

Comparative Analysis of the Coverage by British and American Newspapers on Pakistan's Civil and Military Leadership during the Musharraf Regime

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Abstract

Pakistan's military and civil leadership has continuously been influential in formulating and executing an array of national policies. The importance of mainstream print media cannot be ignored in the sphere of making public opinion about powerful institutions of civil and military leaders in the state. Therefore, the study has attempted to gauge civil and military leadership representation by four British and American mainstream newspapers (The Guardian, The Telegraph, The New York Times, and The Washington Post) during the nine-year dictatorship regime of General Pervez Musharraf (1999–2008). Quantitative content analysis has been employed as a methodology for analyzing news stories, articles/features, and editorials in 10 major categories, and 399 items were selected in 15 sub-categories through purpose sampling techniques in British and American newspapers related to the civil and military leadership of Pakistan. Findings have revealed that overall, anti-military leadership representation has been found more in the Musharraf era but the ratio of pro-military coverage has been calculated more as compared to pro-civilian coverage. The four leading newspapers have framed military establishment positively in the case of the Lal-masjid (Red Mosque) operation while more negatively represented in the category of referendum/general elections. Based on commutative coverage of civil and military leadership, the overall impression of Pakistan has been found more unfavorable during the dictatorship regime of General Pervez Musharraf in Western print media.

Keywords: Pervez Musharraf, Civil and Military leadership, UK, USA, Western media, Framing, Pakistan, Dictator

Introduction

The military establishment has been considered one of the most pivotal, assertive, and powerful institutions in developed, developing, and backward countries of the world as the armed forces exert their influence in defining, formulating, and implementing various policies related to the internal and external affairs of the state. It was argued that in certain developing countries, the military has deviated from the set, identified, and delineated roles and functions as they were supposed to perform. Consequently, being an assertive institution, it has been observed that they have been posing a challenge to the elected civilian leadership and are not willing to accept civilian supremacy which resulted in the weakening of democracy (William, 2001). Democracy couldn't be stabled in developing countries in general and in particular historically due to the biggest hurdle of subordinating the establishment under the elected civilian institution. (Huntington, 1995). Some scholars have argued that if we have entered in new phase of civil-military relationship in the context of the third wave of democratization and the end of the Cold War, the ratio of successful military putsches would be lesser. The statistics of this era endorsed the general contentions as 30 to 40 military coup attempts were made in the decades of the '80s and 90's but most of them have remained unsuccessful yet the military establishment succeeded in toppling the civilian government in Thailand, Sudan, Nigeria, Haiti and Pakistan (Berlin, 2001). The civilian governments were fragile coupled with nascent democratic experiments in these states plagued with a long-entrenched history of autocratic rule. However, it is pertinent to mention here that the military coup of 1999 in Pakistan brought an end to eleven years' substantial period of democratic rule.

Musharraf regime in Pakistan

In Pakistan, Initially, the military government of General Musharraf was not globally recognized. The Western countries categorically expressed their apprehension. Consequently, its membership of Pakistan concerning the Common Wealth of Nations was suspended and the United States also censured the military regime. The tragic incident of September eleven proved a blessing in disguise for the military ruler as Pakistan decided to support the coalition forces in the war on terror. It paved the way for legitimizing the rule of General Musharraf. The political history of the country has witnessed that the successive military establishment sought alliances with Western powers to legitimize and strengthen their rule. And other objective of these alliances was the acquisition of weapons and to equip the armed forces with modern arsenals because the military could not achieve these objectives through domestic resources. The military structure and its professionalism have been shown to be significantly shaped by defense agreements, alliances, and the foreign policy policies of a nation. Praetorianism and the professionalism of the armed services have always coexisted in Pakistan. Defense alliances were used by the regimes of General Muhammad Ayub Khan (1958–1969) and General Zia-Ul-Haq (1977–1988) to demonstrate the above strategy. The rationale behind this approach was that contemporary professional armed forces see themselves as the

only protectors of the state's moral, political, and physical integrity (Khakwani, 2003). Westernized liberal sections of Pakistani society welcomed the military takeover of 1999 as they considered him as one of their own due to the modern and liberal outlook of General Musharraf. Certain human rights activists from NGOs in particular and civil society, in general, had no sympathy for the overthrow of the democratically elected premier as they were infuriated by his authoritarian style of governance and his attempt to become Leader of the faithful through a constitutional amendment. By and large, General Musharraf was seen as a liberator and savior at that time. Some renowned leading figures of civil society who fought and struggled for the restoration of democracy during Zia military rule, are now willing inducted into the cabinet under the aegis of General Musharraf (Zaidi, 2005).

