# Framing Civil-Military Relations: A Content Analysis of Pakistani Print Media from 2008 to 2018

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## Abstract

This research paper explores the role of Pakistani print media in framing civil-military relations from 2008 to 2018. The study adopts a content analysis methodology to examine the frames assigned to newspaper editorials during this time period, which was chosen due to its significance in Pakistan's history with two democratically elected governments completing their tenure and numerous civil-military events and developments. A purposive sample of editorials from four Pakistani newspapers was taken, including two English language newspapers (The Dawn and The Nation) and two Urdu language newspapers (The Jang and The Nawa-i-Waqt), representing different ideological backgrounds. The selection of these newspapers was based on their circulation, known policy perspectives, and comprehensive representation of the Pakistani press. The findings of the study have important implications for understanding the relationship between the media, civilian government, and military institutions in Pakistan. The research reveals a pro-civilian tilt in the Dawn Newspaper and emphasizes civilian supremacy in the selected newspapers' editorials. However, Jang Newspaper maintained a relatively neutral position in many cases, while other newspapers demonstrated a more pronounced tilt. A comparison between Urdu and English newspapers revealed that English newspapers showed a higher preference for pro-civilian directions, possibly catering to an international readership, while Urdu newspapers exhibited less inclination to criticize the military, targeting readers within Pakistan. Additionally, English newspapers were more reluctant to take a pro-military stance compared to Urdu newspapers, indicating potential differences in policy and editorial approaches between the two language categories. Interestingly, the coverage of all the newspapers remained somewhat similarly between both part tenures (Pakistan Peoples Party, 2008 to 2013 and Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz (2013 to 2018) which shows that media remained consistent in it's portrayal of civil-military relations in Pakistan.

Keywords: *Pakistani print media, civil-military relations, content analysis, newspaper editorials, framing, ideological perspectives.*

## Introduction

The relationship between civil and military institutions in Pakistan has been characterized

by complex dynamics and recurring conflicts, which have a profound impact on the country's

political landscape and democratic processes. The role of the media in framing these civil-military issues is crucial for understanding their implications and the shaping of public opinion. Therefore, this research article aims to investigate how the Pakistani press has framed civil-military issues during the period of 2008 to 2018.

The years between 2008 and 2018 were marked by significant discussions and debates regarding civilian supremacy and the military's involvement in civilian institutions (PILDAT, 2018). The study focuses on the editorials of Pakistani newspapers during this period, which coincided with two major political regimes: the Pakistan Peoples Party (2008-2013) and the Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz (2013-2018).

Government-press relations in Pakistan have been characterized by financial concerns and pressurization of private media groups through laws, regulations, licenses, and taxes (Akhtar, 2017). The significance of print media cannot be overlooked, as prominent newspapers have substantial footprints in the electronic media industry (Rasul & McDowell, 2012). Therefore, this study selected four major newspapers, namely The Dawn, The Nation, Jang, and Nawa-i-Waqt, to represent the influential media groups in Pakistan. The analysis focuses solely on the editorials of these selected newspapers to capture the newspapers' policy and perspective.

This paper examines the civil-military issues that occurred from the restoration of democracy in 2008 till the conclusion of the tenure of the Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz in 2018. Before 2008, Pakistan was governed by military dictator General Pervez Musharraf. The return of democracy brought about a notable change in the political environment (Roberts, 2008). Subsequently, a multitude of civil-military clashes have arisen, garnering significant

attention in the media. Two significant issues in Pakistan are the transfer of control of the Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI), the country's main intelligence agency, to the Interior Ministry in 2008 (Roberts, 2008), and the controversy surrounding a memo supposedly written by the Pakistani Ambassador to the United States, Hussain Haqqani, criticising the Pakistani military in 2011 (Kanwal, 2017). In addition, in 2011, there were notable media reports about claims against Shuja Pasha, the former Director General of the ISI, for his support of the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf ("Dharna was Gen," 2015).

