

# **Anti-Americanism in Pakistan**

*An Analysis of Pakistani Elite Opinions Regarding the United  
States and Drone Strikes in 2010*

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Undergraduate Honors Thesis, Sanford School of Public Policy

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Durham, NC

2014

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I would like to sincerely thank my advisors Dr. Judith Kelley and Dr. Henry Brands for their constant encouragement and advice throughout this process. I am grateful for their patience that remained even after I changed my topic multiple times and battled various technical issues.

I would also like to thank the Sanford School of Public Policy for affording me this opportunity and for providing me with funding.

A special thank you to my parents Kathy and Ravi Sawh, my sister Eirika, and my friends Erin Russell and Erin Stidham for providing me with love, hugs, food, and emotional support.

Lastly, thank you, the reader, for taking the time to view my thesis.

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## **Abstract**

In 2010, 122 drone strikes occurred in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas of Pakistan, resulting in 849 civilian and militant casualties. Although the Pakistani government did little to protest against the use of drones, Pakistani elite opinion was complex in its response to both America and drone strikes. This paper argues that drone strikes made Pakistan's elite more critical of America and drones during this period, and that civilian casualties most strongly influenced these opinions. This paper analyzes the rhetoric used in hundreds of English and Urdu Pakistani newspaper articles in order to understand the sentiments of Pakistan's elite societal members toward America and the drone program. This paper finds that due to several influential factors, particularly civilian casualties, both drone strikes in Pakistan as well as sentiments toward America were discussed in negative, positive, and neutral terms, resulting in a highly multifaceted understanding of Pakistani elite opinion.

## **Introduction**

Largely since the end of the Bush Administration in 2008, MQ-1 Predator and MQ-9 Reaper drones—types of unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs)—have been increasingly used as a means of combating terrorism efforts in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) of Pakistan, particularly North and South Waziristan. While several nations have denounced America’s use of drones in Pakistan, understanding the opinions of Pakistan’s elite members of society is vital, as these individuals play a crucial role in United States-Pakistan relations and may have a greater understanding of the drone issue than do other Pakistani civilians. By qualitatively analyzing newspaper articles and reviewing scholarly literature, I hope to determine how drone strikes in Pakistan in 2010—the year with the largest number of drone strikes—affected the opinions of Pakistan’s elite toward both drone strikes as well as America. Additionally, I will analyze the factors that influenced these opinions in order to demonstrate the complexity of these responses.

In order to address these issues, this paper begins with my research question, followed by a literature review of anti-Americanism, the drone war, and past studies that analyzed Pakistani opinions of drones and America. I then present my hypotheses and methodology, followed by an explanation of the datasets and analyses of my findings. I conclude with my limitations and possible policy suggestions, as well as a summary of my findings. Ultimately, I argue that there are multiple factors that influence Pakistani elite opinion of America and drone strikes, and that these opinions are highly multifaceted.

## **Research Question**

In 2010, what were the reactions of Pakistan's elite regarding U.S. drone strikes in Pakistan, and what were the most significant factors that influenced these responses?

## **Background and Literature**

### *The Drone War*

On September 11, 2001, the political and legislative landscape of America dramatically changed. The attacks by Al-Qaeda on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon resulted in America embarking upon a mission to exterminate various terrorist organizations, particularly Al-Qaeda, leading to the creation of the “War on Terror.” In essence, the United States has sought to dismantle the operations of foreign terrorist organizations and political leaders or regimes supported by these organizations by utilizing various means, including, but not limited to, the military, diplomacy, law enforcement, economics, and the legal system.

The primary focus of the war has been the elimination of Islamic terrorist organizations such as Al-Qaeda and the Afghan Taliban, and thus Afghanistan has been a key battleground since 2001. With the removal of the Taliban from power in Afghanistan and the ongoing warfare with the United States, many militants escaped to the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) of Pakistan, and thus Pakistan became even more involved in the War on Terror than it had been previously (maps of both Pakistan and FATA may be found in Appendix A). The growing number of Taliban and Al-Qaeda militants in FATA, coupled with the refusal by various Pakistani tribal leaders to hand the militants over to the Pakistani government (as well as the Pakistani government’s inability and possibly unwillingness to seek these militants out), allowed FATA to become a sort of safe haven for terrorists, prompting the United States to pursue a military campaign in FATA (Bergen and Tiedemann 2009). Due to the presence of these terrorists, as well as opposition to U.S. ground troops in Pakistan, the Bush administration launched its first drone strike in Pakistan on June 19, 2004, killing prominent Afghan Taliban leader Nek Muhammad Wazir (Bergen and Tiedemann 2009). The United States soon had to expand its focus, as 2007 saw foreign militants and embittered tribesmen banding together to form the terrorist group Tehrik-i-



Taliban Pakistan (TTP), organized under the leadership of Baitullah Mehsud, whose operations continue to plague the citizens of Pakistan (Fair 2011). Unless it is specified otherwise, all mention of the Taliban in this thesis refers to the TTP and not to the Afghan Taliban.

As the threat imposed by the TTP, Al-Qaeda, and other terrorist organizations operating within Pakistan has grown, so has the number of drone strikes in Pakistan. Within Pakistan, there is a heated debate regarding America's use of drones: while some individuals support American drone strikes because they eliminate terrorist threats the Pakistani military has been unable to detain, others view the strikes as a violation of Pakistani sovereignty and drones as dangerous tools which harm civilians; still others may simultaneously hold all of these beliefs. These differences in opinions may be the result of multiple factors, including an individual's socioeconomic status, education level, gender, and geographic location within Pakistan (Bergen and Tiedemann 2010, The Economist 2013, NPR 2013). One thing of particular interest to note is that several studies indicate that there are large swaths of the Pakistani population who do not even know about the drone program due to a lack of education, limited media access, and other factors (Fair, Kaltenthaler, and Miller 2013, Pew Research Center 2010, Stanford and NYU 2012). Furthermore, it is important to note the distinction between supporting the U.S. drone program and holding a positive attitude toward America. For instance, an individual may believe that the drone program is effectively killing terrorists, but they may also detest the United States for violating Pakistani sovereignty. Likewise, disapproval of the use of drones does not necessarily equate to anti-Americanism, as the next section will illustrate.

### *Understanding Anti-Americanism in Pakistan*

Recent literature indicates that there are two main types of anti-Americanism: a hatred of America (what the United States *is*), and a hatred of American policies (what the United

States *does*), although the two have a close relationship and are often intertwined (Katzenstein and Keohane 2007). Hatred of America as a nation includes such things as a general resentment of American power, a disgust toward American culture, an overall distrust of the American government and its people, and a perception of America as “the enemy” (Chiozza 2009, Gould 2009, Katzenstein and Keohane 2007, Sciutto 2008). Conversely, those who are in opposition to America’s policies and global politics may feel threatened by America’s involvement in, as an example relevant to the content of this paper, Pakistani politics, such as America’s alliances with controversial government officials such as former Pakistani president Pervez Musharraf. America’s involvement in India-Pakistan relations is another example of a possible source of hostility toward America’s policies, as America’s use of drone strikes in Pakistan. Individuals who dislike U.S. policies may believe that the U.S. has violated Pakistani sovereignty over the course of history with harmful consequences, citing examples such as the pressure placed on Pakistan to join the “War on Terror” and the war’s subsequent effects on Pakistan’s economy, or the raid that killed Osama bin Laden (Chiozza 2009, Katzenstein and Keohane 2007, Sciutto 2008). Further issues may include the perceived abandonment of Pakistan by America after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in the 1980s and opposition to U.S. policies toward Pakistan’s nuclear program, as well as other factors.

In discussing whether or not drone strikes fuel anti-Americanism within Pakistan, it may be revealed that certain demographic groups of the population dislike differing aspects of the United States and its government, and that there are other factors that have more influence on anti-Americanism than do drone strikes. These factors may include a fear for one’s own cultural identity in the face of an American cultural onslaught, a dislike of America’s other policies (those not related to the drone program) and America’s strained political relationship with Pakistan, negative representations of America in the media, anti-

Israeli sentiments that are in opposition to America's support for Israel, the beliefs of radical Islam, cultural biases against America, and certain controversial events such as the killing of Osama Bin Laden and the pardoning of Raymond Allen Davis (Chiozza 2009, Gould 2009, Katzenstein and Keohane 2007, Markey 2013, Mazzetti 2013, Sciutto 2008). However, studies have been conducted that indicate drone strikes are a highly influential factor on Pakistani opinions of America, and these are discussed in the following section.

### *Pakistani Elite Opinion*

Pakistan's elite members of society are an amalgam of business, military, political, and religious leaders (Milam and Nelson 2013). These individuals represent the top ten percent of Pakistani society and the key determining factors for this echelon of society are literacy, level of education, wealth, and power. According to the CIA World Factbook, only 57 percent of Pakistan's population is literate (CIA 2014). While Urdu and English are the nation's two official languages, only eight percent of the population speak Urdu and eight percent speak English; both of these languages are utilized mostly by Pakistani business leaders and government officials, so there is likely to be some overlap with the percentages (CIA 2014). Furthermore, only about six percent of the Pakistani population hold Bachelor's Degrees, indicating that there are elites who are not as well-educated as their peers, yet it is still an important quality. (UNESCO 2009 p. 201) As approximately 26 percent of Pakistan's national income goes to the top ten percent of Pakistani society, these individuals are also fairly wealthy (World Bank 2011). As one portion of Pakistan's elite is political figures, there are many elite individuals who hold political traction and are able to influence policy decisions. Lastly, given that literacy and education rates for women are roughly half the rates for men and that the female workforce participation rate is only 24 percent, Pakistani elites also tend to be male (UNESCO 2009, p. 201, World Bank 2014) .

Previous studies have been conducted that examine Pakistani opinion of America and drone strikes, although these studies were not focused on 2010 alone. In one study, the researchers argued that the media content Pakistanis could access would be a key determinant of their opinions of drones (Fair, Kaltenthaler, and Miller 2014). This study looked at Urdu and English newspapers and found that English papers—read mostly by elites—were more likely to present arguments defending drone strikes, and thus readers of these newspapers were less critical of drones than were those who read the Urdu papers. This study also found that disliking America was positively correlated with disliking drone strikes, indicating there is a link between the two.

The literature makes evident the importance of other non-drone related events on United States-Pakistan relations. For example, the Raymond Davis affair and assassination of Osama Bin Laden in 2011 are two events referenced in the literature as causing hostility among all ranks of the Pakistani population toward America (Fair, Kaltenthaler, and Miller 2014). The literature also suggest that one cause of Pakistani disapproval of drone strikes is the idea that drone strikes create more terrorists than they eliminate (Fair, Kaltenthaler, and Miller 2014). Other causes include the notion that the strikes are being carried out without the approval of Pakistan's government—a violation of Pakistani sovereignty—and the general lack of information regarding who was targeted by a strike. Additionally, property damage and, in particular, civilian casualties are prominent factors that cause anti-Americanism and negative attitudes toward drones by all members of Pakistani society. However, proponents of drone strikes argue that the Pakistani military has not been successful in eliminating militants from the region, and drone strikes have effectively accomplished this over the past few years (Fair, Kaltenthaler, and Miller 2014). Thus, it can be argued that there is a need for America to continue drone strikes in Pakistan.

Unlike the previously established literature, this thesis focuses specifically on the year 2010 in order to provide a clear understanding of elite opinion during the time with the largest amount of drone activity. Furthermore, this paper illustrates the relationship between different influential factors and various responses toward two different subjects: America and drone strikes.

## **Hypotheses**

As aforementioned, the purpose of this thesis is to determine how drone strikes in Pakistan affect the opinions of Pakistan's elite members of society toward drone strikes and America, and what the relationship is between these responses and their underlying factors. While this paper presents a qualitative analysis of these factors and responses in order to understand the nuances of this topic, I have two hypotheses about what the data will reveal:

*Hypothesis 1: The majority of elite opinions regarding both drone strikes and America contain strong anti-American sentiments.*

This hypothesis draws on the literature from the previous section and polling data that indicate Pakistanis have a very unfavorable view of America. A Pew Research Center poll conducted over the past 15 years demonstrates that since the drone program's true beginning in 2008, favorable views of America have declined. In 2005, 27 percent of Pakistanis viewed America favorably; while 27 percent may not seem very large, 2010 only had 17 percent favorability, and favorability in 2011 had declined to 12 percent (Pew Research Center 2013). While there were other events occurring during this time that could have caused this decline in favorability, it is also highly likely that the "year of the drone" played a strong role.

This hypothesis relies on the two-pronged definition of anti-Americanism from the literature review, as it will only be supported if there is hatred for both America as well as its actions—in this instance, drone strikes. As the methodology will discuss, this thesis relies on coding Pakistani newspaper articles that mention drone strikes. One aspect of this is coding the articles for the sentiments elites express toward America and toward drone strikes—thereby treating them as separate entities—on a scale from "strongly negative" to "strongly positive" responses. In order for this hypothesis to have merit, the data must reflect that the percentage of "strongly negative" articles outweighs the percentage of all the other responses for both opinions of America and opinions of drones.

