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A COMPARATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS OF THE COVERAGE OF RELIGIOUS MINORITIES IN PAKISTANI PRESS

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Abstract

Usually, Pakistani newspapers cover minority issues rigorously however with a lot of care. Given the history of violation and misuse of blasphemy laws, the journalists and media outlets generally narrate the issues and mention facts and figures in quote and quote forms. However, during the last few years, with an extreme of human rights violations against religious minorities in Pakistan, the national media has taken up the issue quite candidly and bluntly. This research papers explores and analyses the news coverage of the religious minorities given by top three newspapers in Pakistan namely; Dawn, The Express Tribune and The News International. We have used qualitative and quantitative content analysis to explore and analyze the news coverage of the religious minorities in Pakistan by the selected newspapers during December 01, 2022 to December 31, 2024. Our findings show that all the selected newspapers provided a detailed and in-depth coverage to the issue related to religious minorities such as; attacks on worship places of the religious minorities, the misuse of blasphemy laws, legion based discrimination, social dynamics of the minorities, legal challenges faced by the minorities etc. Additionally, we found out that all the newspapers gave space to the voices raised in favour of rule of law to safeguard the minority rights and religious harmony in the country.

INTRODUCTION

Pakistan is a South Asian country with a rich and diverse cultural heritage, including various religious communities. While Islam is the predominant religion, religious minorities, such as Hindus, Christians, Sikhs, Buddhists, and others, have been an integral part of Pakistan's social fabric. The partition of India in 1947 led to the creation of Pakistan as a separate homeland for Muslims. This development significantly impacted the religious demography of the region, as millions of non-

Muslims chose to migrate to India. Despite being envisioned as a nation where religious minorities would enjoy equal rights, Pakistan's history has been marked by tensions and violence against these communities (Zaidi, 2017). The Constitution of Pakistan provides legal protections for religious minorities. Article 20 guarantees freedom of religion, while Article 36 ensures the protection of religious sites. The Supreme Court has also played a role in safeguarding minority rights (Haider, 2018). However, these legal safeguards are often inadequately enforced, leading to various challenges for religious minorities.

Christians are the largest religious minority in Pakistan, making up about 2% of the population. They have faced persecution and discrimination for centuries. In recent years, there has been an increase in violence against Christians, including attacks on churches and schools (Rizvi, 2016). Hindus are the second-largest religious minority in Pakistan, making up about 1.5% of the population. They have also faced persecution and discrimination for centuries. In recent years, there has been an exodus of Hindus from Pakistan due to the increasing hostility towards them (Haider, 2018). Sikhs are a small religious minority in Pakistan, making up about 0.5% of the population (International, 2023 April 11). They have also faced persecution and discrimination, but their situation has improved somewhat in recent years. Ahmadis are a non-Muslim minority that is considered heretical by the majority of Muslims. They are not legally recognized as Muslims in Pakistan and face severe persecution. Ahmadis are banned from using Islamic symbols and from publicly professing their faith (Freedom, 2023 June 16). They are also often targets of violence and harassment.

One of the most significant challenges facing religious minorities in Pakistan is the lack of constitutional protection. The Constitution of Pakistan declares Islam to be the state religion and guarantees the freedom of religion to all citizens. However, this freedom is subject to "public order, morality or health." This means that the government can restrict religious freedom if it deems it necessary to protect public order or morality. This lack of constitutional protection has led to a number of laws and policies that discriminate against religious minorities (Hussain, 2018). For example, the blasphemy laws are used to target and persecute non-Muslims and Shia Muslims. These laws make it a crime to defame or insult Islam and carry a maximum penalty of death.

Another challenge facing religious minorities in Pakistan is the rise of religious extremism. In recent years, there has been an increase in the number of violent attacks against religious minorities. These attacks are often carried out by extremist groups such as the Taliban and Lashkar-e-Taiba (Rizvi, 2016). The rise of religious extremism has created a climate of fear and intimidation for religious minorities. Many religious minorities feel unsafe and live in fear of being attacked. This has led to a number of religious minorities fleeing Pakistan in search of a better life.

Religious minorities in Pakistan often face economic disparities, which are exacerbated by discrimination. They have limited access to education, healthcare, and employment opportunities, making them vulnerable to poverty and exploitation. Economic inequalities further perpetuate social divisions (Haider, 2018). Despite the challenges they face, religious minorities play an important role in Pakistani society. They contribute to the country's economy, culture, and diversity. Religious minorities are also at the forefront of the fight for human rights and democracy in Pakistan.

Improving interfaith relations is essential to fostering a more inclusive society in Pakistan. Civil society organizations, religious leaders, and government initiatives can play a crucial role in promoting dialogue and understanding between different religious communities. Interfaith dialogue platforms, such as the Pakistan Council for Interfaith Harmony, aim to bridge divides and promote peace. Despite constitutional guarantees, religious minorities in Pakistan often face discrimination in various aspects of life, including education, employment, and housing (Ahmed, 2015). Pakistan's blasphemy laws have been a source of controversy and have been misused to target religious minorities. Accusations of blasphemy can lead to violence and even death (Rizvi, 2016).

There have been cases of forced conversions of religious minority girls, particularly Hindus and Christians, which raise concerns about religious freedom and the protection of minority rights

(Ahmed, 2015). Religious minority communities have been subjected to violence, attacks on their places of worship, and mob violence, leading to fear and insecurity (Hussain, 2018). Many religious minorities in Pakistan face economic hardship and limited access to education and healthcare, making it difficult for them to improve their socio-economic status (Zaidi, 2017).

Religious minorities in Pakistan have been persecuted and discriminated against for decades. This persecution has taken many forms, including violence, harassment, social exclusion, and legal discrimination. One of the most common forms of persecution is violence. Religious minorities are often the targets of mob attacks, church burnings, and other forms of violence (International, 2023 April 11). In recent years, there has been an increase in the number of suicide bombings and other terrorist attacks targeting religious minorities.