In the context of Pakistan, civilmilitary relationship (CMR) pertains to the interaction among the civilian and military establishments and leadership within the country. Due to the greater power held by the military compared to the civilian government, CMR in Pakistan is typically characterized by an imbalance of power. Civil-military conflicts or issues arise when disputes or problems occur between these two institutions. These conflicts may not always be openly contested but can be recognized through consistent media discussions. In this study, the term "civil" refers to the political establishment with the constitutional authority to exercise executive power and create legislation. In some cases, "civil" may also encompass the judiciary, while "military" refers to the highest-ranking military leaders responsible for border protection and assisting state institutions when needed.This study explores the research query that how Pakistani Print Media framed the civil-military issues from 2008 to 2018.

**Significance of Civil-Military Relationship, Media's Role & Case Study of Pakistan**

Civil-military interactions, a subject of lasting fascination, have received significant focus due to their pivotal role in moulding the operation of a state. Researchers worldwide have been dedicated to comprehending the delicate equilibrium between civilian and military institutions. Pakistan's civil-military ties have been especially important due to the country's intricate political

environment and past events. This literature review aims to provide a thorough examination of the current studies on civil-military interactions in Pakistan.

This review seeks to provide insight into the dynamics, problems, and implications of civil-military interactions in Pakistan by examining various research, theories, and views. The study carried out in this field offers valuable understanding of the complex interaction between civilian and military authorities, their decision-making procedures, and the consequences for governance, democracy, and national security.

Many historians have analysed the historical development of civil-military relations in Pakistan, investigating the origins of the military's influential position in politics. The nation has had numerous military coups and periods of direct military governance, which have greatly influenced the dynamic between the civilian and military domains. These studies emphasise the impact of historical circumstances, such as the enduring effects of British colonial rule, the establishment of Pakistan as an independent nation, and the hostilities between India and Pakistan, on the relationship between the civilian government and the military.

According to Donnithorne (2013) Janowitz's emphasis on trust between soldiers and civilian leadership builds on Huntington's objective approach to civil-military relations. Janowitz recognized that effective civilian control goes beyond mere definitions of roles and responsibilities. He argued that a solid foundation of trust between the military and civilian leadership is crucial for the smooth functioning of civil-military relations.Janowitz believed that trust is established through shared experiences, understanding, and communication between the military and civilian spheres. He emphasized the need for civilian leaders to have a comprehensive understanding of military affairs and the challenges faced by soldiers. Similarly,

he argued that military personnel should be educated about the principles of civilian control and the political context within which they operate.

One notable study conducted by Pal in 2011 shed light on the transformative potential of a free media in reducing socio-political instability and promoting the interests of the citizens. According to Pal's findings, when the media operates freely and independently, it acts as a powerful watchdog that holds self-interested governments accountable for their actions. By exposing corruption, abuses of power, and inefficiencies within the government, the media exerts pressure on the ruling authorities to act in the best interests of the people. In this context, a vibrant and unrestricted media can serve as a check on the military's influence and prevent it from encroaching upon the democratic space. By promoting transparency, accountability, and public debate, the media fosters an environment where civil-military relations can thrive in a healthy and balanced manner.

However, it is crucial to acknowledge that media freedom and its ability to influence civil-military relations are not universal phenomena. In many countries, including Pakistan, the struggle between civilian rule and authoritarian regimes has presented challenges to media independence. In such contexts, the media often faces significant restrictions, censorship, and intimidation, hindering its capacity to act as an effective check on the military's power.

In the case of Pakistan, the country has experienced a tumultuous history with numerous periods of military rule interspersed with civilian governments. During military regimes, the media has often been suppressed, leading to limited public access to unbiased information and

critical voices. This not only undermines the democratic processes but also weakens the ability of the media to contribute to healthy civil-military relations.

The struggle for media freedom in countries like Pakistan reflects a broader tension between democratic governance and authoritarian tendencies. When media freedom is curtailed, it becomes challenging to foster a transparent and accountable relationship between the civilian government and the military. In turn, this can contribute to an imbalance of power, erode public trust, and hinder the consolidation of democratic institutions.

