

## Journal of Peace, Development and Communication



Volume 05, Issue 1, January-March 2021  
 pISSN: 2663-7898, eISSN: 2663-7901  
 Article DOI: <https://doi.org/10.36968/JPDC-V05-I01-19>  
 Homepage: <https://pdfpk.net/pdf/>  
 Email: [se.jpdc@pdfpk.net](mailto:se.jpdc@pdfpk.net)

<b>Article:</b>	<b>Analysis of News Coverage of Kashmir Crisis by Global News Channels After the Abolition of Article 370</b>
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<b>Published:</b>	30 <sup>th</sup> March 2021
<b>Publisher Information:</b>	Journal of Peace, Development and Communication (JPDC)
<b>To Cite this Article:</b>	Ahmad, Taufig, et al. (2021). "Analysis of News Coverage of Kashmir Crisis by Global News Channels After the Abolition of Article 370" <i>Journal of Peace, Development and Communication</i> , vol. Volume 5, no. Issue 1, 2021, pp. 215-227, <a href="https://doi.org/10.36968/JPDC-V05-I01-19">https://doi.org/10.36968/JPDC-V05-I01-19</a>
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### Abstract

This study analyzes the Kashmir conflict by little empirical work on Kashmir News after the abolition of Article 370. The purpose here is to identify the nature of news coverage by the global news media. For this purpose, 193 new stories were selected which were appeared at the web sources of three global news channels BBC, CNN, Aljazeera. This study primarily focusses on Content analysis of how CNN, BBC and AL JAZEERA designed Kashmir in their online news broadcasting with time frame of from 5 August to 30 September 2019 soon after the revocation of Article 370 while determining the difference in storytelling and the search for stories of information about Kashmir. By using an original coding program that extract on the coverage of Kashmir conflict, media effects and agenda-setting theories, the analysis is found that AL JAZEERA has heavily relied on episodic coverage and focused on international condemnation frame in its coverage than CNN which heavily focused on the Human-interest frame as well as BBC relied on the responsibility frame in its coverage related Kashmir. The study investigates the sources of the stories where AL JAZEERA cited government leader and official statements; CNN added journalists' views whereas BBC heavily relied on their correspondents' version. However, the investigation provides the insight into the worldwide media coverage of the issue and their view.

**Key words:** *Kashmir, Global media, News coverage, framing, article 370, CNN, BBC, Aljazeera*

## Introduction

Kashmir is a territorial conflict between Pakistan and India since independence 1947, both countries claimed for the accession of princely state. Kashmir not resolved even after three wars between Pakistan & India 1948, 1965 & 1999 (Bhat, n.d.). The UN Security Council sought to resolve the dispute by declaring that Kashmir's entry into democracy should be done in a free and fair manner, but India refused any resolution that contradicted its Kashmir claim (Khan, 2019).

Indian Bhartiya junta party announced to remove the article 370 from the constitution of India (Ismail, 2019). The article 370 stands as a buffer between India and Kashmir and now the abrogation of 370 they made it as a Punjab, Delhi and Bihar because this is contested state (Alam, 2020). After the abolition of article 370 that appeared as a union territory in which Indian central government held totally controlled as Ladakh totally under their control and their assembly also demolished, Bharti Jinta Party (BJP) central government imposed the decision on Kashmir (Sofi & Shergojri, 2020). The closure began on 5 August 2019 following the withdrawal of the special status of Jammu and Kashmir by deleting article 370 and further strict curfew applied and it is still ongoing. India has sent tens of thousands of additional troops to Kashmir and police already stationed there (Çelik, 2020). Media crackdown was observed as journalists inside Kashmir intimidated with arrest legal threats and their movement has restricted (Kuchay, 2019). There is communication blackout, the internet, cable TV services, mobile services, landline, telephones have also been reportedly restricted. Social media was widely used to stand in solidarity with Kashmir.

The role of media during this terrible condition was like to spread sensationalism between both states and change their perceptions according to the agenda and people think in just those frames which present the media. Criticism largely from western liberal media like BBC, CNN, AL- JAZERA strong peaceful general voice on global media (Neuman & Johanna, 2020). The world media reacted to the news of Kashmir and the global community speaks up and argued on the statement of India that this is their internal matter but it's no because this issue not resolved from years now it's the matter of peace & stability in the state and all over the world (Pandow, 2020).