Another common form of persecution is harassment. Religious minorities are often subjected to verbal abuse, threats, and intimidation. They are also often discriminated against in terms of employment, education, and housing. Religious minorities are also often excluded from social and political life. They are often denied the opportunity to participate in government or to hold public office. They are also often denied the opportunity to participate in religious and cultural activities. The legal system in Pakistan also discriminates against religious minorities (Freedom, 2023 June 16). The blasphemy laws, which were originally designed to protect religious minorities from discrimination, are now used to silence and persecute them. The Ahmadi community is also legally discriminated against (Rizvi, 2016).

Persecution of religious minorities in Pakistan has had a devastating impact on their lives. Many religious minorities live in fear of violence and harassment. They are often denied access to education and employment opportunities. They are also often excluded from social and political life. The persecution of religious minorities has also had a negative impact on Pakistan as a whole. It has created a climate of fear and intolerance. It has also damaged Pakistan's reputation abroad. Religious minorities in Pakistan have long faced challenges, including discrimination, violence, and socioeconomic disparities. Legal protections exist, but they are often inadequately enforced. To build a more inclusive and harmonious society, Pakistan must take steps to strengthen legal safeguards, promote education and awareness, improve economic conditions, and foster interfaith relations. By doing so, Pakistan can better uphold its commitment to protect the rights and dignity of all its citizens, regardless of their religious beliefs. The persecution of religious minorities in Pakistan is a serious problem. It is a violation of human rights and a threat to peace and security in the country. The Pakistani government must take action to protect religious minorities and to promote tolerance and understanding.

Keeping in view the significance of the issue, we have attempted to explore and analyze how did the selected Pakistani newspapers cover religious minorities and issues related to them during December 2022 to December 2024. Therefore, our main research questions are as follows;

- How did the selected Pakistani newspapers including; the *Dawn*, *The Express Tribune* and *The News International* cover religious minorities in Pakistan during December 01, 2022 to December 31, 2024?
- What are the major problems/issues highlighted by the selected newspapers regarding religious minorities in Pakistan during time period under study?

LITERATURE REVIEW

The United States owes it to people who defend religious freedom around the globe to show solidarity with individuals who share these values as a nation built on that principle. Radical Islam's globalization, especially in South Asia, has resulted in a sharp rise in the persecution of Christians worldwide including Pakistan. Rather than concentrating on local issues, it is essential to take into account global risks to the community in order to protect human rights (Newman, 2014). The international community must stand up for Christians in Pakistan who are being persecuted for their faith because of the country's extreme brutality and prejudice (*Open Doors*, 2023, November 17). This is a fundamental human right that ought to be protected for the sake of all other unalienable

liberties, not a political or religious one. To safeguard the protection of every person and to preserve fundamental rights, the international community must take action.

Despite its significance, the American public doesn't seem to be aware of the problem of worldwide Christian persecution. This ignorance results from both a lack of knowledge and disinterest (Finch, 2013). It is important to have an unbiased and critical opinion while addressing the issue of persecution of Christians around the globe. As a nation whose foundation was built on religion, it is very important to fight for the rights that our forefathers struggled to achieve. Jefferson's Ordinance of Freedom was adopted by the Virginia government which served as the basis of the Constitution (*The History Place*, 2023, November 17). It would be highly unreasonable and irrational to disregard the religious freedom that our predecessors fought for, as it was the key motivating factor for America's independence. Christians of America must condemn persecution, no matter where they live. Religious persecution has a variety of forms, varying from insignificant prejudice to the destruction of churches.

Religious discrimination against Christians is a complex problem in Pakistan that includes coerced conversions, institutional bias, societal prejudices, employment limitations, legal injustices, outright violence and unjust police treatment (Allen, 2013). These actions reinforce prejudice against minorities and endanger the foundation of religious freedom. Law enforcement's biased approach frequently leaves victims vulnerable by allowing violent attacks against Christians to go unreported and unpunished. The situation of Pakistani Christians is made worse by societal discrimination, which upholds prejudice against minorities.

Christians' battle for financial security is made worse by employment discrimination, which confines them to low-paying positions or rejects them entirely on the basis of their religious convictions. Blasphemy laws are applied discriminatorily, which results in false allegations and severe penalties, such as the death penalty (Habib, 2014). Christians are targeted for violence and intimidation when missionary operations are suppressed, which limits their ability to freely practice and share their faith. Christian women's susceptibility is sustained by forced conversions brought about by kidnapping, compulsion, and assault. Violence and devastation stem from community oppression, which is predicated on unverified claims or hearsay. A comprehensive strategy that includes legal changes, interfaith discussion, socio economic development, and global human rights activism is needed to address these issues (Ghauri et al., 2024).

Christian women in Pakistan endure numerous sociocultural challenges, including discrimination, sexual abuse, abduction, and forced conversions. The country's Islamic culture adds to the stigma, posing a double threat to their lives. Religious considerations play a crucial role in sexual abuse against Christian women. Survivors are frequently pressured into marrying assailants in order to preserve their family's honor. The stigma associated with rape victims frequently motivates them to commit suicide. Due to their minority beliefs, young Christian girls are kidnapped and forced to convert to Islam, frequently by marriage within the Muslim community (Ghosh, 2013). With 80% of Pakistani Christian women living in poverty, their vulnerability to exploitation, human trafficking, and physical violence is heightened. This emphasizes the importance of comprehensive efforts to protect human rights.

Terrorism attacks Christians in Pakistan with the intention of causing terror and spreading political messages. It is mostly driven by radical Islamic groups such as the Pakistani Taliban and Lashkar-e-Omar. These organizations frequently associate anti-American sentiment with attacks on churches and Christian communities. The Pakistani Taliban brutally targets unsuspecting Christians; in one horrific event, over 120 people were injured in addition to 81 fatalities (Lacey-Bordeaux & Mohsin, 2013). These organizations associate all Christians with the US by attacking houses of worship for ideological grounds and as symbols of resistance to US policies. A violent attack by Lashkar-e-Omar, another extremist group, claimed the lives of seventeen Christians (Prakash, 2011). Unchecked attacks by these extremist groups mean that worldwide censure and action—especially from the United States—to stop the persecution of Christians in Pakistan must intensify.

