



Coverage of 2010 Kashmir unrest by Indian media: An analysis of *The Tehelka* and *The India Today* Reportage

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Abstract

The 2010 political unrest is a watershed moment in the longstanding dispute of Kashmir. During the summer of 2010, the political situation in Kashmir remained chaotic for over 100 days. The civilian killings, general shutdowns, mass protests and brutal state response to protesting population received extensive coverage of local, Indian and international media. Otherwise a dormant conflict, Kashmir received huge media attraction. During the period, Indian and International news crews flocked the alleys of Kashmir. The newspapers, magazines, and news channels carried in-depth reports, analysis, and editorials, on the crisis, which resulted in the loss of around 120 civilian lives and huge economic losses to business community. The Indian print media devoted considerable space to political uproar emerging from Kashmir. The *Tehelka* and *India Today*, two prominent news magazines published from India, also covered the months-long agitation in Kashmir. This work looks into the nature and extent of the coverage of these two publications in order to understand the nuances of media reportage of 2010 summer unrest.

Keywords: Kashmir, 2010 unrest, Tehelka, India Today, media coverage, Indian media

Introduction

The discourse in media shapes the outcome of modern-day conflicts. The media coverage of conflict determines the perception of people regarding the different parties engaged in conflict. The party, which manages to steer narrative in its favor is likely to have more allies on its side. "Political and media discourses are the main sources which feed and shape what goes on in the public sphere" (Porte & Azpiroz, 2009)^[17]. "In a world dominated by print and electronic media, our sense of reality is increasingly structured by narrative" (Fulton, 2005)^[6]. Since media have the power to control narratives, people believe a story based on the extent of coverage given to it. More the coverage of a particular side of an event, the more is audience going to believe that very version of the event. Media narratives are constructed because of a wide range of reasons. The major reasons are either political or economical in nature. For media, a news event is either a commodity or a plank to gain mileage out of it for pleasing people who share their political ideology. With so many media outlets covering a same event, several discourses emerge about a single news event.

In a conflict zone, the media activity is subject to the escalation of violence or any major political development. Media and conflict has a special relationship. The conflict of Jammu and Kashmir has attracted media attention whenever there has been increase in violence. The summer unrest of 2010 was one such political development in the history of Jammu and Kashmir which caught the eye of world media.

2010 Summer Unrest

The year 2010 saw a series of high-intensity mass protests against state, which resulted in the loss of at least 120 lives (Mushtaq, 2017)^[14]. The spell of violence began in the month of June when people came out in large numbers on the streets in protest against government forces. The protests picked up pace towards the end of that month, and continued up to September 2010. Mass protests – often-violent clashes between protesters and government forces – were reported

from every nook and corner of Kashmir. State government was criticized for preventing civilian killings by government forces, and bringing culprits to justice.

One of the main reasons that triggered mass protests in Kashmir was the fake encounter of three Kashmiri boys in Machil sector of Kupwara district. On April 30, 2010, the Army claimed to have foiled an infiltration bid from across the Line of Control, at Machil Sector in Kupwara district of Jammu and Kashmir by killing three armed militants from Pakistan.

After a complaint lodged in Sopore police station by the parents of three missing youth, an investigation was carried by Jammu and Kashmir Police that revealed the three "militants" killed by Army were not foreigners but Local laborers (Jaleel, 2011)^[9]. The investigation exposed the role of a local counter-insurgent, Bashir Ahmad Dar and an Army source Abdul Hameed for luring them by promising them jobs as porters and kidnapping these men and helping Army in getting them killed a cash reward.

These killing created a furor throughout the valley and people protested to bring culprits to justice, which ultimately led to the protests across Kashmir. On June 11, there were protests against the Machil killings in the downtown area of Srinagar. To quell protestors, police used force and a seventeen-year-old, Tufail Ahmad Mattoo, was killed by a while he was playing in a local ground (Lateef, 2010)^[13]. The minor's killing triggered more protests across Srinagar.

