

Comparative Analysis of the Hindu and Times of India Post the Abrogation of Article 370

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Abstract

In the one month following the abrogation of Article 370, there are major discrepancies in the reporting of the two largest English newspapers, i.e., The Hindu and The Times of India. These distinctions are viewed in the light of gate keeping theory, as well as the paid news phenomenon to understand the streamlining of information. Gate keeping is utilized to streamline information on accounts of political ideologies or appeasement of investors. The paid news phenomenon is also used to understand the same. The unit of analyses is the news items and the headlines. Tabulation of this news on the basis of the positions is done. Positional scoring on the basis of circulation is carried out and frames are decided upon, to highlight the predispositions of the newspapers. Moreover, this analysis is accompanied by the Chi-square test to determine the newspaper's statistical association with the ruling party, with Article 370, and local political parties of Jammu and Kashmir.

Keywords: Mass Media • Journalism • Times of India • The Hindu Article 370 • Newspapers • Article 35(a) • Jammu and Kashmir • Gatekeeping • Paid News Phenomena • Chi Square Test

Introduction

On the 5th of August, 2019, the Union Government moved to abrogate Article 370 that granted special status to citizens of Jammu and Kashmir. The move was accompanied by the abrogation of Article 35(a) and the Jammu and Kashmir reorganization Act, 2019. The decision for the revocation ended the special status of the state, and revoked several provisions granted to its citizens. It also sought to downgrade the state to two Union Territories, known as Jammu and Kashmir, and Ladakh respectively. The much contested provision was revoked, giving rise to war threats (from Pakistan), Human Rights violation by several countries, and several rebellions by Kashmiri's; along with jubilation from several residents of the state. The reactions of the rest of the country were based solely on mainstream media coverage; as all local media houses were shutdown and a complete communication blockade was imposed on the state.

The media plays a crucial role in ensuring that an impartial and unhindered view of events taking place is presented for the citizens' perusal. It is considered to be the fourth pillar of democracy, and its reporting on major events is the basis of the majority's knowledge and decisions. In a democracy, the media can sway public opinion more strongly than any other form of communication [1].

However, the complete communication blockade in the valley after the revocation of Article 370 is questioned by several media experts, who also question the freedom of press under Article 19(1)(a). Further, the narratives of several independent Kashmiri journalists were shut down completely, as their occupation was threatened by the complete government clampdown. It is the violation of Article 19(1)(a) that grants freedom of speech and a free press, that many scholars are questioning. Before revoking Article 370, the government in Kashmir shut all mobile communication and suspended internet access to the entire state from midnight of August 4 [2]. Only after 70 days, were the postpaid mobile services restored in the state. However, prepaid telecommunications of over 2.5 Million users, mobile internet, and broadband connections remain defunct. With communication services down,

heightened security checks, and no public transport, patients from various parts of the valley were unable to visit hospitals for necessary treatment, and were unable to even contact the nearest clinics to confirm whether the doctors were available there or not [3]. To prevent an insurgency, the entire valley was under strict curfew. There have been several reports of human rights abuses, which the Indian government has denied completely [4]. The security lockdown and communications blackout imposed to prevent protests also extends overseas; as, no foreign journalist has been allowed permission to report in Kashmir [5]. Several local journalists have spoken about how the communication blackout, the internet shutdown, strict controls on the flow of information, restrictions on travel, direct and indirect intimidation of journalists, along with limited access to government officials and politicians, and the long-running problem of dwindling government advertising revenue have pushed the Kashmiri news media to the brink of extinction [6]. A crackdown of this magnitude has forced Jammu and Kashmir's newspapers to fall in line, with their pages resembling government bulletins, reflecting the fear that has gripped the region [7]. The government-issued versions of events continue to receive wide publicity without there being any doubts of their credibility. As Muzaffar Raina, a journalist with India's Telegraph newspaper, on October 8 stated, "The Srinagar dateline has never been so elusive before. [8]". Muzamil Jaleel, of The Indian Express, also expressed his views on Facebook: "Kashmir has been turned invisible even inside Kashmir [8].

The situation has exacerbated by misinformation originating from the National Capital. The people in power have time and again falsified claims of unrest in the valley, in spite of ample evidence that proves otherwise. According to Foreign Policy, Indian officials already blocked the internet in Jammu and Kashmir 53 times this year [2] India has now occupied foremost position in terms of internet shutdowns, as between 2016 and 2018: it had a higher number of shutdowns as compared to Pakistan, Iraq, Syria, Ethiopia, and Iran combined [2]. The clampdown means that on-ground media reporting from Kashmir is close to impossible. Thus, many leading media outlets showed skewed footage of Kashmiri citizens praising the revocation [9]. The mainstream newspapers all sought to toe the government's official line, and were often accused of shading several notorious activities. In the words of Pamela Philipose, an editor of "The Wire" stated, "What we are seeing in the mainstream press is not new. Corporate and political influences have overwhelmed media organizations". Furthermore, the Press Council of India (PCI) defended the media clampdown in the name of "national interest" [10]. The only remnant of local reporting in the valley was some reporters who were forced to share official space with a government-run "media facilitation centre" with a total of five desktop computers, two of which are reserved for women [9].

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Received 10 January 2021; **Accepted** 10 March 2021; **Published** 17 March 2021

Thus, two of the mainstream English dailies were taken as the subject of interest. The Hindu and The Times of India have differing views on the government's decision to revoke Article 370. Their narratives, often, run asunder. There is a difference in the extent of the coverage, as well as the content covered. This understanding of the biases of the newspapers will give readers an insight into a multifaceted way of information seeking, by going beyond a singular source. An in-depth understanding of newspapers and their varied allegiances gives even the common reader a sense of the slant that the newspapers conform to. This slant manifests in different ways, but for an incident such as the revocation of Article 370, the issues run almost in extremes, as is visible in the coverage of the two newspapers. The newspapers, Times of India and The Hindu have major strongholds throughout the country and jointly penetrate over a majority of the entire newspaper-reading Indian population [11]. With assumed political leanings, one being pro-establishment (Times of India) and the other being anti-establishment (The Hindu), this paper seeks to analyze these political leanings and how this impacts the reporting on areas of contention. News articles are frequently biased when it comes to contentious issues, as each issue involves diverse participants and their different complex arguments [12]. Frequently, news articles fail to fairly deliver conflicting arguments of the issue [12]. It is difficult for everyday readers to analyze the conflicting arguments and understand the contention; they mostly perceive the issue passively, often through a single source [12].

With a dismal World Press Freedom rank of 140 on 180, the Indian Press is hardly a champion of unobstructed and unbiased reporting; often clouded by political inclinations, as government advertisements remain one of the highest sources of revenue for the newspapers [13]. The Bureau of Outreach & Communication states that the government is a primary source of revenue in the media which leads to significant pro-Government bias [14]. Essentially, the Government will advertise preferentially in those outlets that are accommodating towards them. Thus, leading English dailies often align news reports to the polity practiced by the ruling government and streamline information to make it conducive to these ends. There are primarily two contemporary reasons for this: English is the de facto role of "linkage institutions", administrative language, especially of communicating the opinion of the mass to the central government institutions [15]. Second, it is also the language put to use by the public to communicate with the elected officials, as India is a linguistically diverse nation, and vice versa [16]. The minimal press freedom in India accentuates the fact that several papers (including the TOI) hold a favorable view of the government and procure and publish reports that favor the ruling parties. The Hindu, on the other hand, has an affiliation with the opposing faction and this opposition manifests itself in the treatment of this contentious issue.

The main theories used to understand the newspapers and their particular slants are gatekeeping theory and the paid news phenomenon. Gatekeeping involves the filtering of information by news agencies before its dissemination to the public. This filtering is viewed in the background of the paid news phenomenon popularized by The Times of India. Essentially, the highest receiver of government advertising revenue tends to hold the government in a favorable light, while the opposing faction (or the newspaper that receives lesser advertising revenue) has little allegiance and responsibility to the government and may report freely on its activities.

Being the two top selling English language newspapers, The Times of India and The Hindu are two of the largest broadsheets in the country. The Hindu has a daily circulation of 1,404,901 readers and the Times of India has a daily circulation of 2,640,770 daily readers. Being the two largest read English dailies, the Times and The Hindu have the most expansive readership base and can affect the maximum number of readers (Times, May, 13, 2014). Thus, for events that may have a grey area in terms of political contentions, these newspapers can affect most people. This is especially true for the English readers who are considered the most intellectual and elite of all newspaper readers in the country [17]. An analysis of the two broadsheets will lead to an instrumental understanding of the revocation and its implications in the nation. A frame comparison is also utilized, to understand the role that the newspaper's ideology, reporting and political affiliation play in the reporting.

The report also aims to understand the relationship between media and the minorities; (formerly) Kashmir was the only state in the country with a majority of its population being Muslim. Thus, we can explore the way that news portrays residents of the valley in a negative way. The basis of this is Van Dijk's discourse on the media and minorities wherein he states that, "[the press] rhetorically contributes to the enhancement of popular resentment against the Others, and especially against those groups and organizations involved in the struggle against discrimination" [18].

Quantitative analysis is used to understand the staggered coverage of the two newspapers, by tabulating their total coverage and the number of headlines. This tabulation forms the basis for two kinds of further analyses: the first that allots a scoring position to the newspapers based on how impactful the news is on the readers and in what context the newspapers cover the events relating to Article 370. The second is a Chi-square Test that helps the reader understand if there is a statistically significant relationship between newspaper and its polarity, the newspaper and its coverage of events pertaining Article 370, and the newspapers' polarity in terms of coverage of local political parties of Jammu and Kashmir.

Literature Review

This paper is based on the revocation of Article 370 in Jammu and Kashmir on 5th August 2019. It is a content analysis of The Times of India and The Hindu in the one month following the revocation, i.e., from 5th August to 5th September, 2019. There have been several texts that extrapolate and understand the turbulent history of Kashmir in differing ways. Thus, references have been made to several texts that explain the rich history of Kashmir and the prospects of peace; however, these precede the abrogation of Article 370. 'Peace and Justice' by K. Chenoy. (2010) administers a midterm solution that grants Kashmir with maximal autonomy in accordance with Article 370's provisions. He claimed that this would put an end to terrorism activities by Pakistan as well as the human rights violations exhibited by die-hard right wing militancy, thereby re-writing Kashmir's modern history [19].

This claim of autonomy in the valley has been seconded by Bilal Ahmad Bhat in his research following the revocation of Article 370. The research makes use of survey-based analytics to claim that since August 5, 2019 due to protests and e-curfew Kashmiri businessman and students have suffered the most [20]. The researchers suggest prioritizing primary healthcare in Kashmir and de-escalation of conflicts to ensure normalcy by curing those affected by violence in the valley. The decision to abrogate Article 370 was dissented by the majority of people interviewed [20]. However, the sample study was too small to be significant and did not take into account the instances of violence from the local residents. The research is biased in its presentation of the Kashmiris as victims, and does not take into account the role of mass media to disseminate real-time information to people living outside the valley.

Medhavi Divya Saxena states that, "the Presidential order was "constitutionally sound" and "no legal and constitutional fault can be found in it". The government abrogated Articles 370 and 35(a) for development in all socio-economic and political factors [21]. To support the communication blockade, she states that even though the state was reduced to a state of silence (following the communication blockade) but, "in order to achieve something great, it becomes necessary to sacrifice even that thing which benefits us" [21].

The complete communication blockade in the state is a major infringement of Article 19(1)(a) of the Indian constitution. This was a major cause of problems faced by local journalists, as their narrative was shut down completely. Even the major newspapers of the country could not report on issues. R Atkuri et al. noted in their report that post the revocation all modes of communication – landline telephones, cell phones and the internet were blocked, and there were severe physical restrictions on the movement of civilians, with concertina wire barricades manned by soldiers every few meters [22]. Thus, the only news available are the narratives put forth by the mainland news channels. Since local journalists are not able to move around freely to gather news, the publishing of local news and newspapers has

been severely affected [22]. This situation is the reason that two elite English newspapers have been considered for the research. The two newspapers if considered as disputants of a contentious issue, can give an insight into disputant relation-based method for classifying news articles on contentious issues (Souneil Park, n.d.). Thus, the disputants of a contention are an important feature for understanding the discourse (Souneil Park, n.d.), as is explained in Souneil Park's research titled: "Contrasting Opposing Views of News Articles on Contentious Issues".

Keeping in mind the severity of the communication blockade, the selection of two mainstream broadsheets is the only way to understand even remotely the events taking place in the valley. On the lines of the report put forth by Ahmad Afaq and Sahu Gopal Krishna to investigate, understand and describe Human Rights issues in two mainstream National English dailies—The Hindu and The Times of India [23]. This research also finds a difference in tone of reporting between the two newspapers while covering news related to Article 370 (Ahmad Afaq, 2018). Further, the use of frames in the news discourse through framing analysis technique is also utilized according to this research [23].