In conclusion, the role of media in shaping civil-military relations cannot be underestimated. A free and independent media has the potential to hold governments accountable, promote transparency, and safeguard democratic principles. However, challenges to media freedom, as observed in countries like Pakistan, can impede the establishment of healthy civil-military relations. To foster a robust democratic society, it is crucial to address these challenges, protect media freedom, and promote an environment where the media can effectively contribute to the checks and balances necessary for a stable and democratic civil-military relationship.

**Lack of Democratic Culture in Pakistan**

Zaidi (2005) presents a compelling argument that suggests a significant lack of support and active participation for democratic ideals within the Pakistani society. According to Zaidi, the general population in Pakistan tends to prioritize narrow economistic objectives over broader democratic values.

One of the key implications of this lack of democratic culture is its impact on civil-military relations. In a thriving democratic system, there is a delicate balance of power and a clear separation between the civilian government and the military establishment. However, in Pakistan, this balance has often been disrupted by frequent military interventions in politics. The absence of a strong democratic culture has limited civilian control over the military, making it challenging to establish and sustain robust civil-military relations.

Moreover, the lack of citizen engagement in democratic processes further exacerbates the problem. Democracy thrives when citizens actively participate in political affairs, including voting, political activism, and engaging in public discourse. However, in Pakistan, the citizens' level of involvement in democratic practices remains relatively low. This disengagement inhibits the development of a vibrant democratic society where the people's voices are effectively represented and their concerns are adequately addressed.

The absence of a strong democratic culture also manifests in other areas of governance and public life. Institutions that are crucial for the functioning of democracy, such as an independent judiciary, free media, and a vibrant civil society, face significant challenges in Pakistan. These institutions are essential for upholding the principles of democracy, ensuring accountability, and safeguarding citizens' rights. However, their effectiveness and independence have often been compromised due to the prevailing democratic deficit.

In examining the comparative studies between India and Pakistan, the divergent paths of democratic development become evident. These studies shed light on the factors that have contributed to the contrasting democratic landscapes in the two neighboring countries.

Oldenburg's (2010) analysis delved into the democratic structures of both India and Pakistan, revealing a significant aspect that distinguishes India's flourishing democracy from Pakistan's struggles. He attributed India's success in democratic consolidation, to a lesser extent of political interference.

In contrast, Afridi (2016) focused on the weaknesses within Pakistan's political structure and highlighted the stronger role of the military as contributing factors to the civil-military imbalance. The study brought attention to the influence and intervention of the military in Pakistan's political affairs, which has often overshadowed civilian governance. This disproportionate influence has resulted in an imbalance of power and weakened the democratic institutions' ability to function independently.

Afridi's research underlined that Pakistan's struggle for democratic consolidation stems from the dominance of the military, which has historically wielded significant power and influence. This has led to a limited space for civilian leadership and a diminished capacity for democratic institutions to exercise their authority effectively. As a result, Pakistan has experienced a recurring pattern of military interventions, directly or indirectly, in the country's political affairs, hindering the consolidation and stability of its democratic system

**Widening Gap between Civil and Military Institutions in Pakistan**

Scholars have analyzed the civil-military relations from 2008 to 2018 in Pakistan, where they mostly found a widening gap between civil and military institutions. Khokhar (2016) discussed the detrimental effects of strained civil-military relations on democratic norms, while

Mahmood (2016) blamed weak political institutions and a deteriorating economy for the derailment of democracy.

According to Akhtar (2017), political parties exploited the media to win support, while the military employed it to undermine the government's policies during Asif Ali Zardari's rule from 2008 to 2013. In 2011, Fair made a prediction that, despite the governance shortcomings of the PPP, the military would not resort to seizing control or leading to the fall of the government. Nevertheless, the study recognised the potential for the military to regain control as a result of public dissatisfaction.