In the wake of these killings, the Hurriyat Conference, an amalgam of political parties advocating for the independence of Kashmir, called for strikes against human rights abuse by government forces. Protesters shouting pro-independence slogans, defied curfew, attacked security forces with stones and burnt police vehicles and government buildings. Schools, Universities, business establishments and government offices remained shut for months.

Each passing day led to a new death at the hands of government forces, triggering fresh protests which continued unabated for months throughout the Kashmir. Each death

proved to be a catalyst for a daily ritual of street battles between forces and protestors.

To stop the escalating of clashes, government imposed indefinite curfew throughout Kashmir in August. With the growing number of deaths, the demands for the removal of Chief Minister, Omar Abdullah, increased. Abdullah concerned over the increasing violence issued many statements but none seemed to have any effect on ground.

Soon, the Indian Prime Minister, Manmohan Singh, constituted an All Party Delegation Committee to break the deadlock in Kashmir (Yardley, 2010)^[18]. This delegation was also supposed to meet Hurriyat leaders which they declined. Home Minister, Palaniappan Chidambaram, announced the release of students who had been detained for throwing stones. It was also announced that all schools and universities - closed during recent unrest - would re-open. The situation in the valley led UN Secretary-General, Banki Moon to express concern. He advised exercise of utmost restraints over the protestors, killings and arrests and asked India to address problems peacefully (Mushtaq, 2010)^[14].

Media Coverage of Kashmir

Indian media is often accused of bias in covering Kashmir conflict. Author and academic, Shahnaz Bashir (2017) writes: "The mainstream media in India has been distorting and selectively presenting the reality in Kashmir." Kashmir gets a lot of coverage in Indian media. Senior Indian journalist, Shekhar Gupta (2015)^[7] while commenting on coverage of Kashmir issue admitted that Indian media has never been truthful. The 2010 unrest saw a flock of Indian journalists flying to Kashmir. Most of the media houses have their bureaus in Srinagar, however, reporters from Delhi were assigned to cover the crisis.

"India's national media has generally followed the official line in relation to Kashmir (Khalid, 2015)^[11]." So, it becomes interesting to study how Indian media covers Kashmir conflict while having its national interests at stake.

Objectives

1. To examine the coverage of 2010 summer unrest qualitatively.
2. To identify the focus of media reports.
3. To analyze the reportage of select newspapers quantitatively.

Sample

Two leading news magazines of India- *The Tehelka* and *India Today* have been selected for the study. The issues of select publications from July, 2010 to August, 2010 form the sample of this study.

Research Methodology

The study intends to examine the coverage both qualitatively and quantitatively. For achieving this, the content analysis method will be adopted. This will help study the focus and extent of reportage - stories, editorials, and photographs of select news magazines. As a research tool, content analysis is used to determine the presence of certain words or concepts within texts. This helps in the quantification and analysis of the presence of such words and concepts and later develops their relationships with audience and time. Content analysis helps in finding specific characteristics within the text. It helps in making sense of large quantity of data in a systematic manner.

W. Lawrence Neuman (1997) describes content analysis as a "technique for gathering and analyzing the content of text. The 'content' refers to words, meanings, pictures, symbols, ideas, themes, or any message that can be communicated. The 'text' is anything written, visual, or spoken that serves as a medium for communication."

Arthur Berger (1991) says: "Content analysis is a research technique that is based on measuring the amount of something (violence, negative portrayals of women, or whatever) in a representative sampling of some mass-mediated popular form of art." The original source can be printed publications, broadcast programs, other recordings, the Internet, or live situations.

Content analysis is widely used in a media and literature studies. In media content analysis, first the medium – newspapers, magazines, radio, TV, film – is selected, then the researcher determines the period of which the media content is to be studied and at last the content is selected for analysis. Harold Laswell (1927)^[12] is credited to have introduced content analysis to study propaganda. Since then it has been widely used in studying media content to understand the portrayal of different communities in media reportage.