*Hypothesis 2: Civilian casualties will be the most prevalent influential factor on elite opinion.*

In the extant literature, multiple factors are referenced as being causes for Pakistani discussion of drone strikes. As no comprehensive polling data exists that examines the role of each of these factors, this thesis uses a qualitative approach to present a textured understanding of how these factors interact with Pakistani elite opinion of drone strikes and America. However, in both the literature as well as some basic polling statistics, civilian casualties are the most-often mentioned reason as to why Pakistanis are vocal about drone strikes. One particular survey found that 95% of Pakistanis believe drone strikes kill too many innocent civilians (Pew Research Center 2010, Fair, Kaltenthaler, and Millerjan 2014). This same survey found that only 56% of Pakistanis believe drone strikes are being carried out without the consent of the Pakistani government, thereby implying that violation of Pakistani sovereignty may not be as great a concern to Pakistani citizens as is civilian deaths. Due to the fact that elite opinions may differ from the opinions of the total Pakistani population, this hypothesis aims to discover whether or not civilian casualties are also the strongest influential factor on elite opinions, but argues that they are the most predominant factor.

While this will be discussed more fully in the methodology, coding articles requires recording the influential factors mentioned in each article. As with Hypothesis 1, if the articles mention civilian casualties more than any other factor, this hypothesis will be better supported.

## **Methodology**

As previously stated, this research aims to outline the various reactions from elite members of Pakistani society regarding U.S. drone strikes and the United States itself in 2010, as well as the most significant factors that influenced these responses. This thesis examines Pakistani newspaper articles published in 2010 that specifically mention drone strikes or U.S.-Pakistan relations; the selection of these articles as well as the year 2010 is discussed in greater detail in the section “Datasets and Data Selection.” The following is a discussion of the factors and responses I argue will be most prevalent in the data.

### *Factors*

Based on the literature, I argue that there are seven key factors that influence elite reactions to a drone strike; the following is a list of the factors the literature repeatedly mention and thus appear to be the most significant in eliciting an elite response; however, there may be additional factors that, due to the frequency of their occurrence, may need to be later included, and my final data will reflect this.

#### 1. Civilian casualties

As noted in Hypothesis 2, I am arguing that the number of civilian casualties that occur as a result of a strike will be the most predominant factor. A high number of civilian casualties may generate a negative response from Pakistani elite, which would increase the frequency of this factor in newspaper coverage of drone strikes. As the precision of drone strikes has increased, however, the drone data may also show that civilian casualties have subsequently declined, which may make this factor occur at a diminishing rate over time.

#### 2. Militant casualties

The number of militants killed by a strike may also be a highly occurring factor. If a drone strike is successful in eliminating a high-ranking target or numerous targets, the elite response may be largely positive. However, if the strike’s target escapes, responses may be



increasingly negative. Due to the fact that newspapers are not usually aware of which terrorist organization is being targeted by a strike at the time of reporting the strike, this factor does not examine which terrorist group was targeted.

### 3. Frequency

The rate at which drone strikes are occurring may prove to be a frequently listed factor in newspaper coverage. It is not unreasonable to assume that elite reactions will be more negative and possibly stronger if, for example, this is the fifth drone strike in three days as opposed to the first strike in two months.

### 4. Location

The location targeted by the drone strike may prove to be of crucial importance. For instance, targeting a school or mosque may elicit a much more negative response than, say, targeting a field in a mostly unpopulated area.

### 5. Local reactions

The responses by members of the local community or tribesmen to a drone strike may also prove to be one of the most significant factors. As Pakistan is a federal republic, its officials have a duty to address the concerns of Pakistani citizens. For example, if citizens are constantly fearful of circling drones and stage protests against America, officials will likely have at least some reaction to these protests.

### 6. Violation of Pakistani sovereignty

This is a factor elites are likely more concerned about than are members of the common public, as elites have a greater understanding of the legal system and what constitutes the violation of a nation's sovereignty. Drone strikes have been widely condemned by the international community and are viewed as illegal by many countries on the grounds that the Pakistani government has not given its consent for all strikes. Even if this

is not the case, many elites may still feel as though the United States is preventing Pakistan from being able to deal with the terrorists on its own terms.

### 7. Diplomatic context

Surrounding events mostly unrelated to a particular drone strike may also taint the reactions by elites. For example, if economic relations are poor between the United States and Pakistan and then the U.S. authorizes a strike within Pakistan, elites may be more aggravated than they would be if tensions were less high. This is why constructing a chronology of U.S.-Pakistan relations is of vital importance, and the development of this chronology is discussed in a later section of the methodology titled “Datasets and Data Selection.”

### *Responses*

This paper argues that elite opinions of drones and America are scaled. Furthermore, there is a difference between having an opinion about drones versus having an opinion about America. Table A below depicts the range of responses utilized in coding the articles.

**Table A. Pakistani Elite Opinion**

<b>Pakistani Elite Opinions of the United States of America</b>				
Strongly Negative	Slightly Negative	Neutral	Slightly Positive	Strongly Positive
<b>Pakistani Elite Opinions of the American Drone Program in Pakistan</b>				
Strongly Negative	Slightly Negative	Neutral	Slightly Positive	Strongly Positive

These responses, discussed in greater detail below, will be determined by whether the article itself contains a particular tone or uses certain emotive words, or if the author describes elite opinions in any of the following ways.

#### 1. Strongly Negative

Elite opinion is exceedingly critical of either America or of the drone program. Articles may contain a negative or even sarcastic tone, use a frequent amount of negative words, or may depict elites responding negatively. An example of this is the statement, “Drone strikes ruin civilian lives and the United States is an enemy to Pakistan.” The speaker uses words such as “ruin” and “enemy” to discuss drones and America, indicating strongly negative feelings toward these two entities.

## 2. Slightly Negative

For an article to be coded as only slightly negative, the merits of the drone program or of America must be mentioned and discussed, but the majority of the article contains a negative tinge. The sentence, “Drone strikes are successfully killing militants, but are killing too many civilians to be justifiable,” is an example of a slightly negative response to drone strikes.

## 3. Neutral

An article is considered to be neutral if two criteria are met: there is no conveyance of emotion by the author and there is no mention of an elite response. Since straight news articles may discuss elite reactions, this standard prevents the coding of all straight news articles as neutral. Neutral articles are those that contain statements such as, “A drone attack last night killed five militants and three civilians. Local tribesmen were later seen protesting in the streets against the attack.” While this statement allows for the coding of factors such as “militant casualties,” “civilian casualties,” and “local reactions,” the statement itself does not convey any particular emotion toward drone strikes and makes no mention of America.

## 4. Slightly Positive

Similar to slightly negative, this category relies on the article or discussed reaction being mostly positive, but with some mention of the negative aspect(s) of either America or drones. Take, for instance, the following statement: “Although drone attacks result in some

civilian casualties, their effectiveness at killing militants outweighs this cost.” Drone attacks are noted as having some negative consequences, but are ultimately deemed to be an effective tool in combating terrorism.

## 5. Strongly Positive

Strongly positive articles laud the United States or drones by using positive diction or tone. A strongly positive statement of America would be, for example, “A Pakistani government official emphasized that the United States is a friend to Pakistan, evidencing America’s recent assistance in the reconstruction of flood-affected areas.” The official uses the positive word “friend” to describe America, and also notes a positive action America has taken to help Pakistan.

### *Datasets and Data Selection*

The datasets consist of two parallel chronologies: one records events regarding United States-Pakistan relations and other notable events in Pakistan, while the other chronicles responses to drone strikes and the factors that may have influenced these responses. A largely qualitative analysis of newspaper articles was utilized in order to construct these chronologies and to understand the relationship between the influential factors and the responses to drone strikes and their context within United States-Pakistan relations. Newspaper coverage was utilized instead of other forms of media for several reasons. Firstly, as I daily newspapers, I was able to go through them day-by-day to construct my chronologies. Additionally, the demographic group I examined consists of elite members of Pakistani society. As these are primarily the only two groups who are proficient in English and Urdu and read these papers, I limited my sources to just English and Urdu newspapers in order to improve the accuracy of my data in targeting their responses alone (CIA 2014, InterMedia 2010). Furthermore, it was simply easier to read and code a large amount of news articles than it was to code audio or video clips from television sources.

Multiple sources of data were utilized: Pakistani English and Urdu newspaper articles located in the World News Connection Database and articles from two English-language newspapers, *The News International* and *The Nation*. I collected articles using the World News Connection Database by entering the following search term: "drone" or "United States" or "America" or "USA," limiting the articles to just my time frame of 2010 (which is discussed later), and restricting the articles to be firstly about Pakistan and secondly to be from Pakistani newspapers. All of the articles had either been written in Urdu or English, and the Urdu articles had been translated into English.

In addition to the World News Connection articles, articles from *The News International* and *The Nation* were used, as both of these newspapers have archived newspapers online within my time frame. For these newspapers, I went through them day-by-day to code the relevant articles, but utilized the same search terms listed previously when looking for articles.

The seven newspapers are all daily papers; Appendix B has a breakdown of each of the newspapers, listing information such as the newspapers' political views and readership. The majority of these newspapers are considered to be fairly conservative papers; it was not possible to access the archived articles of more liberal Pakistani newspapers, and thus these liberal newspapers could not be included. This is an unfortunate limitation of my data, as the recorded elite responses may only reflect those with conservative beliefs (InterMedia 2010).

My data was collected from what has been termed "the year of the drone": January 1, 2010 to December 31, 2010. 2010 had more drone strikes than any other year of the drone campaign—122 strikes—which is about one-third of the total number of drone attacks that have been launched—386 (National Security Program). In total, 572 articles were coded, using the time frame and search parameters to limit the number of articles.

This sample was derived by using drone data provided by the National Security Program at the New America Foundation (NAF). The Foundation’s dataset provides a comprehensive list of every recorded U.S. drone strike in Pakistan (by date), the location of each attack, an estimate of the casualties (militant, civilian, and/or unknown) from the attack, and which organization or individual was the target of the attack, if it is known. This data was collected using reports by major international wire services, leading regional newspapers, prominent South Asian and Middle Eastern TV networks, and Western media outlets (National Security Program). I opted to use the data provided by the New America Foundation rather than those provided by the United Nations or the Bureau of Investigative Journalism because, as a report published by the Center for Naval Analyses demonstrates, the statistics collected by the NAF represent a median value between the other two sources (Lewis 2014).

The following tables (B and C) are examples of each of the sets of data; the Appendix also contains a sample of the factors and responses dataset. This dataset includes additional information, such as an article’s URL, publishing newspaper, and date of publication, which has not been listed below in the interest of space.

**Table B. U.S.-Pakistan Relations and Other Notable Events Dataset Example**

<b>Event</b>	<b>Newspaper</b>	<b>Date of Publication</b>
Afghan Taliban claim they will murder detained US officials if Dr. Aafia Siddiqui is not released.	Nawa-e Waqt	2/5/2010

Aafia Siddiqui is a Pakistani woman who was found guilty by American courts of attempted murder (on behalf of Al-Qaeda). The case rallied Pakistanis together, resulting in protests against America for imprisoning her and attempts by the Pakistani government to

secure her release. In this instance, although United States officials were being threatened by the Afghan Taliban, Pakistani response to her conviction made this a notable event.

