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Article:	Kashmir conflict and Indian Press: A Literature Review
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Abstract

A multi-cultural and multi-ethnic society of Indian state is ill informed about multifaceted reality of Kashmir conflict due to mediated and fabricated information conveyed through national media. Kashmiris perceive national media as biased and hiding public sentiments which further alienated Kashmiri public to the Indian state and nationalism. Little available literature on media portrayal of Kashmir only discussed Pak-India hostility, peace and war journalism or propaganda. This research is about the coverage of Kashmir conflict by Indian Press. Research proceeding reveals that there is little research studies directed toward this subject. This article review the published research work by academics and media professional collected through websites, research journal archives and catalogues. This research will guide researchers and media practitioners involved in the reportage of Kashmir conflict.

Keywords: Kashmir, Indian Press, Research, Conflict

Introduction

Violent partition of British India in 1947 led to a wide spread instability and confrontation in newly emerged states. Since the day first Kashmir has been a contested territory between Pakistan and India. Both countries had fought three major wars and a lot of low level clashes due to Kashmir conflict. United Nation (UN) approved that Kashmiri public should decide their fate through plebiscite but still they are deprived of their right of self-determination.

Despite decreasing circulation of print media throughout the world due to internet, online resources of information and emergence of social media, press in India is still thriving (Parekh, 1996) because of increasing number of educated middle class. Press has the responsibility of objective and unbiased reporting and it performs watchdog role for the sake of public wellbeing. In a conflict situation its importance becomes twofold because it has to play a special role of reporting and keeping check over excesses and human rights (HR) violations against civilians and demonstrating their opinions. Media landscape in Indian held Kashmir is dominated by English and Urdu language press, due to government legislations, restrictions and censorships on media and journalists (Gadda, 2014).

It is an admitted fact that Kashmir is a burning issue of past, today and future. Media should highlight this issue properly to resolve the dispute according to UN charter. No doubt Indian press working on Kashmir conflict but according to the opinion of researcher it did not focus according to its scope. Not only Indian press did not focus on Kashmir issue but also this issue could not attract the attention of the researchers therefore present study aims to investigate how many researchers studied different aspects of Indian press regarding coverage of Kashmir conflict. Research questions are comprised of:

1. How many researcher investigated coverage of Kashmir conflict by Indian press?
2. To what extent Indian press is objective/biased regarding Kashmir conflict?
3. What aspects of Kashmir conflict have been studied by the media researcher?

Kashmir is disputed between three regional nuclear powers, if not resolved peacefully may cause mass devastation or third world war. Indian occupied valley suffering a lot of security excesses, draconian laws, maltreatments, abolition of civil liberties, HR violations, murders, rapes and so on. Media have to play an important role to safeguard public interests to check on security excesses against civilian population. Indian press hesitate to cover HR violation and not cover Kashmir issue properly. Therefore it is important to know, what are the reasons behind this silence? What is foreign policy of India and its press regarding Kashmir conflict?

Significance of the study

Identifying various facets of Kashmir conflict and concerns of Indian press might serve the strategic and practical aspects of conflict reporting by strengthening existing knowledge and factual understanding of the conflict and its relationships with press. Review of existing literature about coverage of Kashmir conflict in Indian press will disclose the unsearched areas by highlighting research contributions in the matter and help to attract and guide researchers for better outcomes. It will contribute regarding success or failure of press in conflict management and reveal actual picture of reality before world, humanitarian organizations and unbiased media outlets by highlighting concerns of Indian press regarding Kashmir.

Methodology

Information collected through internet sources like Google, WorldCat, Academia.edu, LISTA, IEEE Xplore, Research Gate, five years archive of well-known media journals and library catalogues using keywords of Kashmir, conflict and Indian press. Results for keywords by Google Scholar, Research Gate and Academia.edu limited to 25 pages, with little relevance to the study. LISTA generated 34 results. IEEE Xplore generated 427 for key word Kashmir, within results search by keyword media generated 18. Five years archives of

well reputed journals and library catalogues were also searched for literature available regarding Kashmir conflict and Indian press. Research proceeding provided literature contained books, articles, websites, reports and personal analysis. But this research focused only on research articles published in research journals, directed toward Kashmir conflict covered by Indian press.