During the first seven years, General Musharraf had not faced any serious challenges or threats about the survival of his government but in the year 2007, when he dismissed the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, that was the starting point of his downfall. Subsequently series of events and protests took place which further weakened his grip on the government. As the momentum of the lawyers' movement for the restoration of CJ was at its peak, conversely the popularity of General Musharraf was rapidly moving down the hill. It began with the killing of dozens of people in the city of Karachi on May 12, 2007, on the eve of the proposed tour of the ousted CJ, as this tragic incident proved to be the weakest moment during the entire presidency of General Musharraf. The military ruler was called a lame-duck president has become a desperate person (Hoodbhoy, 2007). In view of critics, he could stay in power until and unless he had the support of the military establishment because at that time, he was president in uniform otherwise his departure sooner or later was predicted by the analysts writing on the wall.

To eliminate, pro-Taliban students of Lal Masjid (Red Mosque) who challenged the writ of the government those tried to declare Sharia law in the heart of the capital of Pakistan, General Musharraf ordered a military operation. Some 150 militants were killed in this successful operation but anti-Musharraf sentiments prevailed and were exploited by the right-wing religious political parties. However, the Western powers and liberal progressive parties acknowledged his decision to flush out the militants from the core center of Islamabad.

The military ruler was embroiled in hot waters due to these two major crises but it was further compounded by the demands of opposition political parties for free and fair elections as due at the end of the year 2007. There had been a legal and political confrontation between General Musharraf and the opposition as he wanted to be elected a second time as president in uniform from the current national and provincial assemblies. Despite strong criticism, he was re-elected as president in October 2007. His re-election as president and NRO deal further tarnished his image and damaged his political credentials domestically in particular and globally in general. Through a deal between General Pervez Musharraf and Benazir Bhutto, the corruption cases against Benazir Bhutto, Asif Ali Zardari & other politicians from different mainstream political parties along with civil servants and military officers were exonerated through the National Reconciliation Ordinance which was passed in 2007 by the military regime. As part of the NRO agreement mediated by the United States between Musharraf and Benazir Bhutto, corruption allegations against politicians and other individuals were withdrawn. This made Bhutto's October 18, 2007, return from self-exile easier. But other events—such as the declaration of emergency on November 3 and Bhutto's murder on December 27, 2007—damaged Musharraf politically to the point where his popularity declined. The last damage to his political career came when his party, PML (Q), lost the general elections in February 2008. Under the imminent prospect of impeachment, the newly formed ruling party, the PPP, with the backing of other opposition parties, forced him to step down as president in August 2007.

Statement of the problem

During the Cold War era, Western scholars of political science, international relations in general, and media studies in particular focused on coverage of the Arab world, phenomena of Arab nationalism, and conflict with Israel. In addition to this, the culture, civilization, and society of the Middle East region remained a significant area of research (Mishra, 1979; Terry, 1975, 1985). There was a paradigm shift that occurred after communism and the former USSR collapsed. Several studies have been done on how Muslims, Islam, and the Muslim world are covered in Western mainstream print and electronic media by social scientists, orientalist, and mass communication scholars (Khalid, 2001). There wasn't much research undertaken on how Pakistan was covered and portrayed before 9/11. While most studies utilized quantitative content analysis to look at Pakistan's portrayal in Western print media, some scholars focused on news and editorial handling of the Indo-Pak conflict, especially the topic of Kashmir (Sheikh, 1998). A few other studies examined Pakistan's image in relation to drone strikes, military operations in tribal areas, the movement of lawyers, and General Musharraf's declaration of emergency (Ayoub & Ahmad, 2013; Khan & Imran, 2011). The extensive review of relevant research on Pakistan's portrayal in Western mainstream media triggered particular attention to a area that still needs work: how Pakistan's military and civil establishments are portrayed in relation to different incidents and events that occurred during General Musharraf's dictatorship. A few studies have highlighted the portrayal of Pakistan in the context of terrorism in its national and international media in which western media criticized Pakistan's anti-terrorism efforts (Ali, Safwan & Bhutta, 2021; Safwan & Razzaq, 2023) The purpose of this study is to examine how Pakistani military and civilian leadership have been portrayed in US and UK mainstream print media. It will focus primarily on how, during General Pervez Musharraf's quasi-military

rule (1999–2008), Pakistani political and military leadership was portrayed in four major newspapers from these countries. The nature and handling of this portrayal in the chosen newspapers will be the main subjects of the study.