**Table C. Factors and Responses Dataset Example**

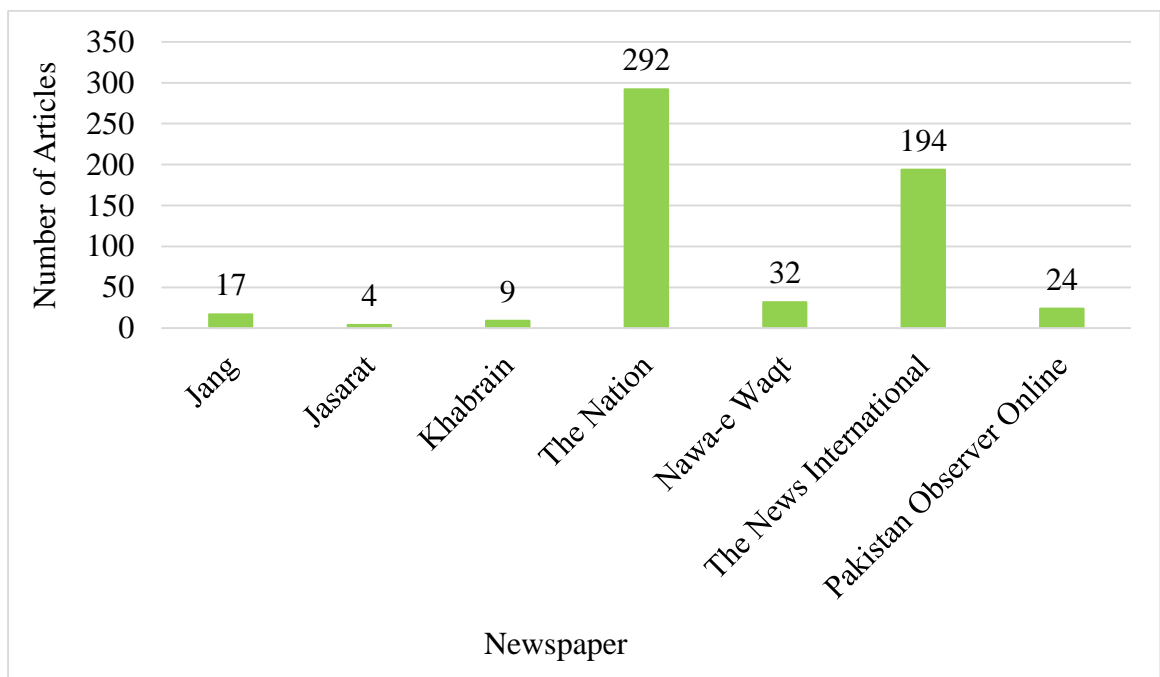
<b>Summary of Article</b>	<b>Elite Factor(s)</b>	<b>Elite Response(s)</b>
One resolution passed at the Nazaria-i-Pakistan Conference urged Pakistan’s government to use dialogue instead of military action in FATA. Members of the Conference argued that the US is violating Pakistani airspace and its “regional supremacy” and strongly condemned the US verdict of the Siddiqui case.	Violation of Pakistani sovereignty; diplomatic context	Strongly negative US; strongly negative drones

In this article, elites were noted to have been strongly critical of both the drone program and of the United States due to their belief that America violated Pakistan’s sovereignty and its airspace by carrying out a drone strike, coupled with their anger at America’s handling of Siddiqui’s case. This article not only indicates the impact a singular event can have on elite opinion, but also reiterates the importance of Siddiqui’s trial on United States-Pakistan relations. As Table C shows, articles were coded with multiple factors, and the statistical analysis of these factors reflects this.

## Breakdown of Data

As previously stated, 572 articles were coded and utilized. The factors and responses dataset consisted of 463 articles, while the chronology relating to United States-Pakistan relations was comprised of 109 articles. The following chart, Figure 1, depicts how many articles were taken from each newspaper in total:

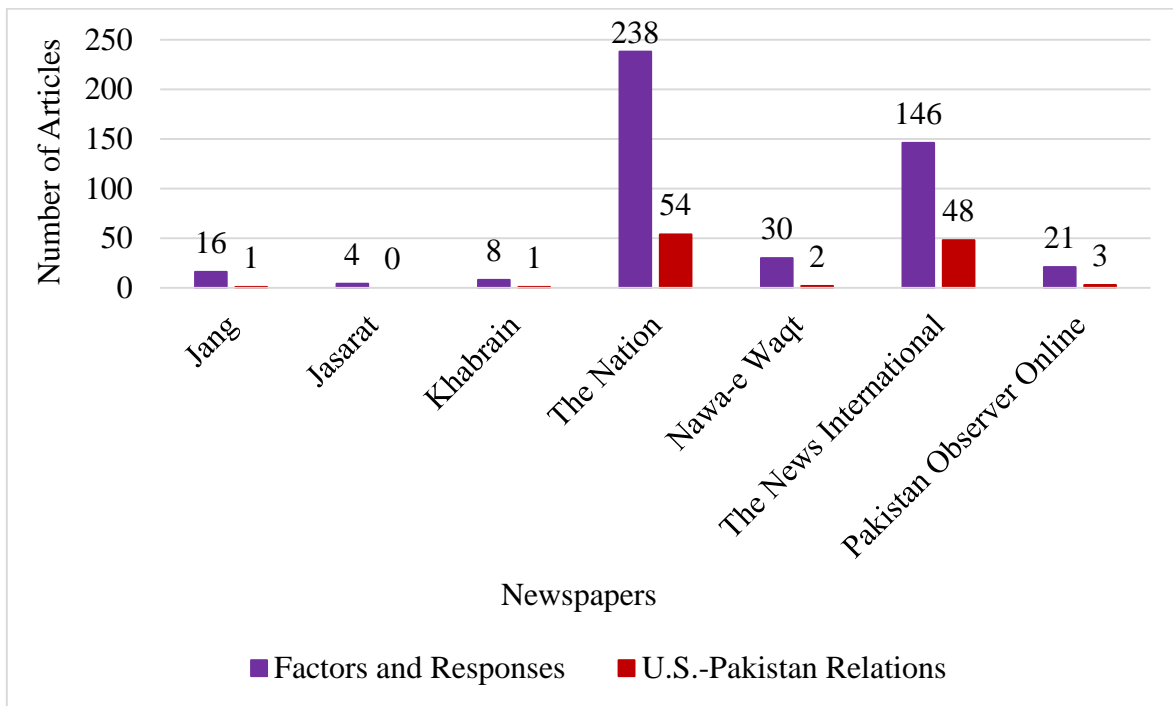
**Figure 1. Number of Articles per Newspaper**



86 articles were from the five newspapers in the World News Connection Database, and the remaining 486 articles were from *The Nation* and *The News International*. Figure 2 below is a breakdown of the datasets that illustrates the number of articles used from each newspaper.



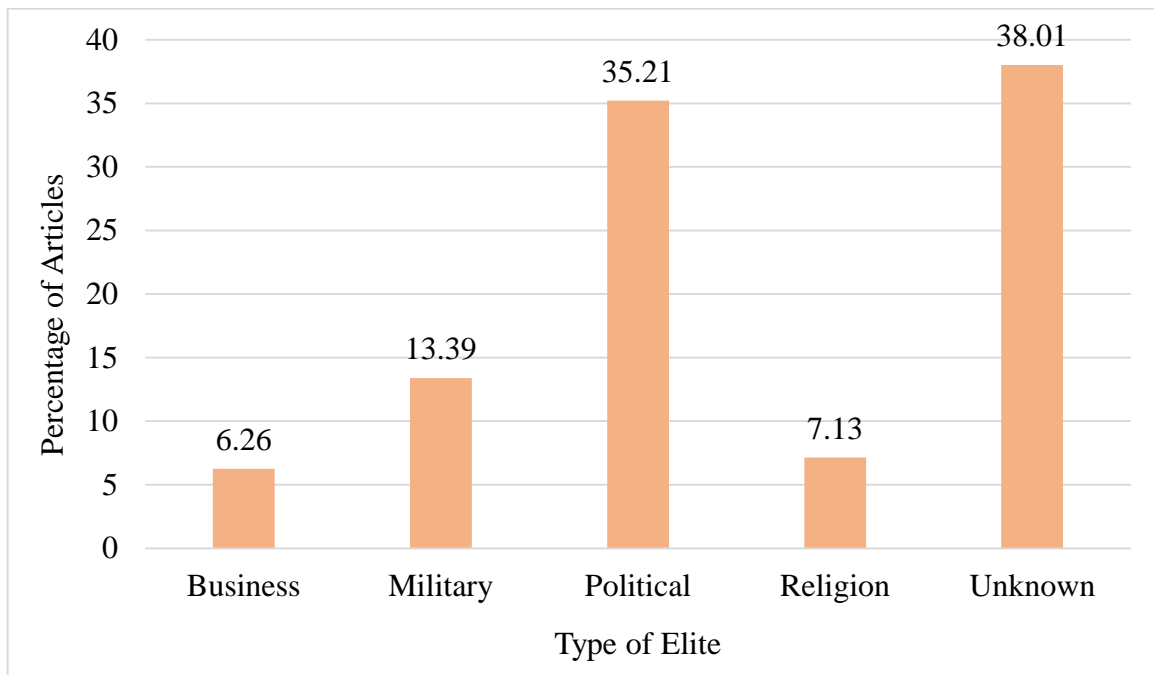
**Figure 2. Number of Articles per Newspaper by Dataset**



While there were not many articles related to U.S.-Pakistan relations in the five World News Connection Database newspapers, it was still useful to have those articles in order to compare which events were mentioned by multiple sources.

Figure 3 depicts the percentages of articles pertaining to a specific type of elite. For example, a little more than one third of the articles contained opinions held by Pakistan's political elite.

**Figure 3. Pakistani Elite Presence in Newspapers**



As the chart demonstrates, political elites had the strongest presence in the articles, with the exception of the “unknown” elites. Articles that did not mention a specific person, were straight news stories, or were editorials written by individuals whose backgrounds could not be identified were classified as “unknown.” Although there was a lack of information surrounding these individuals, their views were analyzed in the findings in order to provide a comparison with the identified elites’ opinions.

## Findings

### *Factors and Responses*

The following is a detailed analysis of information gleaned from the factors and responses dataset. There are multiple charts that depict a wide array of information, such as the relationship between factors and responses, factors and certain elite groups, and responses toward America versus responses toward drones. The first graph shown below, Figure 4, illustrates Pakistani elite sentiments toward both America and drone strikes.

**Figure 4. Pakistani Elite Responses to America and to Drone Strikes**

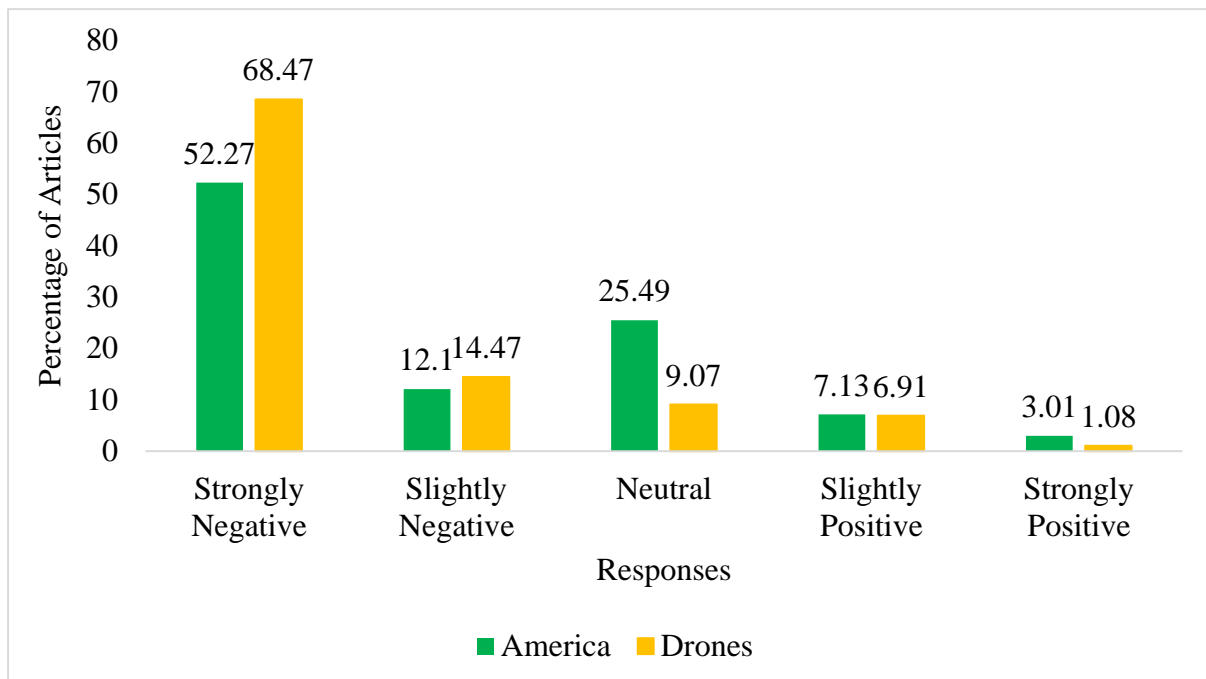


Figure 4 demonstrates that there were some differences in opinions regarding the United States and the drone policy; as mentioned in the literature review, there is a difference between hating America and hating America's actions. Some articles expressed the importance of forging a positive relationship with the United States on topics such as peace with India, yet simultaneously denounced the drone program or wished for drone technology to be transferred to the Pakistani military. Others were vehemently opposed to the drone program while silent about the United States and its role in the program. A comparison of the

responses toward America versus the responses toward drones was conducted and is discussed later in this section.

Interestingly, very few articles expressed exceedingly positive opinions of either drones or of America. However, there were more “strongly positive” opinions of America than there were of the drone program—approximately two percent more. This is largely due to the aid the United States sent in August of 2010 to assist flood victims, which is discussed further in the section titled “Diplomatic Context.”

