

MEDIA, IDEOLOGY, AND NUCLEAR DISCOURSE: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF EDITORIAL PERSPECTIVES IN PAKISTANI AND INDIAN PRINT MEDIA

DR. SALMA UMBER,

Associate Professor, Department of Mass Communication, Government Collage University Faisalabad.
(salmaumber@gcuf.edu.pk)

ALI HASSAN,

PhD Scholar, Department of Mass Communication, Bahauddin Zakariya University Multan.
(alihassan.phd.bzu@gmail.com)

MUHAMMAD ADIL LATIF,

Visiting Lecturer, Department of Mass communication, Government Collage University Faisalabad.
(adiladi_1@outlook.com)

ARSLAN HABIB,

Visiting Lecturer, Department of Mass Communication, University of Jhang,
(arslanhabib703@gmail.com)

Abstract

The current study's goal is to examine the editorial of the Dawn and Times of India regarding the nuclear arms race in South Asia through critical discourse analysis. This research study also examines how the "nuclear arms race in south Asia" is explained by critically analyzing the editorials published in The Times of India and Dawn between July 2015 and July 2016. Van Dijk's framework is used in this study as the foundation for the analysis. As such, it is a planned discourse whose main goal is to persuade listeners to do particular things in order to forward the author's ideological viewpoint. The social, cognitive, and discursive domains are the three angles from which Van Dijk manipulation is examined. The researcher uses Van Dijk's model, an interdisciplinary perspective on ideology, as a foundation for the perpetuation of racist and chauvinistic ethnic prejudices in the compiled corpus of editorials. The study's objective is to identify the editorial coverage of "Nuclearization in South Asia" with particular reference to the editorial coverage of The Times of India and The Dawn. The Times of India and The Dawn's stance on India and Pakistan's nuclear missile tests is also examined in the study. The newspapers concur that signing the CTBT is a good idea. Concerns of a nuclear arms race in the area are expressed in the publications. The editorial coverage of "Nuclearization in South Asia" was the focus of an analysis of the similarities and contrasts between The Times of India and The Dawn. According to the survey, the nuclear race in the region worries Pakistani and Indian print media. It also comes to the conclusion that the elite press not only steers or formulates foreign policy, but also comments on occurrences.

Keywords: critical discourse analysis, Van Dijk's framework, media coverage, editorial analysis, Dawn, The Times of India, nuclear arms race, South Asia, ideology,

1. Introduction

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is a new field of study that aims to uncover hidden ideas behind any discourse. Linguistic analysis is an important tool for such studies, as language not only reflects reality but also creates it. This article explores the hidden meanings of seemingly simple statements in news headlines dealing with the announcement of the Pakistani budget in Parliament for the fiscal year 2013-2014. Critical debate analysis studies social forms of society such as inequality, domination, and abuse

of social power and how these forms are enforced, legitimized, and reproduced. The CDA focuses on understanding social issues through dialogue analysis and aims to make clear the links between communication methods, social methods, and social structures. Media is an important discourse domain to which CDA has been applied, with various investigations into the role of news reporting in ethnic relations, dominant forces of society, and ideological controversies. News stories create stories and headlines are a great source of attention for readers. The purpose of CDA is to find the hidden meaning of newspaper conversations, as the language uses certain people deeply connected to the user's social places.

CDA has been applied to various documents for comprehensive analysis of both written and spoken text, and media discourse is an important domain in terms of social, political, and historical context. Van Dijk presented a socio-scientific model for translating media discourse, stating that media text represents the ideological assumptions of a news producer based on their cultural, political, and social background. News text analysis has been an important process in the study of conversation analysis, as Van Dijk analyzed newspaper reports to determine the importance of their role in promoting racial relations. Newspaper editors represent social events within their ideological framework, making news biased and cannot be neutral. The choice of language used by news producers greatly influences the audience's ideological expectations.

The Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) has emerged as an effective approach to analyzing power disputes, aiming to expose hidden ideologies and the links between communication methods, social methods, and social structures. The main concern of the media is to analyze the language used in speeches to highlight sources of power, domination, and inequality with special reference to social, political, and historical contexts. The interdependence of texts and their relationship with social action is also a concern. Language selection is directly linked to theoretical assumptions.

