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From elite consumption to popular opinion: framing of the US drone program in Pakistani newspapers

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ABSTRACT

The United States has conducted armed drone strikes in Pakistan since 2004. While there has been some recent work on Pakistani public opinion about drones, there is very little research on how Pakistan's media characterize the US drone program. This is an important gap in understanding the determinants of Pakistani popular perceptions of this program. Decades of research has shown that "news framing", a process by which certain aspects of a complex concept are emphasized in political communications with others played down, influences individual cognition while forming political opinions. In this essay, we address this lacuna by assembling an unprecedented sample of editorials about the drone program from three English newspapers and one Urdu newspaper and analyzing the news frames within them. We next compare the trends in these news frames to public opinion data collected by Pew between the spring of 2009 and 2014. Initially, most Pakistanis were unaware of the drone program, media coverage of the program expanded as drone strikes increased in frequency. While Pakistanis became more cognizant of the US drone strikes, even by 2014 large minorities remained unaware. Pakistani public opinion strongly reflected the top media frames, particularly those that are negative. This is an important finding suggesting that newspaper editorials are a good barometer of Pakistani opinions despite the fact that only information elites rely upon newspapers for political information.

Introduction

Since 2004, the US government has, under the auspices of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), employed armed remotely piloted aerial vehicles (colloquially referred to as drones) to kill suspected terrorists in Pakistan's Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA).[1] During the George W. Bush administration,

drone strikes were infrequent; however, when Barack Obama assumed the US presidency in 2009, his administration dramatically escalated drone strikes.[2]

5   Large public protests against drone strikes occurred regularly in Pakistan's major cities prior to the end of 2013, when Washington substantially curbed drone strikes.[3] Pakistan's Thirteenth National Assembly (2008–2013) unanimously declared that the CIA drone strikes violate Pakistani sovereignty.[4] While campaigning for the May 2013 general elections, both Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif

10   as well as his chief political rival Imran Khan promised to terminate the program altogether.[5] After assuming the office of prime minister in June 2013, Sharif curtailed his anti-drone rhetoric likely reflecting the twinned facts that Pakistan's army and intelligence agency (the Inter-Services Intelligence Directorate or ISI) control national and domestic security policy and, as discussed below, the army

15   and ISI collaborate with the US government on the drone program to eliminate ostensibly mutual enemies.[6]

     While there has been some recent work on Pakistani public opinion about drones,[7] there is very little research on how Pakistan's media characterize the US drone program. This is an important, if obvious, gap in understanding the media

20   landscape that may help understand the determinants of Pakistani popular perceptions of this program. Decades of research has shown that "news framing", a process by which certain aspects of a complex concept are emphasized in political communications with others played down, influences individual cognition while forming political opinions.[8]

25   In this essay, we attempt to address this lacuna by assembling an unprecedented sample of editorials about the US drone program that were published in three English newspapers and one Urdu newspaper and analyzing the news frames within those editorials. We next compare the trends in news frames in those editorials to public opinion data collected by Pew between the spring

30   of 2009 and 2014. This is necessarily a second-best approach to understand the linkages between media frames and public opinion about the program. To formally and robustly test the effects of news frames upon public opinion, we would have to conduct longitudinal and/or experimental surveys of Pakistanis which is not feasible. Thus we acknowledge that our theoretical contributions

35   are negligible but we hope our empirical results may be of interest to the scholarly and policy analytical communities alike.

     Having noted these methodological caveats and data limitations, we find that while initially most Pakistanis were unaware of the drone program, media coverage of the program expanded as drone strikes increased in frequency and

40   over time more Pakistanis became cognizant of the US drone strikes. However, even by 2014 large minorities remained unaware of them. Curiously, coverage of drones was sticky in that editorials about drones remained high and did not decline as drone strikes became increasingly infrequent. We also find evidence that Pakistani public opinion strongly reflected the top media frames. Negative

frames were more likely to be reflected in opinion rather than positive or ambivalent ones.

The remainder of this essay is organized as follows. In the next section, we provide an overview of the media landscape in Pakistan. We then briefly review the framing literature to emphasize the importance of news frames and repetitive frames over time in explaining public opinion formation on complex political issues. In this section we propose five hypotheses, which guide our analysis even though we can formally or robustly test them. Fourth, we describe our methodology for identifying content as well as our coding process of that content. Fifth, we present our content analysis of media frames in our sample of editorial. Sixth, we partially test our hypotheses using these media frame data in conjunction with multiple waves of Pew Global Attitudes Survey Data. We conclude with a discussion of the implications of this research.

Landscape of Pakistani media

Pakistan's media is often lauded for its raucous independence; however, Pakistan's media engage in considerable self-censorship and go to great lengths to accommodate the sensitivities of Pakistan's military and intelligence agencies. Pakistan's most fearsome intelligence agency, the ISI, has a media management cell and its job is to monitor and police the content of all media in Pakistan. It pays particularly close attention to Urdu media because this is the language most Pakistanis understand.[9] Pakistan's "deep state" (which refers to the military and intelligence agencies) actively disincentivize journalists from critically analyzing the army's military operations in Balochistan, FATA, and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa; disparaging or even describing the army's pervasive manipulation of the government; exposing the ties between the deep state and the various militants that it cultivates for operations in Afghanistan and India. The consequences for failing to exercise appropriate self-censorship and comply with the diktats of the deep state can be deadly, as Pakistan's intelligence agencies are well known for using threats of violence and even deadly force to quiet critics of the military and the intelligence agencies. Journalists are also threatened by a range of other state and non-state actors, including political parties and their associated militias as well as the numerous militant groups operating across the country.[10]

The Pakistani government exerts considerable control of the media through its extensive budget for advertising and public interest campaigns. The government also exerts control over dailies by limiting, through cost manipulation, the availability of newsprint as well as through deliberate and selective enforcement of regulations. For example, the government deprived Pakistan's leading Urdu daily, *Jang*, and the English-language daily *The News*, of critical government advertising revenue after they published articles which were unflattering to the government. Similarly the government served the Jang Group with some US$13 million in tax notices, harassed the organization with government inspectors,

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and deprived the group of sufficient newsprint in effort to dissuade the group from publishing articles critical of the government.[11]

Pertinent to this analysis of the drone program, in the early years of the drone program the Pakistan military took credit for the strikes. A freelance photojournalist, Hayatullah Khan, exposed this deception when he published photographs of fragments of Hellfire missiles which were used to kill al Qaeda militants in North Waziristan's Miram Shah on 1 December 2005. Hayatullah Khan and his brother were subsequently abducted. Khan, who was also a reporter for the Urdu-language daily *Ausaf,* complained that he had received numerous threats from Pakistan's military and intelligence agencies as well as from the Taliban and local tribesmen due to his reporting. Hayatullah Khan was executed; his brother lived to tell the tale as a warning to future journalists wishing to expose the army's other fictions about the drone program.[12] While Pakistani journalists face deadly violence for offending any of these key stakeholders, the state expels foreign journalists who antagonize the army, the various agencies, and even the civilian government on the pretext of "undesirable activities".[13]

In addition to topical no-go areas, Pakistan also has geographical no-zones as well. As noted above, access to the FATA is generally off-limits even to Pakistani journalists, except for the very few who have tribal ties to one of the several tribal agencies. Balochistan, Pakistan's largest but least populated province, is another area where journalists are denied access. Balochistan is the site of an ongoing ethnic insurgency and a brutal counterinsurgency campaign rampant with suspected human rights abuses.[14] It has also been the home of the so-called "Quetta Shura", where senior Taliban leaders enjoy sanctuary and state sponsorship.[15]

