A COMPARATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS OF THE IMAGE OF PAKISTAN IN INDIAN NEWSPAPERS

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Abstract

Pakistan as a country always occupies an important place in Indian media. All matters related to Pakistan, including political, economic, social, religious, sports, show business and international relations, receive unprecedented attention on the front pages of Indian newspapers and on prime-time TV shows. This research endeavor is an attempt to explore and analyze the image of Pakistan constructed by the Hindustan Times and The Times of India (two prominent English newspapers in India) before and after the general elections in Pakistan held on February 08, 2024 (GE-24). Employing the content analysis we have attempted to explore and analyze the news coverage of GE-24 given by the selected newspapers during December 01, 2023 to March 31, 2024. Analyzing four news stories from both the newspapers, we have found out that the selected newspapers portrayed how Pakistani government and establishment put hurdles during electoral process and launched direct attack on freedom of expression in the country. The newspapers labelled the internet blackout as a part of manipulation, cause of violence and unlawful restrictions on civil liberties. The whole coverage of Pakistan in the selected news stories described the political system and the election process in Pakistan as problematic.

INTRODUCTION

The Indian subcontinent, historically characterized by its diverse religions and cultures, witnessed the coexistence of various communities, notably Hindus and Muslims. Initially, Hinduism dominated the region until Islam established its presence in what is now known as India. Despite the inherent differences, Muslims and Hindus managed to live together, demonstrating a remarkable degree of mutual tolerance (Karim, 2024). Even during British colonialism, the dynamics between different religious communities underwent significant changes. The British Empire's apparent favoritism towards Hindus was evident, leading to a collaborative effort between Hindus and the British. This collaboration extended

to education, job opportunities, and political participation, providing Hindus with relatively equal opportunities. Unfortunately, the same could not be said for Muslims, who often faced discrimination and a lack of access to proper education (Belkacem, 2007).

As the subcontinent approached the partition of 1947, the differences between Hindus and Muslims became more pronounced. The Muslim population, which constituted a significant portion of the total Indian population in 1941, faced a decline both in terms of percentage and absolute numbers (Graff & Galonnier, 2013). Despite the unspoken violence, the creation of India and Pakistan was marked by mass murders and bloodshed, with Muslims arriving in the Indian subcontinent between 900 and 1707. Unfortunately, Muslims have endured prolonged periods of violence, and the situation has worsened under the leadership of Indian PM Narendra Modi. The divisive atmosphere has led to indoctrination of violence and chaos into the minds of young individuals, perpetuating a cycle of animosity that transcends religious boundaries. This normalization of aggression is deeply concerning and is perceived as an accepted cultural norm (Karim, 2024).

Despite the unspoken violence, the creation of India and Pakistan was marked by mass murders and bloodshed, with Muslims arriving in the Indian subcontinent between 900 and 1707. Unfortunately, Muslims have endured prolonged periods of violence, and the situation has worsened under the leadership of Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi the divisive atmosphere has led to the indoctrination of violence and chaos into the minds of young individuals, perpetuating a cycle of animosity that transcends religious boundaries. This normalization of aggression is deeply concerning and is perceived as an accepted cultural norm Muslims have been victims of violence for decades, and Indian PM Modi has only made things worse. The rise in hatred has not gone unnoticed by international figures. Qatar's Assistant Foreign Minister, Lolwah al-Khater, has expressed concern, stating, The Islamophobic discourse has reached dangerous levels in a country long known for its diversity and coexistence. Unless formally and systematically confronted, systematic hate speech directed at Muslims in India will be seen as a deliberate insult to 2 billion Muslims. " The

growing detestation has been vocalized by Qatar's Assistant FM al-Khater: The Islamophobic discourse has reached dangerous levels in a country long known for its diversity and coexistence. Unless officially and systemically confronted, the systemic hate speech targeting Islam in India will be considered a deliberate insult against 2 billion Muslims ("Soul of India", 2002).

Islamophobia has become so widespread that Hindus use demonic rhetoric like "cow vigilantism" or "gau rakshak" to incite people to commit horrific acts. Islamophobia in India aims to facilitate violence, subjugation and intimidation of Muslims as a threat to the nation, Indian Muslims are suspect citizens; Kashmiri Muslims are inherently terrorist Muslims, which is clearly a problem; Muslim refugees like the Rohingya are called "invasive pests"; and Pakistan's Muslim neighbor as an existential enemy. They were not attacked because they were Muslims, according to the argument: they were suspicious citizens, illegal migrants, invaders, infiltrators, Bangladeshis, Rohingya, foreigners, traitors, terrorists, anti-nationals or fundamentalists. It is not difficult to see that these terms include only the word "Islam". When the leader says these words, the followers decode them easily. It is important to recognize the seriousness of Islamophobia and address it as a pressing social problem rather than treating it as a distraction (Bazian et al., 2019).