Content Analysis Methods

There are two ways of doing content analysis of media content:

1. **Quantitative content analysis:** This technique examines the content on the basis of key words and frequency. Quantitative content analysis helps in making sense of a large amount of data by deciphering it into numbers and charts.
2. **Qualitative content analysis:** In this technique, the researcher examines the relationship between the text and audience. The analysis of media content using this technique depends on researcher reading and interpretation of the content. Qualitative content analysis helps in going behind the usual meaning of the media content.

Justification

The researcher has used both the method for this study. The 2010 crisis in Kashmir received extensive media coverage in international and local media. The newspapers and magazines carried special and in-depth reports, analysis, editorials on these crisis. Prominent Indian news magazines – *The Tehelka* and *India Today* – also covered the turmoil by sending special correspondents to this state. As such, the nature and extent of media coverage merits scholarly attention.

Review of Literature

Considering the significance of the events, many authors, journalists, academicians document and summarized these major political developments. The most comprehensive account of 2010 summer turmoil is a book titled *Until My Freedom Has Come* edited by Sanjay Kak – a documentary filmmaker. This is a collection of essays, articles, personal accounts by prominent journalists, sociologists, writers, political analysts, students, artists, academicians and lawyers. The collection was received with full praise by the literary and intellectual circles in and outside Kashmir. Noted author Arundhati Roy in praise of this book said: "Here is a book that rips through the falsehoods and false noise that has deepened the silence about Kashmir. It shows moral courage

and intellectual integrity. Here, finally, Kashmiris tell their own stories, analyze their own situation and dream their own dreams. And they do it bravely and beautifully.” This book provided a platform to the people of Kashmir to vent out their feelings, and emotions about the event which cost them dearly.

Sanjay Kak, in the introductory chapter of the book, has discussed the evolution of conflict in the state and the rise of discontent among people during 2010 summer. He wrote: “Summer has gradually emerged as the season of face-off, played between out almost ritually in the valley.” Kak described this anthology as a “collection [which] brings together a diverse set of responses to the events of 2010, a time of great upheaval in Kashmir.”

Parvaiz Bukhari, a noted Kashmiri journalist, in the first chapter of this book titled *Summers of Unrest Challenging India* wrote: “The summer of 2010 witnessed a convulsion in the world’s most militarized zone, the Indian-controlled part of Kashmir, an unprecedented and deadly civil unrest that is beginning to change a few things on the ground.”

Another comprehensive study is a report *Behind the Numbers: Profiling those Killed in Kashmir’s 2010 Unrest*. This report, prepared by Zubair Ahmad Dar for Centre for Dialogue and Reconciliation, studied the socio-economic conditions of families who lost a member in 2010 protests and the processes of justice that followed the death of these young men and women. A report on the media coverage of 2010 unrest in Kashmir shows a “discernable change” in the media coverage of local Kashmir media and mainstream media in India. Published in media watchdog, The Hoot, *Reporting The 2010 Agitation in Kashmir* (2011) [3] found that there was a stark difference in the coverage of local and mainstream newspapers. The report indicated that both media underreported some aspects of the unrest. According to a research paper, *Crisis and Media Narrative: An Analysis of Media Reportage of 2010 Kashmir Unrest*, (2018) [18] newspapers like The New York Times and The Guardian underreported 2010 Kashmir unrest as compared to turmoil in Middle East countries. The paper also shows that the turmoil was portrayed in a negative way. *Portraying Kashmir: Local Media Vs National Media* (Afsar, 2016) [1] discusses the image of Kashmir in media reports. It points out that “the coverage by the national media mostly presents the government’s point of view... and injects a communal angle intentionally into the news stories.” A 2017 Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism study on Indian media coverage of 2014 flood in Kashmir shows that the coverage was security-centric to create sympathy for Indian army, typically viewed as an occupying force in Kashmir.

Findings

India Today

July 2 issue

India Today carried no story in its July 2 issue about the incidents that happened in Kashmir during the last week of June.

July 12 issue

Headline: *Descent into chaos*

Byline: Aijaz Hussain, Kashmir correspondent for Associated Press, and Bhavna Vij-Aurora, Senior Editor, India Today.

Story length: 1744 words.

