New Form of Warfare and Human Security Media Reporting of Drone Warfare in Pakistan:

A critical discourse analysis

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Abstract: Drones are the relatively new addition to the modern warfare and as the whole   war is a covert operation and media reporting shapes our understanding of this war. this thesis offer a an understanding of the human security issue of this new farm of warfare by critically analyzing the media reporting of drone strikes in the federally administered tribal areas of Pakistan. The analysis suggests that media reporting is politically biased. This thesis also implies that modern warfare And the representation have serious Human security implication.

Key words: *Drone warfare, modern warfare, human security, F.A.T.A,*

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CHAPTER 1- INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background of the problem

Since 911 the world has experienced some modern techniques of war fare which has not only changed the perception of traditional warfare but has serious implications on human security issues. *"U.S.-led 'drone warfare', which is the Military use of remotely piloted aircrafts* to strike enemy targets, is an integral and relatively new part of these developments (Goraya & Mazhar, 2011; Monahan & Tyler, 2011)). For the last nine years, United States' under the control of Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) has conducted a campaign of Drone strikes in Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) of Pakistan. The Scholarly debate on the issue has always been driven by the extremes which either support the campaign as the most effective tool in killing the terrorists with high accuracy and precision or condemn it for violation of the international rules (Goraya & Mazhar, 2011; Shah, 2011).The drones are not as precise as US claims and civilians are increasingly collateral damage (Stanford, 2012; Columbia Law School , 2012; The Bureau of Investigative journalism, 2013). In other words, no matters how precise and accurate drones are, yet the clear purpose of its use are physical harm. Therefore it is very much important to be able to access the civilian costs and consequences for human security in the modern warfare by studying the drone strikes.

1.2. Aim and purpose

Drone warfare represents the latest phase in the 'war on terror' (Shah, 2011).Federally Administered Tribal Areas (F.A.T.A) of Pakistan has been used as "testing ground" for drone warfare. Reporting from F.A.T.A shapes our understanding of the advantages and disadvantages of this form of warfare. Especially for public opinion the media is the most important source of information. However, media reporting on warfare always tend to be biased as the modern warfare is partly fought through media and the reporting merely represents the situation in the area (Richardson, 2007; Rahimi & Riasati, 2011). Not much

research has been done on media reporting of drone strikes or the news coverage of human security issues that are at stake in this form of warfare.

Therefore the general purpose of this research is to study the role of media in shaping and presenting the modern warfare and how it affects human security issues. However, it should be noted that the main purpose of this research is not to criticize the role of media but to study how they dealt with the warfare representation, what choices are made to represent these strikes, what grammatical choices have made, what ideologies reflects and under what circumstances these strikes have been presented. More specifically the analysis is purely meant to elaborate a clear understanding of drone warfare by using Richardson's analysis based on the fowler transitivity analysis under the Fairclough's (1995) framework of Critical discourse analysis (CDA).

Important to mention that by analyzing these newspapers it is not aimed to show that news editors on behalf of these reports deceive or betray the public. But my main aim is to show how the representation reflects ideologies and how this modern war is reflected in media.

The impact of drone-warfare has been very harsh as it targeted the basics fundamentals of human security and the scholarships on the issue are almost missing. My thesis report will contribute in the academic scholarship on this new form of warfare by focusing on the following research question.

1.3. Research Questions

Core research question(CRQ): *How the drone war has been reported by print-media in Pakistan, to which extent and in which way human security issues have been covered?.*

As media is a very important factor in the modern warfare and it is clear that modern wars are partly fought through media and therefore media have a powerful role in providing a framework of understanding for the viewers. In other words media have become very important to shape and construct the understanding of the war so each actor involved in the war try to manipulate media images of the war and try to shape the news reporting which can serve their propaganda which is a very important factor in any form of war (Sheehan, 2011).

 So my hypothesis is that media reporting is politically biased. Therefore my analysis will also address the following *Sub Queries*: which will help me to address my main research question.

- *Does the discourse of reporting vary with the changing international relation between Pakistan and US and who is seen as responsible for the drone strikes?*
- *Does the reporting portray the human security issue at individual level?.*
- *How the civilian casualties and their identities are represented?.*
- *Who is controlling the information?*
- *How exercise of power is reflected in drone reporting.*
- *How Pakistani media has dealt with the warfare interests of US and Pakistani administration.*

1.4. Limitations and Ethical considerations

There are number of factors which put a limit on the finding and analysis of the study. First one is the availability of the online archive of the newspapers and second that I belong to nearly the same region so I have to pay full attention to keep myself safe from the ethnic bias that might influence my finding .however thesis being based on critical discourse analysis provide an opportunity to rule out this possibility.

1.5. Disposition

This thesis is divided into four chapters. The first chapter shows the shows the short background, aim, purpose, research question and the limitations. Chapter two consists of the literature review and chapter three consists of data selection and sampling and the analytical procedure. Chapter four consists of data analysis while chapter five and six consist of discussion and conclusion respectively.

CHAPTER 2- LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Drone warfare

Unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs) or simply drones are the most contemporary development in the history of warfare (Seuer & Niklas Schöring, 2012) Drones were first used for the "aerial reconnaissance during Bosnia and Kosovo campaigns in 1990s" for the purpose of surveillance and information gatherings. However, after September 11, 2001 they were equipped with laser- guided missile when US president George W. Bush secretly permitted CIA to use this type of weaponry in the war on terror. The first reported strikes by CIA

resulted in the killing of al-Qaida leader Qaed Senyan al- Harthi in Yemen (Shah, 2011; Williams, 2010; Brunstetter & Braun, 2011; Goraya & Mazhar, 2011)Since then "drones represent the latest phase in war on terror" (Shah, 2011). This vehicle has changed the perception of the war and today more than 40 countries are working on the development of these unmanned military systems (Seuer & Niklas Schöring, 2012; Grutt , 2012)

Although the drone development and its hype is mainly because of US and Israel, however its use in Pakistan has gained most international attention (Shah, 2011)According to '*The Bureau of Investigative Journalism'* the first known fatal US-drone-strikes inside Pakistan was reported on June 17th 2004 and killed 6 to 8 people including two children. Since then more than 373 strikes have been made in FATA Pakistan. Total numbers of total killing are estimated as 2,513-3,595 in which 407-926 civilian and 168-200 children are included (*The* Bureau of Investigative Journalism).

Due to its covert nature there are different opinions about the total death troll According to brooking institutions drones are killing at least 10 civilian for every militant (Mazhar & Goraya, 2011).

Drone warfare in F.A.T.A started during the presidency of George W. Bush. During Bush era 45 drone attacks were reported. However under the Obama administration drone strikes witnessed a significant increase. In the beginning the target had to be clearly *identifiable* and *known terrorist* but this changed under the Obama administration and the CIA was given the permission to conduct the '*signature strikes'* (Monahan & Tyler, 2011; Goraya & Mazhar, 2011; Grutt , 2012; Monahan & Tyler, 2011). Signature strikes permission means that CIA has the authority to kill the *suspected terrorists* even if their identity is unknown. In 2009 CIA director *Leon Panetta* for the first time admitted the responsibility of drone strikes in front of American Congress. He said that to confront al-Qaida in these area drones are the only option to use (Monahan & Tyler, 2011).

As mentioned in the introduction of the thesis very less has been written on the media reporting and its human implication.

However in 2012 reports were published from different universities in USA such as Columbia University published two reports under the headings 1) *The civilian impact of Drones: Un examined cost; unanswered questions* 2) *Counting drone strikes deaths;. Some* serious questions were raised about the civilian sufferings in the drone warfare. Stanford Law school

also published a very detailed report of 182 pages, *"Living under drone"* in which   death injury and trauma to civilian were extensively discussed. All these reports have confirmed high civilian injuries and have seriously challenged the US claim of high precession and accuracy of drones. I am sure that in the future there will be more studies on the civilian implication and the human security issue. As drone warfare is no more a hidden phenomenon and the voices are rising against the drone warfare on the basis of human security issue.

2.2 Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is one of the influential and rapidly developing areas of discourse study. "It regards discourse as a form as social practice" (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997). Historically CDA emerged from the work of group of Critical linguist at the university of East Angelia in 1970s (Valle, 2008).Since then this method has emerged as a field of investigation. However, in 1980 and 1990 it was more highlighted that discourse analysis should have a critical dimension". (Yaghoobi, 2011; Teuna A, 1999). The dimension was meant to analyses discourse critically in relationship with social meaning. As Norman Fairclough mentioned that CDA is not a discrete academic discipline with relatively fixed set of research method" and being "problem oriented interdisciplinary research movement" having several approaches and can subsume with different theoretical models perusing different agendas (Norman Fairclough, 1995). The semantic dimension of power, in equality and abuse as well as the cultural or political-economic changes in a society are uniting theses disciplines and their theories (Izadi & Saghaye-Biria, 207; Andersson, 2010). In other words CDA is can be viewed as multidimensional field that incorporate many disciplines with different theoretical model and "takes particular interest in language and power"((Teuna A, 1999)Fowler (1991) suggests that the basic framework is CDA lies in the relationship of text with the context in which it is produced. It means that what CDA basically gives more attention to the sociological variables such as ideology, inequality, hierarchy, gender and so on. To make it simpler CDA not only focus the text or speech but they are studied in relation to social structures and societal impulses.
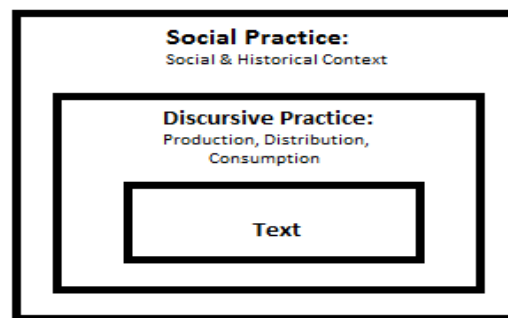
Norman Fairclough's approach to CDA

Among several different approaches the author chooses to follow Norman Fairclough theory and methodological framework. Fairclough being the biggest contributor in the field of CDA

and the first one to provide a theoretical framework states that "discourse is the use of language seen as a form of social practice, and discourse analysis is the analysis of how texts work within sociocultural practice."(Fairclough, 1995).