Attempts to downplay the severity of Islamophobia by dismissing hate campaigns as a distraction from "real" economic problems only make the problem worse. This story implies that hostility towards minorities, especially Muslims, is increasing among Hindus. It is important to recognize the seriousness of Islamophobia and address it as a pressing social problem rather than treating it as a distraction. Upholding the principles of equality, understanding and respect for religious diversity is essential to foster a harmonious society that overcomes divisive narratives and promotes inclusive coexistence (Hawaleshka, 2023).

Indian media's role in representing Muslims is not good. Indian media has never treated them fairly and created so much propaganda against them, it shows how biased they are, they have never spoken neutrally and Muslims in India always get blamed for things that 'they never did' and as we know the

media plays an important role in our lives today and They influence us so much and it is an awareness tool but they have used it to spread hatred against Muslims around the world. So, in my opinion, the role of Indian media has been and remains negative towards Muslims, which actually has a negative impact on Muslims (Ali, n.d.).

The conclusion lies in the undying hatred towards Islam and Muslims that has been passed down from generation to generation and has become normalized by the masses of the Indian subcontinent. The emergence of comprehensive violence against minorities exceeds the visible scale of humanity. This is a common approach to the said religion and its inhabitants. The number of times the pure nature of Indians has prevailed has tarnished their own image, to a greater extent, as the Gulf countries have been actively involved in demonstrating the existence of anti-Semitism. Islam in India. The fact remains that Indians are truly vile and hostile to Muslims; they will justify their actions with religious claims, but nevertheless no religion preaches a message that incites brutality. India's form of barbarism is constantly changing, for example, Muslims face workplace discrimination and communal violence due to being deprived of jobs, wealth, education and rights political force (Mohamad & Kusrin, 2014).

Since Modi's re-election in 2019, the government has implemented controversial policies that critics say explicitly ignore the rights of Muslims and are aimed at disenfranchising of millions of Muslims. Additionally, they often struggle to obtain justice after experiencing discrimination, despite constitutional protections. The longer Hindu nationalists stay in power, the more the status of Muslims will change and the harder it will be," said Ashutosh Varshney, an expert on Indian communal conflict at Brown University. reverse those changes." Other freedoms of speech: "The idea is that if you are Muslim, you are at risk of being attacked anywhere and at any time. » Ghazala Jamil, Assistant Professor, Jawaharlal Nehru University. Any information provided only reflects the acceptance of inhumane acts against Muslims in India. The deeper the deep-seated belief in hatred of Muslims and Islam becomes ingrained in the young minds of the older generations, the more difficult it will be for the

said inhabitants to live in the Indian subcontinent (Maizland, 2024).

In this context, the representation of anti-Muslim sentiment in India as a variety of racism has both descriptive and normative implications. This term corresponds to the global understanding of Islamophobia, emphasizing the need for ameliorative measures similar to the fight against racism. By acknowledging the multifaceted nature of the challenges faced by Indian Muslims, society can work towards more inclusive and equitable solutions that can address not only religious discrimination but also broader socioeconomic disparities (Bazian et al., 2019).

Considering the importance and dynamics of the issue, presence and treatment of Pakistan as a neighboring country along with its representations in the Indianian media, we have attempted to explore and analyze the nature of the image of Pakistan portrayed by the selected Indian newspapers. Therefore, our main research questions are as follows;

• How did the selected newspapers; daily the *Hindustan Times* and *The Times of India* portray Pakistan during December 2023 to March 2024?

• What are the predominant themes highlighted by the selected newspapers regarding Pakistan during the time period under study?

LITERATURE REVIEW

Muslims have been consistently presented as barbaric, stereotypical and misogynistic in India. Mass Media has played a significant role in this Islamophobic presentation which has propelled hatred and disguise towards Muslims in India. Which is why it is important to conduct a comprehensive analysis to examine if Indian Media was being biased towards Muslims through their shows. By using semiotics, media theory and critical discourse analysis, researchers were able to recognize the biasness of media towards portraying a one sided and dangerous perception of Muslims in country (Shah et al., 2022; Shaheen et al., 2021; Umber et al., 2018).

