

**WAR ON TERROR AND PAKISTANI PRINT MEDIA: A CONTENT ANALYSIS
OF DAILY DAWN AND NAW-I-WAQT**

T08241



Research Scholar

NEELUM KANWAL

92-FSS/MSCMC/F09

Supervisor

SIDRA CHAUDARY

Department of Media & Communication Studies

INTERNATIONAL ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY ISLAMABAD

2011



Dedication

I dedicate this to my parents "AZHAR ABBAS" and "FIZA AZHAR" who plays very important role in my life. And to my brother "BASIT ALI" whom I loved a lot. And to my Lovely "ASAD ABBAS", who always stand up for me and love me a lot.

2011
International Islamic University Islamabad
Faculty of Social Sciences
Center for Media and Mass Communication

Date: 13.09.2011

Final Approval

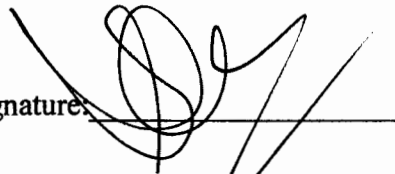
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Viva Voice Committee

Supervisor:

Sidra Chaudhary

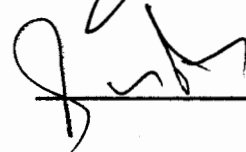
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External Examiner:

Dr. Shahzad Ali

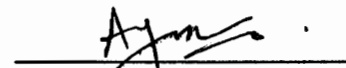
Signature:



Internal Examiner:

Ayesha Lalaf

Signature:



Head of Department

Sidra Chaudhary

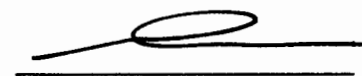
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Dr. N.B. Jumari

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Declaration

This thesis has been submitted as partial fulfillment of Msc in Media and Communication Studies to the Center for Media and Communication Studies. I solemnly declare that this is my original work and no material has been plagiarized and any material quoted from a secondary source has been provided with proper citations and references.



Name: Neelum Kanwal

Reg No: 92-FSS/MSCMC/F09

Dated: 2.11.2011

Acknowledgement

First and foremost, this research would not have been possible without God's help. I would like to thank my family for their constant support.

I would like to thank Madam Sidra Chaudary for their constant support. Without their help, I was not able to complete this. I would also like to thank my department, my group of friends especially Mahwish Saleem.

Finally, I would like to acknowledge the help and support of my Uncle (Mamu) Sibtain Haider and my sister Farwa Naqwi who always supported me.

ABSTRACT

This study analyzed how print media published the news about the drone attacks in Nawa-e-Waqt and daily DAWN newspaper. This study attempts to examine the News Coverage by the two leading newspaper in Pakistan i.e. Daily DAWN and Nawa-e-Waqt on the issue of Drown Attacks in Pakistan during 2010.the content analysis was selected as the methodology to find out the difference used in the news of Nawa-e-Waqt and DAWN newspaper, for this topic, slants and specifics frames used were studied .the research concluded that drone attacks affected the Pakistani nation and people get depress from all this situation . The main purpose of this study is to discuss the stance of both the newspapers regarding government policy in handling this issue. Content analysis technique is used in this study. The lessons learned from this study will be of great importance for the policy makers of our country. The agenda setting role of media has been recognized worldwide and a number of research studies have been conducted all over the world to investigate this role of media.

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CHAPTER-I

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND

Drones are unmanned aircrafts. They are called unmanned because they are actually manned by women. So one can say drones are women-manned aircrafts. This is done to insult the conservative sensibilities of our brothers in the tribal areas of the Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa province where there are no women – only men and goats.

- The first drone attack to take place in Pakistan was in 1024 AD. It was fired by a Rajput stooge of the Jesus-hating Jews on the army of Mahmud Ghaznavi that was liberating the Somnath temple from idols ... and taking some gold.

- The first Pakistani to be hit by a drone was actually an innocent old camel in North Waziristan. This made all the other camels of that area very angry and militant and as a result, they began to behave like carnivorous sheep. They then all joined Jimran Khan's Pakistan Threek-e-Miswak – all two trillion of them (humps included).

- Drones were invented by the famous Jewish scientist, Albert Einstein when his equation, $E = mc^2$, was successfully challenged and debunked by the famous Muslim physicist, Ali Azmat in his equally famous book, 'War and Peace' co-written with nuclear scientist, alchemist and judo expert, Zaid Hamid in 1941. When asked how that was possible when the first drone was used in 1024 AD, Hamid said it was a case of time travel. This, he said, was achieved when the reptilian Elders of Zion discovered a wormhole near Jerusalem which distorted the space-time continuum in the area and made the camels of that area very angry and militant. Thus, the invention of drones, dig?

- Ever since 1024 AD, drones have killed over three billion Pakistani Muslims. It is strange how not a single non-Muslim Pakistani has ever been killed by a drone. So, to balance things out, the angry camels began to kill Christians, Hindus and Ahmadis. It was only fair.

- Compared to the three billion Pakistani Muslims killed by the drones, only fourteen Pakistanis have been killed in suicide attacks by the angry camels. Such attacks are not common in Pakistan. In fact, the first ever suicide attack in the country took place only last Monday and that too in Karachi which is a city full of sinners and bad Muslims anyway.

- It is wrong to say that the Pakistan military is allowing the Americans to use drones in the country. The truth is that it is actually against the drones that the army is fighting and not the so-called militants, who are simply innocent herdsmen and shoe-salesmen. The truth is that it is the civilian government which is allowing the Americans to use drones – especially President Zardari who is believed to own a number of drone factories in Switzerland.

- President Zardari is also planning to setup a drone factory on the moon on a large area that he illegally occupied by evicting poverty-stricken Uzbek and Chechnya's Muslim liberation fighters

who wanted to liberate the moon from the tyranny of the descendants of Jewish astronaut, Neil Armstrong, who by the way, had converted to Islam after he had heard the *Azaan* on the moon. But he turned out to be a bad Muslim, unlike Michael Jackson who turned out to be a good one, before he died in a drone attack.

- The Government of Pakistan is not allowing its greatest scientist – in fact, the world's greatest scientist – Dr. A Q. Skywalker, to develop the drone technology so Pakistan can make its own drones and kill innocent shepherds and shoe-salesmen itself. In fact, the so-called militants are on record saying that they would rather die from a Pakistani drone than an American one.

- This way they will stop blowing up mosques, shrines and markets out of revenge (and basically, just for the heck of it). The Pakistani drones will also make sure that no innocent Pakistani (i.e. Muslim, of course) is killed. This would drastically bring down the number of drone casualties because only one out of a million people living in Waziristan is a militant. That is a fact. And that explosion you just heard was actually a gas cylinder exploding.