There is a notably larger percentage of neutral opinions regarding America than regarding drones because while many articles may have specifically mentioned opinions about drone strikes, they may not have included opinions about America itself. While “slightly positive” sentiments were almost equal with regard to both America and drone strikes, there were roughly half as many “slightly positive” articles as there were “slightly negative” articles for both opinions of anti-Americanism. This indicates that although elites were weighing the positive and negative aspects of the drone program and of America, elites were more likely to conclude that the cons outweighed the pros.

Ultimately, Figure 4 strongly supports Hypothesis 1—that there would be overwhelmingly negative opinions of both America and drones. As Figure 4 shows, approximately 52 percent of the articles were extremely critical of the United States, and roughly 68 percent of the articles contained strongly negative opinions of drones. The basis for these negative opinions largely lies within the factors that were shown to be influential on elite opinion.

The following chart, Figure 5, illustrates the most prevalent factors contained in the articles. While all of the previously outlined factors are listed below, there are additional factors that proved to be just as, if not more, predominant than the aforementioned factors.

**Figure 5. Influential Factors on Pakistani Elite Opinion**

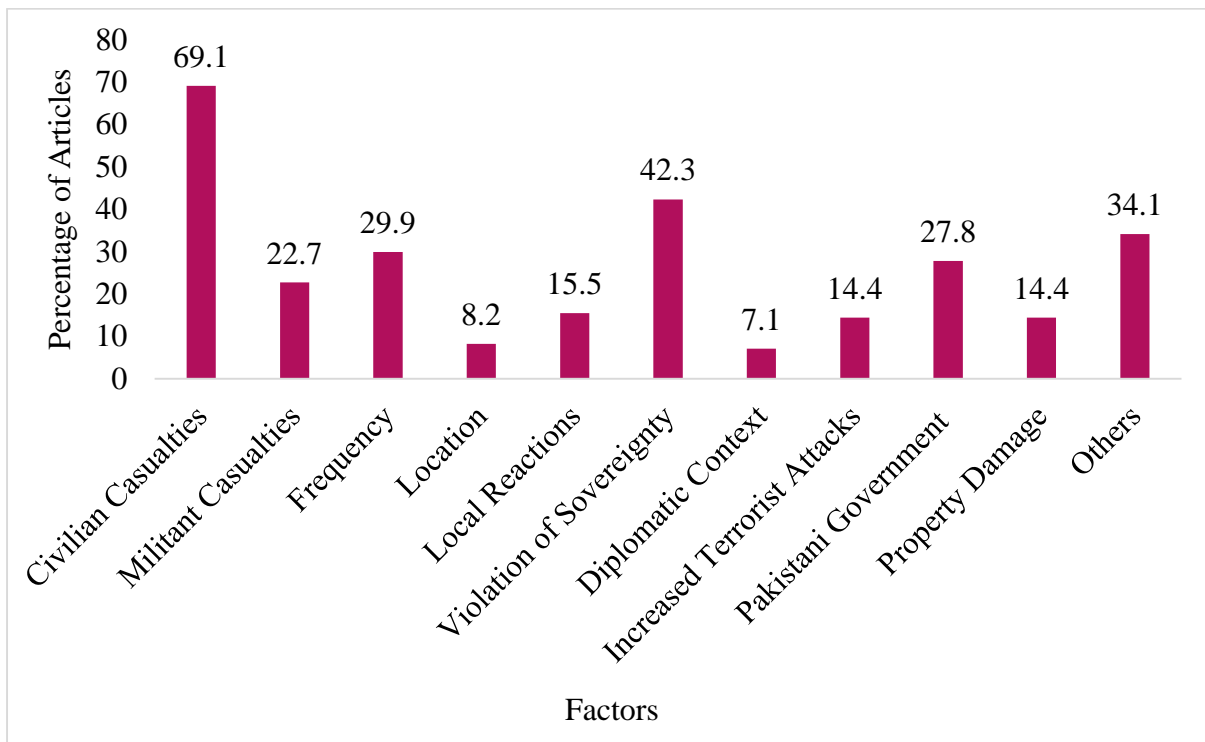


Figure 5 depicts the most prevalent factors in influencing elite opinion of both drones and America. As the graph shows, many of the initial seven factors I predicted to be influential were frequently mentioned in the articles. However, location and diplomatic context were two factors that were not particularly impactful. The lack of the latter articles conveys the idea that other matters pertaining to United States-Pakistan relations had little influence on individuals' opinions of drone strikes, as these events did not necessarily affect the drone program. Due to the fact that drone strikes occur in rural areas and villages, significant buildings were rarely targeted by strikes. However, homes were often targeted, leading to extensive property damage that often forced civilians into destitution or toward life in refugee camps; thus, property damage became a recurring factor for which I had not previously accounted.

The concept that drone strikes fuel terrorism also became a prominent factor. As mentioned in the literature, this is the idea that drone strikes and terrorist attacks have a cyclical nature: as drone strikes kill civilians and disrupt daily life, individuals become

incensed and take up arms against America and Pakistan, often in the form of suicide attacks. Individuals who are already members of terrorist organizations may also view the drone strikes as further reason to increase the frequency of their attacks. Belief in this cycle may shed light on why the “militant casualties” factor was somewhat low; Pakistanis may simply not believe that drone strikes are effective. What is interesting here, however, is that these terrorist attacks mostly affect the Pakistani people as opposed to American civilians or military personnel in the area, and thus the significance of Pakistan’s involvement in the drone program is key.

One of the things that became most apparent quite quickly was the fact that elite opinion was very different from Pakistani government action. While individual members of Pakistan’s Parliament may have, for instance, spoken out against the use of drones, Pakistan’s collective government frequently did nothing to prevent drone strikes from occurring. This led to an unexpected response that, while not directly about America, was so frequent it could not be ignored: a strongly negative opinion of Pakistan’s government due to its allowance of the drone program. Approximately 28 percent of the articles displayed anger or resentment toward Pakistan’s government for either tacitly allowing the drone strikes to continue to occur, colluding with America to carry out the strikes, lying to the Pakistani people about its involvement, or a combination of all three. Due to this hatred of the drone program and the Pakistani government’s role in the program, individuals had further reason to participate in terrorist attacks against Pakistan.

Militant casualties were mentioned in almost one quarter of the articles, indicating that there are those who acknowledge the success the drone program has had in targeting terrorists. However, the frequency with which drone strikes occur was discussed in about seven percent more articles, implying that although strikes may be effective, their direct, negative effect on civilian life is of greater importance. Surprisingly, however, local anger

and protests were not mentioned as frequently as other factors, indicating that elites are not particularly influenced by the opinions of those who are socially far removed from them.

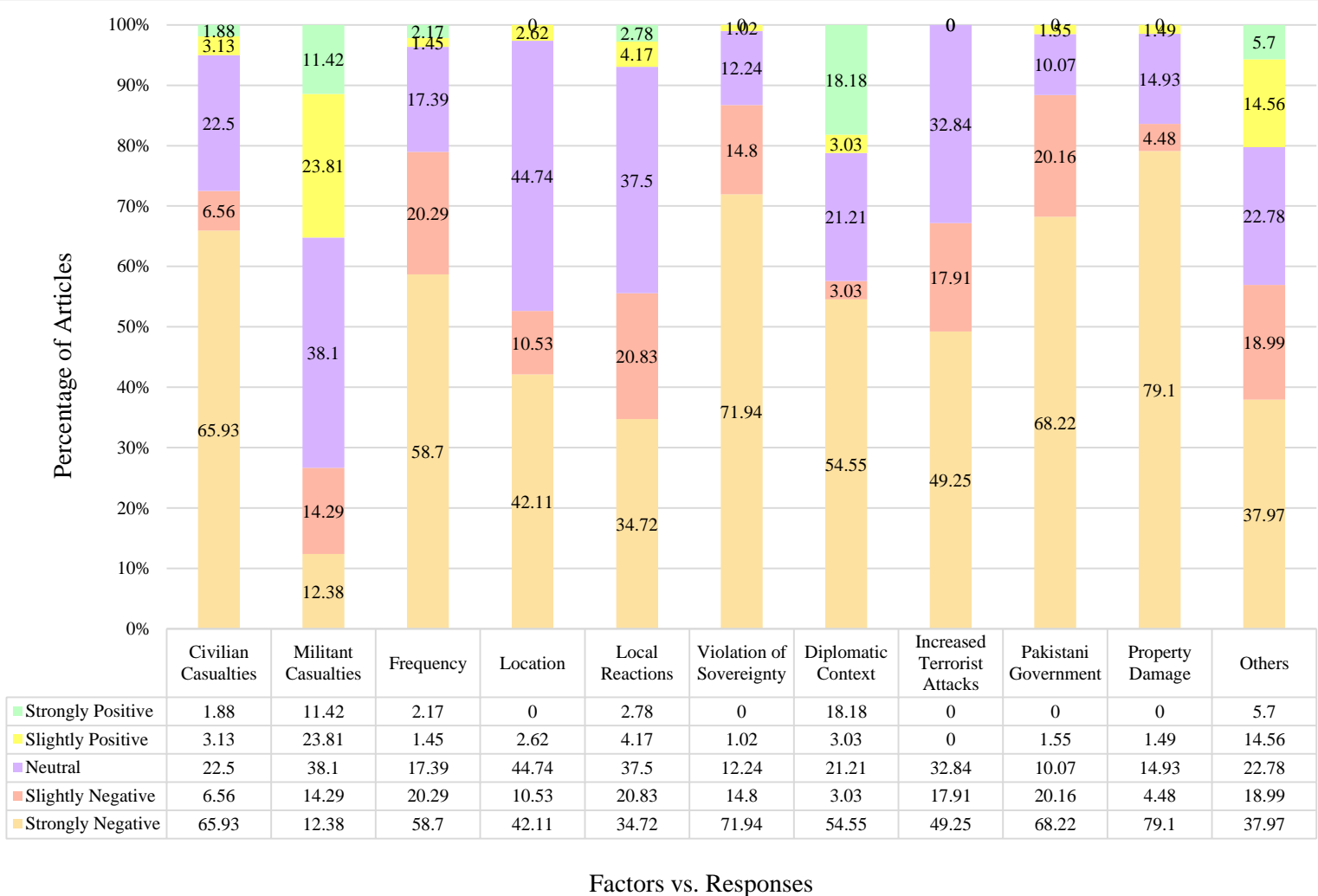
The violation of Pakistani sovereignty was the second-most prominent factor. However, while many Pakistanis do believe that the United States carries out drone strikes without the consent of the Pakistani government, there are also those who hold a desire for Pakistani control over the drone program, rather than American control. Thus, violation of Pakistani sovereignty does not necessarily equate to a unanimous disapproval of the drone program.

Other factors that were occasionally mentioned include the psychological damage associated with drones, the belief that the drone program is a way to target Muslims, and the economic impact of drone strikes on Pakistani livelihoods. Additionally, some articles mentioned the idea that the drone program is extremely detrimental to the peace process between Pakistan and terrorist organizations in the region; this idea is closely linked to the concept of the drone-terrorist cycle. While individually these additional factors were not included in a large percentage of the articles coded, there was a wide variety of these factors, demonstrating the complexity of drone strikes.

As predicted, civilian casualties were the most commonly mentioned factor. This lends credence to Hypothesis 2, that civilian casualties are the most predominant influential factor on elite opinions. While the vast majority of articles specifically mentioned the high civilian casualty rate, the actual civilian casualty rate for 2010 was surprisingly low—only 1.88 percent (National Security Program). The overestimation of civilian deaths may be due to misreporting by the Pakistani press in order to generate anger over the drone program or may simply be due to the difficulty in accurately counting civilian and militant deaths in the immediate aftermath of a strike. Whatever the reason, civilian deaths appear to be the most prevalent factor, and thus gaining Pakistani support for the drone program requires addressing this issue.

The following two charts, Figures 6 and 7, examine the relationships between the influential factors and the elite responses; they are separated into two graphs to demonstrate the differences between opinions of drones and opinions of America.