Literature Review

Mass media and politics especially democracy are interconnected, active participation in politics without media is impossible and democracy without free press in no democracy. English press considered as elite press since Indian independence as English is administrative language of bourgeois class of Indian society. In the years 2000 to 2002 some major events increased the significance of Kashmir issue. Therefore, Shams Imran, aimed to study editorial frames of Kashmir issue in the Indian press. He identified eight editorial frames prominent regarding Kashmir: history, legality, nation state, law and order, democracy, HR, international relations and conflict resolution frames. International relations and law and order frames dominated and discussed Indian relations with other countries especially with Pakistan and violence in Kashmir mostly with the intent to support official stance that Kashmir unrest is a result of Pakistan sponsored terrorism and propaganda. Conflict resolution and democracy followed by dominant frames and acknowledged Kashmir as disputed and needs for bilateral talks but resisted, as integral part and rejected the needs for plebiscite because Kashmiris participated in state election and conveyed the message to settle their grievances through democratic process. Legality frame remained limited to State Autonomy and Article 370, the only frame where press criticized government. HR and history frames are rare exceptions and dependent on official sources with conformist nature of mainstream press (Imran, 2013).

Media landscape in Kashmir is dominated by local and national press, which are reporting Kashmir with different perspectives. Local newspapers creating local perception about history of the valley, association with Pakistan, migration within and beyond the valley, encounters, combats, HR violations, strikes, protests and fatalities. National media, the only source of information for Indian society, portraying Kashmir with partial approach, reciting official policy and ignoring ground realities. National media expanded mental and ideological division between Kashmiris and national society. Subjective reporting created further mistrust and sense of alienation among Kashmiris. Danish Nabi Gadda studied the coverage of protests and strikes in Kashmir by national press. How it ignores dissent voices in support of official policies. He conducted content analysis of two leading Indian newspapers for the period of 1989 to 2010. Strikes and protests are most common way to show dissent in Kashmir. When Maqbool Bhat was hanged, national media celebrated it and the landing of national troops is an act of pride for national media but valley observed strikes on these days, which deserve impartial reportage to create awareness in Indian society about the dissent of Kashmiri public. National media downplayed these strikes by selection of frequency, placement, language and descriptions. There is widespread perception in Kashmir that national media is subjective and serve the national interest. It practices partial journalism when reporting Kashmir. It overlooked the local sentiments, HR violations and fake encounters, emphasized only development projects and operations against militant to justify presence of army (Gadda, 2014).

Indian held Kashmir is one of the most militarized zone on the earth. On September 7, 2014 due to heavy rain fall, Kashmir surged with a ferocious flood. Srinagar city was submerged under 18 feet water for more than three weeks. All the media houses, hospitals, government and business offices remained closed and victimized. New Delhi based news media organizations dropped their journalist into Kashmir. These journalists remained

attached to army and air force relief vehicles filming and documenting relief efforts. Wasim Khalid studied the coverage of rescue and relief efforts in 2014 flood by New Delhi based news media to learn the biasness in reporting and propaganda for the army, with difference between reporting of national and international media. He conducted content analysis of Time of India and NDTV and cross verified with international media presentations. Study reveals that New Delhi based media was biased and a public relation tool for army to create political space for Indian state. International media was far more objective, representing all stake holders in relief efforts including local volunteers with balanced political context of conflict. Times of India devoted 57% and NDTV 97% coverage to favor army and government and ignored the contributions made by the local volunteers. Words, images, headlines and language used were politically motivated and focused on army's human face. International media representation depicted a different picture, it included reports by stranded people of not rescuing by the army or civil administration, ignoring their appeals for rescue, prioritizing tourists and workers from other parts of India, insulting by firing expired food packets. It also reported local anger about national media and its biased coverage as PR lobby for army and government (Khalid, 2016).

Media played a vital role in support and assistance in Uttrakhand flood and Cyclone Phailin in Odisha to highlight gravity of disaster, human sufferings, criticized relief agencies, created awareness at national and international level and mobilized the audience. Sameer Yasir and Rajesh Venugopal studied 2014 flood in Kashmir to understand politics of natural disasters and social construction of disaster narrative in protracted conflict areas. Researchers conducted 50 in-depth interviews of flood victims returning from relief camps through snowball sampling and results were triangulated with a documentary review of the coverage of flood by local newspapers. Unlike Uttrakhand and Odisha, victims differentiated local and national media. Local journalists even victimized, helped the government and volunteers and

at times left their job for helping victims. National media though reported widely but their acts were objectionable and offensive. Without going through knee deep water to catch actual picture, they come to sites on army or air force vehicles and emphasized positive contribution of Indian army. They reported flood in reference to its political implications and contrasted separatist leaders in negativity. National media most criticized by victims after state administration because it manipulated and fabricated things to show positive role of army. National media totally ignored local volunteer in rescue, mostly pointed by survivors and respondents, only highlighted Indian army, rescuing desperate and ungrateful Kashmiris to promote positive image of army (Venugopal & Yasir, 2017).