- It is not true that Americans use drones to attack those militants that the Pakistani military is protecting. This is an American lie. And that gas cylinder explosion you just heard is actually innocent civilians being attacked by a drone.

- It is a sad fact that some Pakistanis use more time protesting about trivial issues such as blasphemy, gang-rape cases and the fourteen people who were killed in the only suicide attack that has ever taken place in this country, instead of protesting against the drones that have killed billions of Pakistanis. But then, such misguided people are all alcoholics, drug addicts and believers of free sex, so one cannot expect them to speak out against the drones. They will all burn in hell. *Insha'Allah*.

- The Americans are bribing the Chinese to make toy drones so they can be exported to Pakistan and given to Muslim children to play with. We should retaliate by asking the Chinese to make toy models of Imran Khan, Altaf Hussain and Shahbaz Sharif – the sort who'd say, 'stop drones, stop drones, stop drones ...' each time their strings are pulled by children. These children can be dressed in cute little military uniforms.

- Orders should also be placed for the making of revolutionary dolls (male, of course) whose features are a cross between Che Guevara, Osama Bin Laden and Lady Gaga. Tariq Ali can be used to market these dolls.

- Pakistan should make manned drones i.e., un-women-manned drones manned by hunks, called hunk-manned drones. Trained pilots should not be necessary for such drones. One's ghairat, patriotism and control over his daily flatulence cycle should be enough. We suggest handsome, ingenious and muscular hunks like Hamid Pir, and Shaljam Lucman and patriotic hunk-man-women sirens like Meher Bukhar and Hajjan Mulazma Shirazi be given the honor of using these hunk-manned drones against the sissy women-manned American drones.

- Last but not the least, the drones are also said to be the main cause of last year's devastating floods in Pakistan and this year's horrifying earthquakes in the Islamic Emirates of Japan. There

is ample evidence to prove this, and that is why the government is trying to devolve the Higher Education Commission (HEC) because HEC's brilliant scholars are close to proving the long-term effects of drone attacks. Apart from floods and earthquakes (in Muslim countries), the effects also include the spread of AIDs, homosexuality (and thus, AIDs), energy shortage, corruption, dengue fever, hair-loss and worst of all, the banning of the most famous, brilliant and vital sports channel in the whole Milky Way Galaxy, 'Peo Stopper!' (<http://www.DAWN.com/2011/04/28/drone-attacks-the-truth-is-out.html>)

Just as drone attacks are wrong and cowardly because [they kill] innocent people indiscriminately, the same holds true for terrorist attacks/suicide bombing, which are also a cowardly killing [of] innocent men, women and children. I'm an Indian and I sympathies with innocent people killed, whether they are in Pakistan or in India. (<http://www.ethancasey.com/2011/07/whats-a-drone-attack-a-statement/>)

The decade long war in Afghanistan (1979-1989) had negative effects particularly on the tribal areas. Pakistan became the frontline state in the war of resistance against the Soviet forces and the tribal belt became the main supply route for the Mujahedeen fighting the soviets. After soviets left Afghanistan in 1989, Taliban remained active in the tribal areas bordering Afghanistan. After Pakistan accepted to co-operate with U.S as a front line state in the "War against Terrorism" a series of operations were conducted by Pakistan's army i.e. war in Wana, Waziristan, currently going on in Mohmind Agency. Drone Attacks are being used by U.S agencies since 2007 against the militants of Al-Qaida and Taliban in the tribal areas of Pakistan. Being the incident of 9/11, in which U.S. initiated a war against terrorist all over the world, the government of Pakistan supported the Taliban regime in Afghanistan. After the attacks of 9/11 a shift in government policy occurred when General Musharraf joined hands with the U.S in its 'operation against terrorism', meant to elements within Pakistan. United States of America is using Drone Attacks against Al-Qaida and Taliban in the tribal areas of Pakistan since 2007 till to date. There is opinion difference in our society regarding the issue of Drone Attacks and this difference is also reflected in our print media. The search is basically concerned with the content Analysis of the auditoria coverage of Drone Attacks by two newspapers, 'The Daily DAWN' and 'Nawa-e-Waqt' and their stance on government's policy regarding Drone Attacks.

Nawa-e-Waqt

Nawa-e-Waqt is an Urdu language daily newspaper in Pakistan. Its founder Hamid Nizami started its publication in 1940 and now by his brother Majid Nizami. Other newspapers published by this group are The Nation, Nida-e-Millat, Family Magazine and Phool. They are also operating a news channel known as 'Waqt'.

Policy of this group: It promotes the ideology of Pakistan and is in favor of adopting the views presented by Quaid-e-Azam and Allama Iqbal.

The Daily DAWN

The Daily DAWN is published in English from Karachi, Lahore, and Rawalpindi/Islamabad. It has a circulation of over 100000 copies per day. They are running their own channel related to news.

Policy of Daily DAWN: The DAWN News was founded by Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah. It is a moderate and is in favor of adopting the views presented by Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah.

1.2 Objectives

This research has following main objectives:-

- To what extent Pakistan's Print Media played its part to highlight the true picture of terrorism?
- To find out the effects of Print Media on society.
- To find out how the issue was seen by one liberal newspaper (Daily DAWN) in outlook and one conservative newspaper (Nawa-e-Waqt) in outlook.

1.3 Rationale

The reason to choose this topic is mainly to explore the effects made by Pakistani Print Media on our society while highlighting and reporting the global war on terrorism. And to discover the reasons for the shift in the stance of the Daily DAWN and Nawa-e-Waqt and to discover whether the Pakistani Print Media is responsible for the adverse effects on the audiences.

1.4 Problem Statement

Mass Media play important role in developing the attitude of its audiences. Mass Media attempt to influence what we consume, what we talk about, what humor we like, how we dress, how we furnish our homes, how we spend our time and money and so on. Even our basic beliefs, attitude, and values are influenced by the Mass Media. This Mass Media penetrate deeply into the most private and personal areas of our lives. Therefore, it is rightly assumed that this Mass Media is affecting its audiences while highlighting and reporting the global war on terrorism. Through this research we have to find that to what extent Pakistan's Electronic Media played its part to highlight the issue of terrorism and whether our media is presenting the true picture of the issue or not.

Research Question

1. How print media highlight the global war on terrorism?
2. Are people think that they get depress for being part of the world?
3. Is Nawa-e-Waqt more sensational than daily DAWN?

1.5 Hypothesis

H-1 More the print media highlight and report the global war on terrorism, more will be the effects on its audiences.

H-2 Exposure to the Mass Media in respect of Global War on terrorism is making people depress and they feel that they are unsafe in this world.

H-3 Nawa-e-Waqt is more sensational in presenting news on terrorism than Daily DAWN.