Significance of Study

This study investigates the representation of Pakistani military and civil leadership in mainstream American and British print media. To understand the significance of the present study requires an awareness of the Pakistan geographical position. Pakistan's worldwide geopolitical significance is further strengthened by its strategic location and vast coastline along the Arabian Sea, which minimize geographical barriers and facilitate trade and commerce.

The study focuses on how Pakistan's military and civil establishments shape political, economic, and security challenges on a regional and international scale. Important occurrences throughout General Musharraf's nine-year military regime, including Pakistan's participation in the fight against terrorism, political shifts, and global interactions, highlight the study's applicability. This study offers a comprehensive analysis of how Pakistani leadership is portrayed and viewed in Western print media by filling in the gaps in previous studies.

Literature Review

There wasn't much research done before 9/11 on how Pakistan, Muslims, and Islam were portrayed in Western media. The majority of studies on how Islam is portrayed used qualitative methods and frequently concentrated on particular Muslim communities, mainly the Pakistani society. The main conclusions of pertinent studies on Pakistan and the larger Muslim world have been compiled in this section of the literature review. It is relevant to mention here that most of the studies have been conducted regarding the representation of Islam and Arabs, specifically the conflict with Israel remained the burning question in the news and editorial contents of the media. Before September eleven, the review of various studies, although a few in number communicates the picture that most of the research focused on coverage, and portrayal of the Arab world in the decades 60s, 70s, and 80s. The primary objective of such news or editorial analysis of Western and the US print media was to explore the representation of the Arab community living in Europe or North America; the Middle East crisis with special reference to the Arab-Israel conflict on the Palestinian issue and phenomena of Arab nationalism etc. While in the same time, a few or nominal researches were conducted on an image of Pakistan in Western media by the academicians of social sciences in general and mass communication in particular. A worth mentioning work from the side of Pakistan was done by Prof. Sharif ul Mujtahid, renowned historian and academician of Journalism as he explored the coverage pattern of Pakistan in the mainstream newspapers of the United States, based on quantitative analysis of published news items of political, social and cultural sphere of Pakistan. As mentioned earlier, most of the studies in the last quarter of the twentieth century were aimed at the representation of the Arab world as they were portrayed in a negative tone in comparison to Israel. The US mainstream print and electronic media favored the stance of Israel on the Palestinian issue. By and large Arab as a community in the West and their political and social structure was described with a critical tone (Terry, 1985).

Rehman (2012) analyzed the framing of Pakistani Muslim Women in Western media in light of the Muslim feminist's Perspective arguing that Pakistani Muslim women were painted as oppressed victims and Islamic teachings were held responsible for the miseries of women in Pakistan by the Western media. While the secular image of Pakistani women received more coverage with a favorable tone without mentioning any reference to Islam. Ali (2008) argued that US media observed foreign policy while covering allies, enemies, and neutral states. It is concluded that positive representation of Pakistan was found greater in comparison to negative coverage as the findings were based on content analysis of Pakistan in the two leading magazines i.e. Newsweek and Time during the period (1991-2001). Ayoub and Ahmad (2013) concluded that the leading English newspapers i.e. daily Dawn and the Nation represented Pak-US relations with a negative tone in the context of drone strikes. However, the ratio of negative coverage was found greater in Daily Nation. Arif, Golan and Moritz (2014) explored the relationship between Americans and the Taliban with Pakistani media in the context of the war on terror. It was found that the US officials have had comprehension of the working of Pakistani media routines. Both the Taliban and the US were using Pakistani media to achieve their objectives and to win public support.

Shah (2014) has concluded that the Daily Telegraph constructed a stereotypical image of Pakistan in the context of terrorism as the country was presented as a "safe haven" for militants and terrorists. The role of Pakistan as a coalition partner was undermined and portrayed with a blend of negativity. Most of the news stories and opinion articles focused on the issues of religious extremism, terrorism, militant organizations, and politics. It was argued that the newspaper didn't cover any story related to education, health, and development. Ali (2008) concluded that Xinhua, the official Chinese news agency of China, had represented a positive image of Pakistan by giving substantial coverage of Pakistan as pro-Pakistan frames were significantly greater in comparison to frames against Pakistan. Ali, Safwan and Sana (2023) concluded that western print media has always criticized Pakistan on its counter-terrorism efforts and the civil and military leadership of the Pakistan was portrayed with the negative frames. The Pakistani print and electronic media supported the government stance of the war on terror but more negative coverage was found in which the civil and military leadership was criticized due to the alliance with the US (Ali & Safwan, 2022).