Narrative of nationalism in the Indian discourse is contradictory. Nehru and Indian National Congress shaped a secular, developmental, liberal nationalist discourse in 20th century. But Congress was dominated and funded by upper caste Hindus. Gandhi's joining of Indian National Congress in 1920 rejected this narrative. Further Indian partition in 1947, when Pakistan became the home land for south Asian Muslims, so-called secular nationalism further unrelated. Contemporary discourse of majoritarian supremacist nationalism emerged since 1987-88 from a TV series of Hindu epic Ramayan which not only legitimize Babri Masjid issue but increased electoral chances of upper caste Hindus and resulted in Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP) as a political wing of RashtRiya Sawayam Sang (RSS), a Hindu nationalist organization. Sirinivas Lankala studied coverage of Indian Parliament attack and Gujarat riots in the Indian press to learn the mediated discourse of nationalism in India. Indian parliament attack was directly compared with 9/11, contextualizing Islam with terrorism which legitimized American conundrum of Islamic terror and RSS rhetoric of Muslims as enemy. Unfortunately Kashmiri Muslims accused for the tragedy and provided justification for RSS campaign against Muslims in the rest of India. English press in India, during trail period of accused Kashmiris, clearly echoed Hindu nationalist narrative of

patriotism and religious hatred. Good Muslims and bad Muslims contrast of American narrative is also evident in the coverage of this event as our and their Muslims. In the second event 57 Muslims were burnt alive in a train by Hindu nationalists in Gujarat while government and ruler of Gujarat Narendra Modi (now Indian PM) gave impression in their explanations that Muslims burnt the train which mobilized further Hindu nationalist volunteers for revenge. English press in India criticized Hindu nationals and Gujarat government for systematic killing of Muslims. It included interviews from Muslim victims and refugees. Cultural talk of good Muslims (victims of Gujarat riots) and bad Muslims (Kashmiri separatists) is also evident in this coverage. Lankala concludes that Indian English press nebulous about national secularism and reproducing state propaganda. Gujarat riots and Muslim genocide perceived as hate campaign but the same became national security when meet to state prosecution of accused Kashmiris. Nationalism is also blurred to Indian English press. Hindu supremacist nationalism perform dual role, when Muslims are terrorists it becomes Indian nationalism, when Muslims are victims it becomes communalism (Lankala, 2006).

Pardeep Singh Bali (2015) attempted to explore portrayal of Indian army in Kashmiri newspapers and conducted content analysis with interviews and personal observation of language used, headlines, space, cartoons and pictures. He concluded that print media in Kashmir criticized the presence of Indian army with provocative language, army's credit referred to civil administration, blamed army for suspected crimes, underreported and disgraced through cartoons and pictures. He provided logic for HR violations and draconian laws as army is engaged against terrorist and dealing with public unrest in the shelter of AFSPA. Public crowded for funerals of militants and throw stones at soldiers but media reported only HR violations when army retaliate. Kashmiri press depicted Indian army as

despotic, tyrant and HR violators. He admitted that Kashmiri public like such reporting and hate Indian army due to HR violations and draconian laws (Bali, 2015).

Kashmir conflict in regional media exhibits two realities, one from Hindu dominated Jammu and the other from Muslim dominated Kashmir. Different narratives of both regions are influenced by the contrast ideology of their respective populace. Archana Kumari and Ashish Kohli compared the coverage of Burhan Wani's encounter through Jammu and Kashmir based prominent newspapers to learn the differences of narratives. They conducted narrative analysis by comparing front page news, placement, headlines, contents, colors and photographs. They concluded that clearly there are two opposite narratives as, Jammu based newspapers adopted state centric approach and Kashmir based newspapers are pro-separatist and anti-state, influenced by unfriendly countries of China and Pakistan (Kumari and Kohli, 2017).