There has been unrivalled coverage in the western media of Indian brutalities, human right violations, they also showed the Modi's claim about the territory. But all this is not enough to urge the international community to speak on the lockdown over the eight million people & the suppression of their rights, but all this reflect the diplomatic failure. UN security in 50 years held a meeting on Kashmir (Sofi & Shergojri, 2020).

These three channels BBC, CNN, Al Jazeera most watched web channels & people internationally & locally like to watch too aware from the world. Two-month time period from 5 August 2019 to 30 September selected because this was the time when article 370 abrogated & the time when people have to know what happened with Kashmir's.

Kashmir conflict studied by many researchers but very studies have been found about Kashmir especially after the abolition of article 37. As this issue was highlighted globally by global news channels. International media depict the point of view of global community as well as Muslim views on Kashmir issue. It helps to understand the agenda of media to raised and give coverage on Kashmir at international level. This study shows that how global media cover the Kashmir instead of Pakistan and India perspective. This study primarily is to investigate the framing of CNN, BBC & Al-Jazeera about the coverage of Kashmir crisis after abolition of article 370.

### **Objectives of the Research**

1. To evaluate the extent & frequency of covering the Kashmir issue by global media organizations.
2. To analyze the differences in news sources used by global media.

### **Research Questions**

R1: How does the use of sources vary between the coverage of CNN, BBC and Al- Jazeera after the abolition of article 370?

R2: Which frames were used in BBC, CNN and Al-Jazeera news stories in their coverage of Kashmir Issue after the abolition of article 370?

R3: How did framing of the Kashmir issue vary between CNN, BBC and Al-Jazeera after the abolition of article 370?

### **Literature Review**

Role of mass media is very important during crises in any periphery of the world. According to Riaz & Pasha (2010) Local media of Indo-Pak also working hard to aware their Nations about the actual happening about Kashmir but there we can see many other factors which effect the process that can be countries interests, they promote war journalism instead of peace as previous studies found. There is a difference in their Narratives in presenting Kashmir conflict towards their nations (Riaz & Pasha, 2010).

Few studies have drawn the picture about Kashmir after the abolition of Article 370 especially about the Insurgency in valley soon, religious freedom, and unbearable torture with people and suffering from mental pain to physical. After the act the Kashmir has observed like militarized zone of conflict where disappearance of brothers, sons, husband, and father were seen common and the causes of psychological effects especially on mental health were in shape of demolishing the dreams of Kashmiri community for living in an independent and peaceful land. (Haq, Inam ul, 2020). The abrogation of article 370 proved as milestone for the integrity of India but Kashmir still in backwardness and it just benefit the corrupt politicians, and the problems of health, education, household, life, land, jobs, freedom and human rights are same as earlier. (Ahmad Dar, Dr. Shabbir, 2020). Aditi Malik and Shivaji Mukherjee (2019) investigated the increased violence in Kashmir after abrogation of article 370 and find that the government controlled all administrative matters to suppress the people and their voice against this act, which showed as a dark shadow on the whole valley.

Representation about Kashmir in media has been discussed by different scholars as Lubna Zaheer (2020) studied that objectivity is the quality of peace journalism but in Kashmir media present the actual situation that is violence and human right violation and when it will towards worse situation then media will present it in war oriented coverage, so the fact that how media want to present and in which perspective it will cover is very obvious (Zaheer, 2020).

The concept of framing always provides a way to define “the power of speaking text” (Kerbel, Ape & Ross, 2000) Antman (1993). Danish Nabi Gadda (2017) investigated the framing of Indian media about Kashmir and found that Kashmir's voice has been ignored and their strikes have not been showed at TV screen, media has exploited to run propaganda as it is under the influence of government and not portraying the real side of the issues. (Gadda, 2017). It has been found that few media house where the condition of curfew was shown that was actually the true image of situation in Kashmir as people have no freedom of expression, human right violation with photos and info graphics (Sofi & Shergojri, 2020).