Several other researchers have also reviewed the concept of framing, and its effects on public opinion, and linked it with priming (Simon & Xenos, 2000). While Dimitrova and Stromback (2005) argued that the conflict frame was commonly used by the elite newspaper of the United States whereas the Swedish newspaper used responsibility and anti-war frames in the context of news coverage of the Iraq war. It was explored that the New York Times used more military and official sources in comparison to the Dagens Nyheter, a Swedish newspaper. It was concluded that the different frames in Swedish newspapers were found because of the political policy and national media. Dalen (2012) also shared similar results that the political system of a country and government policy were the significant factors that influenced the framing of political conflicts as the findings were based on content analysis of print and TV news coverage in the UK, Germany, Denmark and Spain. However, in the UK and Denmark, oppositional voices received more coverage in the news stories about the government while in Spain the conflict news was considered less significant. Golan (2013) stated that article contributors, most of the American columnists in op-ed sections of the European newspapers used similar frames while writing on the Egyptian political turmoil. Bendary (2015) concluded that sub-Saharan African mainstream media portrayed that the United States would gain certain economic, military, and strategic advantages through invading Iraq as the African media argued it was the war without any solid legal and convincing justification.

Theoretical framework

The propaganda model by Herman and Chomsky and the theory of influences on media content by Shoemaker and Reese serve as the theoretical foundations for this research, which focuses on how government policy affects news content in American print media from a global viewpoint. The ideas of Herman and Chomsky's propaganda model and Shoemaker and Reese's theory have been validated by a number of studies on Islam, Muslims, and the Muslim world. These studies show that US and European news media frequently cover international issues in ways that are consistent with their respective foreign policies, which are set by the leadership in the White House and 10 Downing Street (Dorogi, 2001).

The focus of this study will be on how Pakistan's political and military establishment was portrayed in four major newspapers, two from the US (the New York Times and the Washington Post) and two from the UK (the Telegraph and the Guardian). It will mainly examine how Pakistan was portrayed generally through different frames that are attributed to both civil and military leadership, with an emphasis on a number of episodes and incidents that took place between 1999 and 2008 during General Pervez Musharraf's military quasi-regime. The framing analysis was first presented by Goffman (1974) and subsequently amended by Entman (1993), as it is considered an extension of agenda-setting theory (McCombs & Shaw, 1972). Entman (1993) suggested that frames as reflected in a text would be able to influence the thinking of consumers of that news story, article, or editorial. It primarily offers a way to describe the power of a communicating text and becomes one of the effective factors to influence the opinion of the readers or audiences as some particular perspective or view are generally highlighted by giving prominence and salience by projecting some aspect of perceived reality. It is argued that the frame would have a marked impact on the overall opinion of any individuals (Fong & Ishak, 2015). News framing is a process in which the information available through any form of mass media is an outcome of what is considered important and newsworthy. It can be said in a simplified way that mass media are being used by policymakers as a tool to shape and manipulate the opinion of domestic and international audiences on certain issues.

Research Question

1. How civil and military leadership was represented by the UK and American mainstream newspapers in the dictatorship regime from 1999 to 2008?
2. How civil and military leadership was comparatively portrayed before in power, while in power, and after in power in the tenure of General Parvez Musharraf?
3. How the civil and military leadership was framed in the context of the referendum, NRO, and Lal Masjid (Red Mosque) operation cases?
4. What sort of overall image of Pakistan has been created by commutative representation of civil and military leadership?

Hypothesis

H1: The military leadership would receive more negative representation as compared to the civilian leadership during the period of the dictatorship regime.

H2: The ratio of pro-civilian coverage would likely be greater in comparison to representation in support of military leadership.

H3: The selected newspapers would portray General Pervez Musharraf with a sense of positivity while curbing militancy through the Red Mosque operation.

H4: The military establishment would be reflected with more negative frames in the context of general elections/referendum or presidential elections.

Methodology

This study focused at the way Pakistan's military and civil establishment was covered and portrayed, primarily employing the content analysis research method. It focused on General Pervez Musharraf's military quasi-regimes from October 1999 to August 2008. The study presented a general image of military and civil leadership as portrayed by American and British newspapers through quantitative content analysis.