This was also weighed in the light of the news coverage of two newspapers that are dependent on the government as a primary source of revenue. This dependence was found to hinder the coverage of a contentious decision taken by the government, by the newspaper that considered the government as a major beneficiary.

To understand the history and political orientation of the newspapers, the sources used were: "News Content Homogeneity in Indian Elite Dailies" to understand the role of Indian newspapers and the gatekeepers in the selection of news in a changing World order [24]. "The Profiles of the World's Greatest Dailies" identifies the newspapers (The Hindu and The Times of India) in their historical contexts and their positions as one of the top 50 newspapers of the world [25]. The role of Times of India in hyping Narendra Modi's win in the 2014 poll elections is also explored in Rajdeep Sardesai's 2015 book, "2014: The Elections that Changed India" [26]. Finally, "Framing the World News: Times of India in a Changing World" is a study demonstrates the importance of news frames in determining the selection of international news and the resistance of these frames to change [27].

The use of gatekeeping theory and its relation with the paid news phenomenon is implicitly explored in WL Bennett's book "Handbook of Political Research", wherein the political leaders in power are seen to induce coverage conducive to their personal, policy and political interests [28]. This induces gatekeeping by media to publish positive news, very often linked to government advertising [28]. The research being too wide to be understood properly is not investigated further. However, in the present research, paid news is viewed in terms of the two newspapers with specific incidents in both.

The reading and analysis of a New York Times interview of Samir Jain [29]. is thus utilized to understand the existing conditions in one of the broadsheets. This was further accentuated in Arun C.'s 2014 research, "Gatekeeping Liability and Article 19 (1)(a) of the Constitution of India", which supported the claim that, "gatekeepers can be used to censor speech in an opaque fashion that leaves little room for accountability" [30]. Postulates are also borrowed from D Schon's theory that proved that, in cases of contentious issues, the disputants always aim to draw attention to different interpretations of the same event rather than give contrasting answers, when asked the same questions [31]. This is viewed in terms of Van Dijk's theory that the press rhetorically contributes to the enhancement of popular resentment against the Others, and especially against those groups and organizations involved in the struggle against discrimination" [32].

With regards to quantitative analysis and the positions, positional score, the ground work is based on Francis Barclay's research, "Indian Elections 2014: Political Orientation of English Newspapers". The research examines the political orientations of The Times of India, Hindustan Times, The Hindu and The Telegraph in the run up to the Indian elections held in 2014 [33]. The papers were analyzed to determine which paper endorsed which party and

to what extent [33]. The political orientation among the papers was analyzed based on similar scores as allotted in the present research. However, the quantitative research was not explained in detail with qualitative research, thus, a minor gap remains in the understanding of the analysis.

The Chi-Square Test is the formula that proves the relation between the variables as they are observed and what the expected variables would be if no relationship existed between the variables [34]. In this case, the Chi-square test is employed to understand the variance in the two broadsheets The Hindu and Times of India in the one month post the abrogation of Article 370. It further quantifies certain aspects of the newspapers' polarities in the coverage of Article 370.

Research Methodology

The research follows the content analysis method. Content analysis is a research tool used to determine the presence of certain words, themes, or concepts within some given qualitative data (i.e. text) [35]. Utilizing this method, the quantification and analysis of presence, meanings and relationships of certain relations can be identified. Inferences are then made based on the messages within the texts, including even the indications of the culture and time period surrounding the texts [36].

This is thus, a non-invasive analysis of social and political phenomena, as opposed to inducing social experiences or collection of answers to a survey. Quantitative content analysis highlights frequency counts and objective analysis of coded frequencies, while also providing a framed hypothesis decided beforehand [36]. However, Kracauer Siegfried asserted that it oversimplifies complex communications in order to be more reliable [37]. Qualitative analysis can be said to deal with the intricacies of latent interpretations; whereas quantitative has a focus on manifesting meanings [37]. Siegfried further states that patterns scrutinized in qualitative analysis can change the course of the research, if viewed in conjunction with qualitative analysis. Thus, a combination of qualitative and quantitative analysis of The Hindu and The Times of India in the one month following the abrogation of Article 370 in Jammu and Kashmir is utilized as the basis of the research. The period in question is from 5th August to 5th September.

The topic for the research is chosen based on the massive communication blockade in the valley, making mainstream media organizations the sole carrier of news throughout the nation. In the period of one month, there are major discrepancies in the reporting of even the two largest English newspapers in the country. These discrepancies are viewed in the light of gatekeeping theory, as well as the paid news phenomenon to understand the streamlining of information. The coverage of the two broadsheets has been varied to say the least.

The theory of gatekeeping and paid news are viewed in terms of the allegiance to the investors, and followed up by quantitative analysis. The positional scoring of the news articles shows a disparity in the coverage of events, even in the number of articles related to Kashmir. This analysis is accompanied by three Chi-square tests to determine the newspaper's statistical association with the ruling party; with Article 370 as well as local political parties of Jammu and Kashmir. The Chi-Square Test is a statistical test to signify a statistically significant association between two categories. It has been utilized in the preset research to understand the associations between the newspapers (The Hindu and The Times of India) with the ruling party; with Article 370 as well as local political parties of Jammu and Kashmir respectively. The results have been conclusive in all three categories.

Research Objectives

To understand in detail the background and inclination of The Times of India and The Hindu and identify how their stance affects the coverage of national current affairs, especially after the revocation of Article 370

- To utilize the gate-keeping theory to identify this discrepancy in coverage of the two newspapers

- To identify and understand the paid news phenomenon to identify its effects on the coverage in the newspapers, and to determine how gate keeping may be caused by the paid news phenomenon

- To perform quantitative analysis to aid the qualitative analysis in the form of tabulation of: the number of news articles; number of headlines; and calculation of a positional score based on a scoring pattern for front page, international, op-ed and national news and compute these scores with the total circulation of the respective newspapers.

To perform the Chi-square test to evaluate the newspapers' polarity in three categories:

Is there a relation between the newspapers' polarity and the ruling party (BJP)?

Do the newspapers have a particular stand on Article 370 and is the coverage of the same dependent on the stance?

Is there a relation between the newspapers' polarity and the local political parties of Jammu and Kashmir?

Data Analysis and Major Findings

Background & determination of political inclination

Brief history of article 370: A historically contentious state, Kashmir (shorthand for Jammu and Kashmir) is one of the biggest reasons for the bedeviled relations between India and Pakistan. Jammu and Kashmir as a state acceded to India on 26th October, 1947 after all forms of pressure from Pakistan. Blunder, pillage, rape, abduction and suspension of essential rations by Pakistan forced then-ruler Raja Hari Singh to sign the Instrument of Accession with India to seek help from New Delhi. Hari Singh sought special privileges for the citizens of the state on the basis of a 1927 law that denied outsiders the right to own property in the state. This law essentially allowed only citizens of Kashmir to own property in Jammu and Kashmir through inheritance. It also included provisions for a separate constitution, an individual flag as well as Article 35(a): granting special status to the citizens of Kashmir. The Jawaharlal Nehru government agreed to Hari Singh's stipulation on the condition of a potential ultimate settlement. The compromise had been made to prevent a full-fledged war between India and Pakistan and to prevent the Britishers from interfering with the salubrious Valley. In 1947, during the partition of the countries, Kashmir opted to be a part of the dominion of India, to protect itself from internal strife from Pakistan; thus, Article 370 was added in the Constitution's twenty-first part, with the conditions that the provision was "Temporary, Transitional and Special Provision" [38]. A constituent assembly was elected, and Kashmir found its place enshrined in the Indian Constitution with the words: "The state of Jammu and Kashmir is and always will be an integral part of the Union of India" [39].

Article 370 was granted to the state through the Presidential Order of 1954, following a ceasefire proclamation by the United Nations in January 1949 to prevent the rival countries from going to war (Nand, 1994). While the litigious Instrument of Accession, 1947 remains a major reason why even modern scholars blame Jawaharlal Nehru for setting the foundation of unsavory conditions in the state, religion imparts an added fervor of animosity as Pakistan rallies its two-nation theory and India seeks to promote secularism [40,41].

In its 2014 political manifesto, the Bharatiya Janata Party had promised to abrogate the special status of Jammu and Kashmir, its rallying cry from 1947 being: "EkPradhan, EkVidhan, EkNishan" (One PM, One Constitution, One

Flag) [38]. On 5th August 2019, it delivered its promise by not only abrogating Article 35(a) granting special status to citizens of Jammu and Kashmir (which is a part of Article 370) but by eroding Article 370 in its entirety and bringing Kashmir under the helm of the Central Government. The former state was broken down into two union territories: Jammu and Kashmir and Ladakh by the Jammu and Kashmir Reorganization Act, 2019 which came into effect on 31st October, 2019.

Brief History and Political Inclination of Times of India

The Times of India is an English daily newspaper. Britannica labels the newspaper as having a voice that seldom differs from the national government (Britannica, The Times of India, 2018). During its inception in 1838, it was known as The Bombay Times and Journal of Commerce, it was a pro-British newspaper which sought to serve the Britishers residing in India. In 1851, under Robert Knight, it became a daily from a twice-weekly and started being published under The Times of India from 1861. Post 1947, the paper's accurate stand, lack of sensationalism, as well as its worldwide reporting enhanced its image as an intellectual and serious newspaper (Hanson, 2010). A quarter of the space is allotted to international news, similar to other well-published dailies. The Times of India focuses on news of all aspects of the world, including but not limited to: politics, sports, leisure, business information, entertainment as well as technology. The Times Group is the father company of the Times of India and even runs the same on a digital platform, known as: Times Internet [27]. The Sahu Jain family took over the Times Group from several predecessors, including Thomas Bennett and Frank Morris Coleman in 1892. Currently, Indu Jain is the sole Chairperson of The Bennett Coleman & Co Ltd, with Jaideep Bose as the editor-in-chief.

Right-Center Bias

Overall, The International Fact Checking Network rates The Times of India Right-Center Biased on the basis of the method of reporting, news selection and editorials that lean towards the views held by the ruling government. It is rated 'High' in accurate reporting and the International Fact Checking Network posits that it has a clean fact check record

Accuracy in Reporting: HIGH

Country: India

World Press Freedom Rank for India: 140/180

Media organizations termed as Right Center Bias are, to some extent, conservative. Times Of India has proved that it procures and publishes accurate as well as honest information that often puts to use loaded words that attempt to insinuate a certain thing, that may just hint at a bias, but does not promote one outright. It is considered a reliable source and a trustworthy mode of disseminating information. The Times of India procures income from online advertising and donations, thus a massive portion of advertising revenue is detailed and included in Government advertising (as detailed by The Bureau of Outreach & Communication) [27].

In 2019, Reporters Without Borders ranked India 140 in their Press Freedom Index (which essentially refers to a lack of free reporting) (Miglena Sternadori, 2020). This means that almost all the newspapers are substantially dependent upon government advertising. A Bloomberg states that "India's Government spent \$640 million on advertisements" (Miglena Sternadori, 2020). A major allocation of these funds is to media organizations to advertise the ruling government. Moreover, paid or engineered news, which refers to the exchange of editorial space for money and advertising, is massively practiced in the country. The Times of India publications have often included a pro-Narendra Modi tone (Current Prime Minister and right-wing nationalist party BJP leader) that indicate a bias for the ruling party.



Figure 1. TOI on political leaning index.

Several headlines such as “When presidents held umbrellas for Modi” point out the bias at play [26].

TOI often sources its hyperlinks either to its own site or secondary reliable sources, such as the BBC or PTI. Another example of Times Of India's bias was portrayed in their coverage of Narendra Modi's speech at Sri Ram College of Commerce in 2012. At the time, he was only a Chief Minister, and their headlines read: “Narendra Modi takes Delhi by storm”, The Hindu, in contrast, gave no front page news, conversely, covering the anti-Modi protests by the leftist students of Sri Ram College of Commerce [26].

Brief History and Political Inclination of the Hindu

The Hindu was pioneered in 1889 by G. Subramania Aiyer and M. Veeraraghavachariar who were a part of a community known as the 'Triplicane Literacy Society' (Britannica, The Hindu, August 17, 2017). From the beginning, The Hindu went head-to-head with the ruling regime and sought to report on its debasement of power. In 1878, it was established as a weekly, and became a daily in 1889. A major topic for The Hindu was its outright support of a judgeship position for Sir Muthuswami Iyer at the Madras High Court and to call out the propaganda and hypocrisy against Iyer by the Anglo-Indian PressIt was a pioneer in leading a first-of-its-kind protest against the bigotry practiced by the Britishers

Till 1947, the paper advocated independence but only through adoption of a mediating and moderate approach. Post independence, The Hindu built a massive foreign network consisting of various types of bureaus and also worked at improving its coverage within India. Over the years, The Hindu set the precedent for the country's upcoming print media. It piloted the utilization of colored print, the use of air planes for paper delivery, deployment of computer technology as well as starting facsimile editions to publish on the Internet. At one point of time, its integrity was at a pinnacle and several readers stated that they wouldn't even believe a gazette government notification if it wasn't not published in The Hindu, while its critics commented on there being no difference between both of them.