1.6 Significance of the study

Pakistan is a developing country and is facing many social, political, and financial problems. Terrorism has become a major problem in our country as it is damaging our society and causing great financial loses also. The finding of this research provides importance of adopting right measures to address the issue of terrorism in Pakistan. The research may provide the guidelines for the Pakistan's electronic media to highlight and report the global war on terrorism.

1.7 Limitations

The results of this research are valid only in Pakistan. This study is conducted only with print media perspective.

CHAPTER-II

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

US drone attacks in Pakistan are illegal because the American CIA was using civilian contractors to launch them, a prominent lawyer has told a key congressional committee.

Another lawyer argued before the US House Subcommittee on National Security and Foreign Affairs that while the United States had the right to use the drones, the CIA personnel actually launching the attacks could be guilty of war crimes.

A third expert tried to draw parallels between the killings in Fata – Pakistan’s federally administered tribal areas bordering Afghanistan – and targeted killings of bandits loyal to Pancho Villa along the Mexican border in the 19th century. He insisted that current intelligence laws “implicitly” gave the US president the power to launch targeted killings.

Lawyers and lawmakers both noted that what was a seldom-used tactic in the Bush Administration, the use of Predator drones to launch attacks against Pakistani territory has become ubiquitous since President Obama took office last year.

In the eight years of George Bush’s presidency, unmanned aircraft – or drones – attacked militant targets 45 times. Since President Obama took office, the numbers have risen sharply: 51 last year and 29 so far this year. Most attacks have targeted suspected militant hideouts in Pakistan.

While the experts were divided over the legality of the drone attacks, America’s human rights group, the American Civil Liberties Union, was not. Based on reports about the scope of the program, the American Civil Liberties Union took the position that the administration’s program of targeted killing outside of armed conflict zones was unlawful.

The group sent a public letter to President Barack Obama this week that said the drone attacks were part of an illegal program authorized by the administration allowing suspected terrorists – including Americans – to be targeted and killed by US operatives.

Congressman John Tierney, the subcommittee’s chairman, said that “the United States is committed to following international legal standards. Our interpretation of how these standards apply to the use of unmanned weapons systems will set an example for other nations to follow”.

The United States government, led by the Central Intelligence Agency’s Special Activities Division, has made a series of attacks on targets in northwest Pakistan since 2004 using drones (unmanned aerial vehicles). These attacks are part of the US’ War on Terrorism campaign, seeking to defeat Taliban and Al-Qaeda militants in Pakistan. Most of these attacks are on targets in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas along the Afghan border in Northwest Pakistan.

These strikes are carried out by unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs) and have increased substantially under the Presidency of Barack Obama. Generally the UAVs used are MQ-1

Predator and more recently MQ-9 Reaper firing AGM-114 Hellfire missiles. The drones have become a weapon of choice for the United States in the fight against al-Qaeda. Some media refer to the series of attacks as a "drone war". Pakistan's government publicly condemns these attacks but has secretly shared intelligence with Americans and also allegedly allowed the drones to operate from Shamsi Airfield in Pakistan until 21 April 2011 when 150 Americans left the base.

Assessments of the results of the attacks differ. Daniel Byman from the Brookings Institution suggests that drone strikes may kill "10 or so civilians" for every militant killed. In contrast, the New America Foundation has estimated that 80 percent of those killed in the attacks were militants. The Pakistani military has stated that most of those killed were hardcore Al-Qaeda and Taliban militants. The Bureau of Investigative Journalism based on extensive research found that at least 385 civilians were among the dead out of a total of between 1658 and 2597 killed. The CIA believes that the strikes conducted since May 2010 have killed over 600 militants and not caused any civilian fatalities.

According to secret cables leaked by Wikileaks Pakistan's Army Chief Ashfaq Parvez Kayani not only tacitly agreed to the drone flights but in 2008 requested Americans to increase them. However Pakistan's Interior Minister Rehman Malik said "Drone missiles cause collateral damage. A few militants are killed, but the majority of victims are innocent citizens." The strikes are often linked to Anti-American sentiment in Pakistan and the growing questionability of the scope and extent of CIA activities in Pakistan.

The British legal group Reprieve is threatening litigation to oppose U.S. drone strikes.

US viewpoint

In 2009 Barack Obama authorized the continuation of these strikes after he became US president. Top US officials consider these strikes very successful and believe that the senior al-Qaeda leadership has been 'decimated' by these strikes. A list of the high-ranking victims of the drones was provided to Pakistan in 2009. Obama has broadened these attacks to include targets seeking to destabilize Pakistani civilian government and the attacks of 14 and 16 February 2009 were against training camps run by Baitullah Mehsud. On 25 February 2009 Leon Panetta, the director of the CIA indicated the strikes will continue. On 4 March 2009 The Washington Times reported that the drones were targeting Baitullah Mehsud. Obama was reported in March 2009 as considering expanding these strikes to include Baluchistan.

On 25 March 2010 US State Department legal advisor Harold Koh stated that the drone strikes were legal because of the right to self-defense. According to Koh, the US is involved in an armed conflict with al-Qaida, the Taliban, and their affiliates and therefore may use force consistent with self-defense under international law.

Former CIA officials state that the agency uses a careful screening process in making decisions on which individuals to kill via drone strikes. The process, carried out at the agency's counterterrorist center, involves up to 10 lawyers who write briefs justifying the targeting of specific individuals. According to the former officials, if the briefs' arguments are weak, the request to target the individual is denied. Since 2008 the CIA has relied less on its list of

individuals and increasingly targeted "signatures," or suspect behavior. This change in tactics has resulted in fewer deaths of high-value targets and in more deaths of lower-level fighters, or "mere foot soldiers" as the one senior Pakistani official told the Washington Post.

US officials stated in March 2009 that the Predator strikes had killed nine of al-Qaeda's 20 top commanders. The officials added that many top Taliban and al-Qaeda leaders, as a result of the strikes, had fled to Quetta or even further to Karachi.

Some US politicians and academics have condemned the drone strikes. US Congressman Dennis Kucinich asserted that the United States was violating international law by carrying out strikes against a country that never attacked the United States. Georgetown University professor Gary D. Solis asserts that since the drone operators at the CIA are civilians directly engaged in armed conflict, this makes them "unlawful combatants" and possibly subject to prosecution.

US military reports asserted that al-Qaeda is being slowly but systematically routed because of these attacks, and that they have served to sow the seeds of uncertainty and discord among their ranks. They also claimed that the drone attacks have addled and confused the Taliban, and have led them to turn against each other. In July 2009 it was reported that (according to US officials) Osama Bin Laden's son Saad bin Laden was believed to have been killed in a drone attack earlier in the year.