**Figure 6. Comparison of Factors and Responses (United States)**

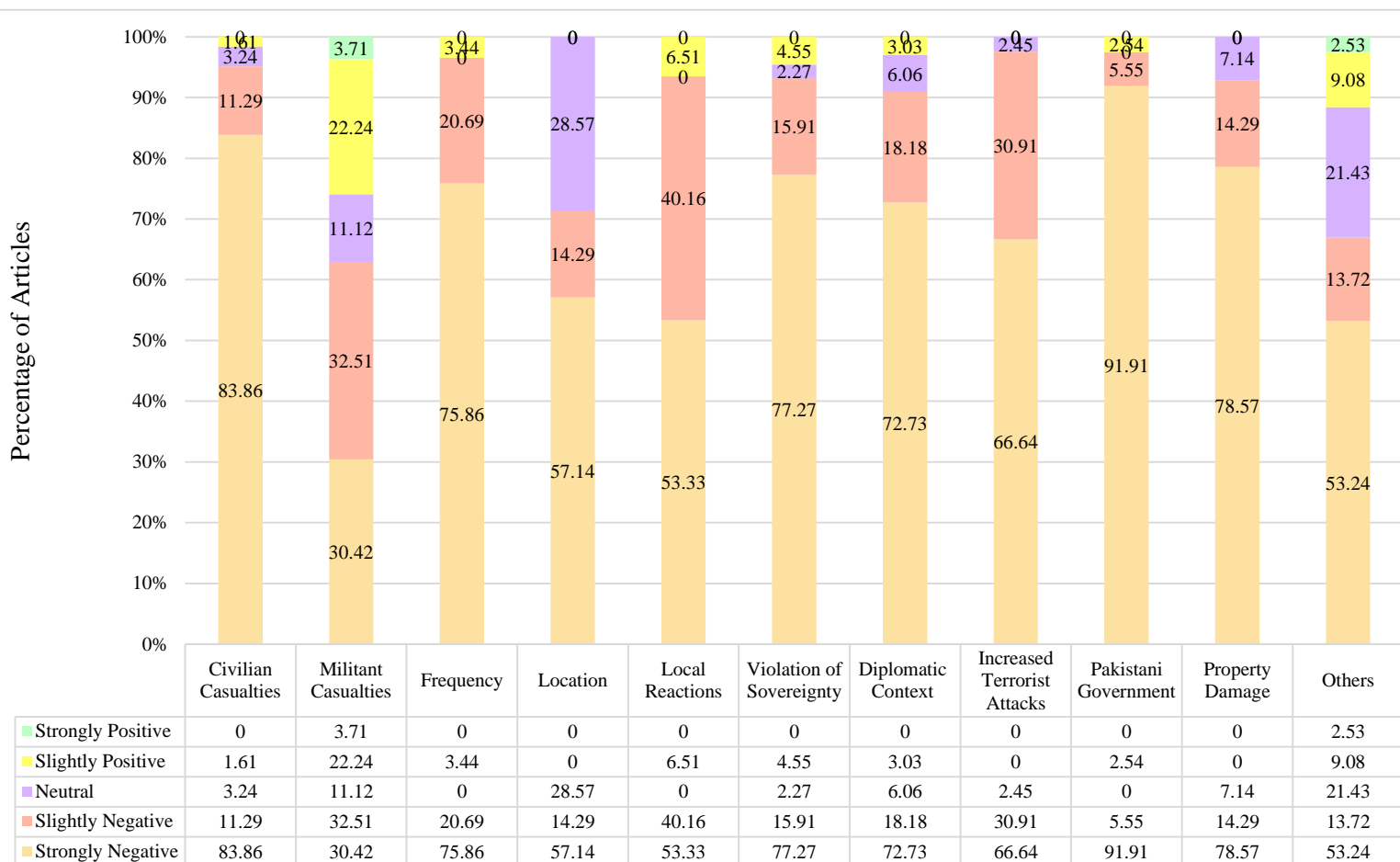


This graph presents a comparison of elite opinions regarding the United States with the factors that influenced these opinions. For example, the percentage of articles that expressed strongly negative opinions of America while also mentioning civilian casualties was 65.93 percent. Almost all of the factors had the strongest presence in strongly negative articles, with a few exceptions. “Militant casualties,” “location,” and “local reactions” were coded more often in neutral articles than in strongly negative articles. This result is likely due to these articles discussing drone strikes rather than the United States, and thus they would



have been coded as being neutral with regard to elite opinion of America. However, it is important to note that while the percentages of “strongly negative” and “neutral” articles were very similar for both “location” and “local reactions,” “militant casualties” had more articles associated with positive sentiments than with negative opinions. In fact, there were almost nine percent more positive articles than negative ones with regard to “militant casualties.” Articles that mentioned militant casualties were more likely than other articles to discuss the effectiveness of the drone program in targeting terrorists, and were therefore more likely to portray the United States in a positive light. The following graph, Figure 7, examines the relationship between factors and the elite responses toward drone strikes.

**Figure 7. Comparison of Factors and Responses (Drones)**

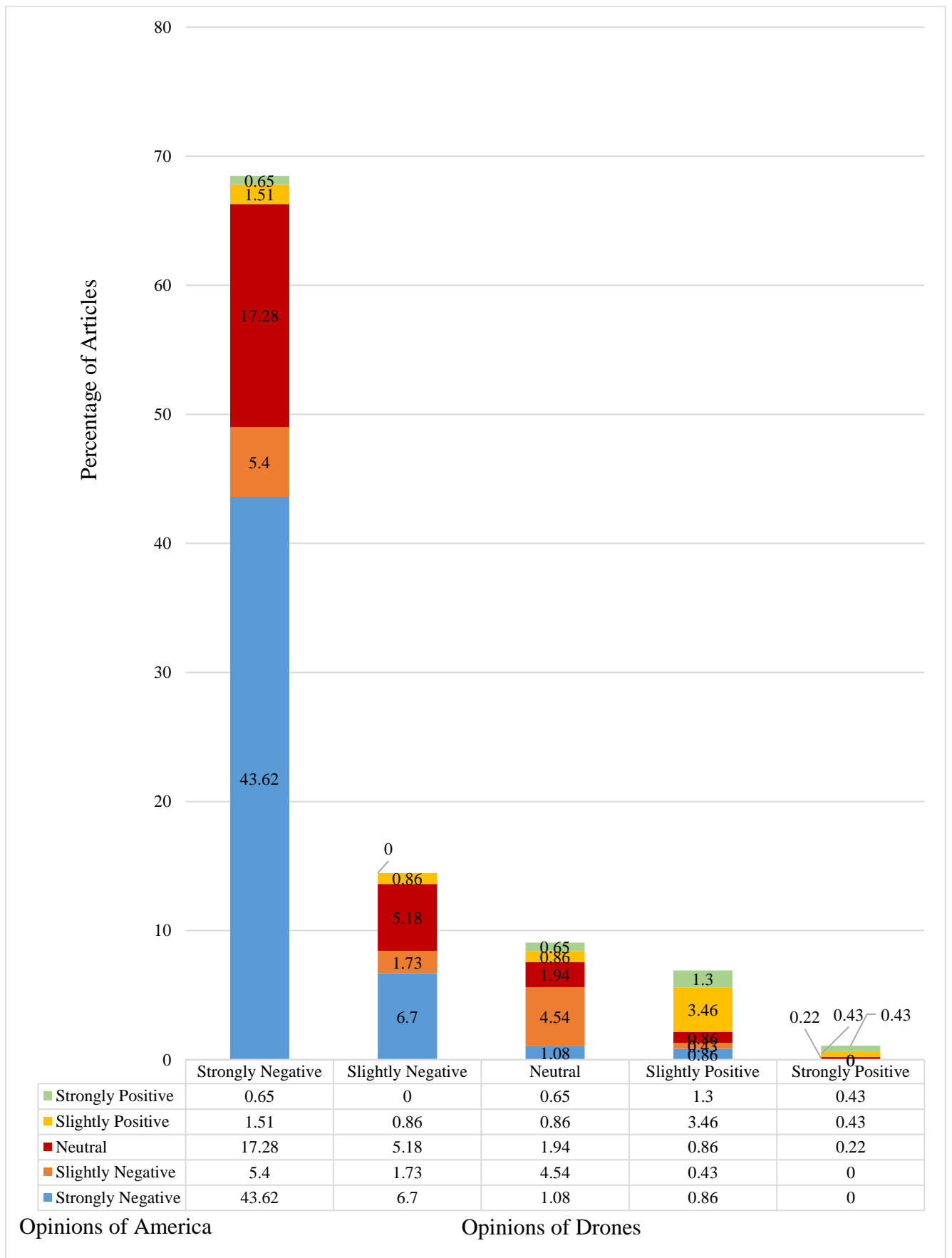


Factors vs. Responses

Just as in Figure 6, the majority of responses for each factor were strongly negative. However, certain factors received even larger concentrations of strongly negative responses, and overall the data suggest that the responses held toward drone strikes are more polar than the opinions of America, as there are far less neutral articles in Figure 7 than in Figure 6. Additionally, the number of “slightly negative” articles increased for all but two factors—“Pakistani government” and “others”—which are two factors that experienced an increase in “strongly negative” opinions. Unlike with the data presented in Figure 6, Figure 7 illustrates that there are very few factors that are associated with positive opinions of drone strikes. While “militant casualties” was coded as “slightly positive” in an impressive 22.24 percent of the articles in which it appeared, there is a noticeably negative difference in the number of

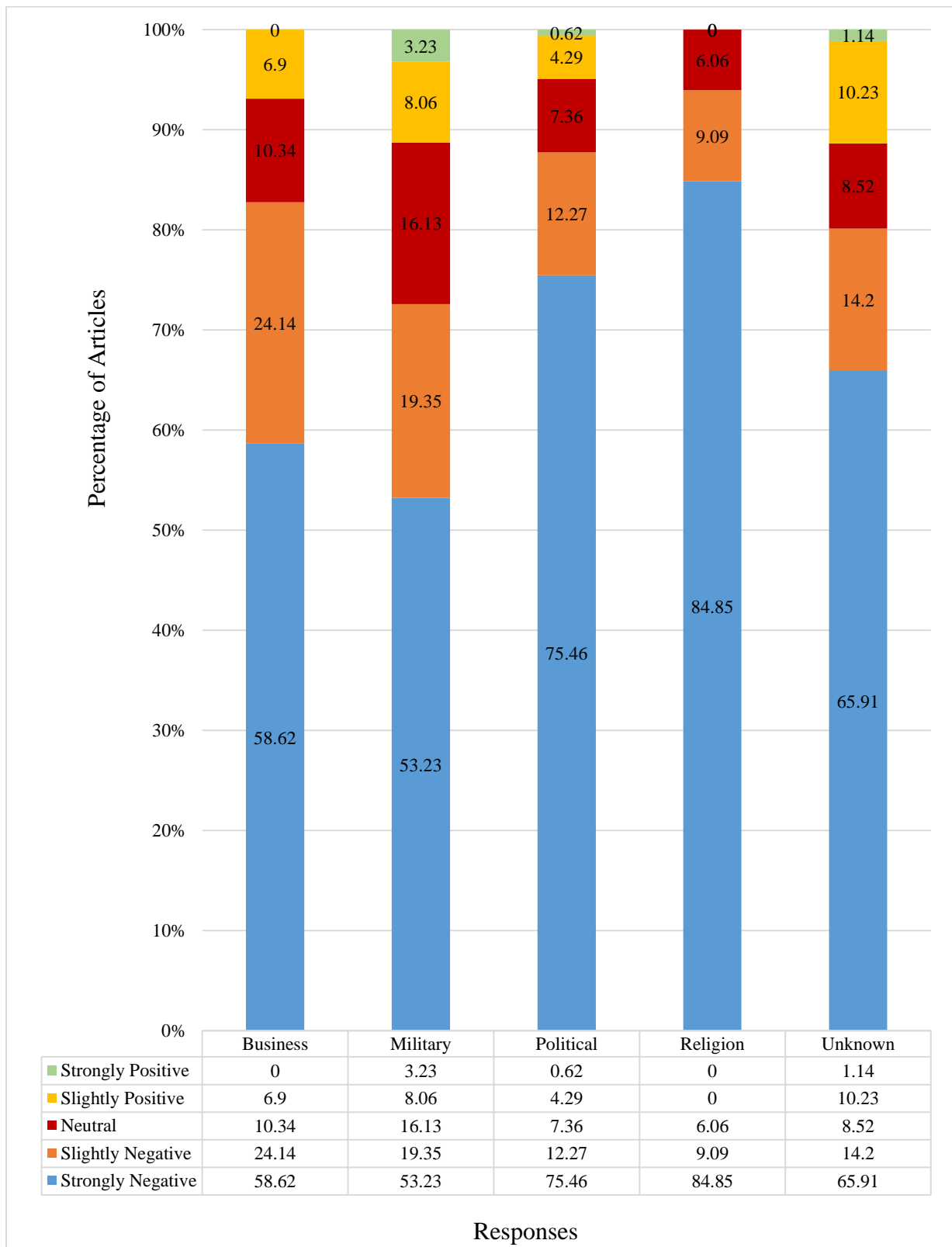
“strongly positive” articles in which the factor occurred in comparison to Figure 6. On the whole, only “militant casualties” and “others” were coded in “strongly positive” articles with regard to opinions of drone strikes. The “others” found in “strongly positive” articles were mostly the same factor—the transference of drone technology to the Pakistani military. In these articles, drone technology was praised for its effectiveness, but there was a desire to have the technology be utilized by Pakistanis rather than Americans. In such an instance, the article was often coded as demonstrating a “strongly positive” opinion of drones, with the opinion of America varying depending on the article in question. In order to better understand the relationship between Pakistani elite opinion of America and elite opinion of drones, Figure 8 below provides comparisons of each response.