According to the Indian Readership Survey (IRS) of 2017, The Hindu is the second most-read English newspaper in India with a current readership of over 5.3 million readers. The Hindu is, even now, considered to be among India's most prominent newspaper. Even being published on Mount Road in Chennai, it is known for its particular brand of intellectualism even in Delhi. In the year 2000, its daily distribution exceeded 900,000 readers.

Rahul Kansal, the brand director of Times of India, on the issue of the two newspapers stated that: “In a spectrum of high-brow to tabloid journalism, The Hindu occupies the high-brow end. Times of India fills the median gap in the middle in Chennai” The Hindu Group Publications is currently owned by the kin of Kasturi Ranga Iyengar through the company: Kasturi and Sons Limited.

Left-Center Bias

The Hindu is presented as having a liberal political philosophy, but due to its serious presentation of news and views, it acquired a conservative toneSrinivasan and Iyengar worked to make the paper an accurate and stylized source of information (similar to UK-based publication 'The Times') and Srinivasan also became the first President of the Press Trust of India.

The Hindu has been praised by some for initiating Indian intellectualism

Worldpress.Org has pronounced The Hindu as a Left-Leaning and Independent newspaper. The Hindu and other similar sources of media that have been pronounced left-leaning generally have a slight to moderate

liberal leaningThey are reliable and print factual information, but may use words that insinuate a liberal favoritism. *N Ram, the former editor of The Hindu was aligned towards the left and was joined by P. Chidambaram and women's activist Mythili Sivaraman in starting a journal called the Radical Review.* The association of the minister and the newspaper started early on in its initial years after its inception. The Hindu has since openly professed to pro-communist ideologies, as well as an affiliation to the left leaning blocks, such as when the United Progressive Alliance included the Congress and the Communist partyThe Hindu being an English daily has often has been accused of left-wing bias that is evident in its articles as well as editorialsMoreover, it is accused of reporting and coverage of the USA with a kind of centrist approach as well as a recent Sinophilic bias.

Gatekeeping/ Paid News Phenomena

For both the newspapers, the discourse of contentious issues in news articles covered by both the dailies show different results. This is where the theory of gate keeping comes in. *Gate keeping is a tool, “used to censor speech in an opaque fashion that leaves little room for accountability”* When viewed in terms of the two newspapers, gate keeping is employed to filter news to the audiences in order to ally the news with the paper's ideology. In this way, many news items are tailored (especially the editorials) to sway audiences opinions in a specific direction. This is especially true when viewed in light of contentious issues. Article 370 being an issue bred in the cradle of strife, is a matter that requires free, impartial and unobstructed reporting. The two broadsheets have utilized this medium of gate keeping to further their own philosophy, thus, often resorting to the blurring of lines between editorials and hard reporting. There are several cases of preferential treatment for major advertisers, visible in the growing conflation of news and entertainment content The sociology of news and gate keeping tells us about the logics applied when journalists select the information to publish; they strive for balance and objectivity, but are susceptible to political forces. The impact of the speed and hierarchy outside the newsroom affect the autonomy of journalists, who are somewhat constrained by the power relationships and ideologies outside, as journalists often act as stenographers to the powerful (the elites and the parties in power are always in some sort of tug-of-war in power politics)(Vos, T. and Heinderyckx, F. , 2015). Sensationalism and yellow journalism thus become the will of the newspapers power plays; with advertising revenue being one major part of this power play. It has been proved that newspaper pay walls provide roughly ten per cent of media companies' publishing/circulation revenue. Therefore; newspapers often feel obliged to their major source of revenue and paint them in a favorable light.

This can be understood by the division of government advertisements in the period of 2014-2019. From 2014 to 2019 (the two successive poll wins of BJP), The Times of India grabbed the biggest pie in terms of English newspapers, grabbing over Rs 217 Crore in Government ad spend(IANS, 2019). Economic Times, a newspaper owned by the Bennett Coleman and Co. group (which is also the second-most widely read business paper in the world) also received: 8.7 Crore in government ad spend (IANS, 2019). Between May 2014 and March 2019, The Hindu along with The Hindu Business Line received a total of 33.6 Crore (PTI, 2018) of the Rs 719 Crore spent by the government on advertising in English newspapers (IANS, 2019) Essentially, we can assume that the newspaper that is the largest recipient of the advertisements revenue, will feel an implicit allegiance to the donor. In several cases, the donor revokes the advertisements as a way of controlling the newspapers' narrative of them. This was the case in June, 2019, when Congressman Adhir Ranjan Chowdhury accused the BJP-led Government of attempted to suppress the Freedom of Press by rescinding advertisements from major media houses (Times of India, The Hindu, The Telegraph and



Figure 2. The Hindu's political leaning index.

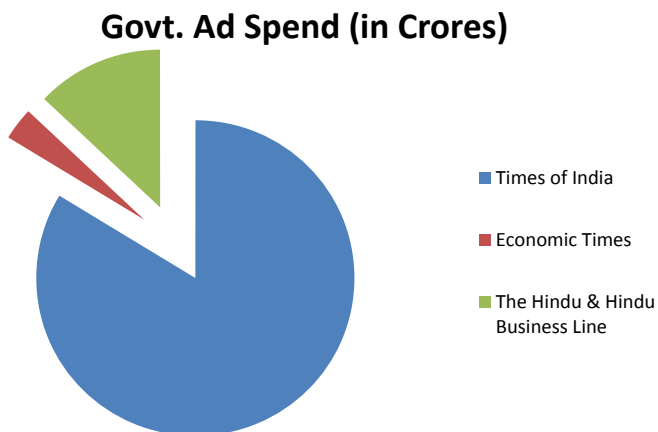


Figure 3. Govt. Ad spend Allocation (2014-2019).

Ananda Bazaar Patrika). This was after the newspapers published several news items against the government and the Prime Minister Narendra Modi.

The advertisements were later restored to the newspapers, but the moral remains: when donors threaten to rescind advertisements, the newspapers have to toe the government's line; or at least have a narrative that is adjacent to it. Gatekeeping is often the medium used to do thus, as the filtering of the news is done by the stenographers, who have little power outside the copy-writing room.

In light of this, the information that Times of India receives the highest revenue for government advertisements is essential as the newspaper may have overt (actual paid news by politicians to increase media coverage) and implicit biases in terms of allegiance to investors (as shown above). Another example that shows how The Times of India holds its investors in a positive light is when an elevator operated by a construction company putting up a nineteen-story luxury apartment complex crashed in Bangalore, killing two workers and injuring seven, the Times story did not include the name of the construction company, Sobha Developers, a private-treaty partner, while all the other newspapers explicitly did. However, the opposing faction iterates similar complaints against The Hindu also. The Hindu has openly professed to pro-communist ideologies, as well as an affiliation to the left leaning blocks, such as when the United Progressive Alliance included the Congress and the Communist party. The first indication of the same is the switch of the sources of The Hindu from the Press Trust of India or Associated Press to the Chinese press agency, Xinhua. The Xinhua news source is considered to be a propaganda source for the Chinese government and the close association between the Hindu and the press agency underscore the Sinophilic bias it is accused of [27]. In the book, "The Accidental Prime Minister", it was detailed that the Chinese Ambassador visited The Hindu headquarters to appreciate the "neutral reporting" on events relating to Chinese affairs. It is argued that the Xinhua news agency is a propaganda mechanism of the Chinese governmental regime. N. Ravi, the former editor stated that:

... "the reasons that I wish to distance myself from The Hindu include: the unmerited coverage of certain political favorites on specific directions; excessive coverage of the activities of the left and some of its leaders; for reasons that are bound to emerge sooner rather than later, turning the newspaper into an apologist for A. Raja through the 2G scam coverage, remaining deafeningly silent on his resignation in the face of mounting evidence even when demanding the resignation of Suresh Kalmadi, Ashok Chavan and Yeddyurappa in similar circumstances; pronounced pro-China tilt, blacking out or downplaying any news that is less than complimentary to the Chinese Communist regime; and contrary to the practice in any mainline newspaper, the Editor-in-Chief indulging in an unceasing self-glorification campaign, publishing his own ribbon cutting pictures and reports of his activities and speeches with a regularity that would put corporate house journals to shame" (Ravi, 1992).

Thus, The Hindu is proven to be a left-leaning independent newspaper,

with an organized effort toward communism and with an accusation of a Sinophilic bias.

For the Times of India and The Hindu, their accuracy has been proven to be very high. However, when taking a stand on an issue of contention, their stand can be easily made out even without outright expression of opinion. The objective sentences that may be considered accurate can include carefully curated facts. This includes employment of tactics such as a news article that may cast a negative opinion on a government agenda by covering the increase of discrepancy caused by it (D Schön, 1996), as is the case with The Hindu. Further, the press utilizes the information of a contentious issue to discuss and highlight differing stands on the same topics.

Another important tenet of gatekeeping is the blurring of lines between the search for objectivity and the dissemination of opinion. The personal and professional constraints of the journalists are fused under the gatekeeper orientation. An example of this is an editorial by the owner of The Hindu on Article 370 and its revocation. Commenting on the Press Council of India, N. Ram titled his piece: "PCI backing J&K curbs undemocratic". This is very similar to the pronouncement of the Congress party, calling the detentions undemocratic is a milder form of calling it the murder of democracy. The Times of India titled a similar news article: "After backlash, PCI to tell SC it does not approve of restriction on media". This implies that the newspaper has no faith in the Press Council of India in its own standing, and only acted due to the disapproval of other people. An example of gatekeeping to streamline current affairs and make them conducive to a particular leaning is: (The Times of India) "BJP shifts gears, to launch all-India 'awareness' drive on J&K decisions". The news article indicates a major force of shifting gears, and the focus is on the "Pan-India" scope of the movement. The Hindu reported the same with the headline: "BJP to start awareness drive on Kashmir".

Often, gatekeeping involves the selection as well as filtering of current affairs or news items that an individual consumes within a certain period of time. A report by the Times of India revered the Jammu and Kashmir state Governor Satya Pal Malik for announcing 50,000 new jobs in the valley, caused by the political instability of the revocation. The title for the same, on the 9th of August, was: "50,000 vacancies to be filled soon: J&K governor". However, on the 3rd of September, the Hindu reported that there was a condition attached and the "New jobs in Jammu and Kashmir include 6,000 posts announced in 2015".

These are several examples in the way that the newspapers' utilize the gatekeeping theory to streamline the information to best suit their ideals. Using loaded words, giving certain frames and by sensationalizing one part of the current affairs, the news agencies frame our opinions in more ways than one.

The gatekeeping theory from the news organization's standpoint begins with selecting the events to be presented, molding news items, and disseminating them through proper channels. This is by no means, a small task. For one event to become a news item requires a series of activities-observations, decisions, serendipity, creativity, constraints and facilitators, and a good share of luck. Yet, we know that the news from one day is similar to that of another and so we can infer that gatekeeping is not a random process. Rather, it involves several steps of complex levels in operations that pervade news production and dissemination process. Gatekeeping thus essentially defines news as we see it today.

Paid News Phenomenon

What is now (in)famous as 'paid news' in India is the practice of charging a fee, in cash or equity, from politicians, film stars, businessmen, or from private companies, for presenting biased and one-sided news items to be passed off as routine news coverage (Mudgal V. Wasserman H., 2015). Media's objectivity has been questionable to say the least, but allotting a price tag to news coverage is a new low. Ample literature has been written on how media is linked to the exercise of power and hegemony, how it helps

in manufacturing consent and steering of public opinions, or how concerns of the marginalized citizens seldom make news [1]. Times' Medianet, being one of the largest proprietors in the media industry has pioneered paid news among newspapers. Another similar innovation, by the Times Group, is the creation of "private treaties" or "brand capital" (Karan, K. and A. Aw, 2009). Paid news is written like any other news article by the reporting staff and paid for by the celebrities or their publicists. Under the paid news program, the newspaper offers a deal to smaller companies: it accepts ads in exchange for equity in a company [29]. Times Group has a stake in more than three hundred and fifty companies, and this accounts for up to fifteen per cent of its ad revenues [4]. P. Sainath, a former editor of the Times of India, who now works with The Hindu in the capacity of a Rural Affairs Editor, revealed that rural newspapers issued an unusual advertising rate card to political candidates [1]. In an interview with the New York Times, Samir Jain, the vice-chairman of B.C.C.L stated that, "We are not in the newspaper business; we are in the advertising business" [29]. Jain explained that, "By the mid-nineties, the Times referred to itself not as a newspaper but as a brand, with target audiences that advertisers coveted" [29]. Bhaskar Das, Samir Jain's principal sales executive stated, "We knew we were in the business of aggregating a quality audience. Before that, we just sold advertising space. When the advertiser becomes successful, we are successful. The advertiser wants us to facilitate consumption"[29].