Of the many kinds of media available and thriving in Pakistan, television is the most commonly used to access information. The Pakistan Television Company (PTV) is the only station that can broadcast freely across the nation. All private stations must use satellite, cable, or Internet TV. This gives the government a monopoly on freely disseminated TV news; almost 48 million of the 86 million TV watchers in Pakistan as estimated by Gallup Pakistan could only watch free PTV.[16] Private radio stations are forbidden from broadcasting national news, with few exceptions. In rural areas, the government-run Pakistan Broadcasting Corporation retains a virtual monopoly of radio audiences with the exception of insurgents who use radio stations to intimidate and control the local populations. Radio is very important in rural areas where electricity and television reception are unpredictable; however, when television is available, Pakistanis prefer it to radio.[17] While the internet is a growing resource in Pakistan, only 16% of Pakistanis have access to the internet.[18] Despite the low-level of internet penetration, Pakistan's government has exercised control over the availability of certain online resources for fear of blasphemous content, most notoriously blocking YouTube across Pakistan. In the past, government has also blocked websites regarding Balochistan as well as persecution of religious minorities in Pakistan.[19]

As other forms of media have become more accessible, newspapers and print media have lost their popularity. In the late 2000s, there was a surge in the number of periodicals in print which hit a peak in 2007 with 1820. However, since then this has declined sharply to 646 in 2012.[20] Daily newspapers have not been as affected, however, fluctuating but steadily increasing since 2001. Sindh experienced the sharpest decline in and the lowest numbers of newspapers in print, with just 75. Surprisingly, Balochistan has the largest number of newspapers in print: its 340 newspapers in print in 2012 is more than double the Punjab's 152. The majority of newspapers and periodicals in Pakistan, 469, are in Urdu and followed by English newspapers with 68.[21]

Nonetheless, there remains a demand for Urdu newspapers: three out of every four newspapers (4.6 million newspapers a day) bought in 2008 were published in Urdu.[22] Other major print languages were Sindhi and English. Considering that each newspaper is usually read by more than one person, the actual number of print consumers is most likely higher than the numbers report. According to INFOASAID, *Daily Jang*, a conservative Urdu daily, is the most widely read newspaper in Pakistan with an estimated circulation of 850,000 in 2012. It is followed by *Nawa-i-Waqt*, a very conservative Urdu paper; with a circulation of over 500,000. *Dawn*, the oldest and most popular English newspaper, has a circulation of 138,000 mainly concentrated in urban areas. *Dawn* is known for its progressive content. According to INFOASAID, *Dawn* had 10 million page views per month. *The News* is the second most popular English paper, and is owned by Jang Media Group. In addition to the print circulation, these newspapers are freely available through their websites.[23]

Most discussions of Pakistan's media landscape fail to address how much Pakistanis rely upon these different sources of information for local, national, regional and international events, much less the degree to which Pakistanis put their trust in these various sources. However, there is one source for such data: the team of Fair et al.[24] conducted an extensive survey of Pakistani media habits as well as knowledge of and opinions about the US drone program in Pakistan. Fair et al. conducted a nationally-representative survey, among 7648 respondents in the fall of 2013, across Pakistan's four provinces of the Punjab, Sindh, Balochistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Using those data, we examined the top three media sources that Pakistanis use to learn about events in their locality as well as events in and regarding Pakistan. These would be the news sources most germane to learning about the drone program in Pakistan. We also examined the top three news sources that respondents *trust* to learn about these events.

In that survey 4939 (65%) heard of the US drone program while 2709 (35%) had not. The majority of the persons who had heard of the program (85%) said that they support the program "not much" or "not at all" while 15% indicated that they did so "a lot" or "somewhat".[25] As the data shown in Tables 1a and 1b demonstrate, the three most common sources of information about local and national events are word of mouth, family, and PTV irrespective of whether he

Table 1a. Top three media sources for learning about events in respondents' locality and Pakistan.

	Top Three Media Sources	
	If respondent has heard of drones.	*If respondent has NOT heard of drones.*
How do you learn about events in your own locality (*maqaumi jagah*)?	(1) word of mouth: 90% (4454/4939)	(1) word of mouth: 82% (2227 /2709)
	(2) Family: 82% (4047 /4939) (3) Pakistani Television: (PTV): 67% (3323/4939)	(2) Family: 74% (2010 /2709) (3) PTV: 61% (1664 /2709)
How do you learn of events within Pakistan?	(1) word of mouth: 86% (4269/4939) (2) family: 76% (3774/4939) (3) PTV: 73% (3645/4939)	(1) word of mouth: 81% (2205/2709) (2) family: 70% (1886/2709) (3) PTV: 65% (1774/2709)

Table 1b. Top three media sources that respondents trust to learn about events in respondents' locality and Pakistan.

	Top Three Media Sources	
	If respondent has heard of drones.	*If respondent has NOT heard of drones.*
To learn about events in your own locality (*maqaumi jagah*)?	(1) Pakistan Private TV: 50% (2467/4939)	(1) Pakistan Private TV: 47% (1268/2709)
	(2) PTV: 26% (1285/4939) (3) Family: 13% (636/4939)	(2) PTV: 26% (714 /2709) (3) Family: 23% (636/2709)
To learn of events within Pakistan?	(1) Pakistan Private TV: 55% (2718/4939) (2) PTV: 27% (1351/4939) (3) Family: 8% (389/4939)	(1) Pakistan Private TV: 48% (1312/2709) (2) PTV: 27% (737/2709) (3) Family: 15% (400/2709)

Table 2. Trust in specific newspapers.

Newspaper	All	Most	A little	None	Never heard of it
Dawn (English)	1.24%	0.85%	0.92%	8.73%	88.26%
The Nation (English)	0.48%	060%	0.93%	8.66%	89.33%
The Daily Times (English)	0.34%	0.58%	0.68%	8.43%	89.97%
Jang (Urdu)	14.61%	12.20%	8.55%	7.58%	57.06%
Ausaf (Urdu)	9.06%	11.69%	11.61%	7.96%	59.68%
Kahbrain (Urdu)	11.26%	12.21%	10.55%	7.66%	58.32%
Nawai Waqt (Urdu)	9.87%	11.47%	10.54%	8.29%	59.83%

or she has heard of the drones. Curiously, when asked about the sources they most trust for local and national events, the top three responses were Pakistani private television, the public PTV, and family for both groups. Pakistan's periodicals do not appear on this list. When we expand the aperture to the top five, periodicals still do not make this list.

The team of Fair et al. asked respondents their opinions of several English and Urdu dailies. As the data in Table 2 show, the vast majority (almost 90%) of

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respondents had not heard of any of the English language dailies. There was considerably more awareness of the Urdu dailies with about 40% indicating knowledge of them. However, among those who had heard of these Urdu language dailies, the majorities trusted them in some measure.