Reporting during conflict plays a significant role in determined the media concern as all media organization do (Awais & Jahidul, 2020). Literature is also available in which the reporting about Kashmir has been discussed in a very critical way. Kashmir conflict represented in peace & war frame by media organization and narrative have been built about Kashmir through reporting by the media organizations and both directions. Umar & Safdar (2020) has found that news organizations have frequently used the conflict frame and war journalism model to represent the Kashmir conflict instead of peace journalism on which basis has been found (Safdar & Ali, 2020). Rawan (2020) analyzed the negative role of national media in promoting war-oriented coverage rather than peace. He highlighted the fact

that conventional media mostly focus the conflict frame & ignore the peace process while covering Kashmir Issue (Rawan & Rahman, 2020).

According to Rashid Khan & Jan (2020) found that media in Pakistan present the Kashmir conflict news through peace journalism process because this is the way through which the public opinion can be mold in positive direction between Pakistan & India (Jan & Khan, 2020). Peace Journalism is the way through which the conflict must be reported. The insight coverage of India & Pakistan's media should be based on positive and constructive framing to highlight the real discourse of the issue (Hussain, 2020). Both countries media can spread peace between the two neighbors if they report the real cause of tension and benefits of peace through their media systems. (Rehman, Haseeb; 2019). India media did lots of efforts to remove the status of Kashmir from many years and its situation is critical before the curfew and after the curfew. (Misri, Deepti; 2019).

According to Santosh (2019) realized that Kashmir has been the bone of contention between the two nuclear powers, while analyzing the news headline of four international news channels, the study concludes that "Crisis may be easing with efforts, but nuclear threat still hangs over India and Pakistan" Durga Ray (2004) analyzes the U.S media coverage on Kashmir conflict. Kashmiris were killed at the name of terrorism, kidnapping, genocide, shelling and use of force that leads towards war that can be third world war between superpowers that result in a vast disaster. (Durga; 2004), (Digal, 2019). BBC and Al-Jazeera coverage about the unrest in Kashmir concluded that the Kashmiris were satisfied about their truthful and positive presentation through foreign media. (Farzan, 2017). Revocation of article 370 brought the 70 years old conflict in the forefront of international media coverage that involve in reporting and disseminating information about Kashmir with distinctive aspects. They active or passively participate in the conflict that gained the attention national and internationally community towards unrest in Kashmir. (Schumacher, 2020). The global voices and media reports find the conclusions that conflict cannot be ended until the concerned parties sat on the table, ignored their personal interest and decide something for humanity. (Masood, Sultana, & Muzaffar, 2020). Tahseen Nisar (2019) studied the Kashmir and abrogation of article 370 and found that peace is possible, or it may lead to future brutality. Future will prove that such amendments will be based on wrong pattern and next generation will realize this grave mistake. (Nisar, 2019).

Three forces as religious, secular & ethnic nationalism led this problem. Global media and international community is clearly finding the right way to settle this issue but the rivalry between both local state can lead this issue towards wrong direction (Varshney, 1991), (Gangu & Bajpai, 1994). Whereas Satyaki (2019) studied the article 370 debate that made the world paradise a sandwich between two nuclear powers, the deletion of article 370 involves historical, political, constitutional, social, economic consequences. (Deb, 2019).

### **Research Methodology**

Current study employed content analysis method. News stories of CNN, BBC, Al Jazeera news regarding Kashmir region from 1st August to 30 September 2019 are the population for the study. A sample consists of 228 news stories from three global channels BBC, CNN, Al-Jazeera through purposive sampling procedure. The unit of analysis is the story in which Kashmir conflict portray after the abolition of article 370. Data has been collected from the secondary source websites of BBC, CNN, Al-Jazeera. Pre-determined categories proposed by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000): conflict, economic outcomes, responsibility, morality, and human interest, as well as two other common frames proposed by Iyengar (1991): thematic and episodic are analyzed. The study also evaluates resource allocation as a dependent variable. Three stores / media programs represent independent variables. The information (news) was collected on CNN, BBC, Aljazeera from their website while using key words.