This explanation implies that discourse analyst should consider Language in its social and discursive aspect rather than in isolated form as Fairclough believe that any of discourse is influenced by non-discursive forces and these forces influence the consumption and production of the text in the context (D.H.Downing, 2004). To operationalize any text under these theoretical considerations and uncover the ideological and power pattern in text Fairclough in 1992 provided a three Dimensional framework of CDA which is very much in use especially in media text analysis. This thesis will follow this approach as the author thinks that this is the most suitable.(Fairclough,1995)

Fairclough's Model of CDA

The model provides a three-dimensional-framework for the analysis of text and discourse.1) the linguistic Descriptions of the text.

1) " the linguistic description of the formal properties of the text

2) the interpretation of the relationship between the discursive processes/interaction and the text, where text is the end product of a process of text production and as a resource in the process of text interpretation"

3) the explanation of the relationship between discourse and social and cultural reality"((Rahimi & Riasati, 2011)

2.3 Ideology

CDA primarily focus on language in text and print media provides enormous amount of discourse in shape of news. News articles', being the main focus of this thesis it is very good to start with a quote from Fowler (1991) about news, "news is not just a value-free reflection of facts. Anything that is said or written about the world is articulated from a particular ideological position". Here he suggests that anything that is written or spoken have some perspective behind them (Yaghoobi, 2011). This perspective can be regarded as ideology. However, Ideology is a vague term but when we talk about ideology the notion of power comes into our mind (Yaghoobi, 2011). (Wodak & Meyer, 2009) According to (Teuna A, 1999), "if there is one notion often related to ideology it is that of power". This definition implies that every spoken text is based on the writer ideological perspective about the world. Thus power may be regarded as the capacity to shape action and this capacity is accomplished through ideology.

This implies that language can be used both as an instrument and a tool of communication. In the print media case any news has some ideological position of the writer and in present day warfare political as well as military establishment always try to exercise their power of control on the news. . Especially in war reporting there are obvious reasons and implication of the exercise of power. in drone case the ideological position of the newspaper is elitist due to the attitude toward the tribal areas of Pakistan but at the same time the role of Pakistan being the front line ally in the "war against terror" and the close working relations of Pakistani and US establishment

2.4 Media Discourse

As this thesis tries to examine the ideology in drone war therefore here the main focus will be on war related media discourse.

War or conflict reporting is a very newsworthy events and often gets more attentions from media and its dramatic nature, "the loss of human lives, the violence that characterizes it and the consequences war has on the political, economic and social arenas of a country or region" make it more news worthy for the media. International media gives more coverage to those events in which United Kingdom United States and other western powers are involved. Thus it is a matter of fact that cultural proximity of war or conflict shapes its newsworthiness. This means that country involvement in a conflict or war makes it very newsworthy for the local media of that country. The news coverage of the national level clearly depicts US and them position of media which are mostly based on exaggeration and propaganda. This means that

media coverage of a conflict or war in which our side is involved is never free of ideological bias. It is a matter of fact "that attitudes affect the way we behave in a society" and media is producing and reproducing it as what we get from news is not simply information. Rather they are also influencing our ideological stance (Yaghoobi, 2011)

In the modern warfare media control for the governments is very important as people outside the conflict zone get the information through media. Therefore it is a matter of fact that modern day wars are partly played on media. Therefore government involve in a conflict often try to control media discourse through various measures (Richardson, 2007). (Lukin, 2003)Kristin (2009) states that "Propaganda is one of several "news management" strategies that the warring parties use to get the media and the public on their side".

Pakistan is a front line ally of USA in Afghanistan and the drone warfare is an extension of this war. However the hidden rivalry exist between these two allies, and the Raymond Davis incident in January 2011, the unilateral operation against Osama bin laden totally exposed CIA activities inside Pakistan and media reaction was severe on both of these incident. Both these incident occurred in the settle area of Pakistan and media reporting triggered tremendous problems for Pakistani establishment.

Salala check post attack by US forces inside Pakistan and killing 24 soldiers was very highlighted by Pakistani media and in reaction they stopped the NATO supply line to Afghanistan. The supply line was stopped for seven month and was resumed after the official apology from US. During these 7 months there were very few drone strikes but once the NATO supply resumed drone strikes increased again. This means that Pakistani establishment has to restrict the media reporting of drone strikes as it can cause political unrest in Pakistan.

The presence of Pakistani military and no direct access of media to these areas restrict Pakistani media to official or military sources and indirectly Pakistani media reporting serves the propaganda of Pakistani establishment.

In case of drone national media of Pakistan is very important as it has the power to shape the whole warfare, anything they write makes the foundation of belief about the war which can goes both for and against the interest of Pakistani and US establishment.

Thesis Contributions

As mentioned earlier this thesis will be the first critical research on the media representation of drone warfare and the human security issue. This thesis will be a contribution to the study of war reporting on the new form of warfare, and the understudied problem of the civilian damage caused by this this warfare. The author thinks that as all the information is coming through media reports and a critical approach to analyze media reports will help us to know more about the drone warfare which will be a significant contributions to the scholarships.

CHAPTER 3- Methodology

3.1. Data selection and sampling

As stated earlier that the main subject is to study *Pakistani media* representation of the US drone strikes in F.A.T.A. Pakistan. Here the study is limited to two Pakistani newspapers, the daily "*Dawn"* and "*The News International"* respectively. These two English language newspapers were chosen on the basis of their reputation, circulation, readership, and last but not the least the availability of online archives of these newspapers (Malik & Iqbal, 2010)

Being English language, these newspapers have elitist readership and characters. Both these newspapers are very much popular to those who want to know in-depth commentaries on current national and international events. These newspapers are in English language and are often used by international media as a source of reference for the drone strikes in Pakistan.

The Daily *Dawn,* founded by *Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah*, the founder of Pakistan in 1940 with an aim to support the struggle for independent homeland for the Muslims. Since then dawn has been the forefront of many events that constitute Pakistan's history and is widely read among the policy makers in the public and private sector in Pakistan. It has a daily circulation around 138000 copies and has offices in all major cities of Pakistan. It also has a very good online newspapers and website archives (Malik & Iqbal, 2010)

The News international is published by one of the largest groups of Urdu language newspapers, The *Jang Group of Newspapers* which controls over 65% of the total urban newspaper readership of Pakistan (Malik & Iqbal, 2010). They also publish their Urdu language newspaper from different Cities of Pakistan like Islamabad, Karachi, Peshawar, Quetta, and so on. They also run different TV channels with the name of Geo-news (Urdu news channel), Geo-Super (a sport channel), Geo-entertainment, AAG TV (youth entertainment channel). All these are very much popular not only in Pakistan but have

millions of Urdu language viewership around the world. Simply we can say that these media groups are enjoying a very dominant role in Pakistani media outlets (Malik & Iqbal, 2010).

According to The Bureau of investigative journalism tally a total of more than 370 strikes in Pakistan have been conducted from 2004 to March 2013 and most of them are reported in these two newspapers, the full data base is difficult to scrutinize for such a long period of time, so keeping the limited time frame and the scope of our studies, for my analysis both these newspaper copies were scrutinized for the articles representing the drone strikes in Pakistan during the second half (i.e. July-December) of 2008 and 2012. This yielded a total of 84 Articles on the representation of the drone strikes in F.A.T.A. Pakistan. Further details are given in the later section (The Bureau of Investigative journalism, 2013).

2008 was the year when the drone strikes were suddenly increased and US Pakistan relation was very good. Both the governments and their establishments were supporting each other, however in 2011 *Raymond Davis incident*, *Osama Bin Laden death* and *Salala check post attack* and *evacuation of Shamshi Air base from America by Pakistani government* and *the closure and reopening of NATO supply route through Pakistan*, created a deadlock in US Pakistan relation. So, the second half of year 2012 is very important to be considered for the analysis. These years are not only important in terms of US Pakistan relations but these years have some statistical similarities in terms of the strikes and casualties.

The Bureau of investigative journalism statistics shows that a total of 38 strikes were conducted in 2008 and 48 in 2012. Total minimum Civilian casualties were 59 and 52 (The Bureau of Investigative journalism, 2013) respectively during these two years which provides a reason to believe that these strikes have the same news value for both the newspapers and the readers were relatively more interested in the news about the strikes. Furthermore to keep the sample more manageable only the second half of these years were chosen i.e. *July-December.* For these two periods the newspapers were scrutinized for the drone strikes reports and the following numbers of samples were obtained.

Table.1	*Total number of Sample reports*		
Newspapers	*July- December 2008*	*July- December 2012*	Total
The News International	24	20	44
Dawn	21	19	40
Total	45	39	84

As mentioned in the above table total numbers of reports are 84 during the specified period of time in which 45 reports represent the strikes during July-December 2008 and 39 reports represent the strikes during 2012. So the sample for the study yields total of 84 reports which will be analyzed by using the Critical discourse analysis.

