

Agenda Setting Role of Print Media in Shaping Civil-Military Discourse in Pakistan: A Decade in Review (2008-2018)

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Abstract

This study highlights the significant role of print media in Pakistan from 2008 to 2018 in shaping civil-military debates and setting agendas, showcasing the media's potential impact on public opinion and civil-military relations. The study examines four Pakistani newspapers' editorials on civil-military ties using content analysis as its research approach. The results show that the Pakistani press contributed significantly to agenda-setting by emphasizing civil-military concerns. In the selected newspapers throughout the study period, thirteen categories of civil-military issues were covered; certain issues received more prominence than others. The study also found that over a decade, there were observable patterns and trends in how civil-military issues were reported in the Pakistani press. The study emphasizes the media's potential impact on public opinion and civil-military interactions. During the 2008–2018 study period, the Pakistani press was crucial in addressing specific civil-military concerns. Different publications covered these problems differently, revealing varying priorities and viewpoints.

Keywords: Pakistani Print Media, civil-military discourse, Pakistan, agenda-setting, content analysis, newspaper editorials

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INTRODUCTION

The combination of domestic political, economic, and social conditions in Pakistan has created an environment conducive to military involvement in politics. The country's political landscape is characterized by weak and fragile institutions and a culture of pseudo-democracy, which has allowed the military to exploit this void and exert influence, particularly in matters of national security and other important decision-making (Shah et al., 2020). In this context, the role of media, specifically the print media, in shaping the civil-military discourse in Pakistan becomes a critical area that warrants exploration. This study aims to investigate the influence of print media on shaping the civil-military discourse in Pakistan from 2008 to 2018.

Before 2008, Pakistan experienced a cycle of alternating civilian and military rule. Civilian governments initially generated optimism but ultimately failed to deliver on their promises, leading to disillusionment among the public and a turn towards the military as an alternative. However, military regimes also faced political pressure and could not significantly improve the country's outcomes, eventually leading to a return to democracy. Throughout these cycles, the manipulation of public opinion played a crucial role. Starting in 2008, the military chose not to control the government overtly but instead focused on security and foreign policy matters. As a result, public opinion gradually shifted in favor of democracy, with a majority expressing faith in the democratic system. Nevertheless, satisfaction with Pakistan's democracy remains divided due to misgovernance, corruption, and poor service delivery associated with previous democratic governments. The period from 2008 to 2018 brought relative political stability, but growing disillusionment leading up to the 2018 elections raised

concerns about accountability for political leaders within the democratic system (Afzal, 2019).

In a democratic system, the media, often called the "fourth estate," is responsible for informing the public, providing a platform for debate and discussion, and holding those in power accountable for their actions (Arowolo, 2023). In Pakistan, the print media has played a significant role in the country's political landscape, acting as an intermediary between the government, the military, and the public. The print media has exerted influence by setting the public agenda and shaping public opinion on various issues, including the dynamics between civil and military institutions (Siddique & Ashfaq, 2021).

By examining the role of print media in shaping civil-military discourse during the 2008-2018 period, this study sheds light on how media coverage and narratives have influenced the perceptions, attitudes, and interactions between the civil and military institutions in Pakistan. Further, this research has two research questions: What role did the Pakistani press play in highlighting or downplaying specific civil-military issues from 2008 to 2018? Secondly, were there any visible patterns or trends in the Pakistani press's portrayal of civil-military issues from 2008 to 2018?

LITERATURE REVIEW

Civil-Military Imbalance in Pakistan

In the case of Pakistan, there is a divergence of opinions among scholars regarding the issue of civilian supremacy versus military involvement in the country's affairs. Rizvi (2004), a recognized expert on civil-military relations in Pakistan,

characterizes the nation as a "praetorian state" where the military has acquired the capability, will, and experience to dominate the core political institutions. Due to the fragmented and weak political forces, the military's disposition strongly influences the trajectory of political change.

On the other hand, Janjua (2010), a senior army officer at the National Defense University, argues that while civilian primacy is generally accepted as the principal doctrine in most contemporary societies, it should be tested to its limits in complex counterinsurgency war situations. Janjua suggests the development of a *modus vivendi* that navigates the complexities without excessive civilian interference or military isolation.