In Islamic culture, theocratic conditions frequently lead to discrimination against religious minorities, restricting freedom of expression and perpetuating unequal treatment. Sharia law, rooted from Islamic texts, governs life in Muslim-dominated areas such as Pakistan, but its federal application creates risks, advocating harsh punishments and promoting Muslim supremacy. To establish Islamic dominion, radical groups urge for war against religious dissenters. Islam's stronghold in Pakistan, with over 96% of the people practicing the faith, makes combating its impact difficult. To address the destructive impact of radical Islam on Christian communities, a holistic approach encompassing both legal and theological acts is required.

With a majority of Muslims, Pakistan is home to a varied number of religious minorities, making about 3.72% of the total population. Since its founding, the nation has acknowledged the significance of these minorities, as evidenced by the white color of the flag, which symbolizes both their existence and significance (Ambreen, 2014). They are granted equal rights under Article 20 of the constitution, which permits people to identify, follow, and share their religion. It is the right of religious minorities to establish, run, and preserve their institutions. Nonetheless, several research and reports claim that Pakistani religious minorities are mistreated and that prejudice and animosity have grown in recent years.

Pakistan's minority population had a difficult year in 2010 and the Pew Forum identified Pakistan as one of the world's most inhospitable nations for religious minorities in 2011–2012. In Pakistan, public schools and religious seminaries have been extensively examined to determine whether or not teaching promotes bias and discriminatory attitudes against minorities. One factor that determines social wellbeing and marginalization is the majority population's attitude toward minorities. The purpose of the current study is to investigate Pakistani majority perceptions about minorities.

A major collection of research on Pakistan's religious minorities has been published within the last 20 years. The relevant literature for this paper was collected from dissertations, articles, and reports that were published in 2011 and later. Open-access journals, university websites, and organizations that support their protection were also examined. Phrases like "discrimination of religious minorities in Pakistan," "treatment of religious minorities in Pakistan," and "attitudes towards religious minorities in Pakistan" were used in the literature analysis. Four major issues emerged from the application of a summative content analysis approach: media, blasphemy laws, state policies, and the educational system. After that, the data were examined to find any pertinent themes or sub-themes.

Although Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the country's founder, guaranteed religious minorities freedom and equal rights, official policy and the constitution disagree. Rahman (2012) contends that both the state and society seriously violate the fundamental human rights of minority groups. Discrimination against minorities is a result of state policies that have an impact on the judicial and administrative systems. Poza (2011) discovered that 58% of Pakistani women and nearly 90% of Hindu women lack literacy. Minority groups do not receive an equitable share of job possibilities, and the government has not instituted a 5% job quota for minorities in federal government services.

Due to procedural issues, Pakistan's blasphemy law has generated controversy and fostered prejudice against religious minorities. Attacks on minorities by communities that are frequently carried out as acts of retaliation have been attributed to more than sixty persons. A personal conflict with a religious person can also be resolved by accusations of blasphemy. The majority of people accused or convicted under this statute are Muslims; yet, since its inception, no one has been put to death. Rather than mistreating and discriminating against minorities, the legislation was designed to protect them. Studies show that the current educational system harbors prejudices against religious minorities, and that the religious and cultural values of these groups are not adequately represented in the curriculum. The curriculum in public schools frequently portrays Christians and Hindus as violent and malevolent agents of the West and India, with a bias towards them. The USCIRF (2021) suggests curricular changes for Pakistani schools.

Students are exposed to discriminatory views on minorities held by teachers in public schools. Students at English-medium schools exhibit less prejudice against minority groups than those at

Urdu-medium schools. Madrasas' biased curricula, which present non-Muslims as unbelievers or as having strayed from Islam, further fuel animosity and prejudice against them. Teachers in madrassas show acceptance, tolerance, and understanding but can display bigotry, ignorance, and animosity toward minorities (Raheem, 2015). Although not very strong, prejudice does exist in spite of these problems.

Public opinion is greatly influenced by print media, especially when it comes to matters pertaining to the social and religious lives of minorities. According to studies, electronic media frequently offers topics that incite hostility, but print media covers minority groups objectively. Studies have revealed, meanwhile, that events pertaining to minorities do not receive the same time and attention as other events. Although social media has risen in strength, it has also had an increasing negative impact; some scholars even contend that it is the main cause of religious hatred in Pakistan (Costello & Hawdon, 2018).

In spite of this, social media has given campaigners and journalists a forum to promote awareness and foster understanding of minority issues. In general, media ethics must be adhered to in order to protect the rights and welfare of minorities. Particularly in teenagers, one's religious identification might have a detrimental effect on their mental health. According to Iqbal et al. (2012) depression in young people of color is exacerbated by social pressures including restrictions on their ability to express their religious views. Research conducted by Naveed et al. (2014) indicates that minority youth in Pakistan exhibit reduced levels of academic desire and self-worth. Compared to Muslims, Hindus and Christians are more prone to depression. Minority populations are likewise impacted by discriminatory conduct; they are treated like second-class citizens and are not given equal work possibilities. These results demonstrate the need of providing minority pupils with greater assistance and instruction.