During a protest against drone attacks, in an event sponsored by Nevada Desert Experience, Father Louie Vitale, Kathy Kelly, Stephen Kelly, SJ, Eve Tetaz, John Dear, and others were arrested outside Creech Air Force Base on Wednesday 9 April 2009¹

In May 2009 it was reported that the USA was sharing drone intelligence with Pakistan. Leon Panetta reiterated on 19 May 2009 that the US intended to continue the drone attacks.

In December 2009 expansion of the drone attacks was authorized by President Barack Obama to parallel the decision to send 30,000 more American troops to Afghanistan. Senior US officials are reportedly pushing for extending the strikes into Quetta in Balochistan against the Quetta Shura. Speaking at a news conference in Islamabad on 7 January 2010 Senators John McCain and Joe Lieberman stated the drone attacks were effective and would continue but stated that US would make greater efforts to prevent collateral damage. In an effort to strengthen trust with Pakistan 'US sharing drone surveillance data with Pakistan, says Mike Mullen 'US defense budget for 2011 asked for a 75% increase in funds to enhance the drone operations.

The Associated Press (AP) noted that Barack Obama apparently expanded the scope and increased the aggressiveness of the drone campaign against militants in Pakistan after taking office. According to the news agency, the US increased strikes against the Pakistani Taliban, which earned favor from the Pakistani government, resulting in increased cooperation from Pakistani intelligence services. Also, the Obama administration toned down the US government's public rhetoric against Islamic terrorism, garnering better cooperation from other Islamic governments. Furthermore, with the drawdown of the war in Iraq, more drones, support personnel, and intelligence assets became available for the campaigns in Afghanistan and Pakistan. Since Obama took office, according to the AP, the number of drones operated by the

CIA over Afghanistan and Pakistan doubled. A May 2010 Reuters report quoted unnamed counterterrorism officials who speculated that the Obama administration's closure of the secret CIA interrogation centers and intent to close the Guantanamo Bay prison was a direct influence on the expansion of the drone targeted killings. According to the officials, the killings are necessary because there is no longer any place to put captured terrorist

A study called "The Year of the Drone" published in February 2010 by New America Foundation found that in a total of 114 drone strikes in Pakistan between 2004 and early 2010 approximately between 834 and 1,216 individuals had been killed, about two thirds of whom were thought to be militants and one third were civilian.

On 28 April 2011, President Barack Obama appointed General David Petraeus as director of the CIA overseeing the drone attacks. According to Pakistani and American officials this could further inflame relations between the two nations

According to the Washington Post, as of September 2011, around 30 Predator and Reaper drones were operating under CIA direction in the Afghanistan/Pakistan area of operations. The drones are flown by United States Air Force pilots located at an unnamed base in the United States. US Department of Defense armed drones, which also sometimes take part in strikes on terrorist targets, are flown by US Air Force pilots located at Creech Air Force Base and Holloman Air Force Base. The CIA drones are operated by an office called the Pakistan-Afghanistan Department, which operates under the CIA's Counterterrorism Center (CTC), based at CIA's headquarters in Langley, Virginia. As of September 2011, the CTC had about 2,000 people on staff.

http://www.darulihisan.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=4339:pakistan-us-warned-on-drone-attacks&catid=55:news&Itemid=175

Pakistani response

Shamsi airbase in 2006, reported to show three Predator drones.

Pakistan has repeatedly protested these attacks as they are an infringement of its sovereignty and because civilian deaths have also resulted, including women and children, which has further angered the Pakistani government and people. General David Petraeus was told in November 2008 that these strikes were unhelpful.^[455] However on 4 October 2008 The Washington Post reported that there was a secret deal between the US and Pakistan allowing these drone attacks. US Senator Dianne Feinstein said in February 2009: "As I understand it, these are flown out of a Pakistani base." Pakistani foreign minister Shah Mehmood Qureshi denied that this was true.

On 28 September, a spokesman for the Pakistani army condemned Washington's killing of Pakistani civilians and warned of retaliatory action: "Border violations by US-led forces in Afghanistan, which have killed scores of Pakistani civilians, would no longer be tolerated, and we have informed them that we reserve the right to self defense and that we will retaliate if the US continues cross-border attacks." When the Soviets were in Afghanistan, the potent Pakistani Air Force shot down any Soviet aircraft that strayed into Pakistan.

The British newspaper The Times stated on 18 February 2009 that the CIA was using Shamsi Airfield, 190 miles (310 km) southwest of Quetta and 30 miles (48 km) from the Afghan border, as its base for drone operations. Safar Khan, a journalist based in the area near Shamsi, told the Times, "We can see the planes flying from the base. The area around the base is a high-security zone and no one is allowed there." Top US officials confirmed to Fox News Channel that Shamsi Airfield had been used by the CIA to launch the drones since 2002.

The drone attacks continue, despite repeated requests made by Pakistani President Asif Ali Zardari through different channels. Baitullah Mehsud while claiming responsibility for the 2009 Lahore police academy attacks, stated that it was in retaliation for the drone attacks. According to The Daily Telegraph, Pakistani intelligence has agreed to secretly provide information to the United States on Mehsud's and his militants' whereabouts while publicly the Pakistani government will continue to condemn the attacks.

On 28 April 2009 Pakistan's consul general to the US, Aqil Nadeem, asked the US to hand over control of its drones in Pakistan to his government. Said Nadeem, "Do we want to lose the war on terror or do we want to keep those weapons classified? If the American government insists on our true cooperation, then they should also be helping us in fighting those terrorists." President Zardari has also requested that Pakistan be given control over the drones but this has been rejected by the US who are worried that Pakistanis will leak information about targets to militants. In December 2009 Pakistan's Defence minister Ahmad Mukhtar acknowledged that Americans were using Shamsi Airfield but stated that Pakistan was not satisfied with payments for using the facility.

In an analysis published in Daily Times on 2 January 2010 author Farhat Taj challenged the view that the local people of Waziristan were against the drone attacks. Author states on the basis of personal interviews with people in Waziristan that the locals in Waziristan support the attacks and see the drones as their 'liberators' from the clutches of Taliban and Pakistan's Intelligence agencies. She further challenged the government of Pakistan to provide accurate figures about the 'civilian' casualties and tell what methodology was used to collect this data. According to her 'The people of Waziristan are suffering a brutal kind of occupation under the Taliban and al Qaeda. It is in this context that they would welcome anyone, Americans, Israelis, Indians or even the devil, to rid them of the Taliban and al Qaeda.' In response to this analysis Irfan Husain writing in DAWN agreed with her assessment and called for more drone attacks. He wrote 'We need to wake up to the reality that the enemy has grown very strong in the years we temporized and tried to do deals with them. Clearly, we need allies in this fight. Howling at the moon is not going to get us the cooperation we so desperately need. A solid case can be made for more drone attacks, not less.