Quotes/Sources: A total of 6 sources have been mentioned

in the story – 2 of them are identified as government sources; 3 officials have spoken in the report – 2 of them have been identified while 1 is unidentified; also 1 other identified non-government source has also been mentioned.

Key points:

- Chief Minister, Omar Abdullah, acknowledges that everything is not under his government's direct control; Home Minister, security experts blame Pakistan for disturbance; Prime Minister, Manmohan Singh, chairs high-level security meeting, decides not to send more forces to Kashmir; Chief Minister questions timing of Hurriyat leader, Syed Ali Geelani’s demands.

Headline: *The act effect*

Byline: Reported by Sandeep Unnithan, Deputy Editor, India Today.

Total no. of words: 234.

Quotes/Source: Story has only one quote with unidentified official source.

Key points:

- Insurgency responsible for government’s reluctance on the withdrawal of Armed Forces Special Powers Act (AFSPA); Army Chief defends AFSPA.
- Home Ministry mulling to amendment bill related to AFSPA.

Headline: *Between a rock and a hard place*

Byline: Sandeep Unnithan.

Story length: 302 words.

Quotes/ Source: Story has two quotes from unnamed official sources.

Key points:

- Poor living condition of CRPF personnel in Kashmir; 1600 CRPF men injured during 2008 Amarnath land controversy; lack of political will responsible for bad condition of paramilitary forces in Kashmir.

Headline: *Fully loaded (photograph)*

A policeman holding two stones in his hands during a street battle with protesters was published in the July 12 issue as the Image of the Week.

July 12 issue

Headline: *From the editor-in-chief (editorial)*

Byline: From Aroon Purie, Editor-in-chief, India Today.

Story length: 542 words.

Key points:

- Central government creates confusion when situation is worsening in Kashmir.

Headline: *Where is the leader?*

Byline: Reported by S. Prasannarajan, Managing Editor, India Today, *et al.*

Story length: Out of 4661, 633 words have been exclusively decided to Kashmir.

Quotes/Source: This long piece carries a total of seven quotes, with 4 from official sources – 3 identified, 1 unidentified. Also an academician and a commoner have been quoted in the story too.

Key points:

- Due to poor governance in Kashmir, the mobs, curfews and army are back on streets; CRPF and J&K police is on the verge of revolt as they face the onslaught by the people.

- Home minister expresses displeasure over back-channel talks with Hurriyat.
- Political establishments and forces lack coordination.

July 26 issue

Headline: *Armchair Politicians*

Byline: Kaveree Bamzai, editor, India Today.

Story length: 499 words.

Quotes/Source: No person has been quoted in the piece.

Key points:

- Disconnected politician like the Chief Minister of Jammu and Kashmir are unaware of peoples' troubles.

August 2 and 7 issue

No story was carried in these two editions of the magazine.

July 12 issue

Headline: *Omar Abdullah: Lost in the valley*

Byline: Kaveree Bamzai.

Story length: 2831 words.

Quotes/Source: Total number of quotes used is six – 2 from identified government sources; 3 official quotes – 2 with identified sources and one anonymous, 1 quote from non-government party with source identified.

Key points:

- The ongoing turmoil exposes real situation in Kashmir; Chief Minister frowns any consultation with New Delhi; Chief Minister not sharing his people's grief; cosmetics measures taken by Chief Minister to normalize situation.
- Chief Minister's inability to see the pattern of protests and giving opportunity to Hurriyat to benefit from the situation; the discourse of protests changes from human rights violation to self-determination.
- Home Minister appeals people to have faith in Omar Abdullah; Home Secretary advises Omar to meet people.
- Cabinet Committee on Security (CCS) decides to send more troops to Kashmir.

Headline: *The fiery four*

Byline: It carries no byline.

Total no. of words: 440 words.

Quotes/ Source: Two quotes have been used.

Key points

Hurriyat leader Syed Ali Geelani, Masarat Alam, Aasiyeh Andrabi of Dukhtarn-e-Millat Geelani are labeled as radicals; Mirwaiz Umar Farooq is projected as a moderate face of Kashmir's "separatist" camp.

