up from the Kashmir. Indian military was deployed massively in Jammu and Kashmir during Governor Rule in 1990 under Armed Forces Special Powers Act [5]. It kept hunting the opposite voices and antagonists. Occupational forces framed it “Violence” though, it is a politically motivated term under the set theory to give a bad name to “resistance”. Media cemented the statuesque while promoted the violence attributing towards masses however concealed the use of excessive force under violence. It provided the justification to Indian forces to keep heavy concentration in place in her occupation.

To flourish the political economy of occupational forces and politicians framing [6] of antagonists becomes a compulsion for the powerful elite. The pre-or-post media activism is also crucial to prevent conflict before it adopts violent mode causing human tragedy. Media in the 21st Century has a vast scope. It can escalate or de-escalate tension but in certain cases, it becomes a war machine to add fuel to the fire like in loK. Here Indian state controls and manipulates media. [7] for her own interests other than reutilizing enemies.

Major Indian media is cashing in on Kashmir instead of playing the role of watchdog in the conflict scenario which is obviously between the state machinery and the common people, who demand the right to self-determination. On the other side, some independent voices of Indian press, though in minority, have maintained the difference such as the objective media coverage of ‘Chatti Singh Pora’ [8] killings of minority Sikh community in ‘Kunan Poshpora’ [9] of Kupwara exposing inhuman behavior of Indian forces at a time

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when United States President Bill Clinton was visiting Indian capital of New Delhi. Two years later the Times of India set an example to break the news that no foreign militant was involved in the incident and that DNA samples were forged to maintain the fallacy.

The editorials of Veer Sing Gee of Indian Express, Veid Bhasin, and Anuradha Bhasin of Kashmir Times, the columns of Pankaj Mishra, Angna Chatterjee and Arundhati Roy etc. proved that vibrant voices under stress could cautiously bring the truth on the surface in complex stated positions but these voices were feeble.

GENESIS

Indian Media played a crucial role beyond routine news reporting. It tried to report in peak hours of a conflict in Kashmir, highlighting prominent news or what people of Kashmir and people outside the valley think about. India manipulated the situation in her favor to justify the use of military might in the held state. In conflicts like Kashmir when external media was having limited access, local media was lone apparatus to bring the inner story on the surface or change its shape as witnessed in case of Kosovo, Bosnia, Herzegovina, East Timor, South Sudan etc. However, in the disputed territory of Kashmir, both the masses and media are under Indian subjugation and their survival is inter-dependent. The media from outside of the occupied territory tried its utmost to unfold the Indian reign of terror in occupied Kashmir but seemed helpless due to limited access that remained stationed in an urban area particularly in Srinagar so the area was made out of bounds for outside media by occupation authorities.

The Kashmir dispute has been on the agenda of the United Nations [10] since 1949. Although seven decades passed, however, the issue is hanging though the UN Security Council resolution of 5th January 1949 provides the framework for its peaceful resolution. Media instead of focusing on 12 million people of Jammu and Kashmir, who were the main stakeholder, changed the landscape of issue as a territorial dispute between India and Pakistan, security problem of India, a symbol of Indian integrity and icon of Indian secularism and democracy. The media changed its priorities towards Kashmir after New Delhi imposed controlled democracy and manipulated the people's mandate for state assembly during 1987 elections [11]. This was a turning point and a mass uprising erupted followed by an armed struggle in 1989 against Indian occupational rule and Indian forces unleashed a reign of terror killing thousands of Kashmiri people in

cold blood. Although the media highlighted gross human rights violations by Indian troops war stories and armed struggle but right to self-determination was kept at bay Kashmir remained in media's focus in 1947-1949 and again dormant till 1965 [12] Indo-Pak wars.

It remained dormant till 1971 war. Kashmir once again stayed off the media radar till 1989 when the resistance movement turned in to revolt against the Indian occupation and its version of democracy which was entirely different as applied in her other states. The Kashmir dispute, again received little attention. The media focused more on state assembly elections, highlighting it as an alternative to right to self-determination. This agenda-setting worked therefore gained time and digested each move of People to get right to self-determination. Maintaining the statuesque and lingering on the issue favoured India's rule in Kashmir [13].

Initial Communication and Kashmir dispute

Dispute and communication are interrelated. Dispute gives birth to news and the communication gives it voice independently or biased. Communication is a primary requirement of both parties to plead their case domestically and globally. Communication and media had gone through many ups and downs. The communication in any form or kind remained strictly restricted in Kashmir even at inter and intrapersonal level by the forces of tyranny ruling the valley for centuries. The initial independent media was "Paidal Khabar" i.e., when the people used to move to and fro they told tales of misery to others in whispers spreading from one to other with a humble note "don't disclose it to anyone else", till the same reached majority and ultimately tyrant rulers and the last person in the chain had always become the causality.