3.2. Analytical procedures

As said earlier that every CDA analysis in general and newspapers discourse in specific can be divided into a complex of three elements: text, discursive practices, and social practices, and the analysis of a specific discourse calls for analysis in each of these three dimensions and their interaction (Richardson, 2007).

Within the CDA framework, the analytical method will be divided into three sections according to Fairclough's outline of CDA. However the Richardson's (2007) procedure of transitivity analysis will be used to analyze grammatical language used within text.

a) Textual analysis

As mentioned earlier having and following a clear method of analysis is very essential in CDA and within the broader framework of Fairclough CDA the data set will be analyzed by following Richardson approach by focusing the transitivity analysis of text (Richardson, 2007).

Transitivity describes the relationship between participants and the role they play in the processes described in reporting (Richardson, 2007). Furthermore, the study of transitivity is concerned with how the actions are presented; what kind of action appears in a text, who does them and how they are done (Richardson, 2007)

The study of transitivity is mainly based on the realization that the produced text has been formulated from a range of available choices and it could have been produced differently. In short the principal of transitivity can be stated as the "who does what to whom" and this implies that transitivity analysis explores how language used in a text represent reality and how it would have been different if these grammatical choices were not made. As Richardson mentioned, in any process of producing text there are three main components that can be changed, the participants, the process and the circumstances (Richardson, 2007). The whole data sent will be analyzed at all these level.

Richardson (2007) suggests that the analysis of the content of newspaper headlines is a very suitable approach to the examination of newspaper output .Thus, the textual analysis will be done at two different levels, first the headlines and then the content of the body of the headlines will be studied for action and agency by following the steps which Richardson used in his Analysis of Iraq war reporting in British media. On the basis of these findings the US and them tendencies and the attribution of responsibility between the two participant will be elaborated which will then be incorporated with the other two aspect of the CDA model.

b-c) Discursive and Social practices

Discursive practices of journalism are the process through which journalists produce texts, and readers use and understand them therefore linguistic analysis of text does not help to the analysis of discourse without the discursive practices. The social practice being the final third of the proposed model of CDA refers to the institutions and the values that permeate and structure the activities and production of text (Richardson, 2007).

For my analysis I will also look into the sources of the reports and the article length and how the reports are serving the propaganda of the key actors and where does the reporting comes from, if it comes from the area so they are giving their independent reporting about the strikes and the victims or only relying on the Pakistani army sources.

CHAPTER 4- DATA ANALYSIS

4.1. Reporting the Drone strikes: action and agency in headlines

We begin by analyzing the headlines, as Richardson's in his book "*Analysing Newspapers: An Approach from Critical Discourse Analysis*" suggests that "an examination of the content of the headlines is a useful first approach to the analyses of newspaper output" therefore initially the analysis will start from the transitivity of the headlines which is the foundation of representation. CDA suggests that transitivity makes the options available and with our every choice we are suppressing some possibilities and these choices are always based on the ideological stand points (Richardson, 2007). Apparently following the Richardson's techniques the examination will start from the initial coding of the data set focusing on the

Participants, *Process* itself and the *circumstances* associated with the process (Richardson, 2007).

4.1.1. Participants

In order to build the analysis initially the headline contents were coded for the main actor. Dataset given in Table.2 explains some interesting facts about the way these sampled newspapers represented the strikes in their headlines during the specified period of study. It suggests that these newspapers represented the strikes in a way that the role of Pakistani establishment is completely absent in spite of Pakistani army presence in F.A.T.A. and US is the only main actor.

Secondly, it is also very interesting to note that USA has never been directly mentioned as an actor in the headlines. In both of these newspaper USA being a user of an object (US-drone) is always replaced by the object they use. This type of substitution in which something associated with X is substituted for X is called "metonymy". Nevertheless in war reporting "metonymy" may facilitate the writers to attribute the agency to machines and shift the focus out of the main actor However, from critical discourse analytic perspective the significance of this form of substitution lies in the way they are used rather than their mere presence in a text and further analysis will provide us with more information about the intentions behind these substitutive choices.

Table.2a	*Representation of main actors over time*				
	US		Unknown		Total
	N	(%)	N	(%)	*N*
The News International 2008	22	91.7	2	8.3	24
Dawn 2008	9	42.8	12	57.2	21
Total	31	68.9	14	31.1	45
The News International 2012	5	25.0	15	75.0	20
Dawn 2012	7	36.8	12	63.2	19
Total	12	30.8	27	69.2	39

Table.2b	*Representation of main actors (Comparison)*				
	US		Unknown		Total Articles
	N	(%)	N	(%)	*N*
The News International 2008	22	91.7	2	8.3	24

The News International 2012	5	25.0	15	75.0	20
Total	27	61.4	17	38.6	44
Dawn 2008	9	42.8	12	57.2	21
Dawn 2012	7	36.8	12	63.2	19
Total	16	40.0	24	60.0	40

The above table also reveals that on average *The News International is* more frequent in representation of the US as the main actor in their headlines (ie: 61.4). However, in 2008 they were more frequent than in 2012, i.e. 91.7% in 2008 and 25.0% in 2012. This is a significant change in representation of US as the main actor. Looking into the sample of the same period for newspaper *Dawn*, the overall percentage of representation of US as the main actor, *Dawn* is less frequent than *The News International*. However, the presence of US as the main actor in the headlines of the *Dawn* has also drop down, for instance, across the whole period of sample only *9* out of *21* headlines in 2008 (42.8%) and 7 out of 19 (36.8%) headlines represented the US as the main actor. The rest of the headlines are mostly actor less or in other words there are verbs that represent the action but the agent (actor) are totally missing in the headlines. *The News International* in 2012 and *Dawn* during both periods are highly misrepresentative given the fact that US is the only actor involved in the process and then why it was removed from the headlines? For instance

1. Six killed in NWA drone attack *(The News International, Monday, July 02, 2012)*
2. Drone strikes kill 14 in NWA *(The News International, Tuesday, July 24, 2012)*
3. Four killed in NWA drone hit *(The News International, Monday, July 30, 2012)*
4. Two Canadians killed in Wana missile attack *(Dawn, August 31, 2008 Sunday)*
5. Six killed in N. Waziristan missile attack *(Dawn, September 01, 2008 Monday)*

All the above headlines have one common point that the main actor is missing and it shows that the people were killed, strikes were made and missile were fired but who took the action is totally ignored. This shows that editorial board has worked on it to appear in the above shape. For example the first headline says that "***six killed in drone attack***" which merely represent the whole story of the incident. It seems that drone attacked and six were killed but removes the sense of responsibility and the information of the victims. Why it was not represented as "the US soldiers fired a missile and killed six (militants/civilian/Pakistani) people. The other examples are also the misrepresentation of the strikes which can be regarded as the result of a careful editorial choice and it did not have to appear in that actor less shape unless you intend to hide the negativity of "our" agency. Nevertheless the ratio of

the representation of US as the main agent of the verb describing the action is highly misrepresentative in the second period (2012), given the fact that US was still the main actor so what changed this representation?

For further details the data set was quantified for the status of the object being represented and the results are given in the following table

Table.3	*The Status of the object being killed by drone*											
	Al-Qaeda/ foreigners		*Militants/ Taliban*		*Only Numbers*		*Women/ Children*		*Civilian/ People*		*other*	*Total articles*
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	N
The News 2008	1/3	16.0	2/0	8.3	18	75.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	24
The News 2012	2	10.0	1/0	4.8	16	80.0	1	4.8	0	0.0	0	20
Dawn 2008	0/4	19.0	2/0	9.5	14	66.7	1	4.7	0	0.0	0	21
Dawn2012	2	10.5	6/0	31.6	11	57.9	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	19
Total	12	14.3	11	13.1	59	70.2	2	2.4	0	0.0	1	84

After coding for five set of variables (i.e. *Al-Qaeda/foreigners, Militants/Taliban*, *Only numbers, Women/Children and Civilian/People*) it was found that in most of the headlines the status of the people killed in the strikes has mentioned in number as "12 killed", "20 killed" "seven died" …., So on and the rest go to the representation of Al-Qaeda/ foreigners, Militants/Taliban.

What is interesting here that the Representation of civilian is totally missing from the headlines. In spite of the fact that there were civilian casualties during these periods; they were not mentioned in the headlines which is highly ideological. Whoever killed in the strikes are somehow related to groups like Taliban or al-Qaida which makes it acceptable to be targeted.