Media play an important role in shaping perception of conflicts to increase or decrease tension. Local media can provide especially enhanced understanding of conflict but most of the time it is ignored. Kashmiri media dominated by English and Urdu language newspapers adopted a regional approach and a primary source of information for local public. Election campaign can institutionalize and highlight politics of conflict and internal political differences. Entry of BJP, contestation of Article 370 and communalization of Jammu and Kashmir signified the state assembly election of 2014. Arif Hussain Nadaf studied coverage of election campaign by Kashmir press to explore prominent political issues, their association to a specific political party and news frames regarding these issues. He conducted content analysis of newspapers during campaign period and measured generic frames in spite of issue specific frames. These generic frames are conflict, economic consequences, and attribution of responsibility, human interest and morality. For internal politics of Kashmir there are two narratives of press coverage: politics of governance and politics of conflict. Politics of

governance comprised of four issues, economy and infrastructure, flood, communalism and corruption and politics of conflict also comprised of four issues, Article 370, Kashmir issue, resolution and AFSPA. His analysis revealed that politics of governance is prominent narrative with the dominant issue of economy and infrastructure mostly associated with local parties. Frame of strategy is dominant followed by economic consequences. Moving beyond conventional approach of media conflict relationship of India-Pakistan rivalry. This study concluded that local press coverage of election campaign dominates the issues related to politics of governance and it provided less coverage to issues related to politics of conflict (Nadaf, 2018).

Indian dominant discourse and Public perception about HR situation in Kashmir described that Kashmir being a territorial dispute is a matter of national prestige. Indian government denied any HR violation or security excesses despite numerous accounts by national, international and media organizations. Teresa Joseph (2000) studied press coverage of HR situation in Kashmir and conducted content analysis of Indian newspapers and cross verified with other media presentations. She revealed that front page news about Kashmir contained only press releases and official speeches while analysis pieces, editorials and features are hard to come. Indian press misguides audiences by portraying official statements without quotations or making them headlines giving the impression of actual reality. She categorized newspaper contents covering Kashmir into following categories. **Deaths and encounters** refers to straight news with official sources depicting success or failure of security forces. HR are completely neglected as press reports (like: “militants among 7 killed or 6 Ultra among 9”) which implies that civilian deaths have no matter. Indian press resisted that **human rights violation and security excesses** are mere propaganda by militants and Pakistan, which adversely affect well-organized and responsible security personnel. Indian press ignored **strikes and curfews** even lasted for several days, observed for security

excesses. There is no report condemning security excesses and HR violations or demands for plebiscite by **international organization and countries** while slightest criticism about Pakistan gets prominent reportage. Joseph reached on the conclusion that general public in India is ill-informed about actual conditions in Kashmir valley due to mainstream media which even justified cases of security excesses. It is overly dependent on official data and misguided belief of patriotism become a self-censor policy. It collaborated with government and increased the sense of alienation among Kashmiri public (Joseph, 2000).

Syed Nazakat discussed security risk in the coverage of Kashmir conflict on the basis of so-called national interest and documented the biases of Indian media regarding Kashmir conflict, self-censorship, and avoidance to report HR violation by Indian forces and lack of professional objectivity. Indian media is selective to avoid sensitive stories and manufacture opinions. Media portrays normalcy, concentrated on hatred for Pakistan and reproducing governmental data. Indian media busy to subvert truth, creating perception that separatists and Pakistan inciting street protest, street protests are sponsored violence, hiding real story because they saw it as damaging and demoralizing for army to report a story of fake encounter. He discussed some event of HR abuses of Kashmiri people by Indian security forces, while media presented the impression that HR violations are rare exception or Pakistani propaganda therefore Indian public wonder why things turn violent in Kashmir. He referred to Rwandan genocide where media supported tragic human sufferings with inadequate and incomplete reporting, mislead international community and allowed the regime to carry out slaughter. Similar media errors are evident in Kashmir, while blood shed continues since 1989. On the bases of personal experiences Nazakat discussed that journalists are facing the issues of verification, attribution, and personal security. He suggested the journalists to pursue the story only if the news organization and editors support the journalist (Nazakat, 2012).