Headline: *Internet warriors*

Byline: reported by Aijaz Hussain.

Story length: 388 words.

Quotes/Source: No person has been quoted in the report.

Key points:

- Kashmiri's have found a new style of intifada – street protests; protest calendars are circulated on Internet; social networking acts as an interface between streets, separatist leaders and a source of news for journalists; the video clips, photographs uploaded are used to register the protests worldwide.
- Security agencies are using social networking sites for surveillance.

Headline: *'I'm my own worst enemy' (Interview)*

Byline: Reported by Kaveree Bamzai.

Story length: 1031 words.

Key points:

- There are varied levels of anger and resentment. Jammu and Kashmir is a political issue. It needs to be handled politically.
- A sustained political dialogue with mainstream and separatists; disengaging Pakistan is detrimental to Kashmir; creation of employment opportunities for youth; reach out to people.
- Reorient the procedure of forces from counter insurgency to law and order.
- Separatists have a role in ensuring that needless deaths do not occur. Hurriyat represent a constituency of people.

July 12 issue

Headline: *Valley is greener*

Byline: Reported by S. Prasannarajan.

Story length: 534 words.

Quotes/Source: No quotes have been used in the report.

Key points:

- The struggle for azadi in Kashmir is inspired by the ideal of the alternative and is played out under the gaze of Pakistan.
- The struggle in Kashmir is no longer against administration but for azadi, which is in tune with the freedom struggle of Islam elsewhere.

August 30 issue

No story appeared in August 30 issue of India Today.

Analysis of India Today coverage:

An analysis of India Today coverage shows that the preference was given to a wide range of issues. The role of Chief Minister, security of Indian state, laws like Armed Forces Special Powers Act, living condition of government forces, role of separatists in creating trouble, use of social media and pro-freedom movement remained the top priority of India Today coverage. What was lacking in the reports was the picture of the condition of common man because of ubiquitous and endless violence. There was a negligible representation of the victims of violence by government forces. It was also found that the publication relied mostly on journalists from New Delhi, however, some Srinagar based correspondents were also assigned the job of reporting. Most of the sources consulted in the reports are government officials. The voice of common man is absent from the reports. It was also found that the reports didn't provide the ground picture but rather gave analysis of other mundane issues. It was found that the reportage mostly revolved around government. In most of the reports, it was found that voices from different political parties were also missing.

Tehelka

July 3 issue

The Tehelka carried no story in its July 3 issue about the incidents that happened in Kashmir during the last week of June 2010.

July 10 issue

Headline: *Volatile valley. Who is stroking the fire?*

Byline: Parvaiz Bukhari, Kashmir correspondent.

Story length: 537 words.

Quotes/Source: One identified government source has been quoted in the report.

Key points:

- Hurriyat leaders have exposed the limits of political power of chief minister.
- District authorities asked to seek Army's help for preventing anti-India upsurge; the Governor's office asked Chief Minister to report government activity to Raj Bhavan.
- The opposition PDP misses no opportunity to push Omar further into a corner.

July 17 issue

Headline: *Liberty is not a stone's throw away in valley*

Byline: Syeda Afshana, Academician.

Story length: 588 words.

Quotes/Source: No people have been quoted in the story.

Key points:

- The people of Kashmir are distressed over current situation, ceaseless chaos, endless deaths and disillusioned with politics.
- From armed insurgency to peaceful marches to stone-pelting, the form of resistance has changed; dire need for strengthening ideological impulse of the commoner.

July 24 issue

Headline: *The Valley will accept a client regime no more*

Byline: Prem Shankar Jha, senior journalist.

Story length: 1304 words.

Quotes/ Source: Nobody has been quoted in the report.

Key points:

- The transformation from gun culture to stone pelting has conferred a moral ascendancy on the pro-freedom movement
- Stone pelting has emerged as the most potent threat to the legitimacy of Indian state; the motivation of protesters is born out of profound rebellion against injustice; the stone-pelting youth have become the spearhead of a new movement gaining support day by day.
- There is a difference between Mufti Sayeed's and Omar Abdullah's government in dealing with insurgency.