Clearly the majority of ordinary Pakistanis do not turn to newspapers to obtain information regularly, if at all; rather, Pakistan's information elites consume newspapers and the political communications they convey. In turn, these information elites disseminate this information through formal and informal channels. Some of the media elites who penned the editorials analyzed here are either news hosts or frequent guests on news programs and thus contribute to the programming on Pakistan's public and private televisions. In this way, the newspapers' editorials both inform and reflect the various positions and news frames available through Pakistan's raucous news channels creating a cascade of information flows that eventually reach ordinary Pakistanis. Examples of newspaper editorial writers who move between print and television are myriad. Prominent personalities include: Ejaz Haider, a popular commentator in English print media, who has an Urdu-language news program called "Belaag" on Capital TV;[26] Najam Sethi, a prominent commentator in English papers, who has a news program called "Aapis ki baat" on Geo News;[27] Ahmed Qureshi, who has been a columnist for the Urdu daily *Jang* and the English *The News* among others, is an anchor for the Urdu language Express News television channel;[28] Moeed Pirzada, a journalist with a diverse background in English print media, has an equally diverse background in Pakistan's Urdu-language news channels for both private channels and PTV.[29]

Literature review: repetitive framing

News coverage of a topic helps focus public attention on particular aspects of an issue and thus alters the mix of possible interpretations that are readily available to an individual while forming political judgments about the matter in question. Because individuals' views are influenced by such coverage, it is important to exposit the different "frames" (or organizing devices that shape the coverage of news story) that are available in the media about a particular event or series of events. Scholars define "news framing" as a process in which "certain facets of social reality are emphasized by the news media, while others are pushed into the background".[30] Framing theory holds that individuals can view a given issue through multifarious perspectives and these different perspectives will have implications for how the person understands the matter.[31] News frames in political communications are important because they provide meaning to a series of events and promote "particular definitions and interpretations of political issues",[32] and thus alter the weights or valences of particular considerations of the news issue relative to others.

Over the course of time, citizens will encounter different frames for a particu-
lar topic. Exposure to "repetitive framing" of a news event not only influences
how people form political opinions such exposure also predisposes a person
to discard competitive frames that may appear later on.[33] Scholars who model
the psychology of framing effects argue that frame repetition will also increase
knowledge of or familiarity with a particular news frame and increase a person's
ability to recall it later.[34] Equally important, persuasion research has found that
repetition of a frame results in agreement with a persuasive message, especially
when the message is negative.[35]

Political elites and journalists adopt and share these news frames and thus
proliferate them throughout the various forms of political communication avail-
able in a given community of information consumers. In other words, various
media can become an "echo chamber" on a particular issue. In low information
societies (like Pakistan), these echoing frames are likely to be embraced by the
mass public when they form their own opinions on political concerns.[36] This view
is held by several scholars who have found that while a person's fundamental
political values and/or orientation will inform their opinion about a particular
matter,[37] these values alone do not permit most persons to formulate a position
on a given matter in part because they do not have a detailed, factual under-
standing of the issue at hand. Instead, they will take intellectual short-cuts to
inform their positions such as relying upon respected elites.[38]

Numerous public opinion scholars have argued that such elite opinion lead-
ers profoundly shape public opinion on policy matters, particularly when the
public has low quality information about them. Individuals employ elite opin-
ions to formulate their own beliefs about developments they do not – and
indeed cannot – fully understand.[39] Such elites in the context of Pakistan may
be a television or radio commentator, an editorial writer in one of Pakistan's
numerous newspapers and magazines, a religious leader speaking during the
Friday sermons at a local mosque, a teacher at a local school, or another local
person who is held in high esteem.[40] The more individuals believe this "elite" to
be expert and trustworthy, the more likely it is he or she will adopt that person's
framing of an issue.[41]

The model of political information acquisition in Pakistan should be signif-
icantly different than in other countries for several reasons, mostly related to
Pakistan's status as a developing country.[42,43] First, Pakistan is actually a low-qual-
ity information environment because many Pakistanis lack the education to
acquire information at all. According to data published by Pakistan's Social Policy
and Development Centre (SPDC) in Karachi, an average Pakistani male has 5.5
years of schooling, which is considerably better than females who on average
have only 3.5 years.[44] There are also considerable differences in attainment for
those in rural and urban areas. Persons between the age of 15 and 59 who live
in urban areas, on average, attained 6.2 years of schooling in 2010–2011, while
those in rural areas have attained 3.3 years. The overall average educational

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attainment for this group of Pakistanis is 4.28 years. This gap in attainment between rural and urban Pakistanis is all the more important when one realizes that the majority (65%) of Pakistanis live in rural areas.[45] Pakistan also fares poorly when one examines literacy rates. According to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), Pakistan is one of the most illiterate countries in the world, ranking 180 out of 221 countries so evaluated. Pakistan's adult literacy rate is a meager 55%, although males fare better (with a 67% literacy rate) than do females, 42% of whom are literate.[46,47]

Second, Pakistan remains a poor country. Even though the World Bank considers Pakistan to be a lower middle income country, when ranked according to its per capita gross national income of US$1,275 in 2013, it comes in at 187 out of the 226 countries for whom such data are available.[48] Media analysts argue that, taken together, low literacy relates, urban orientation of the print media and the high prices of newspapers explain the low circulation rates of Pakistan's dailies.[49] For details on Pakistani consumption, see Pakistan Bureau of Statistics 2015.

Third, Pakistan is also infrastructure-poor, which also limits the ability of ordinary Pakistanis to access information. According to the International Energy Agency's World Energy Outlook 2014, Pakistan's national electrification rate was 69%, considerably below the rate of 83% for the other countries classified as "Developing Asia" and 82% for the global average. There are also enormous differences in electrification for urban and rural Pakistan with the former having a rate of 88% compared to 57% for the latter.[50]

However, these figures do not account for a phenomenon known as "load shedding", which is a planned shutdown of electricity in parts of a power-distribution system with the general intention of preventing system-wide failure when demand for power exceeds the production. In Pakistan, load shedding has been and remains a planned fact of life for many years. Load shedding schedules are publicly announced so that persons can plan accordingly. According to one news report from 2013, across Pakistan, power is out for at least 10 hours a day in the cities. In Pakistan's rural areas, where most Pakistanis live, residents are without power for as many as 22 hours per day.[51] Thus, as Fair et al. note in their study of Pakistani opinion towards the drone program, even if Pakistanis have computers, televisions or "smart" cellular phones with internet access, they are highly restricted in their use due to persistent unavailability of power needed to use these devices or to charge them.[52]

Taken together, Pakistan's human development and perduring infrastructure problems make it very difficult for the average Pakistani to acquire any political information, much less high-quality information directly. These conditions render acquiring knowledge about even quotidian issues challenging, but they are even more salient when one considers the enduring shrouded nature of US drone program in Pakistan. The US government refuses to be transparent about the program and thus is loath to speak about the program in general and it is illegal for US officials to speak about any particular drone

strike because the program is covert. There is considerable material available about the program from various non-governmental organizations and press releases by Pakistan's militant groups and government. These press releases become amplified in various media and form the basis of drone databases that are maintained by organizations such as the New America Foundation and the Bureau of Investigative Journalism.[53] Because the drone strikes are confined to Pakistan's FATA, these varied reports cannot be independently verified because FATA is governed under the colonial-era legal dispensation known as the Frontier Crimes Regulation (FCR). Per the FCR, neither Pakistani nor foreign persons can enter FATA unless they have familiar ties to one of the FATA agencies.[54] There are many reasons to be skeptical of Pakistan's media accounts of the drone strikes given the above-detailed expansive role of Pakistan's military and intelligence agencies manipulating Pakistan's media.[55]

We contend that analysis of the newspaper editorial frames about the drone program may be useful despite the above-noted challenges and even though, as Fair et al. show, most Pakistanis obtain information from personal sources (word of mouth, friends and family) or through television.[56] This is principally because the editorial frames both inform and reflect the elite discourse available through television and personal channels. Empirically, it would be a much more difficult challenge to conduct a similar content analysis of Pakistan's televised news content of this issue. Fortunately, as we show in this paper, at least on the subject of drones the news frames of editorial positions do reflect popular opinion despite the elite nature of the print news frame discourse.

