



Role of Pakistani Press in Constructing National Identity with Reference to India

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Abstract

Drawing upon social identity theory and Ruth Wodak's framework of national identity construction, this study analyzes role of Pakistani indigenous media in positioning Pakistan's national identity in relation to India. The framework of analysis comprised of positive self-representation of Pakistan and negative other-representation of India. While applying mixed methods approach, content analysis and discourse analysis were carried out. The researcher selected Pakistani leading daily English and Urdu newspapers including Dawn, Jang, Nawa-i-Waqt, and The News. Systematic sampling technique was used to draw the sample for this study. Unit of analysis was news story published in the newspapers regarding Pakistan India issues. Ruth Wodak and Van Dijk's principles of linguistic and discourse analysis were adapted and utilized. Results show that Pakistani English and Urdu press positioned positive identity of Pakistan as confident, resilient, and peaceful self in comparison to India.

Keyword: *Content Analysis, linguistic analysis, national identity, negative other-representation, positive self-representation*

Introduction

This study analyzes national identity construction by Pakistani media from two approaches adapted from Wodak's framework of analyzing discourses about nations and national identity construction (2004). Firstly, representation of Pakistan in indigenous media by emphasizing national characteristics

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following the concept of positive self-representation. Secondly by looking at how Pakistan is represented in relation to “other” countries.

Hutcheson defines national identity as “a constructed national self-image based on membership of a political community, history, symbols, language, and cultural norms held by members of a nation” (2004: 28). Prieler (2010) opines that “national identity is not only constructed on the basis of national characteristics, but also on difference from ‘Others’ (p. 521). Thus, national identity is derived from equivalence and difference. Inclusion lies in equivalence that enunciates the ‘good’ self and difference is created through exclusion that comes from difference of ‘good’ self from the ‘other’. (Vanderhaeghen, 2014)

There are two types of significant ‘others’, internal and external. Ethnic minorities and immigrants are internal ‘others’ whereas external others include: a dominant nation or multinational state from which the in-group has liberated himself, neighboring nations that may threaten the in-group territorially or rival nations posing cultural threats to its uniqueness. This research takes into consideration the second type of significant other that is a “neighboring nation that threatens the in-group as a rival that contests or possesses some part of the in-group’s homeland or territory, the nation’s irredenta e.g. Pakistan and the threatening Indian other”. (Triandafyllidou, 2002: 15)

Pakistan and India have long standing issues and strained relations which date back to pre-independence era. Even after 1947, there is a long list including Kashmir conflict, wars in 1948, 1965, and 1971, and many war-like situations, violations of

ceasefire agreement on the Line of Control, construction of water reservoirs, water distribution, cross border terrorism and so on. (Shahi, 1989) Despite all issues, the founder of Pakistan Muhammad Ali Jinnah visualized Pakistan's national identity to be recognized as a united and peaceful country while maintaining good relations with all neighbors and international community at large. In his message to the citizens of Pakistan, inaugurating Pakistan Broadcasting Service, Karachi August 15, 1947 Quaid-i-Azam said, "Our object should be peace within and peace without. We want to live peacefully and maintain cordial, friendly relations with our immediate neighbors and with the world at large. We have no aggressive designs against anyone. We stand by the United Nations charter and will gladly make our full contribution to the peace and prosperity of the world." (Ahmad, 2002: 135)

In light of this statement, present study evaluates how Pakistani media have translated Quaid's vision into construction of Pakistan's national identity on the issues related to Pakistan India relations. Content and discourse analysis of news stories regarding Pakistan India issues published in Pakistani leading newspapers was carried out since media outline and inter-relate the nationalist discourses.

Literature Review

First dimension of available literature is concerned with how newspaper discourses play a role in identity construction in various nations and countries for instance in USA (Hutcheson et al, 2004; Huddy & Khatib, 2007); Russia (Davis & Sosnovskaya, 2009); UK (Curran, 2002; Dekavalla, 2010); France (Costelloe,

2014); Germany and Switzerland (Mattenschlager & Riedle, 2003); Spain (Morris, 2008); Turkey (Kose & Yilmaz, 2012; Sahin, 2011); Palestine (Najjar, 2007); Israel (Livio, 2010); and Taiwan and South Korea (Chung, 2000).