Prior research on perceptions of religious minorities in Pakistan has concentrated on state policy, media impact, and discriminatory educational institutions. Substantial information regarding the influence of personality traits, personal experiences, religiosity, and demographic variables is absent from these studies, though. The majority of research has overlooked the impact of ethnic origin by concentrating on all minority groups. Future studies ought to take into account the nation's ideological goals as well as the socioeconomic division between Ashrafs, nobles, and commoners. Minority prejudice and discrimination are not exclusive to Pakistan; they have long been issues in contemporary secular democracies. Minorities in Pakistan live in substandard conditions, and further academic research is required to address this problem. Negative views toward minorities are primarily attributed to state actions and school curricula. But attitude formation may also be influenced by other variables. To properly address the issue, researchers should look at discrimination based on culture and religion independently.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Data Collection

To collect relevant data from the selected newspapers during the time period understudy (December 01, 2022 to December 31, 2024), we employed a data search technique using official websites of the newspapers. To collect data from daily the *Dawn* we employed ["religious minorities" AND "minorities" site: https://www.dawn.com/], and for daily *The Express Tribune* we employed ["religious minorities" AND "minorities" site: https://tribune.com.pk/] and for daily *The News International* we employed search technique as; ["religious minorities" AND "minorities" site: https://www.thenews.com.pk/]. The search results gave us 59, 63 and 33 items respectively from all the three newspapers. However, applying the data cleansing process we came up with 09, 11, and 07 news items from each newspaper respectively. And, to collect two news stories as sample from each newspaper, we employed lottery method. Consequently, we finalized a s ample size of total six news stories from all the selected newspapers. The coverage of religious minorities is constant feature of the news coverage of the Pakistani newspapers. Therefore, the time period is not an issue based rather it has been selected to carryout a contemporary study on the coverage of religious minorities. As for the newspapers, the researchers have selected these newspapers because of their credibility and readership among the Pakistani press landscape.

Data Analysis; Content Analysis

Content analysis is a research method for the methodical, quantitative, and objective description of communication's evident content (Berelson, 1952). According to Neuman (1997), content analysis is an important non-intrusive research method for compiling and examining textual content. Any communication that may be communicated, including words, meanings, images, symbols, concepts, and themes, is referred to as "content." Anything that is spoken, written, or visually represented and used as a communication tool is considered a "text" (pp.272-273). Content analysis helps the researcher to analyze large data, recurring themes, trends and provide a deeper understanding of the data being analyzed (Wimmer & Dominick, 2010).

Keeping in mind the objectives of this research, we used both quantitative and qualitative content analysis. After conducting a pilot study on selected newspaper content, we developed content categories such as; "Religious persecution", "human rights violations", "blasphemy", "minority rights", "religious discrimination", and "legal repression". Employing qualitative content analysis, we have sought to explore and analyze the nature of news coverage of religious minorities in Pakistan by selected newspapers during the period under study.

FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

Analysis on daily the *Dawn*

Following pages contain content analysis of the selected news items published in daily the *Dawn*;

First news item among the sample of daily the *Dawn* was published under headline; "Hyderabad locality tense after rioting". Through qualitative analysis of the data highlights the alarming situation face by Hindu minority in Pakistan he described that in Hyderabad a six story Hindus residential building were attacked by Muslims, they claimed that they desecrated the Holy Qur'an. In result Hindus families left their houses due to safety concerns. Quantitative analysis of text shows that report consist of 33 words. Writer highlights the misuse of blasphemy law. The tone is straight forward, presenting factual information in a neutral way.

The report highlights that the Hyderabad incident was happened on Sunday evening, on Monday morning a visit to the plaza revealed that the building was damaged badly. The stairs of first floor and second floor were covered with the broken glass pieces which indicate the stoning from outside the building. The electricity was also cut off by the mob. It shows that mob was tried to harm Hindu community. The qualitative analysis of the situation reflects the aftermath of the incident and physical damage of the plaza. The tone is descriptive. Through quantitative analysis I found out that paragraph was consists of 55 words. The plaza has 30 residential flats, 5 on each floor. Writer describes the facts in neutral way.

"Everyone has left. Only we are staying on; and we have also temporarily shifted to some other accommodation" said by Hindu resident. Through in-depth qualitative analysis I explore the emotions and pain gone through by the residents of Rabi building. The quantitative analysis of report highlights that 30 families were used to lived there in which 18 to 20 of them was Hindus. The tone is descriptive, describes about the residents of building.

The report highlights that Police and Rangers took charge of the situation, they fired tear gas on the crowd to control situation. They also blocked all the streets leading towards the Plaza. The study describes the details of aftermath of incident and also how efficiently security forces controlled the situation. The text indicated that incident had impacted the Hyderabad city badly most of the markets including Saddar Bazar, Lajpat Road, District Councils and other Commercial areas remained close. The quantitative study showed that text is consists of 122 words. There is no any numeric and statistical data I found in text.

Through qualitative analysis of the report I found that police and rangers made multiple arrests of suspects involved in the violence, most of the people were released on bail. There were a lot of FIRs reported for creating disturbance, damaging the property and trying to harm the residents of that plaza. The quantitative analysis of report describes that text consist of 59 words. There are total 49 arrests made by police but 1 worker was arrested on 7 days of judicial remand rest of the 48 were released on bail, setting it out 20,000Rs.

The qualitative analysis of text is that police remarks on situation that the unruly mobs wanted to harm the Hindus residents and their temples as well. But due to security forces they stopped them to do further riots and violence, and brought everything under controlled before further loss. The quantitative analysis showed that text consists of 37 words. The tone is informative which shows the statement made by police.

In conclusion report highlights the Hyderabad Rabi Plaza incident, which is six story building in which 30 out of 18 to 20 families were Hindus. They were targeted by the huge crew of Muslims; their main target is to attack on Hindus families and their temples because they claimed that Hindus do something disrespectful with the Holy book Quran. The research further highlights that 49 suspects were arrested by the security forces from which 1 man is remanded on 7 days while other 48 were released on bail for Rs.20,000. Forces stopped the rioter by shelling teargas on them. The negative expression including "stoning", "electricity cut" and "disturbance" etc. emphasized the security crisis faced by Hindu community in Pakistan. While on the other hand the actively controlling of the situation by police and rangers by blocking the roads, shelling tear gas and making arrest of suspects also highlights that the rights of Hindu minority is also protected by Government of Pakistan.