Lubna Reshi (2015) aims to learn how journalist fulfil their jobs and what problems they face in a conflict zone. She documented violence and murder faced by journalists in Kashmir valley during 2008 to 2011 through content analysis of newspapers. She measured perception of the journalists about freedom of expression and speech, with regulations and bans imposed to halt freedom of expression through survey questionnaire. Researcher concluded that laws of freedom of expression and speech in Kashmir are not same, as of in India. Majority of journalists are suppressed and not satisfied, performing their duties, during strikes and curfews. Maltreatment of journalists comprises of confining them to their houses and hotels, beating, verbal assault and harassment. They feel restrictions on journalists are unjustifiable and feel insecure because there is no law to stop assault, no law to protect journalist and no action has been taken against security personnel involved in killing and assault of journalists (Reshi, 2015).

Sahil Koul (2017) explored status of press freedom, problem faced by journalists, their awareness about media legislations and rights in Kashmir. He conducted survey through self-administered questionnaire verified by Reporters without Borders. Sample drawn from the online list of journalists available on the website of Department of Information and Public Relations, Jammu and Kashmir. One fourth of the population selected randomly. Conclusion briefed about Indian constitutions and HR regarding physical punishment and freedom of movement. Journalists feel insecure due to detention and maltreatment, sometimes use bodyguards and bullet proof vests for safety and protection. Editorial policy of local media are shaped if not controlled by the government because journalists are attacked, detained, seized their equipment or even killed in Kashmir. There are unjustifiable fines, summons and repeated legal actions to prevent journalists from their duties. State government uses advertisements as a tool to curtain unfavorable and anti-establishment news. Journalist are subject to surveillance by authorities who tape their phones. Some are restricted to cover,

while some areas are not allowed in curfews despite having curfew passes. Unfortunately press faced continued subjugation and suppression which curtailed free expression and civil liberties.

Findings of the study

Proceeding of the research reveals that little published researches are available regarding coverage of Kashmir conflict by Indian press. By browsing internet sources like Google, WorldCat, LISTA, IEEE Xplore, Academia.edu, Research Gate, Journal archives and library catalogues researcher found only 12 research articles relevant to the study. Most of the researcher conducted content analysis and remaining conducted survey through questionnaire and in-depth interview. Human rights are discussed by almost all the researchers while three studies discussed media legislations, press freedom and journalist's rights in the valley. Three researcher studied local and regional press while others discussed national press. Two articles disclosed politics of natural disaster and presentation of 2014 flood and one discussed politics of governance and politics of conflict in 2014 election, while ethnicity, communalism and nationalism also discussed in Indian perspective. Media legislations, press freedom and experiences of journalist are also studied. Conflict, politics, HR violations, natural disaster, international relations, nationalism, separatism, patriotism and press freedom remained dominant and attractive for media researchers. Further it reveals that:

Shams Imran, identified eight frames in Indian press for Kashmir conflict in which International relations and Law and order frames dominate reinforcing official policies. Resolution and democracy frames are moderately appeared acknowledging Kashmir as a disputed but integral part of India. HR and history frames are rare but blamed Pakistan for HR propaganda, a stand point of Indian government. Dr. Danish Nabi Gadda, studied the portrayal of protests and strikes from 1989 to 2010 and established that national press ignored the voices of dissent to support official narrative as strikes and protest are sponsored by

separatists and diluted details and objectives of demonstrations in partial journalistic approach. Wasim Khalid studied propaganda in the coverage of Kashmir flood by New Delhi based media (press and Television). National media remained attached with army's vehicles and propagated as PR lobby for the army and government. It ignored local volunteers and growing anger for prioritized rescue and relief efforts by the army. It increased the sense of alienation of Kashmiri public by showcasing the army as the only savior of the ungrateful Kashmiris. Yasir, and Venugopal, studied politics of natural disaster (flood) in Kashmir. Victims described anger against national media's coverage of the flood which manipulated and fabricated things to show positive role of Indian army and ignored contributions by local volunteers. Even it suggested the Kashmiri populace to become loyal Indians and obedient to army. Lankala, analyzed Indian Parliament attack and Gujarat riots covered by mainstream Indian press and identified two discourses of nationalism: Nehruvian postcolonial secular nationalism and Hindu majoritarian supremacist nationalism. Indian media ambiguous or use the farmer for dual purpose. When it deals with terrorism or Kashmiri accused, Hindu majoritarian supremacist discourse becomes nationalism and when it meet to Muslim victims this becomes communalism.