Another dimension relates to studies on sports, media and racial and national identity construction with reference to international as well as Pakistani cricketers (Farquharson and Marjoribanks, 2006; Malcolm, Bairner & Curry, 2010; Burdsey, 2010). There are studies on gender identity construction in Pakistan for instance in texts of war (Babar, 2000); Women's talk (Zubair, 2007); English literature in Pakistan (Zubair, 2006; Mansoor, 2012); Pakistani fiction (Zubair, 2012; Kanwal, 2015) and Pakistani TV talk shows (Qadir, & Riaz, 2015). However, role of Pakistani print media remains unexplored.

Coe & Neuman (2011) concluded in their study on American identity construction that U.S. foreign policy rhetoric constructs an evil 'other' to positively portray themselves. Chung (2000) found in textual analysis of Taiwanese and South Korean print media that they constructed their national identities by utilizing strategy of exclusion from discourses and both of them constructed their self by creating a contrast of differentiation from 'other'. Taiwanese media portrayed China as other in terms of China being militant, dominant, adversary, and perpetrator. Whereas South Korean media portrayed North Korea as other by positioning itself as de facto sovereign state with growing economy.

Davis & Sosnovskaya (2009) concluded that Russian press constructed Russian national identity by portraying 'others'

different from Russians in terms of language and culture and territorially as outsiders. The press had a compassionate and kind attitude towards people belonging to 15 Soviet Republics and described them as sisters and brothers. On the contrary, the study found a largely belligerent standpoint towards the Chinese and the Baltic States who were represented as resisting to adapt or engage with Russia. Kazmi & Kumar (2011) argued for the mainstreaming of Hindutva discourses that demonize Muslims as Jehadi by the film makers.

Nationalist ideologies are also purveyed through education in primary schools (Durrani, 2013; Durrani & Dunne, 2010; Lall, 2008; Khan, 1999; Qazi & Shah, 2018). Durrani (2013) found in the textual analysis of Pakistani curriculum/text books of social studies that they used Islam as the main signifier of Pakistani national identity. Pakistani textbooks also constructed Pakistani national identity in opposition to India as external other. Present study fills the gap with regard to analyzing role of Pakistani indigenous print media in national identity construction with reference to India.

Theoretical Framework

This research draws upon Henri Tajfel's social identity theory that emphasizes, "'we' must classify 'ourselves' with a distinguishing marker, so that can say 'we' are 'French', or 'Pakistani' or 'Turkish'. The category not only categorizes and demarcates 'us' as 'us' - but it also categorizes us as a national. In adoring and declaring the uniqueness of 'our' nation, 'we' are not just talking of 'our' own attributes but also how we are different from other nations." In doing so, nationalists often disparage 'other' nations. (Billig, 1995:

68) Henri Tajfel (1981 cited in Huddy, 2001) also emphasizes that there can be no 'us' without a 'them'. What we 'are', indicates who 'we' are not. This study explains how Pakistani print media construct ourselves while differentiating from 'other'.

Hypotheses and Research Question

H 1. There is a significant difference between news stories about positive national self and negative other in relation to India.

H 2. Positive self and negative other representation of Pakistan in comparison to India is associated with the language of the press.

RQ 1. How news stories comparatively position Pakistani positive-self in media discourse in relation to India?

Methodology

This study employs quantitative and qualitative content analysis and discourse analysis. Pakistani print media is the universe and four mainstream and highly circulated newspapers including Daily Dawn, The News, Daily Jang and Daily Nawa-i-Waqt are selected for analysis. It employs systematic sampling technique. The time period selected for the study is from 2001-2015. Eight alternate years are systematically selected. Then keeping an interval of 3 months, every 4th month of the year is chosen to get the spread of data. (Wimmer & Dominick, 1999) From each selected month, one composite week is chosen. News story is a unit of analysis published on the front page, back page, metropolitan pages during the selected time period. These news pages are selected due to their higher readership, placement of important news stories and their impact.

Operationalization

Two main categories of analysis are positive self-representation of Pakistan and negative other representation of India. Positive self-

representation is operationalized as framing Pakistan as a peaceful country, facilitating dialogue with India to resolve conflicts, and a good neighbor. "The president had expressed his readiness to discuss all other outstanding issues with India. (Dawn, August 8, 2001)" On the other side, framing India as hostile violating ceasefire agreement on LOC and human rights in Kashmir and other Indian states falls in the category of negative Other-representation. 'Shiv Sena destroyed the pitch prepared for cricket match between Pakistan and India in Agra' (Nawa-i-Waqt, December 19, 2003) frames India as negative other.