Second news item among the sample of daily the *Dawn* was published under headline; "Persecuted people". Drawing on the quantitative analysis for the first two paragraphs combined the researcher has found out that they contain 80 words, and out of these 80 words, 3 words and 1 expression show explicit force of words. Qualitative analysis: Words like "spate" show the level of disrespect these minorities suffer whereas words like "usual" point out how this isn't the first-time minorities suffered horrific acts of violence. Whether it's the "Christian" community or the "Ahmadis" the government is called out on its ability ("ineptitude") and skill to shelter and provide basic rights to these minorities.

Employing on the quantitative analysis of these two paragraphs the researcher has found out that they contain 93 words, and out of these 93 words, 2 expressions and 2 words lean in favor of the religious minorities, and oppositely explicitly draw a negative narrative for the authorities of Pakistan. As for the qualitative analysis of these paragraphs they clearly state "law enforcers failed" and they seem to lack authority when it comes to keeping people safe from themselves. The expression "reek of complicity" puts pressure on the "law enforcers" to be a part of the crimes they are supposed to be solving or preventing from happening in the first place. Words like "frightening" show the immense emotions carried by the minorities who suffered the injustice, and are still the ones being "monitored".

Further drawing on the quantitative analysis of these two paragraphs, the researcher has analyzed that these paragraphs have 104 words combined and out of these 104 words we have 3 expressions and 2 words in favor of the minorities. As for the qualitative analysis of these paragraphs, the expression "routine persecution" probes that these minorities suffer daily whether it's the Ahmadis or the Christians. The editor uses the word "threatens" which has a strong sense of emotion and it is invoking a sense of urgency towards the authorities to take notice. The "worsening militancy" is also brought to attention, and how there is a strong need for discipline rather the "agreements" to please the majority.

While quantitatively analyzing these two paragraphs the researcher has found out that these two paragraphs contain 64 words in total, and out of these 64 words, there are 2 expressions and 6 words in favor of religious minorities. As for the qualitative analysis, considering the qualitative analysis of these paragraphs' words like "thwart, loot, plunder and outcast" invoke a harsh tone. The word "officialdom" is a derogatory noun used for the authorities of Pakistan which seem to be aiding and "weaponizing" the concepts of bias and prejudice in the society. Expression like "personal score" lean toward a serious and negative tone which does not favor the argument of our law enforcements being adequate. The Pakistani society is called as having "majoritarian culture" which explicitly highlights the fact that non-Muslim individuals in the society are mistreated and feel powerless. There is a negative affected of the injustice being suffered by these minorities due to the "obscurantism- driven" culture the Pakistani society has created.

Employing on the quantitative analysis of this paragraph the researcher has analyzed that this paragraph contains 49 words and out of the 49 words, 1 verb and 2 expressions are in favor of the Sikh community. Drawing on the qualitative analysis of this paragraph we can observe that even the Sikh community that is supported by the state is "hurt" by the antics of the majoritarian culture. The current culture of the Pakistani society is deemed at a "sad reflection" of the late Quaid's ideals.

After conducting Both qualitative and quantitative analysis of this newspaper, the researcher has reached a conclusion that this newspaper has highlighted the government and societies inadequacy in terms of not being able to protect their homes and places of worship. Over all the newspaper has a strong positive side favoring the religious minorities and showing a clear negative narrative for the government of Pakistan and its authorities.

Analysis on daily The Express Tribune

Following pages contain content analysis of the selected news items published in daily The Express Tribune;

First news item among the sample of daily The Express Tribune was published under headline; "Why Religious Minorities in Pakistan live under Fear". In the realm of Pakistan's education and religious diversity, the recent implementation of an ethics book by the Sindh Textbook Board (STBB) for non-Muslim students in classes seven and above marks a noteworthy and positive development. This initiative, rolled out in the 2016-17 academic year, addresses a persistent issue where students from various religious minorities lacked educational content aligned with their faith in government schools. The move not only acknowledges the rights of minority children to receive primary education in their own faith but also takes a step towards rectifying a significant inequality gap.

The STBB's introduction of an ethics book tailored for non-Muslim children showcases a commendable effort to address the diverse religious landscape in Pakistan, encompassing Christians, Sikhs, Buddhists, Hindus, and Zoroastrians. The curriculum's inclusion of information on various faiths and practices aims to foster religious tolerance and inclusivity. The fact that this initiative has been in the works for two years reflects a thoughtful approach to catering to the needs of religious minority students. Additionally, the decision to provide the book free of charge ensures accessibility for all, irrespective of economic background, promoting equal educational opportunities.

While quantifying the immediate impact of this initiative on the educational experience of non-Muslim children is challenging, its long-term effects are likely to be profound. Primary education serves as the bedrock for shaping young minds, influencing attitudes, beliefs, and fostering inclusivity. The introduction of an ethics book tailored for non-Muslim students aims to alleviate the discomfort and displeasure often felt by minority parents when their children lack educational content aligned with their faith. By recognizing and addressing this disparity, the STBB takes a significant step toward creating a more equitable educational environment for all children.

The editorial perspective echoed in the analysis aligns with the positive reception from Hindu leaders who welcomed the development. The editorial expresses regret that such an initiative was not realized decades earlier, emphasizing the commendable nature of the effort. It advocates for other provinces to follow suit, echoing the sentiment that primary education is a critical juncture for shaping young minds and fostering a sense of belonging among faith minorities. The editorial underlines the broader societal implications, stating that this move will have far-reaching effects benefiting not only faith minorities but society as a whole.

In conclusion, the introduction of an ethics book for non-Muslim children by the Sindh Textbook Board is a significant and commendable stride toward inclusivity in the Pakistani education system. This initiative, though belated, reflects a commitment to recognizing the rights of religious minority children and addressing an educational inequality that has persisted for years. The positive response from Hindu leaders and the editorial's endorsement further underscore the potential societal impact of this move. As primary education plays a pivotal role in shaping future perspectives, the introduction of a curriculum sensitive to religious diversity is a positive step that can contribute to fostering understanding,

tolerance, and a more inclusive society in the years to come.