In December 2010 the CIA's Station Chief in Islamabad operating under the alias Jonathan Banks was hastily pulled from the country. Lawsuits filed by families of victims of drone strikes had named Banks as a defendant, he had been receiving death threats, and a Pakistani journalist whose brother and son died in a drone strike called for prosecuting Banks for murder.

In March 2011 the General Officer Commanding of 7th division of Pakistani Army, Major General Ghayur Mehmood delivered a briefing "Myths and rumours about US predator strikes"

in Miramshah. He said that most of those who were killed by the drone strikes were Al-Qaeda and Taliban terrorists. Military's official paper on the attacks till 7 March 2011 said that between 2007 and 2011 about 164 predator strikes had been carried out and over 964 terrorists had been killed. Those killed included 793 locals and 171 foreigners. The foreigners included Arabs, Uzbeks, Tajiks, Chechens, Filipinos and Moroccans.

<http://www.scribd.com/doc/48615814/EFFECT-OF-DRONE-ATTACKS>

Al Qaeda response

Messages recovered from Osama bin Laden's home after his death in 2011, including one from then al Qaeda No. 3, Atiyah Abd al-Rahman reportedly, according to the Agence France-Presse and the Washington Post, expressed frustration with the drone strikes in Pakistan. According to an unnamed U.S. Government official, in his message al-Rahman complained that drone-launched missiles were killing al Qaeda operatives faster than they could be replaced.

In June and July 2011, law enforcement authorities found messages on al Qaeda-linked websites calling for attacks against executives of drone aircraft manufacturer AeroVironment. Law enforcement believed that the messages were in response to calls for action against Americans by Adam Yahye Gadahn.

United Nations human rights concerns

On 3 June 2009, the United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHRC) delivered a report sharply critical of US tactics. The report asserted that the US government has failed to keep track of civilian casualties of its military operations, including the drone attacks, and to provide means for citizens of affected nations to obtain information about the casualties and any legal inquests regarding them. Any such information held by the U.S. military is allegedly inaccessible to the public due to the high level of secrecy surrounding the drone attacks program. The US representative at UNHRC has argued that the UN investigator for extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions does not have jurisdiction over US military actions,^[478] while another US diplomat claimed that the US military is investigating any wrongdoing and doing all it can to furnish information about the deaths.

On 27 October 2009 UNHRC investigator Philip Alston called on the US to demonstrate that it was not randomly killing people in violation of international law through its use of drones on the Afghan border. Alston criticized the US's refusal to respond to date to the UN's concerns. Said Alston, "Otherwise you have the really problematic bottom line, which is that the Central Intelligence Agency is running a program that is killing significant numbers of people and there is absolutely no accountability in terms of the relevant international laws."

On 2 June 2010 Alston's team released a report on its investigation into the drone strikes, criticizing the United States for being, "the most prolific user of targeted killings" in the world. Alston, however, acknowledged that the drone attacks may be justified under the right to self-defense. He called on the US to be more open about the program. Alston's report was submitted to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights the following

www.maverickpakistanis.com/?p=2322

Interviews with people from Waziristan

Between November 2008 and January 2009 Pakistani Aryana Institute for Regional Research and Advocacy conducted a survey of the public opinion about the drone strikes in Federally Administered Tribal Areas. 5 teams of 5 researchers each interviewed a total of 550 people from all walks of life. Most people thought that the drone attacks were accurate and did not lead to anti-American sentiment and were effective in damaging the militants.

Based on the responses the researchers concluded 'The popular notion outside the Pakhtun belt that a large majority of the local population supports the Taliban movement lacks substance'. Most people thought that the drone attacks were accurate and did not lead to anti-American sentiment and were effective in damaging the militants. In addition the locals wanted the Pakistani forces to also target the militants. According to Farhat Taj a member of AIRRA the drones have never killed any civilians. Some people in Waziristan compare the drones to Ababils, the holy swallows sent by God to avenge Abraha, the invader of the Khana Kaaba.

In an analysis published in Daily Times (Pakistan) on 2 January 2010 Farhat Taj, a research fellow at the Centre for Interdisciplinary Gender Research, University of Oslo and a member of Aryana Institute for Regional Research and Advocacy discussed the issue of drone attacks with hundreds of people of Waziristan. She claims that they see the US drone attacks as their liberators from the clutches of Islamist militants into which, they say, their state has wilfully thrown them. She claims that estimates about civilian casualties in the US and Pakistani media are wrong because after every attack Islamist militants cordon off the area and no one, including the local villagers, is allowed to come even near the targeted place. The militants themselves collect the bodies, bury the dead and then issue the statement that all of them were innocent civilians. However, according to the people of Waziristan, the only civilians who have been killed so far in the drone attacks are women or children of the militants in whose houses/compounds they hold meetings. But that used to happen in the past and now they don't hold meetings at places where women and children of the militants reside. In one case when the funeral procession of an Islamist commander was hit and some civilians were killed. But after the attack people got the excuse of not attending the funeral of slain militants or offering them food.

Farhat Taj claims that locals usually appreciate drone attacks when they compare it with the Pakistan Army's attacks, which always result in collateral damage. People said that when a drone would hover over the skies, they wouldn't be disturbed and would carry on their usual business because they would be sure that it does not target the civilians, but the same people would run for shelter when a Pakistani jet would appear in the skies because of its indiscriminate firing. They say that even in the same compound only the exact room – where a high value target (HVT) is present – is targeted and others in the same compound are spared.

In response to this analysis Irfan Husain writing in DAWN agreed with Farhat Taj's assessment and called for more drone attacks. He wrote: "We need to wake up to the reality that the enemy has grown very strong in the years we temporized and tried to do deals with them. Clearly, we need allies in this fight. Howling at the moon is not going to get us the cooperation we so desperately need. A solid case can be made for more drone attacks, not less."

Civilian Casualties

According to unnamed counterterrorism officials, in 2009 or 2010 CIA drones began employing smaller missiles in airstrikes in Pakistan in order to reduce civilian casualties. The new missiles, called the Small Smart Weapon or Scorpion, are reportedly about the size of a violin case (21 inches long) and weigh 16 kg. The missiles are used in combination with new technology intended to increase accuracy and expand surveillance, including the use of small, unarmed surveillance drones to exactly pinpoint the location of targets. These "micro-UAVs" (unmanned aerial vehicles) can be roughly the size of a pizza platter and meant to monitor potential targets at close range, for hours or days at a time. One former U.S. official who worked with micro-UAVs said that they can be almost impossible to detect at night. "It can be outside your window and you won't hear a whisper," the official said.^[486] The drone operators also have changed to trying to target insurgents in vehicles rather than residences to reduce the chances of civilian casualties.

A January 2011 report by Bloomberg stated that civilian casualties in the strikes had apparently decreased. According to the report, the U.S. Government believed that 1,300 militants and only 30 civilians had been killed in drone strikes since mid-2008, with no civilians killed since August 2010.