**Figure 8. Comparison of Responses (Drones vs. America)**



In the table provided in Figure 8, opinions of drones are at the top and opinions of America are along the left side. This table depicts all of the possible combinations of elite responses to America and drones, even if some of those combinations were not found in the data. Given the previous support for Hypothesis 1 demonstrated by Figure 4, it is unsurprising that approximately 44 percent of the articles—the largest concentration by far—were determined as being “strongly negative” with regard to both the United States and the drone program. Interestingly, a rather slim portion of the articles were coded as being “strongly positive” with regard to America and “strongly negative” with regard to drones. Although these articles accounted for less than one percent of the total number of articles, it is interesting that there were articles that expressed these opinions. These articles were largely related to the flood relief America sent in August of 2010; while elites may not have approved of the drone program, they were appreciative of the aid sent by America. Conversely, no articles expressed “strongly positive” sentiments toward America while also containing “strongly negative” opinions of the drone program. Also of interest is the roughly 17 percent of articles coded as being “neutral” with regard to opinions of America yet “strongly negative” with regard to opinions of drones. In the majority of these instances, the article denounced the drone program specifically, yet made no mention of America itself. Many of these articles expressed the opinions of Pakistan’s political elite; the following graph, Figure 9, depicts the opinions held by each sect within Pakistan’s elite society toward drone strikes.

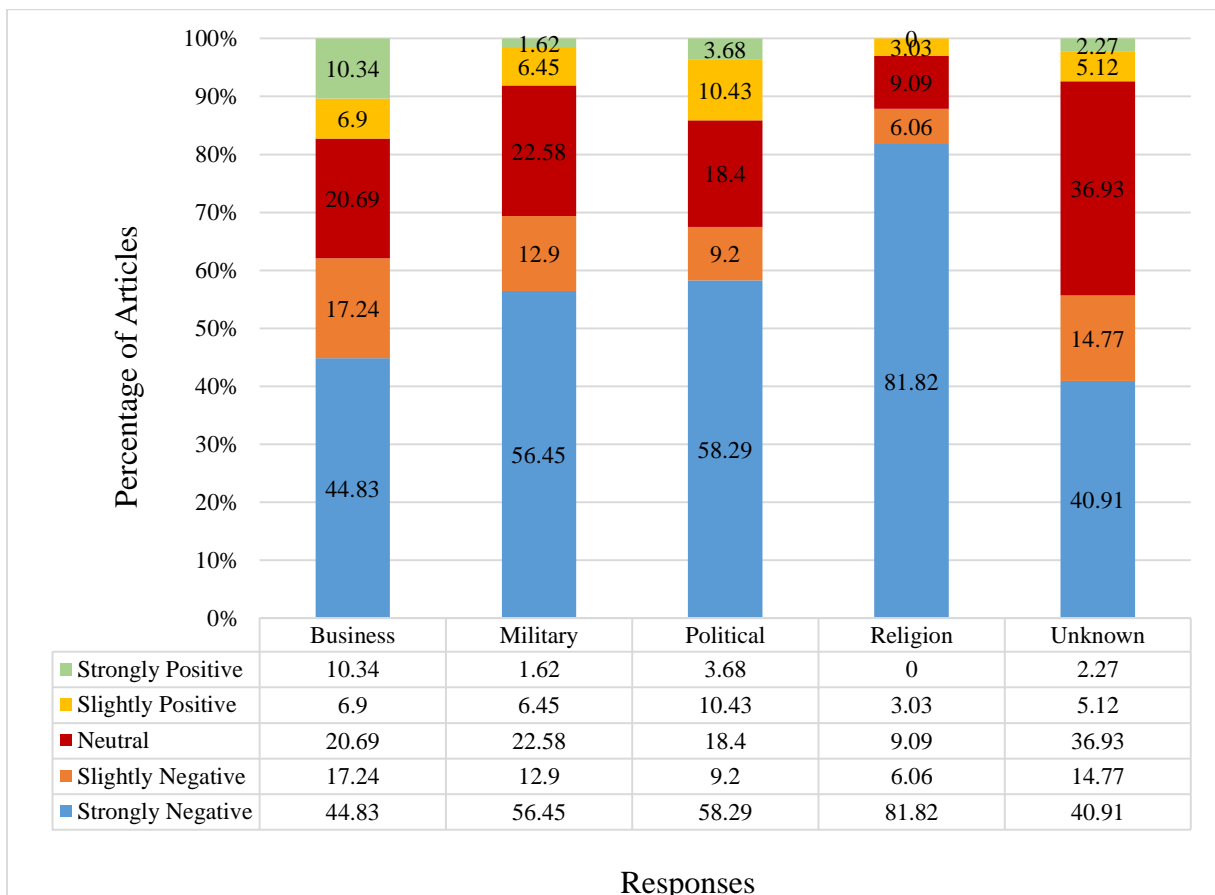
**Figure 9. Pakistani Elite Opinion of Drones by Elite Group**



Regardless of the category of elite, the predominant opinion of drones was “strongly negative.” Pakistan’s religious elite held the largest percentage of “strongly negative”

opinions, although they made up the second-smallest group within Pakistan’s elite. These elites were the only sect to not hold any positive views of the drone program. Such a response is largely due to the close relationship most religious leaders have with the community, as their opinions may be influenced by the impact drones have on civilian life. Pakistan’s military elite, however, had the largest concentration of “strongly positive” articles, which was once again due to the viewpoint that drone technology is effective but should be given to the Pakistani military. The “unknown” members of Pakistan’s elite held the largest share of “slightly positive” articles, indicating that these individuals may have been more willing than others to recognize the virtues of the drone program upon reflecting on the pros and cons of drone strikes. While all elite opinion was mostly “strongly negative” with regard to drone strikes, the responses toward America were somewhat more varied, as illustrated by Figure 10.

**Figure 10. Pakistani Elite Opinion of America by Elite Group**



As Figures 9 and 10 illustrate, Pakistan's religious leaders contain the most "strongly negative" opinions of both America and drones, although they hold some "slightly positive" views of America. However, the other four groups of elites expressed greater positive sentiments toward America, particularly Pakistan's business elite. Given that these individuals' power is tied to their wealth, it is not hard to imagine that they have done some business in America, as it is the world's largest economy. Having positive business relations in America would make it more likely for these individuals to view America more highly than would other members of Pakistan's elite, as these businessmen are directly profiting from their relationship with America. Members of Pakistan's military or political elite groups, however, held somewhat less positive views of America than did Pakistan's business elite. These individuals likely have a close working relationship with members of the American government and military, which may not necessarily be a positive experience. The idea that America is violating Pakistan's sovereignty by forcing the drone program upon it is shared by many of Pakistan's military and political elite, as depicted in Figure 11. If this is indeed the situation and Pakistani elites are unwillingly complying with American policies, this would create quite a bit of tension for these members of Pakistani society. As Figure 11 illustrates, though, there are many other factors influencing these groups' opinions of America and drone strikes.



**Figure 11. Influential Factors on Pakistani Elite Opinion by Elite Group**

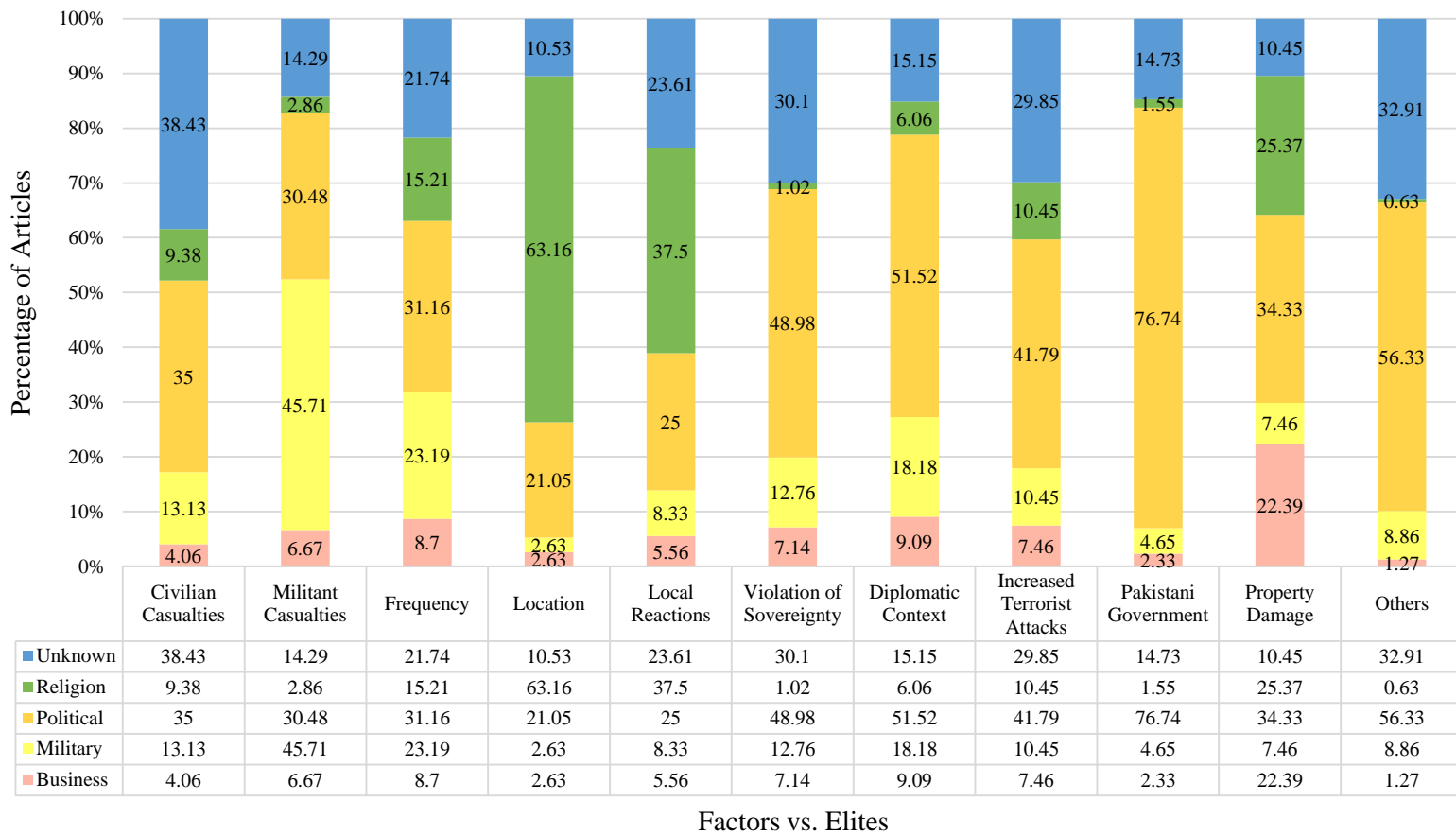


Figure 11 presents a breakdown of the influential factors based on the number of Pakistani elites who referenced these factors in the articles. As the largest elite group in the dataset, it is unsurprising that the political elite are highly represented in each factor. What is surprising about this particular group, however, is that they have the largest share of articles pertaining to the factor “Pakistani government.” As this factor is largely a complaint against the Pakistani government for allowing the drone program to occur, it is interesting that the factor is most widely cited by members of Pakistan’s government. While there were a few instances in which the same individual was being quoted in multiple articles, such as the well-known anti-drone politician Imran Khan, this indicates that there is some disconnect between Pakistan’s government as a whole and some of its individual members. However, it

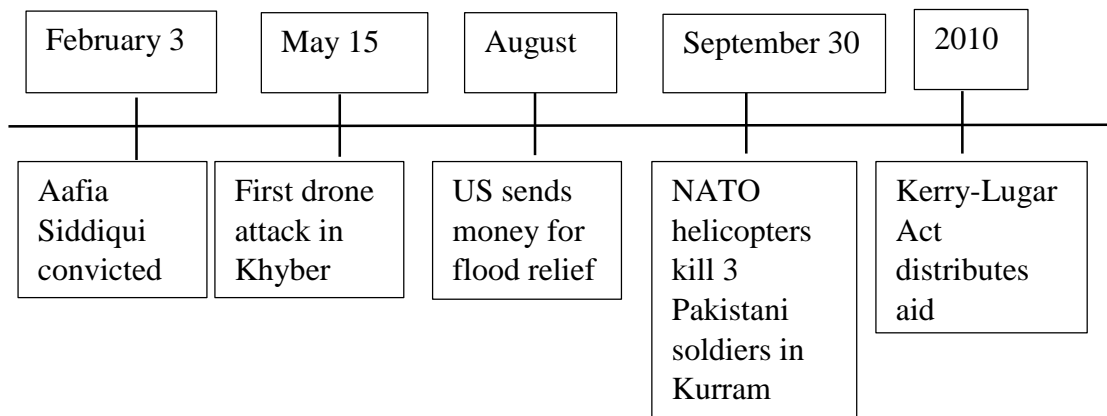
may also be that some Pakistani politicians are attempting to curry local favor by outwardly denouncing the drone program and the Pakistani government, but are actually cooperating with the United States to carry out drone strikes.