A total of Rs. 4343 Crores was spent by the ruling government in their two successive election campaigns. With an RTI query, the allocation of the resources was revealed. However, there are several grey areas that are prevalent in the undertaking of this 'publicity fund'. The paid news phenomenon is one of them. In print media, (as seen in the chart above) there has been a spending of Rs. 230 Crore approximately on Print Media advertisements. However, in the graph below, the costs of publicity in print media is shown to be over Rs. 1732 Crores. This massive gap can be understood as there is little accountability and transparency in the allocation of funds. These funds do not include the "Paid News" fund allocation, hence, the difference

While several brands can openly claim of engineering paid news in newspapers, it is not considered ethical in most political parties. Hence, they have to shield their funds and allocation under the guise of publicity, wherein no questions can be asked about paid news. Since this is a grey area, we cannot say for certain whether the news that is positive of the government is because of their payments or because of their actual acts.

Moreover, the shielding or overlooking of negative behavior by the government can also be understood, as many newspapers may avoid coverage of negative news of investors.

It is a fact that many reporters of Times of India, when applying for jobs elsewhere, refused to write a story on any investor claiming that, "the subjects were private-treaty clients"[29]. Critics claim that the company's paid news and private treaties skew its coverage and shield its newspaper

advertisers from scrutiny, and consider it proof that the Times group enters into barter deals with companies and several politicians [29].

One of the essential elements of an impartial press is the "wall of separation" between the editorial pages and the pages devoted to the news. While the political beliefs of newspaper owners and editors are clearly articulated on opinion pages, their views are not supposed to infiltrate the reporting of the news. Moreover, the consequences of "slanted" news coverage can even affect entire elections, as voters evaluate (editorially) endorsed candidates more favorably than candidates who fail to secure an editorial endorsement.

When viewed against the Times' strategy, these ethics fall short. Although Vineet Jain, the Managing director and Director of Bennett, Coleman & Co. Ltd. (B.C.C.L.), insisted in an interview, that he and Samir Jain (his brother) do not determine content, he also said, "I am a content architect"(Auletta, 2012). He claims that, "the editorial page is read scarcely by five per cent of the readers." Thus, including editorials with news stories is the strategy employed. In this case, news is often conformed to a particular commercial or a political interest.

However, this paid news epidemic has been avoided by several newspapers, such as The Hindu and the Indian Express as well as the Malayala Manoram [1].

Thus, there are substantial differences in how newspapers report on issues depending on the financial interests of their corporate owners, which includes influences of corporate media owners over the results of a survey of news correspondents show that about 20% of the reporters felt that they had to change certain stories due to influence from owners or advertisers, while 7% reported some advertiser pressure news content. This is also visible in downplaying of significant issues in the country's mass media.

A proposed example of the Times of India's bias towards the ruling government is when the newspaper reported that Union Minister Amit Shah was using Article 370 as a weapon to start his political campaign in the upcoming Haryana state elections. The headline read: "Amit Shah uses Article 370 to kick off Haryana poll campaign". The same news item had an article in The Hindu titled: "BJP to make Article 370 poll plank for yatra". The Hindu went on to explain why using Article 370 and its revocation as a tactic for contesting an election was misleading and unnecessary. This is another example wherein a newspaper's bias was evident not overtly (in terms of paid news) but in terms of allegiance to its investor (India, 2010). Thus, media bribery may also reflect the prevalent effects of political, economic, cultural and educational values of a country where it is practiced. This is especially true for events that affect all these spheres, as the revocation of Article 370 affects all these aspects in a way [19].

These examples illustrate that there is a direct relationship between media framing and the way both media sources (The Times of India and The Hindu) portray similar news events [12]. This portrayal is based largely on their ideologies and their impact. In addition, owners of media organizations have financial relationships, including shareholdings, with advertisers, resulting in only favorable information about such advertisers getting disseminated and unfavorable information against them getting blacked out. In the area of political "paid news", given the illegal and clandestine nature of such malpractices, it is not easy to find clinching evidence that pins responsibility for such corrupt practices on particular persons and organizations. The Times of India has come under fire for the phenomena of "paid news" and "private treaties". Samir Jain (belonging to the leading family of the Times group) has spoken of inventing the paid news and sensationalism in an interview, talking about how the newspaper catered to the advertising industry more than the editorial industry [29]. On the other hand, The Hindu has exposed many affairs adapting the "paid news" phenomena. The Rural Affairs Editor of The Hindu Shri P. Sainath has written a series of articles on the phenomenon, highlighting one such case of the former Chief Minister of Maharashtra Shri Ashok Chavan. Sainath pointed out the biased manner in which the electoral campaign was conducted through newspapers in September-October 2009. The paid news phenomenon was thus exposed as being deeply entrenched in political matters, and utilized massively by politicians.

Govt. Spend on Publicity (2014-2019)

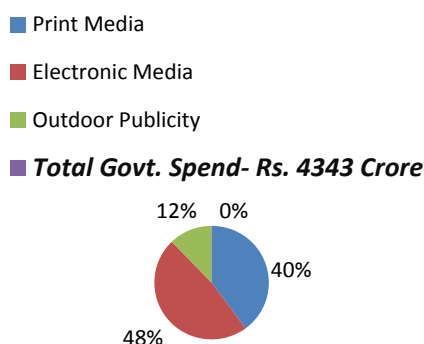


Figure 4. Government spend on publicity.

While it is tough to ascertain exactly which news constitutes as paid news, it can be inferred that the paper with greater paid news will have a greater standing loyalty towards the investors (Sharma, 2013)(in this case: the ruling party).

Thus, there is a streamlining of information, or gatekeeping when reporting on financiers or investors of the media organization. This has a relation with the paid news phenomenon, as the sponsor paying the most money is more entitled to a favorable coverage (or a lack of negative coverage as detailed by Schon [31]).

Comparison of the Newspapers

Head to head comparison

Head to head comparisons aid the reader by revealing, critiquing, or testing the permanence of an assumption that prior to the analysis, seemed completely plausible. Often, head-to-head contrasts utilize time and ideology to distinguish the frames adopted by the newspapers. The news articles in The Hindu and The Times of India are contrasted directly against each other to showcase the disparity in the number of reports covering the issue as well as the content and context of the news articles. Thus, these head to head comparisons give the readers an insight into the extent of the biases that the broadsheets surrender to, as well as how these biases manifest on a daily basis.

The role of the news media as a civic forum remains deeply flawed where major newspapers and television stations heavily favor the governing party, in the amount or tone of coverage, rather than being open to a plurality of political viewpoints and parties during campaigns as is the case with the Times of India (a right-centrist approach) and The Hindu (a left-leaning approach). This principle has been recognized in countries as varied as Ghana, Sri Lanka, Belize, India, Trinidad and Tobago, and Zambia [24]. An example of this, in the context of Article 370, is when (on the 20th of August); The Times of India headlined a news article: "Oppn unites, to protest 'murder of democracy'".

The opposition was unnamed and the context was that the phrase "Murder of Democracy" was an exaggeration and the bias was unfounded. However, The Hindu titled a similar news article: "DMK to lead protest in Delhi against Kashmir detentions". The use of the word "detentions" indicates that DMK (a Communist Party) is a fore-runner in a fight against an authoritarian government that imposes detentions and other arbitrary measures. On similar lines, the Hindu titled a news article "Cong.: murder of democracy". The approach aims to show that there may be a basis for Congress's proclamation and gives a reasoned approach for the same in the news article. However, the Times of India headlined its story: "Congress alleges 'murder of democracy' as it steps out in PC's defense". The headline is biased in its treatment of the Congress. The word "alleges" implies an unfounded and unproved enforcement of one's ideology on others. Also, their defense of P Chidambaram indicates a negative connotation of the party as one that supports criminals (Chidambaram had recently been arrested for an ED scandal during that time).

These discrepancies are not just present in the coverage of current affairs, but also in the selection of news. This goes beyond the selection of news as proposed by Galtung and Ruge (Haque, 1986) based on news values. Thus, it encompasses alignment to a personal or political agenda. The press does play a major role in agenda setting, and utilizes gatekeeping to this end. A case in point is the treatment of the subject of Mohammed Yousuf Tarigami and Sitaram Yechury (two Communist Party leaders) who were allowed to travel to the valley, to survey the distress caused by the detentions. While the two leaders were named and located in The Hindu's headline: "Yechury meets Tarigami in Srinagar". The Times of India employed the word "allowed" for Yechury's trip to Srinagar and claims that it was on the Supreme Court's bidding that the leader went to the valley in its article: "SC seeks govt reply on curbs in Valley, allows Yechury trip".

Donald Schon in 1996, proved that, in cases of contentious issues, the

disputants always aim to draw attention to different interpretations of the same event rather than give contrasting answers, when asked the same questions [31]. An example of this is the coverage of the news on the 7th of August. The news report by The Hindu, was covered in an article headlined: "Centre should have discussed Bill with all parties: Mamata". This reveals Mamata Bannerjee's appeal (who is the Communist leader of West Bengal) to the government, to have transparency in making important decisions. The fact that Mamata's voice is chosen from all the opposition parties, highlights the left-leaning bias of The Hindu. Similarly, the Times of India highlights a similar news item: "Did Nehru consult Patel on 370? Govt, opposition slug it out". The headline is a counter-argument to the opposition parties. It is an argument that justifies the ruling party's decision and alludes to a contentious precedent (Jawaharlal Nehru's original decision to grant special status to Jammu and Kashmir in 1950) to prove that the opposition parties should be left out of the decision making process. Another example of this is when The Hindu reported that: "Shutdown was not discussed at Amit Shah's meeting with Jammu". This was in reference to the detentions imposed on the citizens of the valley following the revocations. In the decision to revoke Article 370, the possibility of a shutdown was not discussed by the political leaders. On the same day (3rd September), Times of India published a news report cum editorial with the headlines: "Surgical strikes to Article 370, Modi govt rewrites stale India-Pak script".

In certain cases, where the cases or headlines are head to head, we can delve into the subjects and understand the biases garnered by the newspapers. On the 5th for example, the broadsheets reported the information with differing headlines, whereas The Hindu utilizes an objective approach to report the leaders of Jammu and Kashmir being held under house arrests, the Times of India reports it as a 'turmoil' wherein the leaders are named and the headline also reports that they are prohibited from leaving their homes. However, when we see the word arrest, the thought of forceful detention is also present, whereas when the words 'turmoil' and 'not allowed out of the homes' are used, then it can be inferred that the leaders are responsible for creating the turmoil, and hence are not allowed to move out of their homes. As was observed, the polarity of the newspapers towards the local political parties of Jammu and Kashmir has been positive (for The Hindu) and negative (for the Times of India).

The bias is visible in the reporting of the news and even in the headlines. Moreover, the news report uses the prefix of Mr. and Ms. for the political leaders Omar Abdullah and Mehbooba Mufti visible in The Hindu was missing from the Times of India, as was the "Gupkar Declaration" which was a joint statement or declaration by all the political parties of Jammu and Kashmir to warn the government of the fall-out of abrogating Article 370. The Hindu also included several movements that showed the curfew-like nature imposed in the state. The additional troops, the implementation of emergency mode in hospitals, etc and the installation of bullet-proof bunkers in the valley were also included as part of the news report. These reports indicated a curfew-like restriction in the valley also contending for a major change in the upcoming days. The Times of India has also included several reports of the curfew-like restrictions in the news report, but they have also included the expansive terrorism in the area, threats along the border and the terrorist aggressions in the area.

When the tweets of political leader Mehbooba Mufti were shown, they were immediately countered by a ruling party leader who denied the abrogation of Article 35(a) and apologized for the cancellation of the religious Amarnath Yatra. Similarly, on the 7th of August, The Hindu titled a news report "Imran warns of more violence" in reference to Pakistan Prime Minister Imran Khan's threat post the abrogation of Article 370 in Jammu and Kashmir. Whereas, the Times of India titled a similar news report, "There will be more Pulwamas, could lead to war, says Imran". While both the newspapers have referred to the Prime Minister by only his first name, The Hindu uses a more objective headline, that highlights a threat in the future, but there isn't complete certainty of the warning coming to light. The Times of India utilizes a more personal threat.

They touch upon a sentiment that had just four months ago been completely wounded by the Pulwama attacks that killed over forty Indian Army soldiers

(jawns). The move had invoked the Balakot strikes for which the Army and the ruling government had been lauded. Thus, the attack used as a threat does invoke stronger sentiments as compared to a simple warning. It also insinuates a counter attack by the government, thus subtly highlighting the assumption that the ruling government is stronger than the threats issued by its erring neighbor, Pakistan.