Sampling of the Study

The study includes news reports, byline stories, articles, editorial sections, and leading stories about Pakistan's military and civil leadership, among other types of media content. Four major mainstream newspapers in the US and the UK were used to compile these articles: The Washington Post, The New York Times, The Guardian, and The Telegraph. General Pervez Musharraf's quasi-military rule (1999–2008) was the subject of the analysis, which examined themes in 10 main categories. These publications about the said issues of the four newspapers were retrieved from the Lexis-Nexis electronic database by using keywords like Pakistan, Army, political leadership, General Pervez Musharraf, General Kiyani, ISI, Military establishment, lawyer's movement, freedom of the press, corruption, etc. All the published editorials and opinion articles about the ten categories were selected through a purposive sampling technique by dividing into 15 subcategories. It is important to note that throughout the specified period, 2066 items were published about Pakistan's military and civil leadership in addition to other relevant categories. A sample of 399 items was chosen as a sample for analysis.

Major Categories

The essential components for the unit of analysis were found and categorized based on the initial investigation and evaluation of the content covering the military elite and political leadership in the four selected newspapers.

- | | | |
|---------------------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| a. Benazir Bhutto | b. Corruption | c. General Kiyani |
| d. Pervez Musharraf | e. ISI | f. Lawyer's Movement |
| g. Military dictatorship | h. Military Establishment | |
| i. Military Leadership | j. Freedom of press | |

Sub-Categories

In light of the above broader categories, the following sub-categories have been established to analyze content in above mentioned context.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. Murder of Benazir Bhutto | 2. NRO (National Reconciliation Ordinance) |
| 3. Corruption | 4. Judiciary/Lawyer's Movement |
| 5. General/Presidential Elections & Referendum | |
| 6. Issue of Baluchistan | 7. Attack on Indian Parliament |
| 8. Emergency Rule | 9. Lal Masjid (Red Mosque) Operation |
| 10. Haddood Ordinance | 11. Honour Killings |
| 12. Freedom of Press | 13. Civil and military relationship |
| 14. Military establishment | 15. Extremism and the war on terror |

Military Leadership

In this broader category, the published items about the three army chiefs namely General Pervez Musharraf, General Ishfaq Pervez Kiyani, and the role of ISI (Inter-Services Intelligence) were included.

Civilian Leadership

Civilian leadership in the Musharraf regime comprised Benazir Bhutto (after in power), Asif Ali Zardari (before in power), and Nawaz Sharif (before 2nd and after 1st regime) were considered in this category.

Unit of Analysis

Three categories of published content were chosen as a unit of analysis to look at how Pakistan's military and political leadership was portrayed in British and American newspapers on a variety of themes. These units of analysis include news stories, editorials, and articles/features. Subsequently, paragraphs from selected items were utilized as benchmarks for analysis to assess the depiction of the civil and military establishment in the four newspapers. This assessment categorized the portrayal into Positive, Negative, and Neutral slants towards both leadership entities. These categorizations systematically led to the final evaluation, exploring the overall impression of the selected items within one of six contextual frames.

1. Pro-military leadership

The selected published byline stories, opinion articles, features, and editorials that communicate a positive picture of the military establishment by acknowledging their role in curbing militancy and maintaining peace in the region would be framed as pro-military.

2. Anti-military leadership

The selected published byline stories, opinion articles, features, and leading articles paint a negative image of the military leadership as a double gamer and dodgy as supporters and sympathizers of banned militant organizations including Taliban, TTP, Haqqani network as well as not sincere in curbing militancy and extremism would be framed as anti-military.

3. Neutral to military leadership

The selected published news, by-line story, opinion article, feature, or editorial about the military leadership and intelligence agencies do not emphasize either positive or negative aspects of the image of the establishment concerning the representation in the context of their professional role in the war on terror, relationship with the civilian leadership along with other allied sub-categories would be framed as neutral story.

4. Pro civilian leadership

The selected item under analysis which describes a positive representation of the elected civilian leadership as a symbol of good governance, enlightened moderation, and visionary to set the goals of making the country on a highway of progress, development, and modernization, would be considered pro-civilian.

5. Anti civilian leadership

The selected published byline story, opinion article, and editorial which gives a negative picture of the civilian leadership as corrupt, money launderer, held responsible for embezzlement, kickbacks, nepotism, favoritism, and dodgy would be considered as anti-civilian leadership.

6. Neutral to civilian leadership

The selected genre which does not emphasize either positive or negative attributes related to the civilian leadership would be framed as a neutral item.

Framing of Pakistan

Based on these six frames about civil and military leadership, the overall impression of Pakistan would be determined in light of the following three frames on contextual grounds

Favorable

All the pro-military and civilian leadership news, byline stories, opinion articles, features, and editorials would be used as a yardstick describing a selected item under analysis as favorable to Pakistan.