Similarly, Nawaz Sharif's regime (2013-2018) also faced challenges in its relationship with the military. Wolf (2017) claimed that Sharif's ouster would further weaken civil-military relations and strengthen the military's influence, particularly in the context of the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC).

The media has had a substantial impact in influencing public opinion regarding civil-military ties. Kugelman (2018) analysed the impact of an article published in the Dawn newspaper, which caused a division between the civilian and military leadership. Initially, the military opposed a decision made by the government. This episode underscored the escalating influence of the military in Pakistan. Behera (2018) has posited the notion of a guided democracy in Pakistan, wherein the existing democratic framework is maintained and validated through the process of elections. This concept stems from the declining state of civil-military ties witnessed from 2008 to 2018.

The Pakistani media has also faced scrutiny for its coverage of political events. Hussain (2015) argued that the media's focus on personalities rather than policy-making hindered the public's understanding of important issues. Raza et al. (2012) found that Pakistani newspapers framed terrorism issues responsibly, promoting peace journalism and holding themselves accountable. However, Siraj and Waheed (2019) criticized the media's coverage of the Panama Leaks, stating that it was influenced by individual agendas and strategies. Furthermore, distinctions between Urdu and English newspapers were evident, with Urdu newspapers being more sensationalistic in their coverage.

Overall, these studies provide insights into the ongoing civil-military divide in Pakistan, its impact on democratic processes, and the role of media in shaping public discourse on this issue. Based on the literature and problem regarding this research study, following hypotheses were generated.

H1: There exists a significant difference in the perspectives presented by newspaper editorials regarding the portrayal of civil-military matters in Pakistan.

H2: There is a significant difference across newspapers when it comes to the association of directions (a component of framing) and civil-military matters.

H3: English and Urdu medium newspaper editorials differ significantly in terms of the framing directions they take.

H4: There is a significant difference in the approach towards civil-military issues during the first term (Pakistan Peoples Party) and the second term (Pakistan Muslim League N)

**Framing of Civil Military Relationship in Pakistani Print Media**

The concept of framing in media has been widely studied since the 1970s, with Gitlin (1980) being one of the key contributors to its development. Media framing influences audience perception by presenting and discussing a subject in different ways within public discourse. This concept is closely linked to agenda setting theory, which has gained popularity due to its compatibility with various ideas and theories, as noted by McCombs and Ghanem (2001).

The construction of news is intricately tied to the larger context of media framing, as it aims to convey a specific understanding of issues or events, as described by Reese (2007). Reese and Ballinger (2001) suggest that media frames are organized social values that evolve over time, resulting in the development of symbolic frames within society.

Framing involves the selection, exclusion, elaboration, and prominence of data in storytelling, and some researchers have focused on the contextual approach of framing, considering the "context" of information (Tankard et al., 1991). Scheufele and Tewksbury (2007) argue that journalists play a role in creating issues by drawing attention to specific aspects of social reality, using different frames to advance particular agendas. News framing is a presentation technique used by communicators and media professionals to make complex information more easily understood by the public.

Framing is influenced by the choice or rejection of content, the preference for certain frames, and the predominance of frames that reinforce the status quo. Reese (2010) emphasizes the role of journalists and their organizational routines and ideals in constructing news stories with favorable frames.

Framing is a crucial element in how reality is constructed in news media and is achieved through the ranking, summarizing, and organizing of events using journalistic frames. Words, metaphors, concepts, themes, symbols, and visual images in news narratives all function as frames. Media plays a significant role in shaping audience perceptions by portraying objects or subjects within specific frames constructed by the media. Frame analysis is useful in understanding opinions on conflicts, whether they are favorable or unfavorable, as it helps identify different frames developed by the mass media for specific audiences.

The subjects of political communication and media framing have been extensively discussed in academic discourse. Matthes (2010) categorises four political framing processes: 1) A contest of perspectives between leaders or strategic communicators, 2) deliberate choices in how information is presented by those involved, 3) framing as a dynamic and evolving process, and 4) frames exert their influence by consistently presenting familiar patterns, enabling ordinary individuals to mentally connect them for future use.