The second finding from these initial quantifications is that both these newspapers have mentioned *women* and *children* as object being killed in the strikes only once but on different dates. The word civilian for the object has never been used in the headlines which suggest that the sub editors of both these newspapers have tried to neutralize and back grounded the action of the USA as an actor. This approach indicates that if you are male and being killed in strikes it is obvious that you are out of the civilian definition which is not only misrepresentation but highly ideological. Richardson suggests that headlines are always designed to structure a positive understanding of our involvement in the conflict and negative consequences of our

actions are back grounded by using different ideological ascriptions of agency that diminish *'Our'* active role in Killing (Richardson, 2007). For instance:

1. *US air strike* kills six in NWA (*The News International, September 05, 2008*)
2. *US missile* strike kills 12 in North Waziristan (*The News International, September 13, 2008*)
3. *US drones* kill six in South Waziristan (*The News International, October 17, 2008*)
4. *US drones* kill 24 a day after resumption of Nato supplies (*The News International, July 07, 2012*)
5. *US drones* kill 18 in NWA (*The News International, August 25, 2012*)
6. *US double blow* kills 21 in Waziristan (*Dawn, November 01, 2008*)
7. *US drones* kill at least 18 in northwest Pakistan (*Dawn, 24th August, 2012*)
8. *US drone* kills at least five in North Waziristan (*Dawn, 24th October, 2012*)

Above are the few examples in which the headlines started with the clear representation of the main actor (US) which under the ideological square assume that the role of US has been presented as 'their' and the clear representation either highlight the negativity of *'their'* action if those killed were represented as civilian or innocent. The second possibility is that it is meant to describe the action as a necessary step to kill these people. Here in these headlines the object is only the number it does not provide any indication, if the people killed were militants or civilian. If they were militants then why it was not mentioned if they were civilian then why they are not given. Here the role of US drone attacks is foregrounded in a sense that they *"killed number of people"* but it is not cleared if they killed civilian or militants. This type of representation serve either way, for the people who believe that drone kills only militants then the number indicate militants, for those who believe that drone kills only innocent then they are civilians. If we look into some other examples it gives us more interesting points. For instance

1. *Al-Qaeda man among six* killed in US missile hit (*The News International*, July 29, 2008)
2. *Foreign militants among 12* killed in SWA US missile hit (*The News International*, August 14, 2008)
3. *Two Canadians* killed in Wana missile attack (*The News International,* August 31, 2008)
4. US missiles kill *seven militants* in SWA (*The News International*, December 23, 2008
5. *18 militants* killed in Orakzai drone strike (*The News International*, October 12, 2012)
6. *Al-Qaeda leader among four* killed in drone strike (*The News International*, December 10, 2012)

7. *Two Canadians* killed in Wana missile attack (*Dawn*, August 31, 2008)
8. *5 `foreigners`* killed in `US strike` (*Dawn*, September 5th, 2008)
9. *Haqqani's close relatives* killed in US missile strike (*Dawn*, September 09, 2008)
10. *16 foreigners among 21* killed in missile raid (*Dawn*, October 04, 2008)
11. *Five 'Punjabi Taliban'* killed in drone attacks (*Dawn,* December 23, 2008)
12. US missiles kill *9 suspected militants* in North Waziristan (*Dawn*, 23rd July, 2012)
13. Drone attack kills *seven 'Uzbeks'* (*Dawn*, 30th July, 2012)
14. US drone attack kills *two suspected militants* in South Waziristan (*Dawn*, 29th November, 2012)
15. *Yemeni al Qaeda operative* killed in South Waziristan drone attack: reports (*Dawn*, 1st December, 2012)
16. *Rashid Rauf* among five killed in US attack (*Dawn*, November 23, 2008)

In the above examples we can see that the representation of the status of the object being killed or hit is mentioned according to their nationality or region like Canadian, Uzbeks, and Punjabi etc. and also their status in the area as foreigners if they are. The object (the targeted people) is also mentioned if they belong to Al-Qaida or Taliban militants or even if they are suspected to be militants or the close relative of the militants. In the 16th headline even the name of one of a militant is reported which suggests that all these headlines are the results of a very careful efforts of the sub-editors of these newspapers. The only word missing here is the Civilian from the entire sample of headlines and only two headlines provided some space for the civilian were:

1. US drone attack kills *three children* (*Dawn*, September 5th, 2008
2. *Woman* killed in NWA drone attack *(The News International,* Thursday, October 25, 2012)

Looking into more details at the sample headlines the USA was never represented directly but in form of substitutions called "Metonym" which is a type of substitution in which the User of an object is replaced by the object they use. Until now the way two participants in the headlines gives an impression that the war is between the two participants, technology vs. "Terrorists" and the civilian are missing in the representation.

The metonymic replacements are mostly used when we do not know the main actor. If we know the main actor then it is used to shift the focus form the responsible human actor (Richardson.2007.69). The grammatical choice from constructing the event without being caused by an external agent is the most powerful way of effacing agency (actor) as it completely denies any human involvement behind the events and this type of choices are made to safeguard "our agency" from any negativity (annabele2004). The other techniques to

represent the actor by using metonymy shows that the event has simply come without been brought by any human body, and the responsibility is on the machine not on the people sitting in the control room and this type of representation are the real threat to Human security (annabele2004)

Furthermore, The mentioning of militants in the headlines and the complete absence of using the word "civilian" if they are not *Children and women* are very much similar in the entire sample which is not a co-incident but the work of the sub-editors of these newspapers and can be regarded as the result of government control on these newspapers which cannot afford to bring the totally negative side of the Drone strikes to the population of Pakistan. However this claim need to be fully justified by some more findings.

The further investigation of the process represented in the headlines will provide us some more information of the reporting.

4.1.2. Processes

Along with the representation of the participants in the headlines the quantification of the types of clause and verbs processes used and their distribution across the set of headlines and the newspapers for the entire time period is a very good starting point. (Richardson, 2007). Nevertheless the grammatical choice of process is mainly material and within material process we have always two choices either to choose the transitive verb or intransitive verb therefore the quantification of the verb used in the headline is the main focus here.

For the initial investigation the data is checked for the frequency and proportion of transitive action process by coding "transitive verbs" like "*killed*" and "intransitive verbs" like *"die"* etc. and statistics are given in table 4.

Table 4a	*Process Type(Headlines)*							
	Transitive action process		*Intransitive action process*		*Other*		*Total*	
	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)
The News International 2008	23	95.8	0	0.0	1	4.2	24	100.0
The News International 2012	20	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	20	100.0
Dawn 2008	20	95.2	1	4.8	0	0.0	21	100.0
Dawn 2012	17	89.5	2	10.5	0	0.0	19	100.0
Total	80	95.2	3	3.6	1	1.2	84	100.0

Table 4b	Process Type(Headlines)									
	The News International				Dawn				Total	
	2008		2012		2008		2012			
	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)
Transitive action process	23	95.8	20	100	20	95.2	17	89.5	80	95.2
Intransitive action process	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	4.8	2	10.5	3	3.6
Other	1	4.4	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	1.2
Total	24	100.0	20	100.0	21.	100.0	19	100.0	84	100.0

The above tables clearly demonstrate that there is no principal difference between the two newspapers in terms of verb processes used and their distribution across the sampled period.

Following on from the discussion in table 5 we can see that both these newspapers during the entire period of time has used transitive verb process more often. However, *The News International* is more consistent than Dawn as the percentage of using transitive verb process has increased from 95.8% in 2008 to 100% in 2012, while the transitive verb selection in the headlines of the *Dawn* has slightly dropped from 95.2% in 2008 to 89.5% in 2012.

By digging further into the process chosen in the headlines and their possible ideological import, the ideological square predicts that negative or transitive verbs will be used more frequently instead of intransitive to describe *'Their'* actions which was exactly the case in the headlines of the sample for both the newspapers during the entire period. However, if we suppose that media represent the USA as "Our" and the victims as "their", then the transitive verb selection signals totally in opposite direction.

Transitive verb selection is not the only point to consider as some time the sub-editor do use the transitive verb process but it has a lesser impact on any moral loss for our agency. ((Richardson, 2007; Lukin, 2004).depicted that the event being represented without been brought about by any human being, even the transitive verb selection can easily be transformed into a "self-engendered process" to create distance from the negative action. At the same time they can portray the positive understanding of drone by mentioning the object as al-Qaida, militants and many more but never the civilians which can bring real negativity to the main actor involved in the process.

Following on from this point the responsibility of killing can be disavowed by using of passivized agent deletion. For example:

1) Six killed in N. Waziristan missile attack *(Dawn, September 01, 2008)*
2) Two killed in missile attack *(Dawn, November 30, 2008)*

3) Six killed in drone attack in North Waziristan *(Dawn, 1st September 01, 2012)*
4) Five killed in North Waziristan drone strike: officials *(Dawn, December28, 2012)*
5) Four killed in NWA drone hit (*The News International* ‚July 30, 2012)
6) Four killed in NWA drone strike (The *News International*, October 11, 2012)
7) Three killed in SWA drone attack (The *News International*, November 30, 2012)

Both the newspapers in all these headlines have used passive construction with the deleted human agent in the process. This construction make us to ask why was the passivized construction not properly used with an appropriate and the known agent behind the action?. The verb used in the process were mostly transitive and according to the ideological square explanation transitive verb are mostly use to describe "*their"* actions, if this was meant to highlight the action in a negative way then why the agent is not properly specified in the process in all these headlines? Furthermore in these entire examples the verbs are transitive but they fail to create an accurate picture of the high impact event in which the death are certain, as before and after representation do not support the use of even transitive verb. In all these examples the editor provides a grim picture of the event as the participants and the circumstances are not appropriate.

Although, the percentage of the transitive verb selection is very high in both of these newspaper but there are few examples in which the intransitive verb has been used in a very ideological way. For instance:

1) Three die in Miramshah drone attack *(Dawn, December 06, 2008)*
2) Seven militants die in drone attack *(Dawn, July 02, 2012)*
3) Twenty die in double drone attack *(Dawn, July 07, 2012)*

The above example from the newspaper *Dawn* helps us to understand how the transitive and intransitive choices of process reflect the ideological standpoint. All these headlines are not only uninformative but they do not represent the deaths resulted in the process. These people did not simply '*die'* as accidently but they were killed by US soldiers. Untill now the process representing the strikes give us a mix picture of the event.

4.1.3. Circumstances

Richardson (2007) suggests that "the circumstances associated with the process also contribute to an ideological representation of invasion" and these circumstances associated with the process also needed to be quantify as it can give us a clear understanding of the representation of the strikes. The best way is to check for the use of prepositional phrases (e.g. '*as', 'in', 'on', 'to'* , etc.) (Richardson, 2007).