These varied literatures about framing generally and the context of Pakistan's media environment in particular gives rise to several hypotheses for which we will seek confirmatory or discomfirmatory evidence with the caveats that we are not in a position to robustly test these hypotheses.

H1: Large numbers of Pakistanis will be unaware of the drone program due to educational and infrastructure limits.

H2: Media coverage of drones will expand as the US CIA escalated drone use.

H3: Pakistani knowledge of the drone program will expand as coverage of the program expands.

H4: Pakistani views of the program will reflect the dominant normative values of the media frames.

H5: Negative frames will be more commonly reflected in public opinion than positive frames.

We partially test these hypotheses using data from multiple waves of Pew's Global Attitudes Survey from 2009 to 2014.

Methodology: data collection, extraction and analysis

To understand the media frames that populate elite discourse about the US drone attacks in Pakistan, we analyzed editorials from four of Pakistan's key

dailies. For the English-language editorials, we chose three English papers (*The Nation*, *Dawn*, and *Daily Times*), as they represent different views along the ideological spectrum, with *Daily Times* representing the liberal left, *The Nation* representing the pro-government right, and *Dawn* representing the left-of-center. We also analyzed one Urdu newspaper (*Daily Express)*, which is left leaning compared to Pakistan's other Urdu dailies. It would have been preferable to replicate the span of editorial positions in the Urdu media as we did for the English language papers. Unfortunately, the other Urdu newspapers are not available electronically.[57]

Chong and Druckman put forward a suggested methodology that allows researchers to understand how media frames can influence public opinion.[58] We used a modification of their procedure. First, we identified a set of frames for analysis. In order to do this, we first collected the samples of editorials in the English and Urdu newspapers, as described below. We drew a 5% random sample of each language-specific sample and generated a list of preliminary frames inductively from this sample. As described below, we modified this list when necessary as the coding process evolved; however, when new frames were identified, coders reviewed the entire sample looking for the presence or absence of these additional frames. We detail the media frames against which we coded our sample in Table 3.

Once we identified these initial frames, we returned to the entire sample. The English and Urdu samples were constructed differently for technical reasons. We used two collection methods for the English editorials. First, for *The Nation, Daily Times* and *Dawn,* we utilized the Lexis Nexis database, as it allowed us to select a Pakistani news source and filter the results based on kind of writing ("editorial"), the date, and key words ("drone"). We chose the start date for data collection to be 10 April 2009 because it was the earliest date for which data existed for both papers. This is also roughly contemporaneous with the expansion of the drone program under the Obama administration. We selected our cut-off date as 31 December 2013 after which use of drones slowed substantively. Within this date range, we searched for editorials that contained the word "drone". Because not all editorials that contained the word drone were actually about drones, we manually perused each editorial to discern whether or not it was about the US drone program. After eliminating irrelevant editorials, we had a sample of 419 from *The Nation* and 60 from *The Daily Times.* Unfortunately, in the case of *The Dawn*, Lexis Nexis archived this newspaper from 5 December 2012 onward. We manually pulled editorials, as described below, to complete our time series for *The Dawn*.

Our second method entailed pulling editorials from the archives using each of the newspaper's website. Because neither online paper offered effective search and filter methods, we combed through the archives of each paper for each day in our time frame. We saved each editorial to a PDF file for later analysis. We did this for the entire time frame for the *Daily Express* and, for *the Dawn*, we

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Table 3. Available media frames in Pakistani newspaper coverage about the US drone program in Pakistan.

Frame No	Media Frames
1	Drones are a part of a US war on Muslims or Islam.
2	Drones violate Pakistani sovereignty.
3	Drone strikes are done without the consent of Pakistan's civilian government.
4	Drone strikes are done without the consent of Pakistan's military and/or intelligence agencies.
5	Drone strikes are done with the consent of Pakistan's civilian government.
6	Drone strikes are done with the consent of Pakistan's military and/or intelligence agencies.
7	Drone strikes are better/more precise/kill fewer innocents than Pak military operations.
8	Drone strikes kill too many innocents/more innocents than guilty persons.
9	Drone strikes are the only real option for killing terrorists in FATA.
10	People in FATA approve of the drone strikes or think they are the least bad option for FATA.
11	Drones make peace with the militants less likely.
12	Drones make peace with the militants more likely.
13	Drones increase militant recruitment.
14	Drones decrease militant recruitment.
15	Some within the US oppose drone use.
16	Drones are unlawful because these killings are done without due process.
17	Pakistan should acquire its own drone technology.
18	Pakistan military should shoot down drones within its territory.
19	Drones increase retaliatory terrorism attacks.
20	The ed. argues that the US uses drones as political leverage against Pakistan.
21	Drones increase anti-American sentiment.
22	Drones have a negative impact on the war against terrorists.
23	Pakistan should take on a more active role in the US drone program.

did so for 10 April 2009 through 4 December 2012. Our total sample from *The Dawn* included 45 editorials and 218 from the *Daily Express* (Urdu).

Having assembled our sample of 742 editorials across all four papers, we next began data extraction. Our unit of analysis was the individual editorial. We evaluated each editorial for the presence of each of the above-noted 23 media frames. We recorded the results of this coding exercise using a spreadsheet which detailed: (1) newspaper name; (2) date of the editorial; (3) the title; and (4) the author's name if provided. Before assessing the presence or absence of each frame, the coder recorded the overall assessment of drones: whether it was positive, negative, mixed or neither. The data sheet contained columns for each media frame. In each of columns, we entered a "1" if the given frame was included in the editorial and a "0" otherwise. Articles frequently contained multiple media frames. Preferring the "negotiated coding" strategy put forth by Garrison et al. to inter-rate reliability-based approach, two coders worked on the English language papers.[59,60] A third coder reviewed their collective coding. When a question arose, the third coder consulted with the principle investigator to resolve the issue.[61]

The Urdu editorials were coded by one coder, who was also the third coder of the English editorials who conducted quality assurance on the data extraction

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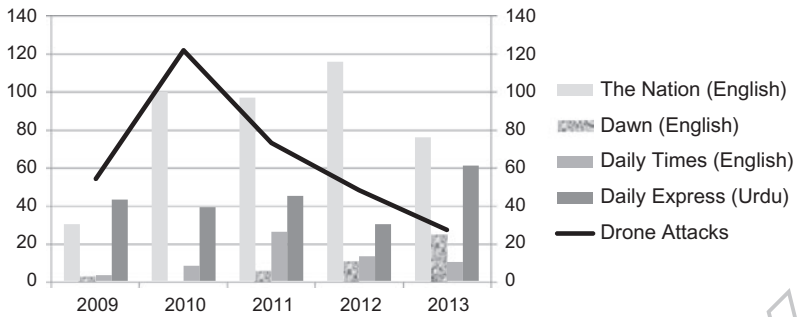Coll:XX   QC:XX

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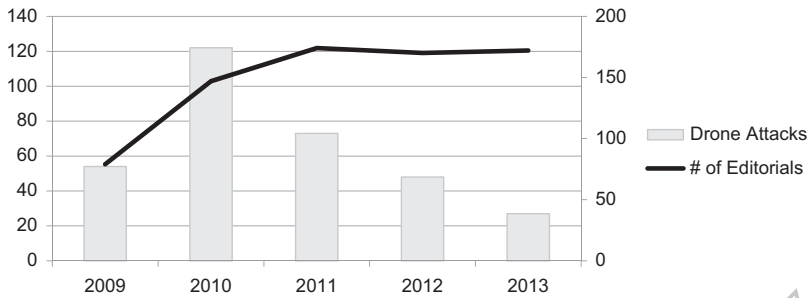
Figure 1a. Editorials about drones per year versus drones strikes per year in FATA.
Source: New America Foundation. "Drone Wars Pakistan: Analysis," 2015. http://security data.newamerica.net/drones/pakistan-analysis.html.

of those editorials. While we were unable to have a second Urdu language coder independently verify the coding, this coder went through each editorial twice
5 to ensure consistency and accuracy.