Bali (2015) studied the portrayal of Indian army in Kashmiri newspapers and reveals that Kashmiri papers criticized presence of Indian army with provocative language because Kashmiri public hate Indian army due to HR violations and draconian laws. Kumari and Kohli studied coverage of Wani,s encounter in Kashmir and Jammu based newspapers and reveals that coverage of press influenced by the regional ethnic ideology as Jammu based press presented state centric approach and Kashmir based press presented pro separatist and anti-state narrative. Nadaf studied press coverage of 2014 state assembly election campaign in J&K to learn frames of internal politics of conflict situation and concluded that narrative of politics of governance dominates with the issues of economy and infrastructure with the

frame of strategy and economic consequences. These frames and issues are more associated with local political parties while Kashmir press ignored politics of conflict.

Joseph (2000) studied Indian press coverage of HR crises in Kashmir and concluded that national press ignores HR violations or repeats official view that it is mere propaganda by Pakistan, even justified cases of HR violations and criticized reports of HR violations by national and international organizations. Resultantly collaborated with government, to keep general public ignorant and further alienated Kashmiri public. Syed Nazakat recorded his experiences that Journalist faced problems of verification, attributions and security while covering Kashmir. He concluded that one should pursue the story when editors and media organizations support the journalist. Reshi (2015) studied incidents of violence against journalists through content analysis of newspapers and measured perception of journalist through survey and found that journalists in Kashmir feel insecure because there is no law to stop assault on journalist, no law to protect journalist and no action has been taken against security personnel involved in killing and assault of journalists. Koul (2017) studied present status of press freedom in Kashmir through self-administered questionnaire. He concluded that Editorial policy of local media shaped if not controlled by the government because journalists are attacked, detained, seized their equipment or even killed in Kashmir. Unfortunately press faced continued subjugation and suppression which curtailed free expression and civil liberties.

Conclusion

Review of the literature shows that most of the researches conducted by journalists and academic researchers who belong to Kashmir or visited and worked there. Content analysis and survey methods implied in most of the studies. HR violations are almost constant either research studies discussed politics, natural disaster, journalism and media or conflict and militancy. Media land scape divided into national and local spheres. National

press supported government stance especially when it discussed issues, bearing on national security and ignored public sentiment. In response to this ignorance, Kashmir press emerged with a powerful counter narrative. Kashmiri media further divided into regions: Jammu based (Hindu dominated) and Kashmir based (Muslim dominated) press. Jammu based media adopted state centric approach and Kashmir based media is pro-separatist and anti-India. It is concluded from the study that journalists and media outlets are second choice and target of HR violations and armed forces after Kashmiri public. Editorial policy of the media shaped, if not directly controlled by government because undue fines, restrictions, ban of media houses, assault on journalist are common with other ways to halt the media, even torture and killing of journalists. HR violation in Kashmir is a topic intolerable for national press, despite it focused on blaming Pakistan. For national press, HR activists in the country are anti-nationals and international human rights organizations are influenced by intrinsic Pakistani propaganda. National media adopted a self-censor policy due to misguided belief of patriotism therefore hesitate to report a story of HR violations or fake encounters which may downgrade morale of army. There are couple of narratives for nationalism, 20th century's Nehruvian nationalism comprised of secular developmental liberalism and contemporary Hindu majoritarian supremacist nationalism. Later performs dual purposes, when national media deals with terrorist or Kashmiri separatists, Hindu nationalism become the national narrative and when it meets with victims of Gujarat riots it become communalism. No doubt media conflict relationships are marked by state centric approach but it is the basic objective of press to protect civil liberties and to check on excesses on civil rights, which Indian press failed to perform.

Recommendations

Kashmir: owing to hot issue at regional and international level, can transform into a great threat for South Asia or the whole world. There is dire need for more empirical research

to study press role in Kashmir conflict. Academics and media researchers should probe press coverage of Kashmiri society, culture, life in Kashmir, ethnicity, gender, governance and democracy. Unbiased media outlets should bother their responsibility and to break the silence long treated with Kashmiri public. Their dissent and grievances should reach general public in India and abroad. International media organizations can perform better in the presence of suppressions and draconian laws. International community should exert influence to keep Indian authorities, respect human rights, civil liberties and press freedom in Kashmir.

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