July 24 and August 7 issues

Tehelka carried no story in its July 24 and August 7 issues regarding Kashmir.

August 14 issue

Headline: *A man. A mess. A map. Omar Abdullah plots a way out for Kashmir*

Byline: Vijay Simha, Editor-at-large, Tehelka)

Story length: 2228 words. **Quotes/Source:** Total number of quotes used is twelve – with 11 from identified government source, and one quote from a common man.

Key points:

- Omar visits a village as a part of his Tehsil Contact Programme to meet people and take them in confidence.
- People continue to protest; Omar seems to be without emotions; his lack of expression makes the opposition PDP to hurl criticism.
- Omar and his party arrive at a decision to exhaust the protestors.
- Some of the engagements by Omar have worked at least for a while when Syed Ali Shah Geelani, Chairman Hurriyat Conference, asked people to follow Gandhian ways of protest.

Headline: *'The international dimension of Kashmir is not going to be resolved just because I build more roads or better bridges'*

Byline: No byline.

Story length: 640 words.

Key points:

- Omar says Kashmir has political and international dimensions which cannot be resolved by building more roads, hospitals, schools.
- Omar believes that the autonomy should be restored as it existed between 1947 and 1953; Pakistan should move forward on General Musharraf's four-point formula.
- Omar says he would talk to stone-pelters.
- Long working hours are making it difficult for government forces to distinguish between friends and foes; New Delhi should allow J&K to be self-sufficient in generating power to its true potential.

Headline: *Is this man the heir to Geelani's mantle? How Masarat Alam makes young Kashmiris dance.*

Byline: Zahid Rafiq, reporter, Tehelka.

Story length: 816 words.

Quotes/Source: Four people have been quoted, 2 of them are unidentified government sources, while an unidentified non-government source and a common man have been quoted too.

Key points:

- Between the young stone-pelters and the sentiment for freedom, there is Masarat Alam in the middle — mobilising people, coining catchy slogans and planning protest calendars from the underground; Alam has a canny eye for any form of protest.
- Alam has been jailed for more than 10 years for "breaking the Hurriyat Conference" and "uniting the Hurriyat"; disillusioned by Islamabad's policies towards Kashmir, Alam is now fighting for an independent Kashmir.
- Alam's reputation continues to be of a man who is not cut off from the people.
- Alam devised 'Ragda': a dance in which people form circles, stand shoulder-to-shoulder, and stomp their feet shouting anti-India slogans.

August 21 issue

Headline: *It is time for Governor's Rule. The tension would then dissipate and the political process would restart*

Byline: Prem Shankar Jha.

Story length: 790 words.

Quotes/ Source: Total number of quotes used is six – 2 from identified government sources, 3 official quotes- 2 with identified sources and one unidentified, 1 quote from non-government party with source identified.

Key points:

- The New Delhi government has lost empathy; people of Kashmir should be empathized; Delhi doesn't ask why youth of Kashmir are throwing stones.
- Kashmir Police has not found another way of subduing the stone-pelters.
- Indian leaders have no clue about the anger of the youth in the valley.
- If India continues to fail to understand people, they will continue to defy curfew and come out to dare police to shoot them; the calm in valley is deceptive for it is no more than the eye of the storm.

- Governor’s Rule would douse most of the anger. Kashmiris would claim victory.

Headline: *...throw Kashmir open to the world. Both the Kashmirs must reunite...*

Byline: Vijay Simha, Editor-at-large in Tehelka.

Story length: 927 words.

Key points:

- Beating Kashmir is the easiest thing to do. But by doing so, India has pushed people into a civil movement.
- People’s Democratic Party wants to see the unification of the two Kashmirs, by making borders irrelevant; people can use both Indian and Pakistani currency; open old routes that connected Kashmir to Central Asia, South Asia, and China; members can be elected for parliament from other Kashmir; Visa offices in Kashmir can give a sense of freedom to people.

August 28 issue

Headline: *Demilitarise. Repeal black laws. Talk to Pakistan. Have a referendum. Remember that Kashmiris are not Indians (Interview)*

Byline: Vijay Simha.