By expanding the theoretical framework in the context of the study's content, the research aims to provide a comprehensive analysis of how Pakistani print media has framed civil- military relations from 2008 to 2018. The study acknowledges that the framing of civil-military relations is a complex and dynamic process, influenced by various factors such as political events, government changes, and the ideological orientations of media organizations.

Additionally, the study recognizes the role of language in framing civil-military issues. The choice of words, metaphors, and symbols in editorials can shape the narrative and influence

audience perception. It considers how linguistic framing techniques are employed to convey specific messages and advance particular agendas.

In examining the role of Pakistani print media in shaping civil-military relations, the study also considers the potential consequences of media framing. It acknowledges that media frames can impact public opinion, influence policy decisions, and contribute to the consolidation or erosion of democratic norms and institutions. By understanding how media frames civil-military issues, the study aims to shed light on the broader implications for governance, public discourse, and democratic processes in Pakistan.

**Methodology**

This research study has adopted content analysis to study the frames assigned to the newspaper editorials. The scope of this study encompasses the print media of Pakistan from 2008 to 2018 for the following reasons. Firstly, this time period was chosen because it marked a significant milestone in Pakistan's history, with two democratically elected governments successfully completing their tenure. Secondly, the period from 2008 to 2018 was characterized by a multitude of events and developments related to civil-military issues, as extensively discussed in the category section of this chapter (Islam, Zubair & Muhammad, 2019).

In this study, the sampling process involved selecting editorials that either contained particular keywords or fell into the predefined categories outlined later in this chapter. These editorials were considered to be related to civil-military relationships. A deliberate sample of editorials, including those published alongside civil-military editorials in the same publication, was collected from four Pakistani newspapers with a specific focus on civil-military ties. The

sample comprised two English language newspapers, namely The Dawn and The Nation, and two Urdu language newspapers, namely The Jang and The Nawa-i-Waqt. The choice of these newspapers was made based on their circulation and established policy positions. The Dawn is renowned for its progressive social agenda and has a wide readership, whilst The Nation is regarded as the most conservative English newspaper in Pakistan. The Jang daily holds the distinction of being the most extensively distributed Urdu newspaper and is renowned for its balanced viewpoint. On the other hand, The Nawa-i-Waqt, which is the second most popular newspaper in Pakistan, is acknowledged for its firm support of Islamic philosophy and democracy. The chosen publications encompass a range of ideological perspectives, including leftist, liberal, conservative/moderate, and Islamic ideas. Furthermore, the chosen newspapers have a substantial audience throughout Pakistan, guaranteeing a thorough portrayal of the Pakistani press (Bhatti, 2013; Malik & Iqbal, 2010; Khan & Safder, 2010; Hayat & Juliana, 2016; Ijaz & Ashfaq, 2018).

By selecting two English language newspapers and two Urdu language newspapers, this study aims to ensure a comprehensive analysis of civil-military framing in the Pakistani press, considering different language preferences and ideological orientations. The inclusion of newspapers with varying policy perspectives enhances the representation of diverse viewpoints in the analysis.

**Table 1**

*Research Categories and Definitions*

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**Category & Definition**

A. General (R) Pervez Musharraf and his regime: Editorials pertaining to General (R) Pervez Musharraf and his government, encompassing subjects like his rise to power, appointments of army officers, the National Reconciliation Ordinance (NRO), and his vision for grassroots democracy.

B. Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI)Issues related to the Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI), including critiques of the agency and allegations of involvement in cases concerning missing persons.

C. Impeachment and High Treason Trial of General (R) Pervez Musharraf: Editorials focused on the impeachment attempts against President Pervez Musharraf and the subsequent trial for high treason.

D. Memo Gate (2011)
Controversy surrounding the "Memo Gate" incident, involving a memorandum addressed to Admiral Mike Mullen of the United States by Pakistani ambassador Hussain Haqqani, and its impact on civil-military relations in Pakistan.