Unfavorable

Either the anti-military establishment or anti-civilian leadership news, byline story, opinion article, feature, and editorial would be used as a determinant to identify a selected item under analysis as unfavorable to Pakistan.

Neutral

All the neutral to military and civilian leadership news, byline stories, opinion articles, features, and editorials would be used as the basic criteria to determine that item as neutral to Pakistan.

Data Analysis

The news, by-line stories, opinion articles/features, and editorials about the civil and military regimes were analyzed with the help of the software SPSS (Statistical Packages for Social Sciences). The results of this study were described via descriptive statistics, summary statistics, frequencies & cross-tabulation, etc.

Table 1.

Representation of Civil and Military Leadership during the Musharraf Regime

Coverage pattern	Pervez Musharraf era	
	Frequency	Percent
Pro military leadership	56	14
Anti-military leadership	215	53.9
Neutral to military leadership	24	6.0
Pro civilian leadership	41	10.3
Anti-civilian leadership	56	14.0
Neutral to civilian leadership	7	1.8
Grand Total	399	100.0

In the above table, it can be seen that, in the dictatorship regime of General Pervez Musharraf, the framing of coverage was more found towards anti-military leadership 215 (53.9%) whereas interestingly, the ratio of coverage regarding pro-military leadership and anti-civilian leadership was found equal 56 (14.0%). Pro-military leadership coverage in a dictatorship regime has been found second highest coverage while neutral-to-military leadership coverage in a dictatorship of Musharraf can be ranked in fourth place with a coverage ratio of 24 (6.0%). A total of 399 items revealed coverage patterns in light of these six frames.

Table 2.

Representation of civil and military leadership in the Musharraf regime

Regime	Coverage phases in British and American Newspapers			Total
	Before in power	After in power	While in power	
Asif Ali Zardari	0 0.0%	---	---	0 0.0%
Benazir Bhutto	---	0 0.0%	---	0 0.0%
General Musharraf	41 10.3%	55 13.7%	303 75.6%	399 99.6%
Nawaz Sharif	2 0.4%	0 0.0%	---	2 0.4%
Grand Total	43 10.7%	55 13.7%	303 75.6%	401 100%

The figures in Table 2 demonstrate coverage of civil and military rulers in the dictatorship regime of Musharraf from 1999 to 2008. General Pervez Musharraf, while he was in power, got greater coverage 303 (99.6%) whereas Benazir Bhutto could not get coverage when her tenure was completed during the Musharraf era. Asif Ali Zardari was not in power yet, he could not receive any coverage before his term as premier after Musharraf. The figures of Nawaz Sharif reflect both before in power as second premier and after in power as first premier. Nawaz Sharif got coverage by mainstream newspapers before in power in the second term 2 (0.4%) only.

Table 3.

Subject-wise Coverage of Civil and Military Leadership during the Musharraf Era

Major Categories	Frequency	Percent
Benazir Bhutto	37	9.3
Corruption	23	5.8
General Kiyani	4	1.0
General Pervez Musharraf	174	43.6
ISI (inter-service intelligence)	51	12.8
Lawyers Movement	10	2.5
Military Dictatorship	37	9.3
Military Establishment	20	5.0

Military Leadership	31	7.8
Press Freedom	12	3.0
Grand Total	399	100.0

The above table 3 reflects 10 major categories in terms of civil and military leadership representation. As mentioned above, news related to the name of General Pervez Muhsarraf was given with a ratio of 174 (43.6%) whereas the Benazir Bhutto was covered second highest for civil and military leadership. It is worth mentioning here that initial published categories were 21 and data has been reduced into 10 major categories that would further divide into 13 sub-categories and themes. On following careful readings of published 2066 items, following selected sub-themes already discussed in part of the methodology. It was done to avoid overlapping of categories comprising similar issues. Among civil and Military leaders, General Pervez Musharraf has been represented on top brass whereas others were represented consecutively lower. Among the issues, Benazir Bhutto, corruption, and freedom of the press got first, second, and third position with ratios of 37 (9.3%), 32 (8.0%), and 12 (3.0%) in total sampled coverage respectively.

Table 4.

