



Abrogation of Article 370 to DDC polls: Framing Kashmir in the national newspapers- The Times of India, the Hindu and the Indian Express

Neha Khanna*

*Research Scholar,
School of Communication,
GD Goenka University
&*

Dr. Amaresh Jha

*Associate Professor,
School of Communication,
GD Goenka University*

**Corresponding Author: Email- neha0035.khanna@gmail.com*

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ABSTRACT

The study emanates from the general understanding that each newspaper is unique in its vision on a particular issue and intends to analyze the framing of two prominent political events related to Kashmir- Abrogation of the Article 370 and DDC elections in three Indian elite newspapers- The Times of India, The Hindu and the Indian Express. The paper critically analyses the frames on the two issues in 43 articles published in these newspapers from August 5, 2019 to February 14, 2021. The rationale of the study is significant in the sense that the two events have different ramifications in political circles and the nature of frames on these two issues in articles may advance the understanding on longitudinal change in frames based on imposed and exercised mandates for Kashmir.

KEYWORDS: Kashmir, Article 370, DDC elections, Framing

I. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The credibility of newspapers still remains unchallenged despite the changing face of media. They are considered to be a poor man's university. The newspaper has still many aspects to be delved deeply to understand, how the one most credible media channel runs balancing between commerce, ideology and their vision. The underlying reason pursuing the research is that each newspaper is unique in its ideology, vision and approach towards any issue which makes news. It will be interesting

study to uncover the angles and shades painted on the different newspaper canvas. There is a need of understanding the contribution of newspapers while reporting the issue of abrogation of Article 370 till the DDC elections in Kashmir to develop a better insight on how the two events have been framed. Also, whether the tone has changed post DDC elections or has remained the same. The finding of the study will facilitate in advancing the existing knowledge on political communication. It also addresses the removal of special status of J&K through the vision of political parties and their prominent leaders.

Objectives of the Study

The objectives are guidelines of the research work. The following objectives will be defining the paper's attempt to unfold the vision of The Times of India, The Indian Express and The Hindu newspapers in respect to the Abrogation of Article 370 and DDC elections.

- To analyse the content of the three newspapers, post abrogation of Article 370.
- To analyse the content The Times of India, The Indian Express and The Hindu post DDC elections.
- To compare the tone of articles published post abrogation and post DDC elections.
- To understand the views of political parties on abrogation of Article 370 and in outcomes of DDC elections.



Conceptual and Theoretical Framework:

The concept and ideas used are Newspapers, Articles, Editorials, Public Communication, Abrogation of Article, and Qualitative Content Analysis. The theoretical framework of the study is based on the theories of framing, agenda-setting, priming and public sphere.

A newspaper is a periodical publication containing written information about current events and is often typed in black ink with a white or grey background. It covers the information and updates from North, East, West and South. Newspapers have traditionally been published in print (usually on cheap, low-grade paper called newsprint). In the world of print journalism, the two main formats for newspapers are broadsheet and tabloid. Strictly speaking, these terms refer to the page sizes of such papers, but the different formats have distinct histories and associations.

News article describes quickly to the reader the essentials of a current event: who, what, when, where, how and why. Among these elements, the emphasis will be different depending on the story. The purpose of a new story is to inform. It should be noted, however, that the role of the straight news story. News features are longer, more analytic, and raise more complex issues than a simple news story can and should.

Editorials are believed to be the heart and soul of the newspapers. Each and every newspaper is incomplete without the editorial section. Here the editor not only shares his or her view but also criticize and appreciate the ongoing topics. Editorial is light in nature they should be interesting, full of thought evoking and debatable at the same time. It is said to be the window or reflection of newspapers news policies meaning if an editor is writing an article, it is generally assumed that it is the view of the news publishing house. They are attractive in nature. They are thought-provoking and raise questions in mind of those who read it. It displays the values and policies of a newspaper.

Public Communication means a communication made in an identical form to multiple persons or to the world at large as by television radio, motion pictures, newspaper pamphlet, mass mailing letterhead, business card or directory. It allows us to form connections, influence decisions and motivate change. Without communication skills the ability to progress is the working world and a life itself would be nearly impossible.

The abrogation of an article in the Constitution is valid, if it is a temporary act or under a special provision. Under the constitution an

amendment can only made by virtue of Article 370(1) it gives the power to the President of India that nullify the article anytime but only could have done in concurrence with recommendation of State Governor of Jammu and Kashmir.