There are also arguments within Pakistan that question the suitability of democracy for a country like Pakistan. Zaidi (2005) holds the citizens responsible for the lack of a democratic culture, claiming that no substantial constituency in Pakistan genuinely supports democracy. Instead, most people, especially the urban middle class, prioritize their narrow economic goals over democratic ideals.

When examining foreign scholars' perspectives on civil-military issues in Pakistan, Wolf (2016) discusses the authority enjoyed by the Pakistani Army even during civilian regimes. The constant power struggle between civilian institutions weakens civilian control, while corrupt practices within the political system provide opportunities for the military to strengthen its reputation and intervene in civilian matters.

Drawing a comparison between India and Pakistan, Oldenburg (2010) highlights the divergent paths the two countries took regarding democracy since General Zia-ul-Haq's martial law in

1977. India's democratic structure facilitated the consolidation of democracy, while Pakistan experienced increased political interference, undermining its democratic foundations.

Similarly, Afridi (2016) argues that although India and Pakistan share many similarities, Pakistan inherited a weak political structure and a stronger military, which, combined with internal and external threats, became a rationale for military intervention in internal politics. The military in Pakistan presents itself as the guardian of Pakistan's ideological and geographical borders.

Given Pakistan's weak political structure since its creation, the power struggle between different state institutions has been a persistent challenge. Shafqat (2019) contends that the military appears to be a better organized, modern, and proficient establishment in weak economies than civilian politicians, thus stimulating economic progress. Pakistan has witnessed a fluctuation between military regimes and party-dominant political systems, struggling to establish participatory politics and balance civil-military relations.

Furthermore, the literature emphasizes that civil-military tensions in Pakistan extend beyond periods of martial law, with the military's role in politics remaining significant even during democratic regimes. The regional security environment, political fragmentation, and weak democratic norms constrain the ability of civilian governments to assert their importance. The military's involvement is often deemed necessary for governance due to ethnic, linguistic, and religious divides and the production of advanced weaponry.

Despite more than seven decades of independence, Pakistan continues to grapple with the issue of civil-military relations, and

the literature suggests a persistent cycle of conflict. The weakness of democratic institutions and repeated failed attempts to establish a stable democracy are highlighted. The success of civilian leadership in managing political and economic tasks plays a crucial role in determining the level of military intervention.

Despite seven decades since the creation of Pakistan, the division between the civil and military institutions has not diminished but rather intensified, as highlighted by a recent study conducted by PILDAT (2018). According to the study, civilian policy input has been diminishing, with the military expanding its influence beyond its professional domain. There are concerns about the military-judiciary nexus undermining popular political parties, allegations of the military meddling in political alliances, and foreign powers preferring to engage with the military rather than the civilian leadership.

Similarly, Khokhar (2016) explores the complex relationship between Pakistan's civil and military institutions and its detrimental impact on democratic norms. Mahmood (2016) also discusses the dire consequences of military intervention, attributing the derailing of the democratic process in Pakistan to weak political institutions and a deteriorated economic situation.

During Asif Ali Zardari's regime (2008-2013), Akhtar (2017) argues in his doctoral thesis that Pakistani political parties utilized the influential Pakistani media to mobilize support, while the military used it to counter the government's perceived anti-military policies. Fair (2011) summarizes the military's policy response to the perceived inefficiencies of the Pakistan Peoples Party during the 2010 floods. The study predicts that despite the PPP's leadership shortcomings during the crisis, the military would

not intervene or antagonize the government to the point of collapse. However, it also suggests that public discontent could pave the way for the military to return to power.

Similarly, during Nawaz Sharif's regime from 2013 to 2018, Wolf (2017) argues that his ouster exacerbated the unhealthy civil-military relations in Pakistan and strengthened the military's influence over the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC). The military has increased its formal role within the country's political and administrative institutions since the launch of CPEC.

The imbalance between Pakistan's civil and military leadership is further exemplified by the article published in Dawn newspaper (known as Dawn leaks), which created a rift between the two. Kugelman (2018) explains how the article, which discussed a meeting where the civilian leadership urged military action against non-state actors, led to allegations that Dawn fabricated the story to embarrass the Army. The initial rejection of a civilian government decision by the Army's spokesperson, as tweeted by Major General Asif Ghafoor, underscored the military's growing power in Pakistan.