- a. The main hubs or sources of communication in Kashmir had unique and distinguishing characteristics as this nation remained under occupation since centuries. The tales of miseries were told at common places where Kashmir used to assemble as follows:
- b. Warm Bathing place 'Hamam'
- c. Masjid/Mandir
- d. Water picking place 'Yarbal,
- e. Barber Shop 'Naieddukan'

- f. Nearest small stream water banks
- g. Washers' hub "Dhobi Gath"
- h. Shopkeeper's veranda "Wannabe's"
- The historic book *Rajtranganiis* was the first portable communication history, written by Kashmiri Pandith Kalhana in Sanskrit in the 12th Century. 12 chapters of this book reveal the misrule and tyranny of rulers of Kashmir. Kashmir is a landlocked territory situated at the lap of loftiest Himalayan mountainous region having no communication with outside world for centuries except the land route along the hard terrain of River "Jehlam" commonly known as Rawalpindi Srinagar road [14], used to be known as cart road up to 1891, that was why there were great challenges and difficulties in transporting goods, information and ideas to Punjab, the only state connected land route, besides having a geographical kinship with Kashmir. Rawalpindi-Srinagar road, the only lone pedestrian land communication route, used to remain closed for six months due to heavy snowfall. Even today when science and technology are at an advanced stage, land erosion and mud-sliding are mega challenges closing the road for weeks or months. The government gazetteer was lone media but an instrument to cement the slavery. Kashmiris are from the Arian race. Scholars, Sufis, and Saints used to come to Kashmir in winters to have peace of mind in order to concentrate and enrich the thinking process in its peaceful environment. Kashmiris do not belong to any marshal race and that is why they have always been invaded and ruled by outsiders. However, interaction with scholars had fortified their aesthetic sense and transformed them into a resilient but educated and artistic community. Peaceful legacy had always added to their misery. Since education and media are interrelated, therefore inter and intrapersonal communication was operative in Kashmir but controlled during periods of subjugation. Though Kashmiris remained under foreign rule for centuries and continued vying for freedom but the present phase of their resistance against tyranny received attention from the outside world in 1931. The oppression and suppression of then Dogra

rulers [15] was exposed by print media and Kashmiris plight was first time highlighted to the outside world. The poetry of G.M Mahjoor, Allama Iqbal, and other revolutionary poets played a significant role for Kashmiris to wake up and stand against tyranny. Mohamed din Fouq was the pioneer of print media who filed an application on 5th June 1935 to Mahraja Pratab Singh for publication of a magazine from Srinagar, which was not only dismissed but Fauq was given life threat [16]. The Maharaja issued an order to his ministers that such applicants should be punished immediately as they wanted to destabilize the state. In 1936, Fauq, however, published the magazine namely "Punjabi Fawlad" from Lahore which was the first voice of Kashmiris which survived up to 1946. He was keen to bring the plight of Kashmiris to the limelight. Feeling suffocation at home Kashmiris used to come to Lahore or send their write-ups here which were published. Kashmir Pandith Prem Nath Bazaz used to write on regular basis in Weekly. Akbar-Amused to publish in Lahore and hundreds of its copies were smuggled to Kashmir amid a ban on printing, press, and publication in the state. The Muslim papers - "Zameendar" of Maulana Zafar Ali Khan and "Inqilab" of Abdul Salik Malik, which published from Lahore, also highlighted the Kashmir issue. They published the special publications which were also smuggled to Kashmir. These papers were available at the shops of two leading booksellers Ali Mohammad Noor Mohammad Tajrane Kutub Mahrnaj Gunj Srinagar and Ghulam Mohammad and Sons Mahrnaj Gunj Srianger. The papers like 'Siyasat', "Muslim Outlook", "Alaman", "Eastern Times", "Al-Fazal" and two exclusively for Kashmir, including Mazloom Kashmir and Musلمانwere all published from Lahore. After the partition of Indian Sub-content, the Kashmir issue got a new momentum through the Punjab press had again a limited access. After the partition, initial papers of Srinagar were Aaieena, Khadmat, Aftab, SrinagarTimes, 'Azaan" and Kashmir Times and electronic media included All India Radio, Radio Kashmir Srinagar and Doordarshan TV. The controlled media worked as a

mouthpiece of the state in 1947, 1965, 1971 and 1999 promoting India's stance on Kashmir. The induction of cable and electronic media has changed the media landscape of the Kashmir as now it is not easy to conceal facts, however, the composition of the news is still influenced by elite media.

PAIDAL Khabar" IN PRINTING FORMAT

Mohammad din Fouq published the plight of Kashmir's and demanded the intervention of the Viceroy. It was the first exposure of Kashmiris' plight to the outside world and the impact of the media to ear up public pressure against the subjugation [17].

It was because of the press which brought up the brutality of the rulers in open. It was main inspiration behind the formation of Kashmir committee in Lahore headed by veteran freedom leader and philosopher-poet *allama Iqbal* [18] who himself was of Kashmiri origin, in support of the Kashmiris cause. Even today after the lapse of seven decades the news about Indian brutalities travels to Pakistan and then is highlighted to the outside world via Pakistan media.