Muslims have been subjected to marginalization and been associated with different stereotypes in Indian history. After examining the complex history of India, Drabu (2018) stated that Muslims were considered as invaders (Desai, 2016), traitors (Rana, 2017), backward (Fatmi, 2016) and oppressed (Kirmani,

2016). Indian Media is the main source which pushed this narrative and aroused Islamophobia in their people. Due to industry forces, internal assumptions, hypocrisy and self-censorship, mass media loses it's true meaning (Herman & Chomsky, 1988). Media encompassing all of above works great in manipulating perceptions towards specific subjects. This subjective journalism "others" Muslims as they are associated with terrorism and regressive practices. Although being in huge population, they are seen as minorities and treated as such too.

A Hindu political ideology known as "Hindutva" emerged which intensified the anti-Muslim emotions in India. This ideology associates Indian culture with their Hindu values. It provokes the hatred towards minorities in Hindu community. Broadcasting alongside "counterfeit news' have resulted in mischaracterizing Islam and Muslims as savage psychological militants, backward patriarchs, and outcasts (Hall, 2003). This characterization of Muslims is usually achieved by the use of one-sided outlining instead of clear bigoted proclamations these pictures of Muslims however result in racist and hostile attitude towards Muslims (Dagli, 2020).

To conduct the study of this topic the most highly rated big 4 English news channel in India were analyzed their top peak time shows were used single out the two main problems discussed in the shows that pictured the Muslims from 2014 till 2018 jihad and triple talaq were in debate. The research used semiotics, media theory and critical discourse analysis to examine representation of Muslims in these debates. The results that were achieved from this study were that firstly the Muslims representation in Indian media was negative and not only that Muslims were pre planning to promote specific view about Muslims (Bukhari et al., 2024; Drabu, 2018).

The Drabu (2018) have analyzed the news connected to Muslims in India, in particular the content related to their deep affection for jihad and triple talaq in high time English news of two broadcast firstly the Time Now and secondly the Republic TV. According to the deep study about these two news channel it was concluded that the build a link of Islam with brutality, idiocy, and backwardness through repeated coverage of topic related to women either Muslims or non-Muslim requires protection against Muslim men in addition to this they also point out that Muslims are not Indian they are to be consider as against Public the study was put in connection with the current political environment of India momentarily addresses the discussions it incites and direct.

Headlines plays a vital role in shaping the news they can manipulate how people think about a certain problem by giving hype to certain issue while ignoring the other if we look into the Indian media especially the Times News and republic TV it is quite obvious that they try to represent negative pictures of Muslims while news about Hindu are more positive due to this there were a great difference between the acceptability of Hindu and Muslims in the society The episodes are controlled and the editorial control over the selection of jury helps to depict negative picture of Muslims the anchors guide and control the arguments and the jury opinion is not presented in the way it would have otherwise being in the mass media was free and not under someone control (Drabu, 2018).

The news or programs broadcasted are against Muslims they show repeatedly argue on the triple talaq and display a picture that this is against the women and hence conclude Islam as against the women and gender discrimination and event such as ban on triple talaq is enjoyed as gender justice in addition to this the anchor display Islam as backward and not in line with the modern time they try to increase conflict between different group of Islam. To put the whole story in a net shell they try to give a negative impression of Islam and give suggestion to make changes in Muslims personal laws (Bukhari et al., 2024; Drabu, 2018).

The reviewed literature shows how the Indian media have favored one sided opinion and have misrepresented Muslims in India by developing a negative opinion about them it can also be concluded that media have shown Muslims of India as idiotic incomputable and against the public the media have also pointed out the Muslims as anti-state people in India furthermore the author have pointed out how the terms like jihad and ISIS are used incorrectly to present a false impression about Muslims resulting in theme like Islamophobia. The reviewed literature has also shown the relationship

between media favor, political involvement and instant of racisms and violence against Muslims.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY
Data Collection
To collect relevant and required data from daily the *Hindustan Times* and *The Times of India* during the time period understudy (December 01, 2023 to March 31, 2024), we have used a data search technique using official websites of the newspapers.