Qualitative content analysis is a research methodology widely used in mass communication and social studies. A research technique of objective, systematic and uncovers codes, patterns, themes and bring out latent and manifest meaning. It helps in better understanding of underlying messages an amalgam of inductive and deductive process can be applied to do a qualitative content analysis. Qualitative content analysis is of two types – conceptual content analysis and relational content analysis. The conceptual concept analysis is also known as thematic analysis. A concept is chosen for examination and analysis involves quantifying and tallying its presence. Relational content analysis begins with act of identifying concept present in a given text or set of texts. Relational content analysis is termed as semantic analysis.

Framing refers to how the media packages and presents information to public. According to the theory, the media highlights certain events and then places within a particular context to encourage or discourage certain interpretations. The basis of framing theory is that media focusses attention on certain events and the places them within a field of meaning in essence framing theory suggests that how something is presented to the audience influence the choices people make about how to process the information. Media sets the frame of reference that readers or viewers use to interpret and discuss public events. According to Neuman (1992) framing gives story a spin- taking into account their organizational and modality constraint, professional judgment and certain judgments about the audience. Framing is a process of selective control. The way in which news content is typically shaped and contextualized within the same frame of reference. Audience adopts the frames of reference and to see the world in a similar way. This is how people attach importance to a piece of news and perceive its context within which an issue is viewed.

The influence of media affects the presentation of the reports and issues made in the news that affects the public mind. The news reports make it in a way that when a particular news report is given importance and attention than other news the audience will automatically perceive it as the most important news and information are given to them. The priorities of which news comes first and then the next are set by the media according to how people think and how much influence will it have



among the audience. There are two levels of agenda setting theory. The first level the researchers to study media uses and its objectives or the influences that media creates on people and the most proximal thought that people will have on the exposure to the information given by media house. At the second level, the media focuses on how people should think about the nature of the issues. Thus, sensationalism of news reports may happen to bring in the interest of the audience. In fact, media wants to grab attention and implant thoughts in people minds about some serious issues.

Priming is the responsibility of the media in proposing the values and standards through which the objects gain a certain amount of attention can be judged. The media's content will provide a sufficient amount of time and space to certain issues, making it more vivid. For example, terms such as headlines, special news features, discussions, expert opinions are used.

The ideology of public sphere theory is that the government's law and policies should be steered by the public sphere and that the only legitimate governments are those that listen to the public sphere. "Democratic governance rest on the capacity of and opportunity for citizens to engage in enlightenment debate". The "public sphere" is generally conceived as the social space in which different opinions are expressed, problems of general concern are discussed, a collective solution are developed communicatively. The terms translate into two terms, "the public" or the collective of speakers and listeners present in the public sphere and "publicness" or the state of being publicly visible and subject to scrutiny by the public.

II. CRITICAL REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Siyi Lin, Lei Guo, Kate Mays, Margrit Betke, Derry Tanti Wijaye in their paper, "Detecting frame in News Headlines and its application to analysing news framing trends surrounding U.S. Gun Violence", attempt to detect frames of news headlines and analysing news framing trends related to U.S. Gun Violence news. The frame detection approach is applied to large scale study of 88K news headlines about the coverage of gun violence in U.S. between 2016 and 2018. In communication research these different perspectives are known as "frames", which when used in news media will influence the opinion of the readers. The political climate of the country is depicted through the paper. The U.S. increased polarisation is observed. The paper depicts that the social reality differs through lens of different frames. The focus on the application of

news frames detention as one of the prominent public affairs issues. The frame detection approach to automatically detect frames of news articles headlines related to gun violence during the few years. The news frame overpowers the objectivity of journalists. The paper brings out that framing is subtle form of media manipulation. According to the paper, it seems that gun violence issue right after every major mass shooting is politicised. The focus on party politics the divide between Democrats and Republicans on issue dominated the coverage. The "mental health" frame of the public is a frame which appears consistently. In 2017 conservative leaning media 22% to 27% articles use mental health frame has been identified in liberal leaning of media. The paper focusses on the frames of news how it changes the perspective of how a news is portrayed.

Political reporting is a catalyst for democracy and good governance. It cannot be effective if it does not guarantee equal opportunity; fairness and engender democratisation of communication. (Political reporting – Its regulatory framework and imperatives on Democracy and Democratisation of communication in Nigeria) by Charles Obot. A comprehensive paper with all knowledge and guidelines an academic study can be gained. The principles of political reporting are the also criteria which are universal to all journalists how far they are followed while covering various issues is relevant for my study.