Story length: 612 words.

Key points:

- Kashmir problem cannot be solved by taking administrative decisions.
- The government of India makes its people see Kashmir from a Pakistani prism.
- Kashmir is a territorial issue that India and Pakistan can discuss between themselves and have talks with Kashmir

too; status quo is not acceptable. Start with demilitarization, repeal of black laws, and removal of bunkers.

- India needs to shift its position. Pakistan is already talking about demilitarization, self-governance, open borders, and people to people contact.
- India tries to dictate the dialogue. It tries to buy loyalty in Kashmir through economic packages.

Headline: *I am a pacifist. But here’s why I want to be a stone-pelter*

Byline: Zahid Rafiq.

Story length: 2846 words.

Key points:

- No Kashmiri feels protected by the army and CRPF; Kashmir is too long, too tragic and too bloody a story to be called a law and order problem.
- Kashmiris have been waiting for India and the world to listen to them for too long; women have been the silent sufferers in this conflict.
- Kashmir has made a transition from guns to slogans and took to stones only when protests were forcibly stopped by the state; Kashmiris want to settle their dispute with India without guns.
- If the stone-pelters and protesters continue to be killed as terrorists, Kashmiris will be pushed to dig up their old guns; the sentiment for azadi has somehow always endured in Kashmir; for the Kashmir issue to be solved, India needs to keep its money and gun aside and talk to Kashmiris.

Table 1

Content	Tehelka			India Today			
	Govt.	Non-Govt.	Local	Govt.	Non-Govt.	Local	
Total number of stories *Excluding editorials	10			09			
No. of cover stories	01			01			
No. of words	10656			9178			
No. of editorials	None			02			
No. of stories about common people	01			None			
Stories about govt.	09			10			
No. of interviews	02			01			
Stories by local correspondent	04			02			
Stories by national correspondent	06			07			
Source	Govt.	Non-Govt.	Local	Govt.	Non-Govt.	Local	
	Identified	7	1	2	14	2	3
	Unidentified	3	1	0	5	0	0

Analysis of Tehelka Coverage

The Tehelka in its coverage of 2010 summer unrest gave prominence to issues like demilitarization and reunification of two sides of Kashmir. However, it didn’t differ much from Indian Today coverage. The key frames that were found in the coverage included negative portrayal of Hurriyat Conference, resolution of Kashmir issue, security forces, Pakistan, etc. It was observed that Tehelka coverage batted for change in political dispensation in Kashmir by central government taking direct control of the situation. It also gave considerable space to the different dimensions of arriving at the resolution of Kashmir issue. The change in the mode of protest by people of Kashmir was taken seriously in the coverage. As compared to India Today, the Tehelka gave

more space to local correspondents and common people.