To collect data from daily the *Hindustan Times* we employed ["Pakistan" site: https://www.hindustantimes.com/], and for daily *The Times of India* we employed ["Pakistan" site: https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/]. The search results produced 03 and 02 news items items respectively from both the newspapers. And, to collect two news stories as sample from each newspaper, we used a lottery method. Consequently, we finalized a s ample size of total four news stories from all the selected newspapers.

The relationship between Pakistan and India and the coverage of Pakistan in the Indian news media is a constant feature of their news coverage. Therefore, the time period is not an issue based rather it has been selected to carry out a contemporary study on the coverage of Pakistan in the selected Indian newspapers. As for the newspapers, the researchers have selected these newspapers because of their credibility and readership among the Indian news media landscape.

Data Analysis; Content Analysis
According to Walizer and Wienir (1978), Content Analysis is a systematic process for evaluating the substance of recorded information. On the other hand, Krippendorf (2004) defines Content Analysis as a research strategy for establishing repeatable and meaningful links between data to its surroundings. While Kerlinger (2000) offers a traditional concept of content analysis as a process of studying and interpreting communication that is methodical, objective, and quantitative in order to measure factors. The value of content analysis in achieving research objectives is highlighted as a systematic, objective, quantitative tool for investigating and interpreting communication.

Content analysis is a methodical process for confirming the accuracy of recorded information. Clear and uniform guidelines must be followed in order to conduct a systematic evaluation. This necessitates applying suitable techniques for selecting samples and upholding consistency in the analysis and coding. Analysis needs to be objective. Operational definitions and rules need to be precise and all-inclusive in order for the classification of variables to be repeatable by other researchers. While complete objectivity is a desirable goal, it is a notoriously difficult attainment. It may not be possible to avoid making subjective decisions when defining units of analysis or pertinent categories. Content analysis is a methodical, objective, quantitative approach to studying and assessing communications. So, there are three distinctive features of content analysis according to Kerlinger's definition which are Systematicity, Objectivity and Quantification (Wimmer & Dominick, 2011).

Systematicity is a methodical approach to sample selection is necessary for content analysis. This suggests that the material to be examined is chosen in accordance with precise guidelines that are consistently followed. To guarantee that every component has an equal chance of being included in the analysis, the right procedures must be followed. Every piece of content should be assessed using a methodical procedure that handles all content in the same way. Equal exposure to the subject matter is necessary for programmers, as is consistency in the coding and analysis procedures. A prerequisite for systematic reviews is the consistent application of a single set of guidelines across studies. It is imperative to maintain consistency in approach since disparate approaches can lead to biased outcomes.

Objectivity is necessary for content analysis. This indicates that the researcher's quirks or biases have not influenced the findings. The analysis should produce the same results if the study were conducted again by another researcher. When operationally classifying variables, explicit and thorough definitions and rules should be applied. This guarantees that, even when they repeat the procedure researchers will arrive at the same conclusions. While total objectivity is rarely attained, certain elements like identifying pertinent categories and units of

analysis are vulnerable to the subjective judgments of particular researchers.

Quantification is essential to achieving this goal because it enables researchers to seek precision. The purpose of content analysis is to ensure that the message body is accurately represented. Researchers can accurately report and summarize their findings thanks to quantification. Analyzing numerical data that has been quantified over time can simplify and improve the consistency of the evaluation process. Researchers can use additional statistical tools to help with interpretation and analysis to quantification. When evaluating potential effects and impacts, researchers must take care not to become blinded by quantification in comparison to other approaches. It is crucial to remember that, even though quantification increases accuracy, it shouldn't take precedence over other elements that might affect how serious or significant the content under investigation is (Wimmer & Dominick, 2011). Bearng in mind the main objectives of this research paper, we have used both quantitative and qualitative content analysis.

FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS
Analysis on the *Hindustan Times*

Following pages contain content analysis of the selected news items published in the *Hindustan Times*; First news item among the sample of the *Hindustan Times* was published under headline; "Pakistan election body rejects Imran Khan's nomination for 2024 elections". Drawing on the qualitative content analysis, the qualitative analysis of first paragraph emphasizes the political significance and impact of Pakistan's election management body's rejection of Imran Khan's nomination. Expressions like "former prime minister" indicate that the person is in a high-level political position. His denial of the nomination is notable because he is a high-profile figure who could have an impact on national elections in 2024. The fact that both officials and the party's media team communicated the election management body's decision suggests that there was some controversy or controversy surrounding the rejection, which could lead to further political debate and legal challenges. As far as the quantitative content analysis is concerned, the quantitative analysis of first paragraph emphasizes Imran Khan's nomination for

the national elections in 2024 have been rejected in two constituencies. This quantifies the scope of the veto and emphasizes that this is not a one-time occurrence that will affect his candidacy in multiple ways. The inclusion of the day of the week (Saturday) provides readers with temporal context to determine when the information was reported. This paragraph, however, lacks any additional quantitative data, such as the specific reasons for the rejection or the scope of the vote.