MEDIA EVOLUTION OF KASHMIR DISPUTE

Evolution of Kashmiri media can be categorized into five general headings however Indian media has a dominating role as she controls 65% of the disputed territory. Pakistani media despite its supportive role has less accessibility in Kashmir. Press in Kashmir remained always under the clutches of Indian military upon whose might the Indian political framework in the disputed state is based. The people went according to the Two-Nation Theory of Quade-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah against Hindu dominated state of Jawaharlal Nehru The media set its focus according to the philosophy of the two actors – the former supported the Muslim identity and the later the Hindu dominated India under secular cover which has now been exposed by present Prime Minister Narendra Modi under the banner of Shiv Sena, the party of Nathu Ram Godsa^{y44} who killed Gandhi, which now dominated the ruling Bharatiya Janata Party. It was all but natural; Kashmir was a Muslim majority state so the aspirations of its people and those of Pakistan were same.

a. During the pre-Partition era, Lahore-based press supported the Kashmiri Muslims against the tyranny of Maharaja as New Delhi

supported and manipulated Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah for its purpose. (First Indian Prime Minister) Jawaharlal Nehru developed close liaison with the Kashmiri leader on one hand and pressurized Maharaja Hari Singh Dogra to have accession with India on the other.

b. After the Partition, the Indian press toed the line of its government while Pakistani press supported the Kashmiri people in open since Maharajahad joined India and the freedom fighters had succeeded in liberating some area of Kashmir, which is now called as Azad Kashmir. The press of the two newly-born countries acted accordingly.

1. **Media in Pre-1947:** When India was struggling against the British rule Maharaja Harri Singh, a Hindu, ruled the roost in the Muslim majority state of Kashmir, which was gifted to his forefather Gulab Singh for 75000 'Nanak Sahah'i-currency notes on 16th March 1846 by the British under the Amritsar Sale Treaty. The only source of news about Kashmir at that time were migratory laborers, who used to come during hard winter to Amritsar and Lahore, which were their second home to earn a livelihood and then move back in spring. Since the press was extinct in the valley so the laboring class [19] was the only source of communication, which made the outside world aware about the plight of Kashmiri people. According to the 1891 census, some 11775 people of Kashmir were residing in various parts of Punjab. The tales of agony and suffering reached by inter and intrapersonal communication [20] when the news reached Lahore and was published by Associated Press of Lahore by Sir Albion Banerjee, who was a formal ruler with western background exposing the plight of Kashmiri people to the outside world who were forced to live like animals spend a life of cattle and the Maharaja had crossed all limits in inhuman treatment.

2. **Media in 1947:** British rule breathed its lost in 1947 and two independent nations, India and Pakistan, came into existence. Kashmiris at that time were struggling against the barbaric rule of Maharaja Harri Singh. This was the first Punjabi press edited by Syed Mohammad Azam, which raised the voice for the subjugated Kashmiri people. Mr. Azam wrote on 9th May 1857: "By the

brutality and tyranny of that sensuality and avarice of that incarnation evil, Maharaj Gulab Singh Cashmere [17] is that rapidly converted into a melancholy desert.” Hari Singh wanted to join India against the wishes of the Muslim majority, who desired to become part of Pakistan. Indian media supported Maharaja’s version while the local press was extinct and the Government Gazetteer was under the influence of Maharaja’s authoritative rule.