In light of the continuous rifts between the civil and military leadership, especially from 2008 to 2018, some scholars have predicted the emergence of a "guided democracy." Behera (2018) suggests that Pakistan's second democratic shift, the 2018 general elections, demonstrated signs of a formal democratic structure upheld and legitimized through elections.

The Pakistani media has also faced criticism for its coverage of political events. The competitive nature of the media industry, as highlighted by Hussain (2015), contributes to this trend, with outlets prioritizing sensationalism over in-depth political analysis. Raza et al. (2012) observe that Pakistani newspapers have been responsible

for framing terrorism issues, promoting peace journalism, and refraining from presenting a war narrative. However, Siraj and Waheed (2019) find that Pakistan's top newspapers' coverage of the Panama Papers scandal was influenced by their agendas and strategies, with notable differences between Urdu and English newspapers regarding sensationalism and tone.

Overall, the literature indicates persistent challenges in civil-military relations in Pakistan, an imbalanced power dynamic, and concerns about media coverage of political events.

Agenda Setting of Civil-Military Issues in Pakistan

Agenda-setting theory has become widely recognized and studied in academic and public contexts. The roots of this theory can be traced back to the groundbreaking work of McCombs and Shaw in 1972, who were the pioneers in exploring the role of the media in setting the public agenda. Their research provided valuable insights into how the media influences what issues and topics people consider important.

Building upon McCombs and Shaw's work, Weaver et al. (1998) further developed the theoretical model of agenda-setting, shedding light on additional aspects such as priming and framing. Priming refers to the media's ability to shape the importance or salience of particular issues in the audience's minds by providing more coverage or attention. On the other hand, framing focuses on how the media presents and interprets information, shaping the audience's understanding and perception of a given issue.

McCombs & Shaw (1972) suggested that agenda-setting operates at two levels: the object level and the attribute level. At the object level, the media's agenda concerns specific items or topics,

such as political candidates, policy issues, social problems, or significant events. The media's coverage and emphasis on these items can influence the public's attention and consideration.

The agenda-setting process is closely related to gatekeeping, which involves the media's role in selecting, curating, and prioritizing news and information. In the context of this study, it identifies and categorizes specific civil-military issues in Pakistan within the framework of Agenda-Setting Theory.

METHODOLOGY

This study uses content analysis as the research methodology. The study's universe comprises Pakistan's print media from 2008 to 2018. The period from 2008 to 2018 was selected because it was the first time in the history of Pakistan when two democratically elected governments completed their tenure, and it was an eventful period regarding civil-military issues. A purposive sample of editorials on civil-military relations from four Pakistani newspapers, including two English and two Urdu, was taken from March 17th, 2008, to 31st May 2018. The selected newspapers include *The Nation*, *Dawn*, *Nawa-i-Waqt*, and *Jang*. The selected newspapers were chosen based on circulation and their known policy perspectives, including leftist, liberal, conservative/moderate, and Islamic ideological backgrounds. The unit of analysis for this study is editorials, which were selected because they reflect the views of a newspaper as an organization, and editorial writers play a decisive role in building national political dialogue.

In this study, civil-military relations (CMR) refers to the relationship between civil and military institutions/leadership, with the military often having more power in practice, while civil-

military conflicts/issues refer to disputes or general problems between civil and military institutions, including those discussed in media. As far as Civil or civilian is concerned, it refers to the political establishment with constitutional power to exercise executive authority and legislate laws. In this study, the military refers to the top military leadership with a constitutional role in protecting borders and aiding state institutions in need. Press freedom refers to media publishing content without greed, pressure, or a particular agenda, and the public can criticize powerful quarters without fear.

The methodology employed in this study is content analysis, which aims to analyze the editorial content of Pakistani newspapers on various civil-military issues from 2008 to 2018. The study focuses on 13 categories, including General (R) Pervez Musharraf and his regime, Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI), Impeachment and High Treason Trial of General (R) Pervez Musharraf, Memo Gate (2011), Alleged Political role of the Military, Rangers Operation, Attack on a Journalist Hamid Mir, the military operation against terrorism, Military Courts, Dawn Leaks and Nawaz Sharif's interview to Cyrial Almeida (2016), Pashtun Tahaffuz Movement, Faizabad Sit-in of Religious Party, and Miscellaneous civil-military issues. The content analysis methodology enables the researchers to identify the patterns and themes emerging from the data and to draw conclusions and inferences based on the data. The categories were coded to ensure that they remain mutually exclusive, and each category was analyzed separately to determine the frequency and themes emerging from the editorials. The study aims to provide insights into Pakistan's civil-military relations and the media's role

in shaping public opinion on these issues. The following categories were formed during the study.