The qualitative analysis of second paragraph depicts the 71-year-old former cricketer's complicated and turbulent life after his tenure as Prime Minister, implying a multi-layered story with both political and legal dimensions. The word "tangle" connotes tangle or difficulty and implies that the person is in a difficult situation. The fact that he has not been seen in public since his detention in August 2022 adds to the isolation and secrecy surrounding his current situation. Allegations that state gifts were illegally sold during his tenure as Prime Minister highlight immediate legal issues that point to potential corruption and ethical violations. This paragraph provides quantitative indicators, such as the former cricketer's age (71 years) and the date of his retirement as Prime Minister (April 2022). The length of his detention (three years) and the time span of the alleged crimes (from 2018 to 2022) provide quantitative data that aids in a more concrete understanding of the case. The mention of three years in prison emphasizes the legal consequences he faces. Overall, this paragraph's combination of qualitative and quantitative elements provides a rich and comprehensive foundation for analysis.

The qualitative analysis of third paragraph emphasizes a significant political development, including Imran Khan's exclusion from the national elections scheduled for February 8th. A "disqualification" is a formal and binding decision that indicates a legal or regulatory impediment to candidacy. The phrase "conviction for corruption" heightens ethical and legal scrutiny and indicates that disqualification is based on corruption allegations. Despite this disqualification, the paragraph highlights what appears to be a defiant move by Imran Khan, who, according to his media team, filed his election nomination papers on Friday.

This act demonstrates a willingness to contest or avoid disqualification, as well as elements of political strategy and determination. The quantitative analysis of third paragraph includes numerical information such as the national election date (February 8), Imran Khan's disqualification, and the subsequent submission of nomination papers on Friday. These time markers provide a concrete framework for comprehending event sequences. The use of specific data improves accuracy and provides a better understanding of the sequence of events. The phrase "conviction for corruption" introduces a quantitative aspect to the nature of the exclusion, indicating that it is based on a legal decision rather than a subjective or arbitrary decision.

The qualitative analysis of fourth paragraph shows information from Pakistan's Election Commission, specifically the rejection of Imran Khan's nomination in the Lahore list of rejected candidates. The term "rejected" refers to a formal decision by an election commission emphasizing a candidate's exclusion from the electoral process. Reasons for rejection reveal qualitative information about the decision-making process. The first reason, "Not a registered voter in the district," emphasizes the formal requirements for candidacy: candidates must meet certain selection criteria, such as voting in the district. The second ground is "convicted and disqualified by a court," which gives Imran Khan's disqualification a legal dimension and bases his disqualification on the court's conviction. The quantitative analysis of fourth paragraph contains specific rejection information, such as the candidate's name (Khan), location (Lahore), and reason for rejection. The quantitative component includes a list of rejection reasons, including her two distinct factors that contributed to the rejection. The phrase "judicial conviction" adds a quantitative measure to the disqualification and emphasizes the decision's legal basis. Specific criteria, such as voter registration or legal disqualification, provide a more detailed understanding of rejection and clear parameters for evaluating a candidate's voting eligibility. Inclusion of rejected candidates in the list adds a quantitative dimension and demonstrates that Khan's case is not unique, but rather part of a larger set of rejected candidates. Overall, a mix of qualitative and quantitative data was used.

The qualitative analysis of fifth paragraph emphasizes a complicated story about Imran Khan's political situation, including his personal rejection by the Election Commission and widespread condemnation of political zeal. According to a statement from the media team, the committee made the formal decision to reject Imran Khan's nomination in his hometown of Mianwali. Mr. Khan's status as the country's most popular leader adds a qualitative dimension and demonstrates the significance of his political influence. His claims that he is being persecuted by the powerful military create a complicated political dynamic that suggests a power struggle. The military's denials add another layer of contradictory narratives to the mix, highlighting various points of view on the situation. The refusal of the high court to stay Khan's disqualification highlights the legal aspects of the case. In the face of rejection, the paragraph contains quantitative details such as the rejection of Mr. Khan's nomination in his hometown of Mianwali and the acceptance of Nawaz Sharif's nomination in two constituencies for the 2024 elections. The mention of other senior party officials adds a quantitative dimension to Mr. Khan's challenges. Time markers like "last week" or "weeks later" assist you in understanding events chronologically as well as structuring and analyzing developments Including specific individuals and their political affiliations, such as Shah Mehmood Qureshi, provides quantitative data on the range of politicians affected.