Another relevant paper, 'The 'social' in political communication social media enabled political discourse engagement and mobilization in India', Darshan BM & Kalyani Suresh, Research gate, brings to light how media plays a crucial role in image building. Framing theory is applied to the paper and how politicians PM Modi and Arvind Kejriwal have built their image and also lead to better implementation of policies through convergence of media. The reach of social media has grown exponentially and how it has been tapped by political parties especially BJP under the leadership of PM Narendra Modi before and after his elections. The rise and fall of political parties can be seen clearly in the last decade the purpose of communication through social media has gained momentum the wave of pro NAMO has become stronger. The best example of remarkable use of social media professionals by the current PM of India, Mr Narendra Modi for his political campaigns like Facebook, LinkedIn, Twitter have been followed by breaking social media uses. The benefits of planned action led to 12crore first time voters to unite for BJP workers, spread the party policies and agenda to the public, create an



appealing concept of growth and continuously motivate people with a need for change. Arvind Kejriwal used his common man persona against corruption by repeatedly reblogging/reposting in social media he created a muffler man image NAMO tide. The portrayal through media can help in image building of political parties and also of politicians. Framing of news or information is important to get desired to get desired results for elections getting policies implemented. The adoption of 'Beti Bachao and Beti Pado' through constant posting of campaigns and works of politicians. The Clean India (Swacch Bharat Campaigns) followed by people, politicians got momentum through videos shared by Modi and other members of BJP party, stars and common people. The Clean India (Swacch Bharat Abhiyaan) of the central government is a typical example (Rodrigues and Niemann, 2017). The campaign to a certain extent helped create a positive image for Modi.

The paper explores how social media is instrumental in mobilising masses and setting new milestone in the sphere of political communication. The reporting of politics and how people are motivated and policies are implemented is discussed. It discusses the role of media and convergence of media has brought a sea change. This is a meticulously corroborated paper.

The paper "Framing Theory: Media effects the importance of the Federal Budget Deficit", Amy E. Jespersen, Dhavan V. Shah, Mark Watts. Ronald J Faber, David P Fan is significant for using agenda setting and framing elucidated which I used in my paper. It is comprehensively written paper with examples of various frames which gives a framework of use of frames in newspapers. The paper is based on public opinion polls demonstrate dramatic shifts in the percentage of people considering the budget issue to be the most important problem facing the country from November 1994 through April 1996. The framing of news changed the perceptions and feelings of people. The paper attempts to explain the shift in public opinion over time on the 1996 U.S. Federal budget. The role of media as a primary mechanism by which elite opinion is communicated to public. The various media frames used are discussed in the paper. Agenda setting theory (Mc Combb & Shaw 1993) the various frames are discussed in the light of Federal deficit budget. The framing theory emphasis on some aspects of reality more salient in a text or order to promote a particular, "problem definition, casual interpretation, moral evaluation and /or treatment recommendation for item described. The

media influence the way people perceive a particular problem or issue and its consequences. The research suggests that framing economic and foreign policy questions in terms of gains versus losses. The relevance of paper is use of frames for depicting the budget deficit. The words used phrases impact on shifting perceptions. It is informative and comprehensive. There are four specific frames with examples- "talk frame", "fight frame", "impassé frame", "crisis frame". The use of agenda setting framing elucidated in the paper. My study uses agenda setting thus it serves a study. It is comprehensively written paper with examples of various frames which gives a framework of use of frames in newspapers.

A paper named "Abrogation of Article 370: A look back at its origin and aftermath", Rinashree Khound which is briefly overviews the need of Article 370, its provisions and need for its removal. It is important paper for understanding the subject. It is important to understand the history behind Article 370 and rationale behind the abolition of special status. The highlights of the paper are that Article 370 is "Temporary Provision", it is landmark constitutional amendment which created ripples throughout the country and bought both sides of the coin. ad step mark. The view of abrogation of Article 370 emanates from the manifesto of BJP, which looks forward to make J&K an integral part of one nation, "India". The President declared Article 370 inoperative New Delhi has justified its move by arguing that Article 370 was the root of terrorism in the state. It ruined opportunities of development, health care facilities and education. The differing opinions of experts brings to the table diagrammatically different objectives of the study. One constitutional expert Subhash Kashyap told news that the order was "constitutionally sound" and that "no legal and constitutional fault can be found in it". A.G Noorani told BBC Hindi it was an illegal decision, akin to committing fraud that could be challenged in Supreme Court. The paper on one side talks about how abrogation of Article 370 can help the development of J&K. And on the other hand, it is critical of the government and apprehensive of abrogation of Article 370 due to shutdown of communication in the valley. This violates the essence of democracy and also points out that this could lead to escalation of terrorist activities, if government is unable maintain the situation peacefully.