Analysis of editorials

We first graphically depicted the yearly breakdown of our 742 editorials against the annual tally of drone attacks conducted in that particular year. [62] As Figure 1a illustrates, there was a sharp increase in editorials about drones in these
10 newspapers during 2010. This can be explained by the 122 drone attacks in 2010, which was a 100% increase from the previous year. In 2011 there were only 73 drone attacks but the number of drone related editorials increased to 174. While annual drone strikes tapered off, the production of editorials remained consistently high for 2011–2013. In other words, the editorial production did
15 not dissipate with the cessation of drone strikes. In Figure 1b, we disaggregate the yearly editorial count for each paper and plot them against the drone strike trend line. While the correlation coefficient between overall editorials year and drone strikes (as shown in Figure 1a) is negative and small (−0.06), when we examine correlation coefficients by individual papers and drone strikes a differ-
20 ent picture emerges. The appearance of editorials in *Dawn* (English) and *Daily Express* (Urdu) are negatively and strongly correlated with drone strikes, with correlation coefficients of −0.788 and −0.415 respectively. However, editorials published in *The Nation* (English) have a weak positive correlation with the number of drone attacks (0.286), while those in the *Daily Times* (English) do not
25 appear to be significantly correlated with the drone strikes (0.0339).
　　Next we subjectively assessed the overall tone of each newspaper's editorials over the time period in question. As Table 4 suggests, there is considerable variation across the newspapers' editorial content. The English *Daily Times* had the largest percentage (15%) of editorials that were pro-drone in tenor while

Figure 1b. Disaggregated editorials about drones per year versus drones strikes per year in FATA.
Source: New America Foundation. "Drone Wars Pakistan: Analysis," 2015. http://securitydata. newamerica.net/drones/pakistan-analysis.html.

Table 4. Overall qualitative assessment of editorials.

Newspaper	Total	Positive	Negative	Mixed	Neither
Dawn (English)	45	4% (2)	40% (18)	40% (18)	16% (7)
Daily Times (English)	60	15% (9)	50% (30)	28% (17)	7% (4)
The Nation (English)	419	1% (6)	92% (385)	1% (5)	5% (23)
Daily Express (Urdu)	218	1% (2)	70% (153)	4% (9)	25% (54)

The Nation was overall the most negative with 92% of its editorials opposing the drones, followed by the Urdu *Daily Express* with 70% of editorials opposed to drones. Both *The Dawn* and *Daily Times* contained large percentages of editorials that offered conflicting views of the program (40% and 28% respectively).

Frame analysis

5   We next examine the five most common frames for each of the four newspapers analyzed, as shown in Tables 5a–d. Despite the differences in overall assessment among these three English newspapers, there are several frames that are common across the three English newspapers. In all three English papers, the frames "drones kill innocent people" and "violate Pakistan's sovereignty" are
10   the top two frames. Issues of consent also appear commonly across the three English papers' editorials.

Many of the five most common frames in the *Daily Express* (Urdu) are shared by the English papers; however, the most common frame was the notion that drone strikes are conducted without the consent of the civilian government.
15   In the *Daily Express,* "violate Pakistan's sovereignty" ranked second and "drones kill innocent people" ranked third. Interestingly, despite arguing in 29% of the editorials that drones kill innocent people, *Daily Express* argued in 13% of the editorials that Pakistan should have its own drones. Even though Urdu press

Table 5a. Top five frames mentioned in editorials published by *The Nation* (English).

Rank	Frame	Percentage of editorials mentioning the frame
1	Kill Innocents	37% (157)
2	Violation of Sovereignty	37% (154)
3	Encourages Terrorist Recruitment	14% (57)
4	With Civilian Gov't consent	13% (54)
5	Pakistan should shoot down the drones	10% (40)

*Total number editorials about drones published by *The Nation* = 419; **Number of the editorials is given in the parenthesis.

Table 5b. Top five frames mentioned in editorials published by *Dawn* (English).

Rank	Frame	Percentage of editorials mentioning the frame
1	Kill Innocents	42% (19)
2	Violation of Sovereignty	42% (19)
3	With Civilian Gov't consent	38% (17)
4	With Pak Mil/ISI consent	24% (11)
5	W/O Civilian Gov't Consent	20% (9)

*Total number editorials about drones published by *The Nation* = 45; **Number of the editorials is given in the parenthesis.

Table 5c. Top five frames mentioned in editorials published by *Daily Times* (English).

Rank	Frame	Percentage of editorials mentioning the frame
1	Kill Innocents	28% (17)
2	Violation of Sovereignty	27% (16)
3	With Civilian Gov't consent	22% (13)
4	With Pak Mil/ISI consent	18% (11)
5	W/O Civilian Gov't Consent	10% (6)

*Total number editorials about drones published by *The Nation* = 60; **Number of the editorials is given in the parenthesis.

Table 5d. Top five frames mentioned in editorials published by *Daily Express* (Urdu).

Rank	Frame	Percentage of editorials mentioning the frame
1	W/O Civilian Gov't Consent	33% (72)
2	Violation of Sovereignty	31% (68)
3	Kill Innocents	29% (63)
4	Increase in Anti-American Sentiment	15% (33)
5	Negatively impact the war against the terrorists	15% (32)

*Total number editorials about drones published by *The Nation* = 218; **Number of the editorials is given in the parenthesis.

has traditionally been right leaning, only 1% of the editorials published in *Daily Express* argue that Pakistan should shoot down US drones, compared to 10% such editorials in *The Nation* (English).

We can draw out several implications of this exercise. First and foremost, editorial production was "sticky" in that they increased rapidly as the drone strikes expanded but did not retract when the drone strikes dissipated. Despite

the different editorial positions generally and on drones in particular across the four papers, they often relied upon a similar set of frames in their editorials. However, two of the frames are factually deeply problematic.

First, Pakistan's editorials widely hold that the drones kill too many innocent civilians. This is one of the most contested claims made about the US drone program. It should be noted that neither international nor Pakistani analysts have made similar claims about drone strikes which Pakistan has launched in the FATA using its own cruder drone, known as the Buraq, which Pakistan obtained from China.[63] While the United States insists that relatively few persons killed in drones are "innocent", it has been unwilling to provide evidence for this claim. However, in 2012, Peter Bergen of the New America Foundation, which tracks drone strikes, contended that civilian casualties were in fact minimal owing to smaller munitions, better targeting, and more congressional oversight.[64] Equally important, when the views of the tribal residents of FATA are solicited, they maintain that the drones are generally accurate in targeting militants. In contrast, Pakistan's conventional airstrikes against militants in the FATA and in Swat have killed thousands and have displaced 4.2 million persons.[65] Moreover, the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs in Pakistan has reported no displacement from the drone strikes.[66]