The choice of prepositional phrases in a headline can modify the circumstances in which the action occurred is describe in the process (Richardson, 2007). Before coding for the above prepositions, the headlines were analyzed for how the relationship of the main actor (Agent) and the object in a clause is represented by choosing the active or passive forms of verb. As the use of preposition "in" is very much common in these headlines, so if the construction is in passive-voice and the preposition '*in*' is used instead of '*by*' then it can affect the whole circumstances. This quantification will help us to understand the ideological standpoint in the headlines.

For the initial start the data was scrutinized for the use of *active* and *passive* verb process and the findings are given in the following Table:

Table.5.	*The construction*									
	The News International				*Dawn*				*Total*	
	2008		*2012*		*2008*		*2012*			
	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)
Active Voice	16	66.7	5	25.0	6	28.6	12	63.2	39	46.4
Passive Voice	8	33.4	15	75.0	15	71.4	7	36.8	45	53.6
Total	24	100.0	20	100.0	21	100.0	19	100.0	84	100.0

The News International in 2008 has used 66.7% of active verb process which is declined to 25% in 2012 and *Dawn* has used 28.8% and 63.2% in 2008 and 2012 respectively. The passive verb process in *The News International* is 33.4% in 2008 and 75.0% in 2012 which is a very significant change of the selection of the verb process. On the other hand the *Dawn* has changed its Passivized verb construction process from 71.4% in 2008 to 36.8% in 2012.

The News International has used high percentage of active clauses in their headline during 2008 which has been reversed in 2012 while *Dawn* has done the same but in the reverse order. The passivized construction of verb process is not a bad grammatical choice if used properly. But when this option is taken up, the immediate effect it can bring is to facilitate the deletion of main actor and makes the whole event as an accident which is evident in the quantification of the headlines. Furthermore, the prepositional phrases used to modify the circumstances associated with the process also contribute to ideological standpoint and they are even more important when the passivized form is used. According to CDA analysts the passivized form also reflect the ideology as it helps the writer to background or nominalize the role of the

main actor who is behind the killing Richardson,2007, Annabele;2004.To go further the sampled headlines were scrutinized for the preposition used in the clauses.

The initial quantification for the use of the preposition *"in"* instead of *"by"* in a clause with passive voice is given in the following table 6.

Table.6	*The use of preposition 'in' instead of 'by'*		
The News International	*The News International*	Dawn	Dawn
2008	*2012(killed in=15)*	*2008*	*2012*
…in US strikes=1	…in US drone strike=2	…in US drone attack=2	…in US drone attack=1
…in US missile strike/hit/attack= 5	…in drone strike=2	…in US missile strike=1	…in drone attack=2
…in US drone strike=1	…in SWA Drone attack=2	…in US strike=1	…in Orakzai drone attack=1
….in SWA US strike=1	…in NWA Drone attack/hit=7	…in drone=2	…in N.Waziristan=1
	…in Orakzai drone strike=1	…in missile attack/raid=3	
	…in 36th drone strike=1	…in Wana missile attack=1	
		…in N. Waziristan missile attack=1	
		…in Miramshah drone attack=1	
Total 8/24	Total 15/20	Total 12/21	Total 5/21

Looking to the above table the initial reaction is that why the preposition *'in'* was preferred over *'by'* as it would be more accurate to use *'by'* USA soldiers by using drone or missile etc., why were the words like strikes, hit, attack, and the name of the place like NWA, SWA or N. Waziristan used? Richardson (2004) suggests that choice "is used to provide context to the reported event" and not responsibility for the resulted deaths". For instance:

1) 18 killed <u>in US strikes</u> on NWA villages (*The News International*, October 04, 2008)
2) 12 killed <u>in US missile</u> attack on SWA village (*The News International*, August 21, 2008)
3) 32 killed <u>in US missile</u> strikes (*The News International*, November 01, 2008)
4) Two killed <u>in US drone</u> strike in NWA (*The News International*, Tuesday, October 02, 2012)
5) 12 killed <u>in drone attack</u> on NWA (*The News International*, August 19, 2012)
6) 16 foreigners among 21 killed <u>in missile</u> raid *(Dawn, October 042008)*

7) 10 killed <u>in US drone</u> attack on seminary *(Dawn, October 24, 2008)*
8) Three killed <u>in US drone</u> attack *(Dawn, 23rd September, 2012)*

In each of these headlines the use of preposition *'in'* is highly inappropriate. Looking into all these examples we should ask why the preposition *'in'* was preferred instead of *'by'*? The preposition *'by'* could have been as easily fitted in the space filled by *'in'*. This choice can help the writer to sideline the US role and to avoid the condemnation.

The fifth and the sixth headlines is even more misrepresentative and ideological that not only the preposition *'in'* is used instead of *'by'* but USA is completely washed-out and even the drone do not belong to any nation, which simply describe the circumstances that 12 and 16 (unknown weather civilian or militants) were killed in a drone attack/ missile raid but no one is responsible.

This can be simply judge as the sub-editors have chosen to use a passive construction to de-emphasize the main actors and the victims are only numbers, we have a process of non-human action that has no impact on anything. The effect of such grammatical selection is to minimize or wash-out the sense of human impact.

Going further the circumstantial elements that add information about time, place, manner and reason/cause were also used in an in appropriate way. For examples:

1) Three killed in <u>*NWA*</u> drone attack *(The News International, September 23, 2012)*
2) Four killed in <u>*NWA*</u> drone strike *(The News International, October 11, 2012)*
3) Six killed in drone attack in <u>*North Waziristan*</u> *(Dawn, 1st September, 2012*
4) 18 militants killed in <u>*Orakzai*</u> drone strike *(Dawn, October 12, 2012)*

In the first two headlines NWA has been used as the abbreviation for the North-Waziristan-Agency where the people were killed and the agent US has been deleted by using Metonymy. In other words the user of an object, US in this example has been replaced by the object "Drone". In the second example from *The News International,* is almost the exact copy of the first and the only difference is number of people killed. These examples are not only misrepresentation but only emphasize on the location where the action took place. All these example are expressed in a very depersonalized and low impact way. The other two examples from the *Dawn* hardly need more explanation.

4.1.5. "Us" and "Them"; in terms of ideological square (Headlines)

According to Richardson's (2007.209) statement "the ideological square predicts that the way that two sides are represented – that is *'we'* are represented and the way *'They'* are represented – will be radically dichotomised". Furthermore he emphasized that "such polarization serves political as well as rhetorical ends" and identifying some people /groups as *"barbarians"*, *"terrorists"* makes it easy targets to be treated in an inhuman way and "still retain *'our'* sense of moral superiority", (Richardson, 2007).

What is obvious in our data that USA being an actor is either missing or mentioned by using metonym (US drone, US missile) while the victims have always been represented in relation to the groups like *al-Qaida, foreigners, Arabs, Taliban, militants and close relative of Taliban commander*. These descriptions might be truthful but the same details were missing when the victims not related to these groups were represented in the headlines. For example:

- *Yemeni al Qaeda operative* killed in South Waziristan drone attack: reports
- Seven *militants* die in drone attack
- Five *'Punjabi Taliban'* killed in drone attacks
- Nine *Arabs* among 13 killed in drone attack
- 5 `*foreigners*` killed in `US strike`
- *Haqqani's close relatives* killed in US missile strike
- *Two* killed in missile attack

The analysis also reveals that even being a relative of Taliban qualify the victims to be mentioned in the headlines. If they were not the members of these groups they were simply mentioned in numbers even if the victims were simply civilian. According to Richardson this type of enemy construction and portray them in a dehumanized way is very much ideological and are constructed to serve political ends (Richardson, 2007).

In both of these newspapers the world civilian is totally missing from the headlines in spite of civilian casualties reported in the body of news story. This is obvious that these headline are highlighting the victims in relation to the groups that are already considered as the "terrorists" and their human right is compromised as labeling someone "terrorist" seems to justify any inhuman treatment with them by whom we consider as "us". According to Richardson it only happens when the news editor's representations of "our" and "Their" actions are dictated by the ideology.

Out of 84 headlines only two represent victims as "women and children". This means that if the victims are women and children they are civilian otherwise they belong to groups which can be treated in inhuman ways without any loss of morality for the main actor (Richardson, 2007). Furthermore the use of preposition "in" instead of "by" and the circumstances provided were also very ideological. However, the processes chosen and the verb selection process describing the action of "our agency" is ideologically insignificant as use of transitive verb selection is very common in both of these newspapers. In all these headlines we have material process, i.e. the action have been presented as transitive actions but is not properly backed by the appropriate representation of the participants which minimize the sense of human impact.

In other words the impact of human killing by USA have always been balanced by suppressing or back-grounding the actor, and the objects (victims) are presented in terms of number or in relation to terrorist groups (never as civilian) as well as the circumstances created were inappropriate.

In short we can conclude that on the basis of what we have done so far that these types of representations are mostly ideological. Grammatical choices have enabled the writers to leave the civilian cost aside and enable the readers to focus on the legitimate targets. The impact of the transitive verb is normalized by mentioning the actor in terms of Drone strike, Missile hit, but what they targeted always mentioned in relation to some already dehumanized groups. Further detail will be provided in the report analysis.

How do the reports characterize the actors (USA/Pakistan army/ victims/militants) their actions and the event that makeup the drone warfare, how the ideology is constructed through the use of language choice, where does the power balance lie between the actors are the basic points that we will look for.