Second news item among the sample of daily The Express Tribune was published under headline; "Religious minorities in Pakistan: A chequered year". In the introduction, quantitatively and qualitatively we can say that 11 countries were mentioned specifically in the list of those countries who engage in or go through extreme violations of religious freedom. Pakistan is one of them. India is not, by which Pakistan was not happy. The first paragraph under this heading describes an incident of a man from Sri Lanka being killed in a brutal way as well as his body being set on fire in Sialkot by a mob. The nation was horrified when they came to know about it. So, through qualitative approach, certain words, phrases used as mentioned above such as "brutally lynched", "body set on fire" tells us to which extent this incident went. This cause "outraged the nation" and this was announced as "horrific, "shameful" and "extra-judicial vigilantism". Through these words, the researcher can tell that the tone of this text is distressing. Quantitatively, this text contains 50 words which are negative and distressing. The words are against the incident that took place.

This text describes another incident of a man who was killed and went through an ill-treatment for since he was held responsible for burning the pages of the Quran. So qualitatively specific words/phrases are used in the second paragraph like "tortured and killed a man" and "accused of burning the pages of the Holy Quran". These phrases sets the tone distressing. Quantitatively, this text includes 31 words which portray violence. The police wanted to protect themselves so in order to do that, they let the accused leave. Through a quantitative approach, this text provides 28 words which are negative as mentioned above. This tells that qualitatively, the tone of this text is negative. Moving forward, the victim suffered an extremely ill-treatment and the police silently watched. Through a quantitative approach, this text includes 21 words which are negative as the victim was being ill-treated. This tells that qualitatively; the tone of this text is negative and violent. We can tell that from the specific words/phrases used like: "the victim was dragged", "tortured and killed" as well the police were like "silent spectator".

Motorcyclists who were not identified killed Pastor William Siraj meanwhile, his friend Patrick was hurt in that event. Through a quantitative analysis, this text contains 31 words which are distressing and are against the incident. Qualitatively, the type of words, phrases used such as: "shot dead by unidentified motorcyclists" and "friend Patrick injured in the same incident" sets a distressing tone.

From the second paragraph, increased fear of killings and terrorism due to the event that occurred in Chamkani Ring Road. Quantitatively, this incident contains 48 words which convey violence. Qualitatively, the tone here too is distressing dua to the words used such as "fears of targeted killings and terrorism" and "religious minorities have been targeted". Another incident mentioned a student getting killed who was among the Ahmadiyya community. Quantitatively this text includes 27 words which again portray violence. Qualitatively, the researcher can then easily tell that the tone of the text is negative through the word "stabbed". Moreover, another event describing a similar situation another person of a group was killed since he did not shout phrases which were religious. Through a quantitative approach, this text contains 36 words which are negative as mentioned above. Qualitatively, the tone of the text is negative and violent. The researcher can tell that through words such as "stabbed and killed". The last incident mentioned under this heading tells that a co-worker was killed by 3 madrassa women because she did blasphemy. Quantitatively, this incident contains 26 words which are negative. Also, it specifically mentions 3 madrassa women and one of their fellows as mentioned above. Qualitatively, the tone of the text is negative and violent. The researcher can tell that through the words used such as "murdered their colleague" and "she committed blasphemy"

The first paragraph under this heading describes that an announcement was made by the Council of Islamic Ideology that the person who was claimed for committing blasphemy was opposing the Shariah. So quantitatively, this incident contains 25 words which are neutral. Qualitatively the tone is neutral. Adding more, to not let these incidents happen, suggestions were being forwarded to the constitution of a national commission. So quantitatively, this text provides 17 words which are positive. Qualitatively,

the tone is neutral. The third paragraph describes how Dr. Qibla Ayaz found that taking everything into their own hands is dangerous, as a consequence of blasphemy. The quantity of words this text contains is 28 which are positive since Dr. Qibla Ayaz did not like that people are taking the matter into their own hands as mentioned above. So qualitatively, the researcher can tell that the tone of the text is positive and neutral.

Dr. Ayaz Qadir then said that the people who were in the incidents of Sialkot and Khanewal need to be given justice as soon as possible so that people who are in law can become confident. So quantitatively, this text contains 44 words and is positive as people will be brought to justice, as mentioned above. Qualitatively, the researcher can tell through the words such as "brought to justice" and "help build the confidence" that the tone of this text is positive.

The last paragraph describes that the government wants all those people who make false claims of blasphemy to be punished and not obeying the laws. So the last text under this heading contains 33 words and they have a positive meaning. Qualitatively, the tone of the text is positive. The researcher can tell that by the words used such as: "expressed a determination to punish all those who make false allegations of blasphemy". The first paragraph under this heading describes a girl being kidnapped and becoming a Muslim unwillingly. So a quantitative analysis of this text contains 25 words and the words are distressing. Qualitatively, the tone is negative as well as distressing which the researcher can tell from the words used such as Hindu girl being "abducted and converted to Islam". She's forcefully being converted to Muslim. The girl's family had a protest outside Zardari House and asked to give their girl back. Quantitatively, this small text includes 19 words which are positive and at the same time distressing. Qualitatively, the same is the tone of the text and the researcher can tell that by the words used such as: "staged a protest" and "demanded to recover their girl".

A 16-year-old was kidnapped as well as she converted and was married to a Muslim man, all forcefully. Quantitatively, this text contains 53 words. Qualitatively the tone of the text is distressing and negative. The researcher can tell that by the words/phrases used such as "Kareena,16, was abducted.", "She was converted on the same day and was married to a Muslim man Khaliquz Zamaan,", "FIR registered" and "police did not take any action" as mentioned above. This paragraph tells another incident of a young Hindu girl being killed because she turned down a marriage proposal. So quantitatively, this text contains 75 words. Qualitatively, the tone of this text is negative and distressing. The researcher can tell that by the words used such as "shot dead", the girl was "targeted at her home" because she refused to "marry the accused" etc.

People debated about the slow progression to not let the conversions take place. Quantitatively, this text contains 18 words. Qualitatively, the tone is neutral.