On 14 July 2009, Daniel L. Byman of the Brookings Institution stated that although accurate data on the results of drone strikes is difficult to obtain, it seemed that ten civilians had died in the drone attacks for every militant killed. He suggested that drone strikes may kill "10 or so civilians" for every militant killed, which would represent a civilian to combatant casualty ratio of 10:1. Byman argues that civilian killings constitute a humanitarian tragedy and create dangerous political problems, including damage to the legitimacy of the Pakistani government and alienation of the Pakistani populace from America. He suggested that the real answer to halting al-Qaeda's activity in Pakistan will be long-term support of Pakistan's counterinsurgency efforts.

United States officials claim that interviews with locals do not provide accurate numbers of civilian casualties because relatives or acquaintances of the dead refuse to admit that the victims were involved in militant activities.

The CIA reportedly passed up three chances to kill militant leaders, including Sirajuddin Haqqani, with drone missiles in 2010 because women and children were nearby. The New America Foundation believes that between zero and 18 civilians have been killed in drone strikes since 23 August 2010 and that overall civilian casualties have decreased from 25% of the total in prior years to an estimated 6% in 2010. The Foundation estimates that between 277 and 435 non-combatants have died since 2004, out of 1,374 to 2,189 total deaths.

According to a report of the Islamabad-based Conflict Monitoring Center (CMC), as of 2011, more than 2000 persons have been killed, and most of those deaths are of innocent civilians. The CMC termed the CIA drone strikes as an "assassination campaign turning out to be revenge campaign", and showed that 2010 was the deadliest year so far as regards casualties resulting from drone attacks, with 134 strikes inflicting over 900 deaths.

According to the Long War Journal, as of mid-2011, the drone strikes in Pakistan since 2006 had killed 2,018 militants and 138 civilians. The New America Foundation stated in mid-2011 that since 2004 2,551 people have been killed in the strikes, with 80% of those militants. The Foundation stated that 95% of those killed in 2010 were militants.

The Bureau of Investigative Journalism based on extensive research found in mid-2011 that at least 385 civilians were among the dead, including more than 160 children.

The CIA has claimed that the strikes conducted between May 2010 and August 2011 killed over 600 militants and did not result in any civilian fatalities; this assessment has been criticized by Bill Roggio from the Long War Journal and other commentators as being unrealistic. Unnamed American officials who spoke to the New York Times claimed that, as of August 2011, the drone campaign had killed over 2,000 militants and approximately 50 noncombatants.

EFFECT OF DRONE ATTACKSON PAKISTANINTRODUCTION

The project that I am writing is about the "effect of droneattacks on Pakistan". U.S government startsdrone(unmanned aerial vehicles) attacks on Pakistan since2004 with the consent of Pakistan government. U.S.Abelieved that due to the presence of Taliban in northenareas of Pakistan that's why we are doing it. As it is startedagainst Taliban and Pakistan is also against most of thetalibans groups and hence Pakistan agreed with America onan agreement to start drone attacks. At first talibans weremore effected but with the passage of time most of thecivilians died due to which the pressure arise on Pakistannot only in northern areas but also in other parts of Pakistan.Talibans (TTP) also raised against Pakistan to take therevenge and they started suicide attacks in differet areas of Pakistan. These drone and suicide attacks have effectedpaksitan enormously in many ways i.e economic sectors,soverienghy, education, civilian killings etc.but despite of these effect In

2009Barack Obamaauthorized thecontinuation

of these strikes after he became president

Top US officials consider these strikes very successful and believe that the senior al-Qaeda leadership has been decimated by these strikes. (Wikipedia)

Paul S. Voakes, Assist Professor of Journalism at Indiana University USA describes another function of media as the interpreter of events, in his survey analysis regarding newspaper journalists.

According to the representor of 'CMOST' (Caribbean Media Organization for sustainable Tourism); "Without media, people in societies would be isolated, not only from the rest of the world but from governments, law-makers, and neighboring towns and cities".

Particularly, the newspaper can play a very vital role in the reconstruction and development of the society or a nation by highlighting and pin-pointing the social, economic and moral evils in the society. In short newspapers can play a significant role during the time of crisis and in nation building activities; Newspaper is something which is a part of our day to day life. It keeps us informed of the things happening in the country and around the world. It has various parts like editorials, columns, articles, sports etc, "Newspaper is a kind of publication that is in written form and contains news, information and advertising. It is a low cost publication medium which is popularly read everywhere around the world in all the languages. It is a good source for information for political events, crime news, business news, arts/entertainment news, sports news and showbiz news. Newspaper are important because;

- They are a source of information on almost everything in the world.
- They are very cheap and are purchased and are read by almost everyone.
- It is a news medium that can be shared with others.
- News remains preserve unlike television.
- Companies can get an opportunity to advertise their products very cheaply in the newspapers and get a good readership.

Newspaper still plays a vital role even the changing in technologies creating challenges and opportunities for this media. Newspaper is a main source of handy information, provides up to date information. Everyone can afford to buy it. It keeps the people informed about the political activities of the government. Standard newspapers criticize the policies and statement of the government or of the political parties in a fair way.

Out of all the important functions that media/newspaper performs its role as a watchdog of our government is the most important one especially during the time of crisis like the coverage provided by media during Waziristan war, Mumbai Attacks, Drone Attacks etc.

"Thomas Jefferson once stated that; were it left to me to decide whether we should have a government without newspaper, or newspaper without a government, I should not hesitate a moment to prefer the latter".

Though newspaper consists of different parts but news are considered to be the most important part of any newspaper because it represents the true policy of the newspaper. The main focus of

this research is also the news coverage of DAWN and Nawa-e-Waqt newspaper of the issue of drone attacks.

As it was mentioned earlier that there are always three kinds of opinions formed regarding any burning issue i.e. favorable (pro-government), neutral (confused) and unfavorable (contra, unfavorable). Same happened during Drone Attacks. This issue can be reviewed from standpoint of different groups in order to get insight into that crisis that overwhelmed crisis situation in our state.