Discourse Analysis

Discourse analysis is used to analyze selected news story for positive self-representation in comparison to negative other-representation. The researcher purposively selected the news story based upon the researcher's judgment of being the most representative and suitable.

Ruth Wodak's (2004) framework of linguistic analysis and Van Dijk's (2001) framework of discourse analysis were adapted for analysis of selected news stories. Wodak has also identified five types of discursive strategies that are utilized in positive self and negative other representations in media contents. These include referential strategy to describe how persons are linguistically named or designated in news stories? Second strategy is prediction that entails the characteristics, merits, and features that are accredited to others. Third strategy is argumentation that is justifying or legitimizing the inclusion or exclusion of specific persons to social groups or others. Fourth strategy is called perspectivation or point of views, labels,

ascriptions, or arguments that are expressed to position speaker's point of view through reporting, narrative, quotes, or statements. Last strategy is intensification of statements verbalized overtly to strengthen or allay illocutionary force of utterances. (Saeed, 2019)

Van Dijk's Framework of Discourse Analysis

Van Dijk's framework of analyzing discourse structures has been utilized in terms of lexical choice made in news stories; semantic moves like use of words like "If" and "But" to give a pause to support a proposition; deictic expressions for instance use of nationalistic pronouns like 'we', 'us', and 'our' to describe the in-group and use of 'they', 'their' and 'them' to describe the other or out-group. Similarly, alliteration is use of words starting with same sound is a rhetorical device; propositions means polarization by highlighting our good actions and their bad actions and extenuating our bad actions and their good actions; descriptions in terms of specificity of our bad actions and detailed account of our good actions; explicitness of our good actions and implicitness of their good action; and lastly, attribution is analyzed by identifying agent and patient in the news story. These aspects are analyzed in order to understand how Pakistani national identity is constructed in newspaper discourse (Saeed, 2019).

Findings

H 1. There is a significant difference between news stories about positive national self and negative other in relation to India.

Table 1: *Frame valence of news stories about Pakistan-India relations in Pakistani press (2001-2015)*

Frame Valence	Number of news stories
Pakistan's Positive Self-Representation	n = 211 (42%)
Pakistan's Positive Self and India's Negative Other Representation	n = 290 (58%)
Total News Stories	(N) = 50

$$\chi^2 (1, n = 501) = 12.462, p < .000$$

Table 1 illustrates that Pakistani press published more news framing India as negative other than Pakistan's positive self-identity. A chi-square goodness-of-fit test indicates that there is a highly significant difference ($p < .000$) in the proportion of news stories in Pakistani press with positive valence portraying Pakistan as a responsible state in comparison to India. However, the proportion of representing India as negative other is higher in frequency (58%).

H 2. Positive self and negative other representation of Pakistan in comparison to India is associated with the language of the press

Table 2: Cross tabulation of positive self and negative other representation of Pakistan in comparison to India by language of the press

		Frame Valence (Pakistan-India Relations)		
		Positive Self-Representation	Negative Other representation	Total
Press	English Press	125 (25%)	124 (25%)	249 (49%)
	Urdu Press	86 (17%)	166 (33%)	252 (51%)
Total		211 (42%)	290 (58%)	501 (100.0%)

Note: $\chi^2(1, n=501) = 13.274, df = 1$. Numbers in parentheses indicate percentages out of total. $p < .000$

Table 2 demonstrates cross tabulation of positive self-representation of Pakistan in comparison to India and their representation as negative-Other in the English and Urdu press. The Chi-square test of association identifies a highly significant ($p < .000$) relation between language of the press and positive self of Pakistan and negative other representation of India. English Press kept a balance between presenting positive self of Pakistan and India as negative Other with 25% stories in each category. However, Urdu Press gave more space to presenting India as negative Other in 166 news stories (33%) and 86 news (17%) depicting positive self of Pakistan. Overall, press in Pakistan constructed India as negative-Other in 290 news stories (58%) and positive self-representation of Pakistan in 211 news stories (42%).