The second most common frame is that the drones violate Pakistani sovereignty. This too is a very complicated matter owing to the way in which the program is conducted and the opacity surrounding US and Pakistan cooperation in the conduct of the programs. As Mazzetti recounts, Pakistan's military (then under the leadership of President and General Pervez Musharraf) agreed to allow the United States to conduct armed drone strikes when the United States agreed in 2004 to kill Naik Mohammad, a sworn nemesis of the Pakistan army and who reneged on a high profile peace deal earlier that year.[67] This was the CIA's first so-called "good will kill", which forged a furtive compact between the CIA and Pakistan's military and intelligence agency that would grant the CIA access to Pakistan's air space to conduct drone strikes against the foes of both the United States and Pakistan.[68] Pakistan's premier intelligence agency, the ISI, dictated the ground rules for the program: CIA drones could operate only in narrow "flight boxes" in FATA. The ISI wanted to prevent US intelligence from developing intelligence about "Pakistan's nuclear facilities, and mountain camps where Kashmiri militants were trained for attacks against India".[69] The ISI also required that the United States operate all drone flights in Pakistan under the CIA's covert-action authority, often referred to as "Title 50"operations.[70] This meant that the United States could never discuss the program, which was necessary to conceal the complicity of the army and the ISI. This was important because the army, and the ISI which it overseas, markets itself as the being the pre-eminent guarantors of Pakistani security and routinely dismisses the civilian government as corrupt ingrates. If the public were to know that the

army requests some of these drone strikes, Pakistani popular confidence in the organizations may decline.

According to Daniel Markey, a member of the Secretary of State's Policy Planning Staff from 2003–2007:

> Musharraf's consent represented both that of the Pakistani military and its civilian government. Not only did he grant his consent, but initially, the Pakistani military tried to take credit for these kinds of attacks – claiming that they weren't the work of drones, but Pakistani air strikes. This wasn't a very credible claim on Pakistan's part, but it worked for a while because the strikes were initially much less frequent than they are now. And the misdirection helped the Pakistani government weather the domestic backlash.[71]

Musharraf indeed issued public complaints and Washington understood them as political drama for domestic consumption. On this matter, Markey opined that "One can only assume ... that the private messages from the Pakistani government were different from their public messages".[72]

However, President Musharraf was a military dictator. Democracy, albeit under firm military control, returned to Pakistan in 2008. When the drone program expanded with Obama's ascension to the White House, this civilian leadership, under President Asif Zardari, continued to conduct itself as did Musharraf's government had before: it protested the drone program vociferously while aiding and abetting it in secret. Husain Haqqani, former Pakistan ambassador to the United States who was close to the Pakistan Peoples' Party that governed Pakistan from 2008 to 2013 under Zardari, admitted that that the "establishment and government agreed upon continuing the drone strike agreement with the US".[73] Since the election of the Nawaz Sharif government in the spring of 2013, there has been very little discussion of the US drone program and the degree of bilateral cooperation undergirding it. However, Pakistan owns the airspace and these drone sorties cannot be conducted without Pakistan's government de-conflicting the airspace. Moreover, the accuracy of the drone program cannot be sustained without Pakistani cooperation.[74]

Pakistani analysts at the International Crisis Group agree that at least parts of the state remain complicit in the program. Writing from an authoritative position on Pakistan's domestic politics and civil–military relations, the International Crisis Group observed that "even after the National Assembly – a body traditionally willing to do the military's bidding on national security issues – passed resolutions like the one in April 2012 that declared cessation of US drone strikes an official policy objective, Pakistan has not yet taken any concrete steps to challenge the program. It has not, for instance, lodged a formal complaint with the UN Security Council".[75] The Pakistani public understandably has legitimate questions about the degree to which its government conspires with the United States in the use of armed drone attacks. However, Pakistan's media had tended to demure from discussing this issue with the required nuance is deserves and

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instead foists upon its readers the notion that they violate Pakistan's sovereignty without question.

Pakistani public opinion about drones

Whereas the above section demonstrated the key frames that four of Pakistan's newspapers use when editorializing about the drone program, this section seeks to examine what Pakistanis believe about the program. Fortunately, there is one source that allows us to follow Pakistani public opinion about drones for much of the period of our frame analysis. Beginning in 2009, the Pew Foundation began asking Pakistanis about the drone program as a part of its Global Attitudes Project. (Notably, Pew's samples of Pakistan are all disproportionally drawn from urban areas as Pew notes in the methodology statements for various survey waves.) Ideally, to test the impacts of the above-exposited media frames, we would be required to conduct a large, multi-year panel survey of Pakistanis. Necessarily we adopt a second-best approach.[76] Namely, use multiple years of Pew Data on Pakistani popular views of the program to demonstrate the correlation between themes of public opinion and the above-noted media frames. This allows us to evaluate, albeit imperfectly, the five hypotheses outlined above. While this method does not provide a "hard test" of the hypotheses, it does allow us a limited ability to determine if the available evidence supports or undermines the contentions underlying our hypotheses.

In several of the earlier waves, Pew's enumerators first asked respondents "how much, if anything, have you heard about drone attacks that target leaders of extremist groups – a lot, little, or nothing at all?" For those who had heard of the drone attacks, enumerators asked the follow on question "Do you think these drone attacks are a very good thing, good thing, bad thing, or very bad thing?" Pew used this strategy five times (Spring 2009, Spring 2010, April 2011, May 2011, and Spring 2012). As the data in Table 6 show, in 2009, only a minority of the overwhelmingly urban sample had heard of the program. In the later waves, slightly over half of the sample had heard of the program. Despite the fact that nearly half of the sample or more had not heard of the program, Pew discontinued asking this question after the 2012 wave.

As the data shown in Table 7 attest, those who had heard of the program were overwhelming opposed to the program. However, the sample of respondents who received this question was no longer representative of the original sample because those who were unaware of the program systematically differed in key characteristics from the original sample. Fair et al., analyzing Pew's data from 2010, found that "more highly educated males with higher levels of Internet use are more likely than other groups to know about the program".[77]

Pew also asked respondents their opinions about three statements. They asked respondents whether or not drone strikes: (1) are necessary to defend Pakistan from extremist groups; (2) kill too many civilians; (3) are being done

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Table 6. How much, if anything, have you heard about drone attacks that target leaders of extremist groups?

Year	A lot	A little	Nothing at all	DK/ Refused	Total	Percentage who had heard of the program	Size of Pakistani sample
Spring 2009	32**		59	9	100	32%	1254*
Spring 2010	14%	21%	43%	22%	100	35%	2000*
Spring 2011 – April	24%	31%	22%	23%	100	55%	1970*
Spring 2011 – May	27%	29%	23%	21%	100	56%	1251*
Spring 2012	24%	31%	21%	23%	100	55%	1206*
Spring 2013	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	1201*
Spring 2014							

Source: Pew Global Attitudes Project (2009, 2010, 2011, 2012).
Notes: *According to Pew, the sample is disproportionately urban. In 2009 and 2010, 55% of the respondents coming from urban areas. Pew did not report this for subsequent years. ** In 2009, Pew asked respondents whether they "have heard" or 'have not heard" about the drone strikes.

Table 7. Do you think these drone attacks are a very good thing, good thing, bad thing, or very bad thing?.