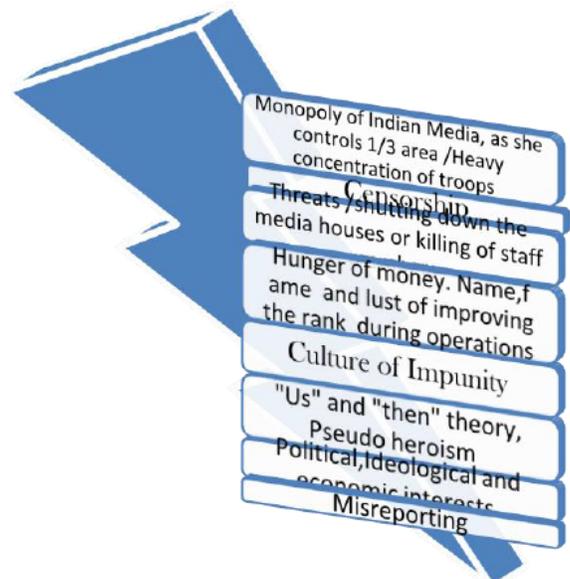
3. **Media from 1947-1949:** After the division of India and birth of Pakistan, Kashmiris did not opt for keeping their state independent. Being a Muslim majority state, the people wanted accession to the newly-born Pakistan but Dogra ruler’s first choice was to maintain the state as an independent entity and for the purpose, he entered into a standstill agreement with Pakistan, however, at the same time he was keen to make Indian interference in the state legalized. Muslim majority revolted against Maharaja, which was already on the cards under the ‘Quit Kashmir movement’. One-third part of Kashmir was liberated, which is now called the Azad Jammu and Kashmir. Maharaja toed the Indian line by signing the controversial instrument of accession with India [21]. Indian media projected India’s case while Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru though publicly favored plebiscite to decide Kashmir’s fate, but in fact, through his political gimmicks, he was gaining time to strengthen India military presence in Kashmir. The role of Indian media was a double-barrel assault as it was dubbing the supporters of Kashmiris as invaders and promoting the Indian army as saviors of ‘Kashmiriyat’.
4. **1949-65:** To gain time India took up the Kashmir Issue at the United Nations Security Council (Assumed it was a local and Pakistan-Indian bilateral issue and not an international one). The position of Indian print media and the radio varied accordingly, as a section of press highlighted the Kashmir Issue but electronic media remained constantly focused on the stated position of India. In Pakistan, the position of Urdu and English press also varied as Urdu press voiced strong support for the Kashmir resistance movement while the English press provided little or no space. The international press, however, kept its focus on the killing field of Kashmir and almost winded up when the armed resistance lost momentum.
5. **1965-1971:** It was again crucial time for Kashmir. India, both materially and ideologically, supported Mukti Bahani East Pakistan while its media was propagating that religion had nothing to do with state affairs in that context and kept adding fuel to the fire by giving undue coverage to Bengali Nationalism. This resulted into break-up of Pakistan, which was India’s main objective. In 1972, Pakistan signed Shimla agreement with India, re-designating the Ceasefire Line separating the Azad Kashmir and Indian Occupied Kashmir, like Line of Control. India, however, continued efforts to divert world attention from Kashmir, dubbing supporters of Kashmiris struggling for freedom as infiltrators. The Tashkent Declaration ending 1965 Pak-India war also yielded nothing except the statuesque.
6. **1972-1987:** This was the most crucial phase of media in Kashmir. The Indian media tried to cement the bond of Kashmir with India by promoting Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah as a hero and visionary Kashmiri leader inked accord with the Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi in 1974. Though the people of Kashmir were steadfast that achieving the right to self-determination was their destiny, but Indian media termed the accord ratification of Kashmir’s accession to India by Sheikh Abdullah and endorsement the people while participating in state elections. The Indian media kept highlighting the popularity of Sheikh Abdullah in held Kashmir while as the Pakistani press did not play its due role. The 1971 Pak-India war ended in the partition of Pakistan, besides changing the nomenclature of the Kashmir dispute. Ceasefire Line of 1947 was renamed as Line of Control and it was decided to resolve the Kashmir bilaterally. The Indian media hyped up bilateralism and the Indian army ceased to report to the observers of United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan (UNCIP) while Pakistan continued to lodge complaints about Indian ceasefire violations with the UNCIP. The India media promoted this as a mega victory of their country.
7. **1987-2004:** The Kashmir assembly elections were a turning point which had exposed all the tactics of ‘democratic’ India and made the real

face of its democracy public despite the media hype. Majority of the Kashmiris participated in elections to vote for those who, they considered, would safeguard their rights and the 'democratic India' did not find it favorable. The Indian media colluded with the authorities and announced the results of 1987 election against the public mandate which brought the entire Kashmir on roads and a megacycle of mass resistance started against Indian rule in Kashmir [22]. Snatching public mandate was a heinous crime, which the Indian media did not project rather concealed in the 'national interest'. 1989-2004 was the most volatile period of Kashmir vis-à-vis press. The resistance against the Indian state might be at peak. The resistance forces for the first time mounted her pressure on the press in Kashmir. Though the local press was affected a little but foreign press correspondents, BBC Radio's Yusuf Jam eel and Zaffar Mehraj, narrowly escaped in attacks. Station Director Lassa Koulwas killed by renegades in 1990, Al-Saffa Editor Shaban Vakeel in 1991 and ANI Photographer Mushtaq Ahmad in 1995.

8. **2004-2012:** The Indian media's main focus was on reviving political constancy in Kashmir while shifting its focus from soft image to pro-India for the purpose it started raising local issues more prominently than those related to the security. Since development work in the state had ceased and for the cover-up, the media adopted the paradigm shift the majority of them (journalists) would visit a locality to resolve people's problems politically, thus creating a scene by design. During the course of time, the rightwing Hindu party BJP ascended to power during 16th general elections of India in 2014 with the slogan of elimination of Article 370 of the Indian constitution that grants special autonomous status to the state of Jammu and Kashmir.
9. Local media of state of Jammu and Kashmir can be categorized as follows: The local press of Jammu and Kashmir (Occupied by India) and the local press of Azad Jammu and Kashmir (Controlled by Pakistan). From 1990-1996 the local press of occupied Jammu and Kashmir entirely remained under complete stress and sandwiched between the resistance camp and Indian military, who took the control of Kashmir when the governor rule was imposed. The press of Srinagar faced censorship by Indian forces,

including the army. This was the most crucial period for the press under duress in the history of Kashmir.

CHALLENGES OF MEDIA



Indian Media

1. The Indian media has vast coverage as 65% of the Kashmir territory is under India's control.
2. The local press is under the overall control of India so gatekeeping is a routine phenomenon. The local press cannot survive while ignoring the 'dictation'.
3. The reporting and editorial policy during long hours of turmoil always remained under direct control of Indian troops, who were at the helm of affairs of this region.
4. Media's role under 700,000 Indian troops deployed in Kashmir was limited, controlled and almost filtered.
5. Some media voices are now resisting the stress and maintain the objectivity. Some credible writers are a ray of hope which can make difference if they survived and sustained.