The qualitative analysis of sixth paragraph emphasizes the complicated story of Nawaz Sharif's political election, with a focus on his acceptance of nomination for the next election despite a lifetime ban on holding public office. The phrase "still required" implies that the process is ongoing and that Sharif's admission is contingent on the lifting of his lifetime ban. There is no definitive solution to his lifetime suspension, and the uncertainty surrounding his nomination highlights procedural ambiguities that raise concerns about the candidacy criteria. The reference to a January hearing introduces a time element and establishes a timeline for dealing with the ban issue. In connection with an earlier suspension imposed on Sharif by the Supreme Court in 2017 for failing to disclose his income. The quantitative analysis of sixth paragraph emphasizes

time indicators, such as a hearing in January, that provide a quantitative measure of the timeline for dealing with Mr. Sharif's suspension. The reference to the 2017 ban adds a numerical dimension by specifying the period of initial disqualification imposed by the Supreme Court. The mention of Mr Sharif's return from self-imposed exile in October emphasizes the length of his absence from the country. The figures will provide a quantitative indication of his political ambitions as he seeks re-election to a fourth term as Prime Minister in February. The use of phrases like "still missing" and "fourth prime ministership" gives Sharif's ongoing challenges and ambitions a quantitative dimension. Overall, the combination of qualitative nuances and quantitative characteristics ensures a thorough understanding.

Qualitative and Quantitative content analysis of the provided paragraphs offers a comprehensive view of Pakistan's changing political landscape. The rejection of Imran Khan's nomination by the electoral body is a significant political development, highlighted by his high profile and potential impact on the 2024 national elections. His situation is complicated further by allegations of political ambition and legal challenges. Similarly, examining Nawaz Sharif's political journey, particularly his acceptance of the nomination despite a lifetime ban, reveals the complex interplay of legal constraints and political ambitions. These analyses are enriched by qualitative elements that add depth and context, as well as quantitative details such as specific rejection reasons, time markers, and numerical indicators.

Second news item among the sample of the *Hindustan Times* was published under headline; "Pakistan court allows Imran Khan's party leaders to hold election meetings with him in jail".

Drawing on the qualitative content analysis, the qualitative analysis of first paragraph emphasizes as Judge Miangul Hasan Aurangzeb granted Imran Khan and his party members permission to hold a rally at Adiala Jail. Khan has asked for permission to hold election strategy meetings with PTI party members in his petition. The judgment of the Islamabad High Court reflects the delicate balance of legal procedures and political activities in the run-up to the February 8 elections. The mention of Adiala Prison adds legal and logistical context, as well as

indicating the location of the meeting. Overall, the document points to legislation that will allow Imran Khan and members of his party to participate in politics in advance of the upcoming elections. As far as the quantitative content analysis is concerned, the quantitative analysis of first paragraph emphasizes as The name "Judge Miangul Hasan Aurangzeb" appears only once, indicating the authority in charge of issuing the order, "PTI Party Members": Mentioned only once, referring to a group Imran Khan wishes to meet with, "Islamabad High Court": Mentioned only once, indicating the authority in charge of granting permits, "Adiala Prison": Only mentioned once and refers to the facility where Imran Khan is being held, "February 8 vote": He is mentioned only once to denote the time frame for which the permit was granted.

The qualitative analysis of second paragraph emphasizes as the text of language is formal and legalistic, implying a legal or official context. The tone is straightforward, and the information about the mission and the people involved is provided. The phrase "obtain permission to hold a meeting" implies a legal or procedural aspect and lends the content a formal tone. The text also emphasizes the importance of developing an election strategy, conveying a sense of urgency. The qualitative analysis reveals that legal communication is structured and procedural in general. The quantitative analysis of second paragraph emphasizes as the order is described in detail in the text, which was issued by Justice Miangul Hasan Aurangzeb. PTI members Asad Qaiser and Junaid Akbar Khan, as well as senators Aurangzeb Khan, Dost Mohammad Khan, and Ishtiaq Meherban, were also named. Quantitative aspects include the number of people named, the fact that it is a petition filed by Khan, and the reference to a specific court order.