4.2. Reporting the drone war: "action and agency in reports"

The headline analysis has provided some basic insights about how the ideological power is used and constructed through the grammatical choices. The body of the news reports will be analyzed by use of the same coding plus an estimate of the space provided for the description of the civilian injury and damage, and the source of the information given. However, for this part of the analysis the entire sample is reduced into the following number of reports.

Table 7	Total Number of reports (every other report)		
	July- December 2008	*July- December 2012*	Total
The News International	12	10	22
Dawn	11	10	21
Total	23	20	43

The sample still cover the entire period of study as every other report is included in the sub sample. The total number of reports is 43, in which 22 reports belong to the *News international* and 21 goes to *Dawn*. The analyses of these reports are given in the following section.

a)Participants (contents)

The following table shows the initial quantification of representation of the main actors in the first paragraph of the content representing the events. The first paragraph makes the main summary of the whole story and any information provided in this paragraph makes the full perception about what the content is about.

For a convenient start the contents were coded for the frequency of the nationality of the actor as this is the convenient way to look if the event is presented as caused by USA or as being causing itself. Here it is important to note that these contents were only coded for the word US in the first paragraph of the body of the content. The initial quantification is provided in table55AB

Table 8a.	Representation of main actors overtime(in reports)				
	US		Unknown		Total
	N	(%)	N	(%)	*N*
The News International 2008	12	100	0	0.00	12
Dawn 2008	7	63.64	4	36.36	11
Total					23
The News International 2012	10	100	0	0.00	10
Dawn 2012	9	90.00	1	10.0	10
Total					20

Table 8b.	Representation of main actors (agents) in Reports

	US		Unknown		Total Articles
	N	(%)	N	(%)	*N*
The News International 2008	12	100	0	0.00	12
The News International 2012	10	100	0	0.00	10
Total					22
Dawn 2008	7	63.64	4	36.36	11
Dawn 2012	9	90.00	1	10.00	10
Total					21

In Both periods *The News International* is highly frequent in mentioning *US* as the main-actor behind the strikes while the daily *Dawn* is not that frequent, as some time the actor is totally missing in the reports. Above statistics show that, during *2008, Dawn* mentioned US as the main actor behind the strikes *7* out of *11* times *(63.64%).* However, this percentage has increased to *90.00%* in *2012* which is a significant change in comparison to *The News international.*

To get more in depth analysis the second step is to check what type of strategy is used to mention US as the main actor of the action. If the event is caused by an external agent the next choice available to pick is the Who or what to specify as the actor. (Lukin, 2004)

Again the first paragraphs of the reports were checked for the nature of the agent representation, as according to the Van Dijk (1985) "first paragraphs are used to build full macro-propositions, to confirm (or reject) the initial macro-assumptions of the reader and to further extend the macrostructure and the model of the text".

Table 9 shows that "US drone" are the most frequently used substitute for USA or the US army as they are directly behind the action. According to Richardson's (2007) this type of substitutions are called "Metonym" "in which something that is associated with X is substituted for X", more precisely "the user of an object is replaced by the object itself": e.g. Militants killed by *US Drone/ drone strike/missile*. This type of representation helps the writers to present the actor in a less prominent way (Richardson, 2007).

Richardson (2007) ascertains that *metonyms* are sometime used if we are not sure about the main agent behind the event. However, in our case it is a matter of fact that USA is the only actor behind these Strikes and from a critical perspective if the main agent behind the event reported is known then the use of *metonym* may help the writers to background the role of responsible actor. These types of metonyms were extensively used by the US and British

media to shield *"our"* agency being responsible for any negative action that happened during Iraq war. (Richardson, 2007).

Table9		*Representation of main actors (agents) in Reports*		
	The News International		*Dawn*	
S/no	*2008*	*2012*	*2008*	*2012*
1	US drone	US drone	Predator drone	US drone
2	US Predator	US drone	missile reportedly fired from Afghanistan	US drones
3	US Predator	US drone	unmanned US plane	Drone / unmanned American aircraft
4	CIA-operated spy plane	US drone	US drones	US drone
5	US pilotless spy plane and jet fighters	US drone	US drones	US drone
6	US drones	US drone	missile attack	US drone
7	US spy plane	US drones	Unmanned drones	US drone
8	US drones	a US drone fired//page14	US drones unmanned US planes	US drone / unmanned aerial vehicle
9	US drone	US drone	US drones	US drone
10	US drone	a US drone	US missile	US drone
11	US drones	-----	US drone	-----
12	US drone	-----	-----	------

The above table reveals that, the use of *metonyms* is very obvious in the representation of main actor behind the strikes and the USA administration has never been directly mentioned.

As it is obvious that how the dominant actor of the action is presented now the next step is to analyze on whom the action is performed. Again, the first paragraph of each sampled report was scrutinized manually for the representation of the *object* being hit and the results are given in the table 10. This again is not much different from what represented in the headlines. However, these reports rarely mentioned the *Civilian* being targeted. The coding shows that the most of the time the reports mentioned objects in line with the headlines, (victims) as *Al-Qaida, militants, Taliban, foreigners, Arabs* and even if they were suspected to be. However, if they were not even suspected militants they were simply mentioned as "*people*" "*persons*" or "*others*" unless they were *women and children*: e.g. eighteen people, including women and a child, were killed and several others injured …

In these reports the sources claim are mostly contradictory about the victims and their affiliations to the alleged terrorist groups. However, the newspaper always starts from what the official sources (Pakistan army) claims which most of the time link the victims to some militant groups.

It seems that both of these newspapers are digging to find if the people killed were *foreign fighters, Al-Qaeda, Taliban, local militants,* or *the close relative of them* but they are not there to elaborate if *Civilian* were targeted which can be regarded as finding something acceptable in every strike. More or less they did quotes some local sources about the civilian deaths, injuries and damages to the infrastructure but were not foregrounded nor in the headlines nor in the first paragraph of the body of the reports.

It is also worthwhile to note that the source of information also plays a vital role in the formulations of these news stories. In these reports three type of sources has been quoted the *official sources,*(Pakistani army, as they have direct access to the area) *undisclosed Taliban sources* and *local tribesmen*. Most of the time these sources has been directly quoted claiming different statuses of the targeted victims, nevertheless the official sources are more emphasized as the headlines and the first paragraph reports what these sources claims. This type of representations can be regarded as a tilted view of newspapers towards the sources.

Table10		*Representation of object being targeted in Reports(first paragraph)*		
	The News International 2008	*The News International 2012*	*Dawn 2008*	*Dawn 2012*
1	Six people, including three children and a similar number of suspected foreign militants, were killed and four others were seriously injured……	Six persons were killed and three others sustained injuries……	killed at least six people……	Seven suspected militants were killed……
2	Twelve people, most of them alleged foreign fighters, were killed and five others sustained serious injuries……	Fourteen people, some of them said to be suspected militants, were killed and a number of others injured……	Four people, including two Canadians of Arab origin……	killing nine suspected militants……
3	Six more people, including two suspected Arab nationals and four Dawar tribal militants, were killed and four others injured……	Twelve persons were killed and six others critically injured……	Five foreigners were killed……	At least two militants were killed……
4	all the 12 people who were killed in	Four persons were killed when a US	US drones hit the house and seminary of former Taliban commander Maulvi Jalaluddin	A key militant leader of the East Turkistan Movement (ETM), along with three other militant

	the attack were hardcore militants belonging to Jihadi commander Ilyas Kashmiri's group. The residents, however, claimed the dead included women and children……	drone targetted a car……	Haqqani in Dandi Derpakhel area of North Waziristan……	commanders, were also killed……
5	Eighteen people, including women and a child, were killed and several others injured……	Five persons were killed……	killing six people and injuring three others……	a suspected militant vehicle in Datakhel area of North Waziristan on Saturday, killing three people and injuring two others. ……
6	killing five militants, ……	Five persons were killed and several others sustained injuries……	The 21 slain people, foreigners among them, who were killed……	killed 16 suspected militants and injured six others in the Orakzai agency of Pakistan's tribal region on Thursday……
7	Some 10 militants were killed and six others seriously injured in yet another……	Four persons were killed and three women sustained injuries……	killing four people and injuring two……	At least five people were killed Wednesday when a US drone targeted a suspected militant compound……
8	Seventeen people were killed and several others injured in two missile attacks by……	A woman was killed and her two children were seriously injured……	killing 10 people and wounding three others……	fired missiles at a vehicle in Pakistan's tribal South Waziristan region on Saturday, killing at least one man suspected to be an al Qaeda-linked foreign militant, officials said……
9	Twelve people were killed in yet another missile strike by a US drone in Auladin area of the Garyum village in North Waziristan Agency (NWA) early on Friday. Nine of the dead are believed to be local militants……	Four suspected militants were killed when……	An Al Qaeda militant was among at least 21 people killed……	killed a senior al Qaeda commander in Pakistan's northwest on Sunday, military intelligence officials said, the second militant leader to be killed in strikes by the unmanned aircraft in three days……
10	killed five people and injured six others……	Four more people were killed……	The alleged mastermind of a transatlantic aeroplane bombing plot and four other people were killed….	At least five people were killed Friday……
11	Three persons of a family were killed……	-----------------------	killed at least three people……	--------------------------------
12	Two persons were killed when……	-----------------------	-------------------------------	--------------------------------

b) Processes

After the above analysis of participants in the reports representing the strikes the second step is to study the process itself. Here the initial quantification of the data set is done by analyzing the type of process used in the different clauses of the first paragraph. "In English there are four principal type of verbs and therefore four different types of process that a sentence can use" (RICHARDSON::54).these processes are, *verbal process, mental processes*, *relational processes* and last but not the least is the *material processes* which can further be divided into *transitive* and *intransitive* actions. The transitive action is presented by involving the main agent and the object being targeted in the process by choosing the transitive verbs like *killed, slaughter*...while in the intransitive material process the intransitive verb like *dead* etc. is used in which the action seems to occur on itself (Richardson, 2007).