Vir Sanghvi 16 August 2008 (Hindustan Times): "I reckon we should hold a referendum in the Valley. Let the Kashmiris determine their own destiny. If they want to stay in India, they are welcome. But if they don't, then we have no moral right to force them to remain. If they vote for integration with Pakistan, all this will mean

is that Azad Kashmir will gain a little more territory. If they opt for independence, they will last for about 15 minutes without the billions that India has showered on them. But it will be their decision.

Whatever happens, how can India lose? If you believe in democracy, then giving Kashmiris the right to self-determination is the correct thing to do. And even if you don't, surely we will be better off being rid of this constant, painful strain on our resources, our lives, and our honor as a nation?

This is India's century. We have the world to conquer — and the means to do it. Kashmir is a 20th-century problem. We cannot let it drag us down and bleed us as we assume our rightful place in the world.

It's time to think the unthinkable.”

Pakistani Media

1. Pakistan controls a little territory of Kashmir so it had no direct influence in the areas where resistance was at the peak, however, Radio Pakistan had limited access and Pakistan Television was seen in some areas of Kashmir.
2. The Pakistani media also had no arrangements in held Kashmir for spot or direct reporting. Whatsoever news about the held Kashmir

reached Pakistan was through the international press, which also had little access there as foreign reporters were not granted permission to visit the valley due to security reasons?

3. The Urdu press always supported the Kashmir cause but it was limited to the area under the control of Pakistan.

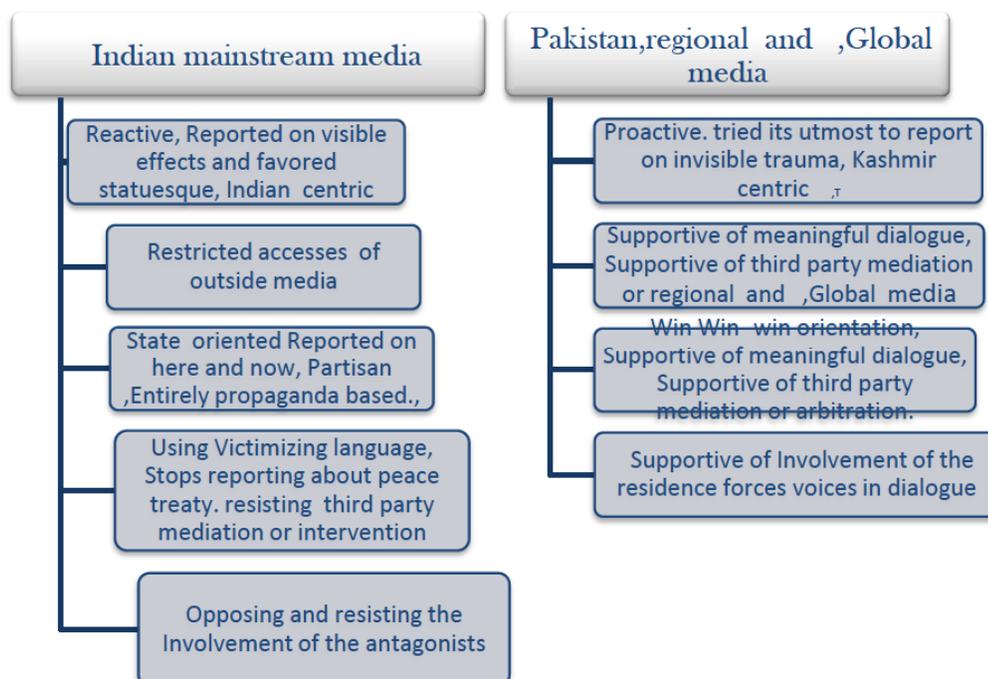
Global Media

1. BBC Radio, VoA, Radio Darjeeling, AFP, and Reuters had offices in Srinagar [23].
2. Global Media always supported the Kashmir issue being the unresolved dispute under the United Nations resolutions and never accepted the Indian media's diction that elections were substituting of the right to self-determination.

BBC Radio was popular among the masses of Kashmir for its objective reporting, but it has almost wined up from the area.

Media has a direct relationship with the Kashmir dispute. It makes news, which is read by consumption, but news having uniformity and particular makeup stretches over a period of time it loses the market, *i.e.*, the readers or listeners. Such a tragedy arises in conflicting situations. Media avoids news regarding

The difference in focus during Kashmir dispute

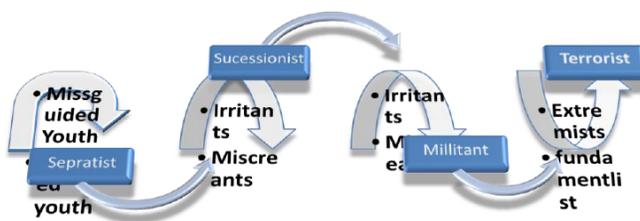


everyday killings by armed forces on the pretext that their consumers have become prone or exhaustive to hear or read the same news daily. They, in fact, want something new every day.