“While we must remain determined to defeat terrorism, it isn't only terrorism we are fighting. It's the beliefs that motivate terrorists. A new ideology of hatred and intolerance has arisen to challenge America and liberal democracy” (ilana Senator John Kerry quotes (American Senator, b.1943)

“What is happening to the geographical entity of Pakistan in all this? Simply observe the locus of the territories successively falling under ‘militant’ control and a frightening pattern emerges. This is not mere fallout of the war on terror. Let’s be clear. Are we not in fact witnessing the emergence of an Islamic Emirate of Pakhtunistan, to be established first on this side of the Durand Line and then on the other?” (Salman Tarik Kureshi)

“What used to be a blunder is now a disaster. Pakistani jihadists killed dozens of people in Waziristan and declared war on General Pervez Musharraf’s government, abrogating a foolhardy truce they signed with Musharraf last year that gave them time and breathing space to regroup.” (Spencer Ackerman)

The lack of any real professional ethical framework has rendered our media in the hands of incompetent persons who lack the ability to present the current events in our country in its proper environmental context. This incompetence is at its peak when it comes in news regarding ‘war on terror’ as what is presented in it is nothing but some popularly accepted notions and no effort is made by the so called experts to put these notions under the larger acceptable framework of international dealings between the sovereign states. In rare cases when the question of sovereignty is raised, only one side (sovereignty of Pakistan) is presented distorting the whole view sacrificing the objectivity, which should be the goal of news presenters or anchor persons of popular TV shows. It seems that instead of pursuing the objective of presenting the reality in its proper frame of reference, these presenters fall prey to the popular slogans, and subsequently act in reinforcing the popular and faulty point of view of masses, which has taken us to the verge of disaster instead of bending the public opinion to the objective ground realities.

Due to this phenomenon of not holding to objective truth, we as a nation are still not able to decide whether the war on terror is our war or are we fighting someone else’s war at our own peril. Frankly, the answer to this question is as easy as telling the difference between one’s right hand from left hand provided that the framework of what is left and right, and what is a hand is put rightly in place. The framework of ‘war on terror’ as it concerns Pakistan can be enumerated in following points, and these are the points that needs to asserted by these popular media persons if they want the objective truth to be known to the nation. Otherwise the situation can be summed up by a popular Urdu verse that, “her shaakh per ulloo baitha hay/anjaam e gulistan kiya hoga”.

No wonder people are afraid. No wonder they are hiding their faces from the truth. No wonder they are afraid to speak their mind out or even listen and accept believes of others. They are even afraid to hear what others have to say about us or believe about us. We have just neutralized their minds and senses. Our natural senses are frozen. We don't feel no more, no regrets, no sympathies, no kindness nothing none what so ever is left in us. In brining this nation to this stand still position there are so many elements to blame really but over here I would just like to restrict myself to my topic that's media and its role. Though they have created and generated the awareness in the people but they have never shown and guided them to differentiate between issues and non-issues and as a result now everything that's covered in newspapers becomes an issue.

No one in the media, in the civil society or even in the government is ready to implement a code of conduct for the media. I though am strongly against the restrictions on media but check n balance and restrictions are two different things. In the past few years what has been happening around the country is not only regrettable but also shameful too. Assassination of a world class leader, two times former Prime Minister of the country and undoubtedly the most popular leader of the recent times on an open road in an election campaign even that in the rule of a dictator is just an example of the adversity of the law and order situation in Pakistan. An attack on Mian Nawaz Sharif, Marriott Hotel, Sri Lankan Cricket Team and daily continuous attacks on security personals and civilians on the streets are a few worst examples of the terrorist activities in Pakistan. Media has played its role fully responsibly in covering all these mishaps but having said so there is a lot more that media is to be held responsible for.

We have just survived a severe disintegration threat and at a time when we really have to come together to join hands and work for safety, security, stability, for the political maturity, economical revolution; we are engaged in pulling each other's legs again. And what is further more discouraging is the fact that in the midst of it all what is our media doing!!! Instead of highlighting the issues faced by a normal common man they are busy covering the social meetings of political leaders.

2.1 Theoretical Framework

In examining the effects of the contents of the mass media on its audiences, the agenda theory is prominent.

In this theory, McCombs and Shaw stated that the mass media set the agenda influencing the silence of attitudes toward the political issues. Priming is the process in which the media attend to some issues and not others and thereby alter the standards by which people evaluate political issues. The researchers found some evidence of priming in their experiments. As predicted by the concepts of priming correlation between the over rating and the rating in specific problem area was greater for respondents who saw coverage emphasizing that problem area that it was for respondents who saw coverage neglecting that problem area. Today, we may observe that media sets its agenda through the process of priming. The Mass Media give some issues more space or time for their own benefits.

2.2 Conceptual Framework

Important issues of a country being discussed in Pakistani newspapers are important because people come to know about that country through that image presented in the media. According to McCombs, the important media effect is to “structure and organize our world for us.”

2.2.1 Public perception and print media

Newspapers are regarded as the “Window on the world’ (choi, 2009). Print media is the major primary source of political information. Print media is the only and easily accessible information source of changing political realities. It gives political realities to the public.

News media plays an important role not only for the information, but also forming the public opinion about the world (Dimitrova and Stromback, 2008). Mass media and political communication institutions influence public opinion even without any manipulation (Nelson Oxley and Clawson 1997).

Many people are mostly dependent on the print media for any information related to the political affairs. So media can play vital role in forming and changing the public perception of other nations (Brewer, Joseph and Willnat 2003).

2.2.2 Media Priming

McCombs (2004) defines frame as, “the selection of-and emphasis upon-particular attributes for the news media agenda when talking about an object, people who frame objects, placing various degree of emphasis on the attributes of persons, public issues or other objects when they think or talk about them.

A route by which media influences attributes towards political issues is through priming (Brewer et al,2003).

CHAPTER-III

3. METHODOLOGY

3.1 Research Design

This research is Content analysis of the news coverage of two national newspapers, one 'the Daily DAWN' that remained pro-government throughout the issue and the other 'Nawa-e-Waqt' that favored government initially but later on started criticizing the government.

3.2 Population

The population for this study is the news related to drone attacks in the Nawa-e-Waqt and Daily DAWN newspaper.

3.3 Sample

Sample of this study is the news published in the Nawa-e-Waqt and Daily DAWN from October 2010 to December 2010. This was the time when there were drone attacks at the highest point.

3.3.1 Selected Newspapers

Newspapers, Nawa-e-Waqt and the Daily DAWN had been selected for this study because they are the most circulated and read newspaper in Pakistan. Mostly high officials and elite class of Pakistan like to read Daily DAWN. Nawa-e-Waqt is famous among middle class of society for its anti-government news.

So these are the two newspapers which are supposed to be best representing or following the news on drone attacks.

3.4 Data Analysis

The whole news is taken as the unit of analysis. The news collected from these two newspapers during research was analyzed. Types of news, date, priming, page prominence, language, policy about news on drone attacks were the tools to analyze the data.

3.4.1 Type of news

News divided into two categories according to the tone of presentation:

- Soft news, this news is background information or human-interest stories.
- Hard news, refers to up-to-the-minute news and events that are reported immediately

3.4.2 Date

The date of news is very important, that after how long news published in a newspaper subsequent to a drone attack.