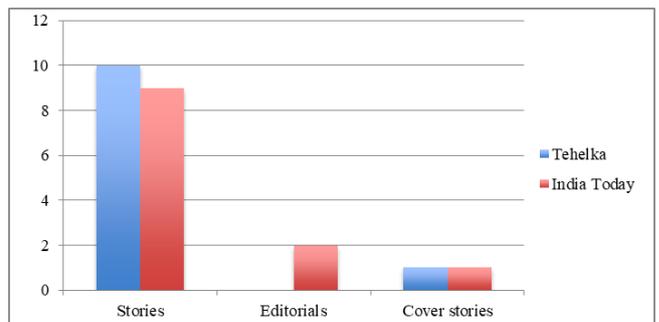


Fig 1

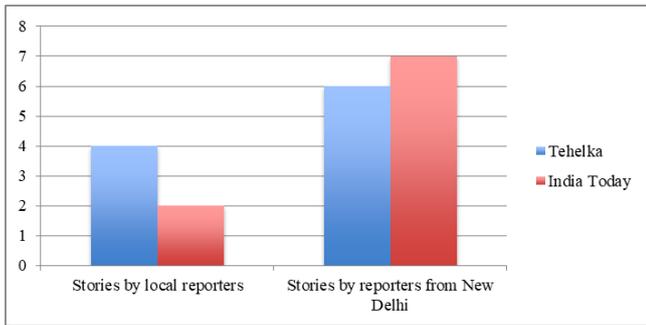


Fig 2

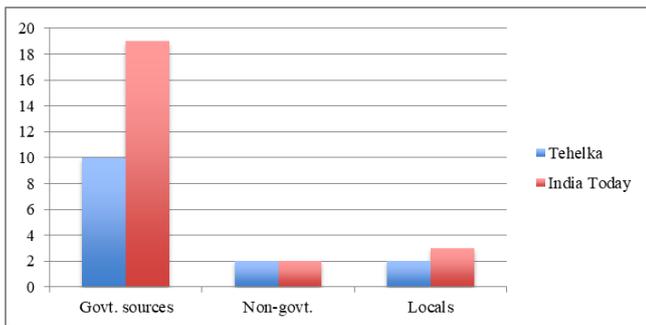


Fig 3

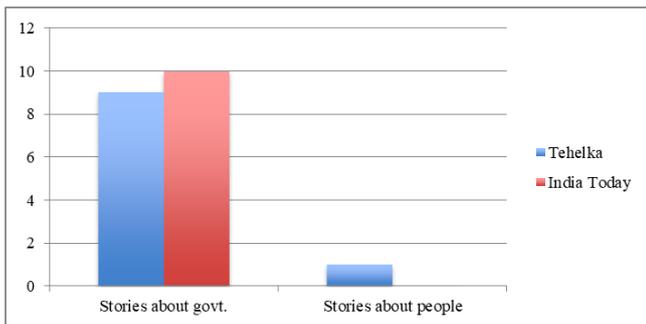


Fig 4

Conclusion

Given the importance and graveness of the incidents that happened during the months of July and August in 2010, both the news magazines have given almost equal coverage to the events. The researcher noticed and recorded several but slight variations in the different sections of the research as identified and categorized in the table and graphs above. Both Tehelka and India Today have carried 10 and 9 stories respectively in their different issues during the two months and have almost dedicated 10,000 words each. During this period, Tehelka and India Today both published a single cover story. Most of the stories published in the two magazines carried official versions and hardly carried any news item about the common masses, which faced the brunt of endless violence. Almost 90 percent stories are about measures taken by the Central Government of India and the State government of Jammu and Kashmir to restore law and order in the region. Unlike India Today, the Tehelka carried a one narrative by its Srinagar based correspondent on the hardships faced by common people. However, India Today, which carried two editorials about the “law and order” situation in Kashmir to show its keenness in the situation, did not mention about the problems faced by the citizens across Kashmir in any of its reports. The Tehelka did not carry any editorial during the course, although the organization

published four opinion pieces from the local intelligentsia, which included a few academic personalities and its senior correspondent from Kashmir. India Today deputed senior level editors from New Delhi to cover the situation. The network’s Srinagar based team was assisting its senior editors. They filed around 90 percent of the reports. India Today carried only two news reports from its Srinagar-based correspondent. Similarly, senior editors reported major news stories in Tehelka. One of the main findings that the researcher came across was the sources used in the reports. The Tehelka quoted 70 percent government/official sources, with identified sources outnumbering the unidentified sources. However, it used 15 percent non-government and local sources. Meanwhile, official sources dominated the news items published by India Today, with a small percentage of local sources finding their place in the reports. Around 120 killings and thousands of injuries were reported from Kashmir in these two months. The scenes on the street of Kashmir were gruesome. To downplay the ground situation, both magazines preferred to use file photos. To sum up, both the news magazines attempted to give coverage to different measures taken by state and center government to put off the widespread violence in the region. This was achieved by giving more space to the government and sidelining the voices of common people. Even the editorial, which shows the stand of any organization towards any incident, did not mention about the losses incurred by the citizens, be it the loss of human lives, economic loss, or the psychological damage. Moreover, none of the organization seemed to be depending exclusively on their own local staff to cover the events. Both the publications deputed the senior correspondents to cover the street protests and the administrative initiatives taken to douse off the violence.

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