- I. Coverage of antagonism in the context of external hand
- II. State actors' operations against separatists
- III. Mass uprising for the right to self-determination as a challenge to be promoted
- IV. Tagging the masses as hardcore Muslim fundamentalists
- V. Appeal for pseudo peace which always favors statuesque
- VI. Utilization of new terminology favoring state
- VII. Elections to determine the true representation as an alternative to true democracy

Priming at Glance

"It is not what you say, it is how you say". Indian media managers having total control on the powerful press and electronic media gave the room solely and gradually started from less irritating terms and set the tune. It was not obviously the shift of content but was that of presentation how the people, who have challenged the Indian role, as their right to vote were snatched after 1987 elections.



Framing remained a routine practice of the Indian media during the long and exhaustive military campaign against the popular resistance having a strong mass base in Kashmir. Various frames have been consistently portrayed which yielded the desired results in favour of Indian rule in Kashmir.

Framing and Indian Media

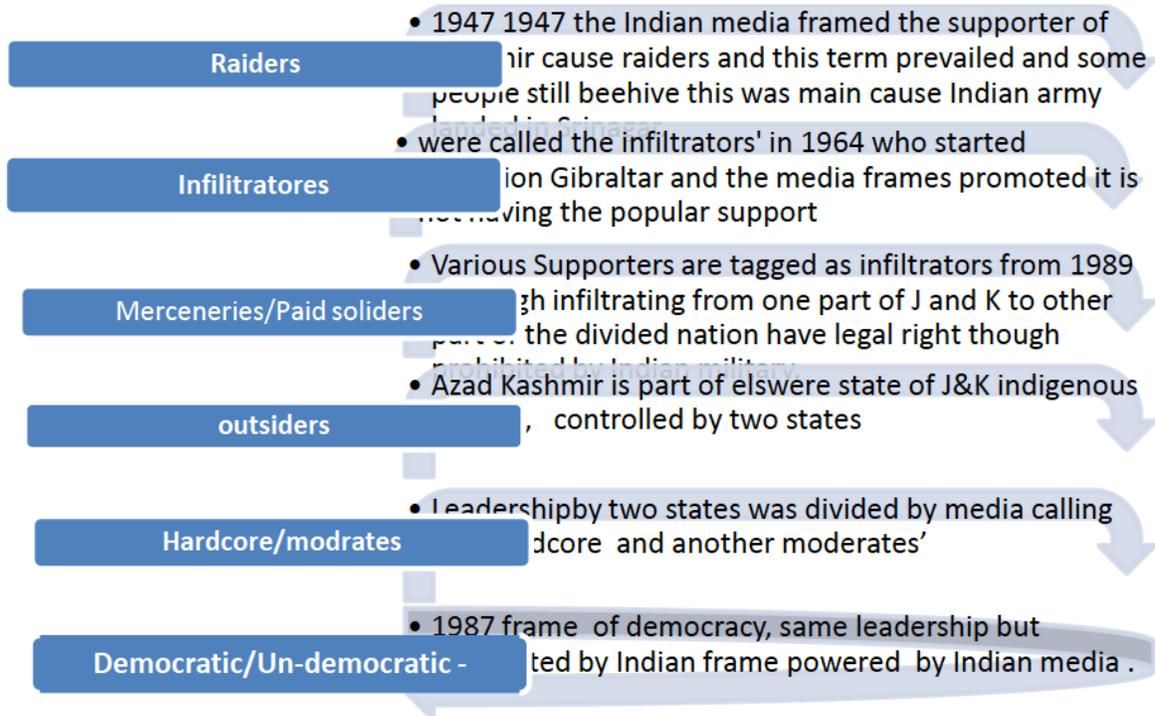
The Indian media had the potential to establish and construct the news. Though Kashmir was (and is) absolutely a political issue as its people demanded right to vote but the media shaped the movement for

the right to self-determination as a public controversy in India. It framed the image of popular mass resistance and slowly and gradually set the agenda what was suitable to statuesque. The Kashmir conflict was promoted as a national security issue having the backing of a neighbouring country, which wanted to destabilize and disintegrate India. The demand of Kashmiri people for the right to self-determination had been concealed under various frames.

1. Holding a demonstration and peaceful gathering is absolutely a democratic right of people under the Indian constitution and global law. When the people are killed and humiliated in excessive use of state power, resistance by the masses is a natural phenomenon. When violence erupts common people are the casualty as they have no option but to resist in whatsoever manner which is available to them. The Indian media always kept mum about the Kashmir's' democratic rights but projected violence on their part. On the other side, excessive use of state force to suppress popular resistance was never highlighted as violence. So it created a bad impression about the people, who only demanded their right to self-determination. Resistance has been tagged as violence. The framing of resistance as violent anti-peace demonstration has given a bad name to the struggle of Kashmir for their democratic right e.g., they shall not resist the AFSPA, a draconian law that had snatched the basic human rights.