"Opinion moulding by the Press: An Analysis of the Edition related content of editorials and letters of editors", B. Devi Prasad & R.D Sampat Kumar elucidates that newspapers are



informative and educative, they have the power to mould opinion of public keeping in view, a research on four dailies editorials and letter to editors was conducted in 1989. As the Election Commission of India announced election on 17th October 1989 for Lok Sabha the press caught up with the election wave. This paper studies how print media informs, sensitizes and at times influence public opinion selectively. This paper supports the fact that press shapes opinions of people. The paper is study of papers which includes The Indian Express and The Hindu.

The paper discusses each issue raised in newspapers was addressed in the letters to editors. The selection, priming, omission by media seems to have an impact on readers. An enlightening study to understand the role of news stories and editorials play a role. The selection of news and issues discussed in papers bring out the ideology of a paper.

“Framing the World News: The Times of India in Changing Times”, Elizabeth C. Hanson, Routledge, 4th May 2010. The paper is a meticulously studies the framing of world news in pages of The Times of India from the period of 1985-1993. The content analysis on the dramatic changes in international political environment. The United States received far more attention than any other region. The more than twice that the Soviet Union/ Russia. The content analysis highlights that economic issues were raised more after 1991. The media role to highlight an information that priming of a topic and omission of others according to the needs of the paper. The philosophy of the paper, relevance of the issue to the nation and issue which is of interest to public. It addresses the dynamics of framing the TOI news as there was dramatic transformation in international political environment over years.

‘Editorial Treatment of India in the New York Times’ paper talks about agenda setting and uses themes for understanding the editorials. The paper studies print media and the methodology contributes to my paper. The purpose of the study to evaluate how India is portrayed in editorials of New York Times, most authoritative source of international affairs. The underlying motivation for this research s paper seems to be that every newspaper of every region has a different take on the same issue. The paper uses “Evaluative Assertion analysis” of total of 500 assertions were randomly taken from the time period of 1952-1962. It assesses the situation and position of India in three different periods of 1953- analysing India’s role in international politics, 1954-1958 the favourable relations towards Communist bloc and

the third period of 1959-1962 when there is tilt towards USA and Western Europe.

All the assertions have been coded and then around 17 themes are reported-nationalism, relations with west, relations with Communist bloc, relations with other Asian countries and leadership. Media has an impact on how people perceive an issue is also testified by the paper, “The Mass Media’s Political Agenda-Setting Power: A Longitudinal Analysis of Media, Parliament, and Government in Belgium (1993 to 2000). The paper attempts to find the impact of media on political agenda setting during 1990s in Belgium. The longitudinal, cross sectional study of newspapers and television is done. The media effects are larger for certain issues (law and order, environment) than for others (foreign policy, economic issues). In Belgium, foreign policy is more of a governmental issue thus less affected by media. Media has impact on law and order. My research will be related to impact of newspapers on people. The newspapers make few issues more important by giving them space in their newspapers.

The paper “Source and Content Diversity in Op-Ed pages: Assessing Editorial Strategies in The New York Times and The Washington Post” assesses opinion editorial (Op- Ed) articles published in Washington Post and The New York Times between 1999 and 2003. They assess their stand on three issues – gay marriages, affirmative action and death penalty. The paper delves into the gatekeeping function of media and gives perspective how its media interprets same events differently. The selection of news and the sources of news define the views expressed through the papers.

Shoemaker and Reese (1996) explain the several key variables shape the gatekeeping process: the personal views and role of media workers. Media routines, media organisation, internal pressures and ideology. The findings of the paper unfold that The New York Times and Washington Post adopted different strategies in their selection of sources in the discussion of the three issues. On the issue of gay marriages, the New York Times allowed diverse views through guest contributors. The results suggest that The New York Times adopted a more encompassing diverse source strategy than the Washington Post. The study also suggests that unlike The New York Times, The Washington Post did not allow for source diversity in its Op-ed discussion on the three issues. The paper is an invaluable for my paper as it gives me a perspective how to identify the approach of papers and how gatekeeping works as selection of news to be published and which source should the news be given. The study raised that both the papers did not



allow divergent issues and mostly the sources were writers of each paper, appearing to mostly to be elites and academics.