The following table shows the preliminary quantification of the verb selection used in the first paragraph of the body of the reports.

Table11.	*Process Type(Reports)on the basis of verb chosen*						
	Transitive action process		*Intransitive action process*		*Other*		*Total*
	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)	N
The News International 2008	12	100	0	0.00	0	0.00	12
The News International 2012	10	100	0	0.00	0	0.00	10
Dawn 2008	11	100	0	0.00	0	0.00	11
Dawn 2012	10	100	0	0.00	0	0.00	10
Total	43	100.0	0	0.00	0	0.00	43

The above table shows that both of these newspapers have used transitive processes, means that the action did not just happened. This type of representation is often used to highlight the negativity of the action, however this strategy can also be used as creating a distance from an ugly action performed by the object if the people killed are not considered to be a direct threat to the agent (Richardson, 2007).

However, transitivity analysis also recommend that before and after grammatical choices are very much important to take into consideration as only the transitive verb selection do not indicate ideological stance (Richardson,2007).

In other words if the victims are civilian transitive verbs can bring negativity to the subject behind the action and if the newspaper ideology is to protect "our agency". These verbs are

not properly backed by proper representation of the participants and circumstances associated with the process.

Going further it is another important task to analyze if the verbs used are in active form or in passivized form. There is no harm in choosing any of these forms unless the choice is made to hide/delete the agent which is very much frequent in news reports (Richardson, 2007). This systematic choice of *passivization* in a text is a very common approach that we come across in the print media all over the world. Van Dijk in his paper (1985), p.73 shows that news bias can even be expressed in structures of sentences, such as the use of active or passive constructions, which allow the journalist to express or suppress the agents of news acts from subject positions". Richardson (2007) also confirms that this type of transformations leads to "remove a sense of specificity and precision from the clause" (Richardson, 2007) in other words the *passivization* can help the writers to place the actor in a less dominant position in the news and their role is not very much visible in the action that happened even if the verbs are transitive. Therefore the writer choice of voice may also influence the representation of the action. In order to examine how these choices have been exercised the data set is checked for the frequency of passivized form of representation and the results are given in Table 12.

Table12	*Percentage of passive construction in the first paragraph of the reports*	
	2008	*2012*
The news international	75% (9/12)	100% (10/10)
Dawn	54.54 (6/11)	50% (5/10)

Here *The News International* has more tendencies towards the passivized form of representation while dawn is relatively neutral between passive and active construction. This means that when these choices are made the main actor is placed in a less dominant position even if the agent is not deleted. The data shows that on the basis of passivation choices *The News international* is frequently backgrounding the role of the main actor by placing it in a less dominant position in a clause and 100% passivized form shows more tendencies towards the positioning of putting the actor in a less dominant position.

c) Circumstances

In the headlines analysis we observed that the circumstances were predominantly provided by the use of prepositional phrases. The most common point that was noted is the use of prepositional phrases like "……*in US strikes, in drone strike/attack, in missile strike, in*

SWA/NWA/Orakzai N.Waziristan. Both the newspapers preferred to use "in" instead of grammatically logical *"by"* especially in the case of passivized process. This type of prepositional choices cannot be accidental rather a result of deliberate choices made at the editor and sub-editor level. Richardson regards this type of representation as highly ideological and inappropriate if the victims are not highlighted in a proper human way (Richardson. 207). These choices not only affect the participant but the process and the circumstances if the writer fails to use it properly. Dr. Bradley Wilson in his lecture (editor cannot be passive about the passive voice) ascertains that the use of passive voice weakens the clarity of the action that is described by the verb. The passive voice is not a grammatical error and it is sometime preferable. However, If not properly used passivized form makes the recipient (Victims) more visible in the action and the Subject (actor) is backgrounded and the question can be raised if the person being acted on is more important than the actor? Is this kind of representation did not affect the represented action and participants? Is the main actor still visible in the action?. If these answers are negative, then the passivized form serves some ideological stance of the editor/ reporter.

In the headline analysis the circumstances were predominantly provided by the use of inappropriate "in" instead of appropriate "by" however in the contents these choices are not that obvious as in most cases the use of "by" is used appropriately.

Furthermore, circumstantial information about time (when), place (where) and manner (how) were frequently used by both of these newspapers. The place was never mentioned in relation to Pakistan by the news international but dawn choose to mention locative circumstances in relation to Pakistan in four reports when the people killed were from al-Qaida or militants.

The circumstances about manner were related to how the drone fired missile and what area was hit but the main focus was on Waziristan and the border area. The reports mentioned the place where the target took place in relation Waziristan and the border area of Afghanistan. The circumstances created gives an impression that ideologically the writer is representing the people killed in relation to the Area where the militancy hub on the border of Afghanistan to justify the killing.

While digging for the circumstances associated with the process some very important points were found about the sources of information. Thus, the next step is to analyze the sources of information, their appearance in the text and how it is used to project certain point of views about the victims.

4.1.4 "Us" and "Them"; in terms of ideological square

The transitivity analysis of the headline pointed out that grammatical choices were in line with our definition of ideology. The representation of the participants, the way they were named and the circumstances associated with the process were mostly significant even with the ideological square prediction and there are clear indications that the role of US being an actor is clearly represented as "our side" and the whole warfare is represented as an extension of "war on terror". This implication of terrorism helps to justify the whole warfare which suits Pakistani establishment as an indirect ally in the war on terror.

However, the use of transitive verb like *'kill'* is extensively used to represent the action which does not accord with what Richardson (2007) elaborated in his analysis of Iraq war reporting by British media. He states that media use mostly intransitive verb to describe *'our'* agency.

Furthermore, in the headlines the role of Pakistani establishment and the individual identity and the human rights of the civilian people living in the area are totally missing. The USA and the militants are represented as the two participants in such a way that the USA being the main actor is not made explicit in the action and is either deleted or represented in terms of *metonymy*. However, victims are either represented in terms of number or in relation to terrorist group. If they were suspected to be militants or foreigners they were foregrounded and if they were not *"terrorists"* they were not represented as Pakistani civilian but people from the tribal area.

Richardson suggests that the way two sides are represented in any modern warfare "will be radically dichotomised" and are meant to serve "political as well as rhetorical ends". Media not only presents our side as hero but the victims are represented as villains and this construction makes it possible for *'us'* to get away with any moral superiority loss in treating the victims in inhuman way (Richardson, 2007). Exactly the same is evident in representation of Drone warfare at least in the headlines where the enemy is rhetorically constructed and dehumanized and the possibility or justification is provided to the treat them in inhuman way without any loss of the sense of moral superiority to "our" side. For instance: *Five 'Punjabi Taliban' killed in drone attacks.* Here the victims are represented not only killed by technology but they deserved to be killed as they belong to Punjabi Taliban group. This representation gives an impression that "our" action was morally correct as they were members of this "terrorist" group (Punjab is a province of Pakistan and Taliban is a militant group Taliban).

The headlines analysis had provided some basic insight about the ideological square reflection in representing drone warfare. When the body of the news reports was analyzed the use of the same rhetorical techniques were employed in the first paragraph of the body of the report. Nevertheless, in the contents the victims were foregrounded but they were mostly represented in relation to 'terrorist' groups. The representation of the civilian is not explicit in the first paragraph unless they are women and children. Enemy construction strategy is thoroughly used and the victims are described in terms of "terrorist" groups.

In short the responsibility of death, injuries and physical destruction is never attributed to the humans behind the technology and the actor is always drone or missile. The passive construction is very much in use in the first paragraph of the reports which provided an opportunity to delete the main actor but unlike the headlines this choice was not used to delete the agent .however the use of metonymy is as obvious as in the headlines. By using passive voice USA is not directly mentioned as the main actor but in terms of prepositional phrase like by us missile hit, by drone , by US pilotless spy planes. All these findings suggest that there is a clear indication that these reports are produced under the ideological influence and the ideology is not much different than the representation of War on terror in which the total focus is on the sophisticated and advance technology of USA and the victims are either kept unidentified or their bodies are totally burnt. Furthermore the role like any other modern war the access to the information is restricted and the journalists more or less have to rely on the information coming from the military sources.

 Furthermore, the content presented in the first paragraph are rarely been represented by a phrase such as "official sources say….", "according to army sources….". This type of representation according to (Lukin, 2004) this choice provide the writers to commit himself what has been said but keep himself away from *how factual this statements is*. On the other hand if the writers do not use this strategy and represent the action without these attributive quotes then they commit themselves with the factual position of what has represented. What is obvious here in the contents of the reports that during the first period (i.e. 2008) quotation phrases like: official sources said has been used only once by *The News International* and twice by *Dawn*. This tendency shows that they were fully committed with what has been represented. But in the second period there is a significant increase in quoting the official sources in the first paragraph of the reports. for instance: *The News International* 5 out of 10 times and the daily *Dawn* 6 out of ten times have phrased and mentioned the official sources

which compel us to say that during 20012 both these newspaper tried to keep themselves away from the factual position of the statement.