To analyze the coverage of Global channels and categories are measured by occasionally, often, very often, never, rarely etc. Conflict frame, Victim frame, Responsibility frame, Human interest frame, International condemnation frame, episodic frame, thematic frame. Two are episodic and thematic frames that help to determine the story basis frame in which context story covered. There are nineteen sources that determined to as a source of each story and each story coded with the source. These sources are Government leaders, Correspondent of news channels, Journalists, Official organizations, Citizens / victim, Social media, Administration.

### Results

The table 1 shows the number of sources and the extent of reliance on those sources by these three channels to get more authentic news. These three global channels are found highly dependent on seven sources, here the analysis of sources shows in Table that identify CNN mostly depend 21.1% on Journalist sources for getting news from Kashmir as compared BBC used Citizens Victim as 7.4% to find out the real happenings & real evidences, on the other hand Al Jazeera signifies the authenticity of 23.2% coverage from Government leaders as official and unchangeable or free from any doubts by covering 109 news stories on Kashmir Conflict.

**Table 1: Descriptive Analysis of Sources**

Sources	S-1	S-2	S-3	S-4	S-5	S-6	S-7
Channels	Govt Leaders	Correspondents	Journalist	Citizen Victim	Official Organizations	Administration	Social Media
CNN	8.4%	1.1%	21.2%	0.5%	2.6%	0.5%	3.2%
BCC	5.3%	6.3%	5.8%	7.4%	2.6%	2.1%	2.1%
Aljazeera	23.2%	14.7%	7.4%	12.1%	10.0%	5.8%	9.5%

The table 2 signifies the analysis of Episodic frame which refers to the scene coverage, event-oriented report & public issues in terms on concrete instances contain particular individual experience or specific event to illustrate the issue. In this table news covered within episodic frame from Al Jazeera is about to 56.8% as compared to BBC 27.4% on the other hand the less use of coverage within episodic frame in CNN is 15.8%.

**Table 2: Crosstab Analysis of Frame**

				Channels			Total
Episodic Frames				CNN	BBC	Aljazeera	
Episodic Frame	No	% within Episodic Frame		14.0%	45.6%	40.4%	100.0%
		% within Channels		53.3% <sub>a</sub>	100.0% <sub>b</sub>	42.6% <sub>a</sub>	60.0%
		% of Total		8.4%	27.4%	24.2%	60.0%
	Yes	% within Episodic Frame		18.4%		81.6%	100.0%

		<b>% within Channels</b>	46.7% <sub>a</sub>		57.4% <sub>a</sub>	40.0%
		<b>% of Total</b>	7.4%		32.6%	40.0%
<b>Total</b>		<b>% within Episodic Frame</b>	15.8%	27.4%	56.8%	100.0%
		<b>% within Channels</b>	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		<b>% of Total</b>	15.8%	27.4%	56.8%	100.0%

Table 3 represent the analysis of thematic frame which describes the stories that place the public issue in more general & abstract form that contain background material, interpretative analysis. This table identify that Al Jazeera give more coverage of news within thematic frame about to 56.8% as contras BBC give 27.4% within thematic frame but as compared to both CNN rely 15.8% on this frame.

**Table 3: Thematic Frames**

			<b>Channels</b>			<b>Total</b>
			<b>CNN</b>	<b>BBC</b>	<b>Aljazeera</b>	
<b>Thematic Frame</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>% within Thematic Frame</b>	14.6%	20.8%	64.6%	100.0%
		<b>% within Channels</b>	46.7% <sub>a, b</sub>	38.5% <sub>b</sub>	57.4% <sub>a</sub>	50.5%
		<b>% of Total</b>	7.4%	10.5%	32.6%	50.5%
	<b>Yes</b>	<b>% within Thematic Frame</b>	17.0%	34.0%	48.9%	100.0%
		<b>% within Channels</b>	53.3% <sub>a, b</sub>	61.5% <sub>b</sub>	42.6% <sub>a</sub>	49.5%
		<b>% of Total</b>	8.4%	16.8%	24.2%	49.5%
<b>Total</b>	<b>% within Thematic Frame</b>		15.8%	27.4%	56.8%	100.0%
	<b>% within Channels</b>		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	<b>% of Total</b>		15.8%	27.4%	56.8%	100.0%