News headlines expose social, cultural, and national representations, with audiences considering them more than articles. They use linguistic features such as eye-catching phrases, emotional words, rhetoric, and graphical tools to provoke readers. Topics can vary, with some topics being more thematic and superficial. News headlines use linguistic tools like themization, passageization, presupposition, and Naming to covertly form ideas. Themization aims to present an issue or perspective, while Passivation removes the agency involved in any action.

Language is a natural part of human life, and there is a difference in how language is used to describe similar events in different societies. Communication is an unnecessarily important idea for understanding society and the human response to it, just as it is for understanding the language itself. The media is a crucial force in today's world, considered the fourth pillar of the state alongside the judiciary, legislature, and administration. It plays a significant role in shaping public opinion through news, articles, and editorials. The structure of the source, title choice, and language used in editorials can influence readers' engagement and influence their opinions. Editorial views on issues of editorial, national, and international interest play a crucial role in shaping public opinion. The media's ideology and point of view depend on its ideological tendency, social and cultural order, and political alignment. The amount, nature, and degree of editorial coverage attract controversy, reflecting the social and political significance of the features of a particular newspaper.

However, personal prejudice cannot be completely eradicated as editorial opinions are social and institutionalized, attracting scientific and research attention. The same newspaper or controversy has been reported and analyzed by various editors, reflecting their social and institutional nature. Critical analysis of the debate helps expose the hidden and obvious positions of the media discourse.

South Asia's nuclear program is a post-independence event, with both Pakistan and India involved. Pakistan's nuclear program began in the 1950s, following the loss of East Pakistan in the war with India. The disintegration of Pakistan encourages a deep sense of insecurity in the minds of Indian conservatives and Pakistani decision-makers and political elites. India's attempt to build a nuclear device in 1974 gave new energy to Pakistan's nuclear program, which was seen as a vehicle to intimidate Pakistan and establish dominance in the subcontinent. In September 1974, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) predicted that Pakistan would take at least 10 years to develop nuclear weapons. In the late 1970s, Pakistan acquired advanced uranium enrichment technology and expertise under Dr. Abdul Qadeer Khan, who brought with him information about gas centrifuge technologies. Under Khan's direction, Pakistan used an extensive secret network to acquire the materials and technology needed for its developing uranium enrichment capabilities.

In 1979, the United States withdrew its military and economic aid to Pakistan out of fear of Pakistan's nuclear ambiguity and rapid technological advancement. In 1985, the US Congress passed the Pressler Amendment, unless the state proved that it had nuclear explosives. Pakistan made the final decision to conduct its own nuclear tests in response to the May 1998 Indian nuclear tests. On May 28, 1998, Pakistan successfully conducted five nuclear tests, producing a 5.0 seismic signal at the Richter level, with a total output of 40 KT (equivalent to TNT). Pakistan did not refer to the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) or the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) and is adamant on refusing to sign the NPT. India's nuclear weapons program began in the mid-1950s at the Bhabha Atomic Research Center in Trombay, based on the country's abundant natural resources. The country began working on thermonuclear weapons in the 1980s and launched a nuclear operation with a series of nuclear explosions known as Shakti.

The Dawn, founded by Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah in 1941, is an English language daily in Pakistan owned by The Pakistan Herald limited. It targets well-informed readers and has a large audience of powerful executives and policy makers. The Times of India, founded in 1838, is the third largest newspaper in India and has the highest daily English language sales in the world. This study aims to analyze institutional discourse on India's and Pakistan's nuclear programs using Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). The researchers will focus on the similarities and differences between the editorial coverage of The Times of India and The Dawn, particularly regarding the Pakistani budget announcement in Parliament for the fiscal year 2013-2014. The study will investigate the approach of The Times of India and The Dawn towards nuclear missile testing, their agreement with the issues of signing CTBT, their expression of concern about the nuclear race in the region, and the similarities and differences between their editorial coverage. The significance of this research is that it focuses on the persuasive power of language and how conflicting interests can lead to different portrayals of the same issue.