E. Alleged Political role of military: Editorials discussing the alleged political role and interference of the Pakistani military.

F. Rangers Operation: The paramilitary force Rangers' operation in Karachi and the tensions between the provincial government and the military.

G. Attack on a Journalist Hamid Mir::Editorials related to the attack on journalist Hamid Mir and

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the subsequent allegations against the Director-General of ISI, Lt. Gen Zaheer-ul-Islam.

H. The military operation against terrorism: Coverage of military operations against terrorism in Pakistan, including Operation Sirat-e-Mustaqeem, Operation Rah-e-Rast, Operation Rah-e-Nijat, Operation Koh-e-Sufaid, and Operation Zarbe Azab.

I. Military Courts: Discussion military courts establishment following the Army Public School attack and their implications for the judicial system in Pakistan.

J. Dawn Leaks and Nawaz Sharif's interview to Cyrial Almeida (2016): Dawn Newspaper coverage of the contentious meeting between civilian and military leaders, along with Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif's allegations regarding the Pakistani army's involvement in the Mumbai attacks.

K. Pashtun Tahaffuz Movement: A grassroots movement Pashtun Tahafuz Movement, a grassroots movement advocating for Pashtun rights and critiquing the military's role in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA).

L. Faizabad Sit-in of Religious Party: Tehreek-e-Labaik (TLP) sit-in at Faizabad, its ramifications for the nation, and allegations of army support.

M. Miscellaneous civil-military issues: Those Civil-military issues not classified within the predefined categories in the study.

The study also established three distinct categories: Pro-civilian, Pro-military, and Neutral or Balanced. Pro-civilian editorials expressed support for civilian leadership or civil institutions, while Pro-military editorials favoured military leadership or military institutions. Neutral or Balanced editorials remained impartial, either criticising or admiring both civil and military institutions or leadership. Editorials that did not fit into either the pro-civilian or pro-military frames were also included in the Neutral or Balanced category.

**Findings & Analysis**

Two programmers received training to write the coding for the material. Their assignment was to choose the category, direction, and framing attribute based on specified definitions, and also to provide prominence scores according to stated criteria. In order to maintain uniformity among the coders, the inter-coder reliability was measured using Holsti's formula, as described by Cai (2003). The formula for calculating agreement is written as Agreement = 2N / (N1 + N2), where N represents the total number of coding decisions agreed upon by both coders, and N1 and N2 indicate the number of coding decisions made by the first and second coders, respectively. This formula is tantamount to computing the percentage of agreement when both coders encode identical text. Inter-coder dependability was evaluated for every coding decision, and the subsequent percentages represent the specific outcomes.

• The category selection rate is 0.99, with 3240 out of 3282 selections falling into the desired category.

• The direction selection rate is 96.71%, with 3174 out of 3282 selections being in the correct direction.

Based on this calculation, reliability is deemed good when the values above 0.95, so the coding judgments were dependable.

**Table 2**

*Cross-tabulation (Categories & Directions)*

| | | Directions | | | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | neutral | pro-civilian | pro-military | |
| Category | a | 58 | 180 | 18 | 256 |
| | b | 29 | 80 | 10 | 119 |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| c | 22 | 169 | 2 | 193 |
| d | 27 | 17 | 21 | 65 |
| e | 22 | 48 | 3 | 73 |
| f | 72 | 40 | 52 | 164 |
| g | 10 | 25 | 5 | 40 |
| h | 166 | 83 | 51 | 300 |
| i | 29 | 46 | 10 | 85 |
| j | 11 | 11 | 0 | 22 |
| k | 7 | 17 | 0 | 24 |
| l | 7 | 7 | 2 | 16 |
| m | 88 | 151 | 45 | 284 |
| Total | 548 | 874 | 219 | 1641 |

Table 2 displayed the directional preferences of the editorials categorised by their respective categories. The table data indicated that the group 'C' had the highest proportion of pro-civilian editorials, accounting for 87.56%. The categories 'D' (memogate) and 'F' (Rangers Operation) had the highest proportion of pro-military editorials, accounting for approximately 32%. By contrast, the chart revealed that the category 'H' (pertaining to operations against terrorism) had the highest percentage of editorials with a neutral stance (55.33%).