The Chief Minister of Sindh has been directed to make a law to not let these forced conversions as well as marriages take place. Quantitatively, this paragraph contains 31 words and are against forced marriages and conversions. Qualitatively, the tone of this text is positive. The researcher can tell that through the words/phrases used such as "enact legislation to stop forced conversion and forced marriages". A committee was made to make an agreement among political parties over the problem of forced conversion and marriages. Quantitatively, this text contains 33 words. Qualitatively the tone of the text is neutral.

This text reveals that Sindh is already doing something against early marriages. Quantitatively, this paragraph contains 29 words which are positive. Qualitatively the tone of the text is positive. The researcher can tell that by the words/phrases used such as Sindh is "leading in the legislation against early marriage" and "efforts to legislate on forced marriages will also be successful".

The last paragraph tells that the Sindh government is against forced conversions and safeguarding the minorities rights. Quantitatively, the last paragraph under this heading contains 76 words. Qualitatively, the tone of this text is positive. The researcher can tell this by the words/phrases used such as "Sindh government is committed against forced religious conversion and to protecting the rights of all minorities" etc. In conclusion we can say that this newspaper contains a lot of news and it contains both quantitative as well as qualitative approaches. It

contains 821 words and the overall tones are positive, negative and distressing etc.

Analysis on daily The News International

Following pages contain content analysis of the selected news items published in daily The News International;

First news item among the sample of daily The News International was published under headline; "Jaranwala incident: Attacks on churches, Christian houses were part of hate campaign: HRCP mission".

Through the qualitative analysis of report, we found out that the fact-finding mission of Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP) determined that the attack on Jaranwala Churches and Christian houses was a big campaign against the local Christian community. The tone of report is factual and explanatory. Through qualitative analysis we found out that the provided text contains 38 words. The incident happened on 16 August were a part of broader campaign of hatred against Christians. Expressions include "attack on churches and houses" and "broader campaign of hatred" gave an impression of security crisis faced by minorities.

The qualitative analysis of report is that the researcher disclosed the mission reports' findings which shred with media on Friday, describes that the mob attack on Christian's houses and Churches were not random they might have been planned that big attack against Christians. The tone is suspicious and investigative, report expressed the suspicion about the nature of attack. The quantitative analysis of report is that the text is consists of 32 words. Wordings used in text like "not a spontaneous crowd" and "but a part of large campaign of hatred" indicating about their concern that this might be a preplanned attack.

The report highlights the HRCP mission report that a lot of churches torched and many of Christian's houses were looted in Jaranwala in the series of crowd attack. The tone were alarming, terms like "looted", "torched" and "mob attack" emphasized the severity of incident. The quantitative analysis is that the text is consists of 28 words. In the incident 24 churches and numerous chapels and houses were affected.

The report highlights that there were the accusation of blasphemy against Christian man, then one person suddenly calls for an action in the loudspeaker of mosque, a lot of people gathered and attacked on Churches and Christians houses. The tone is explanatory, highlighting the reason behind the incident and how it happened. Through quantitative analysis we found out text consist of 36 words. Thousands of people gather on the call of action in mosque and "attack" on churches and Christians homes, emphasizing the impact of allegations of blasphemy.

The provided text highlights that the investigative team consist of HRCP Chairperson Hina Jilani, Centre for Social Justice Executive Director Peter Jacob, Women Action Forum senior member Neelam Hussain, and historian and rights activist Dr. Yaqoob Bangash. The mission recognized the difficulties faced by police officers to handle the violence and control the situation due to limited resources in the town. They appreciate and criticize the police as the same time, appreciation because of their timeliness action but their employed strategy wasn't enough to control the crowd. The provided text consists of 67 words. The tone is factual, critical and appreciative expressing the concern regarding the strategy of police to control the crowd.

The report highlights the suggestion of investigative team that there is need of looking into the blasphemy law to avoid its misuse against minorities. They also recommend build some strategies and plans to prevent the extremist group creating violence and disturbance. The text of report consists of 41 words. The tone is solution oriented, suggesting to review the blasphemy law and development of strategies to maintain the peace and order.

The text highlights that investigative team strongly advised to the Punjab Government to act upon all the recommendations made by judicial inquiry after the riots in Gojra in 2009. They also highlight the importance of preventing impunity of Muslims groups who openly condemn these incidents and raise their voices for minorities. The text consists of 42 words, emphasizing on the implications of strategies made after Gojra incident in 2009. The tone is empathetic and stressing, the immediate need for Punjab Government to implement the suggestions of judicial inquiry. The expression used in it like "Gojra incident in 2009" highlights that it's

not happened first time, minorities faced this issue from a long time ago.

The report emphasizes that government should took a firm stand against these types of violence and hatred speech to protect the rights of minorities. The text further suggests that there is an urgent need to take step to compensate the affected Christians and reconstruct their houses. The provided text consists of 43 words. The tone is suggestive, emphasizing the immediate need for compensation of victim families suffered in Jaranwala. Expressions like "stern action" and "urgent measures to compensate" highlights the importance of taking steps to rebuild the Christian neighborhoods.

The provided text emphasize that authority should clarify to the public that that assistant commissioner who was Christian were not transferred because of any mistake he done but for sake of him and his family protection. The provided text consists of 24 words. The tone of text is defensive, declaring the innocence of assistant commissioner and describes the protective measure taken to secure him and his family.

The provided text highlighted that the investigation team suggested that the decision made by Supreme Court in 2014 which recommended the creating of special police forces for the protection of minorities worship. The text also emphasized the need for providing the money and manpower required for this task.

In conclusion, HRCP comprehensive report highlights the organized nature of attack on Christian community in Jaranwala. The findings of the mission report emphasize on the urgent need for implementing the various steps to protect the minorities in Pakistan. It suggests the government to do some actions like reviewing blasphemy law, making strategies to stop extremist groups and creating special police to protect minorities' belongings. The report stresses the quick compensation of affected people in Jaranwala incident. Overall, report describes how incidents happened and asks for the government's actions to protect the rights of minorities in Pakistan.