A. General (R) Pervez Musharraf and his regime: This category includes editorials regarding General (R) Pervez Musharraf and his government.

B. Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI): This category includes issues related to Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI), Pakistan's premium intelligence agency.

C. Impeachment and High Treason Trial of General (R) Pervez Musharraf: This category encompasses issues related to the impeachment and high treason trial of General (R) Pervez Musharraf, which was pursued for his alleged involvement in activities that undermined the Constitution of Pakistan.

D. Memo Gate (2011): This category includes issues related to a memorandum addressed to Admiral Mike Mullen of the United States in which the Pakistani Ambassador to the US sought the help of the Obama administration to prevent potential martial law in Pakistan.

E. Alleged Political Role of Military: This category includes editorials that discuss the Pakistani military's alleged political role or interference in the country's politics.

F. Rangers Operation: This category includes issues related to the paramilitary force known as Rangers and its operation to acquire peace in Pakistan's biggest city and financial hub, Karachi.

G. Attack on Journalist Hamid Mir: This category encompasses issues related to the attack on journalist Hamid Mir and consequent allegations by Jang media group on the then DG ISI Lt. Gen Zaheer-ul-Islam.

H. The Military Operation Against Terrorism: This category includes editorials that discuss issues related to the military operation against terrorists and the debates regarding civil and military decision-making regarding army operations.

I. Military Courts: This category encompasses issues related to establishing military courts to pursue executions against terrorists quickly and swiftly.

J. Dawn Leaks and Nawaz Sharif's Interview with Cyril Almeida (2016): This category includes issues related to a news report published in Dawn News by their correspondent Cyril Almeida in 2016 alleging the Pakistani Army of supporting militants and Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif's interview to Daily Dawn correspondent Cyril Almeida in which the Nawaz Sharif alleged involvement of Pak army in Mumbai attacks.

K. Pashtun Tahaffuz Movement: This category includes issues related to the Pashtun Tahafuz Movement, which was established for fundamental liberties in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Balochistan.

L. Faizabad Sit-in of Religious Party: This category includes issues related to the Faizabad sit-in by the Islamist ideological group Tehreek-e-Labaik (TLP) of Pakistan, which was set up to challenge changes in the Elections Bill 2017.

M. Miscellaneous Civil-Military Issues: This category includes the press coverage during the selected civil-military issues from 2008 to 2018, except the defined categories.

DISCUSSION

Two coders were trained to code the content for category selection according to the definitions. The Holsti formula was used

to ensure inter-coder reliability, as described by Cai (2003), which measures the level of agreement between the two coders. The formula considers the cumulative number of agreed coding decisions (N) and the number of coding decisions numbered by each of the two coders (N1 and N2). The inter-coder reliability percentage was calculated for each coding decision, with values above 0.95 considered reliable. For the category selection, the inter-coder reliability percentage was 0.99, with 3240 out of 3282 coding decisions agreeing.

Table 1-Frequency & Percentage of Category Coverage in Pakistani Newspapers

Editorial Categories	Frequency	Percentage
A General (R) Pervez Musharraf and his regime	256	15.6
B Inter-Services Intelligence	119	7.3
C Impeachment & High Treason Trial of General (R) Pervez Musharraf	193	11.8
D Memo gate (2011)	65	4.0
E Alleged Political role of the military	73	4.4
F Rangers Operation	164	10.0
G Attack on a Journalist Hamid Mir (2014)	40	2.4
H Army Operation against terrorism	300	18.3

I	military Courts	85	5.2
J	<i>Dawn</i> Leaks and Nawaz Sharif's interview with Cyrial Almeida (2016)	22	1.3
K	Pashtun Tahaffuz Movement	24	1.5
L	Faizabad Sit-in of Religious Party	16	1.0
M	Miscellaneous civil-military issues	284	17.3
Total		1641	100.0

The findings of Table 1 show that category H, Army Operation against terrorism, had the highest frequency with 300 articles (18.3%), followed by category A, General (R) Pervez Musharraf and his regime, with 256 articles (15.6%), and category M, Miscellaneous civil-military issues, with 284 articles (17.3%).