In an overview, The Hindu, also has many greater mentions of DMK (Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam) as well as the Communist Party of India (Marxist) leader Mohammed Yousuf Tarigami. *The Times of India is known to exhibit an affiliation to the ruling political party, there are several neutral news reports as well; but hardly any editorials. Several of the news reports are merged with the editorials, irrespective of whether the newspaper may be called out or come under fire for having a particular polarity.* This process is majorly impacted by the political polarity of the newspaper. Thus, the organizations need to be reviewed keeping in mind the political polarities and affiliations. This is especially true for the leading English dailies as English is not just the preferred language to promote the circulation of news and national events to the intellectuals and elites, but also plays a major role in influencing public opinion and invokes active participation from political intellectuals (Ahmad Afaq, 2018). The behavior of institutions such as daily newspapers, etc. fit the political coalition pattern, ensuring that political polarity of the newspapers is conducive to their outputs. However, there is one major constraint: mass media organizations do not function in a fixed or defined environment especially at their output boundaries.

The discrepancy abounds not just in the content in the newspapers, but also in the number of articles covered in the one month following the revocation of Article 370. This is further accentuated by the number of front page news, the number of international, editorial, op-eds, and national news, as well as the actual numerical position in terms of circulation for both the newspapers.

Basis of distinction

The broadsheets have been selected based on their political leanings and their large circulation in the country. Following the abrogation of Article 370, these two broadsheets had staggeringly different views on the events that followed the one-month period. The news reports covered in the month of 5th August to 5th September, 2019 had a massive impact on the information obtained by the entire country on the events in the valley, especially as the local media houses were forcefully shut down. The positions of the broadsheets have been established as right-center conservative approach and independent left-leaning approach.

Since their inception, both the papers have taken opposing views on the ruling government and even of the officialdom. While both have passed the test of factual information with flying colors, the selection and coverage of news items and headlines covered are widely differing. Some critics have said that 'The Times of India' has recently shown impartiality in its treatment of political subjects (Atkuri, 2019). This partiality is exhibited in The Hindu, to diametrically opposite investors. Till 1981, when Girilal Jain was the editor, the Times was known for its objective reporting, fair and responsible treatment of events, the quality of writing as well as quality journalism. However, in the current times, The Times of India procures income from online advertising and donations; thus a massive portion of advertising revenue includes Government advertising [29].

The Times of India has proven to have a soft corner for private industries and an aversion to murders and poverty[29] while The Hindu takes on a more somber approach on account of its 'Independent' leaning.

There is not just a distinction in the number of articles covered, but also the treatment of subjects and the lens used to discern and objectify the topics covered. The Hindu, for example, has also been accused of being left-leaning; and, lenient in its reporting of the Bofors scandal. There are also several claims of a pro-Sinhalese bias. After the former editor of The Hindu, N. Ram published an opinion piece that praised China's governance of Tibet and several other such situations, several critics have noticed a massive Sinophilic bias. Moreover, K Chandra also admits to furthering left wing ideologies through a collective and organized leftist newspaper.

The Hindu is deeply critical of the government policies and its treatment of events affecting the country. The Hindu utilizes editorials as a weapon to highlight the depth of the events and their effect on ordinary people. The Times, however, utilizes a technique, wherein it merges the articles of actual factual information with editorials. In many ways, this may lead to a skewed understanding of the news, but that does not deter it from following this approach. In this particular case, the Times generally has editorials and interviews of Kashmiri Pandits who have shown to be in complete support of the revocation of the Article (editorials dated 6th August: "We can feel the valley air": Kashmiri Pandits rejoice", "Amid gloom in Valley, for many Kashmiris it's time for a hurrah"). In contrast, The Hindu has interviews and in-depth features of the citizens of Kashmir, the journalists and press houses of Kashmir, women and children, as well as sentiments affected by the events taking place in the valley (such as the lowering of the Kashmiri flag for the first time in 67 years; "I just want to tell Ammi I am Fine; "Kashmiris fear fresh bout of violence"). Moreover, they have separate blocks of readership that they cater to. While The Hindu claims to be an intellectual newspaper that is read by high brow readers and the intellectual elite, the Times of India wishes to cater to the masses, bringing the newspaper to the everyday reader, and removing the high brow elitism associated with it. *The broadsheets thus give an insight into two very different ways of reporting, one that is considered to be an intellectual newspaper with a serious and somber tone, and the other one that is considered as a bulletin board that represents and informs the everyday readers of the events that took place yesterday[29].*

Grounds for Comparison

Size

The Hindu has a daily circulation of 1,404,901 readers and the Times of India has a daily circulation of 2,640,770 daily readers [11]. The Times caters to the median readers in the South, loosening the tight grip of intellectualism practiced by The Hindu, and several Delhi-based readers also read The Hindu, as an alternative to The Times of India. Being the two largest read English dailies, the Times and The Hindu have the most expansive readership base and can affect the maximum number of readers (Times, May, 13, 2014). They are instrumental in influencing public opinion and are a primary source for public information. Thus, for events that may have a grey area in terms of political contentions, the newspapers can affect most people. This is especially true for the English readers who are considered the most intellectual and elite of all newspaper readers in the country [17]. Thus, to ensure the widest expanse of knowledge of events relating to the revocation of Article 370 on August 5th, an analysis of the two broadsheets will lead to an instrumental understanding of the revocation and its implications in the nation. Therefore, the number of total news reports in both the papers as well as the number of front-page news or headlines will lead to an understanding of the importance given to issues relating to contentious issues that affect the country and give an understanding of the politics and leaning that the newspapers align with [17].

Unit of Analyses

Number of News Items

The first step in the analysis is identifying the unit of analysis. In this case, all of the published newspaper content relating to the revocation of Article 370 as news stories, editorials, opinion-educational news and articles/features were identified. The articles were first measured, as there is a major difference in the coverage of the revocation, as is visible in the disparity of the number of news articles covering Article 370. All issues relating to the abrogation of Article 370 were identified and measured. It is proven that news coverage is a reflection of the viewpoints of the majority group and its institutions such as government police and the justice department. Minority groups are given very little opportunity to express their ideas. Moreover, news coverage of minority groups focuses on conspicuous incidents and sensational conflicts thereby creating a generally negative image. Thus, the events occurring in the given period from August 5th to September 5th were analyzed to showcase the importance given to specific current affairs to elevate a particular and

skewed version of events. (). Thus, the total numbers of the articles in both newspapers concerning the revocation of Article 370 were: Using D. Schon's discourse of the critical political analysis in broadsheets as the background, The Hindu (majorly) utilized the strategy of casting a negative opinion on a government agenda by covering the increase of difference caused by it [31]. Moreover, a discrepancy is even observed in the total coverage of the news items related to Article 370 and its revocation in the Times of India. This means that the newspaper does not allot as much political importance to the issue of the revocation as The Hindu does. Here, the postulates of Van Dijk come into play, The Times of India is not lending an ear to the voice of minorities. Kashmir being an erstwhile Muslim majority state was the only state in India to have a Hindu minority. Times of India's lack of editorial space concerning the dissolution of special status of Jammu and Kashmir and the bifurcation of the state may be due to the lack of sensationalism in the news reports. It has tried to portray that any opposition to the move may be allying with the opposing faction (in this case: Pakistan). This is explicitly mentioned on the 6th of August when one of the headlines stated: "Only terrorists, sympathizers are in fear: Union minister Giriraj Singh" and on the 13th of August when the headline of a news article reads: "RSS: Why only Muslims, not other minorities, feel unsafe?". This is one of the mentions in the discourse of Van Dijk (1988) when he analyzed news not only at a textual and structural level of media discourse but also for analysis and explanation, production and reception or comprehensive level. Van Dijk, thus, posited analysis of "structures at various levels of description". The analysis of the news discourse shows that only sensational conflicts and inconspicuous incidents of the minorities are portrayed. Aspects of their everyday lives are hardly mentioned and they are rarely included in any aspects of news coverage. The minorities are treated as Others and (especially in the case of the revocation of Article 370), we see news that is positioned only to portray the events as discussed by politicians and celebrities. Rarely are events of actual on-ground news reports surfacing. This is in line with the results obtained when d'Haenens and de Lange concluded that the news coverage majorly aligns with the views of the majorities in the "Framing of Asylum

Table 1. Number of Articles.

From 5 th Aug-5 th Sept	The Hindu	Times of India
Total No. of Articles	233	149
Total No. of Front Page News	121	84

Seekers" Headlines/Front Page News

A disparity is visible in the day to day coverage of the two newspapers. Headlines reach an audience much higher and wider than those who actually read all the articles, as all readers who buy the newspaper will at least glance, if only momentarily, at the headlines [17]. Moreover, their impact is wider than people who actually buy the paper, since headlines are often glimpsed on unrelated occasions [17]. With a greater reach and exposure to more people, headlines are also a stamp of individuality in a source of information that is available on several different agencies and websites. Not just for understanding, but headlines also set a direction for the reader to streamline his thoughts and perceptions that are related to a given set of information. The headline, being one of the primary ways to attract the readers' attention, should above all make the reader curious as to what the article is about, so that it lures the reader into opening the article. Thus, headlines become one of the primary ways that newspapers cannot just influence public opinion, but also mold the basis on which these are held and gives them a push-off point from where to begin ruminating about current affairs. The readers are given not just a jumping-off point to initiate the thought process, but also their thinking is molded a particular way to ensure opinion affiliated to their portrayal of incidents (such as the use of bigger fonts and capitalized words to grant importance to particular subjects)(Poulton, 1967). Therefore, the headline of a newspaper article has two primary functions. The primary function of a headline is to give the reader, who may be just scanning a newspaper, a clear understanding of what the article was about. It can do so by either being an abstract of the full article, or by highlighting the main point of that article. Door notes that headlines are "designed to optimize the relevance of their stories for their readers the second function is the function to attract the attention of the readers and to provoke them to read the article

A greater number of headlines or front page news is the most important current affairs at the moment. Thus, the much greater number of headlines in The Hindu goes to show that it grants greater importance to the events occurring in the valley as compared to the Times. Also, they seek to influence the public opinion by presenting several different points of views (both assent and dissent by thought leaders). The Times sticks to a singular narrative, wherein, the majority of the articles seem to be in favor of the revocation, and dissent is portrayed in a way that is considered to be subjective and an opinion of the minorities.

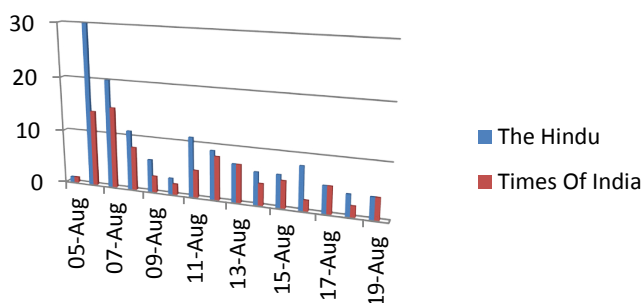
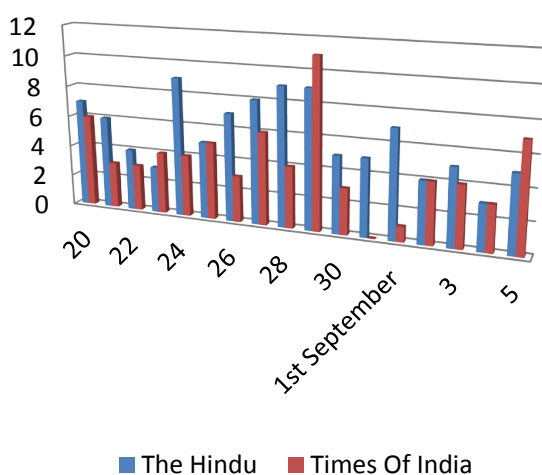
Day-wise breakdown of Headlines covered:

Thus, it can be inferred that the Times grants lesser importance (and hence lesser editorial space) to the revocation of Article 370 and its implications, The Hindu grants greater importance to the events following the revocation, and seems to build a narrative that highlights the negative tenets of the move (by highlighting international dissent, the voice of the opposition as well as the voice of the affected parties in the valley). Moreover, the narratives are staggeringly different, but often ally the news to their own ideologies

Position and Positional Score

A scoring pattern was created to ensure that the position in the newspaper also aided the idea that the broadsheets give most importance to the front page, then international, national, and then the local or city news. Thus, the position of the news item within the newspaper, i.e., which page it appeared, allotted a particular weightage to it. On the basis of position, the news items were also scored to ensure that the political polarity of the broadsheet is cognizant with the news items observed.

Front page—5; editorial page—4; op-ed page—3 and nation pages—2. Further, the same rule was applied to all the news reports. Political items related to Article 370 that were related to local or regional news were not considered as the study focuses on the national perspective of the

**Figure 5.** Articles from 5th -20th number of news articles relevant to article 370.**Figure 6.** Articles from 20th -5th number of articles from 20th august to 5th september.