The qualitative analysis of third paragraph emphasizes as the document outlines the legal proceedings against 71-year-old cricketer-turned-politician Imran Khan. Khan's petition emphasizes the importance of privacy in discussions with his legal team, implying that confidentiality is important to him. The involvement of key figures such as Attorney General of Pakistan (AGP) Mansoor Usman Awan and Khan's PTI representative complicates the situation politically and legally.

Furthermore, the mention of the AGP's objection to the petition's viability suggests a potential legal challenge to Khan's legal strategy. The quantitative analysis of third paragraph emphasizes as the text mentions requests for privacy during legal consultations, as well as the 700-ticket PTI ticket and the attendance of prominent figures at the hearing, such as AGP Mansoor Usman Awan, PTI lawyer Shoaib Shaheen, and Director of Adiala Prison. Nevertheless, there aren't enough precise quantitative data. The emphasis is on the intangible elements of the legal process, like privacy issues, objections made, and debates regarding ticket distribution.

The qualitative analysis of fourth paragraph emphasizes as the text uses words to convey Justice Aurangzeb's discontent and unhappiness. A combative tone is suggested by the use of phrases like "I expressed my displeasure" and "Isn't your additional comment...enough?", "Should I write a memo to you too?" Examining the supplementary memo written by Judge Athar Minallah in the encryption case further complicates the legal argument. Setting the scene for the Khan Qureshi crypto case helps to clarify Justice Aurangzeb's remarks. Controversial legal scenarios are portrayed in it, such as the improper handling of diplomatic documents and claims of breaking secret laws for political ends. The quantitative analysis of fourth paragraph emphasizes as there are 135 words and 11 sentences in the text. The two questions that comprised Justice Aurangzeb's remarks dealt with specifics of the Saipher case, such as its August 15 opening and the bail that Mr. Khan and Mr. Qureshi were later granted by the Supreme Court.

The qualitative analysis of fifth paragraph emphasizes as the election schedule's release signals a rise in political activity and a change in the major political parties' priorities for election planning. Words like "election-related activities" and "major political party camps" suggest a dynamic and mobilizing atmosphere. Additionally, the statement that the election program is "in full swing" conveys the idea that voting is a methodical and active process. A systematic and timely election process is demonstrated by the nomination document submission deadline and the returning officers' subsequent review of the materials. The quantitative

analysis of fifth paragraph emphasizes as there is a deadline for this phase of the election, which is the December 25–30 nomination paper review period. The requirement to submit nominations by Sunday gains a numerical component when a specific date is specified. This quantitative data enhances the overall comprehension of the information by elucidating the temporal aspects of election planning.

Imran Khan and the members of his party were given permission by Justice Miangul Hasan Aurangzeb to hold a rally at Adiala Jail in the first paragraph. Imran Khan has requested permission from the Election Strategy Council ahead of the elections on February 8, and the Islamabad High Court's ruling strikes a careful balance between political activity and the law. The use of formal legal language is emphasized and formal context is provided in the second paragraph. Through quantitative analysis, a comprehensive description of the court order was obtained, along with the names of all the courts involved and the parties named in the petition. The third paragraph highlights the value of privacy while describing the conversations between Imran Khan's legal team and the court team.

Analysis on daily *The Times of India*

Following pages contain content analysis of the selected news item published in daily *The Times of India*;

First news item among the sample of daily *The Times of India* was published under headline; "Pakistan votes amid net mobile blackouts 11 die in violence". This news story focus critically the situation in Pakistani political scenario that how largest-ever Pakistan's elections remain doubtful with the allegations of rigging and unfair. Weather in these elections the voter's turnout was huge but allegation of rigging, violence and blackout of mobile signal or internet all over the Pakistan make this election controversial. These restrictions on the time of electoral process raised serious concerns about fairness of election and democracy in Pakistan. The blackout of cellular services and internet right before the electoral process in Pakistan cause hurdles during elections when voters were unable to find their concerned polling station, access of information and specially journalists were unable to communicate or

submit their stories regarding elections to their news rooms.