The factors most cited by Pakistan's religious, business, and military elites are not particularly surprising, but they are still interesting to discuss. For instance, "location" was the most significant factor for religious elites. The locations usually mentioned by the articles as being targets for strikes were mosques or meeting places for local tribal leaders (the majority of whom are devoutly religious), both of which are of strong significance for religious leaders. Attacks on these locations were often viewed by the religious elite as being direct attacks on Muslims, which indicates why this was a particularly important factor to them. Business leaders' most cited factor was "property damage"; if these individuals owned a building that was destroyed by a strike, it makes logical sense that this would generate a response. Lastly, "militant casualties" was the most cited factor by Pakistan's military elite. These individuals care a great deal about the effectiveness of the drone program, as killing militants is part of their profession. It is therefore unsurprising that military elites cited "militant casualties" far more times than did any other elite group. However, diplomatic context was a factor cited numerous times by all of the elite groups, indicating its overall importance, and is ultimately a particularly interesting factor that is discussed below.

#### *Diplomatic Context*

While Figure 5 illustrates that only 7.1 percent of the articles contained some reference to United States-Pakistan relations outside of drone strikes, diplomatic context is still an important factor to examine in order to fully understand the two nations' relationship at the time. Although the full chronology contained other events as well, the following timeline, Figure 12, depicts the events that were mentioned by at least three different newspapers and were cited in the articles pertaining to the factors and responses:

**Figure 12. Timeline of U.S.-Pakistan Relations**



The majority of these events negatively impacted Pakistani opinion of either drones or of America, which is analyzed in greater detail later in this section. The following discussion outlines each of the five events in chronological order.

Aafia Siddiqui is a Pakistani woman who provided financial support for Al-Qaeda and had plans to commit an act of terror in the United States. After attempting to shoot members of the FBI and U.S. Army while in captivity on July 17, 2008, she was held in the United States to await a trial. On February 3, 2010 American jurors found her guilty of various charges, including attempted murder and armed assault. Her conviction was met with public outcry in Pakistan, as many Pakistanis viewed her as both innocent and a victim of abuse at the hands of the U.S. military. Even Pakistani Prime Minister Yusuf Gilani attempted to secure her release, but to no avail.

On May 15, 2010, the first drone strike in the Khyber region of Pakistan occurred. Many Pakistanis were upset that the drone program was becoming more expansive, as almost all of the previous drone attacks had occurred in North and South Waziristan. For many elites, this event was seen as the United States further encroaching on Pakistani sovereignty, leaving many embittered with the United States.

Pakistan experienced severe floods in late July of 2010 that affected approximately 20 million Pakistanis. Almost 2,000 lives were lost, more than 1.89 million homes were

destroyed, and billions of dollars' worth of damage was incurred. In the following months, the United States provided the greatest amount of aid to Pakistan of any country involved in the relief effort, supplying helicopters, rescue personnel, and millions of dollars (Singapore Red Cross 2010). While there was some criticism that the Pakistani government was slow to rescue minority groups and did not provide sufficient aid to low-income individuals, many Pakistanis seemed appreciative of the aid sent by the United States.

Cross-border attacks often occur when helicopters pursuing militants in Afghanistan cross into Pakistani airspace; such was the case on September 30, 2010. U.S.-led NATO helicopters, following a group of Afghani militants, unknowingly crossed into the Pakistani region Kurram. According to Pakistani officials, Pakistani border patrol agents fired warning shots at the helicopters, indicating that they had crossed into Pakistan. According to the United States and NATO, the soldiers were firing directly at the helicopters, and thus they returned fire. Ultimately, three Pakistani soldiers were killed and three others were wounded. In response to this attack, the Pakistani government temporarily closed NATO supply lines to Afghanistan, and many were incensed at both America and NATO (Roggio 2010).

The Enhanced Partnership with Pakistan Act of 2009, or the Kerry-Lugar Act, was signed into law on October 15, 2009. The Act allowed America to provide 1.5 billion dollars in non-military aid annually from 2010 to 2014 to Pakistan. While one purpose of the bill was to foster positive relations between the United States and Pakistan, some Pakistanis protested against the Act. One stipulation to receive the aid was that the Pakistani military would have to seek a more active role in targeting militants; many of Pakistan's elites viewed this requirement as a violation of Pakistan's sovereignty, and did not want to accept the aid (Masood 2009, Shah 2010). However, Pakistani President Asif Zardari chose to receive the funds, leaving many Pakistanis particularly angry with their president.

For the majority of these five events, as well as the other events that were mentioned in the articles, elite opinions of America and drones were largely negative. The relationship between each event and opinions of America and drones are presented in the following two graphs, Figures 13 and 14.

**Figure 13. Impact of Diplomatic Events on Elite Opinions of America**

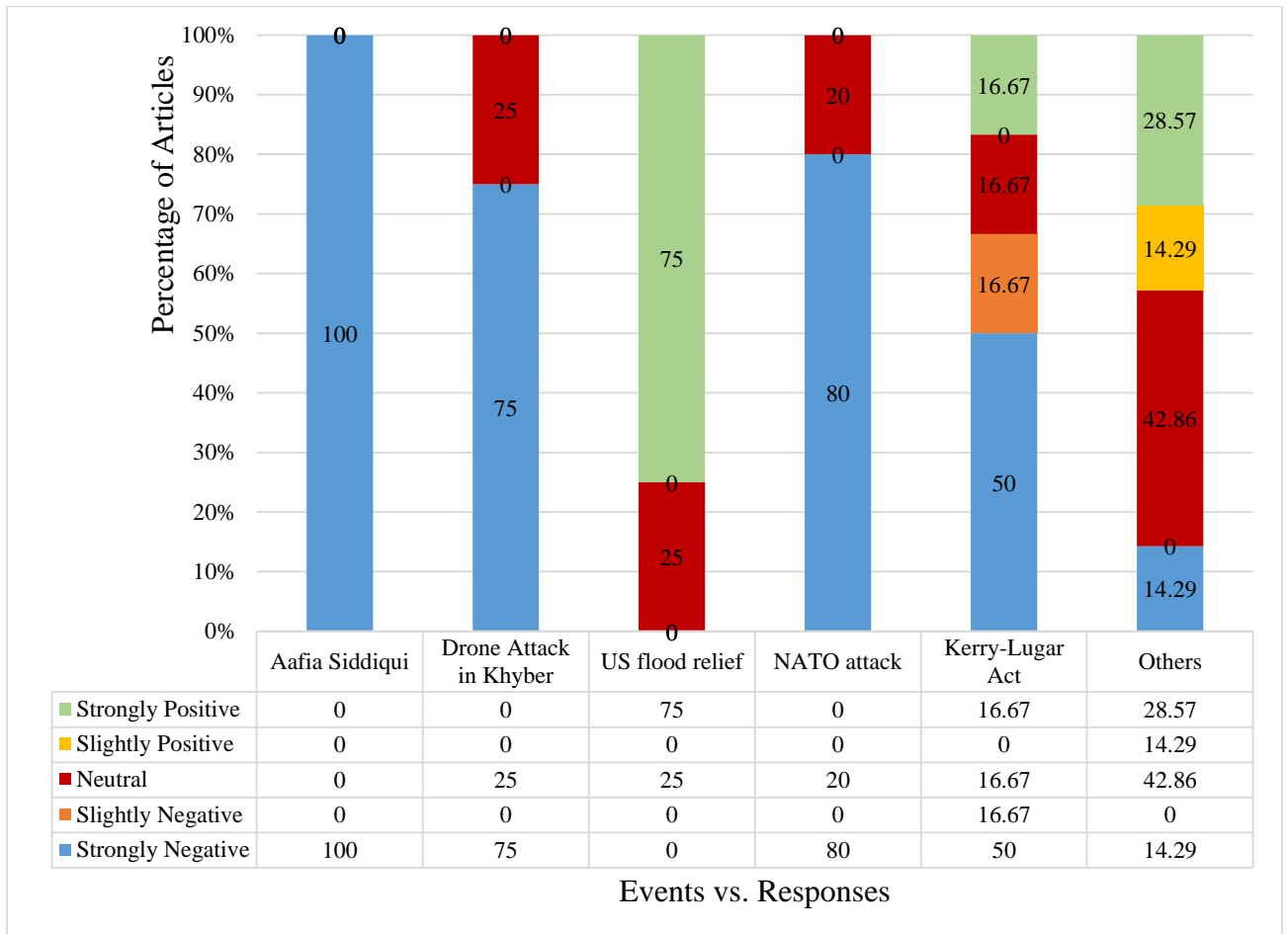
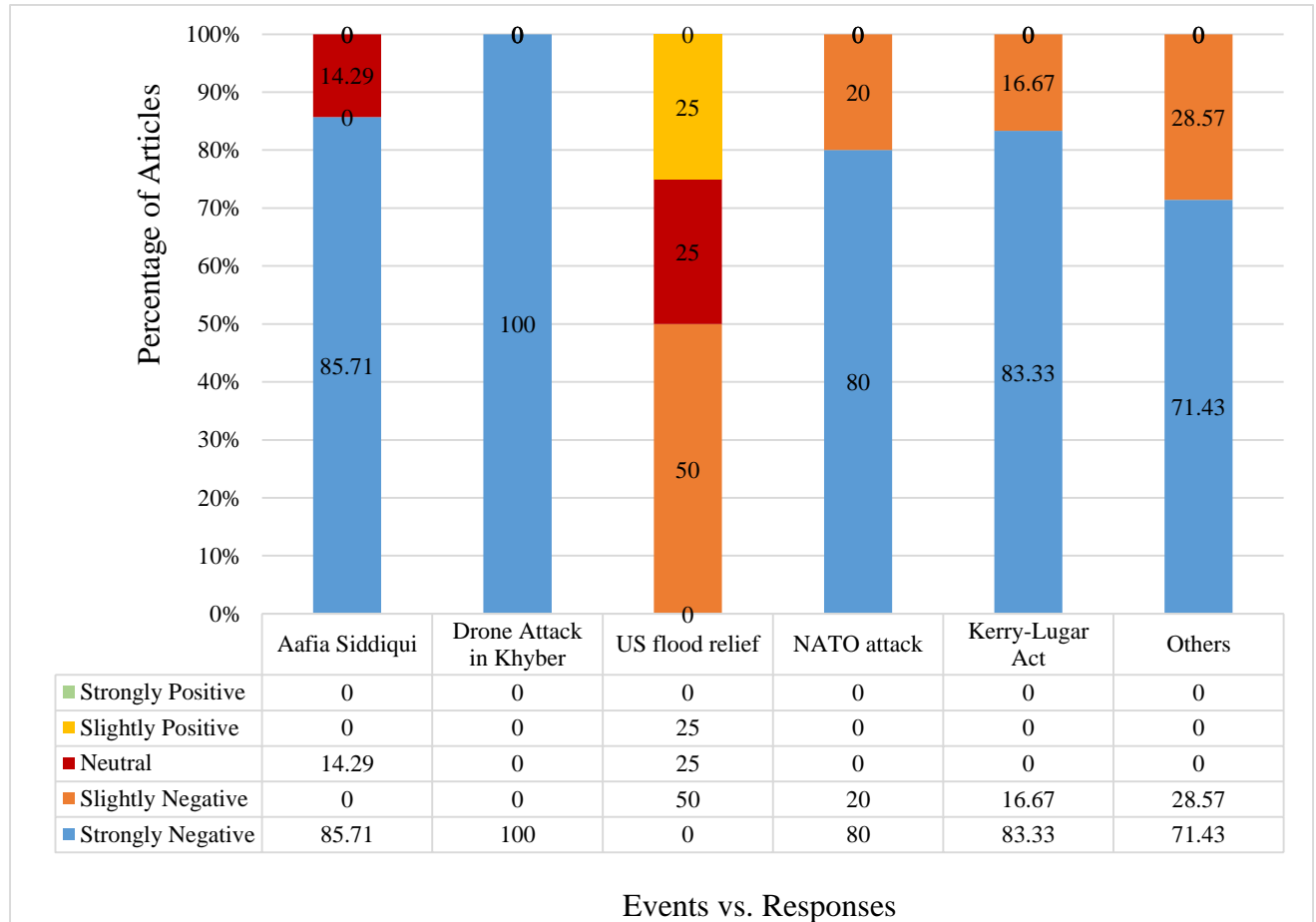


Figure 13 demonstrates elite opinions of America based on each of the events previously outlined. As the graph shows, most of the elite reactions were “strongly negative.” However, the aid the U.S. provided for flood relief was largely met with positive reactions, and thus during this time there was a small lessening of anti-American sentiments. The Kerry-Lugar Act also experienced some positive reactions, which were expressed by individuals who either valued U.S. monetary aid or appreciated the fact that accepting the aid meant Pakistan would have to take a stronger stance against terrorists. However, as Figure 14

demonstrates, the presence of drone strikes during these events was met with almost unanimously negative reactions.