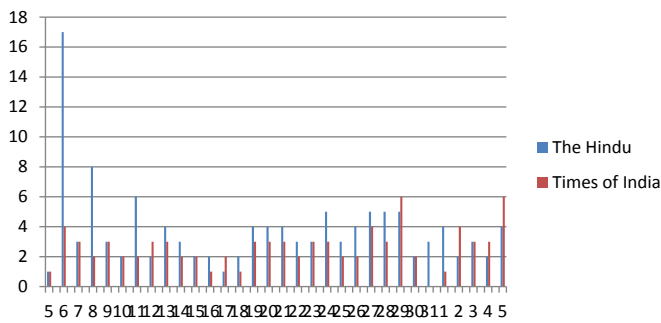


Figure 7. Number of Headlines in both newspapers from 5th August-5th September.

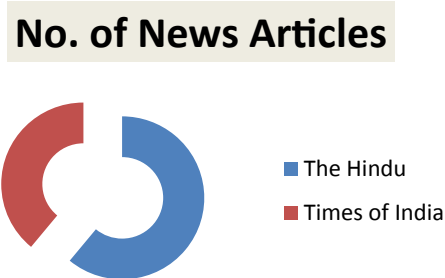


Figure 8. No. of news articles.

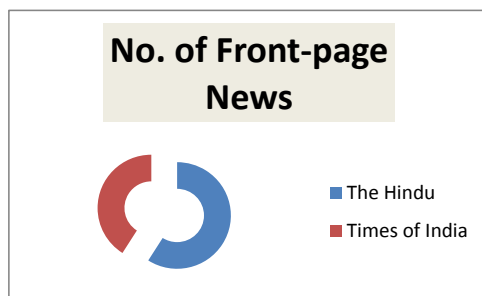


Figure 9. No. of front page news.

revocation. The perspectives play a large role in the creation of frames for the basis of information dissemination on a national level. It is also important to remember that there is a massive difference in the circulation of newspapers, with the Times of India having approximately 2,640,770 daily readers and The Hindu has approximately 1,404,901 daily readers. Thus, the position of the news items will be multiplied by the number of readers to ensure that the total circulation as well as position is considered. This helps the reader understand the holistic coverage of the newspaper, as well as how many people are affected by the same. The circulation is also essential to understand the exact positional score of the papers with respect to the exact readers it reaches.

Thus, for the stipulated month, there were a total of 382 news articles in the two newspapers. The news articles were divided and deciphered based on their position, headlines and keywords, as these factors play a major role in the importance given to the treatment of subjects. For the position, the breakdown of the news pieces is as follows:

There is a major disparity in the number of articles published in both the broadsheets, and this is also exhibited in the difference of the coverage of news related to Article 370 on the front pages, editorials as well as the national news. The disparity in the Opinion-Educational/ International news is negligent. This can be seen clearly in the graphs that highlight the difference in positional scores of the two broadsheets (A common formula of allotting a unified score was applied to each item to alleviate any inherent bias in the data analysis. As per the position scoring, the number of news articles will be multiplied by the allotted scores to give an indication of the importance

Table 2. Number of News Articles and Their Positional Scores.

	Front Page	Editorial	Op-ed/ International	National
The Hindu	96	36	21	84
Scores Based on Positions	480	144	63	168
Times of India	71	13	20	41
Scores Based on Positions	355	52	60	82

granted to the news articles related to Article 370. Thus, the total score for The Hindu is 855 and for The Times of India is 549.

Another critical factor which varied significantly for both the newspapers was the readership and circulation. Hence, orientation scores premeditated for both The Hindu and The Times of India were multiplied by the total readership score to ascertain which party had the edge in news-paper coverage. Considering that there is a major difference in the numbers of circulation of the newspapers, the positional scores become secondary as they reach the audiences in different ways. The spread of Times of India being greater leads to a higher circulation of the newspapers, and the new positional scores, keeping in mind the circulation of the two newspapers are: The Hindu (position x circulation= 31,12,23,420) with an approximate score of Thirty One Crores and The Times of India (position x circulation= 54,10,94,400) with an approximate score of Fifty Four Crores

Thus, while The Hindu beats The Times of India in positional score, it is beaten by Times of India by a margin of Twenty Three Crores in terms of actual score due to the larger numbers of readership base and circulation numbers. The Positional score of the editorial coverage is second to the number of readers that the news can impact, and thus, the Times of India exhibits an advantage in the number of readers it can reach and influence. The greater the coverage and circulation, the greater is the reach of the newspapers to sway the readers' opinions (

Linking of A and B

The newspapers have divergent views since their establishment. However, being the top 2 selling English newspapers, the two broadsheets cater to similar audiences: the English speaking classes, who are considered to be more elite and intellectual than the Hindi reading classes. Media frames can help in closing the sense making gap, or the gap between what one group views as real and what another group experiences. The historical background, the people in charge as well as the motto running the businesses are integral parts of the broadsheets. They are all factors that contribute in making the two broadsheets two different frames that viewed the revocation of Article 370 on August 5th differently.

To ascertain the extent of the gatekeeping theory in streamlining information by news organizations, there are several frames considered as the basis on which this streamlining occurs. Frames are often employed in mass communication, especially in reporting by news organizations. In democratic systems, the mass media have a "complex relationship with power and the political system" (McQuail, D., Golding, P. and De Bens, E., 2005). These frames help us understand the relation that the newspapers have with these political systems, and whether an unbiased unobstructed view of the same is possible. Mass media is not a neutral source of information but it also has the ability to shape public opinion by selecting and structuring the selection of issues (agenda setting) and their treatment (framing) of subjects. These have an immense effect on structuring individuals' beliefs in supporting or rejecting particular policies and to decide what issues are important. This lack of neutrality in evaluation of public figures, and their preferences towards appropriate policy status quo play an active part in the political 'framing' issues in particular ways. The process by which this streamlining is done and the basis on which the frames are created, is evaluated on three main frames: the newspapers' polarity, their reaction to the events taking place in Jammu and Kashmir and their treatment of the local political parties of the

valley.

Distribution of Polarities across the Broadsheets

Since the polarities of the paper have been established, the data substantiates the hypotheses that The Hindu is a left leaning independent newspaper contrasted with The Times of India which is a right-centrist conservative newspaper. Moreover, to ascertain the extent of the polarities, the topics and the newspapers' biases towards the points of view were also detailed. The news articles covered in the one month period following the revocation are noted for the same. Six frames were chosen for categorization of the polarities BJP positive, BJP negative, Article 370 positive, Article 370 negative, J&K local political parties positive and J&K local political parties negative. While reporting news relevant to Article 370 and the events in the valley, if a news

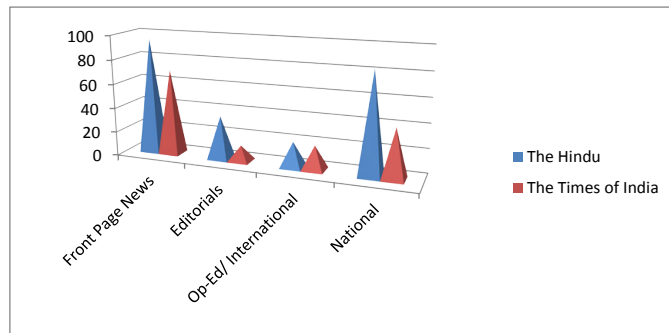


Figure 10. Number of news items in hindu and TOI.

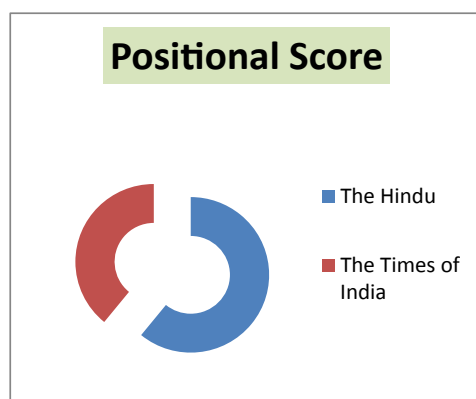


Figure 11. Position x Circulation.

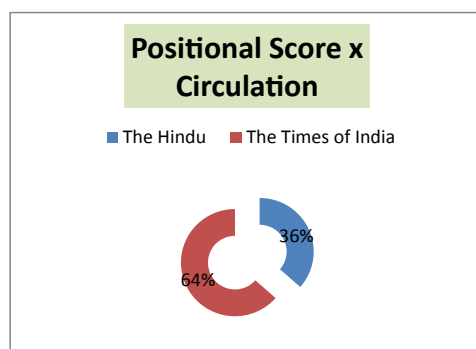


Figure 12. Positional Score.

item presented the view or statement of a party or the views that favor that party, then the news item is classified as positive for that party. If a news item had the mention of a party and was found to be damaging the image of that party, or was the voice of the opposition, it was rated as negative. If a news item was conducive to the political campaign of a party, then it was classified as positive for that party. Positive and negative statements were tracked in news reports to decide their polarity. In case of a mention of more than one party, then the party that was dominantly discussed in the news report was considered. Only news items catering or showing traits relating to a political polarity that is, either positive or negative—were considered for analysis of political orientation of the newspapers. Thus, the total count of political polarities identified in the newspapers was 382. To determine the political orientation of a newspaper, the political polarities identified in its reports with the position scoring attributed to each of the polarity were added. Not just the political orientation, but also the broadsheets' stand on issues relevant to Article 370 and its revocation were analyzed. Also, a Chi square test is conducted, to ensure that this test was required to establish that the variations observed in the frequency of political polarities for the groups exhibits a statistically significant association between party and polarity identified in the papers.

This is the quantitative analysis that supports the hypotheses that the political affiliation of the newspapers affects their coverage of events, especially issues that may be considered contentious

Following the events that occurred in the one month period and the newspapers' coverage of the events highlights their orientation and outlook towards the ruling party, as well as their stance on the Article itself as well as their outlook towards the local political parties of Jammu and Kashmir. A singular score was allotted to all the news articles or editorials, etc. that exhibit a polarity towards or against a particular political party or a stand on a contentious issue. From the table, we can ascertain that the news of the BJP (both positive and negative) occupied 79.6% (304/382) of the total coverage of events related to the move on 5th August. The issues related to provisions of Article 370, its contentious history, etc occupied 17.3% (66/382) of the total news coverage. The local political parties of Jammu and Kashmir occupied just 3.1% (9/382) of the total news coverage. Thus, according to the postulates put forth by Van Dijk, it is true that the news related to minorities is often viewed only in terms of political coverage and sensationalism. The Muslims of Kashmir are treated as the "Others", and even though the issue was the revocation of Article 370, the Article itself was not the most discussed aspect (The overall scores in all the polarities were added up. The task at hand is then to understand the polarity of the newspaper with regards to the Bharatiya Janata Party (the ruling party), Article 370 and the local political parties of Jammu and Kashmir. To

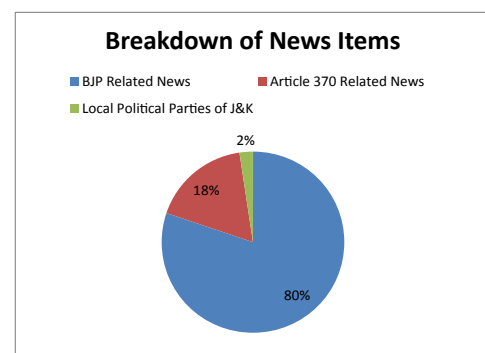


Figure 13. Breakdown of news items.

Table 3. Frames for Broadsheets.

	BJP Positive	BJP Negative	Article 370 Positive	Article 370 Negative	J&K Local Political Parties Positive	J&K Political Parties Negative
The Hindu	66	119	25	14	8	1
Times of India	77	42	4	23	-	3

ascertain this, the negative scores were subtracted from the positive scores to get the positivity scores for all three criteria, i.e., the coverage of BJP stories, stories related to Article 370 and the newspapers' outlook towards the local political parties of Jammu and Kashmir. The results obtained align with the assumptions that the newspapers have different outlooks when it comes to certain issues. The Times of India is considered to be right-centrist and generally seen as aligning with the ruling powers. It is known for its sensationalism and aversion to elitist news as well as intellectual editorials. The Hindu is known for its left leaning bias and intellectualism, which is especially visible in its coverage of the Kashmir issue, with several news items giving an implicit nod to Article 370, as well as a slight support for local political parties. These bases were used to create different alignments and categories under which most of the news fall. These categories were used to define the political orientation of the paper with respect to these issues. The political orientation of the paper is identified based on the three coordinates of positivity scores of the two parties (wsqze

The results of the quantitative framing analysis of the coverage of the revocation of Article 370 in The Hindu and The Times of India demonstrate that the newspapers slightly differed in framing issues related to the Article concurrent to their ideological slanting and political inclination (

Against this backdrop, the three frames were determined and investigated in light of the recent events relating to Article 370. Statistically significant differences were found across the three frames. The analysis of the categories and the news article in each of the categories reveal the biases of both the newspapers. The findings are also statistically significant in terms of understanding:

Party v. Polarity

The news items were divided into categories that held positive or negative views about the ruling political party. Bharatiya Janata Party is the majority ruling party in the national government. Thus, any news item that attempts to show it in a positive way can be said to be holding a bias; if the positive news items massively outnumber the negative news items. These news items may not be overtly praising the ruling party, but may employ tactics such as quoting politicians who are praising the party, a negative opinion of the opposition, praise of related events when talking about a certain issue, and showcasing only some portions of events to influence public opinion a certain way. In this way, gatekeeping is done to promote a positive image of the ruling party. This may also be done by praising affiliated parties of the ruling government as well as praising other good things that the government has done, and linking it to this decision. Such as: The Times of India on the 6th of August praised the revocation of Article 370, it titled a news report on the same as: "After triple talaq & RTI, BJD backs Govt on Kashmir". The Hindu, on the other hand, highlighted the distress of the Kashmiri's post

the abrogation in accordance with Schon's postulate wherein he says that newspapers may show their dissonance with the Government's decision by highlighting the issues that minorities (Kashmiri Muslims) face on ground. This includes several editorials that are headlined: "Kashmiris fear new bout of violence" and "I just want to tell Ammi I am fine". The Hindu also covered the negative impacts of the revocation of Article 370 to a greater degree and (often) construed the on-ground realities as distress calls from Kashmir.