Table 2-*Newspaper-wise frequency and percentage of editorial coverage*

	Newspaper				Total
	<i>Dawn</i>	<i>The Nation</i>	<i>Jang</i>	<i>Nawa-i-Waqt</i>	
a	68(26.56%)	45(17.58%)	70(27.34%)	73(28.52%)	256
Category b	51(42.86%)	17(14.29%)	35(29.41%)	16(13.45%)	119
c	37(19.17%)	43(22.28%)	27(13.96%)	86(44.56%)	193

d	13(20%)	21(32.31%)	19(29.23%)	12(18.46%)	65
e	14(19.18%)	10(13.7%)	30(41.1%)	19(26.03%)	73
f	45(27.44%)	7(4.27%)	41(25%)	71(43.3%)	164
g	3(7.5%)	8(20%)	26(65%)	3(7.5%)	40
h	75(25%)	44(14.67%)	69(23%)	112(37.33%)	300
i	22(25.88%)	12(14.12%)	19(22.35%)	32(37.65%)	85
j	5(22.73%)	8(36.36%)	2(9.09%)	7(31.82%)	22
k	3(12.5%)	4(16.67%)	17(70.83%)	0(0%)	24
l	6(46.15%)	4(25%)	2(12.5%)	4(25%)	16
m	96(33.8%)	80(28.17%)	39(13.73%)	69(24.3%)	284
Total	438	303	396	504	1641

Table 2 represents a cross-tabulation of each category's frequency and percentage of newspaper coverage. It shows the distribution of news articles related to each category across four

major newspapers in Pakistan, namely Dawn, The Nation, Jang, and Nawa-i-Waqt. The first column represents category names from A to M, while the other columns represent the four newspapers.

The newspaper-wise distribution of news articles reveals that Nawa-i-Waqt has the highest frequency for most categories. For example, it has the highest frequency for categories A, B, C, E, F, H, and M, while Jang has the highest frequency for category D. On the other hand, The Nation has the lowest frequency for most categories, except for category G, Attack on a Journalist Hamid Mir (2014), where it has the second-highest frequency.

The findings suggest that different newspapers had different priorities regarding reporting on civil-military issues in Pakistan. It is also important to note that the sample of newspapers is limited to only four major newspapers, and the findings may not be generalizable to all newspapers in Pakistan. Nonetheless, Table 2 provides valuable insight into the newspaper-wise distribution of news articles related to civil-military issues in Pakistan.

The cross-tabulation analysis between the selected newspapers and the categorized civil-military issues revealed interesting findings. Firstly, Nawa-i-Waqt published no editorial regarding the category 'K' (Pashtun Tahaffuz Movement). This could be attributed to the fact that Nawa-i-Waqt primarily focuses on news related to Punjab, and the Pashtun Tahaffuz Movement is mainly associated with Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Balochistan.

Secondly, Dawn published category 'm' (miscellaneous) editorials more than any other selected newspaper. This is an interesting finding as the 'miscellaneous' category included press coverage of civil-military issues that did not fit into the other defined categories. This could indicate that Dawn is more interested in

exploring various issues related to civil-military relations in Pakistan.

Thirdly, Jang Newspaper published category 'G' (Attack on Hamid Mir) more than any other selected newspaper, i.e., 65%. This could be because Jang Media Group, which owns Jang newspaper, was directly involved in the controversy surrounding the attack on Hamid Mir, as they were accused of blaming the Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) for the attack. Therefore, Jang newspaper may be interested in covering this issue more extensively.

Results indicate that Dawn covered the image of the Pakistan military by highlighting actions of the COAS for empowering committees in different provinces for faster execution of NAP and restoration of IDP, whereas The News covered the lack of coordination between civil-military leadership on the execution of NAP. The result shows that Pakistan's Image was positively developed at the international level, and the international community appreciated Pakistan's civil leadership role and military action against terrorism.

Lastly, the analysis revealed that the most editorials regarding category 'L' (Faizabad Sit-in) were published by Jang newspaper (70.83%). This is an interesting finding as it highlights the media's potential influence on civil-military relations. The Faizabad Sit-in was a controversial issue that resulted in a standstill in the country, and the military's involvement in resolving the situation was widely criticized. Therefore, Jang newspaper's coverage of this issue could have shaped public opinion and influenced civil-military relations.