3.4.3 Priming

In this study, priming related to drone attacks were identified as:

- Terror, Terror factor indicated that the newspaper stories represented the Terrorism.
- Violation, news stories on violation creates depression, stress in the society and give rise to violated actions.
- Threat to public means that people are no more safe and society is leading towards dangerous end.

3.4.4 Page Prominence

Page prominence is a factor that determines how much importance given to a issue by the media:

- Front page of newspaper, most prominent news stories are published on it
- Last page, prominent news story is published on it.
- Centre pages, less important news stories published in these pages.

3.4.5 Language

The selection of words used in news story is very important factor to determine effects of the news and public perception.

- Simple words, which have simple meaning rather than hard meanings.
- Sensational words, which creates restless among the society.
- Hard words, which create hard meanings and threaten the world.

3.4.6 Policy

Every newspaper has its own specific policy, which they have to follow.

- Anti-Government Policy, this policy led newspapers to published news story against the government. It creates negative opinion towards government. This policy criticizes directly on government issues and affairs.
- Pro-Government Policy, this policy led newspapers to favor government in every issue and affair.
- Neutral policy, this policy led writers to neutral expressions. There is neither criticism nor favor.

CHAPTER-IV

4. RESULTS AND FINDINGS

4.1 Comparison of no of News

News in daily Nawa e waqt and DAWN on the topic of war on terror and Pakistani Print media :A Content analysis of Daily DAWN and Nawa e Waqt(Drone Attacks) Total number of News regarding the topic of Drone Attacks were 47 of which 35 news from Nawa e waqt and 12 News from DAWN newspaper. The difference between the both newspaper that Nawa-e-Waqt published news with the prospective of sensationalism they create hype while DAWN talk about the strategies of government.

Table 4.1.1:

Evaluation of Pakistani newspaper

No of news	Nawa-e-Waqt	DAWN
Total news	35	12

4.2 Comparison of Slants:

The analysis of News on Drone attacks in both newspapers was different. After the analysis of this 47 News from both newspapers, I categories these news from three sub titles were favorable unfavorable and neutral .In Nawa-e-Waqt 12.5% news were favorable 13% were neutral and 75% were unfavorable .while in DAWN newspaper 14.3% were favorable 10% were neutral 64% were unfavorable.

Table 4.1.2:

Comparisons between the slants of news on drone attacks

Slants	Newspaper	
	Nawa-e-Waqt	DAWN
Unfavorable	12.5%	14.3%
Favorable	65%	56%
Neutral	24.5%	30%

4.3 Comparisons of frames.

The third analysis was about the difference of frames used in news on drone attacks. the study define the three frames by analyzing the phrases and format being used to discuss the drone attacks. As in table 4.3 ,the result showed 45%of terror in Nawa-e-Waqt and 40% of terror in DAWN newspaper ,and threat is of 20%in Nawa-e-Waqt creat a great impact of threat for readers and 15% in DAWN news was create a threat for readers.35% news in Nawa-e-Waqt was sensationalize and these news being violate the readers mentally while in DAWN news 50% news was create violation.

Table 4.1.3:

Comparison between the frames of news on drone attacks

Frames	Newspaper			
	Nawa-e-Waqt		DAWN	
	N	%	N	%
Terror	8	15%	1	2%
Violation	20	40%	10	20%

Threat	7	14%	1	2%
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4.4 Comparison of news on front and back page

According to the strategies of DAWN and Nawa-e-Waqt news, Nawa-e-Waqt gave more importance to Drone attacks and they published these news on front Page .The basic purpose of this paper was to create hype and sensationalism among the readers and these news were totally unfavorable for the political views of government and American strategies. While in DAWN newspaper, the same situation was there but in that news they mostly published the news which was on casualties, deaths caused by drone attacks.

Table 4.1.4:

Comparison of news on front and back page

Newspaper	front page	back page
Nawa-e-Waqt	27	8
DAWN	12	0

4.5 Comparison of language:

It was shown by the analysis of research that the hard and sensational language used in Nawa-e-Waqt while in DAWN newspaper only used the hard language.

Comparison of language in both newspapers

Language	Nawa-e-Waqt	DAWN
Hard	70.5%	57.9%
Sensational	25%	10%
Simple	3%	0%

CHAPTER-V

5. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This study attempts to examine the News Coverage by the two leading newspaper in Pakistan i.e. Daily DAWN and Nawa-e-Waqt on the issue of Drown Attacks in Pakistan during 2010. The main purpose of this study is to discuss the stance of both the newspapers regarding government policy in handling this issue. Content analysis technique is used in this study. The lessons learned from this study will be of great importance for the policy makers of our country. The agenda setting role of media has been recognized worldwide and a number of research studies have been conducted all over the world to investigate this role of media.

Media in Pakistan has been more informative than ever before. In modern age, media has assumed the role of a guide in daily life of everybody. It is used as instrument of policy by the government. The media in Pakistan continuously shapes and reshapes our opinion, attitudes and perceptions. Impact of Pakistani Medias on general public is very important and sensitive issue for the society and the government. For this, researcher used survey method with convenient sampling.

The aim of this study was to investigate the difference between the framing of Pakistani newspapers war on terror and Pakistani print media. Specifically it was find out the comparison of both newspaper DAWN and Nawa-e-Waqt. The finding of first research question demonstrate that print media highlight the issues of global war on terrorism in which newspaper published the sensational news and create hype among the reader. it is approved that print media boldly express anything whether it is in favor of government or unfavorable to the strategies of government. Topic mainly discussed in research was the drone attacks in which the Pakistani newspapers highlight the casualties of affected people .these both Nawa-e-Waqt and DAWN newspaper published the news with facts and figure. As support for the first hypothesis showed that DAWN newspaper and Nawa-e-Waqt newspaper put great impact on the readers. In both newspapers they published the news regarding the drone attacks which put off a great impact on readers. The print media highlight and report the global war on terrorism; more will be the effects on its audiences.

Support for second hypothesis showed that drone attacks were more likely to be framed as violation, terror and threat to world. frames of Pakistan were used in the context that there is a strong possibility drone attack create terror and being violate the reader .people become frightened to read these type of news which is full of casualties and deaths and they feel that they are unsafe and unprotected in their own nation .

Result of third hypothesis showed that the Nawa-e-Waqt and DAWN newspaper stance for drone attack was overall the same but Nawa-e-Waqt published more sensational news than DAWN .in the discussion drone attacks ,both newspaper main topic ,slant and frames were the exactly same but for the outlook of newspaper their strategies were totally different .DAWN always talked about the system of any country and Nawa-e-Waqt create hype among their readers and sensitize their news .Nawa-e-Waqt news was more unfavorable than DAWN.

So some how third hypothesis was proved that the framing of Nawa-e-Waqt and DAWN newspaper was same for the strategy of country but Nawa-e-Waqt published sensational news than DAWN.

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