2. Freedom fighters were initially called by the Indian media as annoyed youths, misguided children, irritants and miscreants, then termed separatists, a soft term, followed by secessionists, militants, and ultimately terrorists. The 'terrorist' is a politically motivated terminology having global fallout. In post 9/11, the Indian media coined this term while taking advantage of international declaration of war against terrorism disregarding the fact that the Kashmir dispute has legal basis as per the UN resolutions. 'Militants' was the new term used by mainstream Pakistani media also. The media overlooked the reality in this prism that the leaders of the 'militants' had taken oath under the constitution but they were denied democratic right in 1987. The framing of Kashmir's as 'terrorists' worked for the Indian masses but it had no acceptance in the global media.

The prominent frames



- The frame of moderates and extremists has been established to divide the resistance camp. Although the moderates when started negotiations with New Delhi in 2006 and held a series of meetings first with Atal Behari Vajpayee and then with Dr. Manmohan Singh but no positive results yielded despite the extreme media hype. The moderates could get nothing for the valley people despite moving miles forward from their stated position except 'burnt' faced as a few of them were attacked by opponents. The framing of a few resistance leaders as moderate and some as hardcore created political polarization in Kashmir, hence cementing division among their ranks. This is why the resistance camp is even today fragmented and this media frame is still in place.
- The Indian military, which has unleashed the reign of terror in every nook and corner of the Jammu and Kashmir state, is called security forces. These forces, in reality, cannot be called the security forces rather they are the 'forces of occupation' as being the actual state machinery their main mission is to subdue the Kashmiri people. The term 'security forces' has been established in Pakistani media, which though supports the Kashmir freedom struggle. Calling

the 'occupation forces' as security forces means to consider them 'responsible to maintain security' and the opponents, who are struggling for freedom, 'enemy to security'. This is also framing.

- Dialogue is the only option but conditions are imposed under the Indian framework although this is the main and basic demand of the people of Kashmir, who are facing the brunt. The media has created the impression that the valley people oppose the dialogue process. This is again framing of media to make room for the Indian military India to eliminate the antagonists on one hand and promote leaders who are not ready to talk on the other side genuine stakeholders whenever involved in unilateral talks have received nothing.

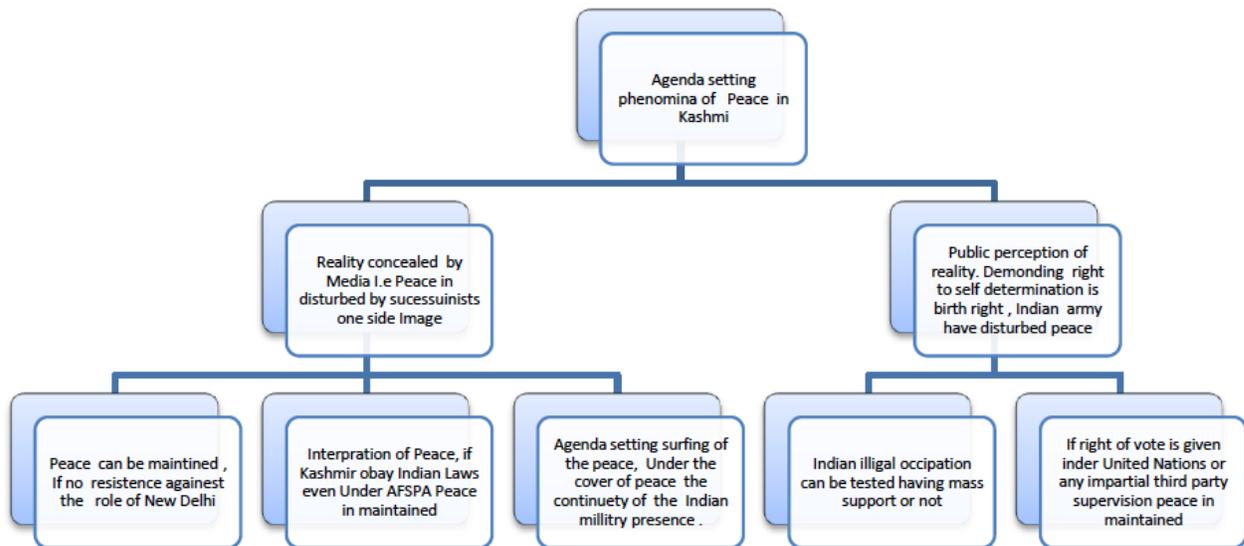
Agenda Setting of Media During the KASHMIR Dispute

As regards the Kashmir dispute, the agenda set by Indian media immediately became the public agenda as those supporting the freedom struggle were tagged as antagonists. The supporters of the freedom movement were given any names by the media, which were promoted in such a way that over a period of time the same terms were adopted by the masses.

Participation in state assembly elections is important for the people for the resolution of their day to day problems, while the freedom struggle is a lengthy process. Though elections are not substituted to right to self-determination according to UN resolutions more than 50% voters had been witnessed in the state polls. This has been manipulated by the Indian media that Kashmiris are satisfied to stay with India and that is why they have voted mainstream political parties of India. This has been framed as ratification of Indian control of the Kashmir.

Agenda Setting and Elite Media

Agenda setting by elite media owned by powerful media groups is adopted by or influenced small media.



This theory when tested 1989 in the Sub-continent failed to give desired results in the cross-border context.