Mandates of Political Parties on Abrogation of Article 370

The manifesto presented by Rajnath Singh, also head of BJP's manifesto panel stressed on various factors such as national security and Jammu and Kashmir- BJP is committed to annulling Article 35 A of the Constitution of India as the provision is discriminatory against no permanent residents and of Jammu and Kashmir. BJP will aim at next generation infrastructure which will include gas grids and water grids, I-ways, regional airports and way side amenities along National highways. In addition to ensuring efficiency in the economy this will also lead to creation of a large number of jobs and livelihood opportunities as well. This underlines how abrogation of Article 370 was an integral part of the manifesto.

The manifesto of Indian National Congress has no mention of abrogation of Article 370. It says that Congress has stood witness to the developments in Jammu & Kashmir since the Instrument of Accession was signed on 26 October 1947. Congress affirms that the whole of Jammu & Kashmir is part of India. It acknowledges the unique history of the State and the unique circumstances

under which the State acceded to India that led to the inclusion of Article 370 in the Constitution of India.

The manifesto of PDF reflects the support for Article 370. The five key agendas are-remodelling the Political Structure: pursuing self-rule as the framework of resolution, reconstructing the economy: rebuild and rehabilitate, reforming the government: effective governance. Reviving the civil society: create a harmonious environment, rally the youth: provide opportunity and support. The remodelling of the political structure the special status enshrined in Article 370 is required to empower the people of J&K and help deal with the issues of identity, borders and governance. The use Article 370 itself to restore the original special status of the state. The Article 370 impacts everything from political discourse to personal responses, from economy to emotions, from society to sensibilities and from institutions to ideologies.

III. RESEARCH METHOD

The sample of 43 news articles, opinions and editorials have been taken from 5th August 2019 to 14th February 2021 for qualitative content analysis. The newspapers detail is prescribed in the following table. The research method employed is qualitative content analysis.

Table 1. Articles, Opinions and Editorials for Analysis

S.NO	Name of the News paper	Period of the publication	Number of Articles
1.	The Times of India	5th August 2019- 10th January 2021	9
2.	The Indian Express	5th August 2019-10th February 2021	17
3.	The Hindu	5th August 2019- 14th February 2021	17

Content analysis is distinguished from other kinds of social science research in that it does not require collection of data from people like documentary, content analysis is the study of recorded information which has been recorded in text, media or physical items. It is a research technique for objective, systematic and qualitative description of the manifest content of communication. The use of qualitative data like news stories, editorials is made in the paper.

Data and Measures:

The parameters of judging a qualitative data set are all the stories published in the newspaper on the abrogation of article 370 till the results of DDC elections. The keyword and manual search resulted in 44 articles during the period August 5, 2019 to February 14, 2019 in the national

editions of the three newspapers- The Times of India, The Indian Express and The Hindu. The patterns in the story reflect on the framing of the news done by the newspaper on the issue of Abrogation of Article 370 and DDC elections.

Process of Analysis:

The qualitative content analysis requires an analytical process of seven classic steps, including formulating the research questions to be answered, selecting the sample to be analyzed, defining the categories to be applied, outlining the coding process and the coder training, implementing the coding, then categorizing, finding themes and devising a construct for a theory.

The researcher has divided the articles and editorials under four heads- i) the first editorials in the three newspapers on abrogation of Article of 370



(ii) the articles published after on abrogation of Article 370 (iii) articles published on 4 G

restoration in J&K (iv) DDC elections reporting in the three newspapers.

IV. FINDINGS:

Table 2. Tone of Articles on Abrogation of Article 370

Name of the paper (total number of articles on Abrogation of Article 370)	Negative (The articles and editorials against the abrogation of Article 370)	Positive (The articles and editorials in favor of abrogation of Article 370)	Neutral (The articles and editorials which have a balanced viewpoint)
The Hindu (11)	3	8	0
The Times of India (5)	3	2	0
The Indian Express (13)	6	5	2
Total (29)	(12)	(15)	(02)

Table 3. Tone of Articles on Verdict of DDC Elections

Name of the paper and number of articles and editorials on DDC elections	Negative (The number of articles and editorials which are against the abrogation of Article 370 and are in favour of Gupkar Alliance and PDP)	Positive (The articles and editorials in favour of abrogation of Article 370 and are in favour of BJP)	Neutral (The articles and editorials which have a balanced viewpoint and give views on all parties equally)
The Hindu (6)	2	0	4
The Times of India (4)	2	2	-
The Indian Express (4)	2	1	1
Total (14)	(6)	(3)	(5)

V. ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS:

The Hindu has been balanced in its coverage on the issue of DDC elections after the abrogation of Article 370. It has given space to most optimistic editorials and articles in its coverage on the Abrogation of Article 370 including "Abrogation of Article 370 will uproot terrorism in J & K" on 22nd September 2019. Out of 17 articles and editorials eight are positive towards the government stand on removal of Article 370. The Indian Express and The Times of India is on equal footing for both pros and cons of the issue. The Hindu covered Farooq Abdullah attending parliament after Article 370 was abrogated and he came out of detention. But both The Hindu and The Indian Express have a frame set for the article be it positive or negative for the abrogation but The Times of India has stood out with two neutral and balanced articles on the news.