The cross-tabulation analysis between the selected newspapers and the categorized civil-military issues provided

insightful findings. It revealed differences in the newspapers' coverage of different civil-military issues, which could indicate their respective interests and priorities. Furthermore, the findings highlight the media's potential influence in shaping public opinion and influencing civil-military relations.

Research Question 1: What role did the Pakistani press play in highlighting or downplaying specific civil-military issues from 2008 to 2018?

The study found that the Pakistani press tended to highlight civil-military issues related to political instability, military interventions in governance, terrorism, and tensions between civilian governments and the military establishment. These issues received extensive coverage, often accompanied by critical analysis and public discourse. The press played a crucial role in shedding light on instances where the military encroached upon civilian authority or engaged in actions that raised concerns about democratic processes.

In contrast, the Pakistani press downplayed certain civil-military issues or received limited coverage. These included military spending, defense policies, and internal military affairs. The study revealed that such issues were often overlooked or overshadowed by other news stories, suggesting a tendency to avoid critical scrutiny of military matters or a lack of public interest. The downplaying of these issues potentially limited public awareness and understanding of important military decisions and policies.

Research Question 2: Were there any visible patterns or trends in the Pakistani press's portrayal of civil-military issues over the decade from 2008 to 2018?

There were discernible patterns and trends in the Pakistani press's portrayal of civil-military issues over the decade from 2008 to 2018. The study found that the coverage of civil-military issues was higher during certain years, particularly when major political events such as the general elections, military operations against terrorism, and the Panama Papers scandal. The study also found that the coverage of certain issues, such as General (R) Pervez Musharraf's regime, was consistent throughout the study period, while others, such as the Pashtun Tahaffuz Movement and the Faizabad sit-in, received limited coverage.

CONCLUSION

The Pakistani press played a significant role in highlighting specific civil-military issues during the study period. The press coverage of these issues was not uniform, and there were discernible patterns and trends in the Pakistani press's portrayal of civil-military issues from 2008 to 2018. The findings of this study provide insights into the agenda-setting role of the Pakistani press and contribute to the literature on media and politics in Pakistan. In conclusion, this study explored the civil-military issues highlighted in editorials of selected Pakistani newspapers from 2013 to 2018, using the theoretical framework of agenda setting. The study's findings suggest that the civil-military issues frequently discussed in the newspapers were related to the military's operation against terrorism and the impeachment and high treason trial of General (R) Pervez Musharraf.

The study also found that the newspapers differed in covering civil-military issues. For instance, Dawn published more editorials related to the miscellaneous civil-military issues than the other newspapers, while Jang newspaper published more editorials

related to the attack on Hamid Mir and Faizabad sit-in than the other newspapers. Nawa-i-Waqt did not publish any editorial related to the Pashtun Tahaffuz Movement.

This study significantly expands our understanding of agenda-setting by shedding light on the profound influence wielded by the media in molding public opinion and establishing the framework for political discussions. The study addresses a critical aspect of the nation's political landscape by investigating the dynamics of agenda-setting in the context of civil-military issues in Pakistan, further enriching the existing body of literature on this subject.

The findings of this study underscore the pivotal role played by the media in shaping the public's perception and understanding of civil-military issues in Pakistan. By examining the media's agenda-setting function, the research highlights how news outlets and journalists actively determine which topics receive attention, how they are framed, and their prominence level. This investigation serves as a reminder of the media's ability to shape public discourse, influencing public opinion and ultimately impacting political decision-making processes.

Moreover, the study delves into the unique context of Pakistan, where civil-military issues have long been a central aspect of the country's political landscape. By scrutinizing the media's reporting on these issues, the research elucidates how the media's agenda-setting power intersects with the complex dynamics between civil and military authorities. Understanding this intricate relationship is essential for comprehending the broader political climate in Pakistan and the factors contributing to the stability or volatility of civil-military relations.

In conclusion, this study demonstrates the importance of conducting additional research on the function of the media in defining the agenda in Pakistan, particularly about matters about the civil-military relationship. In addition, the study emphasizes the significance of diverse and independent media in reporting on topics of this nature and fostering a robust democratic culture inside the nation.

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