For each news report, a score of 1 was allotted to understand the relation between the polarity of the newspaper with respect to the political party in question (BJP). The Hindu obtained a negative score of -53, thus rendering it negative in polarity in terms of the news coverage of Article 370 and the party's decision to revoke it. The Times of India obtained a positive score of 35, rendering it positive in its coverage of the ruling government's decision to revoke Article 370.

Broadsheet v. Article 370

Article 370 has a long and contentious history. Not just in religion, but even Pakistan has made the area a long-standing war in regards to the countries' sharing borders (Schofield, 2010). In this way, agenda setting and framing are utilized as major tools of power (even with how their relationship is in regards to the party in power at the moment), thus these frames exhibit explicit news slants on the basis of this bias (Entman, March 2007). The newspapers being the two largest English language broadsheets in the nation, are responsible for informing all the citizens of the issues ongoing in the valley, as well as how these issues may affect people in other areas of the nation. The Hindu, on the 6th of August utilized the headlines: "Move sparks fears in the northeastern region". This was later followed up on 7th of August by the headlines: J&K fuels statehood hopes in northeast. The Hindu lived up to its task of informing the nation of what the Article's revocation entails for the rest of the country. The Times of India focuses more on the politics of the move, as well as how certain politicians and people in power react to the news, and what it entails for the people in power.

Article 370 includes Article 35(a), which essentially defines the special status of the residents of Jammu and Kashmir, replete with its own flag, special provisions, and right to own government. It also grants special allowances like no one from any other part of the country can own property in the state. Thus any newspaper that shows Article 370 in a positive manner is directly or indirectly in support of the special status provided to the residents of the (former) state. This includes news that shows the on-ground violence from resident Kashmiris' after the revocation of special status, any endangering of lives in the valley, the patrolling and the additional security in the state as excessive or even forceful or an article that supports the claim of any leader who speaks in support of the provisions of the Article and may use words like unconstitutional, arbitrary, etc. Any news item that hints at or mentions the words "freedom, rejoice, bloom" when speaking of the revocation of the Article are taken as being negative: as in negative in its treatment of Article 370, and positive for its revocation. This positioning gives the score of Positive 11 to The Hindu (implying that it holds Article 370 as positive and, thus, its revocation as negative) and The Times of India that has a negative score of -19 (implying that it holds Article 370 as negative and, thus, its revocation as positive).

Polarity v. Local Political Parties

The major local political parties of Jammu and Kashmir include the Indian National Congress, Bharatiya Janata Party, Jammu & Kashmir National Conference (NC) and The Jammu and Kashmir Peoples Democratic Party (PDP). These parties were referred to when speaking of the local political parties in Jammu and Kashmir, with special preference given to NC and PDP, as several mainstream leaders from the parties were detained, and

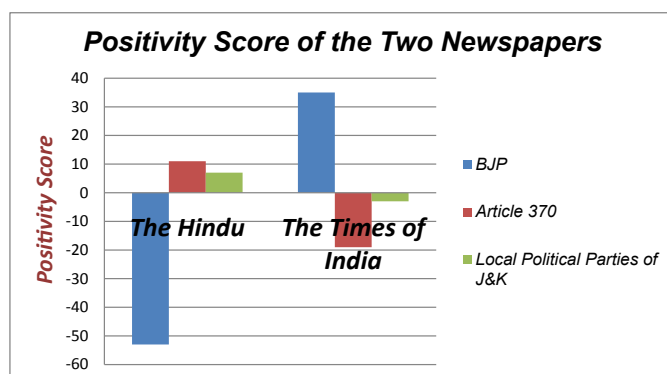


Figure 14. Positivity score of the the Hindu and times of India.

Table 4. Positivity Score.

	BJP (Positive-Negative)	Article 370 (Positive-Negative)	Local Political Parties (Positive-Negative)
The Hindu	-53	11	7
Times of India	35	-19	-3

held under house arrest. Moreover, these parties were local to the state, and did not function anywhere outside the former state. In the first news article itself (prior to the revocation of Article 370), the two newspapers formed different opinions of the events concerning the local parties as well as their political leaders. On the 5th of August, The Hindu covered the detention of the leaders with an objective headline: "J&K leaders put under house arrest". In the news article, the leaders were prefixed with Mr. and Mrs. Also, the 'Gupkar Resolution' (A joint resolution of all political parties of the state was mentioned as opposing the revocation of Article 370). The Times of India headlines the article by calling it turmoil, and states: "J&K turmoil: Mehbooba Mufti, Omar Abdullah not to be allowed to move out of house, say officials". Moreover, there is no mention of the resolution, and the tweet of Mehbooba Mufti is directly followed by a counter argument presented by a BJP leader. These are some bases on which the scores of the newspaper are allotted as being positive or negative in their coverage of the local political parties of J&K.

With a score of 1 allotted to the articles, The Hindu has a positive score of 7 and The Times of India has a negative score of -3. Thus, the papers show a positive and negative inclination towards the local political parties respectively. This is in line with the assumption that The Times of India pays attention to news that is sensational, with little attention and empathy given to the local political parties, even if they are in a critical situation. The Hindu, with its left-leaning inclination offers a sympathetic representation of the local political parties. Sometimes, going even further than required, and naming the minority parties' leaders specifically.

Tests Conducted On Data

Chi-Square test

The Chi Square statistic was first invented by Karl Pearson in the 19th century to analyze the similarities in biological data found in his studies. It is a statistic used to test the relationships between categorical variables, especially to understand the kind of relationship the categories have with each other (McHugh, 2013). For every Chi-square test, a null hypothesis is created which has two answers and depends on whether the data is dependent or independent of each other. The Chi-Square statistic is often used to analyze Tests of Independence when using a cross tabulation, or to understand the correlation between two categorical data sets. Thus, cross tabulation refers to the distributions of two categorical values, with the common points of the variables visible in the table cells. For the two categories, the Test of Independence or dependence seeks to analyze whether an association exists in the two variables by contrasting the observed pattern of responses in the cells of one table to the pattern that would be expected if the variables were in fact proved to be free and different from each other. Calculating the Chi-Square statistic and comparing it against a critical value from the Chi-Square distribution allows the researcher to assess whether the observed cell counts are significantly different from the expected cell counts.

The calculation of the Chi-Square statistic is done using the formula:

$$\chi^2 = \sum \frac{(f_o - f_e)^2}{f_e}$$

Equation 1: Chi Square Test Formula

- f_o = the observed frequency (the observed counts in the cells)
- f_e = the expected frequency if NO relationship existed between the variables

Thus, the Chi-Square statistic is based on the relation between the variables as they are observed and what the expected variables would be if no relationship existed between the variables.

In this case, the Chi-square test is employed to understand the variance in the two broadsheets The Hindu and Times of India in the one month post the abrogation of Article 370. To eliminate all bias and ensure that the answer procured proves that there is a significant statistical association between the variables. However, one criterion for the Chi-square test is foregone,

as all the categories and their values don't have a value greater than 5. However, the results remain significant; the discretion is up to the reader. This is employed in three different cases where the hypothesis is measured against the value of 0.05. For the Times of India and The Hindu, the Chi Square Test tests three hypotheses:

There is a relation between the newspapers' polarity and the ruling party (BJP)

This hypothesis is tested by computing the news articles that are positive and negative in their treatment of the party. The results of the Chi-square test exhibited a statistically significant association between party and polarity as seen in the two newspapers [$\chi^2(1) = 304, p < 0.05$]. This test establishes that the variations observed in the coverage of the frequency of the Bharatiya Janata Party did not occur just by chance. This proves the hypotheses that the newspapers are not independent in their polarity in regards to the ruling party.

The newspapers have a particular stand on Article 370 and the coverage of the same is dependent on the stance

This hypothesis is tested by computing the news articles that are positive and negative in their treatment of Article 370. They have exhibited a positive and negative treatment of the decision to revoke the Article and the results of the Chi-square test reveal that there is a statistically significant correlation between the newspaper and its treatment of Article 370. As observed, $\chi^2(1) = 66$ and $p < 0.05$ (7.2886E-05). This test establishes that the variations observed in the coverage of Article 370 did not occur just by chance. (Article 370 goes beyond the government's decision to revoke it and takes into account the treatment of the newspaper of the events on-ground before the revocation of Article 370.) Moreover, the papers have gone beyond minimal coverage of the events in the valley and taken into consideration the effects of Article 370 on the lives of the citizens, and portrayed those in a positive or negative effect.

There is a relation between the newspapers' polarity and the local political parties of Jammu and Kashmir

For this, the hypothesis was tested by computing the news articles that are positive and negative in their treatment of the local political parties of Jammu and Kashmir. They have exhibited a positive and negative treatment of the decisions and statements given by party members. The results of the Chi-square test reveal that there is a statistically significant correlation between the newspaper and its treatment of Article 370. As observed, $\chi^2(1) = 12$ and $p < 0.05$ (0.004678). This test establishes that the variations observed in the coverage of the local parties are statistically significant as the chi square value is sufficient to distinguish a statistically significant association between the newspaper and the local parties. Moreover, as the p value is lesser than 0.05, even if the values are less than 5, it is considered to be dependent and the values can be linked to each other.

The hypotheses were categories built upon the assumptions that the broadsheets catered to due to their political leanings. In all three cases, the assumptions proved true and it proved to be a statistically significant association.

Moreover, The Hindu proved to be negative in its treatment of the ruling party, while The Times of India proved to be positive. Similarly, The Hindu was positive in its treatment of Article 370 and its repercussions in the valley; the Times of India was negative in its treatment of Article 370 and thus was positive in the coverage of its revocation. As regards to a positive frame, The Times of India covered more stories than The Hindu. Thus, The Hindu covered more number of stories with negative frames than the Times of India. The Article 370 positive frame is prevalent more in The Hindu and negative frame more in The Times of India. The Times of India has proven, even in the past, to slant more towards oppressor, sensational and media trial frames (Ahmad Afaq, 2018).

Conclusion

In an ideal scenario, media organizations should be impartial and unobstructed. The stands taken by the papers and partisan political orientation expressed in its coverage should be free from external political and cultural influence. However, there are many hindrances to the press in the current political and economical scenario. The problem of revenue generation is one such problem, and rigidity based on set ideological biases another. The Times of India and The Hindu are two of the most prestigious newspapers of the country. With rich histories dating back over a century, The Times of India and The Hindu are the media giants of the country and an essential tool for disseminating information to the citizens. However, even the most exalted newspapers fall prey to certain predispositions. This aspect of the media is explored in this research, and the assumptions of the political leanings proved to be true. The effect of these prejudices is, thus, studied in light of the coverage of revocation of Article 370. Since a lot has been assumed about the newspapers already, numerical data seeks to support certain hypotheses, and dispel certain assumptions. Thus, substantial differences occur in the reporting by newspapers on issues depending on the financial interests of their corporate proprietors, which includes corporate and political influences. With respect to the research objectives, the following deductions have been made:

The study reveals that print media is essential to understand the current affairs in a country. The media does act as the fourth pillar of democracy, but there are certain limitations in its functions visible in the study. The revocation of Article 370, 35(a) and the Jammu and Kashmir Reorganization Act, 2019 had severe repercussions. The lack of local coverage was an added bane, as the newspapers had little insight of the valley. The mainstream newspapers showed a bias in the reporting of the events taking place in the valley, where no singular narrative was discernible. Though the coverage on the revocation seems to be adequate, there is a massive gap in the reporting of the issues in the two newspapers. In light of the history and political slant of The Hindu and The Times of India, the biases became apparent. When the background of the newspapers was considered, their stands on officialdom and contention became apparent. The Times of India has proven that its inclination towards the oppressor, sensational and media trial frames has more priority over coverage of actual conditions present in the valley. Similarly, The Hindu has also given priority to politics and politicians' opinions about the decision to revoke the contentious Article rather than on-ground actualities concerning the residents of the valley. While the two newspapers often contradict each other and have differing allegiances, both often resort to toeing the Government's line. With histories spanning over a century, and both newspapers having done wonders in the journalism realm, the newspapers even had several compelling stories about the plight of the Kashmiri's, but as it often happens with issues of contention, the voice of the ones most affected were muted. The assumptions of the newspapers being an 'independent left-leaning newspaper' (The Hindu) and a 'right-centrist conservative newspaper' (The Times of India) were investigated and found to be accurate. The left leaning and right-centrist views become apparent when scrutinized in the background of Article 370. While the Times of India covered the revocation of Article 370 in all its glory, The Hindu sought to cover the opposition's reactions as well as the consequences of the revocation on the everyday citizens. Moreover, their policies and treatment of news items were understood, as well as their past allegiance to particular blocs. These policies formed the basis of their participation in the gatekeeping theory and the paid news phenomenon. While the paid news phenomenon was more prevalent in The Times of India, with its inception of "private treaties", gatekeeping was utilized by both the newspapers to filter the information present and tailor it according to their own ideology.