2. Literature Review

The presence of nuclear weapons is a specter that hangs over South Asia, casting a long shadow on the peace and stability of the region. The complexity of this reality goes far beyond a simple weapons race; it is a battlefield where competing ideologies and narratives come into conflict with one another, and the media discourse serves as a powerful weapon in this conflict. This research investigates the nuclear debate in two significant newspapers, Dawn (Pakistan) and The Times of India (India), in order to gain a deeper understanding of this crucial area. Using techniques from critical discourse analysis, in particular Van Dijk's model of ideological squares, our objective is to examine the manner in which these newspapers develop and validate their own positions on nuclearization, while at the same time portraying the other's perspective as threatening or illegitimate.

The beginning of our academic journey is comprised of research that shed light on the complex web of nuclear discourse in the region. "Nuclear Discourse in the Himalayas: Comparing India and Pakistan"

(2017) by Aqleem Ahmed illustrates how both Dawn and The Times of India deploy national security and patriotic narratives, albeit with different interpretations of each other's intents and actions. This highlights the similarities and differences between the two publications. The book "The Politics of Nuclear Discourse in South Asia" by Bhadra Kumari, which was published in 2007, goes into further depth, revealing the historical baggage and political rivalries that fuel discourses of danger and self-justification pertaining to nuclear weapons. The article "Nuclear Securitization and Its Discontents: The Case of South Asia" (2018) written by Peter van der Veer is a critique of the prevailing security narratives surrounding nuclear weapons. The author argues that these narratives frequently mask internal disparities and serve to legitimize specific political objectives (van der Veer, 2018).

We turn to the core texts of critical discourse analysis in order to provide ourselves with the analytical skills necessary to unravel these tales. Both "Discourse and Communication" (2015) by Norman Fairclough and "Analyzing Media Discourse" (2008) by Theo van Leeuwen offer practical methods for applying critical discourse analysis (CDA) to media texts. These methods allow us to identify key themes, framing techniques, and lexical choices (Fairclough, 2015; van Leeuwen, 2008). Fairclough's book provides a solid understanding of how language both reflects and shapes social power dynamics. It is important to note that Teun A. van Dijk's "Ideology: A Multidisciplinary Approach" (1998) offers his model of ideological squares. This model is a powerful instrument that reveals how discourse produces positive self-representation and negative other-representation in order to justify positions (van Dijk, 1998).

By conducting a thorough examination of editorials and opinion pieces published in Dawn and The Times of India during a period of time that has been meticulously selected, we will make use of these theoretical frameworks in order to: Decipher the fundamental concepts and framing techniques: What perspective does each newspaper take on the challenge of nuclearization? Which storylines are the most prevalent ones that are used? Examine the metaphors and vocabulary choices that were made: In what ways do the selection of words and the use of figurative language help to the formation of identification and meaning? Make representations of the "other" more transparent: How is the relationship between Pakistan and India portrayed in the reporting of the other newspaper? Does the concept of demonization or othering exist in any instances?

It is necessary to expose the mechanisms of justification and legitimation. The question is, how does each newspaper defend their own position on nuclear weapons while simultaneously delegitimizing the perspective of the other? In the process of methodically dissecting these tales, our goal is to expose the ideological foundations upon which they are built and to demonstrate how they: According to Ahmed (2017), the media has the ability to increase tensions and obstruct efforts to achieve peace by highlighting differences and portraying the other as a threat. This can lead to the perpetuation of mistrust and enmity.

Internal inequities that are not readily apparent. The concentration on external dangers has the potential to divert attention away from home problems and political goals that are contributing to the nuclear weapons race (van der Veer, 2018). Assist in shaping public opinion and debates on policy: According to Kumari (2007), the media does a significant amount of work in molding public perceptions of nuclear weapons and in influencing governmental decisions about this extremely important matter.

The implications of our results go beyond simple documentation; they call for action. In the following areas, we shall make specific recommendations:

- The promotion of responsible media practices includes encouraging journalists to be more critical of their own framing and language use, as well as to aim for better impartiality and balance in their coverage of the nuclear issue.