Furthermore, both these newspapers used official, local, militants sources but most of the time the official sources claims about the victims were represented as a mere fact in the headlines and the first paragraph always represent the official point of view about the action and it never happened for the local and official sources.

5) *Sources of information and relative amount of space given to report on injury to Civilians.*

The potential of tilt towards the representation of "us" in a good way and "them" in a bad way, indeed can be seen by analyzing the choices chosen to represent the participants and the process in reporting but the source of information and its use are also very important to study, the source of information and the allocation of space gives us more insight to human security issues.

Basically we can divide the source of information used by these newspapers in three main categories: i.e. official, Local, and militants group members. These sources are included in the body of the text but the official sources are more dominated and their view point about the object is visible in the headlines for instance: *Al-Qaeda man among six killed in US missile hit* (The News International, July 29, 2008). Here the mere presence of Al-Qaida being killed is represented as a fact and is foregrounded bringing it to the front. The first paragraph is reported as

Six people, including three children and a similar number of suspected foreign militants, were killed and four others were seriously injured when an unmanned US drone reportedly fired four hellfire missiles at Zyara Leeta village of South Waziristan Agency (SWA) in the wee hours of Monday…

Here the children are the clear victims but were not represented in the headlines as the official sources did not confirm it. The official sources are quoted as

Official sources based in Wana said they had heard that a senior al-Qaeda commander was killed in the missile attack, carried out by a US drone. "Someone staying in the Madrassah must be an important figure as three US drones were continuously flying over Wana, Azam Warsak and Birmal towns for the past several days," said a government official while pleading anonymity.

What we observe here that the children killing were represented in equation with suspected foreign militants. The official sources about the killing of alqaida is quoted twice even in the same paragraph.

The reports are quantified on the basis of amount of space given to the "high impact events" (those events in which the human damages are obvious) and the results are given in the following table.

Table 13a	The News International(2008)		
Year 2008	Sourcse	Word count	Object specified
July 29,	Multiple	886	al-Qaida
August 21	Multiple	527	suspected foreigners
September 05	Multiple	591	al-Qaida
September 13	Multiple	452	militants
October 04	Multiple	575	al-Qaida/Suspected Arabs
October 12	Multiple	239	Suspected militants
October 24	Multiple	559	militants
November 01	Multiple	731	al-Qaida/militants
November 15	Multiple	247	militants
November 23	Multiple	464	al-Qaida/militants
December 06	not identified	97	----------------------------
December 16	Multiple	375	militants=not identified,
Year 2012			
July 02	Multiple	191	unspecified
July 24	Multiple	274	suspected militants
August 19	Multiple	375	unspecified
August 23	Multiple	121	unspecified
September 02	unspecified	168	people
September 25	Local Tribesmen	107	unspecified
October 11	Local	142	Uzbek, Women injured
October 25	Multiple	216	woman
December 02	official	180	Suspected militants/ foreigner
December 10	multiple	251	people

Table 13b	Dawn		
Year 2008	sources	Word count	
July 29	Multiple	370	Suspected senior al-Qaida leader
August 31	Multiple	103	Arab Canadian
September 5	Multiple	105	foreigners
September 09	Multiple	319	Taliban commander
September 18	Multiple	477	People (low profile militants)
October 05	Multiple	278	People/foreigners

October 12	Multiple	96	people
October 24	Multiple	621	People/ foreigners
November 01		474	Al Qaeda militant
November 23		445	Al Qaeda operative Rashid Rauf
December 06		91	people
Year 2012	military		
2nd July, 2012	military	165	suspected militants
23rd July, 2012	military	123	suspected militants
19th August, 2012	military	473	militants
24th August, 2012	military	746	A key militant leader of the East Turkistan Movement (ETM
23rd September, 2012	military	111	suspected militant vehicle
11th October, 2012	military	265	suspected militants
24th October, 2012	military	163	people
1st December, 2012	military	254	Yemeni al Qaeda-linked fighter
9th December, 2012	military	127	senior al Qaeda commander
28th December, 2012	military	166	People/suspected militants

First impression of the statistics is that word count and al-Qaida being one of the objects is highly correlated. In other words the event gets more news space in which al-Qaida or militants are targeted

Furthermore during 2008 both these newspapers were using very diverse sources but in 2008 the military and official sources has been more focused and the space allocation has been significantly dropped in 2012.

From these tables two points are obvious: first relatively less amount of article apace has been given to reports on civilian injuries and secondly there is a significant drop in the amount of article space during 2012.

CHAPTER 5-RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

In this part of the thesis the results obtained by transitivity analysis of the media reports is discussed. The discussion is presented in two parts. Part one is about the finding of transitivity of headlines and second part constitute the finding obtained from the Content of the body of the news reports.

Transitivity analysis constitute that the way two sides are represented in media are always on two extremes. The overall finding of the choice of representations suggests that both the newspapers have totally ignored the term civilian in their headlines and only children and women are represented as the civilian. in both periods Out of 84 headlines only two represent victims as "women and children". it is also obvious that USA being an actor is either missing or mentioned by using metonym (US drone, US missile) while the victims have always been represented in relation to the groups like *al-Qaida, foreigners, Arabs, Taliban, militants and close relative of Taliban commander*. In most of the headlines the status of the people killed in the strikes has mentioned in number, as "12 killed", "20 killed" "seven died" …., So on.

Participant level representation in the headlines gives an impression that the war is between the two participants, technology vs. "Terrorists".

Both these newspaper during 2012 are relatively more frequent in deleting the main actor from the headlines which is a very significant change. The headlines during 2012 gives an impression that the people were killed, strikes were made and missile were fired but who took the action is totally ignored.

Coding for the selection of the verb construction shows that *The News International* has used high percentage of active clauses in their headline during 2008 which has been reversed in 2012 while *Dawn* has done the same but in the reverse order.

The passivized construction of verb process is not a bad grammatical choice if used properly. But when this option is taken up, the immediate effect it can bring is to facilitate the deletion of main actor and makes the whole event as an accident which is evident in the quantification of the headlines. The circumstances were mainly provided by preposition "in" instead of "by" as in passivized construction it makes a huge difference to use "in" instead of "by". The targeted area never mentioned in relation to Pakistan and gives an impression that the event took place outside Pakistan.

When the body of the news reports was analyzed the use of the same rhetorical techniques were employed in the first paragraph of the body of the report. Nevertheless, in the contents the victims were foregrounded but they were mostly represented in relation to 'terrorist' groups. The representation of the civilian is not explicit in the first paragraph unless they are women and children. Enemy construction strategy is thoroughly used and the victims are described in terms of "terrorist" groups. The responsibility of death, injuries and physical destruction is never attributed to the humans behind the technology and the actor is always

drone or missile. The passive construction is very much in use in the first paragraph of the reports which provided an opportunity to delete the main actor but unlike the headlines this choice was not used to delete the agent .however the use of metonymy is as obvious as in the headlines. By using passive voice USA is not directly mentioned as the main actor but in terms of prepositional phrase like by us missile hit, by drone , by US pilotless spy planes.

Furthermore, the content presented in the first paragraph are rarely been represented by a phrase such as "official sources say….", "according to army sources….". This type of representation according to (Lukin, 2003) provide the writers to commit himself what has been said but keep himself away from *how factual this statements is*. On the other hand if the writers do not use this strategy and represent the action without these attributive quotes then they commit themselves with the factual position of what has represented. What is obvious here in the contents of the reports that during the first period (i.e. 2008) quotation phrases like: official sources said has been used only once by *The News International* and twice by *Dawn*. This tendency shows that they were fully committed with what has been represented. But in the second period there is a significant increase in quoting the official sources in the first paragraph of the reports. for instance: *The News International* 5 out of 10 times and the daily *Dawn* 6 out of ten times have phrased and mentioned the official sources which compel us to say that during 20012 both these newspaper tried to keep themselves away from the factual position of the statement.

The analysis also shows that relatively less amount of article apace has been given to reports on civilian injuries and secondly there is a significant drop in the amount of article space during 2012.

CHAPTER 5- CONCLUSION

In applying Fairclough's s three-dimensional-approach the thesis has shown how Pakistani media have somehow contributed in promoting the warfare interests of United States and Pakistani Establishment, how the exercise of power reflects in the reporting and who is controlling the information flow. The grammatical choices used to frame the representation shows that these representation are not free from ideological bias. The civilian casualties and their identities are often compromised as the reporting gives more importance to al-Qaida and
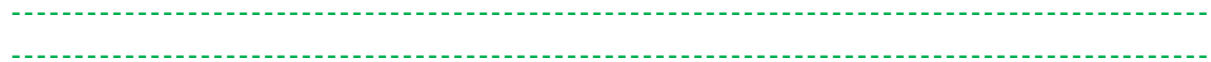
militants than civilian, the responsibility of killing people is attributed to technology and never to the people sitting in the control room.

The overall impression is that USA with the help of Pakistani establishment has succeeded to control media and there are enough evidences that the reporting is very much in line with the ideological square prediction. The way two participants are represented are radically dichotomised and have serious political as well as rhetorical ends. As The victims are consistently represented in relation to terrorists groups which bring serious threat to their individual human security issues.

Furthermore, during 2012 the significant increase in agent deletion and the decrease in newspaper space during 2012 suggest that media reporting is politically biased. In 2012 both the countries successfully recovered from their mutual hostility that was created due to the Killing of 24 Pakistani soldiers.

The analysis shows that reporting of drone war fare reporting have serious human security implication and are never portray in an appropriate manner.

By studying drone reporting this thesis suggest that media control and the use of UMV in war has some serious implication on human security issues.

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