**Table 3**

*Directions of Newspapers*

| Newspaper | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Dawn* | Directions | Neutral 88 |
| | | pro-civilian 340 |
| | | pro-military 10 |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Total | 438 | |
| *The Nation* | Directions | | Neutral 91 |
| | | | pro-civilian 167 |
| | | | pro-military 45 |
| | Total | 303 | |
| *Jang* | Directions | | Neutral  183 |
| | | | pro-civilian 150 |
| | | | pro-military  63 |
| | Total | 396 | |
| *Nawa-i-Waqt* | Directions | | Neutral      186 |
| | | | pro-civilian    217 |
| | | | pro-military    101 |
| | Total | 504 | |

According to Table 3, Jang Newspaper had the highest percentage (46.21%) of impartial editorials compared to other newspapers. Dawn published a higher percentage (67.5%) of editorials in support of civilians compared to any other daily. On the other hand, Nawa-i-Waqt published the highest number of editorials in support of the military.

**Table 4**

*Directions of Newspapers (Chi-square tests)*

| Newspaper | | Value | df | Asymptotic Significance (2-sided) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Dawn* | Pearson Chi-Square | 121.718[a] | 2 | .000 |
| | Likelihood Ratio | 159.821 | 2 | .000 |

|  |  |  |  |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | Linear-by-Linear Association | 69.580 | 1 | .000 |
|  | N of Valid Cases | 438 |  |  |
| *The Nation* | Pearson Chi-Square | 48.206[b] | 2 | .000 |
|  | Likelihood Ratio | 57.584 | 2 | .000 |
|  | Linear-by-Linear Association | 11.916 | 1 | .001 |
|  | N of Valid Cases | 303 |  |  |
| *Jang* | Pearson Chi-Square | 96.638[c] | 2 | .000 |
|  | Likelihood Ratio | 110.014 | 2 | .000 |
|  | Linear-by-Linear Association | 30.108 | 1 | .000 |
|  | N of Valid Cases | 396 |  |  |
| *Nawa-i-Waqt* | Pearson Chi-Square | 79.824[d] | 2 | .000 |
|  | Likelihood Ratio | 93.805 | 2 | .000 |
|  | Linear-by-Linear Association | 22.313 | 1 | .000 |
|  | N of Valid Cases | 504 |  |  |

Table 3 presents the variations in newspaper perspectives on the framing of civil-military relations. The importance of these disparities is demonstrated in Table 4 above, which is computed using the Chi-square test. Table 4 shows that the Pearson Chi-square values for all four newspapers are statistically significant, with p-values below 0.001. Furthermore, the linear-by-linear association is significantly strong with a p-value of less than 0.001. As a result, the first two hypotheses of this study are accepted.

**Table 5**

*Medium wise Cross tabulation of Newspaper Directions*

|  |  | Directions | | | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  |  | neutral | pro-civilian | pro-military | |
| Language | English | 179 | 507 | 55 | 741 |
|  | Urdu | 369 | 367 | 164 | 900 |
| Total | | 548 | 874 | 219 | 1641 |

There is a noticeable distinction between English and Urdu newspaper editorials in terms of the directions of editorials, as shown in Table 5. The importance of this distinction is measured using Chi-square, and the results are displayed in Table 6 below. The statistical analysis yielded a χ2 value of 128.352 with 2 degrees of freedom and a p-value of less than 0.001. This indicates a considerable disparity between English and Urdu editorials regarding their stance on directions (neutral, pro-civilian, and pro-military). As a result, hypothesis H3 is accepted.