Meanwhile this blackout was justified by the interior ministry as a security measure after recent terror attacks in Pakistan, weather these restrictions right before elections criticized and challenged the transparency, freedom of expression and voters right to access the information. The international organizations like NetBlocks and Amnesty International also criticize this blackout in Pakistan right before the elections and called these measures as hurdles in democratic process or called facilitation to electoral irregularities during electoral process.

This story also highlights that Imran Khan PTI along with other political parties whom are in opposition at that time and civil society condemned the blackout as attack on democracy and impose doubts on fairness of elections in Pakistan. This blackout reflects widespread discontent and suspicious activity which feels like government intentions were not fair to conduct elections or level playing field for all political parties in Pakistan.

In summary this news story portrays how government and establishment put hurdles during electoral process and direct attack on freedom of expression in Pakistan. This blackout is called a part of manipulation, cause violence and unlawful restrictions of civil liberties. This news story describes the future amendments to take preventive measures to ensure future elections are free, fair and transparent.

Second news item among the sample of daily *The Times of India* was published under headline; "US questions conduct of Pakistan election, calls for fraud probe". This news story highlights that United States of America on Friday question on "undue restrictions" during recent elections in Pakistan and expressed concern about allegations of rigging weather US also committed to work with whoever forms the next government in Pakistan. US also focus concerns over during Thursday vote count the jailed former prime minister's party was leading but later on Friday official results were totally changed. US also highlights that Imran Khan Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) was performed well during recent elections despite of crackdown and targeting PTI meanwhile the next government was still likely to be formed by the PML(N) after a spell of political horse trading.

State Department spokesman Matthew Miller also said Washington the US is waiting the electoral results which represent the voters will to select their representatives in National or Provincial assemblies in Pakistan. Miller also said that international observers in which US is already contributing we express our grieve concerns over undue restrictions during elections in Pakistan specially blockage of internet and cellular services in Pakistan which is against the freedom of expression and access of information in Pakistan.

Miller also condemn violence during electoral process in Pakistan, Miller also highlights the key factors like interference, restrictions on Imran Khan PTI candidates and emphasis that investigations of allegations is mandatory for future smooth conduction reforms of elections in Pakistan. Miller in the last said administration of President Joe Biden was "prepared to work with the next Pakistani government" whoever reform government in Pakistan. Miller also told US is ready to work with Pakistan in future in the field of trade, investment and mutual security concerns & cooperation.

Conclusion

At the onset of this research endeavor, we aimed to explore and analyze the portrayal of Pakistan in the selected Indian newspapers. We also attempted to explore and analyze the predominant themes highlighted by the selected newspapers regarding Pakistan during the time period under study.

To analyze the news items published during the December 2023 to March 2024 by *Hindustan Times* and *The Times of India*, a thorough qualitative and quantitative content analysis was carried out in the subsequent sections to offer an understanding of a thorough and refined comprehension of Pakistan's evolving political landscape by the selected newspapers. Imran Khan's denial of the nomination is an important political development because of his immense power and potential influence over the national elections of 2024. This development is highlighted by the intricate interaction between Khan's legal situation and his political aspirations. An examination of Nawaz Sharif's political `career demonstrates the intricate connection between legal

restrictions and political goals. Sharif accepted the nomination despite being barred from politics for life. Qualitative analysis gives these political tales more depth and context by capturing the essence of the problems, feelings, and viewpoints.

Quantitative analysis counts the frequency of significant terms, exposing some details and emphasizing others. This analytical framework's most crucial components are the numerical indicators, temporal markers, and reasons for rejection. The reporting from *Hindustan Times* is distinguished by its deliberate word choice, which preserves objectivity while also capturing the nuances of political events. Complex analysis is implied by terms like "significant political developments" and "complex interactions." On the other hand, phrases like "alleged political ambition" and "rejection of Imran Khan's nomination" are obviously negative, whereas phrases like "careful consideration" and "potential impact" are positive. It is incorporated. All things considered, *Hindustan Times* offers a thorough and perceptive analysis that effectively conveys the complexity of Pakistan's political landscape.

In summary, the selected newspapers portrayed how Pakistani government and establishment put hurdles during electoral process and launched direct attack on freedom of expression in the country. The newspapers labelled the internet blackout as a part of manipulation, cause violence and unlawful restrictions on civil liberties. The whole coverage of Pakistan in the selected news stories described the political system and the election process in Pakistan as problematic. Overall, both the newspapers portrayed the political image of Pakistan as dominated by political unrest and upheaval.

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