Second news item among the sample of daily The News International was published under headline; "Centres of harmony".

While employing quantitative content analysis, it has been found that entire news story comprises 786 words in total, out of which, eight (08) expressions/ phrases/ words are discussing women empowerment and women rights. These expressions are also having the view of an independent woman in society. Apart from this, there are ten (10) expressions/ phrases/ words that are having the sense of neutrality as these expressions are reporting the facts/ figures in simple way. On the other hand, thirty-six (36) expressions/ phrases/ words are discussing minorities rights in the countries. These expressions are in-support of communities belonging to minority and discussing various issues related to the community, particularly, Christians.

On the other hand, researcher, while analyzing qualitatively, found that expressions/ phrases/ words like "sits tall and proud at her desk" "symbolic" "her duty extends far beyond maintaining order" "ASP Shehrbano Naqvi, the person behind Meesaq" are discussing women empowerment. These expressions show that there is need to empower women in the society. Further, expressions praising Sana Patris and ASP Shehrbano Naqvi are having the sense that these women are symbolic and ideal for other women in Pakistan. Since, a lengthy discussion is always found in media discourses about women rights, so, in given scenario, giving examples of Sana Patris and Shehrbano Naqvi, undoubtedly, showing the firm support to women rights and empowerment. Apart from that, expressions/ phrases/ words like "newly established Meesaq Centre", "located at the premises of the Police Khidmat Markaz" "Set up by the Punjab Police" "oversees the workings of Meesaq" "She identifies three core objectives" are having the sense of neutrality. These expressions are reporting facts and figures in simple way. There is no specific point of view while using such expressions.

On the other hand, while analyzing qualitatively, research found that expressions/ phrases/ words, for instance, "safe and welcoming space" "can find support" "staff belongs to religious minorities" "feel an extra level of comfort" "promote unity and inclusivity" "safeguarding Christian places of worship and their belongings" "to prevent any harm done to these places" "great care of my request" "extended support" "Jaranwala incident was a dark chapter" "must acknowledge the importance of the insider's

perspective" "managed by those from minority backgrounds" "our support" "to provide a platform to minorities" "must acknowledge" "insider's perspective" "major beneficiaries of these centres would be Christians and Ahmadis" are firmly supporting minorities in Pakistan. These expressions are discussing minorities rights, issues and problems that they are facing each day. These expressions are also having the sense that minority communities of the country are in miserable condition and require vigilant attention of government and other stakeholders. Minorities rights are being violated from different sections of the society and no serious type of pre-cautionary measures are being taken by the government to avoid any horrible incident like Jaranwala.

Furthermore, there are some expressions/ phrases/ words like "assistance to the oppressed and minority communities" "committed to values of equality and respect for all faiths" "to provide a platform to minorities" "designated point for minorities" "Meesaq acts as a platform for proactive information sharing" that are explaining various qualities and attributes of newly established Meesaq Centres. By using these expressions, the importance and objective of these Centres is being highlighted.

While talking about overall theme, entire news story is discussing minorities rights and issues in Pakistan. Although, Constitution of Pakistan always talk about safeguarding of religious minorities and other marginalized communities, however, a list of horrifying incidents indicates that there is need to give more attention to the issue. Incidents like Jaranwala and Sialkot highlighted various issues/ problems related to minorities rights in the country. Apart from that, overall theme of story also indicates that government of Pakistan is paying sufficient attention to the issue by establishing Meesaq type centers for safeguarding of minorities. In this regard, there is dire need to understand that why such type of horrible incidents happen/ occur and what are the actual reasons behind this. Each time, we see the reporting about rights of minority communities in Media discourses as Media, various times, show one of side of picture and always try to hide other side. So, there is need to understand the real factors that exist both sides as these are triggering such issues and understanding these factors can best lead to safeguarding of both majority and minority rights.

Conclusion

Highlighting the results of the data analysis, it can be concluded that the daily Dawn has focused on the problems faced by the religious minorities in Pakistan in its news coverage such as; Kidnapping, rape, forced conversion, forced marriage, murder, abuse of blasphemy law, professional discrimination etc. The content analysis of the news items shows that the daily Dawn also highlighted various incidents that happened to the Hindu and Christian community in Pakistan and their struggle in a developing Pakistan. The newspaper highlighted the need for awareness, unity and precautionary measures taken by the government to protect minorities. The results of a sample content analysis by the daily Dawn highlighted the major problems faced by Christian and Hindu girls in the country. The analysis also exposes the legal process and unfair adjudication in these cases, which further disempowers girls. Dawn's news coverage emphasizes critical scrutiny of the legal system, exposing serious loopholes that allow mob violence to exploit legal loopholes. Systemic weaknesses, including widespread arrests, fragmented accountability, and repeated bail grants, highlight the urgent need to strengthen the legal framework.

After carefully reviewing and analyzing the selected news items of daily The Express Tribune, we found that the newspaper emphasized on religious discrimination and human rights violations. Quantitative and qualitative analyzes of news reports reveal the deep-seated problem of workplace discrimination against religious minorities. The reports reveal alarming statistics about government-designated posts for religious minorities that remain vacant, perpetuate economic inequality and violate constitutional guarantees of equal opportunity. A content analysis of the news stories published in daily The Express Tribune shows that the newspaper emphasized the need for a holistic and collective approach to protect the rights of minorities in Pakistan. Some of them leave a significant sense of responsibility, care for each other, community and protect each other's rights. What Pakistan needs is not just a legal framework, but responsive law

enforcement, compassionate responses that exist, and community involvement.

Similarly, the daily The News International also highlighted issues such as; violations of human rights, minority rights, and legal oppression. Concluding from the results of the data analysis of The News International, the researchers claim that the newspaper emphasized the problems faced by the Christian community in situations like the Jaranwala incident. The newspaper emphasized the need to formulate and implement a strategy for the protection of religious minorities in Pakistan. The government should also review the blasphemy law to prevent extremist groups from abusing the law. The newspaper also emphasized recognizing minorities as an important part of society.

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