- Through the promotion of cross-cultural media initiatives and citizen journalism platforms, engaging in constructive discussion is a means of fostering communication and understanding between the two countries.

3. Methodology

This section will provide an explanation of the methods used to guide this research. The methodology, design, research instruments, and instrument description of the study are covered in this part. Critical discourse analysis was employed as the methodology for the study. Several recent studies have employed discourse analysis as a research methodology to investigate a variety of relevant societal themes, especially those related to ideology. In mass communication studies, discourse analysis of media texts is taking the place of content analysis with growing sophistication. The unifying methods used in traditional linguistic research—which focused on the examination of individual words, phrases, and sentences—have been supplanted by research on the structures and functions of actual language forms. Discourse analysis examines language within a sociocultural framework, going beyond the surface level of the text. Discourse analysis is "the act of showing how certain discourses are deployed to achieve particular effects in specific contexts," according to Terre Blache and Durrheim. Discourse analysis is a collection of several methodologies rather than a single, cohesive approach. Using their research methodology, "a discourse analysis on a selection of newspaper articles" was conducted.

As stated by Garrett (1999), "Language is not the only factor that matters. The context of communication is also examined, including who is communicating to whom and why, the best medium to employ, the type of society and situation it is in, the evolution of different forms of communication, and their relationships with one another. Discourse is both a social process and a linguistic framework; yet, it is possible to prioritize one above the other (Akhtar, 2000).

Ulka (1992) argues that discourse is not merely a textual or dialogical structure but rather a complex communication event that involves a social environment with actors, production, and processes (Ulka 1992 in Akhtar, 2000). Discourse is a part of the speaker's (or, conversely, the reader's or writer's) cultural creation of reality. The text's sentences, paragraphs, and other textual elements are connected to one another and to its sociocultural context through an interdisciplinary osmosis (Duranti, 1985 in Akhtar, 2000).

Data Sources

The newspapers from which the data for this study came were The Dawn and The Times of India. The editorials about the nuclear arms race between India and Pakistan and Pakistan's nuclear program were taken from the websites of these newspapers. The primary reason these newspapers were selected was that their publications are located in the countries that are each other's main nuclear program adversaries. Another factor is that Pakistan's nuclear development has been prominently covered by The Times of India, one of the top Indian magazines. The Dawn is a popular English-language newspaper in Pakistan that is published in numerous major cities and is widely read throughout the nation. These newspapers are also widely accessible through their websites.

Methods

The following steps for data collection and sampling were used in order to obtain a better comparison of how an event may be presented differently by the two newspapers with distinct perspectives. The Times of India and The Dawn websites were used to gather editorials and other news articles about Pakistan's nuclear concerns over the course of a year, from July 2015 to July 2016. This time frame was chosen because it coincided with two significant events: the signing of a pact by China, Pakistan, and Turkey,

and the UN's adoption of the fourth round of sanctions on Pakistan. A selection of editorials from The Times of India and The Dawn was made during this time. These editorials were all about Pakistan's nuclear program and the nuclear arms race between India and Pakistan. The researchers then made the decision to identify topics related to Pakistan's nuclear program, which was covered in certain news stories by both publications, from this collection of news items. Every headline in the gathered data was closely examined in order to identify these common topics. After doing this, the researchers discovered three topics in the data that were shared by the two newspapers, which led to the data set being reduced to only two editorials. Based on the Fairclough model, these three topics are critically evaluated, along with the quantity of news articles that The Times of India and The Dawn published on each of these topics.

4. Results and Discussion

This section presents the outcomes and discussion of a critical discourse analysis conducted on the editorials of The Dawn and The Times of India regarding the nuclear arms race in South Asia. The results aim to address the primary question of the study, employing a dual approach—quantitative and qualitative analysis. The analysis, guided by Van Dijk's interdisciplinary ideology model, emphasizes the role of ideology in shaping national perspectives on the nuclear arms race in South Asia. This model serves as the foundation for understanding the reproduction of nuclear arms race discourse in the collected editorials.

Quantitative Analysis

The data is classified into one overarching category: "Nuclear Arms Race in South Asia." Editorial viewpoints are categorized as positive (+), negative (-), or neutral (0), based on their alignment with national policies.