Sub topics portrayal of Pakistan’s civil and military leadership

Subtopics of the published items	Portrayal of civil and military leadership						Total
	Pro military	Anti-military	Neutral to military	Pro civilian	Anti – civilian	Neutral to civilian	
Murder of Benazir Bhutto	0	19	0	9	0	0	28
NRO (National Reconciliation Ordinance)	0	10	0	0	16	0	26
Corruption	1	0	0	1	21	0	23
Judiciary/Lawyers Movement	0	1	0	1	6	2	10
Military establishment	7	11	2	0	0	0	20
General/presidential elections/referendum	2	54	0	1	1	0	58
Extremism and War on Terror	17	79	4	13	5	4	122
Issue of Baluchistan	0	2	0	0	0	0	2
Attack on Indian Parliament	0	1	14	1	0	0	16
Emergency rule	1	7	0	1	0	0	9
Civil-military relationship	7	21	2	13	4	1	48
Lal Masjid (Red Mosque) Operation	5	3	1	0	0	0	9
Hadood Ordinance	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Honour killings issue	15	0	0	0	0	0	15
Freedom of Press	0	7	1	1	3	0	12
Grand Total	56	215	24	41	56	7	399
	14.0%	53.9%	6.0%	10.3%	14.0%	1.8%	100%

In the sub-category on the murder of Benazir Bhutto, the military leadership was framed negatively as more than half of the coverage was explored against them. It is important to notice that the coverage that was favorable to political leadership was far more than that which was favorable to military leadership. Furthermore, the proportion of anti-civilian content to anti-military representation was noticeably larger in other significant sub-themes like the NRO. Corruption issue has been

found greater covered in the realm of anti-civilian representation. The judiciary/lawyer’s movement was calculated more towards anti-civilian representation with a ratio of 6 (1.5%).

The issue of general/presidential elections and a referendum has been framed more negatively to military leadership, a similar trend can be observed on the sub-topic of extremism, war, and terror, which in the regime of Pervez Musharraf were covered against military leadership of Pakistan. The issues of Baluchistan and emergency rule have been covered more anti-military frame. Lastly, freedom of the press has been covered more by the military in comparison to civilian leadership. Overall, it can be observed that the coverage subtopics and themes of these issues have been covered in the sphere of anti-military representation as 215 (53.9%) coverage has been calculated among the figures of a total of 399 (100%) items.

Table 5.
Portrayal of Civil and Military Leadership Across Various Domains and Overall Impression of Pakistan

Sub-topics	Overall Impression of Pakistan			
	Favorable	Unfavorable	Neutral	Total
Murder of Benazir Bhutto	9 2.2%	19 4.8%	0 0.0%	28 7.0%
NRO (National Reconciliation Ordinance)	0 0.0%	26 6.5%	0 0.0%	26 6.5%
Corruption	2 0.5%	21 5.2%	0 0.0%	23 5.7%
Judiciary/Lawyers Movement	3 0.7%	5 1.2%	2 0.5%	10 2.5%
Military establishment	7 1.7%	10 2.5%	3 0.7%	20 5.0%
General elections/presidential elections/referendum	10 2.5%	48 12.0%	0 0.0%	58 14.5%
Extremism, terrorism, and War on terror	39 9.8%	76 19.0%	7 1.7%	122 30.6%
Issue of Baluchistan	0 0.0%	2 0.5%	0 0.0%	2 0.5%
Attack on Indian Parliament	2 0.5%	2 0.5%	12 3.0%	16 4.0%
Emergency rule	2 0.5%	7 1.7%	0 0.0%	9 2.2%
Civil-military relationship	10 2.5%	35 8.8%	3 0.7%	48 12.0%
Lal Masjid (Red Mosque) Operation	5 1.2%	3 0.7%	1 0.2%	9 2.2%
Haddood Ordinance	1 0.2%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	1 0.2%
Honour killings issue	15 3.7%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	15 3.7%
Freedom of Press	2 0.5%	9 2.2%	1 0.2%	12 3.0%
Total	107 26.8%	263 65.9%	29 7.3%	399 100%

Among sub-topics, the extremism, war, and terror category has given greater coverage in total representation in which almost one-fifth has been analyzed towards building an unfavorable image of Pakistan. The second highest category for creating an unfavorable image of Pakistan was referendum/Presidential elections in the tenure of Pervez Musharraf which calculated a figure of 48 (12.0%) of total coverage. The third highest category can be observed in the murder of Benazir Bhutto which resulted in a ratio of 19 (4.8%) in building an unfavorable impression of Pakistan. The issue of Baluchistan in the tenure of a dictator, Pervez Musharraf, has got less coverage along with the Haddood ordinance that got only 0.2% representation in Musharraf’s regime. On the other side, although, war and terror issues have been greatly covered by UK and American Media an issue of attack on the Indian parliament got 16 (4.0%) of total representation. In a comparative