The gatekeeping theory from the news organization's standpoint begins with selecting the events to be presented, molding news items, and disseminating them through proper channels. For one event to become a news item requires a series of activities-observations, decisions, serendipity, creativity, constraints and facilitators, and a good share of luck(Shoemaker, 2014). Gatekeeping becomes a tool utilized by the newspapers to portray a specific narrative in their favor. This is exhibited in the coverage of the ruling party (and other parties to whom the newspapers are predisposed towards) by the two newspapers. While there may not be outright support of a particular

decision, the point of view is exhibited by using tactics such as implicit nods to a decision. Through gatekeeping, the newspapers filtered a lot of information about the events in the valley to suit their predispositions. Often, the news was the highlighting of a particular part of the news that the newspapers utilized to further their own agenda, or the agenda with which their allegiance lies (the journalists become mere stenographers to the powerful). With this filtering of news, it becomes apparent which stand the newspapers wish to take, and in some cases, the items that weren't covered were more essential (such as more coverage of news articles that may cast a negative opinion on a particular decision by covering the increase of disagreement caused by it). We can infer that gatekeeping is not a random process. Rather, it involves several steps of complex levels in operations that pervade news production and dissemination process(Shoemaker, 2014). Gatekeeping thus essentially defines news as we see it today. Moreover, gatekeeping is heavily influenced by the revenue accrual. The newspapers need to be somewhat complicit towards the investors that pay the most to them. They will feel that they owe the investors news in the form of excess coverage or lesser coverage of controversial activities. This is visible in the left-leaning approach of The Hindu and the coverage of the Sobha Developers and the ruling party in The Times of India. While The Hindu also receives high revenue from the government in terms of advertisements, The Times of India receives the highest of all English papers, and this can be a reason for their favorable coverage of the governmental activities. This was also an issue of contention as the newspapers when covering negative stories of the government were banned from receiving allocation of the advertising revenue. This is a method by which the government has at-least partial influence over the narrative put forth by (and how it can control the behavior of) mainstream newspapers.

The allegiance of the newspapers to its investors is also understood in the light of the paid news phenomenon and how these newspapers have (even in the past) taken opposing stands on this issue as well. While Times of India endorses the paid news phenomenon, even claiming it as its own invention with the advent of 'Private Treaties', The Hindu exposed several election-time tampering related to this phenomenon, using the case of the former Chief Minister of Maharashtra Shri Ashok Chavan wherein the electoral campaign was conducted in a biased manner in newspapers during September-October 2009. Moreover, massive portions of the advertising revenues are detailed and included in Government advertising, but the figures that account for publicity in the same newspapers is much greater. The disparity between the publicity revenue allocation for the newspapers and the costs accrued in government advertisements in the same newspapers is too much not to be accounted. The difference can be understood in several ways, one being paid news. While no political party or business conglomerate admits to partaking in the paid news phenomenon, it is prevalent almost everywhere. The margin is a difference between Rs. 4343 Crore and Rs. 230 Crore. Downplaying of significant issues in the current media is one effect of this phenomenon, another is the prevalence of excessive influence wherein 20% of the reporters felt that they had to change certain stories due to influence from owners or advertisers, while 7% reported some advertiser pressure news content. The news items supposed to be curated as paid news have been identified and analyzed in the context of Article 370. While it remains hard to discern exactly what constitutes paid news, the use of flowery language, and excessive praising was used as a signifier for the phenomenon. The newspapers stands on the contentious issue were thus also analyzed, by using the different kinds of frames that the newspapers adopted while covering the events related to Article 370. The gatekeeping process thus closely follows the paid news phenomenon, wherein the newspaper owes some sort of allegiance to the investor that pays the most, and must filter (gatekeeping) and portray (paid news) current affairs accordingly.

The results further demonstrate that the newspapers differed in the treatment of the conditions related to Article 370. This can be pinned to their history, allegiances, gatekeeping process and ideological slanting, and it manifests in different ways. These include: the news items that cover the Article 370; prevalence of political/ actual frames; positive or negative coverage of the events; headlines utilized; position of the editorial space, etc.

To ascertain the treatment of Article 370 by the newspapers, the units of analyses were taken as the number of news articles and front-page news pertaining to the Article. The Hindu has covered greater number of stories in the entire one-month period than the Times of India. The total news items related to Article 370 in The Hindu were 233 and The Times of India were 149 respectively. Also, an identification of frames proved that The Hindu covered more negative frames and the Times of India covered more positive frames. The Times of India also proved to have a bias towards oppressor, sensational and ruling party positive frames. While The Hindu employed the use of news articles that cast a negative opinion on a government agenda by covering the increase of discrepancy caused by it, as proposed by D. Schon in 1996. Thus, the employment of opposing frames helps the reader understand how the media may be motivated by certain biases and report on an issue according to its set ideology.

The employment of greater headlines is also another way to show the importance given by a newspaper to a certain issue. Headlines become one of the primary ways that newspapers cannot just influence public opinion, but also mold the basis on which these are held and gives them a push-off point from where to begin ruminating about current affairs. Moreover, their thinking is molded a particular way to ensure opinion affiliated to their portrayal of incidents (such as the use of bigger fonts and capitalized words to grant importance to particular subjects. A greater number of headlines or front-page news is an indication of the most important current affairs of the moment. It is a sign of what constitutes the most important news of the day. Thus, it can be inferred that the much greater number of headlines in The Hindu goes to show that it grants greater importance to the events occurring in the valley as compared to the Times. In this case, there were 121 headlines pertaining to Article 370 in The Hindu and 84 headlines in The Times of India.

In the study, the use of positional scores was also employed to understand the exact value of the coverage given to the revocation of Article 370. A scoring technique of allotting different scores to Front page news; Editorials; Op-ed/ International and National news was utilized. The maximum score of 5 was allotted to Front Page news, and the others were allotted in descending order. This helps the reader analyze the importance given to an issue by the newspaper, by allocation of a set score. Using this calculation, The Hindu had a positional score of 855 and the Times of India had 549. Once the positional score was posited, it was imperative to understand the total news coverage that the newspaper could reach, i.e., the total people that each article would affect. This helped the reader to understand the importance of each news item, and the exact number of people who would read it. Thus, the positional score was multiplied by the total circulation. In this case, there was a massive disparity in the total news coverage, as The Hindu had much fewer readers compared to The Times of India. The Hindu had a positional score of approximately 31 Crores and The Times of India had a score of approximately 54 Crores. The study found that the total score allocation differed greatly in the two sources, and thus impacted different audiences in different ways. By giving certain or restricted editorial space to an issue, the newspaper can control whether the issue is of great importance to the readers (by allotting it space on the front-page or editorial sections) or relegate its importance by allotting space in only national or op-ed pages. The results may have far-reaching implications and raise further questions about the mode of communication that people depend on to receive their news.

To ascertain the extent of the gatekeeping theory in streamlining information by news organizations, there are several frames considered as the basis on which this streamlining occurs. Frames are often employed in mass communication, especially in reporting by news organizations. In democratic systems, the mass media have a "complex relationship with power and the political system" (McQuail, D., Golding, P. and De Bens, E., 2005). These frames help us understand the relation that the newspapers have with these political systems, and whether an unbiased unobstructed view of the same is possible. Mass media has the ability to shape public opinion by selecting and structuring the selection of issues (agenda setting) and their treatment (framing) of subjects. Three frames were identified to understand

the disparity in the outlook of the two newspapers. These frames were analyzed in the context of: Party V. Polarity; Paper V. Article 370 and Paper V. Local Political Parties of J&K. When compounding the data for the same, it was found that almost 80% of the entire news in the one month period was related to the political parties and the politics of the decision. The Frames put in place were BJP Positive and Negative, Article 370 Positive and Negative, and Local Political Parties of J&K Positive and Negative. It was witnessed that the BJP stories occupied the maximum space (79.6%), followed by Article 370 stories (17.3%) and Local political parties of Jammu and Kashmir occupied the least space (3.1%). This posited Van Dijk's theory that news related to minorities is often viewed only in terms of political coverage and sensationalism. The Muslims of Kashmir are treated as the "Others", and even though the issue was the revocation of Article 370, the Article itself was not the most discussed aspect.

A positivity score was also conducted on the news items. This score was obtained after computing the positive and negative scores of the newspapers' polarities in the three frames. The Hindu had a negative score in the coverage of BJP, while the Times of India had a positive score. For the coverage of Article 370, the Times of India had a negative score, while The Hindu has a positive score. For the local political parties of J&K, the positive score was for The Hindu and negative score for The Times of India.

Further, the hypotheses were verified with the Chi-Square Test. The results of the Chi-square test exhibited a statistically significant association between party and polarity as seen in the two newspapers [$\chi^2(1) = 304, p < 0.05$], i.e., the newspapers are not independent in their polarity in regards to the ruling party. Similarly, a statistically significant correlation existed between the newspaper and its treatment of Article 370 [$\chi^2(1) = 66$ and $p < 0.05$ (7.2886E-05)]. This test establishes that the papers have taken into consideration the effects of Article 370 on the lives of the citizens, and portrayed those in a positive or negative effect and there is a statistical association between the newspaper and its coverage of Article 370. Lastly, in terms of local political parties of Jammu and Kashmir, the data was found to also found to be statistically significant with $p < 0.05$ (0.004678). Thus, a statistically significant association exists between the newspapers and their coverage of the local political parties of J&K (even though the assumption of the values of each category being over 5 is violated).

Suggestions for further research may include a scope of the incumbency orientation of the newspapers over a longer period. A similar issue of contention must be sought, based on which the research should be conducted by a quantitative study of pictorial and graphical identifications of the number of articles. A follow-up study in other newspapers will also help in understanding the structural differences and biases present in the media. A similar study that is based in periods of elections or other contentious issue can be essential to reveal the political partisanship of the newspapers, followed up by a likelihood ratio test.

Limitations of The Study

For this content analytical study, news items published on the issue of Article 370 in The Hindu and The Times of India newspapers were subject to analysis. The identification of the political slant and the stance of the newspapers on Article 370 were extrapolated. To aid the analysis, tabulation of the headlines and total articles were also examined. Thus certain limitations follow the decision to include certain news items and discard others, these include:

- Only the articles related to the revocation of Article 370 were included and the stories involving regional politics published in local newspapers were excluded, as the study encompasses the distinction in reporting on the revocation, on a national level.

According to the Registrar of Newspapers for India, the total number of registered English newspapers published in 2011 was 1406 (Boynton, 1952). Considering the basic tenets of the present study, only the top two English daily newspapers were analyzed. It was not possible to extrapolate from the sampled newspapers, the extent of disparity in the rest of the

newspapers by using statistical tests.

The study period, 5th August-5th September, only represent the events following the revocation of Article 370 for a month. It was, however, a decisive time to identify the political orientation of the newspapers, and how it affects this specific issue.

This study is instructive because not only does it contribute to the literature on media representations of the abrogation of Article 370, but it illustrates the complexity of frames by showing how frames compete with each other among views on a single issue (Ungar, 1998). These frames are then used as a basis for the quantitative analysis, and may be a result of certain pre-conceived notions.

The Chi-Square test gives an insight into the distinctions of the newspapers in reporting on a contentious issue, on the basis of their ideology and political slant. The views of the newspapers on a contentious issue may seem to be statistically insignificant to show a clear slant, but the utilizing of frames for three criteria aims to appease this issue.

One limitation arises in the Chi-square Test (Goodness of Faith) since the assumption in all the tests for the goodness of faith is that each category should have a value greater than 5, it falls short in the two tests. The Goodness of Faith Test holds true, but, it leaves certain space for human error.

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How to cite this article: Anshda Raj. "Comparative Analysis of the Hindu and Times of India Post the Abrogation of Article 370." *J Mass Communicat Journalism* 11 (2021): 429.