**Figure 14. Impact of Diplomatic Events on Elite Opinions of Drones**



When compared to Figure 13, it becomes quite clear that positive attitudes toward America do not equate to positive attitudes toward drones. Due to the fact that drone strikes were occurring at the time of these largely negative events, Pakistani elite opinion of drones was further soured. The reactions of elites at the time of U.S. flood relief are particularly interesting, as there are very few positive reactions. Many of the articles expressed anger that although the United States was providing useful aid, the drone program was still being carried out and taking a further toll on Pakistani lives. In totality, diplomatic context had a largely negative effect on elite opinions of drones.

## **Limitations**

Due to my methodology, I cannot establish any statistically significant correlations between the factors and responses, as I have no way of accurately determining whether or not one particular factor directly impacted an opinion while controlling for the other factors. Additionally, my dataset is comprised of mostly conservative Pakistani newspapers, which may have caused my data to be somewhat skewed. This may have presented itself as an overestimation in the number of negative opinions of America or the drone program, as these attitudes are most closely associated with conservative opinions in Pakistan.

## **Conclusion**

### *Policy Implications*

Unfortunately, there are few measures the United States can take to reduce these angry sentiments. The data suggest that the only options that would be successful in achieving this would be to either stop the drone program completely or to transfer the drone technology to Pakistan's military. However, neither of these are viable options, as the United States government and military highly value the drone program for its success in killing militants. Furthermore, as drone technology has become more precise, the number of civilian deaths has steadily declined, which has made the drone program seem even more favorable than, for example, sending in ground troops.

### *Points for Further Research*

One point for further research is a deeper examination of militant casualties and elite opinions of those casualties. It would be interesting to determine whether or not elite opinions change depending on which terrorist organization is being targeted. For example, if the target is a foreign militant, elites might feel less strongly than they would if the target was a Pakistani. Another item worth researching is how the United States weighs the costs and benefits of engendering ill-will. The United States government is well aware of the fact that the drone program is not viewed favorably by the Pakistani people, yet it continues to utilize drone strikes. It would be interesting to discover at what point the United States would be willing to stop the drone program; such a discovery might assist Pakistani elites in their attempts to halt the program. Alternatively, it could be useful to examine whether there are additional measures not mentioned in this paper that the United States could take to alleviate Pakistani hostility to the drone program.



### *Summary of Findings*

The United States drone program in Pakistan in 2010 was largely met with criticism by Pakistan's elites, although there were some proponents of the program. Opinion of America at this time was also extremely negative, and the most significant factor that impacted opinions of both America and drones was civilian casualties. Additional influencing factors that were predominant at the time include the violation of Pakistani sovereignty, the frequency with which attacks occurred, and general discontent with the Pakistani government for allowing the attacks to occur.

Responses toward America and the drone program varied by the members of Pakistan's elite. The four main groups of elites—businessmen, politicians, military officials, and religious leaders—held differing primary concerns with regard to drone strikes and America. Pakistan's business elite expressed opinions regarding the property damage drone strikes cause, whereas religious leaders were primarily concerned with the actual location of the drone strike. Politicians denounced their own government for its involvement in the drone program, while military officials were focused on the effectiveness of the drone program in targeting militants. However, even with these differences in opinion, civilian casualties were a major concern for all of Pakistan's elite.

The diplomatic context surrounding a particular drone strike also had some effect on elite opinions, albeit largely negative. Five events were particularly impactful: the conviction of Aafia Siddiqui, the first drone attack in the Khyber region of Pakistan, the provision of flood relief by the United States, a cross-border attack by NATO forces that killed three Pakistani soldiers, and the distribution of funds via the Kerry-Lugar Act. With the exception of the flood relief received from the United States, these events resulted in strongly negative opinions of the United States. The events also negatively influenced opinions of the drone

program, as the simultaneous occurrence of these events and drone strikes aggravated Pakistani hostility.

In totality, the United States drone program in 2010, while seemingly successful in terms of targeting militants, was not met positively by Pakistan's elite, and may have further strained America's relationship with Pakistan.

## Appendix A

### Map of Pakistan

The following is a map of Pakistan that clearly demarcates the Federally Administered Tribal Areas. American drone strikes in Pakistan in 2010 only took place in FATA, and as the map illustrates, FATA is directly adjacent to the Afghanistan border. This has allowed many members of Al Qaeda and the Taliban to carry out terrorist operations in Pakistan.



(Muslim Issue 2014).

*Map of Federally Administered Tribal Areas*

This map depicts the regions that comprise FATA. With the exception of one strike in Kurram and five strikes in Khyber, the majority of strikes in 2010 occurred in North and South Waziristan.



(Phillips and Curtis 2008).

## Appendix B

### *Breakdown of Newspapers*

The following table lists information pertaining to each of the seven newspapers utilized in the data.

**Table D. Breakdown of Newspapers**

<b>Newspaper</b>	<b>Language</b>	<b>Characteristics</b>	<b>Locations</b>	<b>Circulation</b>
<i>Jang</i>	Urdu	Moderate; politically neutral	Rawalpindi, Lahore, Rawalpindi	850,000
<i>Jasarat</i>	Urdu	Conservative; owned by the Islamic political party Jamaat-e Islami	Karachi, Lahore, Islamabad	50,000
<i>The Nation</i>	English	Conservative; owned by the Nawa-e Waqt group	Lahore, Karachi, and Islamabad	120,000
<i>Nawa-e Waqt</i>	Urdu	Conservative; Islamic	Islamabad/Rawalpindi, Lahore, Karachi, Multan	500,000
<i>The News International</i>	English	Moderate; owned by the Jang group	Karachi, Lahore, Islamabad/Rawalpindi	140,000

<i>Khabrain</i>	Urdu	Conservative; has access to government and military sources	Islamabad, Karachi, Lahore, Peshawar, Multan, Haiderabad, Muzaffarabad, Sukkar	232,000
<i>Pakistan Observer Online</i>	English	Pro-military	Islamabad, Karachi, Lahore, Peshawar, Muzaffarabad, Quetta	5,000

### *Sample of Factors and Responses Dataset*

The following is a sample of my factors and responses dataset; additional information not shown below includes the date of the article, the date of the event being written about (if any), the name of the newspaper, the URL of the article, the date the article was coded, and any additional notes. For ease of understanding how much information pertains to a certain article, each article and its corresponding factors and responses are color-coded.

**Table A: Factors and Responses Dataset (Sample)**

<b>Summary of Article</b>	<b>Elite Factors</b>	<b>Elite Responses</b>
White House spokesperson said the US would respect the sovereignty of Yemen the same way it respected the sovereignty of Pakistan; author vehemently disagrees with the notion that Pakistani sovereignty has been respected and believes this statement means Yemen's sovereignty is also under threat; says a drone attack occurred on the same day as the spokesperson's statement; author states the president and prime minister of Pakistan have said that drone attacks cause problems for the Pakistani government; a better solution would be to transfer drone technology to Pakistan; Pakistani Parliament passed resolution	Violation of sovereignty; transference of drone technology	Strongly negative US; slightly positive drones

<p>against US drone strikes but nothing has changed; John McCain issued a statement saying the strikes are useful and effective, but the author does not seem to agree; author argues that US is defining sovereignty as having to do with land borders and not airspace; also angry at US use of Black Water/XE</p>		
<p>Pakistani Parliament's special committee condemned drone attacks in FATA; stated the attacks violate Pakistan's sovereignty and urged the government to take strict measures to stop these attacks and summon the US ambassador to Foreign Office and register protest against US drone attacks; special committee plans to play its role with the government to stop the attacks from happening; "Mian Raza Rabbani said that the special committee expressed grave concern regarding new US immigration policy under which strict body search of Pakistani citizens at US airports would be carried out, which was against the declaration of human rights. He said that the committee had asked the government to raise this issue on diplomatic level and compel the United States to review its policy."</p>	<p>Violation of Pakistani sovereignty; violation of Pakistani human rights due to US immigration policy (diplomatic context)</p>	<p>Strongly negative US; strongly negative drones</p>
<p>Pakistani president and local tribesmen in Waziristan say that the civilian population is mostly the target of the drone attacks, resulting in anti-American feelings in the tribal areas; President Zardari met with a visiting US Congress delegation and said the drone attacks are harmful to the national consensus against terrorism in Pakistan, and that the US should give Pakistan drone technology; US officials continue to defend the drone</p>	<p>Civilian casualties; local reactions; transference of drone technology; diplomatic context</p>	<p>Strongly negative US; slightly positive drones</p>

<p>program; McCain said the US military is heading to the Afghanistan border and is coordinating with the Pakistani military; the CIA in Khost, Afghanistan was attacked and some CIA members were killed, and thus the US is increasing pressure to launch an operation in North Waziristan, which the author sees as the US seeking revenge by using drone strikes</p>		
<p>Two drones fired at a religious seminary and a house in the Pasalkot area of North Waziristan; reports that 10 were killed and numerous others were injured; eyewitnesses said the drones were hovering over the area for a long time before the strikes occurred; a political official said all those killed were extremists, and some may have been foreigners; he also said that a top Taliban leader had been the primary target; people fled from their homes in a panic after the attack occurred; there are conflicting reports by local sources and the Taliban as to whether or not Taliban leader Hakimullah Mehsud escaped or was killed</p>	<p>Destruction of property; spread of panic; location; militant casualties</p>	<p>Neutral US; neutral drones</p>
<p>Security sources confirmed that Tehreek-e-Taliban Punjab leader Ismatullah Mueen-Uddin was killed by a strike in Shaktai; he was the mastermind of many terrorist attacks across the country; two other militant companions also killed</p>	<p>Militant casualties</p>	<p>Neutral US; neutral drones</p>
<p>Chaudhry Shujaat Hussain (president of Pakistan Muslim League-Qaid PML-Q) has said that the government has issued a no-objection certificate (NOC) on drone attacks and that the public is being deceived.</p>	<p>Pakistani government's allowance of drone strikes</p>	<p>Strongly negative US; strongly negative drones</p>



<p>The Pakistani military successfully tests shooting down US drones; "Commander Lt Gen Salim reviewed Pakistan's air defense and felt highly jubilant over shooting down drones. He expressed determination to continue such tests for the defense of the country."</p> <p>Public opinion was support for these tests; because the military is not shooting down actual drones, the military considers their operations to be a diplomatic effort with the United States; analyst Shirin Mazari says the tests are political stunts and that the government is secretly supportive of the strikes and deceives its people and that the strikes have been going on for too long</p>	<p>Local reactions; Pakistani government's allowance of drone strikes</p>	<p>Strongly negative US; strongly negative drones</p>
<p>Demonstration on shooting down drones at the annual exercise of the Pakistan Army Air Defense in the Muzaffargarh flying range; suicide bombers have been attacking because of drone strikes; suicide attacks increase when civilians die; the US expresses its condolences over civilian deaths; drones should be shot down</p>	<p>Civilian casualties; suicide attacks in response to drone strikes; Pakistani government's allowance of drone strikes</p>	<p>Strongly negative US; strongly negative drones</p>
<p>The US is attacking Pakistan's nuclear assets; defense minister does not see a way to stop drone attacks from occurring because the US will not have a dialogue with the Pakistani government about it; the Pakistani media is not covering the strikes and is therefore letting civilians die because they are not expressing outrage over the attacks and demanding accountability by the US; the military should be shooting down drones because Pakistan's parliament said drones would not be tolerated in the region; US special envoy Richard Holbrooke said Pakistan and India must resolve their disputes themselves; the US and the Taliban should settle matters on their own and leave Pakistan out of</p>	<p>Civilian casualties; violation of Pakistani sovereignty; Pakistani government's allowance of drone strikes; diplomatic context</p>	<p>Strongly negative US; strongly negative drones</p>

<p>their war; the US needs to respect Pakistan's sovereignty</p>		
<p>Babur Khan Ghauri (federal minister for ports and shipping and leader of the Muttahida Qaumi Movement) said the presence of Taliban leaders in Karachi has increased the threat of drone attacks in Karachi; he is thankful that Karachi was spared from a major Taliban attack when suicide bombers' jackets killed them preemptively</p>	<p>Militant casualties</p>	<p>Neutral US; slightly negative drones</p>

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