On the issue of DDC elections, The Hindu has given an objective viewpoint four articles rest both The Indian Express and The Times of India have equal number of articles. The Times of India paper have used quoted Omar Abdullah NC leader that BJP victory for 3 seats and underplayed the 35 wins/ leads of the JK PAGD in Jammu province. Mehbooba Mufti visit after DDC polls and Gupkar alliance won 110 of the 280 seats the only paper to

cover this news. The Times of India was the only paper which published the Ladakh's geothermal project. Thus, it's the only paper which has cover few news stories which remained untouched by the other two newspapers. The Hindu has quoted NC Omar Abdullah on DDC elections and his initial reactions on the elections results as encouraging for the party. Though most the articles are neutral in its approach on DDC elections.

VI. DISCUSSIONS:

The firsts few editorials just after the Abrogation of Article 370 published in the three newspapers has different types of tones; the editorial published in the Indian Express on September 27, 2019 had a title: Abrogation of Article 370 is illegal, the ongoing lockdown unsustainable, The Hindu had an article on August 6, 2019 with a title "Scrapping of J&K special status is the wrong way to an end". Both the articles indicate that these newspapers were having a negative tone for Abrogation of Article 370. The Times of India editorial dated August 5, 2019, "Changing the game in Kashmir: In nullifying article 370 and bifurcating state, government has redrawn strategic calculus" definitely praised the decision of the government on abrogation of the Article 370.



The news articles published post DDC elections highlighted the victory of Gupkar Alliance. This election was significant because this was the first election held after the abrogation of Article 370 and every one was eager to know the mood of the Kashmiri people through the mandate. The Times of India on December 22, 2020 tried to balance the story in favor of BJP by giving the headline: *Jammu and Kashmir DDC results- Gupkar Alliance wins 97 seats, BJP 70 in district polls*. But the National Conference leader Omar Abdullah tweeted, "I understand the temptation to over play the 3 seats the BJP has won in the valley but why underplay the 35 wins/leads of the JKPAGD in Jammu province. We are political parties with strong support in Jammu and Kashmir". The Times of India mentioned the view point of Omar Abdullah alleging that the victory of JKPAGD has been downplayed.

Another important article the J & K DDC polls: Gupkar alliance wins big: BJP emerges single largest party in The Indian Express on December 23, 2020 has balanced view on covering BJP, PAGD and independent parties.

VII. CONCLUSION:

The comprehensive study of the articles, editorials bring out that maximum coverage on the Abrogation of Article 370 has been done by The Indian Express and The Hindu followed by The Times of India. The Hindu despite its leftist inclination has highest number of articles and editorials which are in favour of the abrogation of article 370. The Indian Express and The Times of India are moreover balanced by publishing almost same number of articles in favour and against the issue. In the detailed study The Times of India articles seemed to be most objective and neutral in their framing of news as compared to The Hindu and The Indian Express. The analysis of the three newspapers on The Hindu, The Indian Express and The Times of India reveals that maximum articles have been published in The Hindu on DDC elections, The Indian Express and The Times of India have almost equal coverage. The PDP idea of development and progress could be achieved through the victory of Gupkar alliance. The BJP party has also propitiously fared in DDC elections as framed by The Indian Express newspaper shows the party has been accepted well in few quarters of the state. The three papers discussed Abrogation of Article 370 and DDC polls but did not attempt to reach out to people, relatives who have actually been affected by the removal of Article 370. The masses which faced the quagmire of crisis during

the lockdown to avert terrorism, disruption in education, businesses and jobs. The Kashmiri people's views have been overlooked despite them facing lockdown even before the pandemic stuck. This raises concern as the most sensitive issue of Jammu and Kashmir seemed to be framed through a narrow vision of elitist papers. The further study of the other significant issues can be done through the lens of framing and agenda setting. The study of other media conduits could add to the academic knowledge of scholars and every inquisitive mind.

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