Qualitative Analysis Of News Stories

Framing of India varied in different newspapers due to the possible influence of editorial policies of the respective newspapers. Nawa-i-Waqt showed more anti-Indian and pro-Kashmir stance in the news than Daily Jang and The News. An analysis through the framework of polarization by Van Dijk (2001) clearly reveals that Pakistani press positively highlighted Pakistan's efforts to promote peace and resolve long standing issues with India. News stories like "Pakistan calls for immediate peace talks with India" indicate positive self of Pakistan. Pakistani newspapers also framed positive gestures like "Pakistan sends mangoes to India PM and President." (Dawn, August 12, 2003) to promote cordial relations. Similarly, Pakistan's positive self was emphasized through Pakistan's initiatives towards peace. "Bharat Ahem muamlaat ko hal kernay kay liye hamaray sath mil ker nae shuruaat karay, Nawaz Sharif" (Nawa-i-Waqt, August 2015). This headline highlights Pakistan's positive stance.

On the contrary, Pakistani press framed India's negative response like "New Delhi rejects LOC ceasefire proposal" (Dawn, August 13, 2003). This news frame constructs India as a reluctant self towards peace offers made by Pakistan. Almost every news related to Kashmir constructed India as evil other. News about attack of Congress Youth Wing protestors on Pakistan's High Commission in New Delhi has been framed by Nawa-i-Waqt used the word 'rascals' in the headline to describe attackers. Some internal issues of India were also selected and made salient on the front page of newspaper in order to construct the negative self of India. "Special courts suggested to try Gujrat cases. India's

national Human Rights Commission seeks probe into attacks on Muslims” (Dawn April 2, 2001) demonstrates Indian negative self.

RQ 1: How news stories comparatively position Pakistani positive-self in media discourse in relation to India?

This research question is answered through discourse analysis of a purposively selected news story based on an interview from Pakistani President Pervez Musharraf published on the front page of Daily Dawn on December 16, 2001. The topic is Pakistan’s response to India whose leaders issued threatening statements of a military attack on Pakistan after an attack on Indian Parliament on December 15, 2001. India blamed Pakistan of these terrorist attacks and claimed that Pakistani groups are involved in it that provides a reason to attack Pakistan. Indian leader’s statements and reports of Indian increasing military deployment on border with Pakistan further escalated the tension between India and Pakistan. The meaning and impact of such discourse can be grasped when relating them to Pakistan India relations in pre and post-independence eras.

In referential strategy, nomination of social actors mentioned in this discourse includes President of Pakistan, India, terrorists who attacked Indian Parliament, 12 people killed including 5 attackers who had a shootout with security guards, unknown individual/group involved in terrorist act, Indian leaders giving threatening statements to Pakistan, Pakistani armed forces and Afghanistan as an ally of India to damage Pakistan.

The alliteration is used in the headline [‘Avoid Adventurism’] as a rhetorical device. The presupposition [‘this

would lead to very serious repercussions'] signals Indian attack on Pakistan. First strategic move is political self-presentation of President General Pervez Musharraf who is not only the President of Pakistan but also Army Chief at the same time. He holds a strong position in Government as well as military set up. In this way, he had both public and military support therefore, he is explicit in his nomination and point of view while advising India to avoid adventurism.

The lexical choice made in the headline is ['adventurism'] that is a verb too and Indian adventurism would be met with force. He has referred India as 'adventurous' that can be understood by analyzing rhetorical means. President has warned India against any precipitate act against Pakistan. This attribution is directed at India as an out-group or "Them".

Proposition: India is described as an agent and Pakistan as patient. Whereas the implication is that India's adventurism can have serious repercussion of a war-like situation that must not be done. The agent is responsible for threat to peace that predicate negative traits to India. Adventurism against Pakistan is described as illogical the way precipitate action against Pakistan is irrational without concrete evidence. The argument to out-group India is their leaders' ['threatening statements'] to Pakistan without ['adequate proof'].