Daily Indian Express, The Hindu and Hindustan Times dominate the Indian press vis-à-vis elite channel of Zee TV has to influence over small electronic media channels in India. Similarly, the Geo Television owned by the Jang Group has influence over the agenda-setting of small media channels in Pakistan. The Hindustan Times and the Jang Group launched the campaign on January 1, 2010, with the collaboration of the Bennett and Coleman Company Ltd. of the Times Group in the name of “Aman Ki Aasha” under the theoretical context of agenda setting to change the political discourse of India and Pakistan. This

campaign, however, yielded the desired results only in the context of Kashmir as it favored the interpretation of peace from India’s point of view.

Module

Step-1

- a) Involvement of true Indian, Pakistani and Kashmiri credible personalities from media and academia, who believe in fair play, scientific, and humanity. At present such people are in small number, which can be increased by providing a cordial unbiased environment to encourage those having above-mentioned qualities to come forward.

- b) Reporters should have a clear understanding of the Kashmir issue. For the purpose, they can be educated. Such educated and motivated reporters can be a true support base for the freedom movement as they will report the Kashmir issue in its true sense keeping in view common people’s views.
- c) The media reporting coupled with research can project the real issue in an unbiased manner *i.e.*, the viewpoint of the people of Kashmir, who is the principal party to the dispute. For the purpose the following steps can be taken:
 - a) Involving reporters of press and electronic media, who have an assignment or beat to cover the Kashmir issue

- b) Involving columnists, who write the columns about the Kashmir dispute
- c) Involving poets, who are sensitive to pain and agony of those who bleed and suffer from tyranny, oppression, and subjugation
- d) Involving writers, who have written books on the Kashmir conflict
- e) Involving editors and anchors

Step-2

- a) Media people have easy access to the corridors of power on both sides of the divide. Some are already involved in Track-2 level diplomacy and their number can be enhanced.
- b) A comprehensive media discourse should be initiated among scholars of media, conflict science, Kashmir studies and social sciences from Indian, Pakistani and Kashmiris points of view, and ground realities.
- c) Peace-loving people in the media should be encouraged and given room to start discourse at multi-levels.

Step-3

- Credible people from academia and media professionals from both India and Pakistan should be involved to jointly conduct research as to how the resolution of the Kashmir dispute will be in the interest of India and who favor of its statuesque. India will be the main beneficiary as an emerging economic and regional power if there were any breakthrough on Kashmir.

Step-4

- Distrust among the public can be countered by media as it can reduce or subdue sensitivities. Pragmatism can only be exercised with political will and faith in a true democracy. Media will set the direction as to what is possible, practicable and implacable vis-à-vis what are cosmetic solutions and their implications.

Step-5

- Media only has the potential to help create conducive environment amid sensitivities. It can handle the masses on one side and pursue the

talks on Track-1 on the other. It can encourage politicians that they will emerge as heroes if the conflict were resolved during their tenure. It is not an easy task to pursue. However, once mirror-image perceptions are confronted and stereotypes tackled then the Kashmir conflict resolution can be promoted after successful management of human rights in the interest of India. Kashmir is presently a causality of 'sham' democracy but the exercise of true democracy is right to self-determination.

Recommendations

- 1) Pakistani media had little role in the domain of media in loK. United Nations mechanism needs to be devised to secure the free flow of information's and secure media persons rendering duty in those areas which are disputed as per UNSC resolutions
- 2) The seating establishment of occupation can set the media agenda, therefore, Pakistan had little scope in Kashmir to counter the Priming and framing, therefore, they have to rely on other formats of Information which reaches late and loses news value, therefore, rely on international media becomes an obligation.
- 3) To analyze the media effects empirically demands more focus to study the impact of the media. It is an alone tool to promote the Kashmir Issue and high light the human rights abuse which can be documented in UNHC.
- 4) Social media is a vital instrument having access however it is chocked by the loK administration. To telecast the poor the footage may be having small watchdog rule.

CONCLUSION

The media globalization gives a partial exit though Indian establishment is trying its utmost to change the true face of information, however, information escapes from gate keeping at micro level though farming and priming. Media at a macro level is driven by the mega Indian media machine. Media controlled by India in Kashmir have serious credibility threat as Satellite and Internet have brought new era of media revolution hence gate keeping phenomena has serious threat to survive, however, media speaks beyond the news, therefore it favours the Indian point of view. Indian media will keep its domination until social media

replaces major segments of the conventional media. If credibility gap widens and social media brings a true picture on the surface it can fully replace the conventional media at least in loK. The people of Jammu and Kashmir wanted their say. They need to invest and focus on media following the pulse of globalization. Indigenous character of the mass movement shall be on the fore face of the media. Controlled content cannot afford to conceal the sentiments of Kashmir's for an unlimited time even applying various formats of democracy, though Framing, priming, and agenda-setting had worked to keep the mass movement controlled. An Indian interpretation prevails because global media follows the same line hence agenda is set in lieu of global phenomena. The Indian version of the content gets space in the outside world so frames work hence agenda setting phenomena neutralize easily the true face of content, therefore, the mass movement does not galvanize the support of international community. This study provides the baseline for researches to study the media effects

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