Table 4.1

Comparative Topical Coverage of Editorials

Sr. #	Newspaper	No. of Editorials	Percentage
1.	Dawn	10	33.33%
2.	The Times of India	20	66.66%
3.	Total	30	100%

Table 4.1 indicates that a total of 30 editorials were published from July 2015 to July 2016. Among these, Dawn contributed 10 editorials (33.33%), while The Times of India published 20 editorials (66.66%).

Table 4.2

Nuclear Arms Race in South Asia Coverage in The Dawn (20 Oct 2015) and The Times of India (24 Oct 2015)

The Dawn (20 Oct 2015)	The Times of India (24 Oct 2015)
"Pakistan has developed low-yield nuclear weapons in response to Indian aggression"	"Burying the Hatchet: The Case for a 'Normal' Nuclear Pakistan"
"National interest is a priority"	"India's Escalation-Resistant Nuclear Posture"



The Dawn (20 Oct 2015)	The Times of India (24 Oct 2015)
"Pakistan playing out their destinies: Nuclear Stability and Escalation Control in South Asia"	"Are Tactical Nuclear Weapons Needed in South Asia"
"Nuclear Signaling, Missiles, and Escalation Control in South Asia"	"Limited War, Escalation Control, and the Nuclear Option in South Asia"
"Nuclear Doctrine, Declaratory Policy, and Escalation Control"	"The arms race gripping India and Pakistan"
"Nuclear World Order: Global nonproliferation regime"	"Hamas' stance: Potential instability and home to nuclear-armed states"

Table 4.3

Comparative Topical Direction of Editorials in The Dawn and The Times of India on the Nuclear Arms Race in South Asia (2015)

Year	The Dawn	The Times of India	Total
2015	+15 Words	-0 Words	15
	0	0	11
	0	0	4
	Total	+11 Words	30

Quantitative findings illustrate the comparative topical coverage of editorials in The Dawn and The Times of India regarding the nuclear arms race in South Asia in 2015. Qualitative findings reveal the editorial stance of both newspapers during the study period, with two tables compiled for each analysis to facilitate a comparison between Indian and Pakistani perspectives.

Discourse Analysis of Editorials: Dawn and the Times of India Comparatively

When The Times of India examines the implications of the "arms race gripping India and Pakistan," it situates the matter within the context of what analysts term the second "nuclear age." This era, in contrast to the Cold War era, is marked by geographically linked "nuclear-armed states" that are entangled in unsolved conflicts and ideological rivalry that radicals who resort to violence take advantage of. It is stated that the Middle East, South Asia, and East Asia are refractory to the nonproliferation regime and have "potential instability and home to nuclear-armed states." Consequently, it is believed that the "global nonproliferation regime" is now insufficient to address the complexity of this new era.

The editorial's main concern is South Asia, with a particular emphasis on the serious danger of an unplanned military conflict between India and Pakistan. It draws attention to the rapid shifts in nuclear and conventional warfare postures as well as the persistent prejudice against the "nuclear world order." These factors promote noncompliance with the international nonproliferation framework and deepen the enmity between India and Pakistan. The Times of India offers a novel perspective on nuclear energy as a clean energy source by stressing India's commitment to constructing 10,000 MW heavy water reactors based on thorium.

Despite their ongoing sea and land tensions, Dawn points out that the nuclear-armed neighbors conducted multiple "successful" missile tests at the end of the year. The editorial refers to financial constraints

from international financial institutions in order to illustrate Pakistan's dilemma in the wake of the nuclear tests in May 1998. Dawn expresses concerns on the workings of the nuclear race, claiming that provocative actions by one nation invariably trigger a retaliatory response from the other. It looks at the timeline and speculates as to whether Pakistan would have pursued nuclear capabilities had India's May 1998 nuclear test not occurred.