Year	Very good	Good	Bad	Very bad	DK/ Refused	Total	N	% of original sample
Spring 2009	1	2	33	62	1	100	421	33.6%
Spring 2010	2	3	31	62	2	100	767	38.3%
April 2011	2	3	23	72	1	100	1082	54.9%
May 2011	1	1	32	65	0	100	699	55.8%
Spring 2012	1	1	23	74	0	100	705	58.5%

For 2013 and 2014 Pew asked "Do approve or disapprove of the United States Conducting missiles trikes from pilotless aircraft called drones in countries such as Pakistan, Yemen and Somalia"

	Approve	Disapprove	DK/ Refused	Total	N	% of original sample
Spring 2013	5	68	27	100	NA	NA
Spring 2014	3	66	30	100	NA	NA

without the approval of the Pakistani government. Coincidentally, two of three questions share considerable overlap with the most frequent media frames in our sample. The exception is the question pertaining to the necessity of the drone program to protect Pakistan. As shown in Table 8a, majorities reject this argument about drones in any event. As the data in Table 8b show, overwhelming majorities of respondents queried believed the program killed too many innocent persons. The third question about the complicity of the Pakistani government in the drone program also speaks to the question of whether or not drones violate Pakistani sovereignty. The top media frames tended to dilate upon variations of this theme about drones. Key media frames included the notion that drone attacks were conducted with either the consent of the civilian government and or ISI and the military on the one hand while a competitive frame held that they are violations of Pakistani sovereignty. The editorials were fairly conflicted about the degree of Pakistani cooperation and thus the

Table 8a. Drone strikes "are necessary to defend Pakistan from extremist groups".

Year	Agree	Disagree	DK/Refused	Total	N
Spring 2009	34	58	8	100	421
Spring 2010	32	56	11	100	767
Spring 2011 – April	24	69	7	100	1082
Spring 2011 – May	26	61	13	100	699
Spring 2012	19	74	7	100	705
Spring 2013*	33	40	28	100	NA
Spring 2014*	21	46	33	100	NA

Notes: *In 2013 and 2014, Pew asked this question of all respondents as it did not filter respondents based upon whether or not they had heard of the program. For this reason, the DK/R rates are much higher than in previous years.

Table 8b. Drone strikes "kill too many innocent people".

Year	Agree	Disagree	DK/Refused	Total	N
Spring 2009	93	5	2	100	421
Spring 2010	90	5	5	100	767
Spring 2011 – April	91	6	3	100	1082
Spring 2011 – May	89	5	5	100	699
Spring 2012	94	4	2	100	705
Spring 2013*	74	11	15	100	NA
Spring 2014*	67	9	24	100	NA

Notes: *In 2013 and 2014, Pew asked this question of all respondents as it did not filter respondents based upon whether or not they had heard of the program. For this reason, the DK/R rates are much higher than in previous years.

Table 8c. Drone strikes "are being done without approval of Pakistan government".

Year	Agree	Disagree	DK/Refused	Total	N
Spring 2009	58	27	14	100	421
Spring 2010	49	33	19	100	767
Spring 2011 – April	41	51	8	100	1082
Spring 2011 – May	45	41	14	100	699
Spring 2012	41	47	12	100	705
Spring 2013*	39	29	32	100	NA
Spring 2014*	41	23	36	100	NA

Notes: *In 2013 and 2014, Pew asked this question of all respondents as it did not filter respondents based upon whether or not they had heard of the program. For this reason, the DK/R rates are much higher than in previous years.

extent to which they were outright violations of sovereignty. The data in Table 8c reflect this ambivalence. (Note that in the 2013 and 2014 waves, Pew did not first ask respondents whether or not they were aware of the drone program and asked these questions of all respondents. This likely explain the large increase in respondents who either refused to answer the question or did know how to.)

Discussion of results

These data permit us to evaluate, at least partially, the first three of the hypotheses we posited. In H1, we conjectured that few Pakistanis would be aware of

the program, but, per H2, coverage would expand with the program, and thus, per H3, Pakistani citizens would become increasingly aware as media coverage expanded. Given that these hypotheses are fairly obvious, it is not surprising that Pew's data confirm them. However, what is puzzling is that despite the expansion in news coverage, the percentage of persons who had heard of the program never reached 60%. The data collected by Fair et al. used a slightly different question and a larger, more representative, sample and found that 65% knew of the program in 2014.[78] Whether one uses the most recent Pew data or those of Fair et al., large minorities remain unaware of the drone program despite this demonstrably expanded coverage. With respect to H3, while we found that while editorial production increased dramatically as drone strikes increased in frequency, production did not decline as the Obama administration conducted fewer drone operations.

Although our use of the Pew results are an imperfect and partial test of H4, the Pew results do generally support our hypothesis that Pakistani views of the program would reflect the dominant normative values of the media frames. The Pew data offer limited insights into the conjecture of H5 that negative frames would be more reflected in public opinion than positive frames. For one thing, we found no positive media frames in significant number. However, the negative frame about drones killing too many civilians is indeed strongly reflected in Pakistani public opinion even though this claim is empirically suspect.

Conclusions and implications

Curiously, even though the Pakistani media has extensively covered drone strikes, there are still large minorities that remain unaware of the US drone program in Pakistan. This is likely attributable to the combined factors of, among other things, illiteracy, poverty, generally rural population, and inadequate access to power. Thus the media coverage seemed to hit a saturation point with slightly more than 50% being aware. It does not appear that more media coverage or enduring media coverage of this issue will dramatically expand the percentage of Pakistanis who know about the program.

However, what was perhaps surprising is that frames in newspaper coverage do a decent job of explaining popular attitudes, which cannot possibly be due directly to these newspaper accounts given the low penetration newspapers have in Pakistan's media market. This suggests that Pakistan's information elites may acquire their information from print media and disseminate that political information and the frames with which they are conveyed through other communication venues.

It is also notable that even though English and Urdu newspapers ostensibly cater to very different audiences, whether we compare English language papers to themselves or to the Urdu paper analyzed here, there is surprising convergence in the ways in which these papers editorialized upon the US drone

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program. For those who are interested in this issue and how Pakistanis develop opinion about it, it may suggest that perusal of English papers that span the ideological divide may be adequate. Alternatively it may simply be that the *Daily Express* is more similar to the English papers than it is to other Urdu papers. We can rule out that more mainstream Urdu papers would depict this policy matter in dramatically different terms.

With respect to our results, it is true that the majority of those who had heard of the program oppose it. However, given the non-representative nature of the sample of persons who are aware of the program, one cannot make facile generalizations about what "the ordinary" Pakistani believes. However, despite the fact that the dominant normative values of the media frames observed here, there remains a significant minority of Pakistanis who believe that the US drone strikes are necessary to defend Pakistan from extremist groups (Table 8a). Interestingly, we rarely encountered this argument in the editorials assessed. It remains an important empirical task to explain the source of this particular attitude given the rarity of this position in Pakistan's varied media, the general inaccessibility of the FATA to the vast majority of Pakistanis, and the highly self-policed content of the media about militancy in Pakistan and its provenance.

Notes

1. The Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) is comprised of the seven tribal agencies of South and North Waziristan, Orakzai, Kurram, Khyber, Mohmand, and Bajaur, as well as several so-called frontier regions that sit astride the agencies of the FATA and the settled areas. These include the frontier regions of Bannu, Dera Ismail Khan, Kohat, Lakki Marwat, Peshawar and Tank (FATA.gov.pk, ND).
2. Under President Bush, the United States launched a total of 47 drone strikes. After Obama assumed office in 2009, the CIA launched 52 in that year alone. CIA drone strikes peaked in 2010 when with 122 and then decreased to 73 in 2011, 48 in 2012, 27 in 2013, 22 in 2014, and 10 in 2015, and two in 2016 as of 27 April 27 (New America Foundation, "Drone Wars Pakistan").
3. Masood and Mehsud, "Thousands in Pakistan Protest"; Serle, "Drone Strikes in Pakistan."
4. *Pakistan Express Tribune*, "Violating Sovereignty."
5. *Pakistan Express Tribune*, "Drone Attacks must Stop."
6. Landay, "Obama's Drone War"; Roggio, "US to Pakistan"; Bowman and Inskeep, "Pakistan Criticizes, Helps Coordinate."
7. Fair et al., "Pakistani Opposition"; Fair et al., "Pakistani Political Communication."
8. Lecheler et al., "The Effects of Repetitive News Framing."
9. While Urdu is the country's "national language" and is understood by most Pakistanis, fewer than 8% of Pakistanis claim it as their mother tongue. Most of these "Urdu" speakers live in Pakistan's urban areas. The other major languages in Pakistan tend to be regional: 75% of those in the Punjab speak Punjabi, 59.73% of those in Sindh speak Sindhi, 54.76% in Balochistan speak Balochi, and 73.9% speak Pashto in Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa. Seraiki is spoken by over 10% of the population, mainly living in south Punjab and parts of Sindh and KPK (Pakistan Bureau of Statistics).