**Table 6**

*Chi-Square Tests of Medium wise Newspaper Directions*

|  | Value | df | Asymptotic Significance (2-sided) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Pearson Chi-Square | 128.352[a] | 2 | .000 |
| Likelihood Ratio | 131.104 | 2 | .000 |
| Linear-by-Linear Association | 3.473 | 1 | .032 |
| N of Valid Cases | 1641 | | |

*a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 98.89.*

**Table 7**

*Cross tabulation of Party Tenure wise Newspaper Directions*

| | | Directions | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | neutral | pro-civilian | pro-military | Total |
| Tenure | first | 177 | 327 | 68 | 572 |
| | second | 371 | 547 | 151 | 1069 |
| Total | | 548 | 874 | 219 | 1641 |

Table 7 demonstrates that there is no substantial disparity between the tenure directions of newspaper editorials for the first and second parties. Table 8 presented statistical evidence, including the results ($\chi2 = 5.493$, df = 2, p = 0.064), which indicated that the significant value is greater than 0.05. Therefore, there is no substantial distinction between the durations of the first and second parties in terms of the orientations of newspaper editorials. Therefore, the fourth hypothesis of this study is rejected.

**Table 8**

*Chi-Square Tests on Newspaper Preferences by Party Tenure*

| | Value | df | Asymptotic Significance (2-sided) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Pearson Chi-Square | 5.493[a] | 2 | .064 |
| Likelihood Ratio | 5.511 | 2 | .064 |
| Linear-by-Linear Association | 0.202 | 1 | .653 |
| N of Valid Cases | 1641 | | |

*a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 76.34.*

## Conclusion

The findings of this research paper shed light on the complex relationship between the Pakistani print media, civil-military relations, and the role they play in shaping the country's political landscape. Understanding these dynamics is crucial for comprehending the power dynamics and interactions between key institutions in Pakistan.

One significant observation from the study is the notable pro-civilian tilt exhibited by Dawn Newspaper. This suggests that Dawn, as well as other selected newspapers, tend to emphasize civilian supremacy in their editorials. This inclination indicates a broader trend among Pakistani newspapers to align themselves with the civilian leadership, particularly during times of conflict or civil-military issues. This alignment can be seen as an expression of support for civilian governance and democratic principles.

Moreover, the research highlights the varying editorial stances among the newspapers analyzed. While Dawn and some other newspapers demonstrate a pronounced pro-civilian tilt, Jang Newspaper maintains a relatively neutral position in a significant number of cases. This neutrality could be attributed to Jang's attempt to provide balanced coverage and avoid favoring any specific institution or side. The differing editorial positions among newspapers reflect the diversity of perspectives within the Pakistani media landscape.

The comparison between Urdu and English newspapers reveals intriguing patterns. English newspapers, targeting an international readership, exhibit a higher preference for pro-civilian directions. This preference can be understood as an attempt to appeal to an audience that values democratic norms and civilian supremacy. In contrast, Urdu newspapers, primarily

catering to readers within Pakistan, demonstrate less inclination towards criticizing the military. This observation suggests that Urdu newspapers may be more cautious in challenging the military's role due to factors such as cultural context, readership preferences, or the need to maintain a wider readership base.

Furthermore, the research indicates that English newspapers are more reluctant to take a pro-military stance compared to Urdu newspapers. This disparity in editorial positions between the two language categories implies potential differences in policy and editorial approaches. It highlights the significance of language in shaping media discourse and suggests that English newspapers may have a stronger commitment to upholding democratic values and civilian control over the military.

The significance of these findings lies in their contribution to our understanding of the media's role in shaping civil-military relations in Pakistan. The research highlights the influence and stance of print media outlets in promoting civilian supremacy and provides insights into the complexities of media narratives in the country.

Understanding the relationship between the media and civil-military relations is crucial for comprehending power dynamics, public opinion, and the overall democratic landscape. The findings of this study shed light on the nuances of media framing and its impact on civil-military dynamics, informing discussions on media influence, democratic processes, and the balance of power in Pakistan.Overall, this research contributes valuable insights to academic and policy debates surrounding civil-military relations and underscores the significance of print media in shaping these dynamics.

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