The above table shows that the international disposal framework is dominated by the reporting of the Kashmir conflict between 193 issues that were analyzed in the study from 5th August to 30th September 2019. International frame become dominant in all three channels. AL JAZEERA seems to be more focused on the international condemnation, conflict, victim frames than BBC & CNN. AL JAZEERA also dominant by covering the human life issues seriously there and put the real victim stories of the Kashmir's than in BBC and CNN. Al Jazeera dominantly show the world real responsible for this conflict as its most 109 stories.

AL JAZEERA highly depend on the conflict frame compared to CNN and BBC. AL JAZEERA focused on the victim frame than BBC and CNN more often as to show the real stories of victim of government and security forces pressure on them. In CNN Human interest and responsibility frames most often but rest of others victim and conflict frame also occasionally relied. So, as it here BBC international frame dominant here after AL JAZEERA and responsibility frame was more used and then human-interest frame frequently focused but rest are also victim and conflict frame often depicted.

**Table 4: Onaway ANOVA**

<b>ANOVA</b>					
		<b>Sum of Squares</b>	<b>Df</b>	<b>Mean Square</b>	<b>F</b>
<b>Human Interest Frame Mean</b>	<b>Between Groups</b>	3.026	2	1.513	5.030

	<b>Within Groups</b>	56.243	187	.301	
	<b>Total</b>	59.268	189		
<b>Responsibility Frame Mean</b>	<b>Between Groups</b>	.142	2	.071	.357
	<b>Within Groups</b>	37.306	187	.199	
	<b>Total</b>	37.449	189		
<b>International Frame Mean</b>	<b>Between Groups</b>	4.241	2	2.120	5.929
	<b>Within Groups</b>	66.879	187	.358	
	<b>Total</b>	71.120	189		
<b>Victim Frame Mean</b>	<b>Between Groups</b>	6.981	2	3.490	11.798
	<b>Within Groups</b>	55.322	187	.296	
	<b>Total</b>	62.303	189		
<b>Conflict Frame Mean</b>	<b>Between Groups</b>	2.605	2	1.303	9.007
	<b>Within Groups</b>	27.045	187	.145	
	<b>Total</b>	29.650	189		

### Discussion and Conclusion

This study focused to provide coverage of Kashmir through global media after the abolition of Article 370. The first Research questions indicate the diversity of sources, that is restricted to a limited umbrella of official organizations, social media and administration. Administration and journalists are mostly relied sources for these three channels often CNN, BBC and AL JAZEERA. As results shows AL JAZEERA heavily relies on government leaders' sources, many of official news that can be political comes from official sources. The second most cited source mentioned in AL JAZEERA is correspondent who spread in all over the world. BBC as compared to Al-Jazeera is less dependent on correspondent but CNN is highly dependent on journalists which is at higher rate among its all stories, the second most cited source in CNN stories is government leaders in which more news stories has been referred as the official statements. On the other hand, BBC is highly relay on victims as a

source in its all stories and secondary on correspondents in many other stories related Kashmir coverage.

The question related frames shows that Al Jazeera has taken more focus on international condemnation, responsibility, victim and conflict frames than BBC & CNN. Human interest & responsibility frames are the dominant frames in CNN stories than BBC and Al Jazeera. But international frame has been heavily used among the stories of all three channels. Another research question was analyzed where episodic frames are dominant in the coverage of Kashmir issue with 62% among all news stories. Among these stories the thematic frames were used at 46%. There are 192 total stories and AL JAZEERA has highly focused on episodic frames.

Further study examined that Kashmiri people are not satisfied with the biased coverage of local channels of Indian media. In both countries, media representing their point of view and agenda, but real point regarding Kashmir is neglected. This study shows that international media has covered Kashmir situation with different aspects but the unrest in Kashmir has been shown to the global community through global news services. The study suggests to conduct further research about the interpretation of contextual meanings of global media transmissions about Kashmir that how and what sort of discourse have been developed for global community.

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