Perspectivation is dealt with detail where speaker's point of view is elaborated. Pakistani president details 'Our' point of view against 'them'. Pakistani President emphasized on positive self by saying ['we are against terrorism'], ['we condemn terrorism'], ['we strongly condemn it'], ['we will cooperate as long

as there is evidence’]. The statement also emphasize ‘Our’ good behavior [‘we would not like Pakistani territory to be used for terrorist act anywhere in the world – including India’] and [‘we will take any action against anybody involved’]. Our point of view is logical because [‘we expect proof’] and we would like to be very sure with concrete proof. Good actions are attributed to Us whereas Their actions are illogical because [‘India allegation don’t have proof’]. It means their leaders are threatening while ‘their’ proof does not exist’.

Semantic Move: [‘We will take action against anybody involved in Pakistan in these acts, if at all proved, he said’]. If is used as a semantic move and provides a rationale of taking action on behalf of Pakistan. This semantic move also supports the proposition that Indian allegations are imaginary so far. The Indian govt. has not yet provided concrete evidence to prove their allegations of Pakistani involvement in terrorist attacks on Indian Parliament.

[‘We will cooperate as long as there is evidence against any individual or group’].” As long as is also used as a semantic move. Pakistan’s point of view and Pakistani identity construction is semantically signaled by positive self-representation and negative-other representation. Semantic modes of meaning reflect an overall strategy of highlighting positive qualities of in-group and emphasize irrational attitude of out-group. Pakistani president is explicit in his stance that his government is not involved in violence in Occupied Kashmir. He supports fight against terrorism and offers cooperation to fight against terrorists.

Position and identification is also determined by use of pronouns and deictic expressions in the discourse. Pakistani president has used politically crucial pronouns “We” and “Our” for positive-self presentation. The use of pronouns categorizes ‘our’ as ‘us’ or self-group and those are not included in our group. The pronoun ‘We’ has been used as an anaphora six times in the text to emphasize and clarify Pakistan’s position. It also signals national unity on this stance.

The explicit expression of [‘they want to damage us’] indicates a bad intention and it is attributed to ‘Them’ has an intensifying function. It helps the President to carry his positive-self and negative other presentation in a literal sense. Overall, this news story depicts Pakistan’s point of view with logic and reason to consolidate its identity as a nonviolent, logical, cooperative, and resilient self.

Discussion and Conclusion

In the context of nationalism, a nation is described as a ‘narration’ and media and especially news as a form of storytelling have the privilege of narrating who is the nation and disseminating their national narrative. (Hartley, 2004; Anderson, 2006)

The findings of the study explicate that no matter how grave India is a military threat to the national security, Pakistani press constructs a confident and peaceful self in the media rhetoric. “Pakistan strictly believes in peaceful coexistence and had no territorial ambitions against any country. However, any misadventure on our eastern borders or on LOC in Kashmir would be met with full force, Pervez Musharraf” (Dawn, December 21 2001). This way of making India as provocative,

having territorial ambition and intentions of misadventure on Pakistani border is a way of positioning Pakistan as a pacifying, defensive, and resilient self (Chung, 2000). This also corresponds to Quaid's view of "peace within and peace without" where he reiterated that Pakistan wants to live peacefully without any aggressive designs against anyone to positively contribute to the peace and prosperity of the world. Pakistani press specifically highlighted all the peace and confidence building measures taken by Pakistan through track I and track II diplomacy with India.

Apart from military terms, India's violations of human and minorities' rights inside India and Kashmir facilitated Pakistan to position its identity as a country where minorities are safe. Christian and Sikh communities in Pakistan regarding the religious freedom and rights. The press coverage given to the minorities in Pakistan found in the present study also supports the vision Father of the nation Muhammad Ali Jinnah. (Sadiq, 2016) Extensive press coverage of the celebrations of Christmas, Easter, Diwali, Holi, Vesaakhi, and Basant along with their freedom to perform their religious rituals and facilitating Hindu and Sikh pilgrims in Pakistan truly corresponds to Jinnah's words about safeguarding minorities in Pakistan. "Minorities to whichever community they belong, will be safeguarded. Their religion or faith or belief will be secure. There will be no interference of any kind with their freedom of worship. They will have their protection with regard to their religion, faith, their life, their culture. They will be, in all respects, the citizens of Pakistan without any distinction of caste or creed." (Ahmad, 2002: 279)

The Pakistani press utilized constructivist strategy that Wodak has also identified as one of the discursive strategies of identity construction. The results validate that Pakistani media constructed a strong self by using its other (India) to build legitimacy of its own national discourse and unity.

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