approach, emergency rule has given more coverage overall in which 7 (1.7%) majorly were in the context of building an unfavorable image of Pakistan. Corruption issues have also been found significant for creating an unfavorable impression of Pakistan while the Lal Masjid (Red Mosque) operation in the tenure of General Pervez Musharraf has created an image of Pakistan as favorable with a coverage frequency of 5 (1.2%) during the total representation of issues. The issue of freedom of the press got a total of 12 (3.0%) items covered in the media. Honor killing issue has got 15 (3.7%) coverage which has been found to create a favorable image of Pakistan. Regime-wise, the era of the Military Quasi Government (Dictator General Pervez Musharraf) has got 399 (100%) representations in which two-thirds majority of representation has been calculated as unfavorable to Pakistan.

Discussion

The research has attempted to analyze the representation of civil and military leadership during the years of dictatorship tenure of General Pervez Musharraf (1999 to 2008) in British and American mainstream newspapers named the Telegraph, the Guardian, the New York Times, and Washington Post. Overall, more coverage was found against military leadership in the Musharraf era which supported the first hypothesis of this study. It was further explored that maximum representation of civil and military establishment was given in the year 2007 with the frequency of 192 (48.3%) out of 399 total sampled items. The reason behind the maximum coverage in this specific year was due to several political, social, and diplomatic factors. Due to political turmoil, the social fabric of Pakistani society was badly disturbed and shattered. The writ of the government under the aegis of General Pervez Musharraf was challenged by 32 opposition political parties' alliance in the shape of launching an anti-government movement, APDM (The All-Parties Democratic Movement). The other prominent movement that created a far-reaching impact on the political scenario of the country and contributed as a catalyst for challenging the spiral of silence was the lawyer's movement backed by civil society and opposition political parties for the restoration of dysfunctional chief justice. Due to these factors, the Year 2007 would be remembered in a negative sense in the political and constitutional history of Pakistan which proved to be the last nail in the coffin of former president General Pervez Musharraf and ultimately culminated in the resignation of the former military ruler in August 2008.

The second assumption had predicted more pro-civilian coverage in comparison to pro-military coverage in dictatorship regimes, but the results have failed to support this prediction and pro-military coverage has been found more in this sphere. In the realm of power, General Pervez Musharraf got an overwhelming amount of coverage (75.6%) out of a total of 399 items when he was in power. While other civilian leaders Benazir, Nawaz Sharif, and Asif Ali Zardari got less coverage comparatively according to their placement in the regimes. In the case of NRO, greater coverage has been calculated towards the anti-civilian frame while the second highest coverage is given in the realm of anti-military on the said issue. Similarly, the theme of referendum and presidential election has been covered more towards anti-military representation. The incident of the Lal Masjid (Red Mosque) operation has been represented by British and American media in favor of military leadership. The third assumption in this study has predicted positive coverage of military dictator General Pervez Musharraf in the case of the Lal Masjid operation and the results have been found supportive of this hypothesis as figured in (Table 4) where the military ruler was appreciated for curbing extremism. In the context of general elections, the military establishment has been framed negatively. The fourth hypothesis stated that the military establishment would be reflected with more negative frames in the context of general elections/referendum or presidential elections. The findings of the study significantly supported this hypothesis as by and large more than half of coverage in this category was found negative to military establishment. Despite all the above factors, it is surprising to note that the overall representation of Pakistan has been calculated more towards an unfavorable frame by cumulative coverage of sub-categories in the regime of General Pervez Musharraf, all aforementioned areas have created an overall image of the country more unfavorable in four British and American mainstream newspapers.

Conclusion

In examining the portrayal of civil and military leadership in Pakistan by four British and American newspapers during General Pervez Musharraf's dictatorship, this study underscores the influential role of mainstream media in shaping public opinion. Employing quantitative content analysis, we analyzed a substantial corpus of news stories, articles, and editorials spanning nine years. Our findings illuminate a nuanced narrative: while anti-military sentiments predominated, pro-military coverage outweighed pro-civilian perspectives. For example, they praised the military for the Red Mosque operation but criticized it during elections. Overall, these newspapers painted a not-so-great picture of Pakistan during Musharraf's rule. This research underscores the media's pivotal role in constructing narratives around political leadership and institutional dynamics, thereby influencing international perceptions of state actors. As Pakistan navigates its political landscape, understanding these media dynamics is crucial for both policymakers and scholars alike.

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