10. Boone, "Pakistan Press Freedom"; Zahra, "Pakistani Activist Sabeen Mahmud"; Haider, "An Open Letter"; Haider, "Whodunit? ISI?"; Yusuf, "Conspiracy Fever"; Hussain, "From Secret to Public"; Amnesty International, "A Bullet Has Been Chosen."
11. PressReference.com, "Pakistan."
12. Committee to Protect Journalists, "Journalists Killed – Pakistan."
13. BBC News, "UK Reporting Trio Leave"; Peer, "Declan Walsh, Expelled."
14. US Department of State, "Country Reports on Human Rights"; Human Rights Watch, "We Can Torture, Kill"; International Crisis Group, "Pakistan: The Forgotten Conflict."
15. Pakistan News Net, "Quetta."
16. INFOASAID, "Pakistan."
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid.
19. *Express Tribune*, "PTA Bans Official Ahmadi Website."
20. Pakistan Bureau of Statistics, "Social Statistics, Table 19.1."
21. Pakistan Bureau of Statistics, "Social Statistics, Table 19.2"
22. INFOASAID, "Pakistan."
23. Ibid.
24. Fair et al., "Pakistani Political Communications."
25. Ibid.
26. AwazTv.org, "Ejaz Haider."
27. NajamSethi, "Biography."
28. Pakistanileaders.com, "Profile of Ahmed Quraish."
29. DrMoeedPirzada.com, "About Moeed Pirzada."
30. Lecheler et al., "The Effects of Repetitive News," 3.
31. Chong and Druckman define framing as the "process by which people develop a particular conceptualization of an issue or reorient their thinking about an issue" ("Framing Theory," p.104).
32. Shah et al., "News Framing and Cueing," 343.
33. Lecheler et al., "The Effects of Repetitive News."
34. Slothuus, "More than Weighting Cognitive Importance."
35. Cacioppo et al., "Effects of Message Repetition"; Fernandes, "Effect of Negative Political Advertising."
36. Zaller, *The Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion*
37. Dalton, *Citizen Politics*; Inglehart, "The Renaissance of Political Culture"; Jost, "The End of the End."
38. Fair, "Pakistani Opposition to American"; Fair, "Pakistani Political Communication."
39. Iyengar, *Is Anyone Responsible?*; Jacoby, "Issue Framing"; McLeod et al., "Community, Communication, and Participation"; Nelson et al., "Media Framing"; Nelson and Oxley, "Issue Framing Effects"; Scheufele, "Framing as a Theory"; Scheufele and Twesbury, "Framing, Agenda Setting, and Priming"; Zaller, *The Nature and Origins*; Zaller, "Information, Values, and Opinion"; Zaller, "Political Awareness, Elite Opinion."
40. Fair et al., "Pakistani Opposition to American"; Fair et al., "Pakistani Political Communication."
41. Lupia, *The Democratic Dilemma*.
42. Fair et al., "Pakistani Political Communication."
43. A review of the extant literature revealed only three studies of political communication and opinion formation in developing countries: Rawan (2002)

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sought to put forward a model of understanding how Afghans access information and Fair et al. (2014 and 2015) attempted to do so for Pakistan.

44. Social Policy and Development Centre. (2014). Social Development in Pakistan: Annual Review 2012–13. http://www.spdc.org.pk/Publication_detail.aspx?sysID=762

45. Pakistan Bureau of Statistics, "Pakistan Demographic Survey – 2007."

46. UNESCO, "Country Profile – Pakistan (2014)."

47. Literacy refers to literacy in any language.

48. World Bank. (2015). Data Bank, GDP per Capita (Current US$). http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.PCAP.CD.

49. PressReference.com, "Pakistan."

50. In contrast, the World Bank implausibly suggests that 93.6% of all Pakistanis had access to electricity in 2012 (World Bank, "Data Bank, Access to Electricity"). This assessment is most certainly erroneous based upon the authors' own extensive experiences throughout Pakistan.

51. Walsh and Masood, "Pakistan Struggles."

52. Fair et al., "Pakistani Political Communication."

53. New America Foundation, "Drone Wars Pakistan"; Bureau of Investigative Journalism, "CIA Drone Strikes in Pakistan."

54. Fair, "Drones, Spies, Terrorists."

55. Haider, "An Open Letter"; Haider, "Whodunit? ISI?"; Yousuf, "Pakistan's First Indigenous Armed Drones."

56. Fair et al., "Pakistani Political Communication."

57. PressReference.com, "Pakistan"; INFOASAID, "Pakistan."

58. Chong and Druckman, "Framing Theory."

59. Garrison et al., "Revisiting Methodological Issues."

60. For a discussion of the ongoing debate about inter-reliability statistics, see Krebs, "How Dominant Narratives Rise"; Krippendorff, "Reliability in Content Analysis"; Uebersax, "Statistical Methods."

61. In this negotiated approach to coding, coders extract the data and "then actively discuss their respective codes with an aim to arrive at a final version in which most, if not all, coded messages have been brought into alignment. It provides a means of hands-on training, coding scheme refinement, and thereby, may increase reliability. The coders gain a new point of reference from which to view the messages as well as the coding scheme. Another advantage of negotiated coding is that it controls for simple errors brought on by inexperience, coder-saturation or misinterpretation. It may also be the approach of choice in exploratory research where new insights are the primary focus" (Garrison et al., "Revisiting Methodological Issues," 3).

62. New America Foundation, "Drone Wars Pakistan."

63. Yousuf, "Pakistan's First Indigenous Armed Drone."

64. Bergen, "Civilian Casualties Plummet."

65. Hashim, "The Long Road Home."

66. In fact, when one visits the website for UNOCHA-Pakistan and enter the word "drone" in the search engine, only one story (UNOCHA, "Pakistan") emerges and that story attributes no internal displacement due to drone attacks.

67. Mazzetti, *The Way of the Knife*.

68. Landay, "Obama's Drone War."

69. Mazzetti, *The Way of the Knife*, 109.

70. Wall, "Demystifying the Title 10–Title 50 Debate."

71. Singh, "Lawfare Podcast Episode #20."

72. Ibid.
73. *The News*, "US Made Agreement for Drone Strikes."
74. As noted, the Obama administration has reduced the operations tempo of the drone strikes. According to the New America Foundation, "Drone Wars Pakistan," there were 26 and 22 drone strikes in all of 2013 and 2014 respectively. Between 1 January and 3 September 2015, there were 10 US drone strikes.
75. International Crisis Group, *Drones – Myth and Reality*, 29–30.
76. Unfortunately Pew does not provide geographical identifiers or other information that would allow us to more rigorously test these relationships through regression analyses, such as through the use of a difference-in-difference model.
77. Fair et al., "Pakistani Political Communication," 4.
78. Ibid.

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