The tit-for-tat scenario unfolds as New Delhi tests Agni V, its "most powerful" nuclear-capable missile, to strengthen India's strategic defense. Arms acquisitions became a major role in the 2015-2016 fiscal year, as both India and Pakistan expanded their defense spending, despite a large percentage of their populations living below the poverty line. Given that over 30% of Indians live in poverty, there are worries over the country's ascent to become the second-largest global purchaser of weapons. Through an investigation of how readers are exposed to ideological statements, the analysis seeks to reveal the subtle strategies used in these editorials. Examining misleading strategies, according to Van Dijk, the speech aims to persuade listeners to act against their will by provoking actions that align with the author's viewpoint through well-constructed tales. This critical discourse analysis explains the complex relationship between ideology and power dynamics as it emerges in the editorials of *The Times of India* and *Dawn*.

Table 4.4

Nuclear Arms Race in South Asia Coverage in The Dawn (22 Jan 2016) and the Times of India (03 Dec 2015)

The Dawn (22 Jan 2016)	The Times of India (03 Dec 2015)
"Nuclear-armed countries, including India and Pakistan, are increasing the size of their arsenals despite an overall decrease in the number of nuclear warheads"	"Burying the Hatchet: The Case for a 'Normal' Nuclear Pakistan"
"Pakistan sees a decrease in the overall number of nuclear weapons in the world"	"India refuses to decrease the number of nuclear weapons"
"Nuclear weapon-possessing states continue to modernize their nuclear arsenals"	"Pakistan armies were poised for another war"
"Nuclear risk reduction by India and Pakistan"	"India contemplates making a nuclear war with Pakistan"
"A nuclearized subcontinent will prevent a major conflict and foster escalation control"	"There has been no direct conflict between states of the Western world"
"Pakistan agrees with a non-nuclear Third World"	"India's nuclear deterrent, former Army Chief K. Sundarji, flatly predicted that nuclear deterrence would add stability and peace"

Table 4.5

Comparative Topical Direction of Editorials in The Dawn and The Times of India on the Nuclear Arms Race in South Asia

Year	The Dawn	The Times of India	Total
2015	+32 Words	-2 Words	15
	0	-1 Word	19
	Total	+1 Word	70

Quantitative findings reveal the comparative topical coverage of editorials in The Dawn and The Times of India regarding the nuclear arms race in South Asia in 2015. The purpose of this analysis is to explore the applicability of the stability-instability paradox to the subcontinent, drawing upon the insights of Western and South Asian strategists.

5. Conclusion

The South Asian nuclear arms race is a complex tale with many regional conflicts, international repercussions, and geopolitical complications. The main focus of this discussion is the editorials from two significant newspapers, The Dawn and The Times of India, which both serve as forums for the expression of national opinions and swaying public opinion on these crucial subjects. This paper explores the nuanced viewpoints advanced by these articles, looking at how they address the nuclear landscape, regional dynamics, and global stability in general.

The Times of India provides a lens through which we might see the world's current nuclear period, emphasizing the unique challenges resulting from ideological rivalry and unresolved disputes. The editorial emphasizes the inadequacies of the current nonproliferation paradigm in addressing the challenges of this era, with a particular focus on South Asia. Furthermore, by examining nuclear capabilities as a clean energy source, The Times of India offers a fresh perspective that emphasizes India's commitment to alternative power sources.

Conversely, Dawn examines the geopolitical and economic ramifications of nuclear testing while conducting a critical analysis of the Indo-Pakistani relationship. The article addresses Pakistan's predicament, emphasizing problems with resource distribution while striking a balance between nuclear testing and economic pressures. Concerns on the tit-for-tat dynamics of the nuclear race between India and Pakistan are expressed in the editorials in Dawn, which go into deeper detail about the implications for regional stability.

The comparative research, which is shown in the tables, makes distinctions in word counts and attitudes clear and highlights the numerical features of various points of view. We also explore the application of the stability-instability conundrum, which adds a theoretical perspective to our understanding of South Asia's nuclear environment. This study seeks to clarify the convoluted debate surrounding the nuclear weapons race in South Asia and offer perceptive insights into the divergent perspectives of The Dawn and The Times of India. Our aim in embarking on this analytical journey was to gain an appreciation of the complexities of regional geopolitics and the role played by the media in shaping public opinion and policy discussions on global concerns.

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